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50TH ANNIVERSARY OF GPCR COMMEMORATIVE ISSUE

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

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of socialist China (1966-76) was an earth-shaking event of world-historic importance. It was the result of the summing up of all the positive and negative experiences of the world working class movement for establishing socialism and communism. Under the leadership of Mao, it developed the revolutionary theory and practice of the international proletariat to a new and higher level. It was a unique and unprecedented revolution led by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie under the conditions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was a revolution to bring the superstructure in conformity with the socialist economic base. It was a revolution of the period of transition from capitalism to communism through the intermediate stage of socialism by defeating the attempts of domestic and foreign revisionists and reactionaries to restore capitalism. It was a revolution by millions upon millions of people who rose up like stormy waves to smash the enemy strongholds. In the process, they also transformed their own world outlook, which was essential for carrying forward the socialist revolution. It was a revolution to continue the revolution to till its final victory – the establishment of communism by carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

GPCR was the result of the further development of the Marxist theoretical concept of continuous revolution. Led by Mao, new theoretical principles related to class struggle under socialism and the dictatorship of the

proletariat were developed which were necessary to guarantee the victory of socialism. Not only that, these theories were tested and proven in the crucible of practice during the GPCR. This was a unique, new and higher level experience for the world proletariat and the international communist movement.

Apart from changing the entire Chinese society, the GPCR also had a worldwide impact. It was a catalyst for a new wave of communist and national liberation movements across the world. It provided the impetus for a decisive ideological and political break with revisionism. It provided the backdrop of the beginning of a new type of working class movements in the capitalist countries and protracted people's wars in several oppressed countries including India which upheld Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as their guiding ideology.

In the communist movement of our country, an ideological struggle was already going on under the leadership of revolutionary forerunners like comrades CM and KC. This ideological struggle led to the historic Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary upsurge of 1967. Thus, it was in the international backdrop of the GPCR that the people's war was initiated in India under the leadership of comrades CM and KC. This glorious people's war has continued on a tortuous path for the last five decades and is going to complete its fiftieth anniversary next year.

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On the 50th Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Socialist China

A cultural revolution is the ideological reflection of the political and economic revolution and is in their service.

- Mao, 'On New Democracy', 1940

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in socialist China. Many years in the making, this revolution began in the cultural field and took the form of a mass upsurge by mid-1966. It continued for three tumultuous years in a zigzag course and passed through several stages before the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) announced its victorious conclusion and summed up its results in 1969. Although the GPCR continued for another seven years in various forms till mid-1976, it was in its high-tides in the three initial years and constituted its most significant period. This unique and unprecedented revolution in the superstructure shook the Chinese society to its roots, touched the Chinese people to their very souls and made a worldwide impact. On the call of the Left in the CPC led by Mao, millions upon millions of people in China entered the arena of intense class struggle across the country against bourgeois ideology, politics and practice, against bourgeois control and influence over the party, army and government and against all the old-world muck pulling the wheels of history backwards. Not a single Party committee, factory, commune, collective farm,

public institution or organisation was left untouched or unaffected by this fierce struggle between two classes, two ideologies, two politics, two lines, two roads and two goals. The revolutionary masses confronted the class enemy in each and every field and rose up in a great upheaval to shake the citadels of the reactionaries to their very foundations. The struggle that ensued unleashed the unbound creativity, energy and enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses on an unprecedented scale. Guided by the revolutionary line of the CPC, they introduced wide-ranging innovations in the forms of organisation and struggle and in the party, government, military, industry, agriculture, trade, science and technology, education, health, culture, literature and art – i.e., in all spheres of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The most pernicious and deceitful representatives of the old-world muck were the revisionists ensconced in the higher echelons of the Communist Party, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the people's government. The CPC had a long history of fighting revisionism within its ranks since its



inception. Till the country's liberation, the Party had successfully carried out six major two-line struggles against the revisionist lines of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming and Chang Kuo-tao, without defeating which the victory of the Chinese new democratic revolution would have been impossible.

Within a decade after liberation, the revolutionaries in the CPC were once again called into battle against the revisionist lines of Kao Kang and P'eng Te-huai. Two-line struggles under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, however, differed significantly from those during the pre-liberation days. The internal ideological struggle became more acute after the countrywide seizure of power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, since the revisionists now tried to supplement the authority of their top party positions with that portion of state power which they had surreptitiously usurped from the people. Misusing their positions of authority, they struggled against the revolutionary line of Mao, opposed socialist construction, exercised dictatorship over the proletariat and worked towards reversing the socialist revolution. They did this by promoting capitalism in the economic base and propagating bourgeois ideology in the superstructure. They suppressed the socialist new things that were sprouting in the course of socialist construction.

Moreover, while the revisionists of the pre-liberation period used mainly open forms and methods of struggle against the revolutionaries, in the post-liberation period

they adopted increasingly more secretive, conspiratorial and deceptive forms and methods, making their line even more damaging. This resistance became even stronger in the process of socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and trade, which was basically completed by 1956 and China was all set to enter the stage of socialist construction through the Great Leap Forward. This vindicated Lenin's teaching that the overthrown reactionary classes would increase their resistance to the revolution manifolds after the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. With their counter-revolutionary line and practice, the revisionists in the CPC tried to transform the revolutionary party into a social-fascist party, the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois dictatorship and socialist China into a capitalist one.

After 1956, the position of the revisionists in China was further strengthened by the seizure of power by the Khrushchev revisionist clique in the CPSU and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly, while all the two-line struggles in the CPC before liberation and the struggles against Kao Kang and P'eng Te-huai's lines thereafter could be settled within the party through internal struggles, by the time of the GPCR the revisionists had become too powerful and influential to be defeated through the old method of internal struggle within the party alone. Mao pointed out that capitalist-roaders had already usurped one-third of state power in China by 1966. It was only by relying on the vast masses of people and mobilising

them in the largest numbers by applying the class line and mass line could political power be seized back from the bourgeoisie and the socialist revolution further advanced.

As the revisionists consolidated their position during the six years following the anti-rightist struggle against P'eng Te-huai's line in 1959, Mao and the CPC relied on the broad masses to prevent the party and the country from changing colour. They called upon the masses to rise up in rebellion against the handful of party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and to bombard their counter-revolutionary headquarters. Thus began the GPCR. The masses – students and intellectuals to begin with, and workers and peasants following in their wake – responded overwhelmingly and took the enemy strongholds by storm. The creativity, energy, initiative and militancy of the masses came into full play. This was nothing short of another power seizure from below.

In the course of questioning, criticising and overthrowing the bourgeois representatives in authority and the bourgeois-revisionist world outlook, party leaders, cadres and the masses self-examined, self-criticised and remoulded their own world outlook, which in fact was the goal of the GPCR. As Mao explained, “To struggle against power-holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal [of the GPCR]. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism” (‘Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation’, 1 May 1967). The slogan – “Fight Self, Repudiate Revisionism” – aptly encapsulates the main task and the main target of the GPCR. It was a revolution to accomplish a revolutionary transformation of the people's world outlook by ideological remoulding and re-education, to bring the consciousness of the masses in conformity with the new conditions of life under socialism and to forge new human beings fit to found society anew.

Revisionism had its roots in the exploiting classes, the remnants of which continued to exist in China even after liberation. The new democratic revolution had expropriated the private property of the landlords and the

bureaucrat capitalists – the old ruling classes. But it was still a long way to the ideological remoulding of the members of these classes. Some elements of the overthrown classes like former landlords escaped identification during the land reform movement and even managed to reach leading positions in the party, government, collective farms, etc. Moreover, the removal of imperialist and feudal fetters by the new democratic revolution created favourable conditions for the expansion of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements and their ideological influence in the society.

People from these classes had joined the communist party in large numbers during the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist stage of the revolution as they too were oppressed by the imperialists, landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists. But having failed to remould their non-proletarian world outlook and unwilling to continue on the revolutionary road beyond the democratic revolution, they failed the test of socialism and became dead weights holding back the society. Many of them pursued a revisionist line to resist the transition of the democratic revolution to the socialist stage. Also, the CPC had to adopt a policy of allowing the middle bourgeoisie (and the rich peasants who constituted the rural bourgeoisie) to earn a certain amount of profit under conditions of state control and restriction. They continued to exert ideological, political, economic and cultural influence on the society.

It was also a fact that China had a huge rural petty bourgeoisie (the middle peasants), while the urban petty bourgeoisie (including the three levels of intellectuals) too were in considerable numbers. Though the vast majority of them supported socialism and followed the socialist road, they mostly retained their narrow class outlook emanating from small proprietorship, and their remoulding had only just begun. The proletariat and the semi-proletariat (workers and poor peasants) were firmly committed to the socialist road, but they were vulnerable to the machinations of the revisionists due to the relatively inadequate spread of Marxism. Indeed, it was no easy task to promote Marxism and establish proletarian ideology and culture by uprooting feudal ideology and

culture which dominated the thinking and practice of the Chinese people for thousands of years. The revisionists made use of the backward ideologies and ways of thinking prevalent among the masses in their fight against Marxism.

In addition to all this, the transformation of private ownership of means of the production (whether feudal or bourgeois ownership) into socialist ownership by the whole people required a number of intermediate stages and a relatively long period of time. In this transitional period, the grounds remained for the preponderance of partial or narrow self-interest over the interest of the whole people, and hence the grounds for revisionism and anti-revisionist class struggle. As Mao pointed out, even though the socialist transformation in the system of ownership in China was basically completed by 1956,

...there are still remnants of the overthrown landlord and comprador classes, there is still a bourgeoisie, and the remoulding of the petty bourgeoisie has only just started. Class struggle is by no means over. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the various political forces, and the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the ideological field will still be protracted and tortuous and at times even very sharp. The proletariat seeks to transform the world

according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is not really settled yet. Marxists remain a minority among the entire population as well as among the intellectuals... the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who come from the old society, the very influence which constitutes their class ideology, will persist in our country for a long time ('On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People', February 1957).

Thus, the party persons in authority taking the capitalist-road were no isolated individuals but they represented the formidable social force of the old and new reactionary elements. The struggle to defend and develop the correct line in CPC after liberation therefore got inseparably linked with the struggle to build socialism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance the socialist revolution towards communism by eradicating the material and ideological foundations of revisionism. For this, the economic base as well as the superstructure had to be repeatedly revolutionised. The strategy adopted by the Left in the CPC led by Mao was to continue these two transformations as a series of uninterrupted revolutions alternating between the economic sphere and the ideological-political-cultural sphere in a zigzag course. As Mao put it in 1958,

I stand for the theory of permanent revolution. Do not mistake this for Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. In making revolution one must strike while the iron is hot – one revolution must follow another, the revolution must continually advance. The Hunanese often say, 'Straw sandals have no pattern – they shape themselves in the making.' Trotsky believed that the socialist revolution should be launched even before the democratic revolution is complete. We are not like that. For example after the Liberation of 1949 came the Land Reform; as soon as this was completed there followed the mutual-aid teams, then the low-level cooperatives, then the high-level cooperatives. After seven years the



cooperativization was completed and productive relationships were transformed; then came the Rectification. After Rectification was finished, before things had cooled down, then came the Technical Revolution ('Speech at the Supreme State Conference', 28 January, 1958, MSW Vol. 8).

The history of the Chinese revolution since liberation demonstrates that every struggle for advancement in the economic base was preceded and succeeded by struggles in the superstructure, and the struggle in the superstructure in turn stimulated further development of the economic base. As we know, the political victory of the democratic revolution in 1949 was succeeded by a revolution in the ownership of means of production, i.e., socialist industrialisation and land reform movement of 1949-1952. This was consolidated by a struggle in the ideological sphere – the 'three-antis and five-antis' movement and the anti-Kao anti-Jao struggle of 1953-55. This in turn prepared the ground for the next big step in the development of the economic base – the movement for the collectivisation of agriculture in 1955-56. It was followed by another ideological struggle – the 'Hundred Flowers' movement and the 'anti-rightist movement' of 1957. This movement in the superstructure not only consolidated the collectivization movement but also laid the ground for a leap in socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and trade – the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement of 1958-59. This tremendous development in the economic base was consolidated by a fresh ideological struggle that led to the repudiation of P'eng Te-huai's revisionist line in 1959 and the launching of the Socialist Education Movement in 1963, which was the immediate precursor of GPCR. This zigzag pattern of class struggle – transforming the superstructure to develop the forces and relations of production, and basing on the development in the forces and relations of production to further revolutionise the superstructure – and in this way advancing through a series of uninterrupted revolutions was the essence of what Mao termed as permanent revolution.

This conformed to the principles of Marxism and the laws of class struggle under socialism.

Thus, these revolutionary struggles marked the various stages of socialist transformation in the economic base and the superstructure of Chinese society before conditions matured for launching the GPCR. In fact, the lessons and experiences of the CPC and the Chinese people in ideological-political struggles during the democratic and the socialist revolutions, the ideological and political struggles in the CPSU led by Lenin and Stalin, the positive and negative experiences in building socialism in the Soviet Union and the lessons of the Great Debate against the Yugoslav, Italian and Soviet revisionists – were all applied during the GPCR at a higher level.

The GPCR itself went through several stages from the standpoint of policy and tactics adopted by Mao and the CPC. As Mao noted, the GPCR had already passed through four stages by the middle of 1967. The appearance of Yao Wen-yuan's article 'On the New Historical Play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*' in November 1965 criticising Peking Deputy Mayor Wu Han signalled the beginning of GPCR, although it was Mao who had fired the opening salvos by criticising the play at a Central Committee meeting held in September-October that year. From then till the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth CPC Central Committee in August 1966 was the first stage of GPCR, which was primarily a stage of mobilising public opinion and bringing up the forces. Some of the important events of this stage were the appearance of a series of critical articles in *Liberation Army Daily* exposing the revisionist leaders of the Peking Municipal Party Committee, reconstitution of the Cultural Revolution Group appointed by the Central Committee, the 'May 16 Circular', Mao's endorsement and countrywide propagation of the first socialist big-character poster put up at the Peking University and his own big-character poster titled '*Bombard the Headquarters!*', large-scale mobilisation of university and school students in Red Guards detachments and the spread of the cultural revolution throughout the country.



From the Eleventh Plenum to the “January storm” in 1967 was the second stage, in which the ‘Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC concerning the GPCR’, better known as the ‘16-Point Circular’, was issued. Based on the Maoist principle of making use of contradictions, winning over the many, opposing the few and crushing the enemies one by one, this document divided the Party cadres into four broad categories of (1) good, (2) comparatively good, (3) those who have made serious mistakes but have not become anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists, and (4) the small number of anti-Party, anti-Socialist Rightists. It laid down the path for advancing the socialist revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat by uniting the vast majority belonging to the first three categories of good cadres to struggle, expose and oust the handful of bad cadres belonging to the last category. The industrial workers entered the struggle at this stage in large numbers, providing depth and breadth to the revolution. A notable event of this stage was the “January Storm”, in which the revolutionary workers of Shanghai seized power from below, overthrew the revisionist Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and set up a Workers’ Rebel Headquarters to function as the central

revolutionary organ of power modelled on the Paris Commune in the largest working-class city in China.

The third stage of GPCR was the publication of articles by Chi Pen-yu, an editor of *Hong-qui (Red Flag)*, criticising Liu Shao-chi’s revisionist ideas. This stage marked a further intensification of the two-line struggle. The attempt by the bourgeois representatives in power to counterattack the “January storm” with an “Adverse February Current” was repulsed by the revolutionary masses. The momentum of the GPCR was continued.

This gave way to the fourth stage, in which the masses made efforts to seize back political power from the revisionists throughout the country in the model of Shanghai. This involved the conducting of mass criticism by uniting the overwhelming majority of party cadres and masses in a “great alliance of people” against the power-holders in authority taking the capitalist-road. The class struggle in this stage became relatively more protracted, complicated and acute than all the preceding stages. It the most crucial stage of the entire GPCR. It was during this stage that the Twelfth Plenum of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC held in October 1968 declared Liu as a counter-revolutionary and

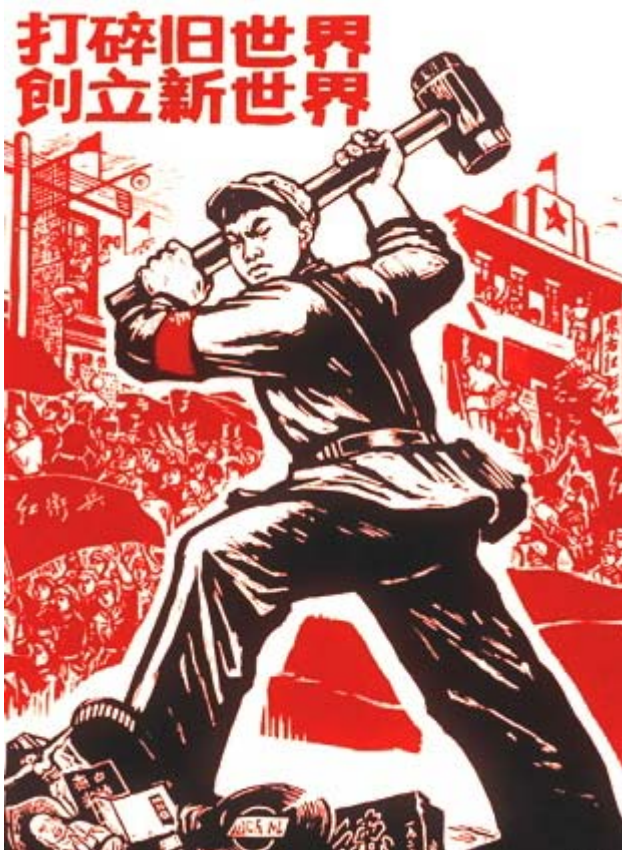
expelled him from the Party, the bourgeois headquarters he led was smashed, the adherents of his line were removed from office and political power was seized back by the masses in all the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions of the country. They destroyed the old organs of power under the control of the revisionists and replaced them with revolutionary committees.

The struggle against Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line during the GPCR was the ninth major two-line struggle in the history of the CPC, from which the revolutionary line once again emerged victorious. By the time of the Ninth Congress in April 1969, the GPCR was basically completed. Great victories were won in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and clearing the way for further advancement in socialist construction. It settled the key question of political power between the Marxists and the revisionists and of leadership between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. After the historic Ninth Congress of 1969, the GPCR was continued for "striking at the counter-revolutionaries and opposing corruption and theft, opposing speculation and opposing extravagance and waste", eliminating the remnant influence of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line by deepening struggle-criticism-transformation and to carry forward the revolution in all spheres of the superstructure. A movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought was undertaken on a mass scale as a part of this.

The biggest achievement of the GPCR after the Ninth Congress was the defeat of the Lin Piao anti-Party revisionist clique in 1971. Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta had emerged as prominent leaders of the Left in the CPC during the three initial years of the GPCR when Liu Shao-chi's revisionist was the main target of attack. After the defeat of Liu Shao-chi's line, they started to push more forcefully their own right-opportunist line in a 'left' guise. Another ideological and political struggle was initiated by Mao against this erroneous line which resulted in the downfall of the Lin-Chen anti-party clique. The achievements of this struggle were summed up

in the Tenth Congress of the CPC in 1973. It was the tenth major two-line struggle in the fifty years of CPC's history. It successfully exposed the counter-revolutionary plot hatched by Lin Piao in collusion with several top Party functionaries and four big PLA generals to remove the revolutionary leadership headed by Mao through a *coup d'etat*, to seize power and set up a feudal-comprador fascist dictatorship. It was mainly due to the heightened ideological-political consciousness and vigilance generated in the party, army and the masses by the GPCR that Lin Piao's counter-revolutionary plot serving the domestic and foreign reactionaries could be exposed, criticised and smashed in a timely manner. It once again taught the lesson by negative example that in the entire historical period of socialism when classes, class contradictions and class struggle continued to exist, when the question of who will win out – the bourgeois or the proletariat – was not yet settled and when capitalism remained the dominant system in the world, the appearance of revisionist lines and bourgeois representatives like Lin Piao in the communist party and the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country remained a real danger.

The emergence of the 'left'-opportunist line of Lin Piao, the 'left' sectarian excesses committed by a section of the followers of Mao's line and the disruptionist activities deliberately carried out by revisionists in the 'left' guise to sabotage and discredit the GPCR were among the reasons that gave a number of die-hard capitalist-roaders and Rightists the opportunity to find their way back into positions of authority in the party, army and government. These two-faced double-dealers regained power by making false self-criticisms and taking advantage of the trust reposed on them by the party and the people. Heading this gang was Deng Xiao-ping who was removed from his post during the struggle against Liu Shao-chi and sent to a cadre school for ideological re-education. CPC re-inducted him into the Polit Bureau of the Party in 1973 after accepting his self-criticism. But this dyed-in-the-wool capitalist-roader continued to lead the counter-revolutionary forces in sabotaging the socialist revolution by whipping up a right-deviationist wind in 1975.



Another mass movement was launched in November 1975 in continuation of the GPCR to “criticise Deng and repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts”. Started in Xinhua University, this mass movement won a significant victory in April 1976 when Deng was once again dismissed from all posts inside and outside the Party. The third revisionist headquarters too was smashed by the GPCR in this way.

However, taking advantage of the death of several senior leaders of the party including Chu Teh, Kang Sheng, Tung Pi-wu, Chou En-lai and Mao in quick succession, the hidden revisionists led by Hua Kuo-feng captured important positions in the party, army and the government in 1976. Hua had become the acting Prime Minister and Minister of Public Security after the death of Chou En-lai. Though outwardly an adherent of Mao’s revolutionary line till then, Hua and his cohorts soon capitulated to the Right, formed an anti-party clique and became instrumental in carrying out a counter-revolutionary *coup de etat* less than a month after Mao’s death. Hua usurped the positions of the Chairman of the party’s Central Committee and the chief of the Army as well. The capitalist-roaders led by him

suppressed the revolutionaries, sabotaged the socialist state, rehabilitated their cohorts like Deng Xiao-ping, dismantled the socialist economy, promoted capitalism and slandered against the GPCR. With the seizure of power by the Deng-Hua counter-revolutionary clique, the decade long GPCR reached a dead end. The Chinese revolution and the Chinese people experienced a great reversal.

In spite of this setback, GPCR won a number of significant victories and achievements in all fields of revolutionary activity. By smashing the three bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Deng Xiao-ping respectively, it prevented the slipping away of political power from the hands of the proletariat and the people for a decade after 1966. During these ten years, it consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevented capitalist restoration and ensured the continuation of Chinese revolution. In the field of ideology, it raised Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to a higher level by further developing the laws of class struggle under conditions of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat through concrete practice. It demonstrated the absolute necessity of continuing the revolution both in the economic base and the superstructure. It once again proved that revisionism – the most pernicious manifestation of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology within the communist movement – remains the main danger to Marxism and revolution requiring consistent ideological struggle against it. It reaffirmed the importance of applying the dialectical and historical materialist method of “one divides into two” in all revolutionary activity.

In the field of politics, it taught that the proletariat must continue the class struggle during the entire period of transition from capitalism to communism, exercise all-round dictatorship under socialism and guard against the possibility of counter-revolution by uniting all those who can be united against domestic and international reactionaries. It highlighted the significance of never forgetting the class struggle, always keeping politics in command and exercising working-class leadership in all spheres. It established the principle of “the

three dos and three don'ts" – "Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire". It demonstrated the need to rely on the broad masses and to mobilise them to the full, to consistently apply the mass line in order to give full effect to the class line, and to unite the 95 percent of the people to isolate and defeat the 5 percent of counter-revolutionaries and bad elements.

The GPCR overturned the dominance of the revisionists in the cultural field who promoted bourgeois and feudal ideologies, who concerned themselves with depicting only the old ruling classes and their old ideas while caricaturing, undermining and ignoring the toiling masses. Mao criticised the Ministry of Culture for sticking to the old feudal and bourgeois culture and refusing to promote the new socialist culture. If it refused to change, he suggested, the ministry should be renamed as the "Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Ministers, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies". Spurred by the GPCR, new models were created in proletarian literature and art including drama, painting, cinema, creative writing, etc. exemplified by the transformation of Peking Opera in which the old form was given a new and revolutionary content. In this way, the GPCR for the first time established the primacy of proletarian and democratic culture over feudal and bourgeois culture in the Chinese society

GPCR opened the doors of educational institutions for the children of workers and peasants on a mass scale for the first time in Chinese history. Millions of students went to the factories and fields to work during this period, bringing a closer integration of study and production, theoretical and practical knowledge, knowing and doing. Millions upon millions of workers and peasants who were deprived of education by the old society were educated through innovative methods in different kinds of schools to increase mass literacy and raise the cultural level of the whole people. Extensive ideological, political and cultural re-education was carried out including the collective study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as a continuation of

the Socialist Education Movement at a still higher stage.

Medicine and healthcare too were revolutionised by the GPCR by emphasising a mass approach and keeping the vast rural people at the centre. Since the Ministry of Health proved itself to be only a "Ministry of Urban Overlords", it was overhauled. The countrywide expansion of barefoot doctors, the combining of Chinese medicine and healing techniques with the foreign, and similar innovations carried out during the GPCR brought basic healthcare to the country's masses for the first time. It raised life-expectancy and standard of general health to a level unprecedented in China which has not been surpassed even today.

In the field of science and technology, the GPCR encouraged participation, experimentation and innovation by the masses. It achieved new heights in the implementation of the principle of 'red and expert' and reinforced the need for self-reliance on the basis of the old serving the new and the foreign serving and native. With the mass involvement of the working people, great successes were achieved in mastering, developing and perfecting technology that in turn promoted socialist production and people's welfare.

In industry and agriculture, GPCR gave rise to an upsurge in socialist emulation and labour enthusiasm among the working masses encapsulated by the slogan "In agriculture, learn from Tachai; in industry, learn from Taching" which was applied all over the country. As a result, the targets of the Third and Fourth Five Year Plans (1965-70 and 1970-75) were overfulfilled. Industrial and agricultural production touched new heights and socialist accumulation made rapid progress. Good harvests were reaped for thirteen years in succession during the entire period of GPCR even amidst its upheavals. This was a result of implementing the correct line "Grasp Revolution and Promote Production". It defeated Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line of "technique in command" and promoting production through material incentives. All these and other achievements in the economic field during the GPCR went



a long way in meeting the basic needs of the 800 million Chinese people and in securing “the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole of society through the continuous expansion and perfection of socialist production on the basis of higher techniques” – which are the essential features and requirements of the basic law of socialism (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, 1953). These achievements rebutted the vile propaganda of the reactionaries at home and abroad that the GPCR was a disaster for China’s economic development. In fact, with the GPCR the masses of China took great strides towards actualising the plan suggested by Mao to advance the country’s economy to the front ranks of the world by the turn of the twentieth century.

The GPCR brought important changes in the organisational forms of the party, army and government. Three-in-one combination of old, middle-aged and new cadres in all party committees was instituted. Open-door policy was encouraged in party discussions to ensure the involvement and supervision of the masses in party and state affairs. The people’s army was more closely integrated with the people and it participated more closely in production by responding to Mao’s call, “the whole

country should learn from the PLA” and “the PLA should learn from the people”. Self-reliance in military technology and production was achieved, insignias according to rank differentiating army officers from soldiers were abolished and the people’s militia was re-established. In government, new forms of organisation such as the “great alliance of people” and revolutionary people’s committees were introduced throughout the country. They followed the principle of three-in-one combination of representation from the party, the army and the people. This consolidated the people’s political power and the socialist state. During the GPCR, the masses widely used new forms of struggle such as speaking out freely, airing views fully, writing big-character posters and holding great debates. Among the new forms of organisation were the Red Guards, hundreds of new mass organisations and new types of factory committees. Through these factory committees, the workers participated in decision-making while the managers participated in production. Women’s federation committees led the fight for women’s rights and for their equal participation in political, economic and cultural affairs. In the process of this intense two-line struggle, the revolutionary masses also

established new values such as proletarian democracy, self-reliance, plain living and hard struggle, subordination of individual interest to collective interest, respect for physical labour, and so on.

Internationally, the banner of anti-revisionist struggle raised by the GPCR sharpened the two-line struggle within the communist parties across the world and exposed the Soviet revisionists even further. It contributed to a decisive ideological, political and organisational break with revisionism and the formation of revolutionary parties in several countries which upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought (now Maoism) as their guiding ideology. It gave impetus to a new wave of people's wars led by communist revolutionaries in oppressed countries like Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar and others. Communist parties that are presently leading new democratic revolutions in India, the Philippines, Peru, Turkey, Bangladesh, etc. were all formed or reconstituted during the GPCR and under its influence. It inspired people's upsurges in Europe and North America including the militant movement of students and workers in France in the late 1960s, the movement against US's Vietnam War and the civil rights movement of the African-Americans, etc. In this way, the GPCR played a crucial role in helping the CPC give continuity and leadership to the international communist movement since the restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union.

It is true that the great victories and achievements of the GPCR could not be consolidated and the handful of capitalist-roaders in the party leadership succeeded in usurping political power. The dissolution of the socialist camp, the disintegration of the socialist world market and the defeat of China's socialist revolution gave the world capitalist system and international bourgeoisie a fresh – though temporary – lease of life. Emboldened by the rise of the bourgeoisie to power in the Soviet Union, China and other people's republics, the imperialists and their domestic collaborators have unleashed a new wave of attack on the oppressed countries, nations and people. This attack encompasses

ideological, political, economic, diplomatic, military, cultural and all other spheres. They are waging ever new predatory wars for the re-division of the world, imposing neo-colonial exploitation and oppression in newer, more intensive and deceptive forms. As a part of this offensive, they are more aggressively targeting the revolutionary, national-democratic and patriotic struggles. They are more ruthlessly suppressing the movements of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, women, minorities and immigrants in capitalist countries. At the same time, they are viciously and more extensively promoting bourgeois ideology and culture using the state and the private sector, international institutions, NGOs, electronic and print media, religious institutions, the education system, etc. to disarm the proletariat and the people. In Semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like India, they are widely promoting decadent feudal ideology and culture in combination with imperialist ideology and culture to preserve the rule of the reactionary classes.

The increasing plunder, exploitation and enslavement of the masses are also leading to increasing people's resistance. So the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries are trying even more extensively to bring the proletariat and the toiling masses under their ideological, political and cultural influence in order to counter the ideological, political and cultural influence of revolutionary Marxism. In this scenario, revisionism as a tool of imperialism and its lackeys is raising its ugly head in many forms to defend capitalism. Along with contending for the re-division of the world market according to their relative strength, the Soviet and Chinese neo-revisionists also collaborated closely with imperialism to reverse the socialist revolutions in their own countries, to integrate their country's economies with the capitalist world economy and to suppress the communist, national liberation and democratic movements all over the world. Similarly, today's revisionists and neo-revisionists are aiding imperialism and domestic reaction by collaborating with them to defend the status-quo. They are helping the ruling classes in suppressing revolutionaries and preventing the

advancement of revolution in every country. As a form of bourgeois ideology, line and practice, revisionism therefore continues to pose the main danger to the international communist movements as well as communist movements of every country. This was starkly demonstrated by the reversal of the Nepal revolution.

In addition, the petty bourgeoisie, and particularly the intellectuals, has expanded vastly since the GPCR period in every country, including all the oppressed countries. The role and importance of the petty bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals in revolution has also increased. But due to their class position, they get easily influenced by bourgeois ideology such as revisionism. That is why the proletariat and its party need to remould their ideology and win them over to the side of the revolution. This is part of the struggle against all kinds of feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies and politics such as revisionism, reformism, legalism, parliamentarism, Gandhism, pacifism, post-modernism, patriarchy, racism, casteism, communalism, majoritarianism, fascism, national chauvinism, expansionism, regionalism, localism, and so on. The experience and lessons of the GPCR in waging

ideological and political two-line struggle in the superstructure must be harnessed for this. This is significant not only for the communist movement of India but internationally as well.

The history of the communist movement demonstrates that Marxism and revisionism represent the two opposites of a single entity and Marxism can develop only in the course of struggle against it. The communists must not therefore fail to learn from the development in theory and practice wrought by the GPCR and to apply them creatively in practice according to concrete conditions. This is essential not only after the seizure of power by the proletariat but also before it; not only during the socialist revolution but also in the democratic revolution.

The great significance of GPCR for the communist movement of India where revisionism had been the dominant trend for over five decades till the Naxalbari armed agrarian revolutionary movement cannot be overemphasised. It was in the background of Great Debate and the GPCR that a bitter ideological and political struggle against CPI's revisionism and CPI(M)'s neo-revisionism was fought under the leadership of comrades CM and KC. This paved the way for Naxalbari and the beginning of armed agrarian revolutionary



struggles in many parts of the country. This decisive break with revisionism led to the formation of proletarian revolutionary parties – the CPI(ML) and the MCC – under the leadership of comrades CM and KC respectively, putting the Indian revolution on the correct path.

Even after the Naxalbari period, however, modern revisionist forces pursuing the parliamentary path continued to be a major hurdle in the advancement of the Indian revolution. Whenever this two-line struggle had been fought well, our party acquired higher level of ideological-political clarity and unity, thereby leading to the advancement of the movement. The right-opportunist lines of DV-TN-CP, SNS and VM, the 'Left'-opportunist lines of the pro-Lin Piao groups, the disruptionist and liquidationist lines of Venu, SM-VS and Bharat-Badal anti-party cliques, etc. were fought and defeated through bitter internal struggles. The emergence of our unified party CPI(Maoist) is a direct result of this struggle. After the formation of new party too, right-opportunist and liquidationist lines of Shivprasad in Karnataka and Sabyasachi Panda in Odisha raised their ugly heads and were defeated in a bitter struggle. In this way, our party has firmly upheld GPCR's legacy of anti-revisionist struggle in the last five decades of its history by waging struggles against right and 'left' lines within and outside the party and in the international communist movement. There is no reason to believe that revisionism will not assert itself again within the revolutionary ranks in one form or the other, particularly at crucial turns of the movement. Moreover, in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India the feudal and imperialist ideologies still hold considerable sway over the masses and they also influence the revolutionary camp to some extent. Continuous inculcation of the proletarian world outlook and ideological remoulding in the course of struggle against all non-proletarian ideologies therefore hold particular significance for the Indian revolution. Here too, the lessons of GPCR are of great significance for us.

Notwithstanding the reversals, the GPCR will remain a landmark in the communist

movement for the theoretical and practical development of Marxism it has achieved and the rich experience it has brought to the proletariat of China and the world. Just as all previous defeats at the hands of the class enemy since the Paris Commune had added new weapons to the arsenal of Marxism and prepared the ground for further advancement of the communist movement, the GPCR too will remain the foundation based on which the proletariat will win new victories in its fight for socialism and communism. By conscientiously grasping and assimilating the lessons of the GPCR, the proletariat and its vanguard party can raise its ideological-political level, be better prepared against the danger of revisionism, resolve the new questions and problems that come up in the course of revolution and correctly lead the toiling masses on the path of liberation in the new objective conditions of class struggle. Resolving the outstanding questions of the socialist revolution in the twenty-first century will not be the task of the proletariat of one country alone but of the international communist movement.

The defeat of the revolution in China, therefore, is but a precursor to newer and still greater victories of the world proletariat. The great Marxist teachers have taught us that the liberation of humanity from class society and the exploitation and oppression engendered by it will take a long process involving many revolutions. Socialist revolution too is a protracted process with many ups and downs, twists and turns, victories and defeats before its final victory on a world scale. The enemy may win temporary victories in this course, but the proletariat will certainly carry on the class struggle until it finally vanquishes the bourgeoisie and accomplishes its world-historic mission. Not one or two but many cultural revolutions will have to be carried out for this. The GPCR will forever remain the forerunner and the guiding light for the coming cultural revolutions.

Our Party CPI(Maoist) has evolved appropriate programme and strategy and tactics for completing the new democratic and socialist revolutions in India which are outlined in our documents 'Party Programme'

and 'Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution'. We must strive to deepen our understanding of these documents by complimenting them with the lessons of the GPCR. Moreover, we should strive to apply them consistently in all our revolutionary work. Even when our comrades are involved in leading the class struggle in specific fields of work and in specific organisations with immediate aims and immediate tasks, we should never lose sight of the totality of the revolutionary movement, its maximum and minimum programme, its strategy and tactics and its ultimate goals. Whether we are in workers' organisations, trade unions, peasant organisations, women's organisations, student and youth organisations, caste-annihilation organisations, organisations in literature, art and cultural fields, united front forums, etc., we must comprehend our various organisations, struggles and tasks in the light of the commonality, inter-connectedness, unity and totality of our party's programme and strategy. Only in this way can we fulfil our immediate tasks and advance our partial struggles by avoiding the pitfalls of non-proletarian trends and deviations. Only in this way can we counter all forms of non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary ideologies and politics and contribute effectively to the advancement of the Indian revolution.

While celebrating the 50th anniversary of GPCR, let us put all efforts to learn from its great victories and achievements and also its shortcomings. Let us resolutely and consistently uphold the primacy of proletarian ideology and working-class leadership in all our works and in all fields. Let us make all

efforts to remould our world outlook by studying MLM, taking part in the class struggle and creatively applying MLM to our practice in concrete conditions. Let us learn from practice and rectify our mistakes. Let us fight against right and 'left' opportunist deviations by using the Marxist method of 'unity-criticism-unity'. Let us use the lessons of the GPCR to correctly handle and resolve class contradictions, to conduct the Bolshevisation campaign, to consolidate the existing forces and develop new ones, to unite with all democratic streams and movements including the national liberation movements and to win over all democratic forces to our side. Let us Bolshevisate the Party, Army and the United Front and mobilise the masses in the people's war to enhance our fighting capacity in ideological, political, economic, military and cultural fields. Guided by MLM and taking inspiration from the GPCR, let us courageously fight the class enemies in all spheres, repudiate revisionism of all hues and firmly adhere to the proletarian ideology, politics, culture, and world-outlook. Let us carry the class struggle through to the end by successfully completing the new democratic revolution and the world socialist revolution to march forward to communism which will finally give effect to the undying spirit of the *Internationale*:

*No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations
We have been naught, we shall be all;
'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Party shall be the human race.*

***Keep politics in command!
Never forget the class struggle!
Fight self, repudiate revisionism!
Grasp revolution, promote production!
It is right to rebel against the reactionaries!***

On the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Socialist China (1966 - 2016)

FROM THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF MAO TSE-TUNG

To ensure the triumph of the cause of socialism, we must combat erroneous Right opportunist tendencies, that is, bourgeois ideas, throughout the Party, and first of all in the leading bodies of the Party, government, army and mass organizations at the national level and at those of the greater administrative areas and the provinces and municipalities... clarify the question of the socialist road versus the capitalist road.

- 'Combat Bourgeois Ideas in the Party', Speech at the National Conference on Financial and Economic Work, August 12, 1953

If socialism does not occupy the rural positions, capitalism inevitably will. Is it possible to take any road other than the capitalist or the socialist road? The capitalist road can also lead to increased production, but the time required would be longer and the course painful. We will not practice capitalism, that's settled. Yet capitalism is bound to spread unchecked unless we go in for socialism.

- 'Two Talks on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agriculture', 15 October 1953

In the building of a socialist society, everybody needs remoulding — the exploiters and also the working people. Who says it isn't necessary for the working class? Of course, the remoulding of the exploiters is essentially different from that of the working people, and the two must not be confused. The working class remoulds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and in the process it remoulds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of work, gradually overcome its shortcomings and never stop doing so

- 'On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People', February 1957

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

- Speech at the Working Conference of the Central Committee at Peitaiho, August 1962

Never forget the class struggle.

- Speech at the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of CPC, September 1962

Operas should develop what is new from what is old, rather than what is old from what is old. They must not sing only of emperors, kings, generals, ministers, talented young gentlemen, pretty ladies, and their maids and escorts.

- 'Operas', September 1963

The thought, culture and customs which brought China to where we found her must disappear; the thought, customs, and culture of proletarian China, which does not yet exist, must appear.

- 'Interview with Andre Malraux, 1965

There are some comrades who struggle fiercely against others, but cannot struggle with themselves. In this way, they will never be able to cross the pass.

- 'Talk to Leaders of the Centre', July 21, 1966

We believe in the masses. To become teachers of the masses we must first be the students of the masses. The present great Cultural Revolution is a heaven and earth shaking event. Can we, dare we, cross the pass into socialism? This pass leads to the final destruction of classes, and the reduction of the three great differences.

- *ibid*

We must trust over 95 percent of the masses, and then over 95 percent of the cadres will follow us. China has a sizable petty bourgeoisie, and the number of middle-peasants is rather large. In urban areas, the number of petty bourgeoisie, small handicraftsmen, including small business owners, is considerable. If we prove to be adept in leading, they will also follow us. We must trust the vast majority.

- Talks at Three Meetings with Comrades Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, February 12-18, 1967

What would you say is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution? To struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the main task, but it is by no means the goal. The goal is to solve the problem of world outlook: it is the question of eradicating the roots of revisionism.

- Speech to the Albanian Military Delegation, 1 May 1967

The Central Committee has emphasized time and again that the masses must educate themselves and liberate themselves. This is because world outlook cannot be imposed on them. In order to transform ideology, it is necessary for the external causes to function through inner causes, though the latter are principal. If the world outlook is not transformed, how can the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution be called a victory? If the world outlook is not transformed, then although there are 2,000 power holders taking the capitalist road in this Great Cultural Revolution, there may be 4,000 next time.

- ibid

[We] must skillfully direct the petty bourgeois ideology in our ranks on to the path of the proletarian revolution. This is the key to the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

- 'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', 25 June 1967

The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future. The issue of who will win in the revolution can only be settled over a long historical period. If things are not properly handled, it is possible for a capitalist restoration to take place at any time in the future.

- 'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', August 1967

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great revolution that touches the souls of the people and solves the problem of a world view for the people.

- 'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', 6 November 1967

The handful of capitalist-roaders in power in our party are the representatives of the bourgeoisie in our party.

- ibid

The basic ideological programme of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is "to combat selfishness and criticize revisionism".

- ibid

The Cultural Revolution can only be the emancipation of the masses by the masses.

- ibid

The struggle to reshape the world by the proletariat and revolutionary peoples consists of these tasks to reshape the objective world and also to reshaper their own subjective world.

- 'Directives Regarding Cultural Revolution', 12 Jnauray 1968

The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out.

- 'Talks with Responsible Comrades at Various Places during Provincial Tour', August 1971

I hope that you will practise Marxism and not revisionism; that you will unite and not split; that you will be sincere and open and not resort to plotting and conspiracy.

- ibid

FROM THE DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The People's Liberation Army should be a great school. In this school, our army should study politics and military affairs, raise its educational level, and also engage in agriculture and side-occupations and run small or medium-sized factories to make products for its own needs or for exchange with the state against equal values. Our army should also do mass work and participate in the socialist education movement in the factories and the villages. When the socialist education movement is over, it will always find mass work to do so as to be always at one with the masses. Also our army should always be ready to participate in the struggles to criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie in the cultural revolution.

- The May 7 Directive of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, May 7, 1966

In the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the truth of Marxism and the fallacies of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, either the East Wind prevails over the West Wind or the West Wind prevails over the East Wind, and there is absolutely no such thing as equality. Can equality be permitted on such basic questions as the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the superstructure, including all the various spheres of culture, and the continued efforts of the proletariat to weed out those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Communist Party and who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag?

- Circular of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (the 'May 16 Circular'), May 16, 1966

The great proletarian cultural revolution now unfolding is a great revolution that touches people to their very souls and constitutes a new stage in the development of the Socialist revolution in our country, a deeper and more extensive stage.

- Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, August 8, 1966

Although the bourgeoisie has been overthrown, it is still trying to use the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting classes to corrupt the masses, capture their minds and endeavour to stage a come-back. The proletariat must do just the opposite: it must meet head-on every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and use the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole of society. At present, our objective is to struggle against and crush those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and to transform education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure that do not correspond to the Socialist economic base, so as to facilitate the consolidation and development of the Socialist system.

- *ibid*

In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things on their behalf must not be used.

- *ibid*

...the key to the success of this great cultural revolution is to have faith in the masses, rely on them, boldly arouse them and respect their initiative. It is therefore imperative to persevere in the line of "from the masses, to the masses." Be pupils of the masses before becoming their teachers. Dare to make revolution and be good at making revolution. Don't be afraid of disturbances. Oppose the taking of the bourgeois stand, the shielding of Rightists, attacks on

the Left and repression of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Oppose the creation of a lot of restrictions to tie the hands of the masses. Don't be overlords or stand above the masses, blindly ordering them about.

- Communiqué of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, August 12, 1966

The great cultural revolution in the countryside should be conducted by means of free contending, free airing of views, big-character posters and great debates, i.e., the practice of extensive democracy.

- CPC Central Committee's Directive (Draft) Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Countryside, December 15, 1966

Our revolutionary rebel workers, bearing in mind the teachings of Chairman Mao, have stood our ground in the face of this adverse current, have given proof of our high sense of revolutionary responsibility, and, under extremely difficult conditions, have shouldered all the production tasks of our factories and plants, thus dealing a telling blow against the handful of Party persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, and smashing their big plot by which they attempted to thwart the revolution through sabotaging production.

- Message to All Shanghai People from the Shanghai Workers' Revolutionary Rebel General Headquarters and Ten other Revolutionary Mass Organizations, January 4, 1967

Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee call on you to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end; and hope that in this great proletarian cultural revolution and in this new situation, you will exert even greater efforts to go all out, aim high and at the present stage become the most outstanding models for the working masses of the whole country in grasping the revolution and promoting production.

- CPC Central Committee's Letter to Revolutionary Workers and Staff and Revolutionary Cadres in Industrial and Mining Enterprises throughout the Country, March 18, 1967

Education in the struggle between the two lines – the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line – must be carried out deeply in the armed forces. Study of Chairman Mao's works must be related to the struggle between the two lines. Extensively collect various concrete information exposing the reactionary line and the small handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

- Order of the Military Commission of the Central Committee, CPC, April 6, 1967

The Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee unanimously holds that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, personally initiated and led by our great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a great political revolution made by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

- Communiqué of the Enlarged Twelfth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, 31 October 1968

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the leadership of the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and in the process of extremely complicated and acute class struggle over the past two years, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized on a scale unprecedented in breadth and depth and, with the support of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and through

repeated trials of class strength, have finally smashed the bourgeois headquarters represented by Liu Shao-chi together with its agents in various places, which vainly attempted to usurp the leadership of the Party, the Government and the army, and have seized back that portion of power they usurped. Revolutionary committees have been set up in twenty nine provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, that is, throughout the country with the exception of Taiwan Province. Today this momentous Proletarian Cultural Revolution has won great and decisive victory.

- ibid

The Plenary Session holds that the tremendous victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have further demonstrated the profound and far-reaching significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- ibid

Our present Congress is convened at a time when great victory has been won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. This great revolutionary storm has shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant persons in power taking the capitalist road within the Party, with Liu Shao-chi as their arch-representative, and smashed their plot to restore capitalism; it has tremendously strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, tremendously strengthened our Party and thus prepared ample conditions for this congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

- Report to the Ninth National Congress of the
Communist Party of China, 1 April 1969

Chairman Mao has waged a tit-for-tat struggle against modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre and has inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao has comprehensively summed up the historical experience both positive and negative, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in order to prevent the restoration of capitalism, has put forward the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- ibid

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the broadest and most deep-going movement for Party consolidation in the history of our Party. The Party organizations at various levels and the broad masses of Communists have experienced the acute struggle between the two lines, gone through the test in the large-scale class struggle and undergone examination by the revolutionary masses both inside and outside the Party. In this way, the Party members and cadres have faced the world and braved the storm and have raised their class consciousness and their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. This great revolution teaches us: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must educate the masses of Party members on classes, on class struggle, on the struggle between the two lines and on continuing the revolution. We must fight revisionism both inside and outside the Party, clear the Party of renegades, enemy agents and other elements representing the interests of the exploiting classes, and admit into the Party the genuine advanced elements of the proletariat who have been tested in the great storm. We must strive to ensure that the leadership of Party organizations at all levels is truly in the hands of Marxists. We must see to it that the Party members really integrate theory with practice, maintain close ties with the masses and are bold in making criticism and self-criticism. We must see to it that the Party members will always keep to the style of being modest, prudent and free

from arrogance and rashness and to the style of arduous struggle and plain living. Only thus will the Party be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in carrying the socialist revolution through to the end.

- ibid

The Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is convened at a time when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao has won great victory. This great revolution has prepared ample conditions for the Congress politically, ideologically and organizationally.

- Press Communiqué of the Secretariat of the Presidium of the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1 April 1969

The shattering of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique is our Party's greatest victory since the Ninth Congress and a heavy blow dealt to enemies at home and abroad... Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society. The Liu Shao-chi renegade clique collapsed and the Lin Piao anti-Party clique sprang out to continue the trial of strength with the proletariat. This was an acute expression of the intense domestic and international class struggles.

- Chou En-lai, Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, August 24, 1973

In the last fifty years our Party has gone through ten major struggles between the two lines. The collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique does not mean the end of the two-line struggle within the Party. Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society. In the future, even after classes have disappeared, there will still be contradictions between the superstructure and the economic base and between the relations of production and the productive forces. And there will still be two-line struggles reflecting these contradictions, i.e., struggles between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous. Moreover, socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. For a long time to come, there will still be two-line struggles within the Party, reflecting these contradictions, and such struggles will occur ten, twenty or thirty times. Lin Piaos will appear again and so will persons like Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Teh-huai and Kao Kang. This is something independent of man's will. Therefore, all comrades in our Party must be fully prepared mentally for the struggles in the long years to come and be able to make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory for the proletariat, no matter how the class enemy may change his tactics.

- ibid

All Party members should conscientiously study works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao, adhere to dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combat idealism and metaphysics and remould their world outlook. Senior cadres, in particular should make greater efforts to "read and study conscientiously and have a good grasp of Marxism," try their best to master the theories of Marxism, learn the history of the struggles of Marxism against old and new revisionism and opportunism of all descriptions, and understand how Chairman Mao

has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the course of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution. We hope that through sustained efforts “the vast numbers of our cadres and the people will be able to arm themselves with the basic theories of Marxism.”

- ibid

The victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, promoted socialist construction and ensured that our country would stand on the side of the oppressed people and oppressed nations of the world. The cultural revolution has provided new experience on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; its historical significance is great and its influence far-reaching.

- Chou En-lai, Report on the Work of the Government, January 13, 1975

Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line.

- Chang Chun-chiao, Report on the Revision of the Constitution, January 17, 1975

FROM OUR PARTY DOCUMENTS

The great cultural revolution of China has declared a war on all kinds of selfishness, group mentality, revisionism, tailism of the bourgeoisie, eulogy of bourgeois ideology – the blazing impact of that revolution has reached India also. The call of that revolution is – Be prepared to resolutely make all kinds of sacrifices, remove the obstacles along the path one by one, victory shall be ours.” However terrible the appearance of imperialism, however ugly the snare laid by revisionism, the days of the reactionary forces are numbered, the bright sunrises of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought shall wipe off all darkness.

- Charu Majumdar, ‘Carry forward the Peasant Struggle by Fighting Revisionism’

China’s Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has taught us that to carry on an internal struggle is a task which we must undertake. To neglect this task will inevitably mean that the fruits of our work will be grabbed by the enemies of the revolution.

- Charu Majumdar, ‘The United Front and the Revolutionary Party’, July 1968

After the victory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China the flames of people’s war are burning more fiercely and have become more widespread in the colonial and semi-colonial world increasing the difficulties of the US Imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists at home and abroad. Revisionism stands exposed and its power to deceive the people is daily and rapidly decreasing.

- Charu Majumdar, ‘China’s Chairman is Our Chairman: China’s Path is Our Path, November 6, 1969

Our revolution is a part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which has consolidated socialism and proletarian dictatorship in China into the reliable base area of the World Revolution. Our revolution is taking place at a time when the great Ninth Congress of the great, glorious and correct CPC - the Congress of unity and victory - has tremendously inspired the international proletariat.

- Programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist),
adopted at the Eighth Party Congress held in May 1970

Under the leadership on Mao tse-Tung, the CPC launched an open debate to expose Khrushchev's revisionism in order to defend the unity of the world communist movement and to defend Marxism-Leninism from revisionism... It was this theoretical debate on the international communist movement between the Soviet Union and China that came to be known as the Great Debate. Under the influence of the Great Debate a worldwide polarization began in the international communist movement between the revisionist stream led by the CPSU and the revolutionary stream of Marxism-Leninism led by the CPC. This culminated in to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the GPCR. This brought about a new division on the entire world plane. New Marxist-Leninist Parties adopting Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought (now Maoism) as the guiding ideology began to take birth.

- MCCI, 'Some Aspects of Party History and its Stand on Building
A Unified Revolutionary Communist Party in India'

Those who recognise only the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat are not yet Marxists... only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat to the recognition of the continuous revolution in the superstructure keeping the aim of the consummation of the world revolution and building communist society as early as possible."

- CPI(ML)(PW), *Uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought:
Fight against the Revisionist Deng Clique*, 1983

The 9th Congress upholds the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The GPCR is the further development of the theory and practice of class struggle. It is the continuation of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The GPCR showed suitable form and method to defeat the attempt at restoration of capitalism, strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and steer clear the path of socialism. It showed the proletarian dynamism and resolute assertion of the proletariat which frightened the world bourgeoisie and encouraged the toiling masses and proletarian revolutionaries worldwide. It implemented mass line and developed it in a new height mobilizing hundreds of million peoples to fight back bourgeois concept permeated in all spheres of life- industry, agriculture, health, culture, social status of women, relation between mental and manual labour. It conducted revolutionary change both in superstructure and base. As a result of this in the course of fierce struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie newer and newer forms of organization developed. It evolved various suitable forms of organization/ platforms to ensure democracy to the people. It also helped emerge new forms of state structure which ensured people's participation more and more in state functioning. This was a unique experiment that shook the world. Though the restoration of capitalism took place in socialist China the historic significance of the GPCR cannot be underestimated. It will illuminate the path of proletarian revolution for ever. It is a powerful weapon in the hands of the international proletariat to continue the revolutionary practice to defeat every attempt of restoration of capitalism and to accomplish the desire goal. The 9th Congress of CPC symbolized the victory of GPCR and further consolidated the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

- CPI(ML)[PW], Ninth Congress 'Resolution on CPC', 2001

Internationally and within the communist movement in India, revisionism is the main danger. The struggle against all hues of revisionism and dogmatism must be advanced by basing ourselves on MLM, particularly deepening the struggle against Deng-Hua revisionism and its Three Worlds Theory and fully grasping the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

- CPI(ML) Naxalbari, 'Basic Positions of the CPI(M-L) Naxalbari'

The GPCR also gives the lesson of how those who didn't break with bourgeois democratic outlook could be revolutionaries during the new democratic stage but transformed into capitalist roaders once it was over.

- Letter of CPI(M-L) Naxalbari to CPN(Maoist), December 2010

Mao Tsetung initiated and led the historic GPCR which proved to be an earth-shaking event in the history of the international communist movement. It represented a new and qualitative leap forward in defending and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was directed mainly against the capitalist-roaders who emerged from within the socialist society itself. Their chieftains were especially concentrated in the leadership of the Party. During the GPCR Mao Tsetung's historic and powerful new slogan "It is right to rebel" and "Bombard the Headquarters" resounded throughout China and proved to be a clarion call against the capitalist roaders. This helped in rousing millions of people from below...

Com. Mao, through the process of integrating the truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution, developed this science to its higher and new qualitative stage. His theory of GPCR, which is meant for preventing the restoration of capitalism and consolidating and strengthening of Socialism, is the outcome of higher and qualitatively new synthesis and has no parallel in the history of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

So, it can be said that the GPCR is not only tremendous and higher contribution of Mao to the theory of Scientific Socialism, rather it is a theory of historic importance to prevent restoration of capitalism and advance the socialist society towards communism on a world scale.

- CPI(Maoist), *Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, 2007

There will be classes, class contradictions and class struggles even in socialist society, in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of uninterruptedly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will continue to advance the proletarian cultural revolution and through it fight and defeat every attempt by imperialism, modern revisionism and capitalist roaders to restore capitalism. Through this process, it will continue the struggle against any deformities introduced in the socialist system especially against bureaucracy and, thereby, continue to ensure that people participate in the state and are not alienated from either socialist state or the proletarian party.

- CPI(Maoist), *Party Programme*, 2007

*Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite,
and don't split; be open and aboveboard,
and don't intrigue and conspire!*

Call of the Central Committee on Four Upcoming Anniversaries



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

**Celebrate with Revolutionary Enthusiasm
and Spirit the Fiftieth Anniversaries of the
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the
Historic Naxalbari Armed Agrarian Uprising,
Centenary of the Earth-shaking October Socialist
Revolution and the Bicentenary of the Birth of
Karl Marx - the Great Teacher of the
International Proletariat!**

Call of the Central Committee

16 March 2016

**Dear comrades, friends of the Indian
revolution, workers, peasants, toiling
masses,**

We are going to celebrate four historically significant world proletarian anniversaries within a short span of time. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) – which is completing its fiftieth anniversary this year – was an unprecedented revolutionary mass upsurge in socialist China led by Mao and the Communist Party. It aimed at bringing

each and every sphere of the superstructure in conformity with the country's socialist economic base by arousing the vast working masses against the bourgeois headquarters in the party, army and government. It involved a bitter class struggle against the entrenched capitalist-roaders, it was a continuation of the anti-revisionist struggle of the Great Debate and marked a new stage in the development of the Chinese Revolution. It reinforced Mao's teachings that classes, class contradictions and

class struggle exist throughout the entire transitional period, revolutionary class struggle in the form of uninterrupted revolutions will have to be carried out under socialism and many cultural revolutions will be necessary in building and consolidating socialism on the path to communism. Internationally, it provided the conditions and the context for a decisive break with revisionism in the communist movements of many countries, formation of ML parties and a new wave of armed agrarian revolutionary wars. In India, the great Naxalbari revolutionary armed agrarian uprising – which is going to complete its fiftieth anniversary – was influenced and inspired by the GPCR. Naxalbari was a path-breaking movement under the leadership of comrade Charu Majumdar – one of the two great leaders, teachers and fore-founders of CPI(Maoist) comrades CM and KC – which marked a new beginning in the history of the country's democratic revolution.

The centenary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution is also approaching. It smashed the political power of the Russian capitalists and landlords through armed insurrection and for the first time established a new state of the working class and the toiling masses under the leadership of comrades Lenin and Stalin. It undertook the task of building socialism and laid the foundations of a socialist system, thus paving way for the transition to communism. Bolshevik Revolution was guided by the correct proletarian ideology of Marxism and a correct proletarian revolutionary party. It adopted correct strategy and tactics and carried out relentless struggle against right and 'left' opportunism within the party and the country. In the course of socialist construction and struggle against domestic and international opportunism, Marxism developed into a new and higher stage – Leninism or Marxism-Leninism.

The bicentenary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of the proletarian ideology, politics and scientific socialism and a great revolutionary philosopher who formulated an entirely new and thoroughly scientific theory and method, is also coming near. Marx showed a new path for humanity that

flourished in the process of bitter class struggle and in struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, economics, politics and culture as well as in struggle against right and 'left' opportunism within the working-class movement. It marked the dawn of a new epoch for humanity that was chained to class exploitation and oppression for thousands of years. This made the transition to a classless society – and hence to the realm of freedom – a real possibility.

These anniversaries are important occasions to reaffirm the irrefutable truth that the only alternative to wage-slavery, exploitation, oppression, domination, destitution, discrimination, disparity, devastation, crises and wars engendered by capitalism in the present world is socialism and communism. These are occasions to declare once again that in the fight against capital, its grave-diggers will bury the old decadent social relations and build new ones in their place in the course of building socialism to progress to a classless society. This will bring the prehistory of humanity to an end so that the real history of humanity can begin. Those who claim the permanence of capitalism and call socialism and communism obsolete wantonly forget that humanity has spent most of its past in a classless society, has emerged from a classless society and is destined to once again enter a classless society by passing through successive higher stages under the leadership of the proletariat – the newest, the last and the most revolutionary class in history. Those who point to the reversal of the Soviet and Chinese socialist societies willfully forget that the bourgeoisie too had to face innumerable defeats over several centuries before it could emerge victorious in its struggle for power against the feudal class.

Ever since the Paris Commune, every defeat has brought new lessons to the proletariat. Learning from mistakes and drawing lessons from defeats, the proletariat and its party as the vanguard of the proletariat and the leader of all oppressed social classes and social sections will relentlessly, doggedly and steadfastly pursue its struggle against the bourgeoisie to build socialism in one country or in several countries at a time depending on

the existing objective conditions by breaking through at the weakest link of imperialism, by defeating capitalism, imperialism and all reaction and finally establishing socialism on a world-scale to enter the stage of communism. Then, after all the necessary conditions have matured, the society will finally be able to inscribe on its banner – “from each according to his/her ability, to each according to his/her want”. So let us once again assert in the course of celebrating these anniversaries that there is no alternative to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM)! There is no alternative to proletarian party and leadership! There is no alternative to revolution and there is no alternative to socialism and communism!

Three of these anniversaries – the fiftieth anniversary of the GPCR, the centenary of the Bolshevik Revolution and the bicentenary of the birth of Karl Marx – are going to be celebrated by the proletariat in all the countries of the world. Our Party, CPI(Maoist), is a committed detachment of the international proletariat. It is guided by the scientific ideology of MLM and creatively applies this ideology in concrete revolutionary practice. It staunchly and relentlessly fights against revisionism of all hues, be it right-opportunism or ‘left’-sectarianism. It is engaged in a all-round protracted people’s war to successfully complete the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) in India as an inseparable part of the world socialist revolution. CPI(Maoist) joins the international proletariat in celebrating these important anniversaries. It is our bounden duty to celebrate these four great world proletarian revolutionary events along with all genuine Maoist parties and organizations and individuals of the world as a way of upholding, defending and applying MLM for advancing the NDR in our country. To celebrate these events is to grasp the revolutionary essence of Marxism, to emulate the spirit of the victorious proletarian revolutions of the past, to learn from the positive and negative experiences of the international proletariat, to draw lessons from their positive and negative experiences, to firmly rely on our strength for boldly advancing towards completing the NDR in our country in new social and revolutionary conditions by defeating imperialism and all reaction.

Therefore, these historic occasions should be celebrated by our Party to the best of our strength and ability in all places where we have our presence. All the party units should make preparations, put maximum efforts and issue calls to the vast masses to actively and energetically participate in these celebrations. We call upon them to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the GPCR from 16 to 22 May 2016, the fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari from 23 to 29 May 2017, the centenary celebrations of the Bolshevik Revolution from 7 to 13 November 2017 and the birth bicentenary of Karl Marx from 5 to 11 May 2018. If for any reason it is not feasible to conduct these events on the above-mentioned dates, they can be organised in any other time of the years of these anniversaries (The CC regrets the delay in issuing the call for the fiftieth anniversary of the GPCR due to unavoidable circumstances. It should therefore be celebrated at any time for a week between May 2016 and May 2017 with the aim of taking the great significance of GPCR to the masses). These occasions should be celebrated in the form of campaigns and as Anniversary Weeks.

Comrades,

The world capitalist system is giving rise to acute economic and political crises, destruction of productive forces, intensified exploitation and oppression and predatory wars across the globe. A great majority of the countries, nations and people are subjected to the growing stranglehold of imperialism, resulting in massive resentment as well as resistance among the people. The coming social upheavals are making all reactionaries of the world and their institutions shudder. Therefore they are adopting various repressive and deceptive tactics including widespread counter-revolutionary propaganda against MLM and socialist revolutions, new democratic revolutions and national liberation movements as well as all kinds of people’s democratic struggles to pacify and divert the boiling social discontent. In such a situation, our aim should be to confront the enemy on a wider plane encompassing ideological, political, military and all other spheres. The four upcoming revolutionary anniversaries should be utilized for this task. We should use

these occasions to ideologically and politically educate the country's workers, peasants, students, youths, intellectuals, the oppressed social sections including women, Dalits, Adivasis, oppressed nationalities, religious minorities and all other sections of the people. We should call upon them to rise to the occasion, unite and get organized strongly enough to resist the ruling-class onslaught by all possible means. We should appeal to the masses to participate in the new democratic revolution and join the people's war in large numbers and more militantly. The message that the new democratic revolution is the only way for the liberation of the vast toiling masses should be widely propagated among them. This is all the more crucial in the present times when Brahmanical Hindu fascism in serving the interests of the Indian ruling classes and imperialism is more viciously and widely attacking communism and all progressive and democratic ideologies, movements, cultures, values, aspirations and practices openly and in the parliamentary guise as a part of its general offensive against the people.

We will have to plan two types of programmes to celebrate these anniversaries. The first type is the programmes in rural areas organised by our Party, PLGA, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) and the revolutionary mass organisations (MOs). The second type is the open and legal programmes mainly in the cities to be organised by open organisations either independently or with other revolutionary-democratic forces and individuals. Our MO leadership should take maximum initiative for organizing these events. They should take the responsibility of chalking out the plan of these programmes with other friendly forces.

While the fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari uprising has international significance, it is basically related to the ongoing protracted people's war of our country. Pro-Maoist and radical democratic parties, organisations and individuals at all-India and state levels may be willing to come together with us for celebrating this anniversary if we make necessary efforts, take initiative and show necessary flexibility. While it is important to try to celebrate the occasion jointly with other forces, we should

not allow the dilution of the ideological-political essence and significance of Naxalbari. So it is better to unite with only those who broadly uphold Naxalbari without diluting its essence. They should generally be supportive of the ongoing revolutionary and democratic movements. Keeping the above in mind, maximum participation should be ensured. Our Central Committee appeals to the genuine proletarian parties, organisations and individuals of different countries as well as the friends, well-wishers and supporters of the Indian revolution to organise programmes celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of Naxalbari in the context of the ongoing protracted people's war in India.

Genuine Marxists as well as revisionists will uphold and celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the GPCR, the centenary of the Bolshevik Revolution and Marx's birth bicentenary. So there is a possibility of organizing these celebrations on an even wider basis by involving many more forces than the Naxalbari anniversary. But we should unite with only those Marxist and democratic forces which uphold the core teaching of Marx – the absolute necessity of smashing the old state by applying force to build socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat so as to proceed towards establishing a classless society, i.e., communism. This essential teaching of Marxism – which was first put in practice in its true spirit in Russia under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin – is ignored and rejected by the revisionists and neo-revisionists of the world and in this way they fight against Marxism in the name of Marxism in the interest of capitalism-imperialism. These forces are in existence in all countries today and they try to prevent the working class from advancing on the revolutionary road. Right-opportunist parties like CPI and CPI(M) in our country too do not adhere to this fundamental teaching of Marx. So it is better to avoid uniting with them for these celebrations under the Party banner. We must not forget for a moment that it is impossible to advance in the fight against the enemy with clarity, courage and unity in the ranks of the Party and the people without a relentless and uncompromising struggle against

opportunism of all hues. However, those intellectuals who uphold the essence of Marx's teachings, Bolshevik Revolution and the GPCR even while supporting such parties can be invited to our forums and programmes.

Since the fiftieth anniversary of the GPCR, the centenary of the Bolshevik Revolution and Marx's birth bicentenary will be celebrated internationally, efforts should be made to organize at least one international program in any of the Indian cities on a date agreeable to all participants. We can utilize the event to talk about all the four anniversaries. Likewise, Indian revolutionaries should participate in international programmes organized by genuine revolutionary forces abroad to celebrate these events.

It is to be expected that the enemy will try to create all kinds of hurdles everywhere to prevent us from organizing these anniversaries, be it in the urban or the rural areas. We should be prepared for this and make realistic and practicable plans to conduct these programmes successfully in spite of such disruptionist efforts. We should organize public meetings, hall meetings and seminars in urban areas by depending on our mass base and by mobilizing the people. All programmes should aim at taking the ideology of MLM, its relevance in the present conditions and in the future and the Party's ideological-political line to the vast masses. MLM should be presented as the alternative to all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies such as economism, reformism, parliamentarism and post-modernism, etc. The necessity of the world proletarian revolution, the unprecedented world-historic achievements of the Russian and Chinese revolutions and the great advancements they made in the history of humanity in spite of later betrayals by the revisionists, renegades and capitalist-roaders emerging from the Party leadership should be highlighted. The reasons behind the collapse of the Soviet, Chinese and other socialist/new democratic states along with measures to prevent similar reversals in the future should be discussed deeply and comprehensively. Our views on the scientific theory of the proletariat emerging from the struggle for production, class-struggle and scientific experiment, the

need for applying proletarian leadership method and style of work as well as the application of class-line and mass-line should be placed before the broad masses of the people.

In addition, the Party, PLGA, organs of people's power/RPCs and revolutionary MOs should widely propagate the achievements of India's revolutionary movement among the masses. All party committees from top to bottom along with primary units and Party fractions in MOs/united front forums should conduct theoretical study and political classes on MLM, Bolshevik Revolution, GPCR and the NDR of our country during these occasions. New recruitment campaigns should be taken up by the Party, militia and MOs to replenish their strength with new forces. Torchlight/armed processions, rallies, public meetings and group meetings etc. should be conducted in the Guerrilla Zones by following all methods of defense and secret functioning considering the likelihood of enemy attacks to disrupt our programs. Similarly, rallies, hall meetings, public meetings, seminars, etc. should be organised by the mass organisations in the cities by mobilizing like-minded forces and the people. Our Party, PLGA, RPCs and revolutionary MOs should prepare propaganda material, give interviews to the media and publish theoretical-political books and special issues of magazines in concerned languages. Books on revolutionary theory and history should be published/republished. Propaganda material of different kinds and all other publications should in general have a simple and creative style of presentation easily understandable to the masses. Fractions in MOs should pay special attention and take initiative in this regard. Special attention should be paid to bring out books/booklets/collection of articles written in a lucid style for enhancing the understanding of MLM, Bolshevik Revolution, GPCR and our Party history among the cadres and activists. Given the significance of the four anniversaries, attention should be paid to enhance the ideological-political level of the Party.

Revolution is a festival of the workers and the toiling masses and its victories are the fruits of their heroic sacrifices. The upcoming anniversaries too are the festive occasions of

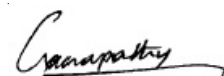
the masses. So their active participation and involvement should be ensured in all our propaganda, mobilization and programmes. We must strive to involve the people to the widest possible extent so that they embrace these events as their own and enthusiastically enhance their role in the country's ongoing revolutionary war.

Comrades,

The international proletariat shoulders the historic responsibility of guiding the vast masses in thousands of battles against the enemy through a tortuous path to establish a classless society. Wielding the invincible weapon of MLM – the present-day Marxism – it will continue to advance towards fulfilling this historic mission. Our Party as one of its detachments has achieved some significant successes in the last fifty years since the outbreak of the great Naxalbari armed agrarian uprising by passing through a thorny path with many ups and downs, twists and turns on the path of protracted people's war. These achievements have been won by creatively applying MLM to the concrete conditions of the country, fighting back the continuous fascist repression of the ruling classes in collusion with the imperialists and with the blood of thousands of heroic martyrs. We should utilize the upcoming anniversaries to uphold and defend these achievements and draw inspiration from them to make further advancements in the people's war. We should equip, educate and remould the Party and the masses with MLM on these occasions and place before them the positive and negative

experiences and the lessons learnt from the mistakes in our practice. We should strive to enhance the enthusiasm and fighting spirit of our Party, PLGA, RPCs, MOs, friendly forces and the masses through these anniversaries. We should try to gain the confidence of the friendly forces and the people and to win them over to our side so that they can be united vastly and strongly against the common enemy. We should make all efforts to propagate new democracy, socialism and communism as the only path of liberation from the chains of exploitation, oppression, bondage and enslavement. This is the path shown by the great international proletarian teachers Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. This is the trail blazed by Bolshevik Revolution, Chinese Revolution and Naxalbari. On the occasion of the four upcoming anniversaries, let us renew our pledge to continue advancing on this path! We call upon all Party and PLGA units and the revolutionary mass organisations to propagate this Call extensively among the people and successfully conduct the anniversary celebrations with their active involvement and participation.

With revolutionary greetings,



(Ganapathy)
General Secretary
CPI(Maoist)

Call of the Central Committee on Martyr's Memorial Week

**Observe the Martyr's Memorial Week
from 28 July to 3 August 2016 all over the country
in commemoration of the immortal martyrs!**

**Red salutes to all the heroic martyrs who have
laid down their lives by daringly fighting till the
last breathe to advance the revolutionary
movement in the new conditions!**

*Call of the CC, CPI(Maoist) to its Entire Party
Ranks, PLGA Commanders-Fighters, Revolutionary
People's Committees, Revolutionary Mass Organisations
and the Revolutionary Masses on the Occasion of the
Martyr's Week from 28th July to 3rd August 2016*

4 June 2016

Comrades, revolutionary masses!

The attacks of the exploitative ruling classes on the revolutionary movement in India have increased to an unprecedented level. While the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has been termed as the biggest threat to the internal security of the country for more than last ten years, their attacks have been intensified in the last two years under the leadership of the Brahmanical Hindu fascists. Nearly 150 comrades from the revolutionary camp have been martyred in these attacks between August 2015 and June 2016. They include Central Committee Member of our Party Comrade Sridhar Srinivasan (Vijay/Vishnu/Maasa),

Comrade Chirag (Eastern Bihar-Northeastern Jharkhand Special Area Committee Member), Comrade Gottimukkala Ramesh (Lacchaal) (Alternative Member, Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee), Comrade Shivanand Bhagat (Sylvester Minz, Jharkhand Regional Committee Member), Comrade Sunil (Basant, Odisha State Committee), Comrade Soni (South Bastar Divisional Committee Member), Comrade Rajita (North Gadchiroli DVC Member), Comrade Sonadhar (Darbha DVC Member), Comrade Sunil (Maad DVC Member); Area Committee members including comrades Harati, Nirmala, Navatha, Sarita, Ramshila, Jogi, Minko, Anita, Rago, Bhaskar,



Com. Ramesh (Alt.SZCM, DK) Com. Sunil (SOCM, OS) Com. Chirag, (SACM, BJ) Com. Sanjay, (ZCM, BJ)



Com. Soni (DVCM, DK) Com. Sunil (DVCM, DK) Com. Kamlu (CyPC-level) Com. Ravi (DVCM, AOB)

Pramod, Lalsu, Ajay, Ganesh, Chandu, Sunil, Dulal etc. and a large number of rank and file Party activists such as comrades Sondi, Lacchi, Soni, Bheeme, Rajitha, Ranju, Shruthi, etc. Our CC humbly pays red homage to all of them with bowed heads. All of them are heroic fighters who have sacrificed their lives by courageously taking on the enemy till their last to realise the revolutionary aspirations in the process of sustaining and advancing the revolutionary movement in the present new conditions amidst unprecedented attacks by the police and paramilitary forces. All of them are worth remembering, all were selfless servants of the masses who defied death. We take pledge to fight with even more boldness, initiative and Bolshevik resolve than before to realise the aspirations of the immortal martyrs.

Majority of the comrades who were martyred in the last one year have laid down their lives in courageously confronting and fighting back enemy attacks, some comrades

were martyred due to old age and illness while a few other comrades were martyred in accidents. They include members of the Party, People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA), revolutionary people's committees (RPCs), revolutionary mass organisations and the revolutionary masses. Among them are the top leaders of the Party. The number of heroic women comrades, who were martyred in the process of firmly standing in the battlefield of the revolutionary movement with the aim of women's liberation and thereby emerging as ideals for the country's women, is also considerable. We have won victories in the people's war this year as a result of these sacrifices. Let us remember each one of the martyrs on the occasion of the martyr's week. Let us recall their revolutionary legacy. Let us harness the power of the youth and increase their role in the revolutionary movement by presenting the martyrs as the ideals for the coming generations and making them capable of shouldering their responsibilities.



Com. Charles (DVCM, TG) Com. Gopal (ACS, AOB) Com. Kamala (ACM, AOB) Com. Anand (ACM, AOB)



Com. Jairam (PPCM, AOB) Com. Navatha (ACM, TG) Com. Chandu (PPCM, DK) Com. Nagesh (ACM, TG)

Comrades!

28 July is a memorable day in the history of the revolutionary movement in India. It is a day to remember the fore-founders and leaders of our Party comrades Charu Majumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee along with thousands of heroic martyrs. This is the day of martyrdom of Comrade Charu Majumdar. He was the foremost among the comrades who stood steadfast in establishing the new party CPI(ML) with great spirit by bravely giving leadership to the Naxalbari revolutionary movement, concretely analysing the objective situation in our country and placing the line of armed agrarian revolution on the order of the day under the influence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). He was martyred due to untold torture by the police in custody 12 days after he was treacherously arrested on 16 July 1972. As a symbolic commemoration of the memory of this heroic fighter and remembering thousands of heroic martyrs of the Indian revolution, our Party has been observing 28 July as the

memorial day of the immortal martyrs. As a detachment of the international proletariat, our Party is leading the oppressed masses of the country by carrying forward the revolutionary legacy of the martyrs and defeating innumerable enemy suppression campaigns in the last fifty years. We all take pledge to carry forward the revolutionary movement of India on the path of victory with even more firmness and resolve by upholding this legacy and moulding the Party with the highest consciousness according to the situation.

For some time, Dandakaranya and Jharkhand have been at the centre of the countrywide armed attacks carried out by the police and paramilitary forces to wipe out our Party. Of the two types of tactical measures adopted by the Indian ruling classes in all the struggle areas of the revolutionary movement, armed attack rather than fake reform is principal. The drama of reforms is being enacted merely to earn legitimacy for these armed attacks. Police and paramilitary forces



Com. Raju (PPCM, DK)



Com. Arjun (ACM, DK)



Com. Ganesh (PPCM, DK)



Com. Ramshila (PPCM, DK)



Com. Aarti (ACM, MR)



Com. Nirmala (ACM, MR)



Com. Sarita (ACM, MR)



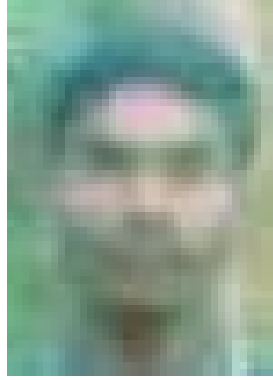
Com. Minko (PPCM, DK)

are attacking many villages daily. Attacks, extensive violence and torture are continuing on the Party, PLGA and the revolutionary masses. Similarly, arrests and custodial torture of the rural peasant masses in large numbers is going on. The prisons located in these areas are being filled to the brim with detainees and prisoners, so much so that these prisons are overfilled by more than four times their actual capacity. It is becoming more difficult for the jailed prisoners to procure bail. Many Party leaders, activists and peasants are falling victim to severe punishments. Incidents of mass rape of women irrespective of their age perpetrated by the government armed forces with impunity on the rise. The dead bodies of women too are being subjected to brutal treatment. The police are carrying out widespread propaganda by announcing bounties of thousands and lakhs of rupees on the heads of thousands of people starting from village-level people's militia activists up to the top Party leadership. The governments are introducing a number of attractive surrender policies. They are

deploying covert machinations through different conspiracies to wipe out the Party leadership. False encounters are being staged on a scale that has surpassed all other forms of repression. From the claim made by Chhattisgarh Police that six encounters took place daily on an average just in the two months between December 2015 and January 2016 in the rural areas of Bastar Range, we can understand the kind of white terror the government mercenary forces are trying to unleash everyday amidst the sound of bullets and mortar shells. Top police officers are making vile propaganda against the revolutionaries in order to boost the morale of the police and paramilitary forces. The state is not sparing those who courageously stand on the side of the people and express their empathy, those who think about the problems of the masses and those human rights activists who consistently oppose state violence and bring such incidents to light. In this way, the state is harassing and torturing by putting the label of Maoism on all those writers, artists,



Com. Budral (ACM, DK)



Com. Ukkas (ACM, DK)



Com. Pandu (DK)



Com. Mangru (PPCM, DK)



Com. Rame (PM, DK)



Com. Sanni (ACM, DK)



Coms. Manoj and Pande (former Party workers, DK)



journalists, doctors, professors, students, human rights activists, intellectuals, traders and particularly the well-wishers of the Adivasi people who oppose state violence in different ways. They are being targeted through various types of physical assaults. The revisionist and parliamentary parties too are not spared when they take the side of the people by condemning police atrocities and opposing state violence. The police and paramilitary forces are dismissing these atrocities brought to light by the democrats and opposition parties by terming them as false. Top police officials have already started telling the media that all these activities are attempts to break the morale of the police and paramilitary forces. Operations are being conducted in the name of 'Bastar Mission-2016' in Dandakaranya and with different names in Jharkhand, Odisha, Bihar, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. There never was such a situation in our country. It is a testing time in such situations to fight, stand with the masses and work with a spirit of exceptional revolutionary sacrifice.

These kinds of situations are generally quite normal for any revolutionary movement. It is impossible to advance the struggle to its next higher stage without fighting and overcoming them. We should understand today's conditions and sacrifices that have emerged from the revolutionary movement through fifty years of consolidation and expansion. The blood spilled by our revolutionary comrades and the people will not go in vain and we should all brace up for higher level of struggle in the future – this is the demand the revolutionary movement of India is making of all of us.

The exploitative state machinery is imposing a war on the people. The people are living in the battlefield for the last five decades. From that time till the present, the state machinery is pushing the people towards a higher level of warfare. In addition to the police and commando forces, the masses are also learning to fight the paramilitary-commando forces who are equipped with



Com. Laden (ACM, DK)



Com. Sonaru (ACM, DK)



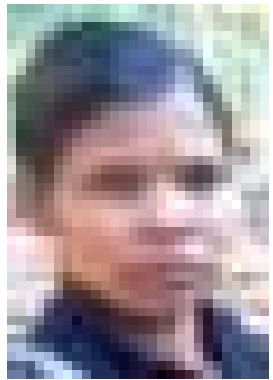
Com. Lacchi (PLGA, DK)



Com. Lakke (PLGA, DK)



Com. Deve (PM, DK)



Com. Janki (PM, DK)



Com. Lakshman (PM, TG)



Com. Anita (PLGA, TL)

higher level of military training and modern weapons. For this, they are advancing the defensive war by joining the PLGA, getting armed and by taking military training under the leadership of the Maoist Party. ‘Garuda’ commandos positioned in military helicopters are officially practicing strafing from the skies since October 2015 in the rural areas of Dandakaranya and Jharkhand. The people are learning to protest against such measures as well. The masses are learning from their experience of the last five decades that they will have to get accustomed to these kinds of repression and prepare for an even higher level of struggle and war in the coming days. Herein lies the political significance of guerrilla war. The people have learnt what fascism really is through their experience of confronting Salwa Judum, Sendra and other kinds of counter-revolutionary campaigns. How serious a threat Brahmanical Hindu fascism is to the revolutionary movement is getting understood by the masses during the rule of the Hindutva fascists. Life experience is teaching the masses that in order to live it is necessary to struggle

and that sacrifices are inevitable in struggle. This is the right time for the Party, PLGA and the organs of people’s governments to fight with higher unity by reposing great trust on the people and fully trusting the people’s war, by acquiring better training, skills and enthusiasm than the past and by voluntarily submitting to discipline with the highest level of political consciousness.

The number of comrades who were martyred accidentally this year in the context of using explosives is considerable. How big the losses can be from small mistakes in the process of practice and of mastering the use of new weapons – this is the lesson the martyrdom of our comrades is teaching us. We have had similar experiences in 2006-07 as well. These accidents are not unavoidable. Our experience tells us that we can prevent these kinds of accidents through correct training, necessary precaution and the implementation of technical rules. Let us make efforts to advance the people’s war by acquiring better skills and thereby preventing this kind of accidents.

Compared to the past, there has been an increase in the inhuman atrocities committed by the khaki-clad mercenaries on the revolutionary women guerrillas and the rural Adivasi and peasant women. From children to the elderly, women of all ages are being subjected to police brutalities. These neo-Nazi khaki forces are treating even the dead bodies of the women martyred in the war in an unprecedentedly inhuman way. We have seen bare-bodied protests by women against the sexual perversion of the khaki forces in different parts of the country. But here there is no alternative other than to brace up for war by uniting with other democratic forces in opposition to the inhuman treatment meted out to the dead bodies of women by the khaki forces. The police and paramilitary forces committed many atrocities on the women of villages like Pollevayi, Medri, Budigini and Gellur in Dandakaranya. The bodies of our comrades who laid down their lives by getting armed and fighting against the exploitative

state machinery – starting from Jamli, Anita and Seema to martyred Comrade Shruthi of Telangana – which became the targets of the brutal atrocities of imperialist and feudal patriarchy have left their experiences for us. Witnessing that the Hindutva-Sanghi, Moditva-fascist forces – who hold Manusmriti to be more sacred than anything else – can resort to any kind heinous acts against women, it is necessary that the oppressed women fight the class war on an even wider scale, in a more organised manner and with a higher level of political consciousness and Bolshevik resolve against patriarchy.

The masses in the areas of the revolutionary movement are not fighting only for their own lives. They are struggling to recover the dead bodies of their relatives who were martyred in encounters and false encounters in the course of challenging and fighting the enemy. After bringing back the dead bodies through struggle, the masses are performing the last rites of the peasants killed

Letter to his parents and sister by martyred comrade Gopal (Azad), Galikonda Area Committee Secretary, East Division, Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC)

Comrade VRL Gopal (Azad) was martyred along with two other comrades Anand and Kamala in an encounter with the police between Marrikala and Palasamudram villages in Ucheedipalem panchayat area of Koyyuru mandal, Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh on 4 May 2016. He was born in a revolutionary family in Karkawanipalem village of Pendurti mandal in the same district. His father has been involved in the revolutionary movement, one of his sisters is engaged in revolutionary mass work while another sister is in the movement as a fulltime worker. Party workers used to frequent his family which influenced Gopal in his childhood. He grew up in a revolutionary atmosphere and with revolutionary ideas. He left his engineering studies and joined the party as a professional revolutionary. He worked as a courier for the party since 2002. He performed this responsibility skilfully and secretly. In 2006 he got arrested. The enemy tortured him severely but he did not reveal any party secret. After he was released he contacted the party. He was sent by the party to join the movement in East Division, AOB in 2009. He developed there as a party member, squad member, squad commander, ACM and finally as the secretary of Galikonda Area Committee. He worked in this area from the beginning of his guerrilla life till his martyrdom. He was involved in the people's movements against bauxite mining, seizure of coffee plantations, etc. He participated in many military attacks on the enemy forces. In his last battle too, Comrade Azad fought the enemy valiantly and laid down his life in the battlefield, thereby allowing other comrades to retreat to safety. We are presenting the following letter by him (next page) to his parents and younger sister just months before his martyrdom as it aptly captures and represents the undying Bolshevik spirit of the martyrs of Indian revolution. It is translated from the Telugu original - MIB

by the police in arbitrary firing in the forests and their bodies dragged away to the police stations like animals. But under severe repressive situations the people are sometimes unable to recover the dead bodies of the comrades even after fighting. The Party committees and organisations will have to conduct the last rites by bringing back the dead bodies of each and every comrade who gives their life in the revolutionary movement.

The masses are not fighting for their existence alone. They are fighting with a spirit of sacrifice to safeguard the revolutionaries who are struggling for them. Providing information about the enemy to the Party and the guerrillas, supplying them food and drink,

safeguarding the comrades for many days during enemy combings, safely guiding them from one place to another, looking after the ailing, young and the old, etc. too are part of the responsibilities of the masses in the present situation. The local RPCs (Krantikari Janatana Sarkars) are providing full protection to the revolutionaries by taking this responsibility entirely upon themselves. In the places where the revolutionary movement has not yet been organised, it is necessary that the comrades who are working in such highly dangerous conditions concentrate all their attention in doubly increasing the revolutionary role of the masses in the people's war by consolidating the mass base.

My revolutionary greetings to dear mother and father and younger sister,

Even though we are physically apart, we are together mentally every second. The revolutionary ideas which have sprouted since my childhood are giving me energy to withstand the intensity of the people's war. The revolutionary war in the country is in a critical situation today. In spite of this, the revolution has reached a stage where it is impossible for the state to root out our Party (the critical mass). The enemy is presently using LIC (Low-Intensity Conflict) strategy against our movement. Mainly, and most dangerously, it aims to damage and degrade the morale and mental strength of the revolutionaries and destroy the movement through this strategy. This is what is called a psychological war. As a part of this, the enemy is propagating that our ideology as obsolete, that the situation in the country has changed and that it is no longer possible to win the revolutionary war by defeating the powerful Indian armed forces. The enemy is counselling the revolutionary families and are saying that the parents whose children are in the movement need support and help from their children. With such arguments and persuasions, the enemy is pressurising the families to call back their children from the revolutionary war. But we know that you will not call me back under the influence of such propaganda.



Mother! In a most barbaric and conspiratorial manner the class enemy is creating difficulties for the revolutionary families and are pressurising them to make their children agree for surrender. The enemy is destroying the houses, farms and businesses of such families. Even if the enemy carries out extreme atrocities, face them with steely determination. You should tell them that revolution is in the blood of the exploited classes. You will be surprised that amidst lakhs of police forces our party and the movement are working among the masses and are advancing. The toiling masses who have never known a life of prosperity are surrounding and protecting us. The people

Comrades!

It is necessary to deeply and in totality understand the dialectical relation between the intensifying military attacks of the enemy in the present situation and the situation of growing economic and political crisis (revolutionary situation) in the country and the world. It is necessary to clearly understand the internal relation between the enemy's growing aggressiveness and the Brahmanical Hindu fascist rule. The capitalist, imperialist forces are reeling under the present conditions that reminds of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The ruling classes of our country are trying to rapidly and aggressively implement the second stage of economic reforms (neo-liberal

economic policies). These destructive economic policies are affecting the country's economic, political and social conditions in an unprecedented manner. But the country's ruling classes are spreading different kinds of illusions among the people with extensive propaganda using ever new adjectives to hide this impact. Selling out the country's wealth in the world market by travelling to nearly 40 countries in the last two years of NDA rule, Modi is earning his name from the imperialists as a good 'event manager' and a clever 'salesman'. This is 'Make in India' in Modi's language. By propagating that this is a policy to provide employment to the unprecedented 65 percent of the youth force available in our country, a number not to be found in any other

think that their lives should change for the better and the exploitative system should be smashed, for which the people's war is the only way. With the belief that without the people's war the people will have nothing, they are protecting us like the pupils of their eyes. Facing enemy torture with great willpower, we and the people are daringly studying the mistakes and weaknesses of the enemy and are smashing them in appropriate time. Filled with class hatred for the enemy, the masses are feeding us. They are undergoing much repression to help us, but they are instructing us never to stop the war and urging us to destroy the enemy completely. What is the reason for this? This war has brought them a lot of difficulties, but in so many places this war has also brought them power. They are witnessing and tasting the fruits of revolution for the first time. They are not ready to give up these revolutionary achievements.

Mother! All the areas of the country are not of the same kind. That is why people's war does not develop equally in all areas. So there is a relation between the weakening of our movement in some states and its strengthening in some others. Victory, defeat, again victory, again defeat ... final victory – this is what our theory tells us. All people's wars in history has followed this law and finally attained victory. We too will be victorious. The enemy's troops are in their lakhs in our country. However, our exploited people are in their crores. In this just people's war, the final victory will be to the people.

How are the younger sister, Manasa, Raju and your grand daughter Aradhya? I hope that Aradhya is growing up with good values and revolutionary views and will be on the side of the exploited classes in the revolution.

Mother and father! Please do not feel disheartened thinking that you are not directly participating in the people's war. Only with your support we are staunchly continuing in the revolution. You worked for the revolution to the extent your strength allowed. You are still on the side of the revolution. Your role now is to encourage us to fight daringly and to bless us to achieve higher successes.

With revolutionary greetings,
Your beloved son
Gopal
23-01-2016

country of the world, 'Make in India' is presented as the best medicine for India's development. Much propaganda is being conducted among the masses by bringing schemes like 'Digital India' and 'Skill India', etc. The propaganda of the world financial institutions that India's rate of development is the best in the world is hitting the roof. This propaganda is encouraging foreign direct investment (FDI) to come to India. But where is the place for the investment of foreign capital in our country in the main? It is in rural India. The maximum possibility of its development is mainly in the revolutionary strategic areas in the country which are full of vast natural resources. But the 'highly dangerous forces' of the country that are building an alternative state system for many decades through people's war in these important areas remain a big terror for the domestic and foreign sources of exploitation. It is impossible to realise their dreams without destroying the revolutionary forces and the new state system the people are building. The last two years of rule by the Hindutva-fascists have emerged as an important turning point in the struggle that is going on for the last fifty years. That is why there has been an intensification of the enemy's fascist military attacks at present.

Our revolutionary movement is not facing the enemy's present attack in the military field alone. Our revolutionary movement simply cannot fight the enemy by becoming isolated. We are confronting the destructive policies of the ruling classes with the participation of the country's crores upon crores of people. The economic policies of the Brahmanical Hindu fascist forces in power in the country are day by day bringing more and more problems to the lives of the vast masses of the country's people. They are facing severe problems due to price rise, unemployment, hunger, lack of education and healthcare, imposed drought, etc. The peasants of our country are committing suicide at a rate nowhere else to be seen in the world. On the other hand, the country's religious minorities, Dalits, Adivasis and secularists-democrats are primarily becoming the targets of the attacks of Hindutva policies pursued by the incumbent

Hindu fundamentalists. In a situation like this, it will not take much time for the unmasking of the illusions of Moditva among the people during the coming years of NDA rule. Modi government is spending each moment in dedicatedly working for the development of the big corporate houses. In spite of making many efforts to ensure that this truth is not exposed, scandals like Vijay Mallaya are tumbling out on the one hand, while the people from the universities to the villages of rural India, from the workers in the cities to different social sections, are joining the people's movements going on in different forms. There is a clear polarisation of forces in the country. It is not possible for Narendra Modi-Amit Shah-Mohan Bhagwat ruling-clique to suppress them. No matter to what extent the exploitative ruling classes implement cruel repressive policies, it has been repeatedly proved in history that they fail ultimately. That is why, a strong secret Party, an energetic PLGA and a vast mass base should be built according to the favourable objective situation for the revolution without getting identified by the enemy. Then the people's war can advance rapidly by safeguarding itself. The revolutionary movement can advance on the path of victory to realise the aspirations of the martyrs. This will be our real homage to them.

The police and paramilitary forces can conduct various types of suppression operations in our struggle areas to disrupt the holding of the revolutionary occasions. On the other hand, organising counter-revolutionary rallies by forcibly mobilising students of big villages is going on as well. The martyr's memorial week has to be successfully completed by keeping these things in mind. We are also observing that the police are propagating the memorial week of the immortal martyrs as a bandh called by us. We should widely propagate that we do not call any bandh during this week.

Print the life histories of the immortal martyrs in large numbers. Build memorial columns in their memory. Decorate the old ones. Invite family members of the immortal martyrs to programmes held on this occasion

continued on page 62



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



**Advance the New Democratic Revolution by intensifying
and expanding the guerrilla war throughout the country!**

**Defeat the enemy's all-round attack (LIC) -
Operation Green Hunt - through the people's war!**

*Call of the Central Military Commission (CMC) of CPI(Maoist)
to all the Party units and members, red commanders and fighters of the
PLGA, people's militia forces, representatives of the Revolutionary People's
Governments as well as the leaders and activists of the Revolutionary Mass
Organisations and the toiling masses to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the
formation of PLGA from 2 to 8 December 2015 with revolutionary fervour!!*

Dear comrades and the people,

Central Military Commission (CMC) conveys red salutes to all the Party units and members, red commanders and fighters of the PLGA, people's militia forces, representatives of the Revolutionary People's Governments as well as the leaders and members of the revolutionary mass organisations. CMC conveys its revolutionary greetings to you all for the victories won by you during the last one year in the service of the Indian people engaged in the struggle against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and the big landlord classes in order to make the New Democratic Revolution successful. CMC calls upon you to

celebrate the 15th anniversary of the PLGA from 2 to 8 December with revolutionary fervour in the vast rural areas as well as in the urban areas with the aim of mobilising the masses in political movements and resistance struggles on a large scale in order to defeat the enemy's all-round attack – Operation Green Hunt (OGH) – by intensifying and expanding the guerrilla war-people's war in the entire country.

On this occasion, CMC conveys its revolutionary greetings to the jailed comrades for their firm resoluteness who have converted the dark dungeons of prison cells into arenas

of struggle by courageously facing enemy torture and holding high the banner of struggle. It promises to make all possible efforts for their release so that they can once again jump into the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, our PLGA is advancing along the path of protracted people's war shown by Comrade Charu Majumdar and Comrade Kanhai Chatterjee – the fore-founders, teachers and great leaders of the Indian revolution. As a detachment of the international proletarian army of the World Socialist Revolution, it is making untiring efforts under the leadership of the Party to mould itself in order to effectively respond to the new challenges faced by the Indian new democratic revolution. It is advancing along the path made crimson by the blood of thousands upon thousands of martyrs to fulfil the dreams of our beloved leaders and immortal martyred comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

In this process, bravely fighting against the enemy's encirclement-suppression-mopping up attacks to advance the people's war in our country, nearly 65 of the best daughters and sons of the proletariat have laid down their invaluable lives since last December till the present [Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) – 17, Dandakaranya (DK) – 25, Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB) – 7, Odisha – 8, two in Telangana, two in Paschim Banga and two in Maharashtra]. 13 of them were women comrades.

During this period, 20 comrades including BJSAC (State Committee) member Comrade Sarita Ghanju alias Urmila, Sub-zonal Committee member of Gumla district Comrade Bhupesh, LOS commander in DK's North Bastar Comrade Phool Singh, comrades Kummu (Rajju) and Pramod in Gadchiroli, ACM Comrade Miria Gota in Kalahandi of Odisha and Comrade Junu (Kunwar Murmu) in Paschim Banga have spilled their blood in fierce encounters with the enemy.

Among the attacks carried out by our PLGA forces on the enemy, comrades Ramvilas and Tipa Das were martyred fighting the enemy heroically in the Chaibasa Jailbreak-2 while Company-2 commander Comrade Maasa and another comrade were martyred in Ponjer ambush in DK.

41 comrades were murdered by the enemy in fake encounters, while 15 people belonging to the masses too lost their lives in fake encounters in BJ, DK, Odisha and AOB. In this way, even the people's right to life is crushed by the armed forces of the fascist government. Two comrades along with Bihar RCM Comrade Chandan and Company-6 Platoon Commander Comrade Dharmu Yadav were killed after torture when they got injured in different encounters in DK; Bihar RCM Comrade Sylvester was killed in a fake encounter near Dipatoli in Garhwa district after cruel torture; former law student of Hyderabad Comrade Vivek along with two Adivasi women comrades were killed in one-sided enemy firing near Lankapalli of Bijapur district of DK, Darbha DVCM Comrade Sonadhar was killed along with two sympathisers near Bijughat of Malkangiri district, Odisha and five people's militia members were killed in different fake encounters. Four comrades were killed by state-sponsored secret killer gangs like TPC, PLFI and JJMP in BJ.

We have lost four top-level senior comrades due to old-age and health-related problems in the last one year who gave leadership to the revolutionary cultural, democratic and human rights movements. Comrade Sundar Marandi (46), one of the founders of the revolutionary cultural movement in Jharkhand, had dedicated his entire life to mass culture. He breathed his last soon after release from prison due to cerebral malaria contracted in a state of illness resulting from intense torture in jail. Comrade Chalasani Prasad (83) of Andhra Pradesh upheld Marxist politics since the days of the undivided Communist Party. Inspired by the Naxalbari-Srikakulam struggles, he dedicated his life and family to the interest of the oppressed masses. Facing many ups and downs in the revolution with clarity of understanding, he made important contributions to the movement for four decades. He continued to sing 'the fire of revolution' till his death due to heart attack. Comrade Balipireddy Ramamurthy (66) continued to stand as a firm foundation for the revolutionary movement till the end by

working as a leader of the human rights movement in Srikakulam district and was martyred due to ill health. Working as a leader of the human rights movement in Maharashtra, Comrade Sebastian raised his voice to question every injustice perpetrated by the exploitative ruling classes on the oppressed masses and remained firm till the end in his opposition to the unjust war waged on the revolutionary movement. Their martyrdom is an irreparable loss to the Indian revolution.

In addition, Comrade Basanti Didi of Kolkata in Paschim Banga died of cancer while some other comrades in different states too were martyred due to illness.

These immortal martyrs have sacrificed their invaluable lives in the interest of the oppressed masses. Their martyrdom is higher than the Himalayas. Our movement has suffered irreparable loss due to their martyrdom. Let us pay our red homage to these immortal martyrs with bowed heads! The path of people's war in India has become even more crimson with their sacrifice. Let us pledge to take the revolutionary struggle to the next higher stage by shouldering the aims and aspirations of these immortal martyrs and to transform their dreams into reality.

Achievements in the political-military field:

The following are the progresses achieved by the PLGA forces under the leadership of our Party particularly in the political-military field in the last one year:

Not even a day had passed since the celebrations of the 14th anniversary of the PLGA when the political prisoners lodged in Chaibasa jail in Jharkhand carried out a daring jail-break. Fighting with great courage, 15 comrades freed themselves from the enemy's clutches. Our comrades have proved that even if the enemy raises several barriers to secure its prisons, it is possible to break these barriers and win freedom if we fight with courage, daring and firm determination by identifying the enemy's weaknesses.

On the other hand, starting a month before the last PLGA anniversary celebrations and continuing till January 2015, we succeeded

in opening up a new battlefield in the tri-junction of the three states of Western Ghats (Keralam, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu) as a part of PLGA's politico-military propaganda campaign by overcoming many hurdles and by keeping the initiative in our hand. These armed propaganda actions carried out courageously and with lightening speed targeting the Indian government, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and multinational corporations disoriented the enemy and raised the curiosity of the masses towards the people's war.

The main, secondary and base (militia) forces of our PLGA successfully carried out six big, six medium and 55 small actions in BJ, DK (Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra), AOB, Odisha, Telangana and Keralam states in the last one year by identifying the weaknesses of the enemy and utilising them. It is worth noting that 13 of these actions were carried out through booby-trap explosions. The big actions include Salaiya-Thakthakwa in BJ, Kasalpara, Paralkot-Havalbaras, Pidmel and Bachel in DK and Jambai Ghat in AOB; among the medium actions Itkhori in BJ, Marsukola, Hekker, Ponjer ambush and Basing raid in DK; Gurram Vidhi attack in AOB are notable. More than 70 policemen were killed and over 120 were injured in these actions. PLGA seized 41 weapons and nearly 5,000 bullets and other war material from the enemy. Five police officers including a CRPF Deputy Commandant and an SI were killed while four other officers were injured. PLGA countered many enemy attacks during this period. Among them, Jharjhara counter-offensive attack is noteworthy. With better coordination of its three forces and by trying to increase the participation of the vast revolutionary masses in various tactical counter-offensives and military actions, the PLGA under the leadership of our Party could frustrate the enemy's plan to wipe out the revolutionary movement.

Among the big actions, in Kasalpara (Sukma) and Pidmel (Sukma) attacks PLGA forces fought the enemy for relatively long periods, wiped them out and seized weapons by using improved military skills and formations, keeping the initiative in its hand

and improving fire-and-movement formations. Paralkot-Havalbaras ambush was successfully conducted on enemy forces riding motorcycles by offering a bait and trapping them in a planned way using the element of 'surprise' effectively. In Salaiya-Thakthakwa (Gaya), Bachel (Dantewada) and Jambai Ghat (Malkangiri) ambushes, PLGA utilised mine warfare system in an effective way. PLGA had attacked enemy forces one day before the Salaiya-Thakthakwa attack. There was a heavy concentration of enemy forces as a result. In spite of this, PLGA displayed its military capabilities by attacking the enemy during dusk, a time which was favourable to us, on a highway where the enemy felt secure, where the Cobra forces voluntarily used vehicles, which was frequently travelled by them and was not included in their list of dangerous routes.

Among the medium type of actions, Itkhor (Chatra) ambush was successfully carried out in the dusk just 100-150 meters away from Itkhor Police Station, days after the enemy was celebrating the peaceful completion of the Jharkhand assembly elections. In the same way, our PLGA forces conducted the heroic Marsukola (Narayanpur), Hekker (Gadchiroli), Ponjer (Bijapur) and Basing (Narayanpur) attacks on the enemy forces which used to maintain its hold in the struggle areas through regular 'area-domination' operations. The action which destroyed the ashram of counter-revolutionary Hindu fanatic Simhachalam and wiped out his main devotee responsible for the murder of the beloved leader of the masses and East Division DVCM Comrade Sarath along with a militia comrade in AOB created tremors in the enemy camp and gave confidence to the masses.

The relatively large number of small actions conducted this year put a stop to the 'cordon and search' operations and 'area-domination' exercises carried out by the enemy from time to time. PLGA also seized some supply vehicles of the enemy during these actions. In this way, it was proved once again that in revolutionary guerrilla war-people's war, small actions conducted on a large scale will play a primary role in putting the enemy on the backfoot.

Jharjhara (Khunti) counter-attack was a heroic action carried out by the PLGA forces with the help of the revolutionary masses on thousands of police and paramilitary forces which were deployed with the nefarious design of wiping out the central leadership of our Party. The enemy acknowledged the injury of only one policeman to hide its failure, but the truth is that at least three Cobra jawans were killed and two were injured in this heroic counter-attack. The enemy was surprised when the PLGA forces retreated safely with the leadership without any loss.

In 52 actions conducted by the PLGA and people's militia forces this year, 62 ring-leaders and goons of the state-sponsored secret killer gangs like the TPC, JPC, PLFI and JJMP, betrayers, police informers, people's enemies and reactionaries were wiped out, bringing relief to the people. As a part of this, the wiping out of TPC ring-leaders Rabindra Ganjhu and Kuldip Yadav, JPC ring-leader Guddu Ganjhu and betrayers like Shivaji and Badru in DK and Mahadev Mandavi in Mainpur of Chhattisgarh-Odisha Border shocked the enemy. Their end is a big setback for the enemy as they had previously worked at different levels in our Party, were aware of the functioning of the Party and played major roles in providing the enemy with secret information.

Thousands of people including workers, peasants and the middle classes participated in political struggles against the pro-imperialist economic liberalisation policies of the central and state governments and the bills and policies against the oppressed people such as land acquisition bill, reforms in labour laws, etc. Thousands of people took to the streets and carried out movements against Polavaram mega dam in Andhra Pradesh (AP) that will displace lakhs of people, against mining of Mali-Deomali and Niyamgiri in Odisha, against bauxite mining in Visakha Agency Area of AP, against Raoghat railway line project, against mega projects such as Bodhghat dam, Budhiari Maad, Surjagarh and Dilmili steel plant in DK, against Dalma Eco-sensitive Zone in Dalma of Greater Ranchi, against Saraikela steel plants and Deoghar power plant in Jharkhand, to save the fertile

land of the peasants from pollution caused by the effluents in the downstream areas of large-scale mining undertaken by multinational and state-owned corporations leading to environmental destruction. Bandhs were called by different Party committees on around 20 occasions against Operation Green Hunt – the unjust war imposed by the enemy. Our revolutionary masses, people's militia and PLGA forces conducted 49 demolition actions of during these bandhs and other occasions in which the property of the enemy classes worth several crores were destroyed.

In all, around 170 actions were carried out this year. This means that we could sustain the revolutionary movement amidst enemy repression by conducting one action in every two or three days through the PLGA, by organising and actively uniting the people and the people's militia in different economic and political struggles and in resistance struggles against state violence. In short, the following are our achievements during this period:

(1) The celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the formation of CPI(Maoist) were successfully concluded in the country amidst intense enemy repression and attacks under the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. During these celebrations, our party line was taken to the entire Party, PLGA, united fronts and the vast masses. The Party was presented as an alternative revolutionary force emerging in the country. The victories won by it and the challenges for the struggles ahead were highlighted. Many fraternal parties and organisations abroad celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Party with proletarian internationalist solidarity.

(2) We have started and are conducting Bolshevisation and field training campaigns aimed at advancing the revolutionary struggle by making the Party, PLGA, different levels of RPCs and revolutionary mass organisations relatively stronger. In some areas the ideological level of the leading forces and cadres of the Party, PLGA and United Fronts as well as the red commanders and fighters has improved.

(3) The revolutionary movement could be sustained by wiping out the police, paramilitary and different commando forces to some extent through small, medium and some big tactical counter-offensive attacks with the collective effort of Party committees, PLGA and the united front. Attempts were made to counter the enemy's psychological war through revolutionary propaganda.

(4) New leadership was elected through the conferences of various revolutionary mass organisations that were concluded in some areas by consolidating the mass base. Elections to various levels of RPCs were conducted by organising people's democratic power. New forces were inducted into the revolutionary movement in some areas.

(5) Thousands of people carried out a number of movements in the red resistance areas, guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases for *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat* and *adhikar*, against the new land acquisition act, opposing state violence and displacement. Land levelling campaign was successfully organised in some areas under the leadership of the RPCs.

(6) Three months of politico-military propaganda campaign was successfully conducted in the tri-junction (Keralam-Tamil Nadu-Karnataka) area. Revolutionary propaganda and resistance actions conveyed the message of armed revolution to workers, peasants and other masses, especially the youth.

The enemy, after observing and getting worried by our achievements in fighting back its tactics of all-round attack to some extent, has as usual completed all preparations for launching another massive all-round attack by trying to concentrate all its forces as per a new plan and new tactics.

The plan and tactics of the enemy:

Identifying our Party and the revolutionary movement as "the biggest threat to internal security", the NDA government at the centre led by Modi has prepared the outline of an unprecedented all-round "attack and reform programme" and is carrying out the

third phase of Operation Green Hunt with the aim of completely wiping us out in order to implement the policies in favour of imperialism. Modi-Rajnath Singh-Arun Jaitley-Amit Shah-Sangh Parivar clique is directly leading this attack. Home Minister Rajnath Singh and Internal Security Advisor K Vijay Kumar who are directly leading the unified commands of the states in which our movement is going on, are regularly monitoring and reviewing these counter-revolutionary activities.

The central and state governments are concentrating their attention on deploying special armed forces in our struggle areas and in recruiting local Adivasi youths into special police, paramilitary forces and the Indian Army. In addition to the 106 battalions of paramilitary forces (including nine Cobra battalions), 37 more Special Indian Reserve Battalions/Indian Reserve Battalions have been deployed. Nine more will soon be deployed. Twenty thousand vacant positions in the police force are being filled in Jharkhand and former Maoists are being recruited to the police forces. CRPF has deployed two batches of women commandos in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh with 35 personnel in each batch. Adivasi Paharia Battalion is being formed in Jharkhand. Bihar government has decided to recruit one thousand Adivasi women and deploy them in our movement areas. A battlefield hospital has been established for the first time at Chintalnar in Sukma area of Bastar and the police forces are being given field training.

400 police stations and camps in our movement areas have been fortified. Two crore rupees are being spent on each of them for this. 16 police stations are being fortified in the recently opened battlefield of the tri-junction (Keralam) area.

The enemy is regularly operating secret drone operations by establishing drone stations near the struggle areas. Enemy drones are flying in our struggle areas as per its requirements and gathering information.

By expanding OGH throughout the country with the objective of crushing people's opposition, protests and resistance by using all

means, the enemy is claiming that open organisations, intellectuals, democrats and social activists 'helping the Maoists' are more dangerous than the PLGA forces led by our Party. In this way it is proving that there is no place for democratic voices. In order to completely weaken the revolutionary movement by cutting the relation between the rural and the urban movement in the name of destroying the 'Maoist urban network', many people have been labelled as 'Maoists', charged with sedition and terrorism-related sections under the draconian UAPA and put behind bars. Terrorising Vani Xaxa - a PhD student from Delhi who had come to research on the lives of the Adivasis of Bastar, forcing out documentary filmmaker and human rights activist Deba Ranjan from Malkangiri district of Odisha, etc. are a part of this.

It has become a common practice to conduct 'area-domination' exercises by coming deep into the interiors of the movement areas, to conduct information-based attacks on specific targets, to carry out inter-district, statewide and inter-state joint operations by various police and paramilitary forces, commandos, SPOs and secret killer gangs. Intense repression is being carried out by the government ground forces with all kinds of air support from helicopters. Army helicopters are rehearsing the conducting of night-attacks on villages. The National Intelligence Grid (Natgrid) is being strengthened to coordinate the sharing of information throughout the country. Surveillance over emails and mobile services has been enhanced. Surveillance is also being intensified in the struggle areas with the aim of wiping out the leadership at every level. Accordingly, secret and informer networks are being strengthened and expanded in the movement areas by spending crores of rupees. Suspected mobile numbers are being constantly scanned and monitored. In Chhattisgarh, the Anti-Naxal wing of the police in collaboration with Infotech and Biotech Promotion Society (Chips) has launched a special android mobile app to strengthen their network for gathering information on Naxal activities. Implementation of the LIC tactics to wipe out the movement by damaging the leadership

continues. That is why the number of arrests, fake encounters and face-to-face encounters between the PLGA forces and the police are also on the rise. The enemy has caused us serious losses in this process by arresting our Party's Central Committee Member Comrade Muralidharan (Ajith), several SC/SAC comrades in different states and many comrades of the lower-level committees.

The enemy is giving out-of-turn promotions to those who inflict losses to us by standing in the forefront in committing atrocities against the people and the revolutionaries. They are conducting special operations to search, identify, unearth and diffuse mines/IEDs planted by the PLGA. By conducting continuous attacks on the villages, they are arresting the villagers on a large scale and disarming the people's militia.

The arrested persons are being framed on multiple false charges under the provisions of draconian laws. Severe torture is being used to suppress the rights of the political prisoners and to silence those who question the jail authorities. Women, old and ailing prisoners as well as their family members are being treated very inhumanely. They are threatening that those who support or give help will be arrested and killed. They are issuing warnings that those who take the path of violence should expect to face such treatment. The policy of not granting bail to the Maoist underground prisoners for long durations is being implemented without the slightest let-up. Even when bail is granted, they are being immediately re-arrested at the prison gates.

Surrender policy is being implemented in all the struggle areas in a big way. Recently, *India Today* magazine has exposed a big 'surrender for jobs' scam in Jharkhand in which hundreds of people in the movement areas who have had no connection with our movement were shown as 'surrendered Maoists' by forcing them through threats and enticement of jobs. This is a manifestation of the undeclared policy of "as much money as are the number of surrenders." Such surrenders are continuing in DK, Odisha, AOB and all other struggle areas. The number of these fake surrenders is many times larger than the actual surrenders. In this way, the enemy

is trying to break the confidence of the revolutionary masses and their well-wishers.

The enemy is carrying out fake reform and 'Civic Action Programmes' under the treacherous Integrated Action Plan (IAP) with the aim of isolating the revolutionary movement from the masses. By draining nearly 50,000 crore rupees, the enemy is concentrating on building roads, bridges and mobile towers to swiftly carry government forces to their targets and facilitate the speedy exchange of information. It is constructing school buildings, community halls, Anganwadis and health centres with the provision of converting them into police camps. As per the conspiracy of driving a wedge between the masses, the policy of sanctioning contract works worth two crore rupees to the local youths in the name of employment-generation and the policy of giving contracts for road construction only to local people is being implemented. It is strengthening its secret informer network by gathering the youths in the name of training them in various skills and giving them jobs. Keralam government has begun a new scheme under which every person in the struggle area would be distributed foodstuff worth 100 rupees everyday, as if revolutionary ideology is spreading merely due to hunger.

Crying hoarse about the 'success' of 'Saranda Action Plan' in Jharkhand, the enemy is implementing similar 'Action Plans' in ten districts of Jharkhand including Latehar (Sarayu), Palamu, Porahat, Parasnath etc., in Sunabeda of Odisha, in Sukma, Bijapur and Dantewada of Chhattisgarh and in Gadchiroli of Maharashtra with the objective of expanding these Plans to our movement areas throughout the country. The real aims of these Action Plans can be well ascertained from a recent report by an angry CRPF officer who wrote that the reality was that the people got little benefit from 'Saranda Action Plan'. The enemy is trying to get the multinational companies and big corporations implement their 'responsibility' to the people and the society through their 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR) (They are spending 800 crores on this scheme in our movement areas this year). This is in order to dampen the anger of the masses against the exploitation and

oppression of these companies. It is encouraging tourism in the areas which it has brought under its control through anti-Maoist operations. For instance, by transforming Saranda in Jharkhand into a tourist destination it is importing poisonous imperialist culture with its decadent values. The aim behind this is nothing but to separate the masses permanently from the revolution by degrading them morally.

The enemy is encouraging counter-revolutionary activities in the struggle areas in the name of 'development' by basing itself on a small section of the people who have got isolated from the masses. The police are forcing school children and women to take out protest demonstrations with slogans like 'Don't organise bandhs', 'Don't stop development', etc. and misleading them in order to bring 'social pressure' on the Maoists. In Jharkhand, the enemy is forming counter-revolutionary organisations like Gramin Ekta Manch, Dalma Anchalik Suraksha Samiti, etc. and instigating them to carry out 'sendra' (collective hunting) of Maoists when they visit their villages. In Bastar of Dandakaranya, the son of Salwa Judum's notorious leader Mahendra Karma has announced the launching of Salwa Judum-2 with the total support of the central and state governments. The enemy is forming and strengthening state-sponsored counter-revolutionary secret killer gangs, particularly in Bihar, Jharkhand and Paschim Banga. 17 gangs of this kind are working there. Recently, the former Chief Minister of Jharkhand Hemant Soren had to admit publicly the role of the government in running these gangs.

The enemy is continually carrying out psychological war to push back the revolutionary movement ideologically and politically. Recently, much hue and cry was made in the media about making the states 'Naxal-free'. "Maoists can never win", "they don't have the right leadership", "Naxalism is in its deathbed in Bihar-Jharkhand", "Jharkhand will be made a 'Naxal-free state' within six months", "Bastar region of Chhattisgarh will be transformed into a 'Naxal-free zone' within a short time" – the enemy is making this kind of counter-

revolutionary propaganda. It is doing such announcements merely to boost up the confidence of the big corporate houses and conclude MoUs with them. "Maoist leadership is committing atrocities against women cadres", "they are forcing children to take up arms", "Maoist lessons are being taught in Maoist schools in the villages", "children are being thrown into a dark abyss by training them in arms and setting them on the path of violence" – with such vile propaganda the enemy is trying to break the confidence of the masses on the revolutionary movement. The government propaganda and communication machinery and the corporate media are being extensively used for this.

In order to give a befitting reply to the tactics of all-round attack (LIC) launched by the Indian exploitative ruling classes with the aim of wiping out our people's war, PLGA Commissions and Commands led by our Party should concentrate their attention on formulating the tactics of an all-round counter-offensive attack according to the specific conditions of their state and areas by basing on our achievements and experiences so far and by taking lessons from our past mistakes. These counter-tactics should be implemented with firm determination, a sense of responsibility and self-sacrifice.

PLGA will certainly surge forward and advance the protracted people's war!

PLGA is invincible because it follows the leadership of CPI(Maoist). It implements the correct general line of New Democratic Revolution through protracted people's war. It connects the revolutionary armed struggle with the armed agrarian revolution which is the axis of the New Democratic Revolution. It connects the people's war with the united front, which is one of the means of continuing various forms of legal struggle. Under all circumstances, the united front mobilises the vast masses of people to isolate, weaken and destroy the enemy. PLGA connects the armed struggle to the agrarian revolution and aids the process of creating its mass base. It implements the minimum land reforms (through rent reduction, ending usury, increasing

agricultural wages, confiscating barren, forest and temple land, increasing the support price for agricultural and forest produce and promoting production) and maximum land reforms (by confiscating the land of the big landlords, comprador bureaucratic capitalists, multinational corporations and companies and distributing it equally among landless agricultural labourers, poor and lower-middle peasants) according to the development of the revolution and as per the specific circumstances. It forms different levels of revolutionary people's committees (organs of people's democratic power) and builds mass organisations of the workers, peasants, Adivasi people, women, Dalits, youths, children, cultural activists and others.

Party units in the PLGA and village Party units remain at the forefront of all activities by paying attention to form anti-feudal united fronts in the rural areas with the aim of forming a countrywide anti-imperialist and anti-feudal united front. The Party and the PLGA should always implement class-line and mass-line. They should serve the people, particularly the most oppressed people. They should arouse, mobilise and organise the masses for their rights and interests. It is necessary to pay more attention to depending on the masses for making the Indian New Democratic Revolution successful. Revolutionary successes can be achieved in the people's war by depending on mass movements, correct Party leadership, effective command system in the PLGA and military skills of the red commanders and fighters.

Our Party has advanced the movement in the last 48 years by organising itself and defeating the enemy's 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns and the counter-revolutionary LIC policy. It has taken forward the movement by identifying the mistakes and weaknesses of the Party and by reorganising it on the basis of correct tactics (by taking lessons) in situations when it had suffered setbacks and became passive. But this process was not a straight-forward one. Many times it won victories, faced serious difficulties, took steps back and suffered defeats. It continued to advance along the path made crimson by the bloody sacrifices of thousands of Party

members, PLGA fighters and revolutionary masses. It has continued on the path of success with innumerable sacrifices by hitting out at the enemy heroically and wiping it out. All these are difficult experiences acquired by adopting the style of protracted and difficult struggle in the face of brutal enemy repression amidst many people stepping back from the movement and some becoming betrayers .

After analysing the condition of the countrywide movement, CC-4 meeting had concluded that the movement is going through a difficult situation. But the situation is not the same in every state; in addition, there are differences in the situation in different areas of all the states. Some are going through a difficult situation; some are in setback. From the CC down to the leadership and cadres of the lower-level Party committees, PLGA and the united front have taken the responsibility of identifying the limitations and weaknesses and rectifying them with patience. The CC has formulated the tactics for advancing the Indian revolutionary movement. In the same way, different levels of committees of the Party, PLGA and united front in different areas too have taken necessary decisions. The limitations and weaknesses are being rectified within definite timeframe by conducting bolshevisation and field training as well as special self-criticism - criticism meetings. When we face serious limitations, it is necessary to give more time and attention to rectify them. But for overcoming the difficulties posed by the enemy and to advance the armed revolution by keeping in mind the objective material conditions, it is important to have the firm conviction that it is the revolution which will finally be victorious.

The enemy is keeping surveillance particularly on the Party, PLGA, RPCs and revolutionary mass organisations in Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Paschim Banga and the tri-junction (Keralam-Tamil Nadu-Karnataka) states.

The central and state governments are adopting the tactical line of 'win-hold-win' and 'clear-hold-consolidate-develop' by deploying lakhs of central and state police and paramilitary forces under Operation Green

Hunt (war on people) and are implementing the policy of developing local battalions with the idea of a three-pronged attack (intelligence operation, psychological war, armed attacks) in order to wipe out our revolutionary movement from our country. They are carrying out violence on the Party, PLGA, RPCs, mass organisations and the masses in the form of rocket and mortar attacks, firing from helicopters, firing from machine gun, massacres, forcibly vacating villages with the aim of permanently occupying their lands, displacement, torture, abduction, threats, large-scale arrests, fake surrenders, increasing the bounty on revolutionaries, destroying crops, burning down houses and looting property, domestic animals and poultry, occupying schools/community halls/village health centres and buildings, and other forms of human rights violations. But none of the police officers guilty of such crimes have been punished either by the earlier UPA government, the present Modi-led NDA government or the courts.

That is why the commands and guerrilla units at all levels will have to intensify their tactical counter-offensive attacks with firm determination with the objective of defeating the third phase of OGH. They will have to enhance their multifaceted capabilities to fulfill all their duties. Each and every opportunity to wipe out the enemy will have to be utilised. When the enemy's attack is concentrated on one of the guerrilla zones, incisive attacks on the enemy will have to be intensified in all other guerrilla zones. When the enemy attack is concentrated on any one of the regions, decisive attacks on the enemy will have to be intensified in all other regions. If there is a reduction in the number of enemy forces in an area, we should increase our attacks with the understanding that the enemy is concentrating its forces against our comrades in all areas.

If the enemy forces capture any of our guerrilla zones, we will have to make preparations for wiping out the enemy through counter-encirclement of the weak enemy units by capturing the vast vacant areas between deployed enemy units in order to keep the initiative in our hand. We can ambush

enemy's patrol teams and supply vehicles. The enemy units should not get any respite – for this, all the enemy units should be harassed as much as possible, particularly at night. Actions should be conducted against enemy attacks through tactical counter-offensive attacks with adequate formations by discussing in the concerned command after analysing the extent of the enemy-occupied territory, the strength of the enemy forces and the probable duration of their occupation.

The people's war can be advanced one step further by organising the mass base, intensifying the tactical counter-offensive attacks, advancing the armed agrarian revolution, increasing production for improving the living standard of the masses and production for the PLGA (people's army) and by expanding the revolutionary movement and the guerrilla war into newer areas.

Immediate tasks of the PLGA:

In order to achieve the central, main and immediate task taken up by the Unity Congress-9th Congress of our Party – to realise the aim of transforming DK and BJ into base areas, develop guerrilla war into mobile war and PLGA into PLA – our immediate task will be to transform the new expansion areas into red resistance areas, red resistance areas into guerrilla zones and the developed guerrilla zones into base areas.

The following immediate tasks have been formulated by keeping our requirements and demands in the present situation into consideration and with the objective of fulfilling them. These are in conformity with the present state of the new democratic revolution and the programme officially declared by our Party.

(1) We will have to intensify our tactical counter-offensive attacks vastly:

If we have to intensify our tactical counter-offensives, definite plans will have to be prepared in the Commissions and Commands at all levels. The condition of the enemy will have to be assessed in each and every plan. The nature and aims of each and every counter-offensive attack will have to be analysed by

taking into consideration their further expansion. Our strengths and weaknesses, and in the same way the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy, will have to be clearly identified. The tactics of the enemy will have to be deeply studied and counter-tactics will have to be formulated to defeat them. Objectives will have to be set at every level, opportunities will have to be availed and guidelines will have to be issued in order to establish different types of coordination, gain initiative and conduct guerrilla activities.

First of all, betrayers and counter-revolutionary gangs which have become impediment for the advancement of the revolutionary movement will have to be disarmed. Particularly in Bihar, Jharkhand and Paschim Banga, the main ringleaders of these gangs will have to be liquidated by exposing them before the masses and with their active involvement. In addition, we will have to concentrate our attention on identifying and destroying the enemy's informer network.

We should conduct only such actions where our victory is guaranteed. For this, it is essential that all the necessary preparations are made. We will have to utilise the element of surprise. We will have to conduct actions to wipe out the enemy and seize their weapons in order primarily to increase the strength of our weaponry. We will have to severely dent the morale of the enemy by inflicting serious losses.

In order to come out of the difficult situation that the revolutionary movement is facing throughout the country, we will have to wrest the initiative from the enemy by annihilating it relatively through an intensification of small and medium types of PLGA actions and through big and centralised actions whenever such opportunities arise.

Along with annihilation actions, we should also carry out actions that bring serious pressure on enemy troops, their morale and logistics. We will have to use snipers, improvised rockets, grenades, landmines and booby-traps. By using them more extensively, we can achieve better results in our ambush tactics. We will have to repeatedly conduct harassment actions on the enemy patrol parties,

cordon-and-search forces, fortified camps and out-posts. In the same way, we will have to conduct tactical counter-offensive actions with coordination inside and outside the movement areas by utilising the weaknesses of the enemy.

We will have to keep our PLGA's combat units on the ready to conduct tactical counter-offensive attacks on the enemy whenever it enters our territory and carries out secret or psychological war, 'reform programmes' and combat operations. Our PLGA conducts combat actions even when the enemy units pursue their secret operations, psychological warfare actions and 'Civic Action' programmes in the form of 'peace and development' programmes. When the enemy embarks on an attack, it is prepared to confront any of the PLGA forces on its way. At such times we will have to attack one column or detachment of the enemy units with our snipers and landmines, and if the conditions are favourable, with our rifle units as well.

We will have to increase our capabilities by taking steps such as deployment of Special Action Teams (SAT) and Road Action Teams to conduct lightning strikes on special enemy targets in such areas like highways, towns and suburbs, fortified camps and villages with outposts, etc. where there is no movement of PLGA rifle units. Comrades organised in secret units will have to provide real-time intelligence and other assistance to the teams carrying out actions.

2) We will have to continue the task of expanding and consolidating the mass base

We will have to implement the maximum and minimum revolutionary land reform programmes as per the condition of the struggle in the rural areas according to the programme of the armed agrarian revolution so as to safeguard, continue and develop the involvement of the vast peasantry and the masses of people in the new democratic revolution in India. In the same way, public campaigns will have to be carried out on the basic problems of the oppressed masses of India – on *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat-adhikar*, forcible land acquisition, corruption, displacement, poverty, unemployment, price rise, violation of human rights, drought, flood,

environmental destruction, exploitation and oppression of women, Dalits, religious minorities and the oppressed nationalities, production, health, cleanliness, public security, enemy repression, etc. Such campaigns will play an important role in expanding and organising the mass base by keeping the functioning of the revolutionary mass organisations and the RPCs active.

If these mass movements and campaigns are ignored and mass mobilisation is only limited to fulfilling the material needs of the full-time guerrilla units, then the mass base will become a victim of passivity and weaken. Various revolutionary organisations, various levels of RPCs, village party committees, cells and branches will then frequently become afflicted with liquidationist tendencies like bureaucracy. That is why large-scale campaigns will have to be carried out in the rural areas by taking up revolutionary land reforms and other mass movements. Peasants and other vast masses of the people will have to be organised in large numbers in mass movements at the inter-district, state, inter-state and Regional Bureau levels.

People's militia units must be formed with initiative to resist repression and safeguard the upsurges in the mass movements in our struggle areas. Special attention will have to be paid to arm the militia. The NDA government, which is pursuing all those policies that benefit the imperialists, feudal forces and comprador bureaucratic capitalists, is resorting to fascist methods to introduce (through unequal treaties) and aggressively implement these anti-people and anti-country treacherous policies that go against the interests of the workers and peasants, the middle classes and other oppressed people. Attention will have to be paid to carry out movements on the political issues emerging at the country and international levels. We will have to intensify and expand the guerrilla war against the enemy by basing on a mass base which is constantly developing and getting organised.

3) To organise the PLGA

Some LOS, LGS, Platoons and Companies of the PLGA have suffered damage due to intense enemy attacks. Party

committees, PLGA Commissions and Commands will have to put serious efforts to reorganise them. For this, adequate number of red commanders and fighters of the PLGA and arms will have to be allocated from relatively stronger areas in a planned manner. Some members should be allotted to those units that lack the required number of members according to Party committee decisions. Some comrades will have to be transferred in order to bring qualitative change to every unit. All PLGA units will have to be ideologically, politically, militarily and organisationally strengthened to effectively counter the enemy attacks. The number of desertions will have to be limited to the minimum. By increasing the sources of recruitment at every level in all areas, we should make the programme to organise them successful. New units will have to be increased. The programme to expand to new areas will have to be made successful. But the enemy is spawning many conspiracies to make this programme unsuccessful. Young men and women are being arrested beforehand and tortured; they are being killed in fake encounters. These kinds of conspiracies by the enemy will have to be defeated through people's resistance and by coordinating it with the people's war.

In order to keep the PLGA agile and disciplined, Party cell in every PLGA unit, Platoon Party Committee (PPC) or Branch in every Platoon, Company Party Committee (CyPC) in every Company, Battalion Party Committee (BnPC) in every Battalion, etc. will have to be formed and their regular meetings will have to be held. In addition, Platoons will have to follow and implement the rules of *Platoon Handbook*, Companies will have to follow and implement the rules of *Company Drills* and Battalions will have to follow and implement the rules of *Battalion Drills*; competence in them will have to be achieved by practicing these drills; *Platoon Handbook* and *Company Drills* will have to be moulded into daily routine and the comrades will have to get accustomed to them.

Bolshevisation campaign will have to be conducted to overcome the non-proletarian trends in the PLGA and self-criticism-criticism will have to be conducted in all meetings.

PLGA is an army of the workers-peasants and the toiling masses; it is guided by revolutionary and communist ideology. That is why its lifestyle is, and should be, that of plain living and hard labour. Civilian mentality (the mentality of the general/common masses) will have to be shunned and a revolutionary army mentality will have to be inculcated.

While continuously taking part in different kinds of tactical counter-offensive attacks and taking up revolutionary studies during spare-time, the process of giving Party membership to the red fighters of the developing PLGA units (Squads, Platoons, Companies and guerrilla Battalions) should be speeded up by increasing their understanding about the qualifications of a Party member and conducting classes on MLM, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution and New Democratic Revolution at the right time. Party committees, PLGA Commissions and Commands should make efforts to mould those few comrades and fighters who suffer from impetuosity or despondency and lose their self-confidence. They should be moulded into scientific and resolute communist fighters by identifying these problems early, giving them confidence about their future and motivating them in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

4) We will have to develop the entire Commission and Command system at each and every level:

Under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Party, CMC issues guidelines to develop the level of the people's war throughout the country, coordinates the Eastern and Central Regional Bureau-level (operations) Commands and the SAMCs/SMCs, and helps in strengthening those areas by sending cadres and material where there is a dearth of them.

If the Commissions and Commands in the battle zones are not properly conducted, i.e., their meetings are not regularly held or they do not independently fulfill the responsibilities of their respective departments properly, then neither can they understand the enemy by studying its strategy and tactics nor can they

prepare their fighters for counter-offensive actions in order to effectively fight back enemy attacks by preparing their own strategy and tactics. In one word, the war cannot be conducted. It is because these are the only organisations or departments that formulate war policy and implement it. That is why the military Commissions and Commands should work in a correct way. Responsible members of the Commissions and Commands will have to give prominence to their departments and implement them.

We will have to continue the process of organising and consolidating the PLGA at all levels. We will have to pay attention to the formation and training of the people's militia units. Militia Commands will have to be strengthened. SACs/SZCs/SCs, SAMCs/SMCs and Regional Commissions should be systematized and actively take part in their departmental responsibilities. Those Regional, Divisional/District/Zonal, Sub-zonal and Area Commands which have become inactive in various States/Special Areas/Special Zones will have to be reorganised and strengthened with adequate numbers so that they are capable of functioning regularly and fulfilling their duties independently. Different departmental units will have to be developed under their leadership according to the requirements in order to increase the strength and abilities of the people's war and the PLGA. Instructor teams (training schools), intelligence, medical, communication teams, tailoring units, arms-ammunition-explosives, technical departments, supply/logistics departments will have to be developed further.

We use democracy as a tool to increase the unity in the PLGA. Comrade Mao said, "We will have to establish democracy in the army to an extent; this is the method of establishing unity between officers and soldiers. The fighting capabilities of the army increases through this." That is why democratic methods such as discussions, unity-criticism-unity, convincing and education, etc. will have to be adopted. In this way the unity, discipline and fighting capabilities of the PLGA will have to be enhanced.

5) We should be good at learning:

We will have to learn lessons from our positive and negative experiences and even from the enemy at the right time. We use these experiences in order to grasp the laws of the people's war, deepen the understanding of it, formulate policies and guidelines and timely develop our plans and skills in waging guerrilla war.

Very little ideological-political understanding can be seen among some Party leaders and cadres due to the lack of regular ideological-political study classes in the Party and the PLGA. One of the reasons for some Party members and leaders, PLGA fighters and commanders deserting or falling in the trap of non-proletarian trends is a lack of adequate political understanding. That is why the leadership will have to give much importance first of all in increasing their ideological-political understanding in order to achieve a firm grip of ideology-politics, to equip all the cadres ideologically-politically and to raise their consciousness. Even in a situation of severe repression and amidst enemy attacks, these meetings and classes will have to be concluded swiftly and highly secretively within a limited timeframe by following the syllabus. Selected articles and reports will have to be studied, discussed and taught in study camps of limited duration. But it is not correct to organise meetings and classes with large numbers and to get trapped in the serious pressure of procuring food and other material for it when the enemy comes closer. More time will have to be given to the people's war and work among the masses in such situations.

6) Political-military training:

We will have to educate the new recruits, the red commanders and the units of the PLGA with political-military syllabus to increase their knowledge, technical level and skills as per the demands of the times. These will have to be conducted regularly and from time to time. Basic education can be imparted to new recruits by the District/Zonal committees or they can be trained in necessary discipline and skills according to the educational syllabus prepared by Commissions and Commands. Commands at all levels will

have to be politically-militarily trained by preparing special syllabuses. Special syllabuses will have to be prepared in order to train and develop women commanders. They will have to be trained ideologically, politically and militarily.

All red commanders and fighters will definitely have to be given primary knowledge of military theory (Basic Military Course – BMC, field training guide, explosives and Improvised Explosive Devices, fire and movement, night combat, urban combat, ambush, raid and short surprise attacks), rules of people's war and guerrilla warfare, *Constitution of the PLGA* and the *PLGA Handbook*.

7) We will have to be always alert:

We will have to be always alert; we should not remain immersed in celebrations. We have declared that we will certainly defeat OGH. That is why we should defend ourselves from all the aspects related to it – carpet security, fortified camps, psychological warfare, intelligence, fake reforms, military attacks and the attacks of the counter-revolutionary gangs. We should be even more alert after completing a successful tactical counter-offensive attack. That is because the enemy seriously tries to counterattack to take revenge at the very time when we are celebrating our victory.

PLGA will have to be alert to enemy conspiracies, their armed attacks, their sugar-coated bullets and covert sabotages. It is a very important duty of the PLGA to safeguard the people's interests, the aims of the Party and the Party leadership in a planned manner.

The people who have surrendered to the enemy in our movement areas and those whom we cannot trust are the sources for the enemy and they are very naturally being recruited into Cobra, Adivasi Battalion, commando forces, army, paramilitary and police forces. They are used as spies and attempts are made to insert them as agents to carry out covert actions with the aim of liquidating the leadership and cadres of the Party and the PLGA. They are used to gather real-time intelligence at opportune time and to conduct targeted attacks.

We will have to grasp the use of new technologies for education, communication and data storage. We will have to identify and overcome the hurdles that come up in the way of using these new technologies. There is no weapon that does not contain contradictory aspects and which does not present opportunities (to the enemy). This means that by applying dialectics we will have to get a grasp over the use of a device or weapon in the interest of the revolution and the masses. That is why a lot of precautions will have to be taken while using mobile phones and computers. The decisions of the Party committees must be implemented.

On the other hand, we will have to definitely pay attention with a long-term view to stop and fight back the 'social pressure' campaigns conducted by the enemy by misleading the red commanders and cadres, damaging and weakening their revolutionary resolve, preventing the youth from taking part in the armed revolution by threatening and corrupting their families with the bait of money as well as attracting them into other treacherous jobs.

We will have to display daring and courage in fulfilling our political, organisational, military and cultural responsibilities and take precautions so that no unwanted element infiltrates into our ranks.

Dear comrades and the people!

The worldwide economic depression/crisis continues on a long-term basis as a result of the imposition of neo-liberal policies in the world economic system by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. This crisis is pushing the people into dire straights. Overproduction and financial crisis are its main causes. Economic inequality has reached serious proportions in the world today, with the property of one percent of the imperialists is nearly equal to that of the rest of the ninety-nine percent. The income of the people belonging to the working and middle classes have gone down due to the policies of liberalisation, while that of the corporate houses has increased manifolds. The social services available to the toiling masses are being

drastically cut, but taxes on the imperialists are being reduced or waived, privatisation and liberalisation in the fields of capital investment and trade is intensified, social welfare and environmental regulations are being relaxed and the economies of the backward countries are being gobbled up to earn super profits.

Crises of overproduction are breaking out more frequently than the past at unprecedented levels, use of more and more financial capital to come out of these crises, particularly steep rise in the rate of inflation (unlimited printing and issuing of currency notes), increasing dependence on credit, fall in the rate of profit – for all such reasons the crisis is deepening further. The world is dependent on debt. The world debt which was 57 trillion dollars in 2007 has crossed 199 trillion dollars at present. Unprecedented economic and financial crises are breaking out due to the bursting of economic bubbles one after another. Taking the blow of such crises, Greece is going through great upheavals at present which is reaching its peak, challenging the very foundations of the imperialist system.

Imperialist countries are primarily using threats and intimidation to secure the implementation of treacherous neo-liberal exploitation. They are perpetrating state terror and aggressive wars in the name of 'war on terror', 'humanitarian intervention', etc. in order to establish their hegemony over all the sectors of the world in the 21st century. The US – which is dependent on the production of high-tech weapons and the sale of older-generation weapons – is penetrating into different markets and capitalist sectors by using its economic and financial hegemony through the threat/use of high-tech weapons. It is provoking wars in Eastern Europe along with its NATO allies and in East Asia with the participation of Japan, Australia and South Korea.

The imperialists are instigating a frenzy of national chauvinism, racism, Islamophobia, spectre of 'terrorism' and wars in order to divert the growing social discontent and resistance of the working and middle classes in their countries and to cover up the capitalist roots of the present economic-social crises. Counter-revolutionary and highly

reactionary parties are carrying out slaughter campaigns against foreign migrant labourers, refugees and Blacks in order to establish their supremacy in parliamentary elections. Without giving the minimum shelter to the refugees who have come to Europe in search of asylum and livelihood after losing everything in the war-torn West Asian and North African countries as a result of the cruel tactics of the imperialists, its governments are repressing them, putting them under many restrictions and treating them inhumanly by keeping them in enclosed camps.

With the increase in exploitation and oppression of the working class and the masses due to the economic and political crises, they are coming out to organise large-scale demonstrations and strikes. The big capitalist class and their political agents are resorting to more and more reactionary and massive military actions in the name of fighting terrorism to crush these people's resistances. With the strengthening of people's movements, alliances of Maoist and progressive parties are emerging in some countries like Greece and Spain.

The oppressed nationalities and the worker-peasant masses of the backward countries are primarily being made the scapegoats in this prolonged global economic crisis. Imperialist countries through the comprador ruling classes of these countries are making more profits by imposing the burden of the crisis on them, by consigning them to debt-traps and by exploiting their cheap labour, raw materials and intermediate products. The imperialists are trying to keep the people of their own countries relatively satisfied. They are conducting aggressive wars on natural energy-rich countries like Iraq and Libya and on countries like Afghanistan and Syria which have become impediments to imperialist expansion. Israel is being used as a hunting hound not only to attack the Palestinians and the Arabs but also the other people of West Asian and African countries. Sanctions have been imposed on countries like Iran, Syria, Cuba, Venezuela and North Korea by threatening and placing many restrictions (the US and the other NATO countries were forced to come down from their high horse and

conclude agreements with Cuba and Iran recently).

China and Russia have established Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) to challenge the hegemony of the US superpower. They are also active in developing the BRICS economic block and establishing alternative financial institutions such as the BRICS Bank and the Asian Infrastructural Development Bank to counter the large-scale economic and financial fraud by the US directly or through IMF, World Bank and WTO.

Responding to the growing alliance between China and Russia, the US is bringing in Inter-Pacific Partnership Agreement to undermine China. By making East Asia its strategic pivot, the US is bringing pressure on the former Socialist China to undertake internal reforms such as privatising the strategic government organisations and further expanding the scope of bourgeois politics. By instigating colour 'revolutions' in the republics of the former Soviet Union, attempts are being made to expand the economic hegemony of the US-NATO and the West within the Russian Federation and around Russia.

In East Asia, the US is serving its own interests by systematically stoking disputes between China and the Southeast Asian countries of South China Sea and between China and Japan in the East Sea. In reality, the US has presented itself as a neutral power in these disputes and remained a silent spectator to the usurpation of many islands and reefs in Western Philippines Sea (South China Sea) and rebuilding of army camps there by China. However, recently the US and Japan have jointly declared that they will establish their military camps there which will violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines, while the Japanese parliament has passed a resolution allowing its army to wage wars abroad.

The US has intensified its provocative actions by putting in place many sanctions against Russia, disrupting the economic cooperation between Germany and Russia, getting the fascists of Ukraine to shoot down the Malaysian MH-17 civilian airplane and putting the blame on Russia, providing

Ukrainian fascists with military advisors and weapons, manipulating the supply prices of crude oil in collusion with Saudi Arabia to damage the Russian economy and conducting military exercises with Eastern European and Baltic countries. The US had been involved in many big wars in Europe in recent times: a series of secessionist wars to dismember Yugoslavia, instigating civil war in Georgia in the past and in Ukraine at present, etc. The internal tensions and the difficulties of Yemeni people have increased after the US intervened in the war between the Yemen's Abd Hadi government and the Houthi fighters under the pretext of rescuing an American journalist held prisoner by al-Qaeda. In the same way, Russia and China too are making the US-NATO anxious by concentrating on strengthening and expanding their military prowess and military bases, high-tech weapons, cyber warfare systems, etc. targeting them.

In this context, the revolutionary situation is becoming highly favourable due to the day-by-day sharpening of the principal contradiction in the world between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people. The world proletariat and the vast oppressed nations and people are daily entering in struggles against the imperialist wars waged all over the world and the threats and interventions by the US and its allies. On the other hand, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries and the contradiction between various imperialist countries are deepening. As a result, highly favourable conditions are emerging for the masses and the revolutionary forces to conduct people's wars. Intensification of people's resistance in the imperialist countries and the growing attraction for socialism has become a major issue. Maoist organisations have been formed in some countries of Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa. In the same way, armed revolutionary people's resistance is advancing with firm determination in the Philippines, India, Turkey, Peru and other South Asian countries in order to root out imperialist exploitation. This is a very favourable outcome for the international communist movement.

Similarly, the daily sharpening contradiction between the imperialist countries will ultimately lead to a world war. In case the frustrated imperialists resort to world war for a re-division of the markets, then the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat will have to prepare the oppressed people including the oppressed nationalities, workers-peasants and the middle classes of their countries to advance the national liberation struggles and the new democratic and socialist revolutions towards victory by transforming the world war into revolutionary civil wars.

The impact of the prolonged world economic crisis can be clearly seen in our country too. Innumerable problems including unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, starvation deaths, child labour, migration, skyrocketing price rise, communicable diseases, daily deepening problem of drinking water and irrigation, the problem of displacement, environmental destruction, atrocities on women, Dalits and religious minorities, human trafficking etc. are on the rise.

The NDA government led by incumbent Brahmanical Hindu fascist Modi has not only utterly failed to resolve any of these problems but has only stoked them further. While serving the imperialists on the one hand, it is instigating Hindu fascism and national chauvinism on the other. The imperialists today very much need such a group. That is why the Modi clique – which misled the people with the promise of bringing 'acche din' ('good days') – has opened up the entire country for foreign direct investment worth thousands of crores to facilitate the undisguised plunder of the country by the imperialists in the name of 'Make in India'. While the entire world is enmeshed in a financial crisis, it is not only misleading the masses by claiming to change the country's course by giving employment to 65 percent of the country's youth through this foreign capital, but it is also instigating a frenzy about this footloose capital. All the political parties which are running governments in various states of the country are adopting the same path. In reality, they are implementing more aggressively the very neo-liberal economic policies brought in by the Congress-

led UPA government at the centre that were rejected by the masses. It may appear that the proposed new land acquisition bill-2014 introduced by Modi government to facilitate unbridled imperialist exploitation has been put in cold storage due to the countrywide people's resistance, but its venom has not gone down even a wee bit. Modi government is issuing all kinds of clearances with complete disregard and violation of the Gram Sabhas and the existing forest and environmental regulations so that there will be no hindrance to the implementation of the agreements signed with the multinational corporations. The problem of displacement is growing day by day as a consequence.

Modi government has completely forfeited the country's interests by concluding many agreements with the US imperialists in many important sectors, particularly the defence sector. As a loyal US comprador and fulfilling the aspirations of the Indian ruling classes, it is implementing expansionist policies in South and East Asia in accordance with the US strategy to counter the growing influence of China. The military operation on the guerrilla fighters of NSCN(K) by entering Myanmar's territory and threatening Pakistan of similar military operations is a part of this.

Displaying its true colours under Modi government, Hindu fascism is increasing its attacks on women, Dalits, religious minorities and the oppressed nationalities. The murder of progressive intellectuals and democrats including Dr. Narendra Dabholkar and Govind Pansare in Maharashtra and Prof. M M Kalburgi in Karnataka, threats to Kannada writer K S Bhagwan are some of its recent examples. In complete contrast to its slogan of 'Minimum government, maximum governance', it is trying to control what should be eaten, worn, studied, etc. and what not by crushing the freedom of religion and interfering in all aspects of people's lives. The Sangh Parivar, which has a complete grip over the government, is swiftly making its moves to convert India into a Hindu nation. Modi's pronouncement under pressure from the US that "instigation of communal hatred will not be tolerated under any circumstances" is nothing but a deception. Driven by feeling of

revenge against the Muslim religious minorities, Hindu-fascist Modi government has hanged a chartered accountant of Mumbai Yakub Memon in a dictatorial manner.

After Modi government's tall claims to be completely corruption-free was exposed by the Lalit Modi scandal, its condition has become similar to a thief caught red-handed. Its claim to bring back 'black money' from abroad has evaporated by now. It has deceived the retired Indian army personnel by partially fulfilling the demand of One-Rank One-Pension only to reap electoral gains on the eve of Bihar assembly elections. While cutting down a number of social welfare schemes on the one hand, it is carrying out large-scale propaganda about schemes like Digital India, Swachh Bharat, Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, Suraksha Yojana, Jeevan Jyoti Yojana, Atal Pension Yojana, Beti Bachao-Beti Padhao, Mudra Yojana, etc. on the other. In reality, however, their implementation is negligible. The control of communicable diseases has become difficult due to the entry of multinational corporations into the health sector. The problem of environmental degradation is worsening by the day. Incidents of unrestrained atrocities on women and their subordination under the influence of patriarchy and poisonous imperialist-feudal culture are taking place daily. 73 women are raped everyday on average in the country. As a result of all this, the illusions among the masses about Modi government are fast depleting. BJP's defeat in the Delhi assembly elections is a sign of this. It is becoming clear by the day to the masses that the parliament and the assemblies which have got reduced to arenas of dogfight among the ruling-class parties cannot solve their life and death problems. That is why the people are craving for an alternative revolutionary politics.

Crores of workers and employees of the country's public and private sectors have recently displayed their strength by observing a day-long countrywide strike against privatisation, foreign direct investment, amendments to the labour laws and the dictatorial powers of the mill-owners and with the demand for a rise in wages. The peasants, thousands of whom have been forced to

commit suicide due to problems like huge losses resulting from economic crisis and inability to procure even the minimum support price for their produce, are coming out in protest against the agricultural policies of the government in different parts of the country. Lakhs of people displaced by various mega projects are carrying out highly militant struggles. The bankruptcy of the 'Gujarat Model' has been clearly exposed by peasant movements and the Patidar reservation movement in the state. Students, teachers and professors are carrying out united militant movements against privatisation and saffronisation of education by overturning all democratic values. National liberation movements are continuing at different levels in Kashmir, Assam, Bodoland, Manipur and Naga areas against the policies of Modi government. The wiping out of 18 Indian Army soldiers by Naga guerrilla fighters in a daring ambush recently in Manipur's Chandel district has shaken the Indian ruling classes. Making this a pretext and in an undemocratic manner, the Indian government has proscribed National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Khaplang) [NSCN(K)] which is fighting for the right to self determination of the Nagas. Movements are going on all over the country against attacks and atrocities on women, Dalits, religious minorities and the banning of beef. All these incidents are creating a highly favourable situation for the people's war.

Call of the Central Military Commission:

Beloved comrades and the people!

We are yet to win genuine independence for our country. An agricultural country like India can become genuinely liberated only by implementing genuine revolutionary land reforms and by safeguarding the traditional knowledge acquired through generations of agricultural practice. The masses organised under the leadership of CPI(Maoist), which has a clear understanding about the path to genuine independence and to serve the interests of the country, alone can correctly lead the struggle to independence for the country, defend it and sustain it. If a country has to

fight for its independence and defend it, it will definitely have to depend on a powerful people's liberation army which is primarily strengthened by the masses and is prepared to struggle for defending the sovereignty and honour of the country. That is why, we can win genuine independence and sovereignty only by overthrowing the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic capitalist-big landlord classes that exploit our country through a protracted people's war with armed agrarian revolution as its axis. There is no short and simple path to this. It has been proven many times by history that no fundamental change in the system is possible through the parliamentary path. The daily deepening semi-colonial and semi-feudal crisis and the fascist character of the ruling system is ensuring the victory of the new democratic revolution.

We can implement the programme of new democratic revolution by making the people's army the main form of organisation and fighting by coordinating with all other forms of struggle and organisation. This programme will fulfill the aspirations of all the oppressed classes, nations and social sections, establish the democratic government of the four classes by organising the workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the proletariat and put the Indian semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in its grave. For this, let us concentrate all our strength and put all efforts to defeat Operation Green Hunt carried out by the enemy at present under the imperialist-dictated LIC strategy with the aim of completely wiping out our Party and the people's war. Let us put efforts with firm determination and self-sacrifice to overcome each and every impediment that comes in the way of fulfilling this objective.

Workers, peasants, the middle classes and the oppressed people! Students, youth, intellectuals, artists, women, Dalits, Adivasis and the people of religious minorities! The democratic, progressive, pro-people and patriotic forces! Arise and fight courageously under the leadership of the proletariat to break the shackles of neo-liberal forms of exploitation! Strengthen our Party and the PLGA by joining the people's army in thousands and lakhs! Advance the new

democratic revolution towards victory by fighting against all kinds of revisionists and counter-revolutionaries and by further developing the line of Indian people's war which is already enriched by many decades of experience. The people, and the people alone, are the makers of history! The people are invincible! The people's war is invincible! The fascist ruling classes can never win this war. The bastions of exploitation can be pulled down to the ground when the vast oppressed masses stand up. The defeat of the enemy, and the victory of the people, is inevitable!

- *Make successful the campaign to Bolshevise the Party, PLGA and the United Front! Consolidate the mass base!*
- *Expend all strength in defeating the all-round attack on the people – Operation Green Hunt!*
- *Mobilise the vast peasant masses in the armed agrarian revolution!*
- *Unite the vast oppressed masses such as workers and peasants in anti-feudal and anti-imperialist class struggle!*
- *Intensify and expand the guerrilla war with the aim of developing the guerrilla war into mobile war!*
- *Wipe out the enemy and seize their weapons with the aim of organising the PLGA and expanding it to vast areas!*
- *Recruit young women and men in large numbers with the aim of transforming PLGA into PLA!*
- *Organise and expand RPCs at various levels in the guerrilla zones with the aim of establishing base areas!*
- *Develop the Commissions and Commands in the PLGA with the aim of fulfilling the Central Task!*
- *Enhance the political-military knowledge and military skills of the red commanders and fighters in a timely manner!*
- *Involve the people on a large scale in revolutionary propaganda war by unleashing the creativity of the masses!*
- *Long live Communist Party of India (Maoist)!*

5 October 2015

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

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and assure them that our Party will always help them. Adopt the method of powerfully disseminating this message among the masses even without needing to gather the people in large numbers. Pay special attention to word-

of-mouth propaganda. Fully utilise the structures of revolutionary organisations for this purpose.

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

A Reply to Sumanta Banerjee

– Ganapathy

First of all, let me give a clarification on the circumstances that has caused the delay in our response to your letter. You had written to us on 9 May 2014. We are replying to you only now in the first half of 2016, after nearly two years. You may be aware that the enemy is targeting of our Party, and particularly its leadership using even minute information with the aim of causing maximum damage. This has forced us to take added precautions in all our communications and as a result we have received your letter quite late. This is the main reason for the delay in our reply. We are not sure whether our friends outside will be able to adequately assess the situation or appreciate this problem. Nevertheless, we take our responsibility for the delay and express our regret.

Now, to respond to your questions: your main criticism is that CPI(Maoist) is not fighting Hindu-fascism, or at any rate, not fighting it seriously enough. Even though we can understand your concern, we feel that your apprehension is misplaced. You know quite well that our Party is waging a class struggle to destroy the present obsolete social system and build a completely new one through a total war, i.e. protracted people's war (PPW). This protracted struggle is against the enemies of the people and the country (imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism) under the leadership of the proletarian party in all fields, be it ideological, political, military, economic or cultural. While concentrating

Social activist, writer and journalist Sumanta Banerjee had written an open letter (available in the public domain) addressed to Comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary, Communist Party of India (Maoist) on 9 May 2014, raising many questions pertaining to the party's tactics and policy, particularly in fighting Brahmanical Hindutva-fascism. Comrade Ganapathy had sent us his reply, but due to the problems of communication, MIB is able to publish it only now. MIB expresses its regret for this inordinate delay. However, given the topicality of the issue, we believe that the readers of MIB will find it relevant - MIB

on developing the armed agrarian revolutionary war, we pay special attention to deal with all other important problems like communalism, casteism, national oppression, patriarchy, etc. originating from the same socio-economic and political system. Whatever may be our subjective strength, we have a correct policy to resolve every important problem by integrating these efforts with the class struggle with the aim of developing the people's war (PW). In the course of revolutionary practice, we further develop our grasp about the Indian society and the world and different problems in it and formulate policies or enrich existing policies. We know well that it is not enough to prepare a correct policy alone; it must be put into practice. But implementation of any policy depends mainly on the subjective strength, ups and downs and turns and twists of the movement and the forces contending in the society in a particular juncture. Due to these factors, our party's organisational role may vary in dealing with these important problems even though we have the correct policies. If one does not understand this, one will also not be able to understand the work we are doing with a strategic view and the tactics we are taking up to serve this strategy. In such a situation, a conclusion can then be hastily drawn, as you have done, that we are not fighting against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism.

But if anyone ignores the basic class struggle, and instead tries to take up a separate and isolated fight on any problem, there will neither be an effective fight to resolve it, nor will the revolution move forward. We are engaged in PPW and are integrating the struggle against Hindu-fascism with it. This is the main aspect of our fight against Hindu-fascism today. Armed struggle is the principal and the highest form of class struggle and army is the principal and the highest form of organisation in fighting the ruling classes of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country for completing the new democratic revolution (NDR), and we are doing just that. Apart from the struggle for political power, there will be many important problems in a society which will need to be dealt with simultaneously by coordinating with this struggle. During the

entire course of NDR other forms of organisation and forms of struggle must certainly be taken up with the aim of developing the PPW as a total war by politically mobilising all oppressed social classes and social sections.

Only with this correct understanding, we have to build a united movement to fight the Hindu-fascists by uniting all the forces that can be united, i.e., all those who suffer from it and those who oppose it. This struggle will have to be fought with a class-struggle perspective and by upholding the class line. Brahmanical Hindu-fascism is a specificity of the objective conditions of our country. Only by firmly and resolutely adhering to the class line under all conditions can we unite with all the oppressed classes, social sections and political forces, effectively fight the Hindu-fascist forces and defeat them. You have quoted from the resolution of the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our Party on Hindu-fascism. We assure you that we have been working all this while with this very understanding even in the midst of ever-intensifying countrywide fascist state repression. We suggest you to refer to our documents 'Party Programme', 'Strategy & Tactics of Indian Revolution' and 'Political Resolution' passed by the same Congress which will further clarify the link between PPW and the struggle against Hindu-fascism.

Indian state is a Hindu-biased state and all major parliamentary parties in the country share this bias. Every ruling-class party uses reactionary ideas, politics, culture and institutions for its own class and factional interest. No ruling class party has basically been an exception to this rule in the last 70 years of Indian parliamentary system. Nevertheless, we know that as a political wing of the Hindu-chauvinist Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), BJP has its specific historical roots, ideology, policies, culture and goals which make it more fundamentalist, conservative and deceitful than the rest of the ruling-class parties. To achieve its goals, while continuously utilising all traditional and legal means, RSS also regularly resorts to coercion in thousands of ways and attacks the religious minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, rationalists, secularists and communist revolutionaries by using its large

number of foundations, missions, institutions, organisations and armed vigilante gangs. In this way, it tries to create and expand its social base and to come to power or maintain its oppressive rule and implements its regressive and reactionary agenda which faithfully serves the interests of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. They more effectively retard social change and force the people towards further exploitation, oppression and enslavement. Though the Sangh Parivar has been attacking the minorities and other oppressed sections from its very inception, with its control over central power, it is more aggressively carrying out its fascist agenda. Since Modi-led BJP came to power at the centre, we can clearly witness this fascist onslaught more widely and intensively all over the country. Since 1947, this has been done mainly by both RSS-BJP and Congress. Congress too has utilised communalism and communal riots for its political gains and even in its internal factional fights. Moreover, until today nowhere in the country communal riots against religious minorities have taken place without the support or involvement of the central or state governments and their administrative machinery. Other parliamentary political parties such as CPI and CPM also appease the majority community, pay lip-service to the minorities and surreptitiously use religion to gain their support. Wherever the revisionists have come to power, they have run tyrannical rule and formed social-fascist gangs to suppress revolutionaries and democratic forces and even their parliamentary opposition. It is the real face of the CPM that we all know well.

You have asked us what we have done to fight the Hindu-fascists apart from killing Laxmanananda in 2008. Soon after our PLGA annihilated Laxmanananda, the Hindu-fascist armed gangs of Sangh Parivar (mainly consisting of Bajrang Dal and VHP goons) carried out large-scale attacks against the Christians in a planned manner in collusion with Naveen Patnaik government (BJD and BJP were in coalition in government at that time) and with full involvement of central and state forces and the state machinery. It is greatly astonishing to us that you are knowingly or

unknowingly avoiding the actual conditions in which these fascist forces along with their political wing, the BJP emerged. You are also not looking at the decades-long history of Odisha in which continuous campaigns led by RSS, VHP and Bajrang Dal to convert the Christian and non-Christian Adivasis into Hinduism and continuously carried out physical attacks against the Christian minority. Laxmanananda was playing a central role in planning, organising and leading these conversions and physical attacks. Our Party entered the area in 2004 as a part of the expansion of our movement. In this unbearable situation, the people came to see him as a main enemy and placed the demand before the Party that he should be annihilated or it will be difficult for them to survive the continuous attacks of the Hindu-fascists which had been going on for decades. Not only a revolutionary but even a genuine democrat would support such a demand by the people in these kinds of situations. Therefore the Party identified Laxmanananda as a class enemy who colluded with the state to seriously damage our movement. Even before the Laxmanananda was eliminated, the Party and the people discussed its probable fallout including attacks by the Hindu-fascists to take revenge. But the people were one in their opinion that even if they were to attack, it was the only way to stop the daily attacks of the Hindu-fascists in which they killed, raped, burned, threatened, bullied and committed other heinous atrocities against the minorities on a daily basis. The people felt that there was no other way than to resist and they were prepared to face the consequences. But the Hindu-fascists tried to hide the fact that our Party has eliminated Laxmanananda. So even after our Party issued three press statements claiming responsibility, the puppet press of the ruling classes did not cover it. The Hindutva forces feared that their cadres would get scared if they knew that PLGA was behind his annihilation. Moreover, they wanted to present the Christians as the attackers so that they could launch further attacks on them.

Are you making this allegation out of your ignorance about these facts? It is true that we did not have sufficient strength in

Kandhamal to effectively counter this attack. But perhaps you do not know that even with our limited strength, we could protect thousands of people belonging to the religious minority (the Christians) by mobilising and leading hundreds of young men and women in self-defence militias. The people under attack defended themselves under our Party's leadership with local arms like sickle, axe, bows, agricultural and household implements and arms used for hunting. The massacre and mayhem caused by the Hindu-fascists would have been even more widespread and the damage even more extensive if our Party had not taken up this defensive program.

Since long, a section of the Kui Adivasis who have been Brahmanised by RSS-affiliated organisations are seen as enemies by the Adivasi Kuis and Christian Kuis since the Brahmanised Kuis look down upon the Adivasi Kuis and Christians as Untouchables, and hence as pariahs or enemies. Our Party has been able to neutralise or win over the non-Brahmanised Kui Adivasis through our revolutionary politics, with the result that they did not get swayed with the Hindutva forces in attacking the Christians. The attackers were only the dominant-caste people (from outside who had settled there) and Brahmanised Kuis. They were organised and led by the Sangh Parivar and BJP with the help of Naveen Patnaik government (Patnaik's role in the Kandhamal attacks should not be underestimated). Core of these fascist gangs are basically constituted with outside and local reactionaries who benefit from this type of religious frenzy and pogroms. From a long time in all the areas of revolutionary movement these obsolete forces and the state are forming counter-revolutionary armed gangs to suppress it. We could not win over or neutralise the majority of the Brahmanised Adivasis of Kandhamal and adjoining districts because we did not have enough time to work there. The area of work was relatively new to our Party. Yet we could limit the spread of these attacks. Have you ever thought why? It is because of the presence and the influence of the revolutionary movement. Since 2008, no such attack against the religious minorities has taken place in that area. This is because the

Party and PLGA have their influence there and the Hindu-fascists cannot carry out their attacks as easily as they did in the past. It does not mean that there is no danger from them in the future. The threat of fascist terror is increasing day-by-day in the country.

We have reviewed that in areas where we had better presence – the southern districts of Rayagada, Ganjam, Koraput and Malkangiri – the Hindu-fascist could not attack the people in the same scale as in Kandhamal even though they had tried. Even in Kandhamal where people were politically mobilised and organised in self-defence militias under the leadership of our Party and with the help of the PLGA to resist the Hindu fascist gangs, these gangs did not dare to attack or failed in their attacks due to the stiff resistance of the people of the religious minority. Wherever our Party was weak due to the inadequate time we had to consolidate our movement and where the people could not be mobilised as a result, the Hindu fascists could attack such places and the people suffered more losses. In any case, we think that before eliminating a leader like Laxmanananda, we should have prepared the people some more for resistance even with our relatively small force. This was our shortcoming and this was our review at that time.

You may also be unaware of the struggle the people of Bastar have waged against the Hindu fundamentalist forces. Baba Biharidas, a Hindu religious preacher who came from Haridwar who settled in a village near Kondagaon many decades back had gradually started the conversion of Adivasis, particularly the village elders, to Brahmanism (Hinduism) (there were no religious minority like Christians in that area). After being Brahmanised, these converted Adivasis started to treat the rest of the Adivasis as Untouchables. In this way, a new antagonistic contradiction emerged among the Adivasi people. Our Party started work in the area in late 1980s. Starting from the second half of the 1990s, Biharidas tried to prevent the people from taking part in the class struggle led by our Party by mobilising the Brahmanised traditional village elders against the party, spreading different kinds of rumours against

the Party through them, beating up or chasing away the leaders of our mass organisations like DAKMS, terrorising the people, building an informer network for the police and setting up vigilante gangs to stop the expansion of our Party. The people under the leadership of the Party politically exposed the conspiracy of Biharidas and the state. We worked patiently to win over the majority of the converted people while isolating and resisting Biharidas, trying the ring-leaders in Jan Adalats, physically punishing some of them, imposing fines and placing restrictions on the notorious persons siding with him. By integrating this struggle with our class struggle and mobilising the masses, we were successful in isolating the main enemy. After this struggle, the anti-people activities of Biharidas got very limited and he withdrew his campaign while the Party and the PLGA got strengthened by mobilising and organising the people.

Look at what is happening in Bastar today. The central and state forces are conducting fascist massacre and untold barbarous operations on daily basis. In the past too, in all counter-revolutionary political and military campaigns such as the Salwa Judum, all the fascist forces of Sangh Parivar including BJP-VHP, Bajrang Dal, BJYM, ABVP, Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, etc. played a key role. The Adivasis were united with the Maoists and the Maoists were deeply integrated with the Adivasis. They understood that without splitting the people and pitting one against the other it is not possible to destroy the Maoist Party and the movement. So they tried the strategy of draining the water to catch the fish against the Maoist revolution and started Salwa Judum with the direct support of thousands of paramilitary forces and by building a carpet security network. The state (including the central and state governments), their armed forces, Congress and BJP and other reactionary forces – all played their heinous roles in this fascist campaign along with local reactionaries like a section of the leadership of Congress and BJP, big traders, traditional village elders, landlords, the bad gentry and the corrupt. They became part of Salwa Judum because the Maoist movement was against their class interests. Their main

aim was to destroy the unity of the people by brute force, conspiracies and all other ploys of the reactionary war.

After Salwa Judum was defeated by the PLGA and the people under the leadership of our Party through their stiff armed resistance with huge sacrifices and aided by the voice of protest forcefully raised by the democratic forces in India and internationally, many organisations like 'Samajik Ekta Manch' with the same forces which played the main counterrevolutionary role in Salwa Judum. Many of the leaders and cadres of this organisation are part of the Sangh Parivar. They are the main force of the counter-revolutionary campaign organised and sponsored by Modi, Rajnath Singh, Raman Singh, Vijay Kumar and Kalluri, etc against our movement. They have raised vigilante gangs in the villages. Along with the police and paramilitary forces, they detain, torture and kill by beheading, cutting limbs and gouging out eyes, internal organs and other such gruesome methods. They burn, loot, rape women and parade them naked. The vigilante gangs help putting up police-paramilitary camps, make forced surrenders, pass information to the enemy and help the war waged by the enemy in several other hideous ways. The governments are not only involving their police and paramilitary forces but are also fully using all their administrative machineries and huge amounts of public funds to sponsor them. Our movement is confronting all this. Can the struggle against these forces be separated from the fight against Hindu-fascism? If we fail to see the classes including corporate sharks, political forces, religious forces, state machinery and state funds, the doctrine of LIC and the thousand ways in which the imperialists are fully supporting them, we will fail to clearly understand the essence of Hindu-fascism and fail to fight it back.

It is therefore not correct on your part to hold up of the annihilation of Laxmanananda as a model for us to be followed everywhere and as the only form of fighting Hindutva-fascism. The general orientation of our work on this question is – first, mobilising the people on political, social, economic and all other

basic and burning issues including against Hindu-fascism as part of the class struggle in the areas where our Party is working, and combining this struggle with the armed agrarian revolutionary war. Our mass organisations and RPCs also take up struggles against Hindu-fascism in different parts of the country as a part of their programme; second, separately building a vast popular and militant political movement under our Party's leadership by rallying all the people who suffer from Hindu-fascism and who oppose it; third, building a united struggle on specific issues related to Hindu fundamentalism with left and liberal forces even though they vacillate, drop out midway or betray according to their class nature and narrow class and political interests. In the process of building the movement, when the participation of the people increase and the movement gathers strength, the fascist gangs will attack it along with the state. Conditions will build up to the extent in the country that the people and their self-defence units would need to militantly fight it back. In this process new forms of struggle will come up. In such a situation, Hindutva-fascist mass-murderers and ring-leaders like Laxmanananda will have to be dealt with selectively according to the need of the movement. In the present stage, ideological, political and cultural struggle against Brahmanical Hindu-fascist forces is the main form of struggle. To expect the PLGA to carry out armed actions against them apart from this movement is not correct.

In Dandakaranya and in other strong areas of class struggle, the Hindu fascists cannot and will not and attack the way it did in Odisha. This is because in Odisha the people were unarmed whereas they are armed here – both in ideological-political and in militarily sense. How can you fail to see the bitter struggle going against the Hindu fascists in these areas as a part of our class struggle – the struggle in its highest form? Attacks on Himanshu Kumar, Swami Agnivesh, Nandini Sundar, JagLAG, Malini Subhramanyam, Bela Bhatia, Soni Sori, several journalists, arrests of Hem Mishra (student activist), Prashant Rahi (CRPP) and Dr Saibaba, long prison terms and life sentence meted out to the Adivasi people of Bastar and

Gadchiroli, Odisha, Jharkhand, Bengal, etc. are all part of the attack of the fascist forces. Along with the state and in collusion with it, the Hindu-fascists have made their targets of attack the places where the revolutionary class struggle is going on in seventeen states at different levels. They have made the legal democratic movements in urban and rural areas in a majority of states their targets of attack as well.

Unless the revolutionary, democratic, secular and rationalist forces, the oppressed classes, social sections and the people of the country get mobilised and play an active role in resisting this attack in all forms, the danger will become unprecedented to the people and the country – such is the grave danger posed by Brahmanical Hindu-fascism. Our party is trying to play its part in this fight to the extent possible. We are aware that we have our limitations and shortcomings in this and we are trying to come out of them. All responsible intellectuals and democratic-minded people should try to understand this.

The ruling classes do not suppress the revolutionary or democratic forces and oppressed classes and sections through the force of arms alone. Old ideas, customs, culture, force of habits, etc. that are connected to religion, caste, patriarchy and other instruments of oppression are mobilised for this. They are more effective due to the continuation of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system in our country. All ruling class parties are trying to keep the people in their subjugated position and maintain the status-quo. The aim of all parliamentary parties is to prevent the people from becoming politically conscious, aware of their rights and their own strength, be convinced of their final victory, get mobilised and fight for their liberation. For instance, in places like Telangana – which had been a centre of revolution for decades – not only BJP, Congress or TDP but also TRS led by K Chandrashekhara Rao is working as the no.1 lackey and reactionary agent of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes. Even Narendra Modi and the Chief Ministers of BJP-ruled states will be ashamed by the enthusiasm with which KCR is promoting Hinduism in Telangana. So we are facing the

attack of Hindutva in many forms and in many guises in different socio, economic, political and cultural conditions of the country.

The Maoist movement in the country is one of the main targets of attack in the world by the imperialists and their lackeys in the country. We understand this as an all-round attack encompassing all spheres – ideological, political, military, economic and cultural and we are dealing with it as such. As a part of this overall attack, Hindu-fascist forces are fighting the revolutionary and democratic forces by taking all of them together as their common enemy. The Maoist and democratic forces are both facing this attack. Therefore, the need of the hour is to unite to fight back. Since a long time, our Party is mobilising the people on specific program against the Hindu-fascist forces in several states and is also jointly working on common program with the friendly forces. We think that it is the need of the hour to build an all-India united movement against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism. Our policy on this is very clear and there should be no room for any confusion.

That is why we appeal to you, Sumanta, to understand the reality. You should find out the truth from facts. You should visit Kandhamal and see for yourself; likewise, you should visit the main areas of our class struggle and see for yourself. But you must leave behind your prejudices to comprehend the reality. Then you will realise how subjective your criticisms against us are.

Your second main question is related to our stand on parliamentary elections. Our martyred comrade Azad (PBM and spokesperson of our CC) had long back responded to your questions on behalf of our Central Committee. So we will place only the essence of our response here. You have levelled baseless allegations against our Party that we make the people boycott the elections by the force of arms and that we target only the polling officials in our armed actions while not targeting BJP candidates in Chhattisgarh, that BJP regularly wins from these areas and we do nothing to help the CPI candidates to win elections in Bastar. We completely reject all these allegations. Nowhere do we indulge in

the act of defeating one party or helping another to win. Neither the policy of our Party nor our practice is like that. Your allegation that our Party has done this in some places by taking money from some candidates is therefore baseless. So is your allegation that we forcefully prevent the people from voting. Further, you should not mix up our tactics against the state forces or our rare mistakes in targeting polling personnel during elections with the fight against Hindu-fascism. Nor should you come to such a conclusion by believing whatever the corporate media, leaders of CPI and CPM, some right-opportunist leaders of the ML parties and some smaller electoral parties propagate against our Party. To believe them is your mistake.

Giving the same logic you have written that BJP wins from Bastar. But our Party has nothing to do with their win or loss. Since your 'analysis' does not take the reality into account, you end up making such outlandish allegations as the Maoists are helping this or that political party by taking money from them! This is a reflection of your prejudices against our Party. It also emanates from your wrong understanding that parliamentary elections can be used tactically for the revolution. The review of our Party that some comrades in Jharkhand or in some other places have got corrupted and colluded with some contractors or leaders of the parliamentary political parties does not mean that we have changed our party policy on elections. Such deviations are part of the non-proletarian anti-party trends, against which we are constantly fighting. In some instances, the party has expelled such bad elements. The struggle against corruption and embezzlement will continue not only before but even after the revolution. We know clearly that such trends in the Party only help the enemy and so we are determined to fight them in all their manifestations. So we request you not to stick to your prejudice but try to understand the reality. To understand the ground situation correctly, we suggest you to refer to our central and state-level magazines.

Your third point relates to our movement in Bengal. We all know that social-fascist CPM is one of the main stooges of the Indian ruling

classes. You are very well aware of what CPM did with our comrades and the revolutionary students and youth in Kolkata and other places of the state during the Naxalbari period and for decades since then. It took all support from central government and implemented all measures of the US-sponsored LIC policy for its fascist rule and to brutally suppress the revolutionary movement including the great Lalgargh movement. Like the Congress or BJP does in the states they rule, CPM suppressed every democratic demand of the people, engaged in continuous armed clashes with other parliamentary parties and established a deep-rooted fascist culture in the society. The people of Bengal decided to stop putting up with their social-fascist rule anymore and CPM lost the assembly elections. In their place another ruling party came to power in the form of TMC headed by Mamata Banerjee. In the parliamentary system, it is always the case that if the people become fed up with one party, another party is pushed forward. This happens not only in our country but also in the capitalist countries. Till this bourgeoisie parliamentary system meets its end and the revolution becomes successful, the people of the country will continue to be trapped in this revolving-door drama. With the sharpening of the class struggle and the advancement of the revolutionary movement, the CPM and TMC too will meet the same fate as all other fascist forces of the world when the people will throw them into the dustbin.

We need not elaborate here the reasons behind CPM's loss and TMC's win in Bengal. But we want to clarify that your analysis about our Party or Comrade Kishenji being responsible for TMC's victory is absolutely false. We think that it is tactically correct for the PCAPA, civil rights organisations and the mass organisations to keep certain demands in front of all the political parties before elections. But it is wrong to construe from this that we will help those parties in getting votes which accept these demands.

If we have the requisite strength, our guerrilla forces and people's militia target not only politically but also militarily the main electoral parties like BJP and Congress in the parliamentary elections and the main regional

party/parties along with them in the assembly elections. The Party in such areas call upon the people to drive the main ruling parties away and our own forces drive them away by mobilising the people. If other parties conduct election meetings, we call to the people to boycott them and question them. On the other hand, if the smaller parliamentary parties, democratic organisations come to our areas, we hear them and debate with them about the hollowness of the parliamentary electoral system. During any election period we place our Party's alternative political programme before people. We adopt broadly three types of tactical responses from our Party. But instead of taking into account the demands which came from the people and the mass organisations, you are making allegations against our Party that we have done this or that mistake in the Bengal elections. We use these clear tactics which are integral to our call for the boycott of elections. We hope you will try to understand this and rethink.

Comrade Kishenji had a clear understanding about TMC's fascist character. In Nandigram, Buddhadeb's police forces, central paramilitary forces and notorious social fascist Harnad Bahini jointly carried out brutal repression. We worked there by uniting with not only the people under the influence of TMC but with all other forces that were opposing or willing to resist the violence of CPM, be it CPI, Congress, SUCI, Muslim organisations, etc. who passively participated in the resistance. In Midnapore, CPM and TMC carried out attacks against each other and each one carried out attacks against us. At that time, he along with the State Committee under the leadership of the Central Committee concretely analysed the fascist character of these two parties. It was concluded that TMC too was a fascist party like the Congress party. Our Party decided to resist both CPM and TMC in our areas with the active participation of the people and we have done this accordingly. At that time TMC did not have much common area of confrontation with us. But as the main enemy of our movement, the democratic forces and the people, the social-fascist CPM had to be defeated politically and militarily at that time.

Nevertheless, even in this background the wrong political comments Comrade Kishenji made about Mamata Banerjee in his interviews before or during Bengal elections, whether it was done tactically or otherwise, was wrong – this is the assessment of our Central Committee. It was the result of his individual wrong opinion and subjective assessment of the situation and this was not the stand of the Party's Central Committee. Our CC knows clearly that these comments confused the people and politically damaged the Party's prestige to some extent. But you too should recognise that the impact of that statement was insignificant as far as TMC's win over CPM was concerned. Overestimating Kishenji's mistakes and their negative impact has certainly led you to wrong conclusions and wrong criticism. Your allegation that Kishenji had some illusion about Mamata Banerjee which led to his encounter is baseless and we reject it. There are other concrete reasons behind his martyrdom such as the serious lapses in maintaining secret functioning which the enemy utilised and caused very serious damage to our Party. After coming to power, TMC continued the same repressive policies adopted by CPM against us by continuing the operations of the joint forces, forming Bhairab Bahini to take the place of CPM's Harmad Bahini, continuing the policy of keeping the revolutionaries, democrats, the masses and their leaders incarcerated violating its pre-election promise, etc. The Bengal State Committee of our Party under Comrade Kishenji's leadership had planned to resist this repression by Mamata Banerjee-led TMC government by mobilising the people to the extent possible. Comrade Kishenji was martyred in the process of making this preparation.

We also totally reject your baseless allegation that we have made 'deals' with some Dharmendra Chopra. NMDC mines in Bailadila had started even before our Party entered Dandakaranya. We have never collected levies from the NMDC or Essar Company. The allegation itself is a big conspiracy hatched by the fascist Raman Singh government and its bloodthirsty running dog SRP Kalluri against our Party and the people

to justify their horrendous crimes against humanity. In fact, under our party leadership the people are presently struggling against the expansion plans of NMDC. We have not allowed any company owned by the state, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie or the MNCs in Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, Bengal, Odisha, AOB and almost all strong areas of our movement. We have never compromised with them for money or any other favour. Under the leadership of our Party, the people are giving bitter fight against them. One of the main reasons behind Operation Green Hunt and the present Mission-2016 is our struggle against these enemies of the people and the country. If any bad element from our Party takes bribes from any company we fight against them and disciplinary actions too are taken against them.

The collection of forest produce such as *tendu* leaves, bamboo, etc. is linked to the question of people's livelihood. Under our Party's leadership the people struggle for increase in wages by forming struggle committees. The people not only fight for increase in rates but also for compensation after work-related accidents, increase of wages for ancillary works, etc. Our Party collects levy (just like tax) from such trade. Where the movement is relatively more developed, Village Development Committees (VDCs) are formed. The people themselves collect levy from the contractors on behalf of the VDCs and use these funds for common welfare work. The levies that the Party collects are used to meet the needs of our political and military work. A considerable amount out of this levy is used for people's welfare – in providing healthcare, education, drinking water, development of agriculture and cottage industries, etc., and for running various departments of the Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) (in Dandakaranya the Krantikari Janatana Sarkar – KJS). One-third of our collection is set aside for this purpose. Moreover, the people collectively contribute funds, pull up resources, form producer's cooperatives, work teams and seize the lands, ponds, cattle, grain and other property of the enemy and distribute among themselves or utilise collectively. The people and the RPCs voluntarily feed the people's

militia, PLGA and the Party and also bear the financial burden to some extent. It does not mean that these are part of some 'deal'!

We request you to go to our movement areas anywhere in the country and see for yourself the reality. You will find that in all these places, tens of thousands of police-paramilitary forces (altogether in several hundreds of thousands) are being engaged to carry out Operation Green Hunt, 'Mission 2016' and such big punitive operations against the movement and the people. The ruling classes are running heavy industries and mining projects in our movement areas by suppressing the people, but there is no let up in the people's resistance. In the places where our Party lacks the adequate strength and is unable to mobilise the people to stop these projects by taking on different big companies and the armed forces protecting them, we place the Party's policy before the people. If a few foul elements in the Party are making deals with companies in some places without following the Party's policy, the entire Party should not be seen as involved in this. Some of these elements have even become betrayers to the revolution. Moreover, our shortcomings in political work, in party functioning or in dealing with the people should not be seen as the results of 'deals' with these companies. The issue of such non-existent deals is occasionally propagated by the bourgeois media, the state and the so-called Left parties to cast aspersions on our Party. Perhaps you are raising this issue under their influence (your allegation related to Chopra is taken from *Indian Express*). Those who know about our Party's policy and its practice would not say such groundless things. You or anyone who are still not convinced should visit the project sites in Dandakaranya, conduct thoroughgoing investigation and speak only thereafter.

You have also talked about our allowing the building of roads in our movement areas. In places where the people realise that the dangers brought by roads far outweigh the benefits they might bring, we mobilise the people to oppose them, particularly in case of National and State Highways. In places where we are not able to mobilise the people to stop

them, we conduct propaganda about the danger of the roads and the class interests they serve. Here we try to explain to the people and do not stop work forcibly. In such places, we generally do not collect levy. On the rare occasions when our Party and the people have allowed roads, we fight for the rights of the construction workers and wage hike and also collect some levy.

Finally, you have complained about our "sticking to the old Maoist formulation of the four major contradictions" in the country and asked us to recognise the fifth contradiction "between religious fundamentalism... on the one hand and the democratic and secular values... on the other". In response, we only have this much to say that we firmly stick to the old Maoist formulation of the four major contradictions. For us, Hindu-fascism does not constitute a separate enemy requiring a basic programme like the one to deal with the four major contradictions. Therefore we think that the so-called "fifth major contradiction" you have proposed is totally incorrect and we reject it completely.

The people of our country are fighting against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism and the state run by them to defend their class interests and to establish a new society. As an inseparable part of this they are also fighting against Brahmanical Hindu-fascism, caste oppression, patriarchal oppression, and oppression on nationalities, environmental destruction and all types of exploitation, oppression and reaction. Our party is leading, contributing to this struggle and strengthening it through the ongoing PPW. We firmly believe that the revolutionary and democratic forces and all the oppressed people of the country will finally emerge victorious from this struggle while all the counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces will bite the dust. In concluding my response, I appeal to you and all other revolutionary and democratic intellectuals and the democratic organisations to come forward and actively take part in this great struggle.

25 April 2016

AOB - Telangana- Andhra Pradesh

On 8 January, two BSF personnel were killed and another sustained injuries in a landmine blast triggered by the PLGA guerillas near Kaliajhula forests under Boipariguda Police Station limits in Koraput District. The PLGA had punished a local trader the previous evening and planted landmines anticipating the movement of the government forces to enquire into the incident. A 30-member BSF team was sent to comb the area. The Maoist guerillas triggered the landmine when the BSF jawans were coming to the area on motorcycles by road.

On 31 January, Maoist cadres set ablaze three camps and eight construction vehicles in Pottangi area of Koraput district. More than a hundred Maoists arrived at three worksite camps at Taupadar, Barabandha and Kasuguda under Pottangi police station and set fire to the three camps and eight road construction vehicles including a tractor, a JCB machine and five earthmover machines.

A bandh called by CPI(Maoist) was observed on 7 March 2016 in parts of Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya against the killing of nine comrades including Comrade Latchanna (DKSZC Alternative Member) in an encounter with the police near Bottem village on Telangana-Chhattisgarh border. Comrade Jagan, spokesperson of Telangana State Committee (TSC), said in a statement to the media that the police forces caught hold of unarmed women cadres and tortured them before killing them. He further said, "The Chief Minister K Chandrashekhara Rao said that there will be no encounters in separate Telangana. However, he is trying to eliminate Maoists through the same method. Both the KCR and Modi governments are conducting Operation Green Hunt". He appealed to the people to protest against the encounter killing of revolutionaries by observing the bandh.

On April 6, one CRPF trooper was injured when PLGA cadres triggered a series of landmines targeting the paramilitary forces personnel on a combing operation in Rudakota area of Pedabayalu mandal in Visakha Agency Area, Visakhapatnam

District, Andhra Pradesh. A platoon of 25 to 30 CRPF personnel was moving from Rudakota area to Munchingput when the incident took place. The injured trooper was a radio operator of the CRPF's 198 Battalion.

A forest guesthouse and a jeep were set ablaze by Maoist cadres at Tadvai mandal headquarters between Warangal and Eturunagaram in Telangana on the night of 15 April. The guesthouse was recently renovated by the forest department and some huts were constructed to encourage the visit of tourists to the area. The facility located in the thick forests had remained defunct for many decades. However, as the government perceived the Maoist movement to be on the retreat, the department had recently renovated it. In a red lettered note by Comrade Damodar, secretary of Karimnagar-Khammam-Warangal (KKW) Divisional Committee of TSC, CPI(Maoist) which was left behind at the site, the Party demanded that the Telangana government stop forcibly taking away the *podu* lands of the Adivasis (tribals) in the name of 'development'. The Maoists also demanded an end to open-cast mining in the area and a stop to the arrest of people participating in various mass movements.



On April 26, CPI(Maoist) cadres set ablaze construction machinery at the Bejjur-Aheri bridge construction worksite near Gudem in Bejjur mandal of Adilabad District. The incident took place early in the morning and left an excavator, a tipper and a tractor partly burnt.

TSC, CPI(Maoist) called on the people to observe a 48-hour Central Region bandh on

May 4 and 5 in protest against exploitation and displacement of people in the name of development, and Operation Green Hunt. Spokesperson of TSC, Comrade Jagan in a press release appealed to the people to observe the bandh and make it a success. He said that while the Modi-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government at the centre was trying to enforce Brahmanical Hindu-fascism on the people of the country, Telangana Chief Minister K. Chandrasekhar Rao was offering free land, water and power to the corporate houses and the rich while depriving the peasants, workers and the vast toiling masses who need them the most.

During the bandh on May 4 and 5, Maoist posters and statements were distributed. A landmine was put with the help of the militia in Peddamediciler village of Cherla-Sabari area. In Sitanagaram village of Dummagudem mandal, a BSNL cell tower was destroyed and ten solar plates seized by the PLGA. 500 people of Chintoor and Dummagudem mandal got engaged in making the bandh successful. The road between Edugurallapalli and Pega villages was cut. PLGA attacked the police station in Edugurallapalli village from a hundred yards with a bomb, but losses were not revealed by the enemy.

East Divisional Committee of AOBSZC, CPI(Maoist) called a bandh on May 16 in protest against the killing of DVCM and Galikonda Area Committee Secretary Comrade Azad (VRL Gopal) along with ACM comrade Anand and squad member Kamala (Parvatakka) in Marripakala forest near Palasamudram of Koyyuru mandal, Vishakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh on 4 May. The Party stated in a press release that the Greyhound commandos surrounded the party members and shot them dead in one-sided firing and later termed it an 'encounter'. The Party distributed pamphlets which warned the government armed personnel that they would have to pay the price for the fake encounter. The bandh was successfully observed in large parts of Visakhapatnam. Shops and other commercial establishments remained closed in GK Veedhi and some other mandals. Bus services and plying of private



Campsite of a contractor engaged in building Tuapadar-Tunia road burnt by PLGA, Potangi block, Koraput

vehicles were affected in GK Veedhi, Chintapalli, Paderu, G Madugula, Peddabayalu and Munchingput mandals.

Bihar - Jharkhand

On 1 January, CPI(Maoist) cadres blasted a generator set used by a construction company engaged in building the Ara-Chhapra bridge in Saran district of Bihar. The Maoists left several pamphlets at the site demanding a stop to the construction work.

Comrade Paramjeet, spokesperson of Madhya Zone, BJSAC, CPI(Maoist) said in a press statement released on 18 January that the people would avenge the killing of four Maoist revolutionaries by CoBRA forces at Bandh Goreya village in Aurangabad district of Bihar on 8 January in a fake encounter. He said that the four Maoists – comrades Bihari Yadav, Ratan Yadav, Devki Bhuiyan and Birendra Singh – were arrested by the CoBRA commandos and shot them dead in cold blood. Comrade Paramjeet said that the sacrifice of the comrades will never go in vain and that the khaki goons would pay for their crimes.

BJSAC of CPI(Maoist) called a 24-hour Bihar-Jharkhand bandh on the 'Republic Day' to protest against the killing of four Maoists in a fake encounter by government forces at Band Goreya village in Aurangabad district of Bihar on 8 January. Party spokesperson Comrade Manas accused the RJD-JD(U) 'Grand Alliance' government of Bihar led by Chief Minister Nitish Kumar of extending full support to the fascist Operation Green Hunt and implementing it ruthlessly in the state.

PLGA eliminated a junior police officer in Aurangabad district as he was working as a police informer. He was responsible for passing on information about Comrade Rajiv (Bihari Yadav) which led to his martyrdom along with three other comrades in Band Goreya village in Aurangabad district of Bihar.

On 8 January, armed Maoists set ablaze two tractors belonging to a contractor in a village in Lakhisarai district of Bihar.

CPI(Maoist) cadres set ablaze four road construction equipments and machines engaged in the construction of State Highway 69 linking the state capital Patna with Araria and Gaya districts on 11 January.

Seven policemen wiped out in Palamu

Seven policemen were killed and eight others were injured when a convoy of police vehicles was hit by a landmine triggered by PLGA fighters at Hussainabad in Kalapahari forest of Palamu district in Jharkhand on 27 January. These forces were part of the reinforcement sent to the area where the police-paramilitary and the PLGA cadres had been locked in an exchange of fire for two days. The 13 member police batch stepped in to the trap set up by the PLGA guerrillas. Two days after the blast, CPI(Maoist) announced that the attack was a response to the Bandh Goreya fake encounter in which four Maoists were killed. In a statement released on behalf of BJSAC Madhya Zone spokesperson Comrade Paramjeet, the Maoist Party declared that it would launch 'Operation Break' against police-paramilitary personnel and engage them in encounters to give them a befitting reply. He added that the police were trying to hoodwink and mislead the people in the name of 'Operation Vishwas'.

Fitting response by the PLGA to the enemy's 'Operation Hill Vijay'

Parasnath Hill is the highest peak in Jharkhand and is full of numerous streams, waterfalls, trees and groves, famous temples and pilgrimages of the Jainas as well as hundreds of villages on the foot of the hill. Thousands of people earn their livelihood depending on this hill. Collecting and selling roots, herbs, wood, leaves, carrying palanquins etc. are the main occupation of the people here.

The enemy launched 'Operation Hill Vijay' on 2 April 2016 in order to root out PLGA forces from Parasnath Hill. Under this, thousands of police and paramilitary forces led by Jharkhand's Director General of Police D K Pandey were engaged along the entire foothills of Parasnath. These forces carried out severe repression on the people. Starting from Madhuban tourist road up to the upper reaches of Parasnath, all roads and paths to the hills were converted into police camps.

As per this operation, the enemy forces started to encircle the Parasnath hill from 3 April 2016. In addition, they started to set the forests on fire starting from the foothills up to its peak. They also started to indiscriminately catch and interrogate the residents of the area in order to know the location of the PLGA forces.

On 4 and 5 April the enemy forces used the Madhuban tourist road to reach the top of the hill and stayed in the guest house. They were climbing down the hill at 6 am the next morning on search operation by getting divided into several batches when an encounter ensues between PLGA and one of these batches at 10 in the morning. Several hundred rounds of bullets were exchanged in which many policemen were injured. PLGA suffered no casualty. By the evening of 6 April, the number of police forces was increased and drones started to appear in the sky by 6 am of 7 April. The drone left after circling around the peak of the Parashnath Hill. It did not take much time for the PLGA comrades to understand what was about to happen next. One section of PLGA guerrillas put landmine and sat on

ambush on one of the probable routes in which the enemy was expected to come. The anticipation of the PLGA was correct and the police arrived soon enough. As soon as the PLGA fighters saw the policemen they started their assault without wasting any time. The guerrillas injured several policemen in heavy firing and eliminated two of them by exploding the mine. After some time the policemen carried away their dead and injured in palanquins. There was no loss to the PLGA. Frustrated by this reversal, the police flew drones for over four hours over Parasnath to identify the Maoists, but this attempt too was ineffective.

On 9 April, new units of the police forces once again came out in search of the PLGA. At around 3.30pm, a few police batches were advancing in an alert position towards the place where our comrades had assembled. They were approaching along the route where our sentry post was placed. Some of our comrades were eating while others had just finished their food. The comrade in sentry duty blasted the mine on the path of the policemen and fired a volley of bullets. Some policemen were injured and all of them stopped where they were.

But our PLGA comrades were not ready to leave the matter at that. One of its sections climbed up the hill and then came down heavily on the other section of the police. This section of the police too could not advance a single step. This failure made the enemy forces even more frustrated and they started plying their drone from 2am in the night of 9 April which continued till 9am of 10 April.

In this way the enemy conducted its 'Hill Vijay' throughout the month of April centring their operation on Parasnath Hill. A reign of terror prevailed among the entire people surrounding the hill. Those who eked out their living by collecting and selling forest produces like herbs, wood, bamboo etc. had lost their source of income after the police set the forest on fire. Moreover, the Adivasis who extensively used herbal medicines had to suffer

from ailments due to the destruction of the medicinal plants in this manner. They could not enter the forest to even collect firewood due to the continuous presence of the police forces. In this way, the people suffered a lot of trouble due to the operation. The police remained on the hills throughout April by sometimes putting up in the guest house or at Gautamswami temple in others.

In the morning of 1 May the police started search operation by getting divided into many detachments. The police were approaching the very spot where our PLGA squad was camping. Our comrades on sentry duty opened fire on the enemy and injured some of them. They were taken down on motorcycles. Our PLGA comrades were safe.

Our comrades had an encounter with CoBRA and police forces in the morning of 17 June as well in which one CoBRA jawan was eliminated. Heroic PLGA cadre comrade Pankaj Hansda was martyred in this battle.

Another encounter took place between the PLGA and enemy forces on Jharha Hills under Pirtand Police Station on 24 June. One police jawan was injured in this battle who later died as per the information given by the people.

In spite of continually suffering many casualties at the hands of the PLGA in this entire operation, the enemy did not allow the high number of injuries to its forces to appear in the media (it admitted only one injury). In fact, it even hid the death of its jawans (except one) whereas the people have seen injured policemen being carried down the hill after every encounter. Moreover, the enemy spread false propaganda through prominent news coverage about the 'death' and 'injury' of our comrades after every battle.

In this way, the enemy carried out 'Operation Hill Vijay' from 2 April till the end of June and committed numerous brutal atrocities on the villagers around Parasnath and the people of Pirtand in general including beating, humiliation, molestation and rape of women, destruction of people's property, etc. It was by relying on the people and with their involvement in the people's war that the PLGA fighters could repulse the enemy's vicious annihilation campaign.

Mother accuses police and JJMP of brutally murdering her teenaged son

In her two-room thatched hut, daily wage labourer Mantu Devi is inconsolable. It has been over three months since her 18-year-old son, Bhola Gosain, an intermediate student who used to double up as daily wage labourer, was brutally killed in December 2015, but the perpetrators are yet to be booked. "We looked for him all over the place, all the way to Ranchi, but he was nowhere to be found. When we approached the police, they did nothing... Mantu Devi said the culprits were moving freely in the town but that the police were turning a blind eye. "*Kalpai Kalpai ke mor beta ke jaan lei rahe. Garib ke chhauva ke koe bachai ke na rahe* (They brutally tortured my son to death. There was none to save the poor man's son)," she said. This family, hailing from Gumla's Ghagra block around 120 km west of capital Ranchi, is traditionally into farming, but post monsoon when the fields go dry they take up odd, menial jobs on daily wages for survival. "They broke all his limbs and buried him while he was still breathing. Police did not show any seriousness to solve the murder mystery" said Shankar Gosain, Bhola's elder brother, who also works in a brick kiln in another state.

Locals said the pro-police and anti-Maoist ultra-outfit, Jharkhand Jan Mukti Parishad (JJMP) had carried out Bhola's abduction and murder. A day before Bhola's abduction, suspected Maoists had killed a JJMP cadre, Rupesh Singh, in the town. JJMP cadres killed Bhola to take revenge as he was considered to be a Maoist sympathiser. JJMP cadres sleep in police barracks and terrorise people with impunity under their patronage. They are at the frontline of all combat operations against Maoists launched by the state forces. In return, they get free land and take the law into their hands .

Maoists set ablaze a portion of an under-construction mobile tower at Chhatarpur area in Palamu district of Jharkhand on 25 January. Three Maoist cadres who came on a two-wheeler also damaged a solar panel used for powering the mobile tower.

CPI(Maoist) cadres eliminated a junior police officer in Aurangabad district of Bihar on 25 January. He was responsible for passing on the information about the whereabouts of Maoist leader Comrade Bihari Yadav and his colleagues to his superiors, leading to the killing of the Maoist leader along with three other comrades on 8 January.

On 30 January, CPI(Maoist) cadres eliminated a police official in an encounter in Munger district, Bihar.

On 31 January, Maoists set ablaze eight vehicles engaged in road construction work at Ghatkuri and adjacent Pipri Sai village under Gua police station area in West Singhbhum district, Jharkhand.

On 15 February, Maoists arrested two railway staff during a bandh called by the Party in Jamui district of Bihar. Maoists partially damaged the Barhat block office building in Jamui district by exploding a cane bomb. A group of CoBRA jawans barely escaped a bomb blast triggered by the PLGA at Dhahi village under Dhibra police station in Aurangabad district, Bihar.

BJSAC of CPI(Maoist) called two-day Bihar-Jharkhand bandh on 15 and 16 February in protest against the killing of the BJSAC member Comrade Chirag da. Maoist cadres set ablaze a BSNL mobile tower at Mudwaro village in Bihar's Jamui district on the second day of the bandh. The shutdown affected normal life in rural areas in Jamui, Banka, Munger, Lakhisarai and other neighbouring districts. The bandh had its impact in Jharkhand too, particularly the rural areas of the state. Matriculation and intermediate examinations conducted by Jharkhand Academic Council were postponed, while most of the business establishments in Gomia, Nawadih, Bermo and other areas of Ranchi district remained close for two days. Commercial vehicles including long-distance buses remained off the roads. The

transportation of coal and other natural resources remained suspended during the bandh.

On 19 February, CPI(Maoist) cadres blew up the Newadi Panchayat building at Dihi village in Latehar district of Jharkhand and set ablaze a tower of a private telecom company at Chope village in the same district. The Maoists also pasted posters in the two villages.

On 20 February, PLGA cadres blew up a panchayat building at Balu under Balumath police station limits in Latehar district of Jharkhand. A generator set of private telecom company Reliance was also set ablaze on the same day.

CPI(Maoist) called a 24-hour bandh on 1 March to protest the killing of Zonal Committee Member Comrade Sanjay Yadav (Atinji) in a fake encounter by the police in Kodebera village under Palkot block of Gumla district, Jharkhand on 23 February.

Maoist cadres set ablaze 14 vehicles and equipment of a construction company engaged in a track-doubling project near Turki railway station in Muzaffarpur district of Bihar on 27 March. A group of about 50 Maoists stormed into the project office of Hari Construction Company at around 2 am and burnt down the vehicles and equipment.

Six CRPF personnel were injured on 2 April when PLGA fighters triggered an IED blast at Topchanchi in Dhanbad district of Jharkhand. The incident took place at Bodra village when a team of CRPF was on 'Long Range Patrol' on motorcycles. After triggering the blast, PLGA fired upon the convoy, resulting in an exchange of fire that lasted for over half an hour.

Three CoBRA jawans sustained splinter injuries on 7 April when Maoist cadres detonated an IED in Parasnath Hills of Giridih district in Jharkhand targeting the paramilitary contingent which was in pursuit. Police-paramilitary forces were carrying out anti-Maoist operation in the area since 6 April.

PLGA cadres triggered a blast at an under-construction Constable Training Centre abutting a CRPF camp at Jadugora under

Dandakaranya

Ghatshila sub-division of East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand on 19 April. Eleven low intensity bombs were placed on the under-constructed boundary wall of the training centre, six of which exploded and partially damaged it. The Maoists pasted posters at the blast site against Prime Minister Narendra Modi accusing him working for the foreign and domestic big capitalists. The Maoist party demanded a raise in the wages of unskilled laborers and expressed concern over pollution and environmental damage due to the government's reckless policies. It also opposed the setting up of the training centre being constructed on a hundred acres of land.

On 23 April, PLGA cadres blew up part of a school in Jamui district of Bihar where voting for the panchayat elections was scheduled to take place the day after.

CPI(Maoist) called a two-day bandh on 1 and 2 May in the four states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal in protest against the state government's anti-people policies and demanding a hike in the remuneration for the collection and sale of *kendu* leaves and lac. The bandh affected normal life in most parts of Jharkhand. Three encounters between the PLGA and the police-paramilitary forces took place across the state on the eve of the bandh.

PLGA cadres attacked Dhanbad-Jhargram passenger train at Kokpara Station on the Howrah-Mumbai main line in East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand on 19 May at about 10 pm. Three walkie-talkie sets were seized from the train driver, guard and the Station Master of Kokpara. Train movement was disrupted for some time after the incident. Kokpara falls under Kharagpur Division of South Eastern Railway.

On 31 May, PLGA cadres raided a base camp of a construction company that was engaged in building a bridge over Morhar River near Dhongila-Bathan under Bankebazar Police Station in Gaya district of Bihar. Construction material was damaged in the blasts carried out by the guerrillas. A mixing machine and generator too were set on fire.

A group of CoBRA jawans on patrol had a narrow escape when PLGA forces detonated a pipe bomb near Tarrem village under Basaguda police station in Bijapur district of Dandakaranya (DK) on 5 January. No one was injured in the blast.

A police constable was injured in an encounter with PLGA cadres under Tongpal police station in Sukma district on 12 January. A joint team of DRG and STF was carrying out an anti-Maoist operation in the region when a group of Maoists opened fire on them followed by an encounter between the two sides.

A police constable was injured in firing by PLGA fighters in the Kunna forest under Tongpal police station in Sukma district on 15 January when a joint team of DRG and STF was carrying out an anti-Maoist operation in the area.

On 23 January, a CRPF jawan was injured in an IED blast triggered by the PLGA near Sameli village in Dantewada district.

Maoist cadres set ablaze three vehicles including two tippers engaged in sand mining in Bijapur district on 27 January.

A jawan of CRPF's 111 battalion was seriously injured after getting hit by a booby-trap explosion set up by members of the people's militia near Sameli village of Dantewada district on 30 January. The jawan was a part of the government forces deployed to provide security to the construction of a road in the area.

Two SSB personnel were injured in an IED explosion triggered by the PLGA cadres in Kanker district on 1 February. SSB jawans were patrolling along the under-construction Raoghat railway line between Kacche and Bhaisamundi villages in Bhanupratappur area. The IED was planted in a pressure cooker and was placed under a heap of *murram* around 30 metres away from the track.

Maoist cadres detonated five serial IED blasts and fired at a patrol party of paramilitary

PLGA's armed action against mining company at Amdai Hills

In the morning of 6 March, PLGA attacked an unit of the enemy troops which came for opening the Amdai mines and build roads to it. Two troopers were seriously injured and an automatic rifle was seized. Unfortunately, two youths working for the police and the company too died in the attack. Comprador big bourgeois company Neko Jaiswal is operating the Amdai Ghati mining project at Amdaimetta in Narayanpur district, DK.

Naco Jaiswal Company has been trying for many years to get the Amdai iron ore mines opened with the help of Modi-Raman Singh's BJP governments. Turning a deaf ear to the opposition of tens of thousands of people of twelve panchyats of Chote Dongar pargana and flouting all legal provisions such as the Fifth Schedule, PESA, FRA etc., the company is depending on paramilitary and police force to acquire and exploit the mines. A new BSF camp has been set up at Chote Dongar for this purpose. The project threatens to destroy the forest and fragile environment and pollute the Maad River. People's source of livelihood from forest produce will be taken away and the lives of lakhs of people in the region will be devastated. BJP governments at the centre and in Chhattisgarh have deployed a large number of central and state paramilitary-police forces to protect the interests of the mining companies to crush the anti-mining people's movement. Several youths involved in the revolutionary and people's movements like Baman Poyam, Halder Kashyap, Hadma, Baldev, Lakku and Munna, Adivasi leaders like Jait Korram, Rengu and Motu and even traditional healers such as Sonnaru Kachlam who opposed the mines have been killed by government armed forces in fake encounters. These repressive measures have only strengthened the resolve of the people and the people's guerrilla army to prevent this devastation by all means.

forces between Bodili and Bhairamgarh on Geedam-Bhopalpatnam road in Bijapur district on 10 February. No one was injured in the incident.

A jawan belonging to the 170th Battalion of CRPF was severely injured in a blast triggered by the PLGA near Kongpalli in Bijapur district on 12 February.

A BSF trooper was killed in a firefight with the PLGA in Sangam village of Kanker district on 13 February, while another BSF jawan was attacked by the Maoists in Pakhanjur town of the same district. Three CRPF jawans were injured in a landmine blast in Kondapara area of Dantewada district on the same day.

A CRPF Assistant Commandant and a constable were injured in an IED blast at Aranpur village in Dantewada district on 21 February.

Three CoBRA commandos were killed and at least fifteen were injured in a series of encounters with PLGA fighters in Sukma district lasting for two days on 3 and 4 March. The injured included the commander of CoBRA forces and the chief of the state DRG force. They had attacked Dugmarka and Potempalli villages in Kistaram area while returning after killing nine comrades at Bottem village on 1 March. A company size detachment of the enemy forces was isolated, encircled and kept under continuous attack for over 26 hours by the red fighters, eliminating three and injuring 17. In the course of the battle, PLGA's main force with the assistance of secondary and base force (people's militia) pursued over 400 mercenary police-paramilitary jawans for 15 kilometers all the way up to their camp. It was a fitting reply by the PLGA to the massacre of our comrades at Bottem.

A one-day bandh was observed in DK on 7 March to protest against the Bottem encounter of 1 March. The bandh was near total in most of Dandakaranya.

Maoist cadres killed the manager of a private company Sarda Iron Ore Mines in Pallemadi village under Khadgaon police station in Rajnandgaon district on 7 March. The Maoists also set ablaze six vehicles belonging to the company.

PLGA fighters triggered a landmine blast killing a CRPF Head Constable and leaving 11 personnel injured in Morli forest area near Konta town of Sukma district on 10 March.

CRPF personnel were deployed for guarding the road construction work between Kunta and Gollapalli. They were on patrol in the area when they came under PLGA's attack.

Maoists set ablaze a private bus after asking its passengers to get down near Bandepara village under Kutru police station in Bijapur district. The bus was on its way from Bijapur to Vedre.

On 12 March, two BSF jawans were killed and four others were critically wounded in an encounter with PLGA cadres in Vecha forests of Kanker district. A special operation was launched from Chotibetia BSF camp on 11

Maoist guerrillas eliminate seven CRPF men in Dantewada

Seven CRPF jawans were killed in a landmine explosion triggered by the PLGA near the Malewara market on the Dantewada-Sukma road in Dantewada district on 30 March. PLGA targeted a vehicle carrying personnel of CRPF's 230th Battalion stationed at Ghusaras CRPF camp in Dantewada. The eliminated jawans included a Sub-Inspector, five constables and a driver. Three other jawans were injured.

CPI(Maoist) claimed responsibility for the attack. In a press statement, South Sub-zonal Bureau of DKSZC said that the action was carried out as a response to the state terror unleashed on the revolutionary forces and the masses under 'Mission-2016'. It was to defend the life and property of the masses and their democratic and civil rights which were continually violated by the mercenary armed forces of the government. It was to protest against the attempts by Modi-Raman Singh governments to hand over the valuable natural resources of Bastar to domestic and foreign big corporates. The attack was also against displacement. It was against the killing of Party activists and the common masses in the name of uprooting the Maoists under 'Mission-2016'. It was also to teach a lesson to the police and paramilitary personnel who were carrying out heinous sexual violence on Adivasi women. It was done with the aim of consolidating the Krantikari Janatana Sarkars on the path of real development and self-rule by defeating 'Mission-2016'. It was in response to IG Kalluri's claim of making Darbha Division "Naxal-free".

The statement further noted, "This attack is to avenge the blood spilled by the martyred comrades of Nangalguda, Bhejaguda and Bottem, and we will continue such counter-offensive attacks. It is not an act of cowardice as claimed by Kalluri & co. It is in fact the administration and the police, paramilitary and DRG forces of the BJP government who are acting in a cowardly manner by killing unarmed villagers in fake encounters and claiming credit for shooting down 'Maoists'. We have carried out this attack on the CRPF jawans against the pro-imperialist policies of globalisation, against the suicide of farmers, against the privatisation of education and healthcare and for the rights of the people on *jal-jangal-zameen* and their democratic rights. This attack is justified as it is against the cruel Operation Green Hunt. We will certainly retaliate against the arrogant commandos and DRF forces and chase them out. All the oppressed people hail the wiping out of the government mercenary forces."

March by 122nd, 165th and 170th Battalions of BSF. The encounter took place the next day at around 2.25 am near Vecha village.

Two CRPF jawans were injured in two separate attacks by PLGA cadres in Dantewada district on 18 March.

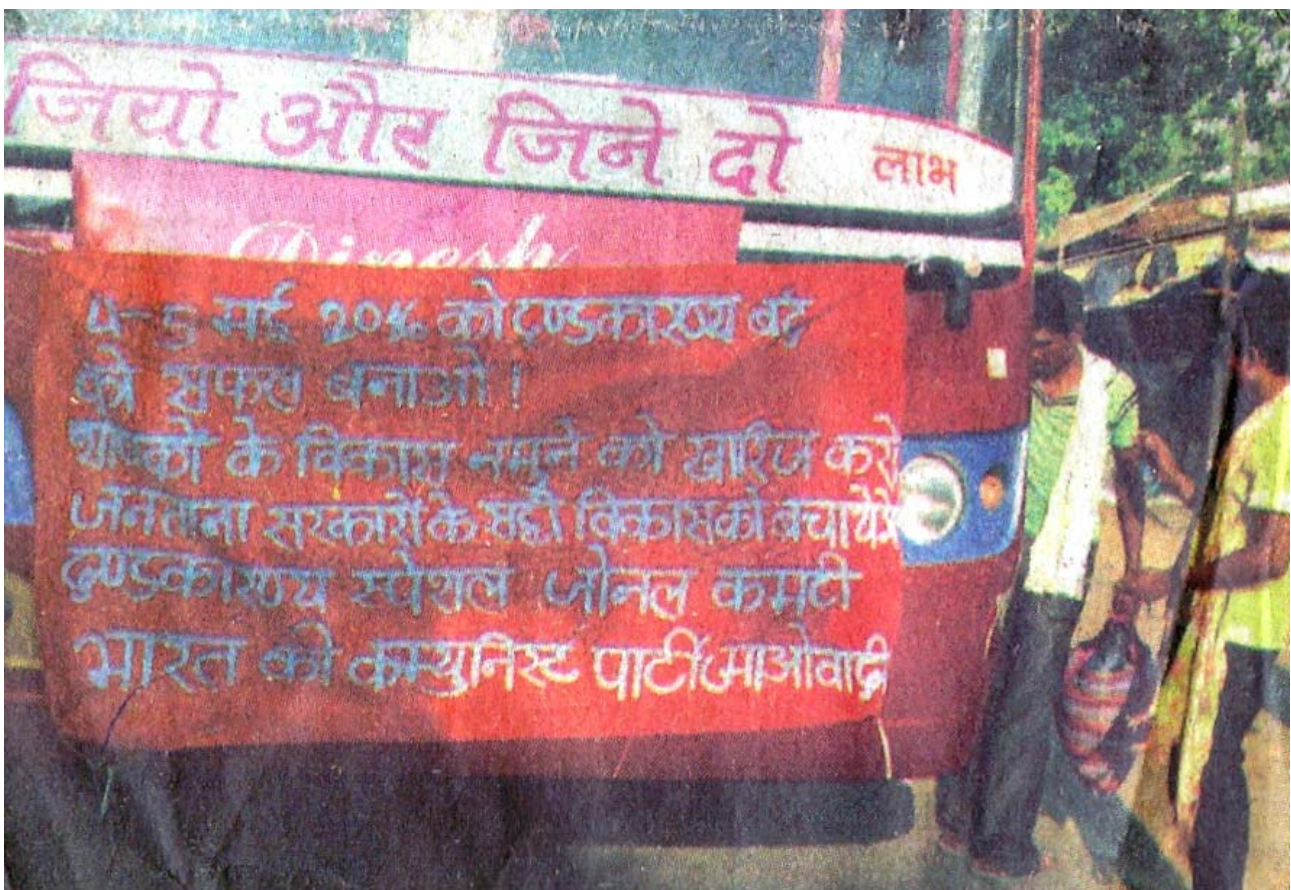
Muralikrishna Reddy, Bijapur district president of BJP's youth wing BJYM was injured in an attack carried out by PLGA cadres at Bhairamgad town of Bijapur on 2 April. He sustained three bullet injuries and was airlifted by an IAF helicopter in a serious condition to Raipur for treatment.

A CRPF jawan belonging to its 195th Battalion was injured in a pressure bomb blast triggered by the Maoists in Dantewada district on 3 April. The incident took place at Dabba Kunna forests under Katekalyan police station when paramilitary forces were returning from an anti-Maoist operation.

A policeman was injured in a pressure bomb blast triggered by PLGA near Maoulimor village under Raoghat police station in Kanker district on 4 April. On getting information that Maoists had installed banners, posters and

blocked the Raoghat-Maoulimora road by felling trees, a joint team of District Force and BSF approached the spot. While the police personnel were trying to remove a banner, an IED placed under it went off injuring a constable. A civilian who was present at the spot also sustained splinter injuries.

DKSZC of CPI(Maoist) gave a call for Dandakaranya Bandh on 15 April opposing the recent air-to-ground firing exercise carried out by IAF's Garuda commandos in Sukma district on 1 April. A similar aerial firing practice was conducted in Bijapur last year. In a pamphlet DKSZC spokesperson Comrade Vikalp appealed to make the bandh successful. The pamphlet said, "For the last six months aircrafts are bombing in the area of south Bastar, Sukma, Dantewada and Bijapur districts as a preparation of aerial attack on the Maoist Party, PLGA and the revolutionary people anywhere and at any moment... Security forces are conducting fake encounters and arresting innocent personnel under fabricated charges. The government had earlier said that helicopters were only being used for logistics and firing on Maoists was to be only



DKSZC banner on a passanger bus calling for Dandakaranya bandh on 4-5 May

in 'self-defence'. But the fact is that as part of the Operation Green Hunt, the government has given full authority to the air force to attack the Maoists." The statement condemned this move by the government.

A police jawan belonging to the District Force was killed and one CAF jawan was injured in a PLGA ambush on 8 April in Pamed area of Bijapur district. A group of Maoists opened fire on jawans guarding a helipad deep inside the forest under Pamed police station area before the landing of a helicopter meant to transport ration for them. After dropping the consignment, the chopper returned and the policemen began marching back to their base when they were trapped in the ambush.

A CRPF Deputy Commandant who had suffered severe IED splinter injuries during an anti-Maoist operation on 11 March in Sukma district died on 12 April in a hospital in Hyderabad. The officer was in coma for a month.

A police constable was killed when he stepped on a pressure bomb planted by PLGA cadres in a forest between Matwada and Jangla villages under Jangla police station in Bijapur district on 14 April. The constable was part of a Road Opening Party and was posted in Jangla Police Station.

Maoists set ablaze four vehicles parked near an under-construction bridge between Baseli and Sahpal villages under Sitagaon police station in Madanwada area of Rajnandgaon district on 15 April. The vehicles included a truck, an earthmover, an SUV and a motorcycle, the first two being engaged in road construction.

Three CRPF personnel belonging to its 74th Battalion were injured in an IED blast during an anti-Maoist operation near Chintagufa-Burkapal in Sukma district of DK on 18 April.

A policeman was killed and another sustained critical injuries during an encounter with PLGA cadres in the forests of Marjoom village under Tongpal police station limits of Dantewada on 20 April. Both belonged to the DRG. The encounter took place when a joint

PLGA cadre bamboozles the enemy and makes away with weapons

Maoist cadre Comrade Madkam Deva, who came to Basaguda police station in Bijapur district expressing his willingness to 'surrender', hoodwinked the policemen and ran away with sophisticated weapons in the middle of his interrogation session on 18 May. Bijapur SP K L Dhruv admitted that "During the break in the interrogation which we usually do for any rebel ahead of their surrender process, Deva, who claimed himself to be a Maoist, fled from the police station carrying one AK-47 rifle, 90 live cartridges, one Under Barrel Grenade Launcher (UBGL) and around 10 grenades". The 23 year old Maoist cadre bamboozled over fifty policemen present in the police station and not only made good his escape but brought sophisticated weapons from the enemy. Though the police launched a manhunt once it dawned on them that Deva had escaped from under their nose, it was to no avail. Comrade Deva has rejoined the ranks in the PLGA and deposited the seized weapons to the Party.

team of police-paramilitary personnel was carrying out an anti-Maoist operation in the bordering region of Sukma-Dantewada districts.

A CoBRA commando was injured in firing by the PLGA near Puvvarti village in Basaguda area of Bijapur district on 26 April.

On 28 April, an Assistant Platoon Commander of the 10th Battalion of Chhattisgarh Armed Force (CAF) was killed in a booby-trap explosion by the PLGA near Phulgatta village in Bijapur district. While patrolling in the area, the policeman stepped over a landmine triggering the explosion in

which he was critically injured and later died during treatment.

A large number of PLGA and people's militia cadres stormed the Bachelu iron ore mines run by NMDC in Dantewada district and set ablaze its conveyor belt on 4 May, the first day of the two-day Central Region bandh called by the CPI(Maoist). The incident took place in the forested hills between iron ore deposits nos. 5 and 11. It has brought the transportation of iron ore in the area to a halt.

An Assistant Constable of DRG was killed in an IED blast triggered by Maoist cadres at Maraiguda in Sukma district on 9 May. The constable stepped on a landmine when a joint CRPF and DRG team was patrolling the area and was severely injured. He later succumbed to injuries.

PLGA cadres set fire to the Kumharsarda railway station in Bastar district on 13 May. A large amount of railway equipment was damaged, while railway traffic on the route too was affected.

An ITBP jawan was injured in an IED blast triggered by the PLGA targeting the government troops carrying out patrol in Kurusnar-Gumiabeda forests of Narayanpur district on 16 May. The ITBP team was hit by a twin IED blast in which one constable sustained splinter injuries.

A CRPF constable was killed in a sniper attack mounted by PLGA fighters targeting a paramilitary camp in the forests of Rangareddy in Gangalur area of Bijapur district in the afternoon of 17 May. The incident occurred at about 3 am when a Maoist squad opened sniper fire on a CRPF camp of the District. The constable, who was on sentry duty, sustained bullet injuries and succumbed to his injuries.

On 18 May, a DRG constable was injured in an encounter with Maoist cadres in the forests of Munga village in Bijapur district. On the same day, PLGA cadres triggered an IED blast targeting a team of police-paramilitary personnel guarding an under-construction road near Amdai Ghati under Chhote Dongar police station in Narayanpur district. A policeman was injured in the blast.

Over a hundred PLGA guerrillas attacked the Ranapal Operating Camp of ITBP in Kondagaon district in the night of 8 June with improvised grenades. They also fired upon the camp. The ensuing firing lasted for three hours. There was no casualty on either side.

Madhya Pradesh

Madhya Pradesh Police claimed that its Hawk commando forces exchanged heavy fire twice on 7 April with a PLGA squad in the forest areas of Chukatola and Bhagwandehi in Balaghat district in which one Maoist was injured. North Gadchiroli-Gondia Divisional Committee of the CPI(Maoist), however, refuted this claim in pamphlets distributed in the last week of April in which the Committee warned Balaghat SP Gaurav Tiwari and police informers of dire consequences for making false claims about the encounter. The pamphlet also warned the *sarpanchs* to clear the overdue wages to the people who have worked under MNREGA within a fortnight or else resign from their posts.

Maharashtra

17 incidents of exchange of fire between PLGA and government forces took place in Gadchiroli between January and June 2016. Six PLGA comrades were martyred while three paramilitary-police personnel, six SPO were annihilated and 7 of them were wounded.

Maoist cadres eliminated a constable of Hedri police post in Etapalli division of Gadchiroli district on 10 March when a team of policemen was patrolling a village market.

A Small Action Team of the PLGA wiped out a policeman who was posted as a bodyguard of former Maharashtra MLA Deepak Atram at Mauje Chhalledwada village in Gadchiroli district on 14 April. The attack was carried out during a public function which was to be addressed by the former MLA. The bodyguard was posted on duty near the stage when he was attacked by the PLGA fighters. He sustained bullet injuries and died later at the District Civil Hospital.

The heroic last battle of Comrade Rajita



An encounter took place between the police and PLGA guerrillas in Mahwada village of Dhanora tehsil in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra at around mid-day of 8 May this year. Though PLGA comrades retreated safely, three comrades got separated from the main batch during the firing. The three included North Gadchiroli DVCM Comrade Rajita (Samma Usendi) and a young comrade who was new recruit of the PLGA. Rajita was working as the Secretary of Kasansur Area Committee till early this year and was recently elected to the Divisional Committee in the division plenum held in January 2016. She was new to the area and was not familiar with the masses or the terrain. Of the three, one comrade got separated on the way. As the two of them could not find their way out of the area without a guide, they once again returned to Mahwada village and asked the villagers to take them to Hurrekassa village at night. They reached Hurrekassa at 2 in the night. The village was not among those

frequented by the Party. They asked one person in the village to show them the way to the main PLGA batch. But as it was 2 am by then, they decided to wait till the morning. However, it was difficult to move out during the day undetected. So they decided to remain in the house till the evening. When it was getting dark, the comrades came out of the house to leave. But just then they got the news that a police batch was approaching. They once again went back to the same house to wait till the police went away.

But the police came to know through their informers that our comrades were taking shelter in that house. Based on this specific information, hundreds of C-60 commandos and armed policemen surrounded the house. As it was getting dark, the police lit up the place with headlights of their vehicles. By around 6 pm, police officers including SP Sandeep Patil started to address the comrades through loud speaker, asking them to surrender. The police officers told about the 'rehabilitation packages' for surrendered Maoists and assured that no harm would come to them if they surrendered. They did not fail to remind that the comrades had only two rifles and it was futile to put up a fight. But the comrades ignored these baits and threats

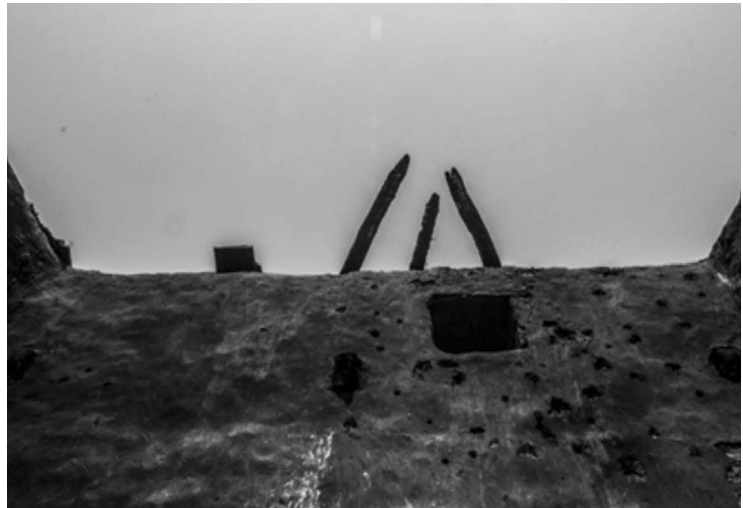


Above and next page: Remains of the house where Rajita fought her last battle.

Courtesy: Javed Iqbal

of surrender. The police then got some surrendered former Maoists and a few villagers to convince the comrades to surrender. But they refused to lay down their arms. Failing in all their attempts, the police started their brutal assault. They started to pound the house with machine gun fire, mortar shells and grenades. The village was transformed into a veritable war-zone with booming sound of gunfire, explosions, Mine-Proof Vehicles (MPVs) and other heavy police vehicles. The comrades returned fire valiantly, stopping the policemen from coming near the house. They also removed the ladder to the upper storey of the house where they had taken position. The house was sprayed with bullets and shells. They used the MPV to hit at the walls of the house. Then the policemen started to fire from the ground floor piercing the wooden floor of the upper storey. But all this failed to harm or dislodge our comrades. The attack went on till 2 in the morning. Our comrades had by that time almost exhausted their ammunition.

Finally, after failing with all this to dislodge the two holed-up comrades, the commando forces displayed their fascist nature by setting the house on fire on the orders of the ruling-class lackeys Gadchiroli SP Sandeep Patil, Additional SP Mahesh Reddy and DGP Ravindra Kadam. They thereby trampled all the rules of war underfoot. Just as the house was being consumed by fire and the smoke and heat was becoming unbearable, the two comrades made one last attempt to break out of the enemy encirclement. They opened a small hole in the roof by hitting it with their rifle butts. The young comrade was the first to slide out of it. Once out of



the house, he ran through a hail of enemy bullets, broke through and managed to escape unhurt. Comrade Rajita, who chose to be the last to attempt the escape, was already engulfed by the fire as the house turned into an inferno. The villagers could hear her screams but could do nothing to help her in the presence of the enemy troops.

34 year old Com-rade Rajita took on the hated enemy forces and kept them at bay for several hours till the last bullet in her AK-47. Choosing death over surrender to the enemy, she laid down her life upholding the heroic tradition of communist guerrillas and the PLGA. Following the tradition of the heroic martyred comrades like Ranita (both were from the same village) Comrade Rajita has established one more glorious example of heroism and sacrifice.

Odisha

On 2 January 2, Maoist cadres set on fire eight machines used for road construction work at Sirigidi in Nuapada district after asking the labourers to vacate the site.

PLGA cadres set ablaze construction equipment belonging to a private contractor who was laying a part of the Biju Expressway on the Sohela-Nuapada stretch in Nuadihi village under Melchamunda police station of Bargarh district on 7 January.

Odisha State Committee (OSC) of the CPI(Maoist) called a two-day Odisha and Chhattisgarh bandh starting on 8 January. Comrade Budhram, spokesperson of the Nuapada-Mainpur Joint Division of the OSC appealed in a video statement to the people of Nuapada, Kalahandi, Nabarangpur, Rayagada, Koraput and Malkangiri districts of Odisha and Gariabandh, Mahasamund, Dhamtari and Kanker districts of Chhattisgarh to observe the bandh to protest against the fascist Operation Green Hunt.

On 26 January, PLGA cadres torched a JCB machine and a tractor engaged in the construction of a road under Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) in Daliakuji village of Hatamuniguda Gram Panchayat in the Niyamagiri Hills under Muniguda Police Station of Rayagada district. They put up posters and banners at Dhepaguda Chowk and in Parsali village inhabited by Kui Adivasis against the deceptive reform programmes of the BJD government. The Maoist Party gave a call to the Adivasis to get organised in a



JCB machine engaged in PMGSY road building in Daliakuji village, Rayagada burnt by the PLGA

people's militia in all the villages to defend their land and intensify their movement against the multinational Vedanta Company. The posters said that Naveen Patnaik government were using new strategies to suppress the democratic struggle of the people by deploying police force around Niyamagiri Hills. Not with negotiations and pleading but only through struggle the people's rights could be claimed, read the posters. The Party called upon the people to observe the coming Republic Day as a black day.

CPI(Maoist) called for a boycott of Republic Day celebrations and hoisted black flags in several places of Bolangir district on 26 January. The Maoists unfurled black flags on school premises in Chaulabangi in Khaprakhol block and put up posters appealing to the people to boycott the Republic Day.

CPI(Maoist) called a bandh in four blocks of Rayagada district and one block of Kalahandi district on 15 March to protest against the firing by paramilitary-police personnel near Dangamati village in Niyamagiri Hills under Kalyansinghpur police station on 27 February.

Maoists set on fire an empty *phadi* (storeroom) of *kendu* leaves at Gaurpali village of Ambabhona block in Bargarh district. In the banners left behind at the site of the incident, the CPI(Maoist) claimed responsibility for the action and accused government officials of exploiting the poor *kendu* workers who are being paid a meager wage. It demanded a hike in the wages of *kendu* leave workers.

Balangir-Bargarh-Mahasamund (BBM) Division of OSC put up posters in Chancherbhata of Khaprakhol block and in Khuntpali in Balangir Sadar block on 10 May demanding a halt to the construction of Lower Suktel Dam project in Balangir district and Pujaripali Dam project in Bargarh district. These projects threaten to displace tens of thousands of people and create environmental havoc. The people of the region are fighting against their construction for a long time, but the governments are unmindful of the people's concerns.

One-day bandh called in protest against the killing of Maoist leaders in AOB

East Divisional Committee of CPI(Maoist)'s AOBSZC called a East Division bandh on 16 May in protest against the killing of Galikonda Area Committee Secretary Comrade Azad and ACM comrades Anand and Kamala in Marripakala forest area near Palasamudram of Koyyuru mandal of Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh on 4 May. The Committee in a press release said that no encounter had taken place as claimed by AP Police. The notorious Greyhounds commandos, acting on a tip-off provided by the Special Intelligence Branch (APSIB) which was in turn informed by some anti-people elements about the movement of the Maoists, cordoned off the area where the Maoists were resting and shot them dead in unprovoked and one-sided firing. The press release said that this attack was a part of the third phase of

Operation Green Hunt, launched by Narendra Modi government soon after coming to power at the centre. The aim of this intensification of the 'war on people' is to hand over valuable mineral resources to the corporates by wiping out all kinds of people's movements, particularly the Maoist movement with the active participation of the state governments. "The governments do not want the Maoist party to survive since it is leading the Girijans in their struggle to protect the forest wealth," the press release said. It pointed out that the TDP government has intensified killings under anti-Maoist operations in the Agency Area to scuttle the one and a half decade old anti-mining agitation and one decade old agitation to take over coffee plantations. It cited the example of the killing of two Girijans by the government armed forces at Puttakota on 23 February in a fake encounter as an example of state's war on people. They were not armed Maoists as claimed by the police but tribal villagers from Odisha who had crossed over

to AP for hunting. This was also corroborated by civil rights activists who had visited the village in Odisha and spoke to an injured survivor. The police also arrested 24 youths by labeling them as Maoist sympathisers. These acts of state repression have forced a number of families in Jerrela area to leave their villages and fertile lands. Not content with the present level of repression, the central government in connivance with the TDP government is trying to scale up its offensive by planning to set up as many as 100 BSF camps and more than 100 mobile towers in the region even though the people are opposing them. The Party warned the Greyhounds and other government forces of strong retaliation in response to their fascist acts including fake encounters to suppress the people and the revolutionary movement. It reiterated its vow to continue its support to the Girijans until the objectives of their struggle were achieved.

Condemnation of the killing of two Adivasis by the fascist Greyhounds commandos

Two Koya Adivasis from Odisha, Ganga Madkami (40) and Ganga Podiami (33), were killed by AP Greyhound commandos in Puttakota forest near Gadamamedi Matamveemavaram village, Koyyuru mandal in Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh in the afternoon of 21 February 2016. Both of them were residents of Balakati village in Dudametta Panchayat, Korukonda block, Malkangiri district of Odisha. The police later claimed that they had killed two members of Galikonda Area Committee of CPI(Maoist) in an encounter. But Irma Kawasi (50) of Tumasapalli village, who sustained injuries in the attack but somehow survived, exposed the police's lies. He said that there was no encounter at all and that the police shot and killed the two in unprovoked firing when they were resting in the forest.

Narrating the sequence of events of 21 February, Irma said that it was a traditional practice of Koya, Gadapa and Palu Adivasis

of Odisha to cross over to Andhra Pradesh for hunting every year. A single batch might include 20 to 200 people armed with bows and arrows, spears, axes, etc. Now a days they also used licensed weapons. A group of 22 Koya Adivasis from Balakati, Tumasapalli and Nemelguda villages of Korukonda block in Malkangiri district set out on a traditional hunt (*vetta*) on 14 February. They crossed the inter-state border from Odisha into Puttakota Reserve Forest of AP in search of wild buffaloes and encamped between Meddikota and Jotalamamedi villages. They planned to remain there for a week, hunt their prey, dry the meat and take it back to their villages, which would be their main source of meat for six months.

On 21 February, a small group of four villagers went out in search of game while the rest stayed back to cook food. Two of them carried country-made guns while the other two were armed with bows and arrows. After 45 minutes they reached a stream where the police were lying in ambush. As they stopped there to take rest, a burst of gunfire hit them, killing Ganga Madkami and Ganga Podiami instantly. Kawasi was hit by two bullets but managed to escape, so did another villager who was unhurt. He reached Puttakota village, where the villagers helped him and gave him shelter. But the police came the next day looking for him and took him to Narsipatnam along with the bodies of the two murdered villagers. Kawasi was then admitted by the police in a hospital and allowed to return home only after three weeks. To keep the incident under wraps, the police gave the family members of the two deceased villagers ten thousand rupees each while Kawasi was given five thousand.

Democratic and civil rights organisations of AP and Telangana have condemned this killing. They demanded that the guilty Greyhound commandos be booked under murder charges and prosecuted. They also demanded an independent enquiry into the incident and adequate compensation for the next of kin of the dead villagers and for the injured Irma Kawasi.

Protest against new police outposts and camps in Visakha Agency Area

The central and state governments are going ahead with their plan of establishing one hundred police outposts in Korukonda region of Visakha Agency Area on Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB). They plan to set up the first outpost in Rallagedda Kuttur village of Balapam panchayat in Chintapalli mandal since this is considered to be the gateway to the region of bauxite deposits. 10 acres of agricultural land belonging to six Adivasi families were already acquired by the government in Rallegadda Kuttur village for the outpost. Visakha Rural SP Koya Praveen visited Rallagedda Kuttur and inspected the site for the proposed outpost.

When the people came to know about it, the villagers of the panchayat held a meeting in Korukonda village and protested with their traditional weapons. Adivasi villagers on the Odisha border also joined them. The people perceive it as another move to crush the ongoing movement against proposed bauxite mining. They demanded that the plan for police outposts from Santabayalu to Korukoda junction be withdrawn and the GO No.97 allowing bauxite mining be scrapped. They said that the land of the Adivasis was being taken away for the profit of big capitalists and women were facing harassment. They also carried out a rally in Korukonda. When the protesting villagers were going back to Rallagedda Kuttur, the police stopped them on the way and asked why they were carrying arms and why had they come. The people replied that they were Adivasi peasants and it was their birthright to carry weapons. The masses are defying the imposition of Police Act 30 under which people are prohibited from assembling and holding meetings.

Instead of paying heed to the people's demands, however, the government is going ahead with its plan for the outposts. Home Minister Rajnath Singh visited Visakhapatnam on 18 February 2016 and held meeting with the DGPs of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha and the Directors

General of CRPF and BSF. One more battalion of BSF was allotted to AP and the plan for police outposts was approved in the meeting. Police outposts are being constructed on a war-footing at Rodakota under Peddabayalu Area Committee of Malkangiri-Koraput Division, while another is being built at Maddigaru. An outpost is planned near Petur in Potangi block of Koraput district where a BSF camp has already been set up. Likewise, a new BSF camp has been set up in Diguagollur village of Gollur panchayat area.

In Peddabayalu area and on its border too another camp has been set up as a part of extending the enemy's carpet security grid. Preparations are being made to put camps in Maddigaru and Laxmipur as well. A new camp has been set up at Kortanapalli on Dandakaranya-Boipariguda border. At Dandabadi too, the another camp is planned. The government machinery is also engaged in completing the construction of the bridge on Gurupriya River to connect the 'cut-off' area of Malkangiri to Odisha mainland. Four new camps will be set up in the 'cut-off' area after it is finished. Roads and mobile towers are being constructed at gunpoint. Small teams of informers are sent to the forests to gather information about the Maoists and the struggling people. Observation posts are being set up to study and monitor the terrain and routes. Two to three hundred people destroyed the mobile towers at Katapada, Cheppakuru and Koliyantala in December-January during a month-long campaign against the communication network of the enemy.

The masses of Visakha are carrying on the anti-mining struggle for the last fifteen years. After the elimination of a Majhi sarpanch named Venkataramana in Jerralla village by the Maoist guerrillas as per the people's verdict for acting as an agent of the mining companies, fabricated murder cases were foisted on 30 villagers participating in the anti-mining agitation and sent to jail. A local YSR-Congress MLA Giddi Iswari who spoke out against the TDP government and Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu for giving a go ahead to mining was charged with sedition. The police even tried to kill the Maoist leadership of the Srikakulam-Koraput

Division who are leading the anti-mining struggle through poisoning. But the people are continuing the struggle by facing such conspiracies and repressive measures.

People's resistance to Operation Green Hunt in AOB

Kondru village in AOB has been the target of repression and frequent attacks by the government armed forces engaged in anti-Maoist operation due to the militancy of its villagers. After suffering several such attacks, the revolutionary mass organisations of the village issued a call to put up resistance to these forces. The next time when the notorious Greyhound commandos were returning from combing between Kondru and Nanabari villages, they caught hold of a few youths of Kondru village coming from a weekly market and were taking them away. When the people of Nanabari got the news, they pursued the Greyhounds in large numbers with traditional weapons, chased them for three kilometres and beat up a police Sub-Inspector. The commandos fled leaving behind the youths they had arrested.

On another occasion, a few residents of Sujeri village were rounded up by the government forces combing the forests when they had gone for a hunt. Their homemade guns were confiscated. When the villagers got to know about it, they came with sticks, axes and knives and demanded the policemen to return the guns as the Adivasis had the right to their traditional weapons. The police tried to hit them but the people retaliated. When the situation became too dangerous for the police, they returned the guns and left.

In Surimetta village the police arranged a public relation camp, conducted a meeting, and distributed some free gifts to the villagers. They also propagated it in the newspapers in an attempt to present a people-friendly face of the brutal government forces. When the people read this, they gathered the material given by the police on the road and burnt them publicly, declaring that the government was not serious about meeting their basic necessities and were only trying to gain publicity with such freebies.

Opposition against persecution of former Maoist activist by Warangal Police

Dara Saraiah, a former Maoist activist who had been living a civilian life for the last few years and was sustaining his family by driving an auto-rickshaw, has come out openly against the persecution, harassment and intimidation he has been continuously facing from Warangal Police. Addressing a press conference at Warangal town on 14 March, Saraiah, who is a resident of Munipalli village in Hasanparthy mandal of the district, revealed that policemen had visited his house in the evening of 1 March with the aim of causing harm to him. They surrounded his house and asked him to come out. Well aware of the criminal methods of the police who are adept at extra-judicially eliminating their targets under the cover of darkness, Saraiah refused to comply. The policemen then broke the ventilators of the house, threatened and abused him. His mother and wife were traumatised by the lawless khaki goons.

Saraiah also recounted the harrowing experience of 7 February 2014 when a special team of SIB had abducted him and took him to Hyderabad, where some top police officials pressurised him to work as their covert against the Maoist movement. They instructed him to infiltrate into the Maoist Party and eliminate some selected leadership comrades of Telangana State Committee of CPI(Maoist) by poisoning their food. "The police threatened to kill me if I didn't heed to their conspiracy. Unable to bear the pressure, I had attempted suicide. My father had a stroke triggered by these incidents and he passed away", Saraiah told the journalists. Leaders of revolutionary and democratic organisations and civil liberties organisations of Telangana also addressed the press meet along with Saraiah's mother and wife. All of them condemned in one voice the lawless acts of Warangal Police who were carrying out an urban version of counter-revolutionary Operation Green Hunt.

Denial of police permission fails to stop meeting against Operation Green Hunt

Warangal Police tried to scuttle a public meeting organised by Telangana Democratic Front (TDF) in Warangal town in May this year by denying permission. The purpose of the meeting was to oppose the fascist 'war on people' waged by the country's rulers in the name of Operation Green Hunt in different parts of the country, of which the ruling TRS government of Telangana too has been a willing accomplice. This explains the unwillingness of the government and its police to allow this meeting or similar programmes. But the police could only find a ridiculous excuse for its denial – they said that underground Maoists would attend the meeting, creating a law-and-order problem!

The organisers and the democratic forces came out strongly opposing this authoritarian, arbitrary and undemocratic act by the police at the behest of their political masters. They pointed out that the police are carrying out the orders of the same TRS government which claimed to fight for the democratic rights of the people during the separate state movement. They criticized the TRS for crushing the democratic right of the people to assemble and express their political opinion by using the police. In this way, TRS was proving to be no different from the previous governments of Andhra Pradesh which brutally suppressed all kinds of people's movements for decades including the movement for a democratic Telangana state by using the police, they noted.

While opposing this violation of fundamental rights politically, the organisers also approached the High Court. The court acknowledged the highhandedness of the police and gave a go ahead to the meeting with certain conditions. Though a large contingent of police personnel was deployed at and around the meeting hall to create an atmosphere of fear so that the masses stayed away from the meeting, the people defeated

this ploy by participating in large numbers. Speakers representing various revolutionary and democratic organisations discussed the prevailing warlike situation in the Maoist movement areas, threw light on the growing incidents of state terror and expressed solidarity with the struggling people.

Protest against the killing of comrades Kumaraswamy and Soni in fake encounter

The last rites of Maoist leader and member of the Odisha State Committee of CPI(Maoist) Comrade Puttapaka Kumaraswamy (Basant, Veeranna) was held on 28 January at his native village Bhanjipet in Narasampet mandal of Warangal district in Telangana. Comrade Kumaraswamy along with his life partner Comrade Soni (Rama), a Divisional Committee Member and native of village is Kindangi of East Division in AOB, was captured and killed by the police in a fake encounter in Odisha on 24 January. His body was brought to Bhanjipet three days later.

The masses of the area and the leaders and representatives of various revolutionary, democratic and peoples' organisations attended the funeral. Speaking on the occasion, they accused the Modi and KCR governments of eliminating revolutionaries extra-judicially who were working for the people. Describing it as a fake encounter, they recalled that Kumaraswamy lived an underground life for 22 years and worked in the Maoist party in various capacities and at various places including Dandakaranya, contributed to the expansion of the Maoist movement into new areas of Odisha like Kalinganagar and was martyred for the liberation of the oppressed people. They also spoke out against the leaders of parliamentary parties who did not speak out against the fake encounter or opposed the government's undeclared policy of eliminating Maoist revolutionaries through in fake encounters.

Opposition to police persecution of Prof Ravidas and two others in Bhagalpur

The proctor of Bihar's Tilka Majhi Bhagalpur University (TMBU) Prof. Bilakshan Ravidas was detained by the Bhagalpur Police along with two others on 7 February for their alleged links with CPI(Maoist). The other two detainees were Kapildev Mandal, a part-time lecturer of Murarka College of Sultanganj and Arjun Paswan, an employee of a TMBU hostel. Prof. Ravidas's residence at Sarai in Bhagalpur was also raided by the police on the same day. The police released the detainees only after interrogating them for over three hours. The police also imposed the condition that they would have to 'cooperate' with the police in future interrogation, thereby keeping the door open for their further persecution and harassment.

The pretext used by the police for this clampdown was the arrest of an alleged Maoist at Belhar in Banka district on the morning of 7 February. The police implicated Prof. Ravidas and the two others with the case related to this arrested person with no credible evidence. This is clearly aimed at terrorising all such academics, intellectuals, teachers and students of the colleges and universities of Bihar who are critical of the government's anti-people policies. Labelling democrats, academics and intellectuals who take the side of the people as Maoists/Maoist supporters and persecuting them in different forms has become a familiar *modus-operandi* of the governments of the country by now. Delhi University professor Dr Saibaba and Prof. Jarra Appa Rao of Andhra University (Visakhapatnam) too have recently been subjected to persecution by the Indian state for their opposition to the fascist 'war on people'

– Operation Green Hunt. Democratic organisations and individuals of Bihar have condemned the police crackdown on Prof. Ravidas and the two others.

Protests against the arrest of Chandmuni Hansda, the Secretary of Nari Mukti Sangh

Chandmuni Hansda, secretary of the state committee, Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS) was arrested on 28 February 2016 by a joint team of Giridih and Dumka Police. Dozens of Maoist-related charges have been fabricated against her and she has been sent to Dumka Central Prison. NMS has launched a campaign to demand her immediate and unconditional release. A street meeting was organised at Narganj weekly market ground under Kathikund block of Dumka district on 30 March 2016 as a part of it. A rally with banners and posters was also taken out before the meeting. The speakers condemned the government's conspiracy to arrest political activists raising the people's issues and put them in prison indefinitely on multiple trumped-up charges. A similar meeting was held on the Dumka-Pakur main road at Durgapur weekly market in Gopikandar block, Dumka district on 2 April. Another meeting demanding Chandmuni's release was organised in Kushbona weekly market under Ramgarh block in Dumka on 6 April. Songs and cultural performances accompanied the speeches in all these meetings. On 17 April, a public meeting was held at Narayanpur Mod weekly market in Pirtand block, Giridih district. The campaign will continue in various parts of Jharkhand and Bihar until the objective of getting Chandmuni Hansda released is fulfilled.

Villagers of Jharkhand speak up against persecution of government forces under OGH - the fascist war on people

An encounter had taken place between PLGA guerrillas and paramilitary forces on the foothills of Babhan Pahadi near Hasalon village, Jamua under Pirtand Police Station of Jharkhand on 17 June 2016. One CoBRA jawan was killed while one of our PLGA comrades got martyred valiantly fighting the enemy. Taken aback by the death of their colleague, the government forces caught hold of several villagers alleging them to be Maoist supporters and beat them up mercilessly. Considering them to be suspects, their hands and feet were kept tied for over 24 hours. Only thereafter did the villagers come to know that they were in police custody. Some of the detained villagers have narrated the following accounts of the harrowing atrocities they were subjected to by the police and paramilitary forces conducting Operation Green Hunt - MIB.

Arjun Tudu, Ghatyari village

I was preparing a plough at my home when the police surrounded my house. They tied my hands and started abusing me. They asked where was the Jamua dam and asked me to show them the way. They also asked if I heard some sound, to which I expressed my ignorance. The police jawans said that I would not tell anything even though I knew everything as I worked for the party. "Show us where the rifles had been kept", they asked me. I could not give any answer to such pointless questions. I did not know about any rifle and so answered in the negative, to which they said that all party persons told the same thing when caught. The police did not listen to me and took me to the forests. There they beat me up severely with clubs and rifle butts. I was physically tortured continuously from 12 noon to 5 in the afternoon. I was made to sleep on the ground with tied hands. They warned that they would shoot me if I tried to run away. Tied like an animal, I had to spend the night in great difficulty. I was kept hungry the whole period.

They started beating me again at daybreak. While continuing their beating, they brought me to Dumri-Giridih main road around 10 am and put me in a bus. They made me lie down like an animal on the floor of the bus with tied hands. There too I was beaten and brought to Kalyan Niketan. The policemen in an inebriated state beat me there too and asked me to tell the names of party members and their whereabouts. They threatened me with electric shock. But I had no answer. I kept

repeating that I was innocent and did not know anything, but the police did not show any mercy. When they could not extract anything and were tired with beating me, they forced me to lie down in the shimmering sun for two hours. Thereafter I was put in the lock-up. After all this torture I was taken to Pirtand Police Station at around 10 pm. I had to remain in police custody for four days, after which I was released due to protests by villagers.

Motilal Hansda, Hasalo village:

We all know that the Adivasis of Jharkhand cannot get by without backbreaking work. That is why they are engaged in work all the time. Some live by working the soil while others work as wage labourers in far-off places. Even then the police persecute the toiling people in the name of supporting Maoism. I am one such person. I was working at my home when the police caught me. They asked me to open the locked door of the house and wanted to know what I had kept hidden there. They searched my house after I opened it. They asked me whose boots were those inside and whose rice I had stocked. I replied that these were mine. A policeman slapped me when I said this and asked me to tell properly whose rice I had kept. The truth was that I had stored two quintals of rice I got in exchange of millet from Chirki market. I asked them to verify with the shopkeeper if they did not believe me. But they kept on beating me. This made me angry – they were beating me in my own home even after I had told them the truth. I held the

hand of a policeman and even tried to retaliate, but another policeman hit me at that time and I could not fight back. After the scuffle, they tied my hands and mouth and terming me a Maoist sympathiser, took me to the forest. When they came across a fireplace in the forest, they asked me who had made it. I said that we had made it when we held a religious ceremony here. But they abused me saying that we had prepared food for the Naxalites here but now I was denying it. They said that only if I was tortured I would utter everything. As the dusk approached, they prepared to sleep and made me lie down on the pebbled forest floor with my hands and mouth tied.

At daybreak the policemen started to drink and take *ganja*. They untied me and took me to the road, all the while beating and shoving me. Some hit me with rifle butt while some others pointed their guns at me and threatened to shoot. They also threatened to bury me alive and even made me lie down in a ditch. In this way they surpassed all limits of humane behaviour. They took me to the Dumri-Giridih main road, got me into a vehicle and flung me to the floor. There too they beat me up severely. After reaching Kalyan Niketan they again beat me and asked about the rice, alleging that I had stored the rice for the Naxalites. Even when I told them the truth that the rice belonged to me and for my own consumption, they refused to listen and kept showering blows, kicks and slaps on me. At 10 pm on Sunday they brought me to Pirtand Police Station. The police threatened me by saying that if we did not mend our ways we would get killed. Having failed to extract any confession from me and under pressure from people's protests, they had to release me after four days, during which they mercilessly tortured me in custody.

Rasilal Soren, Hasalo village:

The police got hold of me when I was collecting mahua seeds and fodder for my cattle. They asked me whether I had seen the Naxals running away and asked me the direction of the dam. When I pointed out the direction, they forcibly took me with them towards the dam. One policeman dragged me from the front while another pushed me from

behind. Firing started just at that time. They tied my hand and made me lie down on the ground. I was very scared. I thought that the police would kill me. One policeman was hit during the firing and he died. They were so scared seeing the dead body that they could not even hold their weapons steadily. They gathered some courage to carry away the dead body after the firing had stopped. They untied my hands and asked me to carry the dead body. I carried the dead body till Palganj Health Centre. Till then they had only asked me whether I was doing sentry for the Maoists. When I was sitting in front of the health centre after keeping down the dead body, a policeman came suddenly and hit me with a mortar-like weapon. Unable to take the brutal blow I fell down to the ground. A barrage of kicks, slaps and punches followed. I became senseless, and regained consciousness after quite some time. Then I was taken to Kalyan Niketan and again beaten up mercilessly as they suspected me of passing on information to the Maoists. I was hanged upside down and beaten with a club. I was beaten so severely that my right hand became numb. The police tortured me almost for ten hours. They also tried to allure me with money and said that they would pay me for each of my children. In this way they tried various methods so that I would accept my association with the Maoists. But I had no knowledge of the Maoists and that was what I kept telling them. They did not believe me at all and kept torturing me for no reason. At 10 in the night I was brought to Pirtand Police Station where I was kept for four days. I was released only after protests by the villagers.

Ramesh Murmu, Jamua village:

My child was ill and I went to the forest searching for herbal medicine. The police caught me there and asked me about my name and village. They asked me if I had heard any sound to which I said no. I had just woken up when the encounter between the police and the Maoists took place. I had no knowledge of what had happened in the village. But the police tied my hands and started beating me, saying that I was feigning ignorance. They accused me and other villagers of providing food to the Naxals and tortured me by putting

pebbles below my palms and wringing them under their boots. They also kicked, slapped and hit me. At dusk they blindfolded me and made me sleep on the bare ground. I had no idea where I was till they untied me in the morning. They continued beating me and at noon took me to Kalyan Niketan in a vehicle. There too the beating went on. The policemen kept accusing us of helping the Maoists. At around 10 I was brought to Pirtand Police Station. Though I was not beaten there, they warned me that if I did not mend ways I would have to spend my life in prison. I remained in police custody from six of Friday morning till five of Monday evening. Later I was let off under public pressure.

Shilachand Marandi, Masnotand:

The police picked up and beat me claiming that a Maoist. They interrogated me about hidden weapons and asked me to take them to the location. I kept saying that I was not a Maoist and that I had no knowledge about any weapons. I told them that I was only a poor villager and lived on hard labour. My condition was such that I could fill my stomach only if I work and I go hungry when I do not get work. But the police beat me up black and blue even though I was innocent. They kept me in the forest for the whole night and kept me hungry. In the morning between 10 and 12 they brought me to Kalyan Niketan. They again tortured me there calling me as a Maoist. I did not have any answer to their baseless questions about my Maoist associates, weapons, etc. They tried every means to break my will – they even bent my fingers and hit me with sticks. I had to undergo four days of police torture before protests by people forced them to release me.

These testimonies exemplify the kind of police terror that reigns in the Maoist movement areas in Jharkhand and in other parts of the country. Not only content at illegally detaining and torturing the villagers, the police and paramilitary forces searched many houses in Hasalo village for hidden Maoist material but failed to recover anything. During the search they stole seven thousand rupees from the house of Sonalal Tudu, two mobiles from Pankaj Soren's house and took

away the bows and arrows belonging to Rasilal Soren. To cover up their criminal acts, they alleged that the people had helped the Maoists and harassed them by asking questions. But unable to extract anything, they slapped and physically assaulted several villagers. They tried to take away Chedilal Soren and Patiram Soren of Jamua village but a stiff resistance put up by the women of the village succeeded in getting them released. These mercenary goons also picked up a village woman in the forest early in the morning and let her go only in the evening.

The government and its armed forces think that Maoist movement can be controlled by terrorising, torturing and punishing the people, but the attitude of the people is completely different. The people did not get scared or intimidated. They expressed anger towards the mercenary armed forces and their political masters. They said that it is natural for them to have no other feeling than anger and hatred towards the police-administration as they were being subjected to brutal beating and torture for no reason. It was not possible to remain silent spectators when they commit atrocities against their family and fellow villagers, they said. They thought that the policemen would get adequate punishment at the hands of the people and that they would continue to speak out against state terror.

Police terror in the area under Koel-Sankh Zonal Committee

Modelled on the Saranda and Sarayu Action Plans, the central and state governments are launching a number of 'Action Plans' in many parts of Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area in order to uproot the Maoist movement from its strongholds. The ruling classes consider the wiping out of the armed agrarian revolutionary war led by the Maoist party as a precondition for handing over the country's vast natural resources to the multinationals and the Indian big capitalists. In the name of 'Action Plans' the government is conducting Banalat, Gumla, Pesrar, Lohardaga Action Plans under Koel-Sankh Zonal Committee of Bihar Regional Committee, BJSAC. Under the

garb of development' the government is interested only in constructing metalled roads, mobile towers, bridges, fortified police stations and camps, community halls, etc., whereas there is hardly any effort to provide the vast masses of people even basic necessities such as schools, hospitals and drinking water. These construction projects are being carried out on a war footing under the 'Action Plans' so as to strengthen the enemy's carpet security grid. Police forces are being deployed in large numbers in places like Kakrang, Pesrar, Chainpur, Bagru, Jamti, Banalat, Jori, Banari, Chachu, Serandag, Pakhar, Chanpi, Mahadevmara, etc. The government armed forces are committing heinous crimes such as kidnap, loot and rape. against the toiling masses on the suspicion of their involvement in the Maoist movement.

The police looted household items belonging to Sushil Oraon of Nirasi village under Bishnupur Police Station of Gumla district.

They caught and mercilessly beat up Suresh Oraon and Devpal Khairwar of Kerar village under Kisko-Pesrar Police Station in Lohardaga district on 31 May 2016.

On 31 June the police detained Sitan Khairwar and Fagu Singh Khairwar of Bulbul village under the same police station and beat them black and blue. The same day, they kidnapped Rajdev Singh, kept him in different police stations, subjected to physical and mental torture and released him only after a month.

The police and JJMP goons stole 4,100 rupees from the house of Bande Oraon, a resident of Kotari village under Kisko-Pesrar Police Station on 22 June. They took away his son Manit Oraon and daughter Manita Oraon and kept them in a series of newly established police camps like Pesrar-Kisko, Bhandra, Lohardaga, Bagru etc. and tortured them. They also looted a mobile phone from the house of Jitram Khairwar of the same village. The same day they caught hold of Sanjay Oraon, Ramnath Oraon and Ramdayal Oraon and beat them up severely. Likewise, Brahmadev Oraon, a resident of Katiya village under Bishnupur Police Station of Gumla

district who came to visit his in-law's house in Kotari were also assaulted by the government and JJMP forces.

Devlal Nagesia and Mahendra Nagesia of Kowadar village in Kisko-Pesrar Police Station area were assaulted by the policemen on 22 June. A 12 year old minor girl of this village was raped in her house by these mercenary police forces, while two married women of the same village were chased and raped by them in the forest.

On the same day, the police took away Bhagan Brijia of Putrar village of the same police station area and brutally beaten up. In this way, they tried to compel Brijia to stand up against the revolutionary movement. Such are the instances of brutal state repression in Koel-Sankh region.

Gladson Dungdung illegally de-boarded for speaking out against Operation Green Hunt

Gladson Dungdung, the well-known social activist of Jharkhand who have been continuously writing for the last few years against the Indian government's war on people – and its grievous impact on the Adivasi people of Jharkhand in particular – have been a thorn in the flesh of the government like all other such activists who have been voicing their opposition to Operation Green Hunt. Dungdung is the author of the recently-published book *Mission Saranda: A War for Natural Resources in India* where he has exposed the truth behind government's 'development' agenda. With his writings and speeches, he has been exposing the economic rationale of the ruling classes in unleashing this brutal war – the need to crush all forms of organised resistance to the plunder of the rich natural resources by imperialists and Indian big capitalists under the patronage of the Indian state.

Therefore, not only the revolutionary movement led by the Maoist party but all other forms of resistance is being targeted in the name of fighting Maoism and bringing 'development'. The ruling classes are aware of

their hypocrisy in justifying this war as well as its totally unjust nature. That is why they want to fight it as an undeclared war – a war away from public scrutiny. They even try to deny that anything like an “Operation Green Hunt” actually exists. So, when activists like Gladson Dungdung, Jitan Marandi, G N Saibaba and others bring out the truth about this war into the ‘public domain’ and present the way the people perceive this war, they become the subject of government ire.

So anxious is the Indian government in hiding its fascist war from the outside world that it went to the extent of deplaning Dungdung from a flight to London on 10 May where he was to attend a conference on environment. It had tried to prevent him from travelling abroad in the past too by taking such measures as impounding and withdrawing his passport. After such tactics of arm-twisting has apparently failed, the government has resorted to such a crass authoritarian measure.

Fake ‘encounter’ killings continue under ‘Mission-2016’

The fascist ‘Mission-2016’ launched by the Raman Singh-led BJP government of Chhattisgarh and executed under the direction of Bastar IG SRP Kalluri has left a bloody trail of extra-judicial killings by the central paramilitary and state police forces which are invariably justified as deaths ‘encounters’ between the PLGA and the government forces. The story cooked up by Bastar Police after almost every fake encounter follows a highly predictable course, with only the minor variations. It goes something like this: “The paramilitary/police forces were on search operation. While approaching a group of armed Maoists, they opened fire. The forces opened fire in self-defence, in which such and such Maoist cadres got killed, while the rest ran away taking advantage of dense forest. Maoist material and dead bodies were recovered from the site of the encounter.” This story is repeated time and again after they go on a killing spree or after carrying out a premeditated execution. The purpose of this story is to absolve themselves of the charge of

homicide as the law allows firing “in self defense”. No one really believes this cock-and-bull story, but it has become a part of the “Standard Operating Procedure (SOP)” of all the Indian government armed forces engaged in anti-guerrilla operations.

The Maoist guerrilla zones including Dandakaranya are no exception. Though the masses of DK are no strangers to fake encounters. Under ‘Mission-2016’, fake encounters have almost become a daily occurrence. Aimed at wiping out the Maoists by any means within a year, the fascist rulers of the country led by the Modi clique has unleashed a new wave state terror. From January to March 2016 a itself, a total of 62 persons were killed by the government mercenary forces (Bijapur -17, Sukma - 22, Dantewada - 4, Kondagaon - 6, Narayanpur - 7, Bastar -1, Kanker - 1, Gadchiroli - 3). 22 of them were Party and PLGA activists while others were leaders and members of revolutionary mass organisations and the people. The following are a few such instances:

Between 10 and 12 January, Maharashtra police, Chhattisgarh Police and central paramilitary forces carried out a joint operation in Chendra area of Bijapur district. They caught hold of Comrade Emula Laxmi, a Party Platoon Committee member, and shot her dead in Kukker village. Another batch crossed the Indravati River near Jharagudem and shot dead a village youth named Gota Vinod in front of the villagers.

On 18 January, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra police forces conducted a joint operation in Chendra and Kutru areas of Bijapur district. In Tumirigudem village, they caught Jerina – a former party and squad member – on 18 January, tortured, gang-raped and on the 19th, shot her dead. Later they said that a woman Maoist commander was killed in an encounter.

On 27 January, based on an informer’s tip-off, a police force reached Lakhapal village in Kaktekalyan Police Station area of Dantewada district, and opened fire on the members of a revolutionary mass organisation who were fast asleep. Three comrades, Bal Singh, Kanki and Maasa were killed.

On 30 January, DRG and DF goons attacked Pallemadagu village under Pollampalli Police Station area caught two women Panjam Shanti and Sariyam Pojje, gang-raped them and later shot them dead. Kalluri gave awards to the involved policemen for their 'bravery'.

On 31 January, the police forces shot dead Kunjam Lingal – a mass organisation leader – in front of the people near his home in Chintagufa area and declared that a Maoist with an 8 lakh rupees award on his head was killed in an encounter.

Sodi Sonal of Ekum village in Basagudem Police Station area and Madkam Raju and Madkam Moda of Ittalpara village under Golapalli Police Station of Sukma district were captured and shot dead in the month of January.

Singaram RPC president Kursam Dharmanna and RPC member Vetti Rajal were caught unarmed while working on their land, tortured and killed by the government forces in the first week of February in Vanjalwaya village under Golapalli Police Station.

On 13 February 2016, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh Police carried out a joint operation in Farsagarh Police Station limits in Bijapur district. They fired upon the people of Dokke village who were catching fish. Pollo Nukma, Podiyam Sukhram and Kumma Somal were killed. The police later claimed that they had 'neutralised' three Maoists.

Between 16 and 20 February, hundreds of DRG, STF and paramilitary forces coming from Sukma district attacked tens of villages in Pidia, Doddi Tomnar, Handri and Gampor panchayats under Gangalur Police Station area, fired upon the people and shot dead two villagers including an eight-year old boy. They also looted people's property.

On 10 May, Podiyam Deva, a resident of Kanaigudem village and father of five children was illegally detained by the police and paramilitary forces while going on tendu-leaf work to Gollapad area under Madaiguda Police Station area, South Bastar Division. Later they shot him dead along with another villager Tati Sukka and announced that two Maoists were killed in an encounter.

On 17 May, police took into custody Apka manoj and Apka Pande, a couple from Mankeli village in Bijapur district. They were severely tortured in the police station, Pande was gang-raped, forced to wear PLGA uniform and were shot dead near Karnar village under Gangalur Police Station on 21 May. The routine claim of encounter with the Maoists and 'firing in self-defense' resulting in the death of two Maoists was made.

On 23 May, Sukhram, a village Party Committee member, was killed by the police in a fake encounter near Gudem village in Katekalyan area of Darbha Division. In May, seven peasant organizers and ex-PLGA members were shot dead by the mercenary Khaki gangs in fake encounters in DK's South Sub-zone alone.

On 28 May, people's militia members Madkam Manglu and Podiyam Vijja were killed in a fake encounter near Marujam village in Katekalyan area of Dabha division. The police shot them dead and later falsely claimed that the two were PLGA commanders.

Such incidents of fake encounters are continuing unabated with the direction, encouragement and instigation of Modi-Raman-Kalluri fascist gang who are rewarding the jawans carrying out these brutal atrocities with out-of-turn promotions, monetary incentives, etc. But instead of suppressing the people, it is giving rise to an intensifying resistance of the people, both armed and unarmed, to these planned murders.

Voices of opposition to police firing and illegal arrest of Adivasi peasants

During the summer, before the paddy is sown, Adivasi peasants of Bastar depend considerably on the small animals and birds they trap and hunt in the jungles to subsist. On 11 April this year, five men from Bade Gudra village located at about 70 kilometers from Dantewada town, went into the Iddesmetta forests that border their village to trap a *shahi murga*, a large rooster that could feed a dozen people.

The men dug a hole, covered it with a net and camouflaged the trap with dry leaves and sticks. "We saw a rooster walking towards the trap," said Chula Kartam, 55, a resident of Bade Gudra. "But before it reached the net, about four dozen armed soldiers reached the spot." According to two witnesses, the security men began to shout in Koya and attacked the five men. They fired at them, leaving one man severely injured. Another man, who managed to escape, told his neighbours what had transpired. In a short while, the security forces came to the village and randomly picked up three other men.

Six of the men, Unga Sori, Unga Kartami, Unga Pudiyaami, Kosa Pudiyaami, Katti Pudiyaami and Raju Manda, are under arrest. Kartam Pandu, 25, managed to escape from his bed in the Civil Hospital in Dantewada even though he had been shot in the leg thrice.

SBT Divisional Committee of DKSZC opposes 'Bastar Mission-2016'

Comrade Mohan, Secretary of South Bastar (SBT) Divisional Committee of DKSZC, CPI(Maoist) in a press statement issued in February has opposed the havoc created by the fascist gang of paramilitary-police-vigilante groups combine in Dandakaranya, particularly in the districts of Sukma, Bijapur and Dantewada in the name of anti-Maoist operations under 'Mission-2016'. "The atrocities on Bastar Adivasis are at their peak due to the BJP government's policy of looting minerals and land from the people. It is all a part of a bigger conspiracy to render the Adivasis landless. Tribal women are being gang-raped, innocent civilians are being killed and branded as Maoists and counter-revolutionary propaganda is being carried out in the media. Villagers from interior areas are being threatened with arrests and being made to surrender as Maoists," he added.

Citing an example of the level of the brutalities, the Maoist leader pointed out that the police killed an eight-year old child in Hurra village of Bastar on 19 February. Mohan

appealed to the people of Dandakaranya to condemn the attacks on civil right activists, journalists, advocates, academics, intellectuals and even the government employees who stand by the oppressed people. He also demanded that the government dissolve the notorious District Reserve Guards (DRG) that has been responsible for much of the recent bloodbath of Adivasis in Dandakaranya.

Ill treatment of the police takes the life of a young Adivasi woman in Bastar

After PLGA blasted a landmine near Mailawada village targeting the enemy troops on 30 March, seven villagers from Bade Gudra in Kuakoda block of Dantewada district were arrested by the police on 13 April. The villagers had gone to the forest for hunting, set a trap and were waiting for wild animals to approach when the police fired upon them without provocation, injuring Kartam Pandu. The police alleged that they were involved in the blast and the court sent them to jail. But their family members were not informed by the police about the arrests.

Kartam Hurre, the wife of one of the arrested villagers Kartam Hunga, was at an advanced stage of pregnancy. Even in that condition, she went to the police station to enquire about her missing husband. Instead of providing her with any information, the policemen assaulted her with rifle butts and threw her out. Days after she gave birth to a child. With the child in her arms, she once again tried to meet her husband in the jail but was denied permission. Undeterred, she used to wait from morning to evening in front of the jail gate with her baby hoping to see Hunga. Finally she could meet him on 27 April after some social activists intervened. But soon after she fell seriously ill and was hospitalized at Jagdalpur. She was diagnosed with serious infection and in spite of the efforts by the doctors, she died on 15 May.

The police brought Kartam Hunga to Bade Gudra village for her last rights after a court order, but took him away in just fifteen minutes citing a Maoist threat. Civil and democratic

organisations of Chhattisgarh have condemned the police for their brutality towards Kartam Hurre that put her life at risk and also for denying her husband a chance to take part in her last rites in spite of a court order. Cruelties of this kind by the government's anti-Maoist forces have become the order of the day in Dandakaranya and other movement areas. They have been dehumanized in their unjust war on the people to such an extent that they deny the Adivasi masses not only the basic democratic rights but even the minimum human dignity.

State-sponsored threat and intimidation of social activists continue in Bastar

State-sponsored vigilante groups under the directions of Raman Singh and Bastar IGP Kallui are continuing with their threats, intimidation and attacks on social activists, journalists, advocates, intellectuals and others who are in any way involved in exposing the reality of Indian government's brutal war on people in Dandakaranya. During the notorious Salwa Judum too (2005-2009), social activists like Himanshu Kumar, Swami Agnivesh, etc. who were critical of this vigilante gang were attacked. Refusing to learn any lesson from the ill-conceived Salwa Judum, the government and the police are continuing the same fascist policy by propping-up organisations like Samajik Ekta Manch, Mahila Ekta Manch, etc. They are being used to stifle and voices that try to throw light on the ground realities of Bastar and side with the oppressed people through their professional or social work. Many social and political activists of Bastar have been assaulted, intimidated and threatened by these hooligans. While Soni Sori was physically attacked, journalist Malini Subhramanyam, advocate Isha Khandelwal and her colleagues of Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group (JagLAG) have been forced to leave Bastar. Several journalists including Somaru Nag have been incarcerated under trumped-up cases. Fact-finding teams of academics and students, etc., and researchers visiting Bastar are hounded as Maoist supporters. The list of such persecution is getting longer every year.

Academic and social activist Bela Bhatia is facing similar threats. Bhatia, who has been living in a village near Jagdalpur for some time and visiting Adivasi villages, bringing incidents of police atrocities to light and helping the villagers who have suffered state terror to seek legal aid and register complaints. These activities were obviously not to the liking of the police and the administration. Under their directions, a mob of nearly a hundred people including some armed policemen in plain clothes and Samajik Ekta Manch leaders came to her rented house in a number of vehicles on 26 March 2016. They threatened the landlady to evict Bela Bhatia labeling her as a "Naxal supporter" and "terrorist". They also took out a rally in the village with slogans asking her to leave Bastar and distributed an unsigned leaflet that threw aspersions against her. In this way, they tried to force Bela Bhatia too into leaving Bastar fearing for her safety. Democratic and civil rights organisations, revolutionary mass organisations, several political parties have condemned this police-instigated intimidation of Bela Bhatia and other activists. CPI(Maoist) has also opposed this continued hounding democratic individuals out of Dandakaranya as a part of the ongoing war on people – Operation Green Hunt.

DKSZC condemns fascist attack on Soni Sori orchestrated by police

Comrade Vikalp, spokesperson of DKSZC issued the following press statement on 21 February condemning the heinous attack on social activist and AAP leader Soni Sori, appealed to the people to protest this attack and demanded that the government stop its terror through Salwa Judum-2 in Bastar - MIB

Our Party strongly condemns the attack by Salwa Judum-2 goons on 'AAP' leader Soni Sodi in the night of 20 February and appeals to the people and the democrats to raise their voice against it. From the terrible attack with acid-like inflammable substance on a social activist and the leader of a parliamentary party, and particularly on an Adivasi woman,

anyone can easily understand the dismal condition of common Adivasi life in Bastar today. It is important to note that Soni Sori was subjected to cruel sexual violence by the government armed forces in the past. She was jailed based on fabricated charges. She has been raising her voice courageously in her own way in favour of the oppressed women by facing all kinds of atrocities. This is the reason why the administration and the police considered her to be a thorn in the flesh. Now this latest attack has been carried out in a different form in order to suppress her voice. It has been done by the fascist killer gangs of Salwa Judum-2 like the Samajik Ekta Manch, Naxal Pidit Sangh etc. sponsored by BJP and other Sangh Parivar organisations and patronised by the central and state governments. This attack should be seen as part of the state's assault on the efforts made by Soni Sodi and activists of women's organisations, social activists, civil rights organisations, pro-people journalists and democrats to expose the atrocities committed by the government armed forces, to get the complaints of the victims registered in the police station and file cases in the courts since last October. Before Soni Sori, attempts were made to terrorise journalist Malini Subhramaniam and other social activists. Reporting from Bastar by even established reporters of Chhattisgarh like BBC's Alok Putul has been made impossible. This attack is a part of the heinous attempt to terrorise into submission every voice that exposes and opposes the growing violence, rape and gang-rape against women and fake encounters committed by the government's mercenary armed forces in all the struggle areas including Bastar. It has been carried out to ensure that the outside world remains in the dark about the reality of the ongoing fascist repression and attack by the government armed forces on Bastar's Adivasi masses.

It should be noted that Prime Minister Modi had brought Salwa Judum-2 along with big capital during his Chhattisgarh visit last year. This time with the attack on Soni Sori, they want to send a message across to the social activists, civil rights activist, Left and opposition parties and organisations that nobody can oppose the governments, let alone

questioning them. Those who are not with the government will be considered to be with the Maoists. This is a serious violation of democratic rights.

These attacks on journalists, civil rights activists and the people are being carried out as per the multi-pronged unjust war on the people to wipe out the anti-displacement movements of Dandakaranya to defend the *jal-jangal-zameen* and resources, the revolutionary movement led by the CPI(Maoist) and the democratic, progressive and civil rights movements. Our Party appeals to the democratic, progressive forces, civil rights organisations, Left parties and organisations to get organised against the terrorist and inhuman attacks, atrocities on women, gang-rapes, fake encounters, violation of democratic rights by the government armed forces and the terror of Salwa Judum-2.

South Regional Committee of DKSZC exposes the white lies of the ruling-classes

Inspector General of Police for Bastar Range SRP Kalluri – a most loyal running-dog of the reactionary ruling classes in their 'Green Hunt' in Dandakaranya – has boasted that the government armed forces gunned down more than 40 'Maoists' in 'fierce encounters' within the first two months of 2016. He thereby sought to claim a successful beginning to the counter-revolutionary 'Mission 2016' campaign. But this white lie was thoroughly exposed by the South Regional Committee (SRC) of DKSZC in a press statement released in early March. The statement showed that Kalluri was in fact guilty of spearheading a fascist extermination campaign of Adivasis in the name of 'Mission 2016'. Comrade Ganesh Uike, Secretary of SRC, said in the statement that only eight of the forty persons killed by the khaki goons in January and February 2016 (seventeen in Bijapur, twelve in Sukma, five in Kondagaon, and three each in Bastar and Dantewada districts) were armed cadres of PLGA. The other 32 persons were unarmed villagers killed cold-bloodedly in fake encounters.

Throwing light on the real nature of 'Mission 2016' with facts, the press statement noted, "They (government forces) killed a peasant of Sendra village in Bijapur district named Gota Vinod in front of his fellow villagers. Likewise, Balsingh, Kosa and Masa were killed in the same manner in Lakhpal village of Dantewada. Kursam Dharmanna and Vatti Rajal, both villagers of Vanjalvaya in Sukma, were picked up by the police from their homes and shot dead. Majji Budhram, Oyam Tulasi, Oyam Moti, Oyam Munna and Madkam Pandu were killed near Peddajejjur village of Bijapur. All of them were innocent villagers... But Kalluri and Raman Singh government claim to have killed Maoists. Any social organisation, legal group or journalist who is trying to expose the reality of these killings is being targeted by the police and the administration."

The statement also condemned the molestation and gang rape of tribal women by the police and paramilitary forces during anti-Maoist operations. Calling for a day-long south Bastar Bandh on 12 March against these brutal killings, SRC appealed to the people of Dandakaranya to staunchly resist this latest wave of fascist offensive and asked the country's democratic forces to intensify their opposition to Operation Green Hunt, be it in the form of 'Mission 2016' or any other cruel form.

Protests against the fake encounter killing of Madkam Hidme

On 13 June 2016 in Gompad village of South Chhattisgarh, the mother of Hidme Madkam Laxmi was pounding rice in her courtyard. Hidme was ill and was sleeping. Other members of the family were out working in the fields while some others went to the forest to collect forest products. In the morning CRPF jawans came to the house suddenly and entered the house. They came from Gorkha CRPF camp which was eight kilometres away.

It is normal for these mercenary forces to attack villages during combing and operations etc. In such times when the government forces

enter the villages, all grown up men leave the village and flee to the forest. That day too all the men ran away. The forces picked up Hidme from her bed. She was crying and held on to her mother. She was slapped and her mother was beaten with sticks. The mother became unconscious. They dragged her out and took her to an adjacent house where three young girls Bhume, Linge and Unge were present. They cried and asked the forces to let Hidme go but were threatened at gunpoint. One batch carried Hidme away. Others searched the houses in the village, confiscated bows and arrows, axes, looted chicken, food and cash. After she regained consciousness, Hidme's mother along with some other village women searched for her daughter around but she was nowhere to be found.

In the afternoon, a village elder Soyam Dharma along with fifty women and men went to Gorkha camp asking the police to release Hidme. But they replied that she was not in the camp and asked the villagers to enquire at the police station in Konta twenty kilometres away. The people went to Konta the next morning. On the way, they met a panchayat worker who was going to Knota after getting the message that an identified body of a woman Maoist was lying with them and they asked him to come and identify the body. Hidme's mother collapsed hearing this. In the afternoon they met some policemen coming in an auto to Gompad carrying Hidme's body wrapped in a plastic sheet. The villagers carried the body back to the village by walking fifteen kilometres in the night.

The next morning they reached Gompad, opened the plastic sheet and discovered that Hidme had a new olive dress on her which was freshly ironed and intact, but when they removed the dress they found bullet holes and injuries in the whole body. Examining her wounds and the dress they understood that Hidme was raped and killed in a fake encounter which was made to appear as real one by putting her body in an olive dress.

Meanwhile, the police claimed that they had found the body of a woman Maoist after an encounter and released a photo of the body to the press. The Maoist party got the news of



Body of Madkam Hidme, Gompad village, DK: Raped and killed by government anti-Maoist forces on 13 June

the killing and clarified that Hidme was neither a member of the Party nor of the PLGA. The Maoists termed it a fake encounter and condemned the rape and murder by the government forces.

The villagers point out that such incidents are taking place daily in Bastar. During Salwa Judum in October 2009, 16 villagers including women and children were massacred in this area, of whom nine were from Gompad village alone. The villagers filed cases against the police for those killings, but the case is still pending in the court even after six years. Hidme too was one of the complainants. The villagers think that the government forces might have killed her as a revenge for daring to file the complaint and also to weaken the ongoing case by threatening the rest of the complainants and witnesses. The villagers filed a petition in the court which ordered another post-mortem. They informed Soni Sori but the police did not allow her to come to the village. Sori undertook seven days of hunger strike demanding that she be allowed to go to Gompad, and finally went to Gompad on 15 August leading a 'Triranga rally'. An official enquiry into Hidme's rape and murder is going on and responding to appeals filed by democratic organisations the court too has ordered exhumation and re-postmortem of the body, but past experience of the people make them sceptical of such enquiries which are often meant to protect, and not punish, the guilty policemen.

Adivasi Mahasabha protests the killing of people's militia members in fake encounter

Adivasi Mahasabha, an organisation affiliated to the CPI, carried out a dharna against the fake encounter killing of people's militia members Madkam Manglu and Podiyam Vijja near Marujam village in Katekalyan area of Dabha division. The police shot them dead and later falsely claimed that the two were PLGA commanders. It was an act of revenge killing after PLGA had eliminated a DRG jawan in an encounter on 28 May.

Journalists protest against the gag on press freedom in Bastar

It is said that in a war, it is truth that becomes the first casualty. Truth is certainly a casualty when it comes to the Indian state's countrywide war on people. And not only the truth, but some of those who have sought to bring out the truth of the ongoing Operation Green Hunt have become the casualties of this war. The reactionary Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters running this fascist campaign in the name of rooting out Maoism know very well that they are waging an unjust war; that the truth is not on their side but on the side of their adversary – the people who belong to all the exploited and oppressed

classes. Covering up of the truth, and presenting of Goebblesian propaganda based on lies and falsehoods as the truth, is an inseparable part of this war. In Bastar region of Chhattisgarh in particular, the BJP government is running a witch-hunt of conscientious journalists who have dared to report about the ground realities of the war on people. It has become a common knowledge by now that the administration, police and vigilante gangs propped up by them are preventing such journalists from carrying out their duties. Journalists have been monitored, harassed, threatened, forced to leave Bastar or even jailed on trumped up cases. Bastar journalists Somaru Nag and Santosh Yadav were arrested and sent to jail late last year, while Prabhat Singh and Deepak Jaiswal were arrested and jailed in March this year. Likewise, freelance journalist was hounded out of Bastar by police-sponsored goons.

Amidst growing voices of protest against such fascist methods and increasing criticism of the government, a fact-finding team of the Editor's Guild of India, the apex body of the editors of newspapers and magazines in India, visited Chhattisgarh for three days between 13 and 15 April, 2016. The team comprised of the Guild's secretary Prakash Dubey and Executive Committee member Vinod Verma, who were helped in their investigations by the journalists of the state. The team, after

recording the testimonies of independent journalist Malini Subhramaniam and BBC correspondent Alok Putul, and met incarcerated journalist Santosh Yadav in Jagdalpur Jail who was arrested in September last year. After holding discussions with journalists and the state government functionaries, the team concluded that the media reports of threats to journalists of Bastar are true. They said, "The media in Chhattisgarh is working under tremendous pressure. In Jagdalpur and the remote tribal areas the journalists find it even more difficult to gather and disseminate news. There is pressure from the state administration, especially the police, on journalists to write what they want or not to publish reports that the administration sees as hostile... There is a general perception that every single journalist is under the government scanner and all their activities are under surveillance. They hesitate to discuss anything over the phone because, as they say, "the police is listening to every word we speak."

The team also found that the "Samajik Ekta Manch is funded and run by the police headquarters in Bastar. According to them it is a reincarnation of Salwa Judum." The Guild demanded that journalists should be given the freedom to carry out their professional work and the government should stop threatening or persecuting them. They



Members of 'Patrakar Suraksha Kanoon Sanyukt Sangharsh Samiti' protesting at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi, 10 May 2016

also called upon the media houses to provide adequate protection to their journalists working in the war zone.

Following on the increasing opposition to the state's assault on the freedom of the press in Bastar, journalists of Chhattisgarh held a protest in Delhi under the banner of 'Patrakar Suraksha Kanoon Sanyukt Sangarsh Samiti' on 10 May demanding the release of all the arrested journalists from Bastar region and the enactment of a 'Patrakar Suraksha Kanoon' to act as a legal safeguard for the journalists. This organisation itself was a result of the increasing persecution of journalists by the state and particularly the arrest of journalists

in Bastar. It has forced the journalists to get organised to defend themselves from the terror of police and state-sponsored vigilante gangs.

Earlier, in January this year, an international forum of journalists called the Committee to Protect Journalist (CPJ) based in New York has voiced its opposition to the arrest of Somaru Nag and Santosh Yadav. It expressed concern over the increasing attacks on journalists by the state. In this way, journalists and media workers are getting increasingly vocal against state repression in the Maoist movement areas as a part of the Operation Green Hunt.

Bastar IG Kalluri cannot hide his crimes through fascist terror

Bastar IG SRP Kalluri, the favourite lickspittle of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes in Dandakaranya, has made it his habit to spread white lies whenever he speaks about the Maoist movement. Be it in case of fake encounters, fake surrenders, arresting people on trumped up charges, throwing aspersions against democratic organisations and individuals, etc., he has proved himself to be a progeny of Hitler's propaganda minister and henchman Joseph Goebbels. Though a section of the 'nationalist' corporate media obligingly relay his blatant falsehoods without ever bothering to check up with facts, many conscientious journalists, social activists, political parties in opposition, and most of all the revolutionary masses, have time and again exposed the lies of Kalluri & co. As a part of exposing this counter-revolutionary propaganda and rebutting Kalluri's lies, spokesperson of DKSZC Comrade Vikalp issued the following appeal through the media on 5 February 2016 - MIB.

Appeal to raise voice against the ongoing brutal repression against the people of Dandakaranya

With the aim of transferring the *jal-jangal-zameen* of Dandakaranya (DK) to the domestic and foreign corporate houses as early as possible, the central and state governments have intensified the brutal attacks under Operation Green Hunt in an unprecedented manner since October 2015. The aim is to wipe out the anti-displacement movements and the revolutionary movement that support, guide and leads these movements. At this time, the 'Maha Abhiyan' (mega operation) – a cruel suppression campaign by the government armed forces – is underway in the entire DK. This campaign is being run in the name of 'Mission-2016' to wipe out the Maoists within

2016. Attacks on the villages, fake encounters, fake surrenders, false propaganda, atrocities and gang-rape of women, beating up the people mercilessly, loot of people's property has become a daily occurrence in DK, particularly in the Bastar Range. Shiv Ram Prasad Kalluri, IG Bastar Range, Chhattisgarh Police, is daily making false claims through print and electronic media about shooting down wanted Maoists in encounters, surrender of wanted Maoists in large numbers, etc. Moreover, he is making poisonous propaganda against our Party. All this is being done by the central and state governments as a part of the fascist military suppression campaign Operation

Green Hunt. As a component part of the state machinery of the exploitative ruling classes, Kalluri is carrying out this cruel suppression on the people.

After barbarically killing more than two dozens of village youths in Bastar Range since October till the present, Kalluri has fabricated stories of 'encounters' and circulated them through the media. Today, on 5 February, an Adivasi peasant was taken away from his home in Tunder village under Mardum Police Station of Bastar district and riddled him with bullets. A villager from Sendra on the Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra border was gunned down on 11 January and the story of a wanted Maoist killed in encounter was circulated through newspapers. On the same day, PLGA activist Comrade Hemla Latchi was shot and caught in an injured state near Kokera village, after which she was severely tortured and killed in a gruesome manner. Our activist Comrade Kudiyam Kamla of Gotum village under Awapalli Police Station in Bijapur district was similarly caught on 6 January and killed in the name of encounter. On 4 January, Jait Korram, an Adivasi peasant of Vedma village and Boti Kashyap of Kudur village were taken away from Kudur weekly market by the DRG jawans in the presence of hundreds of people and were shot dead early next morning. Kalluri got the lie published in the media that PLGA Deputy Commander Jait with a reward of 5 lakh rupees on his head and member Boti with a three lakh rupees reward were killed after a fierce encounter.

Kalluri made the false claim that Benur LOS Commander Ranader with a reward of eight lakhs was shot dead whereas the truth was that the DRG took away Sannaru Kachlam from his home in Madamnar village under Dhanora Police Station on 17 December and killed him the next day near Kejjum under Vayanar Police Station. Sannaru was in fact an inhabitant of Adehweda village. He used to work as the Benur LOS Commander under the *nom de guerre* of Ranader till 2007, in the middle of which he left the Party and lived as a cultivator in Adehweda till 2012. After being requested by the people of Madamnar to come and work as the *Gaita* (traditional priest), he had started to live in that village.

On 2 November 2015, young Adivasi peasant Baman Poyami of Kodeli village under Dhanora Police Station was taken away from his field to Narayanpur Police Lines, where he was tortured for fifteen days and killed. On the 17th, it was announced that Baman had committed suicide in police lock-up. Under pressure from people's protests, four police jawans were later suspended for dereliction of duty. This was after thousands of people took out a massive rally at Orchha against Baman's custodial killing. On 2 November, three villagers of Arlampalli in Sukma district returning to their village after taking selfies were killed. The police claimed the killing of three Maoists in a shootout. Thousands of people took to the streets against this fake encounter. On 30 November 2015, the armed forces that launched an attack on Maad caught hold of Adivasi peasants Motu and Rengu of Alweda village on the way, killed them cold-bloodedly and claimed falsely of eliminating wanted Maoists.

On 26 September 2015, Adivasi leader Mangu Pottavi of Pumbad village under Gangalur Police Station in Bijapur district was caught unarmed and killed, and later presented as a wanted Maoist gunned down in an encounter. These are just a few examples. Kalluri himself has announced rewards for all these incidents and he is distributing tens of lakhs of rupees as rewards. Tempting the DRG goons with reward money, Kalluri is giving them the license to shoot anyone anywhere with impunity. By transforming them into contract killers, he is inculcating lumpen tendencies in them in a planned manner. He is instigating them to terrorise the people and commit barbarities. This is a part of the government's suppression campaign.

Sexual violence, rape, gang-rape, torture, molestation, harassment, humiliation and lewd behaviour against at women from the teenagers to the aged (from 12 to 60 years of age) has become part and parcel of police patrol and combing operations. In fact, it is a strategic part of the government suppression campaign. The armed forces attacked Pedda Gellur, Chinna Gellur, Burgicheru and Pegdapalli

villages under Basaguda Police Station of Bijapur district last year between 19 and 24 October, Kunna and Peddapara villages of Sukma district on 12 January and Bellam Nendra village of Bijapur between 11 and 14 January this year, beat up the villagers and looted their property. They were particularly brutal on the women. 45 women were severely beaten up. They committed innumerable harrowing sexual atrocities against women, including stripping and parading them naked, pressing their breasts to squeeze out milk, and even gang-raped a 14 year old girl and a pregnant woman. The cruelty of the armed forces can be gauged by the incident in which they beat up even a seven month old baby along with her mother. Fact-finding teams of many women's organisations of the country visited these villages and exposed the atrocities by the government's khaki goons. These organisations have done a commendable job by facing police atrocities and pressure. Congress MLA Kowasi Lakma, Manish Kunjam of CPI, Soni Sori of AAP and secretary of Sarv Adivasi Samaj BS Rawte met the women, highlighted the incidents of police atrocities and strongly opposed them. But in spite of the protests, Kalluri never tires of praising the crimes of the police jawans and is shamelessly awarding them as well. Not only this, leaders of women's organisations too are being targeted. Recently, the house of freelance journalist and former Red Cross activist Malini Subhramaniam was attacked and she was threatened.

Our Party appeals to the country's democrats, progressive-democratic, women's and civil rights organisations to raise their voices against cruel attacks on the people, atrocities on women by the government armed forces, attempts by the police forces to intimidate women's organisations and to visit the affected villages to bring out the truth. We appeal to the affected people to fully cooperate with fact-finding teams and journalists and express their experiences, pain and loss to them and provide all available proofs of atrocities.

Everyday, the newspapers are carrying Kalluri's lies about fake surrenders. People are being caught from weekly markets, bus stands, railway stations, on the way to visit relatives

or for work and by threatening, luring, promising withdrawal of names from police records, etc. and presented before the media with much fanfare as mass surrender of 'Maoists'. We appeal to the people to strongly oppose fake surrenders and express their class hatred towards surrender.

It seems that Kalluri has made up his mind to surpass even Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, in spreading lies. He seeks ever new ways to show our Party in poor light or to cast aspersions on us. But Kalluri's lies cannot keep the people away from the trust for long. It is not possible for anyone, be it Kalluri, Raman Singh or Modi, to always suppress the truth. Just have a look at a sample of Kalluri's false and fabricated stories:

When government armed forces attacked Tettemadagu village of Sukma district on 8 December 2015, PLGA carried out a counter-offensive attack and chased them away for three kilometers and injured five of them. While briefing the print and electronic media about the incident, Kalluri uttered the white lie that 15 to 20 Maoists were killed. The height of it was when he announced reward and promotion for the 'brave' jawans who had run for their lives from the battlefield when attacked by the guerrillas! Whereas the truth is that none of our comrades died in that incident.

It will be enough to cite one example to understand the heinous and lowly ways in which Kalluri is trying to defame our Party. This incident took place in the first week of December 2015. In Todka village under Gangalur Police Station of Bijapur district, a four month old baby of an anti-people household died when the mother accidentally fell on it in sleep in an inebriated state. Kalluri distorted this fact and issued an outrageous statement to the media that the Maoists had killed the innocent baby by beating it up. The corporate media, particularly a few local newspapers, spiced up the 'news' and published it in their front pages. These journalists did not even try to verify the facts. Against this so-called cruelty by the Maoists, a hideous 'Dhikkar Rally' was taken out in Jagdalpur under the banner of 'Samajik Ekta Manch'. Kalluri was the main organiser of this

rally and the spokesperson of the 'Manch'. The rally was addressed by Deepak Karma – the son of Salwa Judum leader Mahendra Karma annihilated by the PLGA in Jheeramghati, other notorious Salwa Judum leaders like the Chaitram Atrami, Soyam Mukka, P Vijay, Madhukar Rao, Sukhdev Tati, Awadhesh Gautam, etc., while BJP leaders like Seshnarayan Tiwari – President of Jagdalpur Municipal Corporation, RSS leader Rajbahadur Singh Rana, Mayor Jatin Jaiswal, NR Parashar, Ajay Singh, Mohammad Shamim, Faroukh, Sattar Ali etc. were present on the stage. Police officers like Kondagaon SP Rajendra Narayan Das, Dantewada SP Kamalochan Kashyap too were on the stage. Some villagers were brought to the rally through threats and intimidation. Using force and political pressure, the police, RSS, BJP and Salwa Judum leaders made some school children participate in it as well.

In fact, this 'Samajik Ekta Manch' is a counter-revolutionary organisation propped-up under government protection and with the active support and participation of the police. These kinds of organisations are being set up as per the conspiracy of starting Salwa Judum-2. In the name of 'Naxal-pidit Sangh', anti-social elements, anti-people forces and the persons punished by the people's courts and their families are being mobilised under police patronage to organise rallies and *gherao* civil rights activists and women's organisation activists, to intimidate and attack them. All this is going on in the presence of the police and its directions. 'Dhikkar Rally' was organised to counter the boiling mass anger against police atrocities, repression and violence on women, to stamp out protests and terrorise the masses. Previously, these organisations had taken out rallies in Bijapur and threatened social activists of women's organisations who were helping the affected women to get their complaints of rape registered with the police and asked them to leave Bastar for good. We call upon the people to remain vigilant against such organisations and to oppose and resist them strongly.

The corporate media, particularly a few newspapers, have become the willing transmitters of the fabricated government and police stories to serve their own ulterior interests. They have no commitment to the truth. They are openly siding with the government in its anti-Maoist suppression operations. There is much pressure from the government on a few newspapers and journalists. Repressive measures are being taken against them in various ways. The government has sent some journalists to jail on trumped-up charges for exposing its anti-people policies. Our Party has always been advocating the freedom of the press. The media should be alert and vigilant in bringing the truth to the public. Our Party appeals to the journalist friends to find out the reality and present it before the people by visiting the rural areas and the place of an incident. They should not ignore the ethics of journalism by one-sidedly publishing Kalluri's claims without verifying them. They should maintain the trustworthiness of the news reports even when their political convictions are different from ours.

We declare that the leaders of 'Samajik Ekta manch' will meet the same fate as Mahendra Karma, other leaders and goons of Salwa Judum. We appeal to Bastar Chambers of Commerce, various Adivasi and non-Adivasi social organisations and leaders of various communities who participated in 'Dhikkar Rally' to first check up the facts at their own level before trusting the fabricated news. The people who have been against the Party and the revolutionary movement deliberately spread lies and try to mislead the people. Therefore, beware of such elements. Avoid going to such gatherings. We appeal to the parents and guardians of the school children to see to it that their children are not used by anybody for such anti-people occasions without their knowledge and consent. We call upon school teachers and managements not to send their students to anti-people activities based on falsified news and to themselves refrain from participating.

Sukma CJM dismissed for upholding the rule of law

Prabhakar Gwal, the Chief Judicial Magistrate of Sukma, was dismissed by Raman Singh-led BJP government of Chhattisgarh in April on the complaint by the district's Superintendent of Police to the District Judge. The police claimed that the judge's way of functioning was 'obstructing' the police in their work and lowering their morale in their anti-Maoist operations. The matter reached the Chhattisgarh High Court and it recommended Gwal's dismissal which the government promptly obliged. In fact, these allegations against the judge were fabricated by several police officers working under the IG of Bastar Range SRP Kalluri. The judge's insistence that the police follow the due process of law in the arrest of the so-called Maoists had become an 'obstruction' to the police-raj of Kalluri-led Bastar police who had made it a habit of flouting the law with impunity and making mass arrest of villagers. Gwal had found that almost all the alleged Maoists arrested by the police were Adivasi villagers and ordered their release as the police failed to provide any tangible proof of their 'crime'. The judge brought such blatant violations of the law to the notice of the District Judge and even wrote to Kalluri about it, at the same time warning the police against framing innocent people. All this had caused the "lowering of the morale" of the police, which is heightened only if they are allowed a free hand to repress and persecute the people! The summary dismissal of the judge is yet another proof that the Indian ruling classes are running their fascist rule in all Maoist movement areas where the constitution or the so-called rule of law stands suspended, or rather, dismissed.

Villagers of Etapalli protest against police brutality

Two days after PLGA cadres eliminated a constable of Maharashtra Police Deepak Sedmake on 11 March at Reknar village of Etapalli tehsil in Gadchiroli district, a team of C-60 commandos from Hedri police post severely thrashed the people of the village to vent their anger. Such was the extent of the depravity and cruelty of the khaki goons that they force-fed a minor with chilli powder that was also inserted into his anus. Severe torture and beating was unleashed on the people on the suspicion that they had helped the PLGA team that had killed Sedmake. Four villagers bore the maximum brunt of police atrocities while others were subjected to slaps and kicks. Not content at punishing the villagers for their alleged support for the Maoists, the policemen took away four villagers to their post and released them only in the evening. The next day, the villagers lodged complaints with the Tehsildar and Sub-divisional Police Officer (SDPO) against the guilty policemen, but predictably, no step was taken. Instead,

policemen from Hedri police post rounded up several traders from the weekly market where the constable was killed, took them to their camp and thrashed mercilessly suspecting them to be cooperating with the Maoists. Two of the traders sustained fractures due to the beating. But the medical reports of the injured traders recorded fall from a tree as the cause of the injury under police pressure.

The intensified protest by the villagers forced Ravindra Kadam, the notorious IGP, Nagpur (Naxal Range) to condemn the thrashing and call for an explanation from the In-charge and commander of the police force posted at Hedri, holding them responsible for "high-handedness". He also promised to take action after receiving the explanation. But it would be futile to expect that the same police officers who lead and direct the lower-rank policemen in their fascist repression against revolutionaries and the people and award them for their cruelty would punish them for their heinous acts. It is the people and people's armed forces alone that can bring these perpetrators to justice.

Growing voices of opposition against years of fascist state terror in Eastern Maharashtra

Adivasis constitute over 38 percent of the population of Gadchiroli district in eastern Maharashtra. The Maoist movement, which began here in the early 1980s, has influence over eight tehsils of the district out of twelve (Sironcha, Aheri, Bhamragarh, Etapalli, Dhanora, Korchi, Kurkhera and Chamorshi). The movement is the strongest in the three tehsils of Dhanora, Etapalli and Korchi. The masses of this region have experienced several waves of state repression conducted by the police, paramilitary and commando forces in the last 36 years since 1980 after they started to take part in the revolutionary movement. Severe repression was carried out for the first time on a large scale in Gadchiroli and Gondia in 1991, during which 50 to 60 villagers were killed. In 2006, in another such campaign around 35 villagers and revolutionaries were killed in fake encounters.

However, the new wave of repression that was unleashed from August-September 2009 onwards as a part of the countrywide multi-pronged counter-revolutionary war on people – Operation Green Hunt – has surpassed all previous suppression campaigns in all aspects. In the last seven years, this operation has gone through three stages, with each stage surpassing the last in their intensity, extensiveness and cruelty. As a part of this, they have killed over 60 revolutionaries and villagers in the last seven years, apart from arresting dozens of Adivasis and keeping them in jails for years.

For a little over 12 lakh rural population, over 10,000-12,000 anti-Maoist forces are deployed by the central and state governments, which include CRPF, CoBRA, C-60, Quick Reaction Team (QRT), District Force and State Reserve Force (SRF). Presently there are five CRPF battalions in the district, of which two are CoBRA battalions. The anti-Naxal C-60 commando force of Maharashtra Police, formed in 1991, has over a thousand specially trained personnel and are mainly deployed in

the district. The posts of SDPOs (Sub Divisional Police Officers of the IPS rank) have been set up in eight tehsils of the Maoist movement area, each of which has five to six police stations/camps under it. There are nearly 55 to 60 police stations/paramilitary camps in the district with at least 250-300 personnel in each. In May-June this year, the government has completed installing mobile towers in all the police stations and camps. More camps have been set up in 2016 (for example, Regri and Kattajhari in north Gadchiroli, Pathagudem in Sironcha tehsil of south Gadchiroli). In addition, Maharashtra government has requested the central government to deploy two additional CRPF battalions in the district.

Repression

The enemy has been conducting Operation Green Hunt in Gadchiroli both in military and non-military forms. Particularly in 2013, it scaled up the repression campaign and killed 36 PLGA comrades within a year. The same year, schemes like '*Naxal-mukt Gadchiroli*', '*Maoist-rahit Gadchiroli*', '*Dada-mukt Gadchiroli*', '*Navjivan Scheme*', '*Manomilan*', '*Apla Maharashtra Darshan*', cultural campaign against the revolutionary movement through counter-revolutionary drama, plays and songs by surrendered cadres of Chetna Natya Manch (CNM), etc. are being carried out. Under '*Navjivan Scheme*', the police is 'counseling' the family members of the Maoists to pressurize them for surrender. Through '*Manomilan*', the police is arranging the marriage of surrendered Maoists at government expense and giving them cash to start family life. '*Apla Maharashtra Darshan*' is a scheme to take the children of counter-revolutionaries eliminated by the revolutionary movement on tour of the state along with school children at government expense. Since the scheme was started in 2013, 13 batches with around 80 children in each batch have been taken on tour. It was during such a tour that

policemen sexually assaulted two girl students of Godelwaya Government Boarding School of Dhanora tehsil last year, leading to the death of Kavita Kova of Mugner village and grievous ailment to the other.

These anti-Maoist schemes are in addition to the 'Jan Jagran Melawa', which the Gadchiroli police-administration has been conducting since the 1990s. In these programmes, the police assemble the villagers to propagate about government policies and talk against the Maoist movement, distribute freebies, conduct collective marriages and give 10,000 rupees to each newly wed couple, etc. With these schemes the government and its mercenary armed forces are trying to 'win the hearts and minds' of the Adivasi villagers as part of its LIC policy. A counter-revolutionary state-sponsored organisation called 'Bhumkal Sangathan' led by a few reactionary intellectuals has started working since 2015.

This year the enemy has stepped up its counter-revolutionary campaign through 'Mission 2016'. Several Maoist revolutionaries and supporters have been killed in encounters and fake encounters. Maharashtra Police are jointly carrying out 'cordon, search and destroy' operations with Telangana and Chhattisgarh Police. The installation of Mobile towers in every police station and camp has been completed this year. Motor cycles too have been allotted to each of these police stations and camps. They are covering large areas at the same time under 'area-domination exercise'. Villagers are being collectively punished and subjected to all forms of repression on the suspicion of colluding with the Maoists. Anyone who come on the way of the mercenary government forces – be it women, children, the aged, the sick, differently-able, employees, academics, social workers, health workers, teachers, students, *Anganwadi* and *Asha* workers – everyone is at risk of becoming their targets. The police-paramilitary have become the law unto themselves as they beat up and commit other forms of physical violence, torture, abuse, rape, humiliation, harassment, loot, arson, threat, abduction, illegal detention, etc. with impunity. On the other hand, protesting against injustice, resistance to exploitation and

oppression, standing up to state terror, fighting for justice – all these are labelled "Naxal activities" and outlawed. Adivasi villagers have been punished while collecting *mahua* and other forest produce, working in the paddy fields, guarding their crops, taking bath, visiting relatives, walking through forest paths, fetching wood, grazing cattle, going out for hunting, going for medical treatment, at festivals – in a word, all activities related to their daily life have been criminalized and disrupted. The people of the interior Adivasi villages of Gadchiroli are thus forced to live under the shadow of state terror. As a part of this, the mercenary government forces have beaten up more than 300 villagers and locked up a number of them in jail between January and June 2016.

Each village has its own story of police brutality to tell. On 21 September last year, Birsu Atram of Gattepalli village in Etapalli tehsil was shot at and seriously injured by Perimili Police. Gattepalli Gram Panchayat organised a protest against this atrocity and demanded punishment for the guilty.



Thousands of Adivasi villagers got mobilized and protested under the leadership of *Gram Sabhas* of Etapalli, Bhamragarh and Aheri tehsils in support of Gattepalli Gram Panchayat. But no action was taken against the culprits.

In January 2016, C-60 Commandos killed Comrade Lacchi of the PLGA in an encounter near Kokkera village during a joint operation. While carrying away her dead body, the police forces came across Vinod, a village youth. The policemen stopped him on his way, spread a plastic sheet, made him lie down on it and shot him dead from a point blank range. His dead body too was carried away along with that of Lacchi. Both were pronounced hardcore Naxalites killed in 'retaliatory fire'. During the same operation, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh Police caught hold of Zarina, a young Adivasi woman of Tumirgunda village in Indravati National Park of Chhattisgarh, stripped her in the weekly market and gang-raped in public view, then forced her to walk naked all the way to their camp. Just as they were about to reach the camp, they sprayed her with bullets, instantly killing her and bringing their macabre act to a grotesque end.

After an encounter with the PLGA on 26 January, the government forces rounded up the people of the nearby villages like Kundum and Jevelli who were busy cutting bamboo in the forest. They were stripped and beaten up indiscriminately. Similarly, when men and women of Gotinweda village questioned the police why they were arresting a fellow resident, thirty of them were roundly beaten up. To add insult to injury, the police entered their houses, looted the valuables that they could carry with them and destroyed the ones they could not.

After an encounter with the C-60 forces on 17 May 2016, PLGA guerrillas retreated without any loss. Men and women of Koyandund village were plucking *tendu* leaves nearby. They were stopped in the midst of their work, a bullock cart was brought, and two villagers were made to pull the cart for over four kilometers as a form of punishment. The same day, 22 villagers from Minungurwancha, Foyarkothi and Gundurwaya villages of Bhamragarh tehsil were caught in the forest

and beaten till they lost their senses. One of them, Chukku Pungati, regained consciousness only after hospitalization. Due to the terror of the police forces, Adivasis from many villages did not enter the forest to pluck *tendu* leaves, resulting in the loss of a crucial source of income for a whole year (the *tendu* leaf work lasts only for two months before the onset of monsoon. Along with bamboo cutting, *tendu* work is the main source of cash for the Adivasi peasants of Gadchiroli. They depend on the cash earned from this labour to last them the whole year).

The anti-Maoist forces picked up two youths of Jambia village named Mangesh Usendi and Mukesh Hichami from their sleep and beat them up brutally. The beating left Mangesh mentally unbalanced and Mukesh seriously injured.

Two paramedics who were in Dorkatta village to treat a patient were caught by the khaki goons and beaten up severely.

In addition to all these atrocities, the police-paramilitary forces also try to disrupt and prevent the peasant masses from observing revolutionary occasions like the Party Formation Day, Martyrs' Week, PLGA Week, International Women's Day, Bhumkal Divas, etc. As a part of this, they call four to five villagers from every village to the police station during these occasions and keep them there for three-four days. On other occasions, people from entire villages are forced to spend the day of the programme in the police station and are allowed to return only in the evening. If the occasion is scheduled for more than a day, they must return to the police station early next morning to spend there the following days as well.

The villages which are strongly with the revolutionary movement and whose sons and daughters are working in it are particularly targeted by the police and paramilitary forces. In such village, the police can search and destroy any house, beat up and arrest anyone and loot anything they wish from the people. By attacking the villages, houses and family members of revolutionaries, the police goons try to break the morale of the Party workers, PLGA guerrillas and the people.

For instance, every time the forces come to Bade Jhalia village, they visit the house of the local PLGA commander Comrade Dinkar, beat up his brother, loot property, destroy household implements, etc. Every time the family tries to pick up the threads of their life by putting together the remnants, they are again destroyed mercilessly after some time.

They use other coercive methods as well. The police have long been trying to trap Maoist leader Comrade Karan of Gorgutta village. Unable to get him, they took his mother and wife to Gatta police station and told the villagers that the two would be released only when they would bring Karan. In this way, the police are compelling the people to act against their own movement and hand over Maoist cadres to the police by using heinous methods like kidnap and blackmailing.

Resistance

This is a glimpse of the kind of repression perpetrated by the government mercenary forces in Gadchiroli and other parts of Dandakaranya, the true extent of which rarely get reported in the corporate media. State repression was extremely severe in 2013, a year in which 36 comrades were killed by the enemy forces in real and fake encounters. The mass base too was considerably damaged.

Since then the Maoist party has conducted Bolshevisation and rectification campaigns from the higher to the lower levels of the Party, army and the mass organisation structures. Losses have been reduced gradually to some extent since then. Masses have been mobilized in large numbers against state repression, mining and displacement, for higher wages and permanent land titles, implementation of PESA Act, on revolutionary celebrations, etc. On the Bhumkal Day celebration of 10 February this year, over ten thousand people gathered at Surjagarh. Likewise, 4,000 people participated in the central programme organised by Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS) to celebrate Women's Day. In this way, the fighting masses of Gadchiroli are facing up to the pale of white terror with their indomitable revolutionary spirit.

The experience of the people have taught them that there will be innumerable ups and downs, victories and defeats in the course of the revolutionary movement. With this conviction, they are protecting, replenishing and advancing the Party, PLGA and the mass organisations. The people are aware that the enemy is suppressing them to crush their struggle against the threat to their land, forests, dignity, culture, identity and the way of life – a resistance which is a part of their struggle to improve the condition of their lives and build a new society through revolutionary war. Thus, they are resolutely facing, withstanding and fighting back the war unleashed by the state with high level of political consciousness. This strengthens all their mass struggles and permeates them with a militant spirit – be it the annual struggles for wage hikes for *tendu* leaf work or bamboo cutting work, against mining in Surjagarh and Damkodi, against state repression and Operation Green Hunt, etc.

Protest in Keralam against the arrest of youths calling for election boycott

Kerala Police arrested five political activists Ajithan, Chattu, Sabu, Dileepan and Gowri on 3 May 2016 for putting up posters calling upon the people of Keralam to boycott the upcoming assembly elections. Such was the vindictiveness of the government that all of them were and booked under the draconian Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA). This was irrespective of the fact that the arrest itself was patently unlawful and illegal as the young activists were merely exercising their democratic right to call for the boycott of these farcical elections. Nowhere in the law books is it written that it is an 'unlawful activity' to boycott the election. In fact, boycott is as much a democratic right of the people as much as participation in elections, and the Indian courts too have upheld this right in many past judgments.

Moreover, the government was even forced to concede the option of 'NOTA' a few years back. The ruling classes and their parties

running various governments at the centre and the states, however, are very anxious to put up this show of parliamentary democracy at all costs and are scared of people responding to the boycott call as an act of protest against the Indian parliamentary system. They have even made voting mandatory in local elections in a few states and are planning to extend this diktat to other elections too. Also, alarmed by the growing disillusionment of the masses about the elections, the rulers have been forced to use the entire propaganda machinery at their command to encourage the people just to cast their vote.

In such a situation, the governments are hell bent on crushing any voice that exposes the farcical electoral system and calls for its active boycott, even if it means the violation of the fundamental democratic rights of the people. The arrest of the activists has only shown the strength and effectiveness of the boycott call. Particularly in the regions where the Maoist movement is active, the government loses no time in connecting those

exercising the right not to vote with the election boycott call of the CPI(Maoist) and severely punish such persons as 'Maoists' and 'anti-nationals' under the most stringent colonial-age laws.

As the revolutionary movement in the tri-junction area under the leadership of the party's Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee is making its presence felt among the exploited classes and oppressed sections of people of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, the reactionary governments of these states in collusion with Modi government at the centre have stepped up repression and police terror. Revolutionaries, democrats and the people of not only the rural areas of armed agrarian revolutionary struggle but also of the urban areas are facing heightened state terror in the last few years under the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. The latest arrest of the five activists is a part of this onslaught. Civil rights and democratic organisations have condemned the arrests and demanded their early release.

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The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been continuing since the GPCR came to an end four decades back. Many of the genuine revolutionary communist parties that were built or reorganised during the GPCR are still in existence and are leading the class struggle in several countries. Wherever the leadership of these parties have been able to creatively apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism – particularly the lessons of GPCR – they could sustain or strengthen the parties even amidst victories and defeats, ups and downs and twists and turns of the revolutionary movement. Wherever the leadership could not do this, the parties disintegrated and the movement suffered losses.

By creatively applying MLM in the concrete conditions of a country, by bringing the vast masses of the people into the arena of class struggle under its guidance and by fighting with tremendous courage and sacrifice, a strong party can be built where there is no such party, a strong army can be built where there is

no such army and political power can be seized where there is no political power. Our task ahead is to firmly grasp MLM and the spirit of GPCR in order to achieve our immediate and ultimate goals. It is only in this way that the working-class can meet the challenge of effectively fighting and finally burying imperialism, which, though in its deathbed, will not leave the stage of history on its own.

All our comrades should deeply study the experiences of GPCR to grasp its tremendous significance, learn from its wide-ranging lessons and apply them creatively in their revolutionary practice. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the initiation of GPCR and as a part of the anniversary celebrations by our Party, we are bringing out this issue of *Maoist Information Bulletin* as a commemorative volume that includes an editorial article and a selection of excerpts and quotations on the GPCR with the hope that these may be of help in this endeavour.

“Any move to mine bauxite would be met with armed opposition”

The mass protests that had erupted against the Andhra Pradesh government's GO (Government Order) No.97 of 5 November 2015 permitting bauxite mining in the Visakha Agency Area has shown no sign of abating and is becoming more and more widespread. Through this GO, Chandrababu Naidu-led TDP government diverted 1,212 hectares of protected forest land in Jerrila and Chintapalli Reserve Forests for industrial use (bauxite mining). The government has thereby blatantly violated its own Constitution and 'rule of law', be it the provisions of Fifth Schedule, PESA Act and the Forest Rights Act protecting the rights of Adivasis and other 'traditional forest dwellers' and the environmental regulations. If allowed to go ahead, this project will no doubt enrich the coffers of the big corporations of the imperialist countries and their domestic compradors, but will impoverish and pauperise a large number of tribal communities who are residing in this area by

entirely depending on the land, water and forests. The government itself has designated many of these communities like Khond, Nooka Dora, Manne Dora and Bagata as 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups' since their very existence as distinct tribal communities is under serious threat. Some of them had already suffered multiple displacements due to big infrastructural projects in the last decades and had to migrate from the undivided Koraput district of neighbouring Odisha.

Now once again threatened with forced displacement, the people of the area including men, women and children are organising militant protests demanding the withdrawal of GO 97 and displaying their determination to stop any attempt by the government to start mining in their land. Armed with traditional weapons, they are continuously organising public meetings, rallies, dharnas, bandhs, road blockades, etc. The 8,000 Adivasis of 73 villages and hamlets who are to be directly affected by the first phase of the proposed mining project are unanimous in their opposition to the government's move. They are vocally giving vent to their opposition to and



Adivasi peasants of Visakha Agency Area of AOB in an armed demonstration against bauxite mining

distrust for the government. They accuse the leadership of the established parliamentary parties of selling-out to the big mining companies and bartering the collective interest of the masses for a few crumbs.

In one such protest meeting organised in Jerra Panchayat in the second week of December 2015, speaker after speaker voiced their resolve to defend their land and existence by fighting the government with all means. Addressing the gathering, an elderly Adivasi speaker Chinna Abbai declared, “The protest against the move to mine is not new. The government officials have been carrying on with their exploration of the place. Now that the GO has been issued, we will not allow them to bring down these mountains.” Another speaker, Ashok, warned, “The government has been able to carry on with the exploration and also pass the GO on mining only because a few of the Adivasis have sided with the political leaders. We will not allow these handful of Adivasis working against the collective interest of fellow Adivasis to continue. We will drive them away.” Adapa Vishnumurthy of Jerra village expressed his concern that the mining

will utilise and pollute the waters of Sileru, the main river of the region, and will thereby not only adversely affect the Adivasi people of Visakha Agency Area but also those non-Adivasis living downstream. Korra Ganjibabu of Boddalagondi complained that the political leaders were not interested in protecting the interests of the Adivasis and some of them are giving statements against the project merely for public consumption. He said, “The then Chief Minister YS Rajashekhar Reddy sold the mining rights for these areas. How can we trust YSR Congress not to allow bauxite mining if they come to power? We do not trust them.” Local leaders like Paderu MLA Giddi Eswari belonging to YSR Congress too did not escape the people’s wrath. They asked, “What guarantee is there that you would not go ahead with bauxite mining if your party comes to power in the next elections and you become a Minister?” The meeting concluded with the pledge that any move to mine bauxite will be met with the armed resistance of the people.

Supporting the people’s struggle, AOBZC of CPI(Maoist) called a daylong bandh of Andhra Odisha Border (AOB) on 26 December

and a week of protest from 21 to 27 December against the proposed bauxite mining and GO 97. AOBSSZC spokesperson Comrade Jagabandhu appealed to the Adivasis in a press statement to force the leaders of all parliamentary parties to resign from their parties in opposition to the government's move and in solidarity with the ongoing anti-mining movement. Failing which, he suggested, the people should drive them away from the Agency Area, thereby defeating the government's design to divide the people and weaken the unity of the resistance.

Adivasis of Malkangiri protest against police repression

More than five thousand Adivasi peasants from villages Panasput, Andrapalli and Jodamba etc. of the 'cut-off' area in Malkangiri district of Odisha gathered in a public meeting organised by CPI(Maoist) on 8 May to protest against atrocities committed by the police and paramilitary forces on the people in the name of curbing Maoism. The people demanded the immediate closure of the police camps newly set up in various locations of the area, withdrawal of the anti-Maoist government forces and a stop to their armed operations, which have resulted in large-scale state repression and gross violation of the fundamental rights of the people. The Maoists, speaking at the meeting, warned of strong retaliation if atrocities by the police-paramilitary on the Adivasi masses were not stopped.

Masses raise the banner of revolutionary land struggle

Three big landlords named Balam Naidu of Gunjipada village, Tirupati Padalu of Chintalaveedih village and another in Olakalaveedhi village had concentrated the agricultural land in their hands in Jamuguda panchayat of Peddabayalu area in Visakhapatnam district, AP. Balam Naidu was settled in the city and lent out his land on rent. Landlord Tirupati Padalu of Gunjipada too exploited the peasants. Many people in these

villages remained landless and survived on coolie work. A unit of the Ryuthu Coolie Sangham (workers' and peasants' organisation) was formed in Gunjipada village to fight the landlords. Led by the RCS, the peasants of these three villages seized 60 acres of land from these landlords in early 2016 and distributed it among 65 landless families. The people have started cultivating their newly acquired land.

Landlord Balram was an Adivasi Majhi Sarpanch of Biyanibuddi village in Tentuliguda block, Malkangiri district of Odisha. He was also a local leader of BJP and wielded much influence in local politics. He was working against the revolutionary movement and threatened the people against joining it. The people of the village militantly resisted the oppression of this local tyrant, due to which he fled the village with his family and took shelter with the police. Led by the RCS, the peasants seized Balram's house, property, cattle and land and distributed amongst themselves giving priority to the most needy. 12 acres of his land was distributed among 12 landless families. 13 cattle were given to ten families, his house was given to two families, while the stockpile of paddy and furniture were distributed among the whole village. In this way, the peasants are enthusiastically getting organised under the leadership of the RCS and carrying on struggle for land and political power as a part of the armed agrarian revolution.

The people of AOB hold trial of embezzlers in people's courts

The government had sanctioned 9.63 lakh for drinking water supply in Vinjari panchayat of Pedabayalu block in Visakhapatnam district, AP. Some individuals with connection with the government such as the sarpanch, PRO, MPDO, local TDP leaders and one journalist embezzled the money. When the people got to know about it, they held a people's court and the sarpanch admitted his guilt. He promised to return the money he had siphoned off and deposited 7.5 lakh with the people. This

was used for solving the drinking water problem of Nanabari, Sujari and Tallambu villages in the panchayat. Pipelines were laid and tanks were constructed for the purpose under people's supervision.

The people of ten villages in Pappluru area were suffering from acute water shortage. The sarpanch did not pay heed to the people's complaints. When the PLGA visited these villages, the people raised the issue and complained about the sarpanch. The people decided to summon the sarpanch Kommel Lacchan to a people's court where the people from ten villages gathered. The sarpanch admitted his mistake and agreed to start the work for which the money was already allotted. Within days he mobilised material, machine and labour to dig a tank to address the problem of drinking water and irrigation.

The government had approved 36 lakh rupees for supplying drinking water to five villages of Jamguda panchayat four years back. But the money was never spent for this as officials and political leaders embezzled the amount. The revolutionary mass organisation held a people's court where these people agreed to start the work. In Penaraveli village of the same panchayat, 1.5 lakh rupees were allotted for public work but the local leader Venkatarao embezzled it. The people held a people's court and forced him to return the money. Similar courts were held in Uppacheruvu village of Kumura panchayat and 2 lakh rupees money allotted for NREGA was recovered from the embezzlers under the leadership of the Adivasi Ryuthu Coolie Sangham (ARCS).

Similar cases of the embezzlement of public money were discussed in people's courts in several other villages of the 'cut-off' area of

Malkangiri district led by the RCS. The accused were presented before the people, the money recovered and used for public works under people's supervision. A fair-price shop owner was presented before the people's court in Ondrapalli village of Kurumulagumma block in the 'cut-off' area where he admitted that he had sold foodstuff meant for the people in the black market. After warning, he pledged not to do it again. The husband of a sarpanch appropriated government supplies for the people for his personal use. He too was presented in a people's court. Likewise, in Sangoi village of Panasput panchayat, some labour agents who deceived workers and deprived them of their wages were tried in a people's court where they agreed to pay up. In Biyanibudi village, a businessman purchased *ganja* from the villagers but fled without making payment even though he had made profits out of it. As decided in a meeting, the people seized his property and distributed among themselves. In Komora village, a postman named Kondababu was levying five rupees 'commission' on every hundred rupees paid to the people for NREGS work. When presented in a people's court he accepted his mistake and he was let off with a warning.

Thus, people's courts have been used extensively by the revolutionary masses as an instrument of rural class struggle to try and punish class enemies and offenders in a collective manner. No wonder that jittered by the people 'taking the law into their own hands' – a grave crime in the eyes of the ruling classes – they are putting a lot of effort to portray the people's courts in a poor light even though their own judicial system has lost much of its credibility as far as the vast toiling masses of the country are concerned.

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and putting pressure on the residents to sign the transfer deeds by visiting every house. The police are also forcibly registering the names of the people who they claimed were ready to give up their land. Government officials are approaching the agitators individually and threatening them. Government employees who are opposing the project are being pressurised to stay away from the agitation. Shopkeepers

are being harassed and their shops are being locked up by the police for supporting the movement. But facing all these adversities, the people are continuing their struggle. In fact, the anti-Mallannasagar movement is gaining strength and is spreading to the surrounding villages as well. It is receiving the support of the oppressed classes, social sections and the democratic forces of Telangana.

Heroic class struggle of the revolutionary masses of Vicchinnanchal area in Malkangiri, AOB

Vicchinnanchal ('cut-off area') of Malkangiri is separated from Odisha mainland by the Balimela reservoir, making the area accessible by land only from Andhra Pradesh. The seven panchayats of the area with around two to three hundred villages come under the Gumma block of Malkangiri district and have about 10,000 inhabitants, mostly comprising of Kui, Dido, Remo, Rana and Poroja tribes. The Maoist Party entered Vicchinnanchal area relatively recently and the history of class struggle led by it here is not very long. The government armed forces from AP used to undertake search operations in the area. But after the PLGA ambushed a batch of Greyhound commandos of AP Police on board a motor boat on the reservoir in 2008 and annihilated 38 commandos, they stopped these operations for some time. Anti-Maoist operations intensified in the area once again after Operation Green Hunt was launched in all Maoist struggle areas of the country in mid-2009.

The Odisha government has never paid any serious attention to provide even the basic amenities to the residents of the cut-off area. It has not made adequate provisions for education and health of the people. They have faced decades of government apathy and neglect along with the exploitation and oppression of the landlords and that section of the traditional tribal elders connected to the ruling-class parties. The people of the cut-off area are also facing the problem of displacement due to the Balimela reservoir which periodically submerges the villages. Another acute problem faced by the people has been the lack of water transport with mainland Odisha. For a long time, there was only a single steamer to connect the mainland. It plied once a day between Jentri in the cut-off area and Chitrakonda on the other side. The people of the cut-off area formed 'Vicchinnanchal Committee' – a people's organisation – a few years back and demanded education, better water transport from the government. Thousands of people sat on dharnas at

Chitrakonda, carried out mass protest programmes and petitioned the government. After two years of mass struggle, the government was forced to allot ten motor boats for the area.

Though the people's movement led by the Vicchinnanchal Committee won some victories, its leadership had a number of persons from the upper classes. When state repression intensified they gradually started colluding with the state. Some of these leaders participated in the panchayat elections of 2012 by misleading the people about the call of the Party which was to boycott the elections. After this experience, the people elected their leaders from the basic classes and the class struggle intensified. By 2015, many class enemies, landlords, local tyrants and bad gentry were tried in the people's courts and punished, while some of them ran away. Their land and property were seized by the people and redistributed among the landless and poor peasants. The people also exposed embezzlement of government money meant for public works and carried out agricultural improvement works through collective labour. The following are some examples:

Majhi Sarpanch and landlord Gopal of Gosompodor village and his brother Sahadev occupied the well-irrigated fertile lands of the village. They terrorised the people who refused to follow their diktat and even forced such families to leave the village. They asked people not to get involved in the revolutionary movement. They also colluded with the police to damage the Maoist Party. They planned with the police to attack a PLGA squad but failed. The people beat the brothers up for this treachery, after which they ran away and took refuge with the police in the town. The people seized their 20 acres of land and distributed among 13 landless peasant families of the village. Their 17 cattle and 16 goats, more than hundred quintal paddy and household things were distributed among the people of six villages.

In Bacchelipodor village, a panchayat ward member, landlord and anti-people local tyrant Dona was given physical punishment by the PLGA for colluding with the enemy. He pledged not to do it again but retracting from his promise, he once again conspired with the police to annihilate the squad. When this plan got exposed he ran away. Some part of his 30 acres of land was given to his family for sustenance, 20 acres were distributed among 26 landless families and the rest of the land was used for collective agriculture by the whole village.

In Orapodor village, an anti-people person Ghasi and his son Saheb were working as police agents. They were chased out of the village by the people led by the Ryuthu Coolie Sangam (RCS). 40 acres of their land were seized by the people and distributed among the landless and poor peasants.

In Arlingpara village too, five acres of a small landlord and anti-people person was seized and distributed.

In Simlipodor, Ramu – a preacher – and his brother Ravi who was in our mass organisation became lumpenised and together with the police, conspired to harm the Party. When their plan became known to the people, they ran away. Three acres of their land was distributed among five landless families.

In Gobaripara village, a traditional tribal elder used his political influence to threaten the people and occupy their land. In this way he became a landlord. He also started working as a police agent and tried to pass on information about the guerrilla squad to the police when it visited the village. He too ran away when his plan was exposed. His 20 acres of land was distributed among the people along with the paddy he had left behind.

In Thotaguda and Sanyasiguda villages, water was not available for irrigation and a check-dam was required for it. In 2015, the people led by the revolutionary mass organisations constructed checks dam and canals in a month through collective labour. 48 families were distributed one acre of irrigated land each. The people of Taberu, Arlingpara, Kondamjhari, Nadinjhari, Marriwada, Sanyasiguda, Thotaguda, Jenthri,

Dakapodor, Dabagoda and Bojjagoda villages decided to plant fruit trees in the wastelands of their villages, following which eight thousand saplings were planted.

The people formed mutual aid teams in some villages of cut-off area to resolve the problem of scarcity of draught animal and agricultural implements as well as seasonal immigration. Seventeen villages had five to ten such teams. In one village, the people undertook collective farming and distributed the harvest amongst themselves. The nearby villages too were influenced by the success of the mutual aid teams and cooperatives and decided to follow this method. Among other struggles, the peasants demanded a rise in the price of turmeric they produced by ten rupees per kilo. As a result of their strike, the rate was increased from 60 rupees to 70 per kilo in 2016. In this way, the people of cut-off area got organised to carry forward the class struggle.

Even though the central government or the Odisha government had no concern for the welfare of the people in the cut-off area, they were keen to crush the intensifying class struggle. As the social base of the ruling classes was under attack from the revolutionary masses, the state stepped-up its repression in the form of arrests, fake encounters and atrocities. From 2015 onwards, it set up a number of new BSF camps and undertook more intense search and destroy operations in the cut-off area. The police also sponsored and propped up a counter-revolutionary campaign in the name of 'Vicchinnanchal Virodh Abhiyaan' by mobilising the members of the reactionary classes, anti-people village elders and lumpen elements, etc. It started killing, beating and terrorising the people. Govardhan, a majhi sarpanch of Tentuliguma village was shot dead near Mantriamba on Malkangiri-Koraput highway in March 2016. In another incident, a villager Debo was killed by these goons near Kaliajodi village of Boipariguda block. On 6 April, they killed Jairam of Singoi village of Kumulagumma block in Jwalaput, a small town on Odisha-AP border and declared the names of the persons whom they intended to kill in the future.

The police remained silent on these killings by 'Vicchinnanchal Virodh Abhiyaan' because

the state and the police were hand in gloves with this counter-revolutionary killer gang. Over five thousand people of Joramba, Panasaput and Andrapalli panchayats gathered in a meeting to oppose the 'Vicchinnanchal Virodh Abhiyaan' and demanded judicial enquiry into the murders it had committed, punishment of the culprits and compensation for the families of the deceased. They collected rice worth thousands of rupees and presented to Jairam's family as assistance and assured all protection and help in the future. They took pledge to resist this campaign on their own if the government did not take any step to apprehend the perpetrators.

Apart from propping up killer gangs, the central and state governments of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh intensified coordinated joint operations of the AP Police, Odisha Police and central paramilitary forces from January 2015. Based on specific information from the informer network they had built up through the anti-people elements, these forces carried out search and destroy operations. One of their main objectives was to eliminate the Maoist leadership. In the first such operation in January 2015, AP Police batches coming from the direction of Visakhapatnam entered Bejji region of the cut-off area and targeted a PLGA unit but the guerrillas retreated to safety. However, a batch of Odisha Police coming from the Odisha side fired indiscriminately upon the people travelling on a small boat on Balimela river, killing two of them and injuring a few. The second attack by the police took place in August 2015 but that too was unsuccessful. Another operation targeting the Maoist leadership was undertaken in December 2015 based on specific information, but the PLGA retreated amid enemy firing without any casualty. These operations continued from time to time but the Party could continue their political and organisational work with the help of the masses and the people's militia. After these attacks, the Party and the people investigated the possibility of hidden enemy agents and informers. They unearthed an informer network built by the police, tried them in people's courts and punished some ringleaders with death sentence. Others involved in this network were let off

on the condition that they would refrain from such anti-people activities in the future. In this way, amidst severe repression and facing numerous adversities, the class struggle is developing in the Vicchinnanchal area.

Adivasis of Nallamala resist forcible eviction

Displaying its comprador character in the service of foreign and domestic big capitalists, the KCR-led TRS government of Telangana has been trying to forcibly displace the Chenchu Adivasi people from Nallamala forest to surreptitiously hand it over to multinational companies. Parts of this forest, home to the Chenchu tribes, became Nagarjunasagar-Shreesailam Tiger Reserve in 2008 covering 3,568 square kilometres in undivided Andhra Pradesh. After bifurcation, the project was divided among the two states. In Telangana, Amarabad Tiger Reserve covering 2800 sq kilometres was declared. There are 123 Chenchu hamlets with 12,000 population (2001 census) in the entire Nallamala, but actually their number is declining and it has got reduced to no more than 7,000 by 2011. But they have been forced into extinction by the government in the name of tiger conservation.

It is the biggest tiger conservation project in the country. It is run by the NTCA (National Tiger Conservation Agency) purportedly to save the tiger from extinction the number of which is declining. It was proposed that the project would be run by Amarabad Tiger Conservation Foundation. The tribal people of Nallamala have been asked by the government to shift to the non-forest areas in the plains for this. The TRS government is working fervently to implement this project in a staged manner. In the first stage, the Adivasi and non-Adivasi people of villages like Sarlapalli, Watawarlapalli and Kudichintala Bayalu were forcibly shifted out. Sarlapalli village had 500 people (200 Chenchus), Kudichintala Bayalu had 300 (60 Chenchus) and Watawaralapalli had 900 people (64 Chenchus). Every family was promised ten lakh rupees, five acres of land and a two-

bedroom house as a material incentive to move out of their home and forest. NTCA was to bear the cost of shifting.

The government machinery is using different kinds of tactics and tricks to displace them. In Watawarlapalli village the government registered criminal cases against the Chenchus for 'illegally' occupying 300 acres of forest land as an excuse to evict them. A similar case was filed against the villagers of Sarlapalli and Kudichintala Bayulu allegedly for occupying 1,200 acres of forest department land. Some people have already been arrested and put behind bars under such false charges of encroachment. The government also erected border posts to demarcate the forest and keep the people out. Interior forest villages like Appapur, Rampur, Bhaurapur, Mallapur, Medimalkala, Tathigundala etc. have been declared as illegal and if anyone is to visit those villages the prior permission of the DC has to be obtained. Otherwise the visitor will be stopped at forest check posts showing the danger of tigers. The Chenchus were also not permitted to cultivate these lands which they had been cultivating for generations.

Additionally, the government has engaged some NGOs like Hyderabad Tiger Conservation Society and 'Shakti' in the name of conservation. They are propagating the government's resettlement and rehabilitation policy among the people and are working as government's agents. They have tried to lure some Chenchu people and made them sign the papers of rehabilitation. They are organising 'Girijan Durbars' to 'resolve' the problems of the Adivasis in some villages. But this is nothing but a ploy to make the people sign on the eviction papers. These NGOs are collecting and giving district officers lists of signatories after every 'Durbar'. In this way the government is trying to divide and displace the people.

The Chenchus are facing a threat to their very existence as a result. On the one hand, they are being evicted from their land, while on the other their ways of life and culture is being inundated with poisonous feudal and imperialist culture in the name of ecotourism. For instance, the government is promoting

Malletertham – a religious and tourist spot in Nallamala with a temple dedicated to Malleswari – and outsiders are encouraged to settle there.

Though the stated reason for the eviction is conservation of tiger, the actual reason for this is to open Nallamalla for mining by multinational corporations. Indian Mineral Development Corporation (IMDC) has signed a MoU with South African giant De Beers to excavate Nallamala for precious stones. Moreover, the government signed MoU with diamond extracting companies in November 2009 handing over 9,000 acres of forest land in Nallamala and issued GO (Government Order) Nos.236, 237 and 242 to this effect. Highways and all-weather roads are being developed and modern police stations are being constructed in Nallamala with this objective in mind. A new police station at Sidhapuram and a police outpost at Mannanur are being constructed to station a battalion-size armed police force.

But the people of Nallamala are opposing this nefarious design of the government-corporate nexus. The Chenchus and non-Chenchus are coming together to resist their forcible eviction. As a result of their protests like *padayatras*, dharnas, meetings, etc., the government was forced to allow cultivation temporarily in some parts of the forest, though they were threatened that if the people did not move out willingly, such 'privileges' would be withdrawn in the future. Defying such threats, the people of Nallamala are getting ready to intensify their struggle.

Maoists call upon the people of Telangana to build a united struggle against TRS govt.

Telangana State Committee (TSC) of CPI(Maoist) in a press statement released on 22 May accused the ruling Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) government led by Chief Minister K Chandrashekhara Rao (KCR) of working for the big landlords and big capitalists like any other parliamentary party. TSC spokesperson Comrade Jagan said that

TRS and KCR has duped the peasant masses after coming to power by conveniently sidelining his pre-election promise of waiving agricultural loans that have become a bane not only for the small and middle peasants but also for a section of the rich peasants. He called upon the people and democratic forces to wage a united struggle to force the TRS government into addressing the acute problems faced by the masses including drought, drinking water, irrigation and agricultural inputs like fertilisers, among other things.

The masses fight against open-cast mining in Adilabad

The government-owned Singareni mining company has been making efforts to start the proposed Kalyankhani-2 (KK-2) mega open-cast mine in Adilabad district of Telangana. 40 villages around Mancheriyal, Bellampalli and Mandamarri towns of Adilabad will be destroyed and the residents displaced if the mine comes up. This area has many streams. The peasants harvest three crops annually by using this water and earn their livelihood through it. So the peasants are firmly opposed to the project.

Erraguntapalli will be the first village to be affected. The people of the village are opposing the project since March 2015. Most of the people from the village are mainly shepherds by caste (over 2,000 residents of the village belong to the *Golla* or shepherd caste) and agriculture is their main occupation. Ninety five percent of the residents opposed the mine as it would dispossess them of their land while only five percent supported it and were ready to give up their land. The people had been sitting on a relay hunger strike and taking up other forms of protest against the TRS government and the Singareni mining company demanding a stop to the plans for expansion of open-cast mining.

The people of the area took out a rally from Erraguntapalli to Mandamarri through the National Highway on 3 March 2016 and sat on a dharna outside the office of the General Manager of the mining company. They raised slogans like “Stop displacement

due to open-cast!” and “Stop open-cast, save Telangana!” A signboard of the mining office was destroyed by the people in Mandamarri town. Prohibitory order under Section 144 was imposed and leaders of the agitation were detained at Belampalli Police Station. After getting the news, the masses from surrounding villages gathered and protested. Women from Dobbagudem village instantaneously conducted ‘*Rasta Roko*’ (road blockade). Women protestors of Erraguntapalli marched to the GM’s office defying the police prohibition and demanded the release of the leaders. Under pressure from the people, the police released the arrested persons.

But brushing aside the protests, mining company officials came to Erraguntapalli to lay the foundation stone for the project on 29 March. The same day the relay hunger strike of the Erraguntapalli villagers crossed 300 days. On that day the people took out a big rally including women, children and the elderly. They stood in a human chain and blockaded roads. The rally covered six to seven kilometres. Finally, they destroyed the foundation stone put up by the mining officials earlier in the day. In this way they expressed their resolve to staunchly resist the project.

Mallannasagar project in Telangana faces stiff resistance

The people of several villages in Medak district of Telangana threatened with displacement by Mallannasagar reservoir project are agitating with the demand of scrapping the project. Fourteen villages Tukkapur, Konayipalli, Mangol, Tipparam, Yerravelli, Singaram, Pallepahad, Vemulagattu, Yetigadda Krishnapur, Brahmin Banjarapalli, Torka Vanjarapalli, Togutta, Rampur, Matpalli and Kukkunoorpalli will be submerged totally or partially if the project is implemented. This includes 22,000 acres of double crop agricultural land and 2,500 acres of forest land. 1,112 houses will be submerged and 15,000 people will be displaced. The KCR government is constructing this project to supply water to the agricultural land and farmhouses of the big landlords and big



Mass protest against Mallannasagar project

capitalists but the masses will have no benefit from it. Also, the aim is to give some of the land acquired for the project from the peasants to big business houses. Water will also be supplied to big industries.

With the economic interests of the ruling classes at stake, the KCR government is running roughshod over the peasants and violating the due process of law to make way for the project. It has not organised the mandatory Gram Sabhas to take the consent of the villagers. Instead, the government is trying to lure a section of the villagers with tall promises and incentives while threatening the majority by saying that those who oppose it will not be entitled for any compensation. Some villagers have been offered money to support the project and a fake organisation by the name of 'Federation of Telangana Peasant's Organisations' has been floated to support the project.

But the people have refused to tow the government's diktats. They have stopped the officials from carrying out the survey of the land, following which the government unleashed the police on the people. The surveyors themselves commented that the fertile land should not be taken up and instead some other land should be acquired. But the government is adamant on acquiring the land

in this area. The people are carrying on hunger strike for months to defend their land. Some villages have passed resolutions opposing the project. Democratic parties and organisations of the state are supporting this people's movement. Parliamentary parties except the ruling TRS have visited the threatened villages and expressed solidarity.

The government is trying to suppress the movement by slapping fabricated cases on the agitating people. The people had destroyed the pipes on the fields of a few families of Kistapur village who were working as government agents and sold their land for the project by going against the people's wishes. The police filed cases under SC/ST Atrocities Act on 62 persons and the court issued non-bailable warrants against them. The police also registered cases against the agitating villagers on the accusation of putting up posters against Mallannasagar project in the name of the Maoist party. Two peasants Nayiniswamy and Narasimhalu were arrested from their fields, tortured in the police station and sent to jail on false cases related to the posters that appeared in Yetigadda Kistapur village. Similarly, after the entire village of Vemulagattu decided not to give up its land, the police are keeping the village surrounded

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People's movement resists KCR's 'Haritaharam'

The Adivasi people of in Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam districts of Telangana have been actively taking part in land struggles led by the Maoist party against the big landlords, forest department and the government for the last three to four decades. Fighting against the authority of the forest department officials, they have cleared forest land, prepared fields and are cultivating them for decades. They have also been fighting for permanent land rights. Even after the Forest Right Act was promulgated in 2006 with much fanfare as an Adivasi-friendly legislation, it has not been put in practice. Instead of recognising the land rights of the Adivasis, KCR-led Telangana government is now taking steps to dispossess them of their land through coercive means under the garb of 'Haritaharam' ('Green Garland') scheme. It is the same TRS party which had promised land-titles to the people before the elections but has betrayed the people after coming to power.

Purportedly an a-forestation programme, Haritaharam is a clever device to acquire the land of the Adivasis deceptively in order to

hand it over to the big companies. The KCR government plans to plant 40 lakh saplings every year in each constituency totalling 230 crore trees in three years in the entire state under this programme. But it could not acquire the land required for this huge project in the first phase due to people's resistance. In the second phase that was started in 2016, it has planned to plant 39.35 crore trees in ten districts of the state, for which over 4,000 nurseries have been set up. Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam are districts with a large forest cover. The government is destroying this natural forest and starting plantation in its place in the name of 'Haritaharam'. After acquiring the forested hilly lands in this way, the government aims to transfer the land for industrial and commercial purposes like mining, commercial logging etc. The cost of this will have to be borne mainly by the Adivasi and non-Adivasi peasants who have been living on these forests for generations.

The treacherous KCR government is using police forces to suppress the people. It has imposed Section 144 in the areas earmarked for land acquisition. The government has even acquired some land with permanent titles as after court's orders against it. The people are strongly opposing the Haritaharam



Police brutality on women protestors agitating against Mallannasagar project



Repression and resistance around the 'Haritaharam' project in Telangana

programme. The leaders of the movement are targeted and arrested. The police are also used to forcibly take possession of the land and guard it. It is using such repressive measures as mowing down standing crops of the peasants and planting the land with saplings. The police are coming in the night with tractors and destroying the crops. The government is bringing workers from Chhattisgarh to work in the plantation after the local people refused to work. Policemen from Gundala, Kanchanpalli, Bodu, Kottagudem, Yellendu, Alepalli and Tekulapalli Police Stations were mobilised to acquire 120 acres of land in Oddugudem village of Khammam district. Over 200 policemen converged in the village and lathicharged the resisting people. Many villagers were injured, some were arrested and jailed. After some of them came out on bail, they were re-arrested from the jail gate and sent back on fresh charges.

In Matwada village of Chandrugonda mandal in Khammam district, the Adivasi peasants are cultivating forest land for a long time and even got land deeds in 2006. But the police took hold of the land deeds by deception and destroyed them by saying that these were no longer valid. Over 1,800 acres of land in Matwada panchayat was forcible occupied in this way. In Hanumantanda village of the panchayat, official papers showing permanent land rights were collected by government officials from the people in the name of verification but were not returned, thereby depriving the people of legal proof of their land ownership. When the people wanted their papers back, they were not returned saying

that they were of no use. In this way, over 95% of the peasant's land being forcibly acquired under Haritaharam programme has been cultivated by the people from before 2006. The people of Mokka padu in Tekulapalli village and Mutcharla and Komaram Bheem Nagar villages of Petramchelaka mandal are also struggling against this land grab.

Women are participating in large numbers are standing in the forefront of the movement. They resisted the police by throwing chilli powder on one occasion and sand in another. In this way they are making even household things the weapons of resistance. In several places the people did not back out during the attacks by the police and forest officials and instead pushed them back. The police are acting as goons and are trying to molest the protesting women but they are continuing their resistance.

False cases have been filed by the police against 32 Adivasi persons of Mettapalli village, of whom 28 are women; 22 of Balajitanda village including 15 women; 24 of Oddugudem village including 23 women and put behind bars. Six women came out on bail after spending 14 days in jail but additional cases were foisted on them. Sarpanch Saroja and some other women of Bandrutanda village in Yellendu mandal of Khammam district were arrested and kept in custody for fourteen days. Faced with this powerful resistance, the government is getting ready to deploy more police force to acquire the land while the people are getting ready to face the police and intensify their struggle.

35 years of Indravelli massacre commemorated by the people

On 20 April this year, Indravelli massacre has completed 35 years. Indravelli is a village of Adilabad district in Telangana predominantly inhabited by the Adivasis. A general meeting of the Adivasi peasants of Adilabad and its neighbouring Maharashtra was called on 20 April 1981 in this village. In order to prevent that meeting and terrorise the masses the government armed forces fired upon the people indiscriminately and shot dead 60 persons. More than a hundred people were injured.

Why was it that the Adivasi peasants decided to organise this general meeting? Why did the government open fire? To seek answers to these we will have to go back to the history of the revolutionary movement.

Efforts were continuing to rebuild the movement immediately after the setback of the historic Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles. As a result of adopting correct tactics after summing-up the past, a wave of peasant struggles erupted in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts by 1978. On 22 April 1980, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) was formed. Peasant armed squads soon entered Dandakaranya with the perspective of establishing guerrilla zone. The geographical area which the party identified at that time as Dandakaranya included North Telangana's Adilabad district. Adivasis constituted 14 percent of the district's population at that time. They mainly included Gond, Kolam and Pardhan, of whom Gond constituted 70 percent. The Adivasis peasants of Adilabad as well as bordering Maharashtra carried on agriculture by clearing forest land. This had become a problem for teak planters and Birla's paper mills which earned profits in crores by exploiting the forest resources. The land adjacent to the forests was in the hands of *sahukars* (businessmen cum money-lenders). These *sahukars* who had come here fleeing from the plains of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra had captured their lands through business and money-lending. They tried to acquire the forest land of the Adivasis. The Andhra Pradesh

government which was the lackey of the big capitalists and big merchants had continuously made efforts to uproot the Adivasis from their agricultural land amounting to thousands of acres. During Emergency the Forest Department dispossessed the Adivasis from their lands by using coercion and repression in the name of extending teak and *babool* plantation. In some villages the people were fired upon in which many people lost their lives. These acts of repression could not be brought to light as there was a press censor at that time.

In the villages of the Adivasis peasant's and worker's organisations were formed. The Adivasi peasants took to the road of struggle to reclaim their birthright on the land that were forcibly taken away from them by the government and the forest department. They recaptured 2000 acres of land that were converted to a plantation. They continued their struggle for the rest of the land too. As a part of this, they decided to organise a general meeting under the leadership of the Adilabad Girijan Rayuthu Coolie Sangham (Adivasi Peasant's and Worker's Organisation) on 20 April at Indravelli in order to draw the attention of a wider public to their demands, to get their support, in order to display their collective strength and resolve. The Congress government under the leadership of the incumbent Chief Minister T Anjaiah unleashed repression from the very beginning to crush the land seizure movement of the peasants. 25 police camps were set up within a year. The people were subjected to severe state repression. Not only this, foul propaganda was carried out in order to create a fissure between the Adivasis and the non-Adivasis. The Indravelli massacre was an attack on the Adivasi peasants who were advancing in the struggle to regain their land in spite of these repressive measures by the government.

The government which had initially granted permission for the general meeting got scared by the mobilisation of large number of people and cancelled its permission on the very day of the meeting and imposed Section-144 prohibiting the assembly of people. Unaware of this, the sons and daughters of the forests streamed out with great enthusiasm to take

part in the meeting. The government resorted to highly repressive measures to prevent the people, democrats, youth, students and intellectuals who started in large numbers from different parts of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra from reaching the meeting place. Indravelli was encircled from three days before the meeting. Cars were checked. The police arrested the people proceeding towards the meeting in their hundreds and persecuted. They put up barricades on the roads to prevent the local Adivasi people from reaching Indravelli. In spite of all this, defying police repression more than 15,000 peasants reached Indravelli and started demonstrating. The police made all preparations before opening fire. Some police jawans climbed trees and took position. "Today there will be bloodshed in Indravelli" – the police openly declared this to the arrested students and intellectuals that day. In this way, in a planned manner, without any warning the police opened indiscriminate fire on the protestors. Even the injured who were running away were shot at. The government declared that 13 were killed and 6 were injured in this firing. But the democrats, human rights activists and journalists who visited the place furnished proofs to demonstrate that the government's claim was wrong. Even after three days of Indravelli firing, the news of corpses lying around was published. In order to ensure that the real number of the dead does not come out, the police buried the bodies on their own and declared that they had done so since the relatives of the dead not come forward to claim the bodies. But the truth is something else. Some relatives of the dead reached the place of incident with bullock carts to take away the dead bodies, whereas the police had already got rid of the bodies. Many fact-finding teams reached this conclusion that 60 were killed in Indravelli firing while 100 were injured.

Understanding the policy of repression of the ruling classes, the revolutionary masses pledged that the sacrifice of the Indravelli martyrs will not be allowed to go in vain and they continued to advance. On the first anniversary of the Indravelli massacre, Adivasi Kisan Majdoor Sangh and Radical Youth League jointly organised a memorial meeting

in commemoration of Indravelli's Adivasi peasant martyrs on 20 April. A memorial column was built remembering the martyrs and it was unveiled. The government tried in vain to prevent the meeting and the building of the memorial column. It seized the cement brought for the construction of the memorial. Masons were arrested. Those going to attend the meeting were arrested. Buses were stopped. Indravelli was once again converted into a forest of khaki-clad jawans. Even amidst such repression, three hundred students and youth reached Indravelli by breaking the police encirclement. Just as they started raising slogans with red flags in their hands, the people Indravelli and nearby Adivasi villages who had shut themselves up inside their houses due to police intimidation, joined the demonstration defying the prohibitions. The then president of peasant's and worker's organisation Comrade Ganji Ramarao unfurled the red flag and unveiled the memorial at the place where the Adivasis shed their blood.

From the very next year, the government started to clamp prohibitory orders on 20 April. In spite of this the people of the area are paying homage to the martyrs of Indravelli by organising meetings in their villages and hamlets.

N T Ramarao, who became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh by declaring that 'Naxalites are the real patriots', got the memorial column at Indravelli destroyed in 1984. Since opposition to this act erupted on a wide scale, for this reason and with the aim of coming to power the second time he got the destroyed column rebuilt. But Section-144 continued to be imposed on 20 April.

Indravelli martyrs had inspired the struggle for democratic Telangana in the separate Telangana movement as well. After the formation of separate Telangana state, the first memorial day of the Indravelli martyrs was on 20 April 2015. The people who were expecting to hold the commemoration meeting on that day without any prohibition in the new Telangana state were dismayed. As always, Telangana government too prohibited the organisation of the meeting by imposing

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Countrywide movement demanding punishment for Brahmanical Hindutva-fascists behind the systemic murder of Rohith Vemula

Rohith Vemula, a PhD student of Hyderabad Central University (HCU), committed suicide in a hostel room belonging to a friend in the university campus on 17 February 2016. Rohith had been suspended from the university, his scholarship was stopped for seven months and he was deprived of his hostel accommodation. As a politically conscious student, and being aware of his social position as a member of the Dalit community and the son of a working single-mother, he became active in student politics to change this unequal, hierarchical, discriminatory, undemocratic and unjust society which kept the Dalits in the condition of subjugation, oppression, enslavement and misery. By choosing to speak up for the Dalits, he also spoke up for all the classes, social sections and groups which shared the condition of the Dalits in the country. He gave voice to the toiling masses, the Adivasis, the religious and national minorities, women, the impoverished and the oppressed people.

This naturally brought him in confrontation with the forces of status-quo – those who wanted to conserve this exploitative, oppressive and unjust society. Hindutva-fascists and their hacks are the most virulent defenders of feudalism, Brahmanism and casteism and represent all that is most regressive, decadent and reactionary in the society. As such, they place formidable hurdles in the path of any progressive social change. With venom and violence they maintain the status-quo and defend it from anyone who stand up to question and challenge it. So the confrontation between Rohith and other vocal members of Ambedkar Student's Association (ASA) to which he belonged on the one side and the Hindutva-fascist forces of the campus on the other became inevitable and only a matter of time. ABVP and its Hindutva backers in the HCU administration colluded to get Rohith and four other Dalit students who were active in ASA suspended under some

concocted pretext. In a blatant example of casteist vendetta reminiscent of the legendary Dronacharya who deceitfully deprived Ekalavya of his thumb, Rohith and his friends were deprived of their studentship, scholarship and shelter.

Even prior to this standoff, however, ASA and ABVP had a long history of confrontation in the HCU campus which also reflected in the campus politics, particularly in the student's union elections, when this confrontation became particularly sharp. In fact, ASA – with its militant Ambedkarism combined with reformist Marxism – had to face the wrath of ABVP and its Hindutva backers in the administration from its very inception, as both Marx, Ambedkar and their followers are anathema to the Hindu-fascists. ASA had emerged as the joint platform of the militant Ambedkarites and the revisionist Left, primarily the SFI which stopped contesting in HCU's student's union elections as a separate entity, but instead contested through ASA. The democratic forces including ASA on the one hand and the regressive forces headed by ABVP have been the two main contending forces in HCU's student politics for the last many years, the high-point of which has been the student union elections. In fact, student politics in the campus mainly revolved around this polarity. In this, ABVP had the support of the Sangh-Parivar, the Hindu-biased Indian state and its representative in the campus – the HCU administration. ASA, on the other hand, had very little institutional support and had to rely mainly on the collective strength and unity of the democratic section of the students, teachers and employees.

Using their administrative and institutional upper hand, the state-administration-Sangh nexus had managed to suspend Rohith and his friends, but it failed to silence them. Even after suspension, Rohith continued to be active in campus politics, fighting against the injustice they themselves

have suffered, but never forgetting in their own suffering the sufferings of other exploited and oppressed communities. So while organising protests and an indefinite hunger strike against their suspension, they also organised the screening of *Muzaffarnagar Baqi Hai* – a documentary exposing the crimes of the Sangh Parivar in Muzaffarnagar and Shamli districts of Uttar Pradesh where Muslims were butchered, their property destroyed and tens of thousands forced to flee their villages and take shelter in makeshift refugee camps in the cities. Rohith and his comrades organised protest in the campus against the judicial killing of Mohammad Yakub Memon – one of the few voices raised in the country against the unjust execution of an innocent Muslim by the state at the alter of the so-called “collective conscience of the nation” and of “national security”.

For the Hindutva-fascists, exposing or opposing the crimes of the Sangh Parivar is a serious crime. So, starting from a fabricated complaint of assault filed by the president of ABVP’s HCU unit against Rohith and four other members of ASA to the letter of the Union Labour Minister and Hyderabad MP Bandaru Dattatreya (one of the notorious Hindu-communal ringleaders and rioters of the city) to Union Human Resource Minister Smriti Irani, followed by her volley of letters to the HCU administration demanding disciplinary action – the entire fascist machinery was set in motion. This led to a farcical administrative enquiry and the subsequent suspension of the five students by VC Apparao Podile. K Chandrashekhara Rao led TRS government gave its silent approval to this grave injustice and refused to intervene on behalf of the students as it wanted to be in the good books of the Hindutva forces and itself did all it could to promote decadent ideas like casteism and Hindu religious fanaticism to consolidate its rule.

The chain of events starkly revealed the entire Hindutva-fascist chain of command starting at the lowest level in the university campus and going all the way up to the highest level of the government. It is a powerful fascist machine combining the state and the Hindutva forces that can play havoc with the

lives of its adversaries and crush them under its weight. This machine was at the service of the old, casteist, unequal and oppressive world which Rohith and his friends wanted to change. He and his friends were up against a powerful enemy. In the final analysis, it was this enemy that claimed Rohith’s life. Thus, someone who protested the hanging of an innocent person was forced to hanging himself.

But this is not all that is there to Rohith Vemula’s life and death. It was not just about the casteist, Brahmanical, Hindutva forces – his thought and his intellect was far higher and deeper for that. He movingly wrote in his last letter (suicide note) that he felt the widening gap between his body and his soul, a gap which he found impossible to reconcile or resolve. He felt within him the anguish of the human being who was estranged not only from nature but also from his own human nature. And being conscious of this self-estrangement, he suffered all the more from it. So his anguish was not even aimed at his adversary; it was a thoughtful reflection and self-examination on the human condition – the self-estrangement engendered by the present conditions of the dehumanising social system. He was saddened by the reality he found himself in, where our thoughts have become second-rate, our love artificial, our values fake and our art superficial. A man is not judged by his intellect but by his immediate identity, his nearest possibility. A human being is reduced to a mere statistic; a vote; a thing. Rohith termed his birth a fatal accident, his life a debilitating curse, and his death the search for a better world. He felt alienated from his own self, his being and his human nature. He said that he no longer cared for himself, his own life. He felt happier dying than he ever felt while living. It was a condition he considered pathetic for a human being to be in. Nor did he care any longer what would people call him after he was gone – coward, selfish, stupid. He was already far away from all this, too far away even to care about the fate of his enemy. He asked his friends and enemies alike not to be made responsible for his death and harassed. This way, he spoke not only for himself as an individual human being deprived of his humanity, but he spoke up but for the suffering humanity deprived of its human

nature. If not in his life, at last in his death Rohith transcended his immediate identity and spoke for all those seeking liberation from the existing human condition.

It cannot be denied that Rohith's suicide was a kind of protest against the existing socio-economic and political system that perpetuates the despicable Brahmanical casteism and cannibalises the Dalits. It was a dissent against the entire machinery that works to perpetuate the status-quo by crushing those who question it and rebel against it. Following the path shown by Dr Ambedkar, he dreamt of annihilating caste and destroying the conditions that sustain it by a struggle against the forces of Brahmanical feudalism. He yearned for a society based on equality, a genuinely democratic society where everyone would be free to realise one's true human potential. In the conditions of our country, this yearning was revolutionary. But this was simply not achievable through the legalistic and reformist politics of parliamentary-cretinism championed by the official Left. This politics also influenced the student's bodies like the ASA that were under the influence of the reformist Left. His revolutionary aspirations thus came in sharp conflict with the hard reality of reformism. The means – legalism, reformism and parliamentary-cretinism – was in contradiction with the end – annihilation of caste and the building of a democratic society. He was torn by this contradiction. It was a contradiction which he found impossible to resolve in any other way than by taking his own life.

Rohith's suicide was therefore a protest also against the politics of reformism, legalism and parliamentarism – the reduction of a person to a mere vote, as he put it. In his suicide note, Rohith made a veiled but scathing criticism of such politics for its double-faced and deceitful nature. But this aspect of Rohith's death has been carefully hidden from the people by the leaders of the parliamentary 'Left'. There is a complicity of silence among the various revisionist parties on this. If ABVP-Sangh Parivar, HCU administration and the Modi government has Rohith's blood in their hands, the parliamentary 'Left' too is not without its share of responsibility for it. With

their opportunist, parliamentary, reformist and legalist politics, this official 'left' has betrayed the cause of the Dalits by refusing to do anything to overthrow the existing system, annihilate caste and to bury casteism, Brahmanism and Manu forever – all of which can be done only in a revolutionary way, not in a parliamentary, reformist and legalist way. In fact, they have done everything to defend and perpetuate this hated system. It is they who are most vociferously calling Rohith's death an institutional murder whereas it is nothing less than a systemic murder committed by the existing Brahmanical and casteist system.

Rohith's suicide has also exposed the semi-feudal nature of the Indian society where a worst type of dominance and bondage – Brahmanical feudalism – in its subservience to imperialism still suppresses the vast majority of the people, particularly those at the lowest pedestal of the caste and class hierarchy. If the supposedly topmost institutions of bourgeois learning in the country are not free from caste oppression, discrimination and sway of Brahmanism, one can well imagine the severity of this systemic oppression in rural India where the vast majority of the Dalits – the landless workers and poor peasants – are forced to live an inhuman and dehumanising existence. This has once again proved the correctness of the Maoist characterisation of Indian society as semi-colonial and semi-feudal. With the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist wing of the Indian ruling classes at the helm of country's government power and the sharpening of the principal contradiction between feudalism and the vast masses of the people of the country, the systemic oppression of Dalits and other oppressed social sections by the ruling classes is on the rise all over the country in recent times, and so is the resistance of the people against this oppression.

The countrywide protest movement that erupted in campuses across the country including Hyderabad, Delhi, Mumbai, Pune, Kolkata, Visakhapatnam and several other cities and towns with the demand of punishment for union ministers Bandaru Dattatreya and Smriti Irani, HCU VC Apparao Podile and the ABVP leaders responsible for Rohith's suicide is a part of this

resistance. We hail this movement as an expression of the democratic aspirations of the people who seek liberation from the debilitating condition of their existence, their anger, dissent and protest, particularly of the students and youth of the country. Students and teachers, democratic organisations and political parties, oppressed social sections such as the Dalits, Adivasis, Muslims and women came out to the streets seeking justice for Rohith.

It is worth considering reasons why the suicide by Rohith Vemula evoked such a large-scale and broad-based protest when so many sensitive people resort to suicide due to their inability to respond to the oppression and humiliation they suffer in any other way or to rebel. The movement erupted because his suicide acted as a trigger that unlocked the bottled-up anger and unrest resulting from the social and educational policies aggressively implemented by the successive governments for decades. The vast majority of students, teachers and intellectuals who are part of the education system are increasingly feeling that the education system does not belong to them, that it does not serve their interests. They realise that it is a system for the moneyed, privileged and dominant classes and sections which have always monopolised the avenues of knowledge, education and jobs.

In fact, the undemocratic, unscientific, exclusive and discriminatory education system which has its roots in Macaulay's colonial education policy is going out of reach for the vast majority due to its growing privatisation and commercialisation. The major reforms that are being introduced in the field of education are connected with imperialist policies to strengthen the grip of foreign and domestic big capital over the Indian education market, which is one of the biggest markets of its kind in the world. Modi ruling clique and the Hindutva forces are presently in the forefront in implementing these policies in the country. Steep hike in fees and withdrawal of subsidies, cut in budgetary allotment for basic and higher education, changes in syllabus to make education market-oriented, collaboration with foreign universities and industry in the name of self-finance and

financial autonomy, discriminatory admission policy and the undermining of reservation, introduction of irrational evaluation mechanisms for students and teachers, trampling upon institutional autonomy through intervention by the government, etc. are steps pursued by all the parliamentary parties in government at the centre and the states in accordance with the imperialist-dictated Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation policies. At a time like this when the capitalist world economy is going to a severe crisis, the aggressiveness and urgency in pushing these policies through has also gone up, creating a volatile situation ripe for a fresh wave of people's movements, including those of the students and other intellectual sections.

In addition to all these anti-student policies, the Sangh Parivar is also imposing its Hindutva agenda in education by using its political wing BJP in government. They have been systematically working to Brahmanise and Hinduise the education system in all the BJP-ruled states for quite some time. They tried to do it at an all-India level during Vajpayee-led NDA rule, but due to lack of solid parliamentary majority and compulsions of coalition politics, inadequacy of time and resistance by the people including the democratic intellectuals at that time made these efforts largely unsuccessful. After Modi government came to power at the centre, they are now more aggressively and in a planned manner doing it at the all-India level. They are systematically organising students, the teaching staff, intellectuals and other sections associated with education through their numerous organisations to further their communal agenda by taking advantage of BJP in power. They are filling all the important decision-making posts in education starting from the MHRD ministry down to public universities, colleges and schools with RSS *Swayamsevaks* or pro-RSS individuals. They are introducing policies and rules in educational institution in conformity to Hindutva ideology and are using coercive means to browbeat the unwilling. They are putting tremendous pressure on every oppressed section including religious and national minorities, Dalits, Adivasis and women to accept and adhere to their Brahmanical and fascist idea of education.

Together with this, the Hindutva-fascists are carrying out an all-encompassing onslaught against all the oppressed classes, social sections, organisations and movements that uphold or represent revolutionary, democratic, progressive, rationalist, and secular ideologies and values. Workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, Dalits, Adivasis, national, religious, racial, linguistic and sexual minorities are finding themselves under increasing attack from these forces during the last two years of Modi rule. Though Modi ruling clique and Sangh Parivar have succeeded to some extent in consolidating its base among some sections of the people mainly by inciting attacks on the religious minorities and thereby further polarising the society on communal lines, more and more people are realising the deceptive and anti-people nature of Modi government and Sangh Parivar. The people's unrest resulting from it is taking the form of agitations, protests and mass movements. Like in the past, the students have played a key role in people's democratic movements in recent times as well, be it the struggle for separate Telangana, mass movement in Kashmir, Lalgah movement, protests against rape and murder of Nirbhaya, campaign against the incarceration of Dr Saibaba and Hem Mishra, anti-liquor movement in Tamil Nadu, Occupy UGC movement and many others. It in this context that Rohith Vemula's suicide opened a barrage of protests from various political streams of students and different social sections which came out together in a coordinated countrywide protest against the Brahmanical Hindutva-fascist forces.

The Hindutva forces knew that if this movement continued and developed on its militant path, it will make more difficult for them to implement their communal agenda. No wonder that all the Hindutva forces from the parliament and the central government up to the universities and colleges jumped into the fray and mobilised all resources at their command. They took up a malicious counter-campaign all over the country to suppress this movement. But their efforts were largely defeated by the unity and force of the movement.

This movement of the politically conscious students of the country has raised hopes among the vast exploited and oppressed masses who crave for social change. As a protest movement it provided the ground for unity of a wide section of democratic forces. But as far as addressing the fundamental problems that Rohith Vemula has raised and showing a path for their solution is concerned, the movement has not yet come up with the required clarity of political orientation and strategy, without it will be impossible to take the movement to the next higher level. The challenge at present is how to develop this movement with clarity, how to maintain its unity and how to consolidate it by uniting more forces and sections that suffer from or oppose the Hindutva-fascists. All those who seek to build a democratic, scientific, secular, inclusive, universal, free and public education system in the country should think it over.

For taking the movement further, its strengths and weaknesses will have to be identified, its positive aspects developed and its negative aspects struggled against. If the movement succeeds in drawing up a clear programme, consolidates its unity, fights with courage and join hands with other people's movements, then the student's upsurge that erupted in the wake of Rohith Vemula's death can be taken forward, the aspirations of this movement can be kept alive and the common enemy can be defeated in a long-drawn battle. All the students, youth, teachers, lecturers, professors, intellectuals and educationists of all political streams, social sections and organisations including the Left, Dalits, Ambedkarites, Adivasis, Muslims and other religious minorities, women, oppressed nationalities and other oppressed people will have a role play in taking this movement forward along the correct path.

In addition, the country's democratic student's movement, the movement of the Dalit students and the struggle for caste annihilation need to more closely integrate with the agrarian revolution, since the problem of the Dalits and other oppressed castes is basically the problem of the agrarian revolution. It is the armed agrarian

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International Women's Day celebrated in various parts of Bihar and Jharkhand

International Women's Day was successfully observed on 8 March in Purnakhora village under Gopikhandar Police Station in Dumka district of Jharkhand under the banner of Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS) as a part of its month-long programme to celebrate it. Women, men, the elderly and children in their thousands took part wielding bows and arrows – their traditional weapon. The flags of the international proletariat and the NMS were hoisted, revolutionary songs including the *Internationale* were sung and red homage was paid to the martyrs. Revolutionary women leaders like comrades Clara Zetkin, Anuradha Ghandy, Urmila, Sahiya and Anita were remembered. Accompanied by the beating of traditional instruments like *madal* and *nagara*, the cultural troops performed revolutionary songs and dance.

In the public meeting that followed, several speakers highlighted the challenges before the revolutionary women's movement and talked about its achievements. Throwing light on the condition of women a comrade said that in spite of being half of the population there was no honourable and dignified place for women in the present society. She noted that women were considered only as objects. NMS has been observing 8 March as the international women's day since 1990, which has got established as a day of raising the political

consciousness of women and mobilising for the task of women's liberation. Addressing the meeting, leading women comrades of Majhi Haram village stressed the need for women's organisation in every village so that women could come out of the four walls and become liberated. Another comrade pointed out that while every organisation and political party representing the exploitative ruling classes were observing Women's Day and give long speeches about women's liberation, incidents of violence on women including humiliation, rape and killing was increasing in the country day by day. The present government has proved to be completely incapable of stopping this. Narendra Modi government keeps making tall claims about 'Digital India', 'Make in India', etc. But it is not concerned about the status of women or the people of the country. It is only concerned with striking deals with foreign multinationals and Indian big companies to hand over the people's *jal-jangal-zameen* by forcibly dispossessing the people. The people and the women are immediately branded as Maoists and extremists and suppressed when they rise up against this brutal state violence or demand their rights. A glaring example of this suppression is the ban on an organisation like NMS which has been working with the lofty aim of women's liberation. Dozens of its leaders and activists have been arrested and put behind bars. Chandmuni Hansda, the secretary of NMS, was arrested on 28 February 2016 when she was receiving medical care at Giridih and sent to Dumka jail. Several serious charges have been fabricated against her. The



Nari Mukti Sangh leading a mass campaign against witchcraft and superstition in Jharkhand, May 2015



speakers said that the government has even suspended the freedom of speech which is a serious violation of their basic rights. The meeting demanded the immediate and unconditional release of Chandmuni and vowed to build a strong movement for securing her release.

On 1 March, a public meeting was organised in Palganj weekly market in Giridih district of Jharkhand on the occasion of International Women's Day. Around 800 people participated in it. The five main slogans of NMS – independence, democracy, equality, socialism and women's liberation were raised. The speakers highlighted the various forms in which women are oppressed and kept in a subordinate position in the present society; they spoke about the continued violence on women including dowry killings, murder in the name of witches, acid attacks and sexual assaults which are growing instead of declining. The rulers are trumpeting about 'Beti Bachao' and 'women's empowerment' with much fanfare but at the same time they are directing the daily persecution and killing of the country's struggling women by their mercenary armed forces. They called upon the women to get organised against oppression and follow the path of great communist leaders like Clara Zetkin to claim an equal share in social production and for their liberation.

One more meeting was held on 12 March in Dalanchalkari village under Dumri block of Giridih in the presence of over two hundred people. Likewise, NMS organised a meeting in Nagabad village on 17 March which was attended by around a thousand people. On 21 March, Ghatadih weekly market in Pirtand block of Giridih turned into a meeting ground for celebrating Women's Day under the banner

of NMS in which over two thousand people took part. Women's Day meeting was also held in Dandatand village under Tundi block of Dhanbad district on 31 March. More than 1,500 rural women and men participated. Dardmara village of Simar Korhi panchayat under Pirtand Police Station was the venue of another meeting held by NMS on 25 March. Similar Women's Day meetings were organised by NMS in other parts of Bihar-Jharkhand as well.

Democratic organisations appeal for unity to realise the dreams of Sidhu-Kanu

This is a pamphlet issued by Sidhu-Kanu Hul Maha Samiti, Giridih, Jharkhand. It is translated from Hindi original - MIB

The struggling people of the country celebrate 30 June as the 'Hul Divas' with great enthusiasm and spirit to commemorate the historic Santhal Hul. Sidhu-Kanu, Chand-Bhairav and Phulo-Jhano raised the banner of rebellion ('Hul') on this very day. They organised thousands upon thousands of Santhal Adivasis against the exploitation by the British colonialists and to defend the vast mineral resources, *jal, jangal, zameen* and their language, culture and civilization that were facing the threat of extinction. Wielding traditional weapons like bows and arrows, spears and clubs, they waged a life and death battle in 1855-56 to throw the British out of India. Showing no fear for the British overlords, they sacrificed their valuable lives to liberate the land, shed their blood to safeguard the immense natural resources. A large number of people laid down their lives heroically. Due to Sidhu-Kanu's historic struggle, the Adivasis have won a few rights such as the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CTA) and Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPTA). These rights are result of sacrifices of these great martyrs.

But today we have no rights. The loot of the country's vast resources – gold, silver, diamond, coal, bauxite, water, forest, land – is going on uninterrupted. Things have come

to such a pass that the Adivasis are being forced to abandon their homes and hearths and deprived of their land. The poor have no right over *jal-jangal-zameen*. The lives of Adivasis are dependent on the fruits of nature but the country's forests are being devastated.

The state and central governments are bringing sweeping changes to the CTA and SPTA in order to dispossess the Adivasis and Moolvasis from their fertile land. The rights of the poor will completely be taken away as a result. In such a situation, there will be a massive expansion of the unrestrained loot of their land taking place now. It is clear that thousands of acres of land are being illegally acquired in the name of railway projects, big dams and urbanisation, etc. Lakhs of peasants are being displaced in the country today in the name of development. The situation is such that if a peasant refuses to part with his land as ordered by the government, then it takes away his land forcibly. In this way, Dalits, Adivasis and Moolvasis in large numbers are forced to live in utter destitution. It has forced

the poor to migrate to big cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata and Hyderabad leaving behind their family and travelling thousands of kilometres in search of work.

The policy of localism is being implemented in order to divert the people of Jharkhand from the path of struggle against the exploitative ruling classes and to safeguard their interests. In this scenario, the poor will not win liberation if they do not rise up in a Hul against the domestic and foreign exploiters in the spirit of Sidhu-Kanu, Chand-Bhairav and Phulo-Jhano. That is why it has become necessary that the people advance on the path of heroic Sidhu-Kanu to build a society free of exploitation.

Therefore we appeal to the workers and peasants, the toiling masses, women and men, students, youth, doctors, advocates, teachers and professors, intellectuals, artists, journalists, engineers and all social organisations to come together to commemorate the 161st Hul Divas with this objective in mind.

Condemnation of the lynching of two persons by Hindutva fascist gang in Jharkhand

In another instance of extreme brutality of the fascist Hindutva gangs, a mob belonging to Latehar Gau Raksha Samiti mercilessly beat up and killed 35 year old Majloom Ansari and 12 year old Inayatullah Khan and hanged their dead bodies from a tree in Balumath of Latehar district, Jharkhand on 18 March, 2016. Both of them were going to a weekly fair to sell their buffaloes when these self-appointed cow protectors waylaid and murdered them on the allegation of trading in beef. While the 'Gau Rakshaks' outside the state machinery carried out this heinous crime, those who are part of the state – be it the Raghubar Das-led BJP government or the police – worked overtime to protect the murderous cow protectors by all means. The police refused to recognise that the killings were communally motivated crimes committed by the members of RSS-affiliated Gau Raksha Samiti and to register FIR against the leaders of this organisation. Encouraged in this way by the indulgence of the government machinery run by the Hindutva-fascist BJP at the centre and many states, Hindutva terrorist gangs of RSS are carrying out attacks against Muslims and other religious minorities across the country in the name of cow protection and saving Hinduism. Being fully aware of the complicity of the BJP-led governments in these organised and premeditated crimes, the revolutionary and democratic forces, the minority communities and other oppressed sections of the people are taking it upon themselves to fight back the onslaught of the Hindutva fascists in possession of state power. Many political and social organisations and parties of Jharkhand have condemned the Latehar killings and demanded the punishment of the culprits.

Hail the united people's struggle against the attack on JNU by Sangh Parivar-Modi government-administration nexus

At the dawn of 9 February 2013, Mohammad Afzal Guru was secretly hanged in Delhi's Tihar jail by the UPA government with the aim of placating the Hindu fundamentalists before the next general elections. The people of Kashmir opposed the hanging as they considered it a part the oppression they have been subjected as a minority nationality. The Indian state has been killing Kashmiris both judicially and extra-judicially as they have demanded the recognition of their birthright – the democratic and legitimate right – to secede from India. It was the same manner and the same place in which the Congress party had hanged popular Kashmiri nationalist Maqbool Butt nearly a quarter century back. Afzal's hanging had once again brought this unbroken history of national oppression of Kashmir into sharp relief.

The Muslims of India too were against the hanging as they saw it as yet another injustice committed by the Hindu-biased Indian state against the religious minorities. The revolutionary forces in India which upheld the Marxist-Leninist principle of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination including secession considered Afzal's judicial killing to be a part of Indian state's suppression of this right by using state terror, and hence they opposed his hanging. The country's democratic forces protested because Afzal was denied the right to fair trial and was sentenced to death not because his guilt was proved but because the Supreme Court had decided to set aside judicial niceties by declaring that the "collective conscience of the nation" could be satisfied only by killing him. The secretive and arbitrary manner of his hanging too drew much criticism. Some others opposed his hanging for their principled opposition against the death penalty and held that the Indian state need to abolish death penalty as has already been done by over 140 countries.

Afzal's hanging was an injustice not only against an individual but against the entire Kashmiri nation and the justice-loving masses

of India. This injustice, rather than silencing the criticisms and throttling the voices of opposition against the Indian state, had only ended up making them more powerful. Moreover, it was a question not only related to the Kashmiri nation alone but also and equally to those of the people of India. They know that the same ruling classes who deny Kashmiris their democratic rights and oppress them also deny the Indian people their rights and carries out oppression. For all these reasons, opposition to Afzal's hanging that came from a wide range of revolutionary and democratic forces, oppressed nationalities and oppressed classes and social sections was by no means insignificant.

So it was natural and entirely correct to commemorate the day of Afzal's hanging – both in Kashmir and India – as a day of grave injustice; as a day to express opposition to it and to extend solidarity with the Kashmiris who are fighting against the injustice they have been subjected to. The students of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and others who gathered to commemorate this day on 9 February were fulfilling their responsibility of speaking out against injustice and oppression. To speak up against injustice, to oppose all kinds of oppression and to stand in solidarity with the people fighting against their subjugation is the most democratic and patriotic thing to do. But not for the Indian ruling classes and their state or the Hindutva-fascist gangs at their service. They perceive reality in an upside-down matter. For them, to perpetrate or support national oppression is patriotic while to condemn and oppose it is unpatriotic and traitorous, and hence a crime. For them, to persecute and do injustice to someone belonging the religious minorities is 'nationalist', while to question and protest against it is 'anti-national'. For them, those fighting for the liberation of their country, nation or people – like the Kashmiri freedom fighters or the Maoist revolutionaries – are 'terrorists', while those who terrorise the religious minorities by exploding bombs in

mosques, markets, trains and other public places, massacring, lynching and burning them alive, destroying, desecrating and taking over their places of worship and property are called 'nationalists'. This is the inverted form in which reality appears to them through the prism of their Brahmanical Hindutva-fascist ideology.

From this inverted perspective – which of course is not the way the oppressed people see things – opposing or commemorating the judicial murder of Afzal was an anti-national, seditious and unpatriotic act, and the people doing it, 'terrorists' and 'Naxalites'. Emboldened by BJP's electoral victory and Sangh Parivar's control over government power as a result, RSS-ABVP felt strong enough to vandalise the programme at JNU using physical force. Though it provided a convenient alibi, they need no provocation of 'anti-India' slogans allegedly shouted by some participants (those who think that ABVP had attacked the programme just because they were provoked by some 'objectionable' or 'irresponsible' slogans are mistaken. It should, however, be noted that slogans of that kind obviously had nothing in common with the agenda and purpose of that particular programme). The Sangh Parivar had carried out this attack in a pre-planned manner as they do in almost all their attacks.

As the subsequent events amply demonstrated, in addition to administrative arm-twisting and hooliganism, Sangh Parivar used the state machinery and its fascist organisational network to clamp down on JNU. It is common knowledge that the Sangh Parivar uses ABVP to inform on radical, left, minority, Dalit and other dissenting students and teachers in educational institutions. ABVP carries out these attacks with the aid of the police, fascist militias and RSS-affiliated teachers and administrators. In this way they try to impose feudal-Brahmanical values and moral policing in the campuses and generally carry out the Hindutva agenda in the education field. After making similar attacks in different campuses, Sangh Parivar targeted JNU. RSS mouthpiece *Panchajanya* had already identified JNU as a "den" of Islamic terrorists, anti-nationals and Naxalites. Once

ABVP got into the act, an FIR was promptly filed by a BJP MP which was dutifully registered by the pliant police against the organisers and 'unknown persons'. Students were booked under serious charges of sedition, criminal conspiracy and unlawful assembly. Student's union president Kanhaiya was arrested and several other students including the programme's organisers were forced to go into hiding. Hostels were raided for 'suspects'. Police were deployed in the campus and it was converted into a police camp. Prof SAR Geelani of Delhi University, a former co-accused of Afzal Guru in the parliament attack case and a Kashmiri was charged with sedition and arrested for the 'crime' of organising a press conference to condemn ABVP's attack. Students, teachers and journalists were assaulted by Hindutva-fascist goons in lawyer's robes in the court premises in full public view.

A venomous propaganda campaign was mounted by the Sangh and the right-wing media against JNU and the democratic forces standing with it. Several Hindutva fanatics – the modern-day progenies of Hitler and Mussolini – openly issued threats against the students and declared bounties on their head. Senior government functionaries like the Home Minister Rajnath Singh jumped into the fray and joined the smear campaign by ridiculously linking the organisers to Hafeez Sayeed and Pakistan. Two more students Umar and Anirban were arrested and together with Kanhaiya, were kept under detention for two weeks. Pandering to the Hindutva brigade, JNU administration suspended several students including a Kashmiri student, instituted an enquiry against them and subsequently rusticated and fined students.

It was an all-round attack of the state - Sangh Parivar-university administration nexus which reminded many of the days of Indira Gandhi's fascist Emergency. It was the re-enactment of the same pattern of attack by the Hindu-fascists to be seen in different parts of the country. Like in other places, here too the Sangh Parivar affiliates worked as agent provocateurs and informers, following which the organs of the state crack down in unison. Similar was the pattern of attack which had led to killing of Prof. Sabharwal of Ujjain

University by ABVP, the death of Rohith Vemula in HCU, the attempts at suppressing Ambedkar-Periyar Study Circle in IIT Chennai or a number of similar attacks in different campuses. The collusion of the Sangh Parivar and the state seen in the attack on JNU is a common factor in the organised attacks by the same forces on Muslims, Christians and Dalits in different parts of the country.

For all these reasons, the resistance to the attack on JNU did not remain confined to JNU alone. Students, teachers, employees and workers of JNU were supported by the solidarity of various social sections, democratic forces and the people of the country and abroad. Taking heart from the resistance put up by JNU, voices of solidarity and opposition to Hindu-fascism was raised across the country and outside. People of Kashmir observed a day's shutdown in the valley in solidarity with JNU (and in opposition to the arrest of Prof Geelani) in an unprecedented show of solidarity among the people. Even some office-bearers of ABVP resigned in protest.

On the strength of its students' movement and the groundswell of support from outside, JNU emerged victorious from the standoff, while the Sangh had to back off temporarily. Smriti Irani, the union HRD minister who had earned much criticism of late had to be shunted out of the ministry. The disciplinary actions on the students had to be withdrawn or reduced. A significant victory was won by the revolutionary, democratic and secular forces of the country against the Hindu-fascists. By bringing the question of Kashmir's national oppression and its quest for Azadi to the centre-stage of country's politics, calling into question the Hindutva definition of 'nationalism' and 'anti-national', showing the real purpose of draconian laws like 'sedition' and challenging the politics of Hindutva, the intellectuals of the country (including college and university students and teachers) have demonstrated their important role in the fight against Hindutva-fascist forces and their running dogs, the BJP-run central and state governments which are implementing anti-people traitorous policies one after another to serve imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism.

MIB hails this victorious movement and extends its revolutionary greetings to all its participants. By putting up an effective fight against the Hindutva-fascists and linking this fight with student's struggles against the same forces in other parts of the country, it continued the momentum of a new wave of countrywide students' movement. Its scope too got widened with the involvement of students from a wide range of ideological and political streams – be it the revolutionary and democratic streams, Ambedkarites, Dalits, Muslims, Adivasis, various national minorities, women, and so on. The challenge now is to sustain, consolidate and advance this movement. This can be done by forging the broadest possible unity of all the genuinely democratic and patriotic forces among the students, teachers, intellectuals and the large community engaged in education. Consolidating the movement by winning over and unifying more forces, protecting its unity as the pupil of the eye to avoid splits and disunity on the basis of a correct perspective and clarifying and settling all issues through the method of unity-struggle-unity, the students and intellectuals can certainly take the movement forward and realise the potentialities it has shown.

While uniting with all the forces that can be united in the fight against the Hindutva-fascists, however, we should also be on guard against capitulationism and opportunism. Such a tendency was seen during the JNU struggle too. For instance, as soon as the attack of the state-Sangh- administration became serious, some forces tried to distance themselves from the programme's organisers and the Kashmiri participants. They promptly declared their allegiance to the Indian state and constitution, and proved their 'nationalism' by singing in tune with the Hindutva-fascists that Kashmir is an "integral part" of India. They even tried to dilute the specific and precise meaning of the political slogan of *Azadi* which stands for Kashmir's right to self-determination including secession from India in the present context. In these and many other ways, the tell-tale signs of capitulationism, opportunism and hypocrisy were on display, which were not missed to the students and

politically conscious struggling masses of India and Kashmir. All genuine democratic, patriotic and secular forces and individuals standing on the Left should consider the fact that the united struggle against Brahmanical Hindutva-fascism will not be strengthened, but only weakened by capitulationism and opportunism. Everyone involved need to think this over seriously and work in this direction.

The two student movements in succession – the movement starting in HCU after Rohith Vemula's death and the movement to defend JNU – are reminiscent of the students' struggles of the mid-1960s which drew the society's attention towards the path of revolutionary social change. That upsurge was suppressed by the 1980s in Andhra Pradesh. Thereafter, there was a concerted effort by the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes to divert students from radical politics and to separate from social movements. Careerism, individualism, consumerism and such values have been aggressively promoted under the LPG policies to encourage anarchy and lack of responsibility towards the society. Such sugar-coated bullets are being used in addition to brutal to disorient the youth. But after 2008, the financial and economic crisis in the US snowballed into a global crisis affecting each and every country including India. All social sections are feeling the brunt of this crisis and are responding with militant mass movements. As the basic problems faced by the students are similar in all parts of the country, their movements too are increasingly taking an all-India character. This is a positive outcome and holds a great promise for the future of the democratic and revolutionary students' movement in the country.

As long as the present economic and political system continues to exist, the ruling classes will go on pursuing their anti-people

and anti-student dictatorial policies by adopting both fascist and non-fascist means, by using Hindutva-fascism as well as other forms of fascism. It is not possible to reform or change it in any fundamental way, nor is it possible to fundamentally change the existing education system that promotes slavishness and primarily serves the ruling classes. Without shattering the system neither the rights of the students nor a people-oriented, democratic, scientific, rational and secular education system can be established. In a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India, this task can only be fulfilled by the new democratic revolution followed by the socialist revolution. This is the way to destroy Hindutva-fascism. Let us expose the class character of the Sangh Parivar and their governments widely among the students. Let us propagate among the students that if required, armed resistance must be put up in self-defence against the attacks of Hindutva-fascist gangs. Let us politicise the students about the need to connect the struggle against Hindutva-fascist forces with the struggle for a new education system built on a new social basis – the new democratic and socialist society. The future is in the hands of the people, particularly the young and upcoming generations – the students and youth. They have played their historic role in all the democratic and revolutionary movements of the country's people, be it against the colonialists-imperialists before 1947 or their comprador ruling classes thereafter. They carry the glorious legacy of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, Alluri Sitharamaraju and other great young leaders of India's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people's movement. With this glorious history behind, the students of the country can certainly meet the present challenges and defeat the fascists and reactionaries in every battle.

Appeal to organise Anti-Displacement Week in Dandakaranya

The following appeal was issued by DKSZC of CPI(Maoist) to observe Anti-Displacement Week from 20 to 26 January 2016 to oppose the fake Republic Day. It called upon the people to intensify struggles for *Jal-Jangal-Zameen* and to fight for their existence, identity and self-respect. It is translated from the Hindi original - MIB

After returning from a fact-finding visit to Peddagellur and Chinnagellur villages of Bijapur district which included over a dozen office-bearers of Divisional Gondwana Coordination Committee and Sarv Adivasi Samaj Bastar, the district president of Sarv Adivasi Samaj Prakash Thakur has told the media that the government forces had detained the villagers at gunpoint, committed sexual violence against women including rape, assault and loot. These forces gang-raped a 14-year old teenager who was grazing cattle. Terming these brutal and heinous incidents as part of a pre-planned strategy, he said that these attacks are being carried out to force the people to vacate their villages by creating an atmosphere of terror. Various women's organisations of the country too have visited the villages that faced police atrocities and highlighted similar incidents. It is worth noting here that Kowasi Lakhma, the Congress MLA from Konta has also made such observations on behalf of his party's fact-finding team. From this, the way in which the armed forces are spreading a reign of terror can be easily understood. In fact, this has become a daily affair in the forested Adivasi areas of the seven districts of Bastar Range, Rajnandgaon, Gadchiroli, Bhandara and Balaghat districts. Attack and loot of villages in the name of combing, beating up, illegal detention, foisting of false cases, arson of houses and villages, mass rape, fake encounter, massacres like Sarkenguda and Edesmetta – all these brutal assaults are a part of the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. The progressive and democratic intellectuals have rightly termed Green Hunt as an unjust war on the people.

Why this war on people?

Our country, particularly the forested homeland of the Adivasis, is a rich repository of *jal-jangal-zameen* and natural resources much coveted by the foreign and domestic big corporate houses. They need land to set up their factories and plants. That is why the efforts to bring a new land acquisition act. Raw material is required for running these plants. That is why they want to excavate the hills. They need water to generate electricity for their plants and pipelines. That is why they want to build big dams, even if the people remain thirsty. They do not care about the life of the common masses. They are concerned only and only with profit, no matter at what cost that might be. No matter if it is at the cost of the destruction and devastation of the peasants and Adivasis.

But the peasant and Adivasi masses of DK are well aware that there is no life without *jal-jangal-zameen*. They are not at all ready for displacement. Inspired by the sacrifice of many heroic martyr like Comrade Sukhdev, they are fighting for the last 25 years to save the Raoghat and Kuvve mines. They are defending the life-giving Indravati by fighting against the Bodhghat dam since the 1980s. They are not allowing the plunder of Surjagarh and Korchi Hills by iron-ore mines. With tremendous struggle in the last ten years the heroic people have opposed the Tata steel plant at Lohandiguda and forced it to pack its bags and leave. Maadia Adivasi people are in struggle against the proposed army training school covering one-third of the landmass of Maad. They have been successful till now in stopping most of the mining projects, multipurpose dam projects and large plants, i.e., the plunder of resources by conducting mass struggles and the people's war in coordination. Our party is leading the masses in all these movements. Our PLGA is fighting valiantly against the government armed forces. The people of the struggle areas are building and expanding Krantikari Janatana Sarkars – the organs of people's democratic power – on the path of self-rule and real development in order to establish their right over *jal-jangal-zameen*. That is why, Operation Green Hunt by the central and state governments is being

carried out in order to completely uproot the Maoist Party which is leading these anti-displacement, democratic and progressive people's movements by mobilising the people. This is a countrywide military suppression campaign with full support from US imperialism.

Whose are these governments? What are they doing?

In reality, central and state governments are representatives of the feudal class and the domestic and foreign corporate houses. They do not represent the poor, Adivasis, Dalits, Backward Castes, i.e., the oppressed classes. That is why they are facilitating the plunder of natural resources for the profit of the capitalists. They are handing over public property, *jal-jangal-zameen* and resources at a pittance. The people who are protesting are being brutally crushed. Struggle areas are being converted into paramilitary cantonments. Hundreds of paramilitary and police camps and police stations are being set up. Additional forces are being deployed. Air force bases are being established. The building of roads, mobile towers is going on in full swing. Dalli-Raoghat-Jagdarpur railway line is being built under police protection to facilitate the cheap exploitation of resources and the movement of the forces. Recently the decision has been taken to carry out aerial attacks.

The populist government programmes and slogans are only for diverting the masses from the path of struggle. Forcible land acquisition in the name of development, recruitment in the armed forces in the name of employment generation, mass rapes by the armed forces in the name of 'Beti Bachao', the policy of depriving the Dalits, Adivasis and the poor from education by shutting down three thousand schools in Chhattisgarh and lakhs of schools all over the country in the name of 'Beti Padhao' is going on unabated. The reality of the drama of employment generation can be seen in the migration of tens of lakhs of youth. Employment is being given to outsiders through outsourcing by ignoring the capabilities of the youth of Bastar. The agenda of saffronisation is being implemented. Peasants are forced to commit suicide due to

the policies of the government. Anti-worker amendments are being carried out in labour laws. These are anti-people governments.

What then is this democracy?

The country has been declared a democratic republic by promulgating the constitution on 26 January 1950. India is said to be a sovereign, socialist, secular democratic republic by the preamble of the Indian constitution. In the name of 'sovereignty' the country has been mortgaged to US imperialism and transformed into a hunting ground for other imperialist countries. The word 'socialist' is a clever ploy to deceive the masses. Now Modi even wants to remove the word from the constitution. The conspiracy to change the country into a Hindu Rashtra in the name of 'secularism', forcible conversion in the name of 'Ghar Wapsi', attacks on Muslims, Christians, Dalits and Adivasis and instigation of intolerance continues. Money and muscle power and dynastic politics in the name of democracy continue to hold sway. The country remains a prison house of nationalities. This is not the democracy of the common masses. To participate in the people's war to establish real democratic power of the people is the only way. Everyone should extend all possible support and assistance to consolidate and expand the Krantikari Janatana Sarkars that are sprouting in the struggle areas as a real alternative for establishing genuine independence and genuine development.

Democrats, progressive intellectuals, civil right organisations, pro-people artists, writers, journalists, students-youths, Adivasi social organisations should come forward in support of the anti-displacement people's struggles!

The anti-displacement struggle of the masses of Dandakaranya, and particularly of its Adivasi masses, is in fact the struggle for the future of our coming generations. This is a struggle to safeguard the country's resources and environment. They are keeping alive the struggle with innumerable sacrifices. Their anti-displacement struggle is actually a struggle to defend their existence, identity and dignity and their right over *jal-jangal-zameen*. They are

presenting a new model of development. They are bringing forward a genuine alternative. The oppressed people of the world are looking at them with hope. Step forward in support of the anti-displacement movements of the people of Dandakaranya! Walk in step with them! Raise your voice against the cruel state repression unleashed on them!

48-hours bandh and month-long resistance campaign in Dandakaranya in May 2016

DKSZC called a 48-hours Dandakaranya Bandh on 4 and 5 May 2016 and a month-long resistance campaign against displacement and in support of the people's struggles to defend their *jal-jangal-zameen-izzat* against forcible acquisition of land for infrastructural and mining mega projects of foreign and domestic corporations, army and air force bases, training schools, paramilitary camps, roads and railways to facilitate the loot of resources. The bandh is to draw the attention of the country towards renewed attempts by the Modi-led NDA government to implement in DK the hundreds of MoUs signed during the previous UPA governments and the new ones concluded thereafter. These projects include proposed mining in Surjagarh, Besewada, Damkodi, Jhandepar, Bande, Gundujur, Mohandi, Masheli, Puruhurmetta, Korepalli, Korchi of Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra, over two dozen projects including Boriatibu-Dongarbor, Hahladi, Dongri, Barbaspur etc. of Pallemad area in Rajnandgaon-Kanker-Balod (RKB) Division, Raoghat, Chargaon, Amdai and Tulad iron-ore mines, Budhiarimaad bauxite mines, Bailadila extension, Dilmili ultra-mega steel project, Bodhghat, Polavaram and Mendki multipurpose dam projects in Bastar Range, Dalhi-Raoghat-Jagdapur railway project, etc., to loot the precious resources of Dandakaranya.

If these projects are allowed to go ahead, tens of thousands of people of Dandakaranya belonging to the ancient tribes like Maria, Muria, Dorla, Halba, Dhurva, Bhatra, Oraon, Gond, Rajgond and non-tribal communities

like Raut, Kalad, Mahara, Marar, Panka, Ganda, Telanga, Dhakad, Sundi, Kumhar, Luhar, Kudak, Banjara, Dhobi, Nau, Kenvat, Ghadva, Ghasia will be displaced and massacred. Tens of thousands of acres of agricultural land and forests will be destroyed. Rivers will be badly polluted. Air, water and sound pollution will reach their heights. On the whole it can be said that their will be heavy loss to the environment. Monsoon rains will be badly affected and serious draught situation will be created. Their lifestyle, their culture, their very existence and everything they have will be destroyed. Indiscriminate extraction of natural resources, just for the superprofit of the capitalists will go on and on. Future generations will be left with no resources.

The appeal called upon the people to come forward to oppose and fight against Operation Green Hunt - the unjust war on people with the aim of crushing the revolutionary peoples war and the anti-displacement peoples struggles. DKSZC also appealed to the democratic forces to come forward to defend the revolutionary peoples committees (Janatana Sarkars) which are the sprouting organs of genuine people's democracy in the course of class struggle.

Two days of cultural resistance held in North Bastar Division

Organised under the joint leadership of Raoghat and Pratappur Area Janatana Sarkars (Revolutionary People's Committees), a cultural event by the name 'Kala Dhuka' was organised in one of the guerrilla bases of North Bastar Division under Dandakaranya Special Zone. A large number of cultural activists and the revolutionary masses gathered with enthusiasm carrying traditional musical instruments for this two-day event held on 1-2 March, 2016. The holding of this event amidst intense enemy search operations in itself was a great success and exhibited the collective strength of the organised people. Both Adivasi and non-Adivasi oppressed masses displayed their rich cultural forms which were utilised as a weapon in the ongoing protracted people's war by revolutionizing their old content. The



Adivasi and non-Adivasi people taking part in collective dance during 'Kala Dhuka'

purpose of the event was to strengthen and emphasise the progressive and democratic aspects of people's culture which are under increasing attack from the poisonous imperialist and feudal ruling-class culture. A large number of cultural troupes from different Areas gave performances. They also participated in group song and dance competitions. The programme continued till the afternoon of 3 March and was brought to a conclusion with the singing of the Internationale.

People of Niyamgiri carry out militant protests against fake encounters and state terror

Hundreds of inhabitants of Niyamgiri Hills, mostly belonging to the Kui tribal people organised under the banner of Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti, locked Munikhol Gram Panchayat office under Muniguda block of Rayagada district in Odisha on 7 February as a mark of protest. The demonstrators were protesting against the mounting repression and atrocities by the government armed forces in the Adivasi hamlets of Niyamgiri as a part of their intensive anti-Maoist operations. The protestors submitted a memorandum to the

local administration meant for the Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik where they enlisted their demands.

However, instead of listening to the people's voice, the government has only scaled up its repression on Niyamgiri's people. Less than a month after the protest at Munikhol, paramilitary-police forces on 27 February captured and killed Mondo Kadraka – an unarmed Adivasi villager of Niyamgiri – near Dangamatia village under Kalyansinghpur police station of Rayagada district. They later labeled him a CPI(Maoist) cadre and repeated the oft-used lie that he was killed in an exchange of fire. The villagers including the brother of the deceased Drika Kadraka vehemently protested against this fake encounter and said that the government forces had killed Mondo even though he had no links with the Maoists. Drika told the journalists who covered the incident, "The police have killed my 20 year-old brother Mondo Kadraka and are falsely implicating him as a Maoist".

Responding to the protests by the agitated villagers, Odisha Human Rights Commission on 3 March was forced to order the DIG (South-Western Range) and RDC (Southern range) of Odisha Police to enquire and report on the circumstances leading to Mondo's death. Meanwhile, Bansadhara-Ghumsar-

Nagavali (BGN) Divisional Committee of Odisha State Committee (OSC), CPI(Maoist), called for a day-long bandh on 15 March in five blocks of Rayagada and Kalahandi districts in protest against fake encounter killing of Mondo and demanded punishment to the perpetrators.

However, as the government did not respond to the mass protests even after a couple of weeks after the fake encounter, over five hundred Kui Adivasis of Niyamgiri took out a militant protest rally wielding traditional weapons in Kalyansinghpur of Rayagada district on 14 March. They then *gheraoed* (blockaded) Kalyansinghpur police station to protest against its unwillingness to take any steps to bring the culprits to justice. Dadhi Sikaka, president of Niyamgiri Suraksha Samiti said that they were opposed to the state government's attempts to spread terror among Niyamgiri's Adivasis by killing them in the name of Maoists with the aim of clearing Niyamgiri Hills for bauxite mining. The protestors demanded an independent judicial inquiry into the fake encounter, registration of murder case against the guilty policemen and a compensation of 25 lakh rupees for the family of the deceased.

Protests in Keralam and outside against the rape and murder of a Dalit law student

Jisha, a Dalit law student, was assaulted, gang-raped and murdered in a gruesome manner by a bunch of dominant-caste hooligans of her village in Perumbavoor, Ernakulam district of Keralam on 28 April. Displaying once again the casteist and Hindu-majoritarian character of the Indian state, the police refused to file the FIR under appropriate sections of the CrPC including under the SC-ST Atrocities Act or register the complaints of her mother. While the 'upper' caste chauvinism of the perpetrators behind their heinous acts of rape, murder and mutilation of the body was apparent to all, the police and their political masters expectedly refused to put aside their caste blinkers and see the obvious. The complicity of the police and the entire state machinery with the dominant-caste perpetrators in whitewashing this blatant caste violence is a rude reminder to those who swear by the so-called democratic system of the country. In fact, the police never took any action on the repeated complaints by Jisha and



Weapons in hand: The people of Niyamgiri assemble in protest

her mother in the past where she had said that she had been threatened with murder by the perpetrators. The fact that the most cruel forms of caste violence takes place regularly in not only the economically backward regions of the country but also in comparatively more developed states like Kerala is a pointer to the reality of semi-feudal production relations that still awaits a democratic revolution. Not only the bourgeois liberals, but even the pseudo-Marxists like the parliamentary left are at a loss to explain the persistence – and indeed, intensification – of caste atrocities and all forms of caste violence with their revisionist theory of the predominance of capitalist relations in India. The real end of casteism and Brahmanism will begin only with the victory of the democratic revolution – a revolution that can be consummated only under

proletarian leadership and based on the worker-peasant alliance – where the Dalits, Adivasis, women, religious and national minorities, and all other oppressed sections of the people will play their role as per their class position. The protests against Jisha's rape and murder are an expression of the democratic aspiration for annihilation of castes and are an integral part of the country's ongoing new democratic revolution. As incidents of caste violence against Dalits and other oppressed castes is on the rise with the increasing onslaught of the imperialists, bureaucrat capitalists and the feudal forces marked by the ascendance of Brahmanical Hindutva-fascism, the democratic opposition against casteism and the need for its destruction in a revolutionary way will only gather further strength and momentum.

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revolutionary war through which the vast Dalit masses have fought for land, dignity and genuine political power. This is the path of India's new democratic revolution and socialism. It is on this path that thousands of students and youths like comrades George Reddy (murdered by ABVP in the early 1970s for leading the radical students' movement of Andhra Pradesh against the Hindutva-fascists), Janardhan, Babu, Nageshwar Rao, Rajan (Kerala), Praveen (secretary of APRSU killed by the police) up to comrades Vivek, Shruthi, Vidyasagar, Suryam and Gopal in recent times – the best sons and daughters of the country's oppressed masses – have sacrificed their lives. Only in this way can the movement of the students, youth and intellectuals transcend their narrow limits and be a part of the mighty people's movement that is fighting to destroy the existing system and build a new system through the new democratic and socialist revolutions. Only in this way can they contribute to their fullest potential in sweeping away the despicable system of Brahmanical feudalism and annihilate caste. Only in this way can the contradictions of the present society which Rohith had identified, felt and suffered from be resolved and we can liberate ourselves from our self-estrangement.

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Section-144. Against this, a massive protest was registered. As a result, on 20 April this year, the prohibitory orders were withdrawn. But along with this, large-scale assembly was prohibited and allowed the paying of homage in the traditional way. The Adivasi masses, Adivasi organisations, families and friends of the Indravelli martyrs spruced up the memorial column, unfurled the red flag, organised a memorial meeting and took pledge to carry forward the legacy of the martyrs.

TRS government of Telangana is trying to wipe out the legacy of the Indravelli martyrs in deeds while holding up the legacy of their sacrifice in words. It is unleashing terrible repression on the entire Telangana movement, on the revolutionary movement of Adilabad and on the people. The revolutionary masses are protecting the revolutionary movement as the pupil of their eye amidst severe repression. They are stepping forward under the leadership of the revolutionary movement. They are taking pledge not to allow the sacrifices of Indravelli's martyrs to go waste.

[This is a shorter and translated version of an article published in Prabhat, mouthpiece of DKSZC - MIB]

The following is a press statement issued by the West Bengal State Committee of CPI(Maoist) related to the people's struggle for higher price for forest produce - MIB



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) WEST BENGAL STATE COMMITTEE

Press Release

Successfully observe Bengal-Jharkhand-Odisha Border area bandh on 2-3 May demanding a hike in *Kendu* rates to 90 rupees per bundle for green leaves and 190 rupees for dry leaves!

26/4/2016

Friends,

You all know that the Modi-led NDA government at the centre is going on announcing various imperialist-dictated 'development' policies of globalisation targeting the toiling masses of Jharkhand. Mamata Banerjee too is implementing similar policies in West Bengal including in Jangal Mahal. In reality, these will bring no basic change in the condition of the labouring masses.

The price of commodities is touching the skies throughout the country these days. There is a severe crisis of drinking water everywhere. Peasant's crops are getting destroyed on a large scale due to drought. The wages of the toiling masses have not increased, nor is there any such possibility. The people of Bengal-Jharkhand-Odisha border depend mainly on forest produce for their livelihood. But the government has no effective role in increasing the rates of these forest produce (*Kendu* leaves, Sal leaves, *Piyal* seeds, *Kendu* fruit, timber, etc.).

It is extremely important for the people of this region that the rates of all these forest produce are increased. But instead of doing this, Modi merely made a grand visit to Jamshedpur in the name of celebrating Panchayat Day spending crores of rupees and announced farcical policies like 'Gram Uday' and 'Bharat Uday'. The people of this region have understood that it is nothing but a conspiracy of the government.

CPI(Maoist) has been regularly carrying out movements demanding increased rates for *Kendu* leaves and all other forest produce. There is no exception this time too. That is why this year we are calling Bengal-Jharkhand-Odisha Border area bandh on 2-3 May demanding 90 rupees for each bundle of green *Kendu* leaves and 190 rupees for a bundle of dry leaves. We appeal to all the labouring masses including the leaf-collectors and the class-conscious people to come forward and make this bandh a success in the entire area.

With revolutionary greetings,

Akash

On behalf of
West Bengal State Committee
CPI(Maoist)

Militant protests in Kashmir against sexual assault by Indian Army jawans

The Indian armed forces occupying Kashmir at gunpoint have been daily committing heinous atrocities against the people fighting for their birthright of self-determination as a part of the Indian ruling-class policy of national subjugation and enslavement of Kashmiri nation. The valiant women of Kashmir who have been equal participants in the decades-long liberation struggle have been particularly singled out for violent attack by the mercenary armed forces of the Indian government to curb their political role. Sexual violence has been a part of this unjust and reactionary war that the Indian state has been waging against the Kashmiri nation. Mass rape, gang-rape, molestation and other forms of sexual assault, torture, humiliation – all these forms of state terror have been faced by Kashmiri women.

Yet, these have failed to crush their indomitable spirit or shackle their undying commitment to the cause. Every time the Indian armed forces have perpetrated sexual violence against Kashmiri women, there have been vocal protests on the streets and fierce confrontation with the gun-totting ‘security’ personnel. When the news of a sixteen-year girl student being sexually assaulted by some Indian army personnel at Handwara on 12 April 2016 became known, protests erupted in several places across the valley.

The Indian armed forces, as usual, resorted to brute force to quell the protests and shot dead at least four protestors. The authorities even illegally detained the minor girl and her father in Handwara Police Station for many hours and pressurised them to rescind their complaint in order to hide this crime. Exposing their machinations, however, the Kashmiri masses came out onto the streets in large numbers against the Indian state and its army raising the demand of justice and freedom. They also observed total shutdown to express their protest.

Anti-dam struggle in Arunachal Pradesh faces police repression

Two anti-dam protestors, Monk Nyima Wangdue and Tshering Tenpa, were brutally killed and several others were injured by Arunachal Pradesh Police on 2 May 2016. The police targeted a demonstration of over two thousand in Tawang against the arrest of Lama Lobsang Gyatso – secretary of Save Mon Region Federation (SMRF) and a leader of the people’s movement against hydropower projects in the Mon-Tawang region of the state, leading to the killing. The vengeance of the rulers against the protestors has been unleashed through the police after National Green Tribunal’s (NGT) decision suspending the environmental clearance of the 780 megawatt Nyamjang Chhu hydropower project.

The people of Arunachal Pradesh have been vocally opposing the Indian government’s highly destructive plan to transform the state into a powerhouse for electricity by constructing over 160 big dams. If these projects are allowed to go ahead as planned, they will wreck havoc for the mostly tribal people of the state by displacing them from their traditional homes, devastating the fragile ecology and heightening the threat of earthquakes in this highly seismic region, apart from severely affecting millions of people living downstream. Quite understandably, the people are demanding a stop to the construction of these dams. But heedless to the people’s concerns, the governments are pushing through its grandiose plan in order to meet the needs of big capitalists who are eyeing to rake in high profits from these mega projects. This is clear from the attitude of the associations of the Indian comprador capitalists like ASSOCHAM which are advocating the ‘fast-tracking’ of environmental clearances for hydropower projects and special economic concessions to dam developers. However, it has not been easy for them to turn this blueprint for disaster into reality since the people of Arunachal Pradesh including the various tribal communities are putting up a strong resistance. The continued protests and the increasing police repression is a marker of the resilience of this resistance movement.

Oppose life sentence of five Maoist revolutionaries in Jharkhand

A local court in Lohardaga of Jharkhand handed out life imprisonment to five Maoist revolutionaries on 12 April. The court pronounced Comrades Pooran Ganjhu, Akshay Kherwar, Sudhwa Asur, Sunna Kherwar and Vishnu Asur guilty of the fabricated charge levelled by Jharkhand Police of participating in a PLGA ambush in Senha block of Lohardaga district in 2011 in which 11 police jawans were annihilated and 58 were injured. Additional District Judge Anil Kumar also pronounced rigorous imprisonment and imposed a fine of 10,000 rupees on each of the accused. MIB condemns this highly unjust and authoritarian judgment in strongest terms and demand their unconditional release.

Condemn the arrest of Chandmuni Hansda of Nari Mukti Sangh

Comrade Chandmuni Hansda, political activist and secretary of the revolutionary women's organisation Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS) was arrested by Jharkhand Police near Giridih bus stand on 29 February. Hansda has been active in the revolutionary women's movement of Bihar-Jharkhand for the last sixteen years and have been playing an important role in advancing the movement, particularly after the arrest of Comrade Sheila, president of NMS, in 2008. The police has imposed several fabricated cases against Chandmuni and termed her a member of a PLGA squad to ensure that she is kept behind bars for a long period. Revolutionary and democratic organisations have condemned her illegal arrest and demanded her early release.

Open letter from the gallows to Bihar CM Nitish Kumar

The following is an open letter by Krishna Mochi, Nanhelal Mochi, Bir Kunwar Paswan and Dharmendra Singh - four political prisoners on death row to Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar questioning his proclaimed sympathy for the oppressed and exposing his hypocrisy. It puts the Indian justice system in the dock which has kept them imprisoned for the last quarter of a century for the unpardonable 'crime' of rising up against social and political oppression. The letter, presented here in translation, is a scathing attack on the entire exploitative system which sends the oppressed to the gallows for standing up to their oppressors while allowing the perpetrators of the most heinous of crimes against the oppressed to go scot free - MIB

In Bihar, the newly formed *maha-gathbandhan* government has created hope among some sections of people. This alliance defeated Modi's BJP and created many hopes. A large amount of complains and appeals gathered in front of the new chief minister. We four prisoners waiting on the gallows have thought that we too should make an appeal to you.

Dear Nitish Kumarji,

We four are Biharis. We extend our greetings to you for becoming the CM once again. But we want to clarify that we have not voted for you. We have not voted for Narendra Modi as well. In fact, we have not voted anyone. We were not permitted to vote for the last twenty four years because we have been in jail for this entire period. Those in jail have not been given permission to vote in any election. It has been more than 14 years since we have been living under the shadow of the gallows. Our mercy petition is pending before the government awaiting decision for the last 14 and half years. We do not yet know what has happened to it.

Gallows for the Dalits and freedom for the upper castes

Nitishji, you must have heard about our case. We have been sentenced in the case of the killing of 35 forward caste Bhumihar landlords in 1992 February. Of the three-judge bench of the Supreme Court, one judge had said that the police investigation was full of defects. The witness was unreliable. The witness could identify only three of us, while the other one was not even present. Even the rest of the three were said to be merely present at the site of the incident. But this witness too

had given an entirely wrong statement. So we say that the decision of hanging should be revoked. Two judges of the three-judge bench held that the 'collective conscience of the nation' demanded capital punishment. They thought that the act of this killing was immoral and that those who did were animals. While 21 Dalits were massacred in Bathani Tola, in Laxmanpur Bathe 58 Dalits massacred in 1997, in Shankarbigha 23 persons were massacred in 1999. Not only this, oppressed-caste women, men and children have been killed by the upper castes or other dominant castes all over the country in the past. In the judgements of all these cases, the principle of this 'collective consciousness' was never used. It is not that we have been denied justice as individuals. In this casteist society, we can say that what all the oppressed castes get is injustice.

Justice for the oppressed caste

As the CM of the *Maha-gathbandhan* who came to power by promising justice for people from the oppressed and exploited classes, backward castes and minorities like us, we who are living behind the bars are appealing to you. Kindly take a decision on our mercy petition which is pending before the government since March 2003. We have the apprehension that the petition has been misplaced. Such a long delay itself is a punishment. We think that ours is a fit case for release.

The case proceedings and the judicial machinery are filled with casteism. Dalits are given capital punishment for killing Forward Caste persons while Forward Caste persons killing Dalits are released as innocents. We seek your promise that such a casteist judicial system will be reformed.

Nitish Kumar ji,

Bihar State Legal Services Authority (BSLSA) visited all jails in Bihar and conducted a survey. As a part of that survey, they met many of us in Bhagalpur prison. BSLSA submitted a report in 2015. In that report it was said that more than 30,000 prisoners are living in congested jails of Bihar for so many years. It gave many recommendations to improve the jail conditions. These recommendations should be implemented. By releasing prisoners on bail and personal bond, the number of prisoners should be reduced. There is no adequate source for release and getting justice. So the prisoners of oppressed and exploited classes are forced to stay behind the bars facing many problems.

Though we are helplessly appealing to you, we have doubts whether you will give us justice or even give it a try. We are clearly conveying this to you. You were the CM in ten out of the twelve and half years since our mercy petition is pending. But your government has not taken any decision on it. You have got elected again, and that is why we do not have any option other than to appeal to you again.

We know that you too are a part of this casteist state structure which has a selfish attitude and is against the oppressed classes. In 2005, you were elected for the first time. What did you do before everything else after getting elected? You dismissed the Amir Das Commission to investigate the Ranvir Sena-related massacres and its crimes. So many people related to your group are among those helping the Forward Caste murderers. You have been elected on behalf of the *maha-gathbandhan* which claims to stand up for the Backward and oppressed sections of the society. That is why we are hoping that you will act differently this time.

In this hopeless situation, is it not idiotic to be hopeful after spending nearly one fourth of a century behind bars? But do we have any other option? How can we survive if we do not keep up our hope?

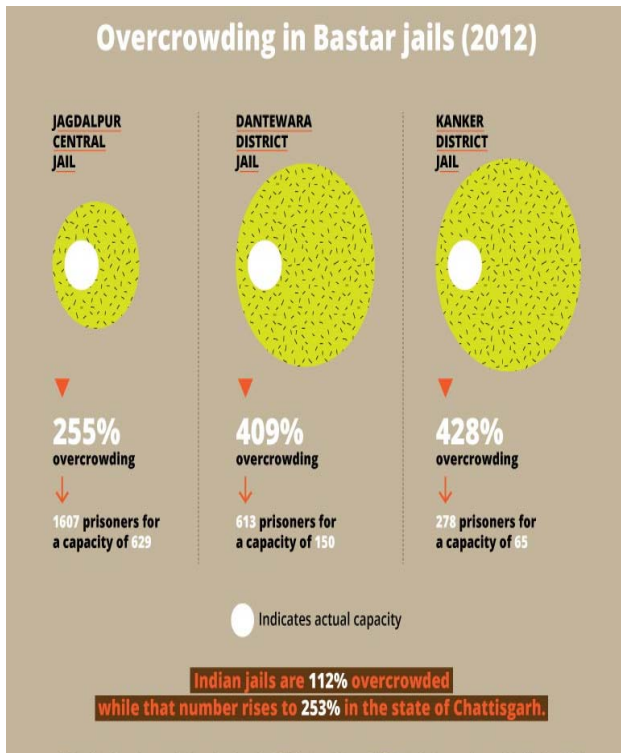
Krishna Mochi
Nanhelal Mochi
Bir Kunwar Paswan
Dharmendra Singh

*Prisoners on death row,
Bhagalpur Central Jail, Bihar*

Comrade Sheila Marandi released from jail

Comrade Sheila Marandi, senior leader of the Indian revolutionary movement, a pioneer of the revolutionary women's movement in Bihar-Jharkhand and a founder leader of Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS), was released from jail in February this year after nearly a decade of incarceration. Approaching the age of 60, Comrade Sheila was kept in different jails of Odisha and Jharkhand under inhuman conditions and re-arrested by the police of the two states on fabricated charges a number of times from the jail gate itself even after she procuring bail or getting acquitted by the courts on the existing cases. In the meantime, her health deteriorated due to the wilful neglect of the government and jail authorities which not only deprived her of her rights as political prisoners but also denied her proper medical care. With firm proletarian determination and fighting spirit amidst most adverse conditions, aided by the efforts of the democratic forces, Comrade Sheila has finally defeated the enemy conspiracy to keep her behind the bars forever under frivolous pretexts and won her freedom from the clutches of the enemy. At a time when the ruling classes are mounting severe repression on the revolutionary movement and particularly the revolutionary women's movement by committing heinous crimes against women leaders, activists, guerrillas and the women of the struggle areas, Comrade Sheila's direct leadership and guidance will play a significant role.

Chhattisgarh jails are the most overcrowded in the country - reveals government data



Chhattisgarh has earned the unenviable distinction of having the highest rate of overcrowding in jails among all the states in the country for the last six years on a trot. The capacity of all the jails in the state is 6,070. But 15,840 detainees and prisoners have been thrust into them by the end of 2015, more than double their actual capacity. For instance, the capacity of Bijapur jail is 800 but more than 1,500 prisoners are locked-up in it. The condition of the amenities to which the inmates are entitled as their rights can easily be imagined.

Maoists appeal to observe a week of struggle and solidarity with the political prisoners

As a part of the countrywide political prisoner's week starting from 23rd March - the martyrdom day of Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev - Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee of CPI(Maoist) issued the following call on behalf of the Party on 22nd March appealing to the people to organise struggles and solidarity programmes expressing support for the rights of all political prisoners - MIB

Our Party appeals to the people and the democrats to successfully observe a week of struggle and solidarity with the political prisoners and in support of their rights from 23 to 29 March on the occasion of the 85th martyrdom day of India's great patriots and revolutionaries Shaheed-e-Azam Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev who walked to the gallows with the slogans of "Samrajyavaad Murdavaad", "Inquilab Zindabad" ("Death to Imperialism", "Long Live the Revolution").

Our Party appeals to the civil rights organisations and democratic-progressive forces to conduct a campaign in the country and abroad with the demand of the immediate release of comrades Nirmala and Padma who are lodged in Jagdalpur Central Prison of Chhattisgarh since the middle of 2007 as undertrial detainees. These two cases in fact exemplify the barbarism of the central and state governments, the executive and the judiciary, and the blatant violation of the legal and constitutional rights of the country's citizens.



Comrade Nirmala has been acquitted in more than 150 false cases that were foisted on her. In spite of this, additional false charges have been continually registered against her. Hardly there will be another person in the legal history of the country, and that too a woman, on whom so many fabricated cases have been foisted. This is a unique and unprecedented example of the shamelessness of Chhattisgarh government and its police. Comrade Padma too has been acquitted in all the cases filed against her. She has even been released from jail three times but each time she was re-arrested from the jail gate itself on additional new charges and again put behind bars. Unable to secure conviction in the fabricated cases through the courts, the police is adopting this method. Both the comrades are seriously ill.

Comrade Madkam Gopanna is in a similar condition. He too is in jail for the last nine years. He was acquitted in all the cases and released, but he too was re-arrested on false charges and sent back to jail.

Comrade Malati who is in Raipur Central Prison since January 2008 has completed the term of sentence in one case. The Jail Superintendent is not ready to deduct the five and half years she had spent in judicial custody from the seven years of sentence pronounced in another case, even when this is clearly mentioned in the court judgment. This makes it clear that judgments in the jail are different from that in the courts. In fact, the law says that both the sentences should have run concurrently.

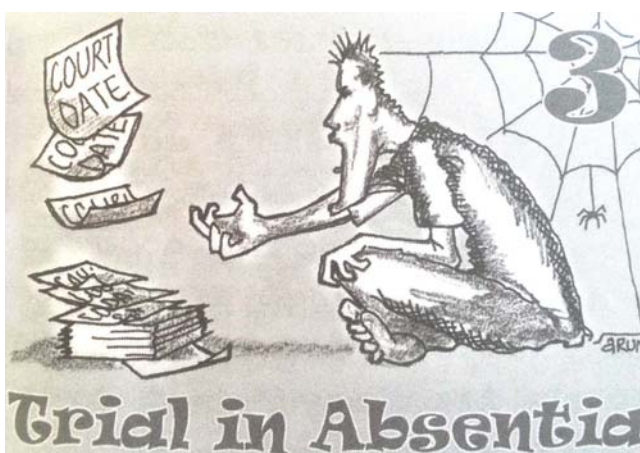
As soon as old cases are closed, new cases are being foisted on Comrade Angela Sontakke too who is lodged in a Mumbai jail. In fact,

the government has made it a point not to allow the release of Maoist activists by using any means, be it illegal or unconstitutional.

Prof. G N Saibaba of Delhi University who has 90% disability, has been once again put in Nagpur jail after his bail plea was rejected, which was procured through the efforts of intellectuals the world over. Putting him again in jail can only be termed brutal.

Prisoners are kept two, three to four times in excess of the prescribed capacity in the jails of Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. Adequate space is not available even for sitting or sleeping. Inhuman conditions prevail in the jails. Jail manuals are outdated and have not been revised for ages. In spite of this, facilities and provisions are not available even as per these obsolete manuals. There is no other way out for the prisoners than to struggle for their each and every requirement. There is no limit to the atrocities committed by the corrupt jail officials.

Activists and the fighting masses of the ongoing anti-displacement, anti-repression, democratic and civil rights movement and the revolutionary movement as well as pro-people journalists are being thrust behind bars and incarcerated for years at end on trumped-up charges. They number around six thousand. Most of them are poor Adivasis. They are forced to remain in jail for long periods in the absence of adequate legal aid. Some have been forced to spend over six years in jail without judgment under charges that attract a maximum term of six months. Chhattisgarh government has backtracked from the agreement it had made during the release of Sukma District Collector Alex Paul Menon,



based on which the Buch Committee was formed. In a deceitful manner it is resorting to bullet, baton and jail as the only way towards addressing the problems of the masses.

With the growing state repression, the judiciary as a part of the state machinery is handing down long prison terms and life terms by ignoring the principles of natural justice, based on false witnesses or even without any witness and evidence. All this is a part of the third phase of Operation Green Hunt – the war on people – launched in 2009 to eliminate the revolutionary movement led by our Party, our army the PLGA, the organs of people’s power-Jantana Sarkars, mass organisation and the struggling masses. The decision of aerial attacks too has been taken as a part of it. Voices should be raised in all parts of the country and the world to stop Operation Green Hunt.

Our Party appeals to the democratic, progressive and pro-people advocates of Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra that they come forward to take up the cases of the undertrial prisoners who are lodged in jail for long periods, file appeals and pursue the cases of the prisoners sentenced by the lower courts in the High Court and the Supreme Court.

Raise your voice against the recent attempts by the police and the terrorist Salwa Judum-2 organisations like ‘Samajik Ekta Manch’ to terrorise the advocates of Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group (JagLAG). We appeal to all the advocate’s associations and bar councils of Chhattisgarh to step forward to oppose the violation of civil rights and build a democratic atmosphere in the state. The opposition by some local advocates working under the patronage of the government and the police

to the advocates coming from other parts of the country and providing legal aid in Chhattisgarh as ‘outsiders’ is not only condemnable but is also an undemocratic and autocratic attitude which should be opposed by all.

On this occasion, our Party calls upon the masses and the democrats to raise their voice against the continuous police attacks on the villages and demand a stop to the illegal arrest of Adivasi villagers. Come forward to provide material and moral support to the political prisoners. Organise meetings, seminars, rallies, press meets etc. in support of the political prisoners from 23 to 29 March. We appeal to their family members to undertake collective *mulaqat* in jails during this period.

Maoists condemn police-raj in Bastar, demands immediate release of jailed journalists

The following is a press statement issued by Comrade Ganesh Uike, Secretary, South Sub-zonal Bureau, DKSZC of CPI(Maoist) on 29 March 2016 highlighting the extent of state repression and violation of democratic rights in south Bastar whereby several journalists have recently been jailed - MIB

Raman Singh government is giving a free reign to the police to violate the democratic and civil rights of the people in the name of wiping out Maoism. The joint combing teams of the police and paramilitary forces are daily attacking the villages. They are carrying out heinous atrocities on women and murdering common Adivasi people in the name of



encounters. In the name of wanted Naxalites, people are being tortured in police stations and thrown into prison. They have brutally killed nearly 50 Party activists and common people in fake encounters in the last three months since January in the name of 'Mission-2016'.

Raman Singh has unleashed a reign of police and administrative terror in Bastar Range in the leadership of Bastar IG Shivram Prasad Kalluri. They have arrested journalists Somaru Nag and Santosh Yadav who had exposed in the media the anti-democratic acts and violation of civil liberties by the police and administration on the allegation of being associated with the Maoists. They have forced the advocates of a legal aid group out of Jagdalpur by threatening them with dire consequences. They have attacked Soni Sori with chemicals and threatened to kill her as she had opposed the despicable atrocities committed by the police on the women of Peddagellur, Chinnagellur, Kunna and Nendra villages. RSS, BJP and police-sponsored vigilante gang Asamajik Ekta Manch is openly threatening the persons with a dissenting voice or who are opposing the human rights violations by the police. They are organising protests against social activists and journalists and asking them to leave Bastar.

On the other hand, Prabhat Singh, a journalist of Dantewada, has been arrested and

sent to jail for allegedly supporting the Maoists. IG Kalluri is daily abusing the journalists. They want to sweep under the carpet the killings of villagers in the name of eliminating the Maoists. Anyone questioning these fake encounters are arrested and put behind bars. Or else they use vigilante gangs to intimidate such persons and force them to leave Bastar. There is no democracy in Bastar. It is under police rule. There is no recognition of democratic rights. The people are living under the shadow of the police and paramilitary's bayonets. Orchestrated by Modi and Raman Singh and led by Bastar IG Kalluri has been virtually brought under an anti-democratic police rule.

In such a situation, the opposition of the Editor's Guild to the arrest of journalists is a commendable act. But it is not correct on their part to make the baseless accusation that we persecute the journalists. We request the journalist and media friends to let us know if they have any disagreement with our practice or actions. We have frankly accepted the mistake on our side in the killing of journalists Nemichand Jain and Sai Reddy. We have publicly self-criticised. We appeal to you to bring to our notice any incident of this kind. We call upon you to speak to us freely. We will discuss such issues. Our Party aims to establish a new democratic system by forming a united

**राजनीतिक बंदियों के अधिकारों के समर्थन में
23 से 29 मार्च तक संघर्ष सप्ताह को सफल बनाओ!**

- ★ जगदलपुर जेल में पिछले 9 सालों से अवैध रूप से बंद कॉमरेड्स निर्मला, पद्मा एवं गोपन्ना मरकाम की रिहाई के लिए अभियान चलाओ!
- ★ जेलों में व्याप्त अमानवीय परिस्थितियों के खिलाफ आवाज उठाओ!
- ★ जेल मैनुअल में सुधार करके तमाम सुविधाएं उपलब्ध कराने की मांग करो!
- ★ जेल बंदियों के परिवारजनों की मदद में आगे आओ!
- ★ जेल कॉमरेडों के संघर्षों के समर्थन में भाईचारा प्रकट करो!

भारत की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (माओवादी)

Poster by DKSZC of CPI(Maoist) with an appeal to organise Political Prisoner's Week, 23-29 March 2016

front based on worker-peasant alliance and with the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie after smashing the existing ruling system which serves the interests of the corporate houses and the feudal class. Towards this end, we are forming Krantikari Janatana Sarkars in the villages.

That is why we appeal to the friends in the media and the democrats to expose the fake nationalism of the Brahmanical Hindu-fascist Modi-Raman Singh governments. Expose Modi's feudal and pro-imperialist character. The goons of Sangh Parivar and BJP are running a fascist regime from Delhi to Jagdalpur by attacking progressive and democratic forces. We therefore appeal to all civil libertarians, democrats, progressive and secular forces to unite and build a widespread militant people's movement against the police rule of BJP and its fascist attacks.

Undertrial political prisoners of Jharpada Jail undertake hunger strike

Seven Maoist political prisoners locked up in Jharpada Special Jail of Odisha began their hunger strike on 30 March demanding the fulfillment of a five-point charter of demands including speedy trial of their cases, political prisoners' status and regular production in the court. They along with a few other co-accuseds have been facing trial on five fabricated cases foisted by the police and have been in jail since 2011. Though six of them have been acquitted in three cases, the trial of the two remaining cases has not progressed much since they began in 2012. This was mainly due to the deliberate delay by the prosecution in pursuing the case on some pretext or the other. This is done as per the government's conspiracy to prolong their incarceration. So even if the remaining frivolous cases finally fall through in the court, they would have already spent several years behind bars. The prisoners finally undertook the indefinite hunger strike after receiving no response from the chief minister or the human rights commissions of the country and the state. Three of them were admitted to a

hospital in Cuttack after their health deteriorated a few days into the strike.

A six-member team of well-known political leaders, advocates and social activists tried to visit the striking prisoners in the hospital on 18 April to persuade them to withdraw the hunger strike that was threatening their lives. But displaying utter disregard for the lives of the prisoners, the authorities refused the team the permission to meet. The team members protested against this arbitrary denial of the right to *mulaqat* by the DCP (Cuttack). They stressed that speedy trial was a fundamental right of every undertrial prisoner and the government must meet the legitimate demand of the prisoners on hunger strike. The strike was withdrawn on the 21st day on 20 April after Odisha Human Rights Commission directed the Home Department, Directorate of Prisons and the DGP to intervene, following which the ADG (Prisons) met the striking prisoners and undertook to consider their charter of demands.

The denial of the right to a fair and speedy trial to the political prisoners is a common problem in all the districts of Odisha. Undertrial prisoners of Malkangiri jail too went on a hunger strike in April demanding the speedy trial of their cases. It prompted Prof G Haragopal, well-known academic and one of the mediators between CPI(Maoist) and Odisha government during the arrest of Malkangiri Collector Vineel Krishna in 2011, to write a letter to Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik. He reminded that the state government has not yet honoured its promise of releasing Adivasi political prisoners of the district in exchange of the Collector's release. He asked the CM to fulfill the just demand of the striking prisoners.

Undertrials go on hunger strike in Bhanjanagar sub-jail

Five Maoist undertrial prisoners including three women, Kandra Dalabehera, Kadam Bijal, Telem Soni, Malati Majhi and K Anita Majhi incarcerated in Bhanjanagar Special Sub-jail of Ganjam district in Odisha went on an indefinite hunger strike from 1

April. Their demands included speedy trial of their cases, honouring of their right to bail and political prisoners' status. Each of them are facing eight to twelve cases and are languishing in jail for over four years due to the slow progress of the cases mainly due to the non-production of witnesses by the public prosecutors. The undertrials had undertaken a hunger strike on 6 May last year too with the same demands, but called it off after three days when the authorities assured to fulfill their demands. Nearly a year has passed since then without the authorities meeting their demands. Democratic and civil rights organisations and social activists of Odisha extended solidarity to the hunger strike and demanded that the government release the five political prisoners unconditionally.

Political prisoner Arnab Dam carries out hunger strike in Presidency Jail

Maoist political prisoner Arnab Dam went on a hunger strike in Presidency Jail of Kolkata from 14 May demanding his right to learn computers in the jail just like other interested prisoners. Though prisoners who wish to learn computers are trained in the jail, jail authorities turned down Arnab's request arbitrarily even though it meant the contempt of an order by the Medinipur Court to this effect.

CPI leader demands political prisoners' status for Maoist undertrials in Keralam

Karnam Rajendran, Kerala state committee secretary of CPI met five jailed Maoist political prisoners arrested from Coimbatore in May 2015. Addressing the media after meeting Roopesh, Anoop, Veeramani and Shyna, Rajendran said that the prisoners had complained that they were not treated as political prisoners in spite of several representations to the government demanding

the same. He said that the jail authorities had refused to provide adequate medical treatment to the ailing prisoners including Shyna. The jail administration has willfully deprived them of even the basic amenities such as a pair of table and chair which political prisoners are entitled to as per the jail manual.

Rajendran voiced the opposition of CPI to the 'misuse' of the draconian Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) to silence the dissent of the political opponents of the ruling dispensation. He was also against the use of this law against political prisoners. He said that there was no prima facie evidence of the involvement of the five undertrials in any illegal activity to justify their continued incarceration and denial of bail. The CPI leader also asked the police to refrain from foisting fabricated cases like 'cheating' on them which would not stand any rigorous legal scrutiny and was aimed only at further intimidating and harassing the prisoners. Answering the journalists about his Party's stand on the Maoist movement, Rajendran said that though his Party did not support the form of struggle adopted by the Maoists, it was sympathetic to the issues raised by them.

The five political prisoners meanwhile have vehemently protested against the illegal act of foisting false cases on them one after another by Kerala and Tamil Nadu Police. In the latest of such fabricated cases, Tamil Nadu Police got a couple in Tirupur to file an FIR against Roopesh and Shyna allegedly for 'misusing' their ration cards and photos for buying SIM cards. Based on this FIR, the two accused were produced in a local court in Tirupur on 2 June. Addressing the media while coming out of the court, Shyna said that the police of the two states were staking up cases against her and four other co-accuseds including her life partner Roopesh under a conspiracy to keep them behind bars as undertrials for an indefinite period. Though they have done nothing wrong and there is no genuine evidence against them to show that they had violated the law, the governments are persecuting them for their revolutionary political convictions, she said.

Undergoing Narco-analysis test is a testing time for revolutionaries

- A Comrade

Once the fascist enemy gets hold of a revolutionary, it uses different kinds of legal and illegal methods to extract information from him or her. One such method is the notorious narco-analysis test. Even if this test has no scientific basis and the existing laws do not permit its results to be placed in the court as evidence, the enemy uses it anyway with the hope of extracting some additional information which they cannot get through torture or other interrogation methods. The courts too generally give permission for it. This test is a terrible experience for those who are made to undergo it. It adversely affects their physical and mental health for months and years, and sometimes even permanently. The test is so dangerous that it may even lead to death.

We are presenting here the account of a comrade who went through the harrowing experience of narco-analysis test. He was subjected to this test by violating all his basic democratic rights, including the right of refuse the test (He underwent this test when the consent of the accused was not yet made mandatory by the court). He had also undergone severe torture in custody during interrogation (depriving him of sleep for days, putting petrol in the anus, etc.) and a long period of incarceration. But displaying a high level of political consciousness and courage, he went through all this ordeal and successfully withstood all kinds of enemy pressure. By reading this account, we can have a better understanding of the cruel way in which the state uses instruments of torture against Maoist revolutionaries and others whom it considers its adversaries. We can understand how the various organs of the state machinery including the police, courts and jails go about in a systematic way in pursuing its inhuman fascist acts. Through these methods the enemy tries to physically incapacitate their captive and to scar their mental make-up permanently. This is a fascist method aimed at damaging the revolutionary movement. By withstanding even this cruel torture, the comrade has proved that the severest of fascist repressions can be defeated with revolutionary perseverance and resolve – *MIB*

Narco-analysis

Narco-analysis is generally used by psychologists on mentally ill patients as a method of diagnosis. Sodium Penthanol is gradually injected into the veins of the person under test mixed with saline drips. Electronic sensors are then attached to the person's head, legs, earlobes, chest, lungs, temples, wrists, fingers and toes, etc. These sensors are connected to computer terminals. The doctors speak to the accused normally before injecting the medicine. After starting the drip, the accused goes into a state of deep-sleep/semi-consciousness. Then the patient is asked questions. This test/questioning is carried on for one to two hours till all the required information is extracted. The doctors make their analysis based on the response of the

patient to the questions. Doctors performing this test on the mentally ill patients need not take any permission from anybody. If the patient dies in the process, it is considered as death during treatment.

The US government and its armed forces used narco-analysis as a method of interrogation on enemy soldiers during the Second World War. Later it was used on the US citizens too. There were vocal protests against it in the 1960s since many persons died due to the adverse affects of narco-test and it violated basic democratic rights of the citizens. After it was officially banned, narco-test was no longer used by the US on its citizens and it was restricted to military and intelligence personnel of its enemy countries.

This unscientific, obsolete and discredited method is being used by the Indian government since 2000 and with the permission of the courts since 2005. Facilities for narco-analysis have been set up in Forensic Science Laboratories (FSL) in Mumbai, Delhi, Bangalore and Kolkata. The laboratory in Mumbai is under the central government while the Bangalore one is under the police department of Karnataka government. Maharashtra Police, in particular, have earned notoriety in seeking permission for narco-analysis in large numbers, even for those accused of petty offenses. The Judicial Magistrates invariably issue permission to the police. The process of seeking and granting permission is kept secret most of the times, without giving the accused the opportunity to challenge it in a higher court.

Before 2010, the consent of the accused was not mandatory. In 2010, a full bench of the Supreme Court ruled that this test cannot be done without the consent of the accused. Now the accused can deny consent based on Article 20 and 21 of the Indian Constitution (articles related to fundamental rights) and other legal provisions. After this significant judgment, the police are no longer finding it easy to subject undertrials to narco-analysis.

Narco test was used against a cadre of our revolutionary movement for the first time in Karnataka. A woman comrade of that state was put under narco-test, due to which her health seriously deteriorated, a fact also accepted by Karnataka Police. Maharashtra Police used it on two comrades in 2007. When the enemy put Maoist revolutionaries under narco-analysis, the aim is mainly to extract maximum information about party leadership, their dens and shelters, dumps, movement, etc. It also wants to know about cadres, sympathisers, organisational structure, sources of funds and arms-ammunition, etc. This information purportedly recovered through narco-analysis is then used for making further arrests, recoveries or foisting additional cases, etc. I have had the experience of going through two narco-analysis tests in the FSLs of Mumbai and Bangalore.

Mumbai

I was taken from Nagpur to Mumbai for narco-analysis. Before going to Mumbai, all medical tests were done in Nagpur. After reaching Mumbai, I was taken to the lab at 12 am. Before the test, a police officer started questioning me about the party leadership, my political responsibilities, the cases against me, and such things. He was not satisfied with my answers and said that I was not telling him the truth but I would do so once I was put through the test. He said that I would no longer be in control of my brain and that not me but my brain will speak during the test! This way he tried to put fear and doubts in my mind. He tried to get my mind focused on the issues about which they wanted to know. Thereafter, a laboratory scientist started counseling me explaining how the test was done, what problems might result from it, etc. He then asked me about my family, party work, etc. but only superficially. After this the scientist asked my signature on a paper declaring my consent to the test, which I refused. The scientists told the police that as there was no consent, they would not perform the test. They asked the police to bring me only after I gave my consent. The policemen then pressurised me to sign saying that they anyway had the court's permission, but I again refused. They talked to their higher ups and the whole day was spent in these discussions. Failing to get my consent, they brought me to the Arthur Road Jail, where I was put in an 'anda cell'. These cells were in a high security barrack with high walls and two gates with jail guards. Other prisoners were not allowed inside. Only those who brought food and sanitary workers were permitted to come. The roof of the barrack had iron railings watched over by guards from sentry posts to prevent any escape. There are 15 cells in the 'anda barrack'. Each cell is 5 broad and 10 feet long. A water pump, lavatories and bathrooms were within the barrack. Each cell could hold three inmates. But many more inmates are generally stuffed in them. I saw up to five persons in some cells. Alleged members of the Dawood Gang, Chota Rajan Gang and Abu Salem Gang, an accused of the Bilkis Bano murder case in Gujarat and one accused of the Mumbai bomb blasts of 1992 were already

occupying the cell where I was locked up. The inmate accused in the Bilkis Bano case explained to me about narco analysis the next morning. He said that the police first discussed about the cases of the accused so that the matter remained in his/her head when taken for the test. Laboratory scientists too did the same. They did not talk about anything else for the same reason. He asked me to think about unrelated family affairs like marriages, about films, etc. before and during the test and not about the cases so that they would not be able to extract any incriminating answer. This talk was of great help to me.

After four days, the FSL gave appointment for the test. The police meanwhile also procured permission for polygraph and lie detector tests. From twelve hours before the narco-test, my food and drink was stopped. The police kept watch if I was trying to eat or drink secretly. The accused is kept in a police lock up or some room during these hours. I was kept in a police lock up. At that time, some medicine mixed with water was given to me which emptied my belly. The next morning I was taken to the FSL at ten. I was again asked to sign on a consent paper, which I again refused. Instead, I wrote that I did not agree but they could go ahead since they had already got the court's permission. I was then taken to a government hospital near Victoria Terminal. In a room in the hospital, a doctor, an anesthetist, a cameraperson, two nurses and two FSL scientists were waiting for me. There was also a computerised monitoring system in the room. The police were not permitted to enter the test room. Before going to the room, a list of interrogation questions was prepared by the doctors and the police. I was fitted with sensors on the head, chest, wrists, fingers, etc. and asked to lie down in the bed. Then I was asked about my name, village, family members, etc. Thereafter the saline (SP) mixed with medicine was inserted. Within a minute I started to feel sleepy. I could no longer speak. The doctors increased or decreased the dose after observing the computer monitor. When I fell asleep, the doctor gave me jolts and woke me up by beating on my cheeks and feet. Then they started questioning. Initially I thought that I was not in a position to answer due to

sleepiness. But I realised that I could understand their questions and was also in a position to answer. My pulse was recorded and observed. If the pulse rate was higher than normal, they considered that I was lying. The cameraperson focused his camera on my face while recording. I went into sleep just when I was asked about my name and family, etc. I could not even open my eyes or take a turn. I went into a semi-conscious state. In that state I was asked about the party leadership, appointments with them, their shelters, the areas of party activities, village party leadership, urban party network, leaders in urban work, etc. I was also asked who gave me the 9 mm pistol and why I was carrying it, whom I was calling from my mobile, why did I go to Durg town, with whom did I have appointments, whom did I come to meet, where did I meet Deepak and Vijay, where did I get photos of a policeman, etc. (a police head constable in Gondia had committed suicide and I had a newspaper report and photo of him). I was asked who used to come to my Nagpur shelter, when did I go out of my shelter and return, etc. I was asked the same questions several times to check whether or not I was speaking the truth. I was also asked about a person eliminated by the PLGA, the charge of which was foisted on me by the police. When I went into sleep, they reduced the dose, woke me up and again brought me into a state where I could speak. This was repeated several times. After one and a half hours the drip was removed. Thereafter I slept for four hours, though normally people sleep for six hours. I was given water after the test and nothing else. After some time I was given a glass of fruit juice and idli. Thus, the entire process went on from 11 in the morning till 5 in the evening.

I was again brought to Arthur Road Jail. The next day I was taken for the other tests. I had severe headache, low BP and mental disturbance. There was a reduction in my eyesight. I lost appetite and interest in everything. I was getting angry at the slightest provocation. My body was not in my control and I was sleepy all the time. This condition remained for nearly three months. Later I was taken back to Nagpur Jail.

The police told the media that they could extract many times more information from me in the narco-test than they had expected and that they could now bust the entire Maoist network. Just a day after I was taken to Nagpur, policemen from Gondia district took me with them to Gondia on custodial remand. I was in the custody of policemen from different police stations for 55 days. During those days, I was taken from one court to another and from one police station to another. The extent of these constant transfers was such that I could remain in a single jail only for one full day. The influence of the narco-test and the daily interrogation was very stressful.

Bangalore

Gondia Police procured a permission secretly from Sakoli GMPC court for putting me under narco-test once more. When my lawyers objected to it in the court, it was revealed that the court had already granted permission. An appeal was filed against it in the court, but it did not work and we also could not approach the higher courts. It was decided that I would be taken to Bangalore FSL for the test. The FSL at Bangalore is under the police department of the state. Bangalore FSL is notorious for preparing fake medical reports, narco-analysis reports, manipulating video recordings of narco tests, and such other illegal practices to aid the police. This nefarious practice was exposed during the narco-test of several Muslim youths framed in the Mecca Masjid blast case. The video recordings of their tests were doctored to show that they had accepted the police's accusations. After framing them in this way and unjustly getting them sentenced, the government had to pay compensation to them after admitting the misdeeds of the police. In a similar way, it came to light that the video of a Christian person's narco test was also manipulated. The court asked the government to take action against FSL scientist Dr. Malini who was guiding these malpractices and she was removed. It was this same Dr Malini who conducted my narco-test and doctored the video later.

If I was to be taken to Bangalore by land, I had to be taken through Andhra Pradesh. The

police were reluctant to do so due to the strong influence of the revolutionary movement in the state. They therefore took me by air. In Bangalore I was put in a lock up in a police station near the FSL. Another co-accused in my case was also brought for the test and he too was locked up in the same police station. I was taken to the FSL from there. Dr Malini did my counseling. When I said that I would not give my consent to the test, she said that they had the court permission and would go ahead anyway. I told her about the fallout of the last test, but she did not pay any heed. We were then taken to the Bangalore Central Jail and locked up in the high security barrack. Medical tests were done in a private hospital which were completed in a single day. On our third day in Bangalore, I was taken to FSL at 9 am and to a government hospital at 12 noon. The test was started at 2.30 pm. The previous procedure was followed. Some additional sensors were put on my forehead. A doctor was monitoring the computers. Some peculiarities about the test in Bangalore were:

- Questions were put after I went into deeper sleep
- They slapped me on my cheeks, hit at my knuckles and soles to wake me up
- Questions were almost similar, but some tricks were introduced here. They conducted the tests here and did the video recording in a planned manner so that they could doctor the video later while editing. They manipulated it to serve their purpose. When we protested later, they claimed that since I was not fully conscious, I could not be so sure about what I answered. Dr Malati was the one to guide these manipulations.

To give an example of this manipulation, I am quoting a few exchanges here.

Question: How do you switch on the TV?

Answer: With remote

Question in the video: How do you explode landmines?

Answer: With remote

Question: Have you ever exploded crackers in Diwali?

Answer: Yes

Question in the video: Did you shot and killed the person?

Answer: Yes

Question: Is there a pen in your pocket?

Answer: Yes

Question in the video: Do you have a 9mm pistol?

Answer: Yes

This went on for one and a half hours. After that I went into a deep slumber and could not recollect anything.

After this experience, I realised that though the police or the FSL scientists tried to scare us before narco-test about its infallibility or our inability to think coherently and answer, we could clearly understand the questions and answer in a pre-planned way. They said that we retained no control in answering. But that was not true. I and my co-accused had prepared our answers beforehand and we succeeded in answering in the way we wanted.

I am citing an example of such a well-thought out answer:

Question: Where do you get your funds from?

Answer of my co-accused: From Bal Thakrey, Shiv Sena and ABVP

My answer: NCP funds us

These answers somehow reached the media and journalists hounded Bal Thakrey and Shiv Sena to ask if they really funded the Maoists. This became a big issue in Mumbai. Bal Thakrey and Shiv Sena had to give clarifications in a press conference. ABVP and NCP too had to give statements rejecting the narco-test itself. Finally, the Home Minister of Maharashtra R R Patil himself had to come out publicly dismissing the results of the test by saying that it had no legal validity since the person was not in a position to answer in a conscious state. This proved that we could answer exactly the way we wanted during the test if we were prepared. I was given a printed report of the interrogation during the narco-test but the video was not given. My lawyers petitioned for the video in the lower court but it rejected the appeal. We approached the Bombay High Court and it ordered that we be given a copy of the videos of the tests. These videos can be of help for the education of our comrades.

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Scheme. The chief minister also claimed that his government has been able to contain the Maoist movement in the state. He based his claim on the number of annual incidents of “violence related to CPI(Maoist)” which he said had remained below hundred during the last three consecutive years in Odisha (2013-2015) while it was above hundred in the previous four years (2009-2012). The government has designated 19 districts of Odisha as “LWE-affected” at present.

‘White Paper’ on the Maoist movement paints a grim picture for the ruling classes

In a White Paper released in the state assembly on 10 May, Odisha government agreed that it faces a “grim situation” in tackling the Maoist movement in parts of Malkangiri, Koraput, Nuapada, Rayagada, Kandhamal, Kalahandi, Balangir, Nayagarh, Rourkela and Bargarh districts of Odisha while the situation is said to have “improved” in Jajpur, Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Gajapati, Ganjam, Nabarangpur, Sambalpur, Deogarh and Sundargarh districts. The report said that in 2015, 39 persons lost their lives including 26 civilians, nine Maoist cadres and four police-paramilitary personnel. 53 Maoist cadres were arrested and 64 had surrendered in the state during the period, while 1039 Maoist “sympathizers” of Kalimela and Podia areas of Malkangiri district had “joined the mainstream”, claimed the White Paper.

Fascist state terror under third phase of Operation Green Hunt intensifies in 2016

The government armed forces have claimed success in its anti-Maoist operations in the first four months of 2016 by killing 76 'Maoists' in different parts of the country. This is a five-fold increase compared to the first four months of 2015, during which the forces shot dead 15 persons in anti-Maoist operations. Similarly, the number of arrested and surrendered Maoists too are said to be on the rise. While 665 'Maoists' were shown to be arrested and 639 'surrendered' between January and April this year, the number of arrests and surrenders in the same period last year were 435 and 134 respectively. But in total contrast to the government's claim of success in anti-Maoist campaigns, these figures only demonstrate the stepping-up of fascist state terror in the areas of revolutionary struggle all over the country. The BJP government led by Modi clique at the centre in coordination with various state governments has intensified the brutal war on people – Operation Green Hunt – now in its third phase. 'Mission-2016' in Dandakaranya and 'Operation Hill Vijay' in

Bihar-Jharkhand, etc., are all parts of this cruel offensive. A large majority of the 'encounter' killings are in reality cold-blooded execution of unarmed villagers branded as Maoists, while over three-fourths of the 'surrenders' too are dramas enacted by the police and government administration. And if one adds the unaccounted number of illegal detentions and confinements by the government forces, the number of arrested persons will far surpass the officially admitted figure given above.

Modi government allots additional funds for its fascist War on People

Union Home Ministry approved a grant of 10 billion rupees in January for 35 "worst Naxal-affected districts" spread across seven states to carry out "development work" and to build infrastructure under its fascist war on people - Operation Green Hunt. Each district will be allocated 280.57 million rupees. Of these districts, sixteen are in Jharkhand, eight in Chhattisgarh, six in Bihar, two in Odisha and one each in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.

Mahila Battalions of CRPF to be deployed in anti-Maoist operations

CRPF Director General Prakash Mishra said that it will soon deploy about 300 women commandos for undertaking anti-Maoist operations in different states where the movement is active. He said that a few 'chosen' companies from CRPF's four 'mahila' (women's) battalions will soon be sent for pre-induction training of about six weeks where they will be trained in various types of combat skills. Thereafter, the women's contingents will be sent for final deployment. "We are going to give more operational duties to our women personnel. We are sending our women personnel to some of the most difficult areas," Mishra said on the run up to the 7th National Conference of Women in Police beginning on 7 January. This is a part of the old ruling class tactics of pitting one section of the oppressed people against another.

Modi's stooge Vijay Kumar presides over planning for joint inter-state operations

Presided over by the central Home Ministry's internal security adviser K Vijay Kumar, a meeting of top police officials of five 'Naxal-affected' states including Jharkhand, Bihar, Bengal, Odisha and Chhattisgarh was held in police headquarters at Ranchi on 22 January 2016. The meeting decided that the Maoists would be prevented from crossing the inter-state borders during counter-insurgency operations. It was decided that the police and paramilitary forces of the five states will conduct more regular joint operations on the state borders and the Inter State Joint Force (ISJF) would be reconstituted, which would meet every month. Its functioning would be monitored by the union Home Ministry. MoUs would be signed for this among the five states, whereas at present such MoU existed only between Jharkhand and Bihar. The

running dog of the ruling classes Vijay Kumar asked the government forces not to hesitate to engage the Maoists in 'encounters' (read cold-blooded fake encounters) after the efforts to arrest and make them lay down arms did not succeed.

17 new Indian Reserve Battalions to be formed to suppress people's movements

A cabinet meeting chaired by Prime Minister Narendra Modi has approved the raising of 17 new Indian Reserve Battalions (IRBs). Three IRB battalions have been approved for Odisha in addition to the eight already stationed in the state. Likewise, four new IRB battalions will be raised in Chhattisgarh, three in Jharkhand and two in Maharashtra. Five battalions have been approved for Jammu and Kashmir as well. The cabinet also decided to fill 75 percent of the vacancies in these battalions from 27 'most LWE-affected' districts spread over four states of Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Maharashtra.

Indian Army's team of experts tour Dandakaranya, alerts about the danger of IEDs

In another proof of the growing role of the Indian army in the government's war on people – Operation Green Hunt – a four-member special team of experts from Indian Army toured Dandakaranya to assess the danger posed by the PLGA guerrillas to the paramilitary-police forces and submitted its report. The team members belonging to the Army's Security Committee made studies of Sukma, Bijapur, Dantewada, Narayanpur and Kanker districts. It recommended precautions while crossing bridges and culverts to be safe from IEDs planted by the red fighters. It also advised enhanced security for over 200 bridges in the Maoist movement areas of Dandakaranya.

Union Home Ministry allocates funds for counter-insurgency 'developmental' work

Central Home Ministry has sanctioned additional one thousand crore rupees apart from the tens of thousands of crores it is already spending for 'developmental work' in 35 districts of seven states where the Maoist movement has a strong presence. These states include Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Jharkhand has been allocated almost half of the amount (457.12 crore), followed by Chhattisgarh (228.56 crore), Bihar (171.42 crore), Odisha (57.14 crore), Maharashtra, Telangana and AP (28.57 crores each). If the ministry officials are to be believed, the money is to be used to provide basic services to the people of the Maoist movement areas as a part of its overall counter-insurgency operations. In fact, a major part of the government funds allotted for the areas which the ruling classes designate as 'Maoist affected' are not spent for the welfare of the people but for building roads and bridges and to strengthen their social base which they use against the movement.

CRPF DG parrots the lie about a 'decline' in the Maoist movement

The ruling classes and their lackeys of late have been making tall claims about the decline of the Maoist movement in the country. The outgoing DG of CRPF Prakash Mishra is one of them who claimed on 22 February that the number of Maoist attacks has "come down" in the last one year, adding that "sustained police action along with development activities" have to go in tandem to keep the Maoists under check. "If you go by the overall activities in the Left Wing Extremism (LWE) affected states, I would say the situation is good. Their (Naxals) activity has come down," said Mishra.

The DG added that while states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Bihar have been the focus areas of anti-Maoist operations largely led by CRPF, some hinterland areas of

Odisha and its border with Andhra Pradesh (where BSF and other forces are deployed) have recently seen a rise in LWE activities. On 29 February, the same officer said in Gurgaon that the CRPF has 'destroyed' the Maoists' efforts to expand into new areas and was able to restrict them to a few states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Bihar. Such boastful claims, however, hardly conform to the realities of the revolutionary class struggle, often forcing the claimants to eat their words.

Fascist Home Minister asks Maoists to lay down arms as precondition for talks

Rajnath Singh said in Bhubaneswar on 19 February that the central government is ready to talk to the Maoists if they "lay down arms without any conditions". He also expressed satisfaction over the purported 'success' in anti-Maoist operations. He said, "I have reviewed the security scenario in Andhra Pradesh and Odisha. There has been improvement in curbing Maoist violence." He also announced that the Integrated Action Plan (IAP) – a special 'development scheme' for Maoist movement areas will be revived.

Centre singles out CPI(Maoist) as the 'most potent' Leftist enemy of the ruling classes

The annual report of the UMHA for 2015-16 submitted to the Parliament in March said that Maoist activities continue to be a matter of concern for the government with 35 districts in seven states being "badly-hit". The report said that "Left Wing Extremism (LWE) remains an area of concern for internal security of the country," While the central government designated 106 districts in 10 states to be 'affected' by CPI(Maoist) activities in varying degrees, 35 districts in seven states are said to be "the most affected". Singling out CPI(Maoist) the report noted, 'CPI (Maoist) continues to be the most potent among the various LWE outfits in the country and accounts for more than 80 per cent of total LWE violence incidents and resultant deaths'.

'Rooting-out' Maoism is the aim of the ruling classes, declares Rajnath Singh

Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh chaired a high-level meeting of Chhattisgarh Police and top officials of the paramilitary forces in Raipur on 16 April where CM Raman Singh and senior bureaucrats were present. "Naxalism is a serious challenge to the democracy. To root out the Maoist menace, the Centre is committed to extend every possible support to Naxal-hit states including Chhattisgarh," the Home Minister was quoted as saying.

Air-fire exercises conducted by air force helicopters in Bastar

MI-17 helicopters of the Indian Air Force (IAF) and air force commando force 'Garuda' conducted firing and bombing exercises on 1 April in the interior areas of Sukma district in the presence of top officials of the air force, paramilitary and police forces. This exercise was monitored by D M Avasthi, DG Naxal operation and IAF Commodore Ajay Shukla. The central government has already decided to build an air strip in Indravati Tiger Reserve as a part of intensifying its fascist 'war on people' – Operation Green Hunt. IAF's MI-17 helicopters have conducted several exercises and mock drills in Sukma, Dantewada and Bijapur districts in the last six months. The government and their forces have declared that the helicopters will bomb and fire "in self-defense" if they came under fire from the Maoists.

BJP-TDP anti-people alliance plans more attacks on the revolutionary movement

Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh visited Visakhapatnam on 17 February to review the ongoing anti-Maoist operations in Andhra Pradesh. He credited the police, paramilitary and intelligence agencies as well as the development programmes and policies

of the TDP-led AP government for the "improved scenario" in curbing Maoism. He claimed that Maoist activities across various states have been brought down to 141 districts in 2015 from 162 districts in 2014. Little wonder that fascist Chandrababu Naidu has earned accolades from the Hindutva forces for his suppression of the Maoist movement and the people fighting against various anti-people measures of the governments.

Police props-up counter-revolutionary vigilantes in Andhra-Odisha Border

A police-sponsored counter-revolutionary forum called 'Naxal Himsa Prapidita Manch' (Naxal Violence-affected Peoples' Forum) brought out a rally in Narayanpatna block of Koraput district of Odisha on 2 February against the killing of what it called "innocent civilians" by the Maoists. The leaders of this police-sponsored forum claimed that more than two thousand Adivasis participated in the rally and 'appealed' to the Maoists to refrain from violence. Earlier, the same counter-revolutionary forces threatened by the people's revolutionary struggle had formed a vigilante gang called Shanti Sena which was defeated by the people.

AP government plans deployment of more troops in AOB

Andhra Pradesh Home Minister N. Chinarajappa said on 21 February that his government is keen on deploying additional forces in strategic areas on the Andhra-Odisha Border to check the spread of the Maoist movement and to cut their routes of communication.

Centre declares eight districts of Telangana as 'LWE affected'

On 5 March, the central government has designated eight of the ten districts in Telangana affected by 'Left-Wing Extremism'.

These districts are Adilabad, Karimnagar, Khammam, Medak, Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal and Nizamabad, leaving out only two urban districts of the state – Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy. Likewise, eight of the thirteen districts of Andhra Pradesh too are among the 106 districts in the country declared as ‘LWE-affected’. They are Anantapur, East Godavari, Guntur, Kurnool, Prakasam, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Vizianagaram. This has ruffled senior police officers and bureaucrats of the two states since it drives a hole into their claim that the Maoist movement in these states has been restricted to only a few pockets.

Mercenary government forces apply ‘WHAM’ tactics to lure the struggling masses

Malkangiri Police in collaboration with BSF and district administration organised a “mega community policing programme” at Badpada village on 12 May to “create a friendly environment between the law-enforcing agencies and people”. The village is situated in the ‘cut-off’ area across the Balimela reservoir. The gathered villagers complained about lack of irrigation facilities, drinking water and education in the villages and protested against the government’s wilful neglect for decades. The government has utterly failed to provide the basic minimum facilities to the people of the area even after sixty years of so-called independence. This counter-revolutionary ‘civic action programme’ of the police comes days after the Maoist Party warned the police-paramilitary personnel of retaliation for the atrocities committed by them against the revolutionaries and the masses in the ‘cut-off’ area. ‘Winning Hearts and Minds’ (WHAM) through such programmes is an integral part of the counter-revolutionary Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) policy of the reactionary ruling classes, the reality of which was not lost to the people.

More ‘attack-proof’ police stations coming up in AP

Andhra Pradesh State Police Housing Corporation is constructing 14 ‘attack-proof’ police stations in Maoist movement areas of the state including Addateegala, Rajavommangi, Donkarayi and Rampachodavaram, the chairperson of the Corporation said on 19 April. “LWE police stations are attack-proof stations. AP Police Housing Corporation is utilising the services of experts in designing and constructing LWE stations,” he said. Two of these police stations have been completed in Guntur district, while the fourteen are in different stages of construction in Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Cuddapah and Guntur districts. The buildings of these so-called attack-proof police stations are equipped with rooftop sentry posts and sentry points, electrical fence, compound walls, generator, restrooms, waiting halls and other facilities.

AP Police spreads the hoax of ‘Maoist threat’ to justify state repression

Putting Andhra Pradesh Police DGP J.V. Ramudu in the dock who had declared only a couple of weeks ago that there was no presence of CPI(Maoist) cadres in the capital region of the new state capital Amaravati, intelligence department ‘sources’ systematically spread the hoax on 13 May that the Maoist Party has constituted an Action Team which had conducted reconnaissance in the capital region a few days ago. They tried to pass it off as a ‘confirmed’ report by showing the arrest of a woman Maoist cadre in Guntur who came to the city for treatment in April. With this pretext, the police are propagating that the Maoists are trying to reorganise the movement by meeting the distressed peasants of Krishna and Guntur districts. This is a preparation for carrying out further repression on the ongoing people’s movements of the region in the name of curbing Maoism.

In order to spread terror and prepare the ground for the persecution of democratic organisations of the state and particularly of Krishna and Guntur districts, the police are making the baseless claim that Maoist cadres are working with some 'frontal organisations' and like-minded people of these districts. It also claimed that while some sympathisers are helping them in spreading their network, forcing the police to issue an 'alert'. These are clear signs that the AP Police are gearing up to unleash a fresh wave of repression on the revolutionary and democratic mass organisations and people's movements of these two districts.

Bihar Police to buy helicopters for anti-Maoist operations

Bihar Police has declared on 15 January its decision to purchase a helicopter for the use of police and paramilitary personnel engaged in anti-Maoist operations in the state. ADGP (Law and Order) Alok Raj said that modalities for the purchase of the chopper are being finalised, and once the issues like recruitment of pilot, hangar, maintenance and budget are decided on, the purchase will take place. The helicopter will be stationed at a hangar in Gaya, which is one of the main bases of the anti-Maoist government forces in southern Bihar. This decision gains special significance in the context of the central government's recent decision to use helicopters in combat role against the Maoist movement.

Jharkhand government removes counter-revolutionary gangs from 'LWE' list

Jharkhand government has decided to strike off several counter-revolutionary armed groups from the official list of 'LWE organisations' and declare them 'rogues' involved in extortion, abductions and killings, Chief Minister Raghubar Das said on 18 May. Jharkhand government recognises at least 17 armed groups that are active in the state, most

of which are counter-revolutionary gangs propped-up, patronised or used by the police, political parties and the administration against CPI(Maoist) and for various illegal activities. But after the murder of a television journalist in Chatra district recently by one of such gangs for his refusal to pay them extortion money, the government and the police came under pressure to take action against such gangs. The Chief Minister had to admit that "Unlike the Maoists, the various other armed groups operating from our jungles like People's Liberation Front of India (PLFI) and Tiritiya Prastuti Committee (TPC) have no ideology. They extort money and indulge in violence. They do not deserve mercy and need tough treatment." The police said that delisting these gangs from the 'LWE list' will enable them to suppress them as ordinary 'criminals'. But since these gangs survive by doing the bidding for the police-paramilitary forces and the parliamentary parties, such talk of reining in these gangs will prove to be nothing more than mere eyewash, enacted to divert the people's protests in the wake of the gruesome murder of the TV journalist to hide its own complicity in protecting and using them.

Foul propaganda campaign against the revolutionary movement in Jharkhand

Jharkhand government and the state police have launched a foul propaganda campaign against the Maoist movement in March this year. They are spreading the blatant lie that the CPI(Maoist) is recruiting children into the PLGA by conducting public lotteries/lucky draws among the villagers. According to this concocted story dubbed as the "new Maoist recruitment strategy", the Maoists supposedly write down the names of children from different families of a village in small bits of paper and pick up some of them randomly. Those children's names that are selected in this way are forced to join the PLGA as 'child soldiers' against the wishes of the children and their families! They are then supposedly inducted into 'Bal Dastas' (child squads) and forced to fight the government armed forces.

With this cock and bull story, the police is alleging that the Maoist Party is violating its own rule of not recruiting persons below 16 years into the PLGA due to the “dwindling numbers” and reduction in recruitment.

Continuing this psy-war, Jharkhand Police claimed on 22 March to have dramatically ‘rescued’ 23 children including 13 girls from Jamti village of Gumla district after they were allegedly selected for recruitment through the ‘lucky draw’ system just before they were to be taken away by the Maoists. Taking this drama one step further, on 2 May the district administration of Gumla prohibited the students of two residential schools from visiting their homes during the summer vacation. This was under the pretext that the Maoists might take away these children as a part of their recruitment drive for ‘Bal Dastas’, forcing each family to give up one of their children. Thus, at least 84 children – mostly Adivasis – from several villages in Bishunpur, Ghaghra and Nirasi blocks studying in two residential schools run by the government’s social welfare department in Bishunpur and Ghaghra were forced to stay back in their hostels even during summer holidays. Through this, police and administration are making concerted efforts to terrorise the people by raising the bogey of Maoist threat.

Government forces target Parasnath Hills following the Saranda model

Following on the heels of anti-Maoist operations like Operation Mahadev and Operation Finish under the overall purview of Operaton Green Hunt, government armed forces launched ‘Operation Hill Vijay’ to root out Maoist guerrillas from the Parasnath Hills in Giridih district in the first week of April. Jawans from at least five forces were mobilized for this operation including CRPF, CoBRA, Jharkhand Jaguar, JAP and District Police from Dhanbad and Giridih. Taking the anti-Maoist operations in Saranda forests in West Singhbhum district as the model in which the

government had claimed success in driving out the Maoists, the central and state governments are now trying to repeat this fascist suppression campaign in Parasnath Hills and other Maoist movement areas.

Jharkhand Police launches new psychological war against Maoist revolutionaries

The Superintendent of Police, Latchar of Jharkhand has issued public notices in daily newspapers on 29 April announcing rewards to induce the surrender of Maoist leadership in the Central Committee, Special Area Committee, Zonal, Sub-zonal and Area Committees. Billed as “Rehabilitation Scheme for Extremists”, monetary ‘incentives’ ranging from one crore rupees two lakh rupees have been offered. In fact, the central and various state governments have announced their own surrender policies, rewards and packages amounting up to several crores of rupees. In this way, the governments are using their control over public money against the people’s interest and to serve the interest of the ruling classes.

They are also running counter-revolutionary campaigns like “Operation Nai Disha” for this. They claimed to have given 12 crore rupees last year and six crore this year to surrendered Maoists as rehabilitation packages. Such deceitful methods are an integral part of the counter-insurgency ‘Low Intensity Conflict’ strategy devised by the imperialists against people’s armed struggles and implemented by the Indian government in all struggle areas. This way they want to damage the Maoist party, weaken the revolutionary movement and render the oppressed masses leaderless. The fact that these ‘schemes’ and inducements have failed to bring any significant success to the government’s deceptive surrender policy shows the awareness of the oppressed masses about the deceptive conspiracies of the reactionary ruling classes and their firm resolve to defend and carry forward the revolution.

Anti-Maoist forces to be increased on Jharkhand - Chhattisgarh border

Jharkhand Police and paramilitary forces engaged in anti-Maoist operations have set up new pickets on the border areas of Palamu, Garhwa and Latehar districts in order to seal the borders. The police have set the target of sealing off the border between Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. They have set up six pickets in Latehar and Palamu districts in the last six months with the aim of launching a major operation against the Maoist guerrillas during the coming monsoon. On their target are the Maoist leadership working in the areas of Jharkhand bordering Chhattisgarh and Bihar.

JJMP continues its counter-revolutionary activities at the behest of the government

State-sponsored counter-revolutionary gang JJMP has been involved in a series of attacks on Maoist activists, people's guerrillas and the revolutionary masses for the last few years. These include the Bokaria massacre, fake encounter of comrades Sylvester Minz, Monica and Sunil Yadav and many other heinous attacks. The JJMP is also conspiring with the police to target and eliminate Maoist leaders, cadres and supporters working in its areas of operation.

Students attend class in the open after police illegally occupy school building

In Majhipara village of Chatra district in Jharkhand, the police forces are forcibly occupying the village middle school for the last ten years, converting the school building into a police picket. This has forced the students to attend classes under a tree in the school compound. The school has two teachers and 125 students. The teachers are left with no other option but to close the school in the rainy days. The secretary of the school said that they have

written many times to the education department complaining about the police's illegal occupation, but to no avail. The district education officer expressed ignorance about the forcible occupation by the police, though he admitted that such acts are illegal. According to an order by the High Court, the police and paramilitary forces are barred from operating any picket from school buildings or keeping them occupied. It had ordered the CRPF to vacate school buildings, but the forces have ignored it. The police picket in the school in Majhipara remains a glaring example of the police's utter contempt for the court's directive or the so-called rule of law.

Jharkhand government plans to carry out 'Action Plans' in ten more districts

Terming the anti-people 'Saranda Action Plan' as successful and holding it up as a model, BJP-led Jharkhand government is now contemplating the extension of such 'Action Plans' to selected areas of ten more districts targeting the Maoist movement and other people's movements. Preparatory work for the plans has already been started under the guidance of the Chief Secretary. Giridih, Dumka, Khunti, Chatra, Palamu, Saraikela, Chaibasa, Latehar, Gumla and Lohardaga districts where the revolutionary movement has a strong presence are being considered for these 'Action Plans'. The government is also running 'Sarayu Action Plan', 'Parasnath Action Plan' etc. at present. Moreover, the police headquarters have requested Raghubar Das-led BJP government to ask Modi government to sanction four additional central paramilitary battalions for the state to implement these new 'Action Plans' to "speed up development" by suppressing the Maoist movement. Over 22 battalions of CRPF have already been deployed to carry out Operation Green Hunt – the war on people – in the state along with a large number of other central and state forces. According to the police, the provincial armed forces including Jharkhand Armed Police (JAP) and IRB have a large number of vacancies in every district, resulting

in inadequate number of jawans in police posts and pickets. This exposes the counter-revolutionary purpose of the 'Action Plans', which can be implemented only at gunpoint. Had they really been for the benefit of the people, was there any need to ask for additional "security" for development work under these plans?

50 more fortified police stations to be established in Dandakaranya

Chhattisgarh Police have sent a proposal on 12 January to set up 50 more 'attack-proof' fortified police stations in the Maoist movement areas, particularly in Dandakaranya, as a part of intensifying the third phase of the Indian government's counter-revolutionary 'war on people' – Operation Green Hunt. These are in addition to the 75 fortified police stations already sanctioned by the central government for Chhattisgarh, of which 40 have been constructed and 35 are in the process of completion. The building of 'fortified' police stations in such a large number has acquired significance and urgency in the wake of the ongoing 'Bastar Mission-2016' led by the notorious SRP Kalluri who dreams of wiping out the Maoist movement within a year.

Farcical publicity stunts fail to hide the fascist face of the government forces

In a public relation exercise to boost up the image of the police and paramilitary forces which has taken a severe beating due to the crimes they have committed against the people during anti-Maoist operations, an IAF chopper airlifted one injured PLGA cadre on 19 January from Pidia village Bijapur to Jagadapur town where he was admitted to the hospital for treatment. The PLGA cadre was injured in an encounter with the police the previous day and was arrested. Bastar Superintendent of Police R N Das later boasted in a statement that "This gesture from the

Police will shut the mouths of those so-called Human Rights activists who term the Police-Maoist encounters as fake and at times call the Maoists as innocents." But the reality of the brutal state repression by these forces in the war zone of Dandakaranya and other Maoist movement areas cannot be hidden by such publicity stunts.

Post of Special DGP created to lead anti-Maoist operations in Chhattisgarh

Chhattisgarh government has announced on 28 January that it has constituted a post of Special DGP (Anti-Naxal Operations) to combat the Maoist movement in the state more effectively. Senior IPS officer D M Avasthi has been appointed to this post.

Anti-Maoist Bastar Battalion in the process of formation

After the formation of new anti-Maoist forces such as SPOs, Sahayak Arakshaks and DRG, the Indian government has decided to form another specialised force christened as Bastar Battalion under Chhattisgarh Police. Using the notorious counter-revolutionary tactic of using a section of the people to crush another section, the government has decided to recruit 75 percent of the force from local residents, which means primarily from the Adivasi communities. Around 3,000 youths of Bastar would be initially recruited for four battalions, and for this recruitment drives are being conducted in seven districts under Bastar Range. Educational and other qualifications have been relaxed for the recruitments. The BJP which is running governments both at the centre and the state has claimed that it will address of unemployment in the region. The truth is that, unable to provide any avenue for meaningful employment to the youth, the government is using the dire poverty and lack of livelihood opportunity among a large section of the people to use them in its war on the people as cannon-fodder. CPI(Maoist) has issued an appeal to the youth of Bastar to see

through this ruling-class conspiracy and not to take up arms against the people in the interest of their exploiters by joining the Bastar Battalion.

Chhattisgarh government resort to body count of Adivasis to claim 'success'

Chhattisgarh Police claimed to have achieved a 'turning point' in the anti-Maoist operations in the state with the recovery of at least 31 bodies of 'Maoists' killed in so-called encounters since the beginning of the year. Bastar IGP SRP Kalluri credited the killing of such a large number of 'Maoists' and the recovery of their bodies to "a shift in strategy" whereby the role of the District Reserve Group (DRG) in anti-Maoist operations has been enhanced. DRG is a newly-constituted unit of state police and a reincarnation of the Salwa Judum/Koya Commandos which has several surrendered Maoists and a large number of local Adivasi youth in its ranks. Kalluri said, "The turning point in Bastar has been the use of the DRG. I have no hesitation in saying that much of the credit goes to lower rung surrendered Maoist cadres, who have specific information. They never lose their abilities in a jungle, and they are motivated to see that Naxalism ends so that they can go back to their villages." Presently, DRG has nearly 1,600 jawans comprising of local youth recruited from the seven districts of Dandakaranya.

In a press statement released on 10 March, Secretary of the South Regional Committee of DKSZC Comrade Ganesh Uike has strongly refuted Bastar IGP SRP Kalluri's claim of "eliminating" more than 40 'Maoists' including seven women in the first two months of 2016. The statement said that only eight of the forty who have been killed by the government forces were guerrilla fighters belonging to the PLGA, while the rest were unarmed villagers cold-bloodedly killed in fake encounters. Of the 40, 17 people were killed in Bijapur district, while 12 were killed in Sukma, five in Kondagaon and three each in Dantewada and Bastar districts.

Continuing its macabre practice of declaring the body count in its anti-Maoist operations, Chhattisgarh Police have claimed that the number of 'Maoists' it had gunned down in so-called encounters in Dandakaranya this year has reached 53 by 11 May.

Stepping up its repression campaign under 'Bastar Mission 2016', the police have also arrested 141 alleged 'Maoists' in DK in the first two months of this year. Of them, 90 are from Sukma district alone - one of the districts which the government have singled out for concentrated attack.

Four more mercenary DRG Battalions to be raised in Bastar

As if taking the cue from SRP Kalluri who had praised the DRG forces to the skies for their unmitigated brutality and ruthlessness in anti-Maoist operations, Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh announced on 9 March the government's decision to raise four new DRG Battalions by recruiting local youth of Bastar region to bolster the suppression campaign against the Maoist movement. While presenting the budget in the assembly for the year 2016-17, he declared that 3,000 local youths would be recruited for these battalions while another 1,000 posts would be created in the state police for the same purpose.

'Samajik Ekta Manch' - the new edition of Salwa Judum dissolved

The leaders of the newly-created state-sponsored vigilante group 'Samajik Ekta Manch' announced on 15 April that they are going to dissolve the outfit. The decision came soon after a sting video released on 14 April exposed the collusion of the police with Samajik Ekta Manch, a fact which had so far been denied by both the sides. In fact, this so-called organisation had faced widespread criticism as a police prop after it attacked several activists based in Dandakaranya like

Soni Sori and Malini Subhramanyam and earned notoriety as Salwa Judum-2. Its dissolution is a victory of the people of Dandakaranya who have been supported in their struggle by the democratic organisations, parties and individuals of Chhattisgarh and the country.

Ban on revolutionary organisations extended in Chhattisgarh

On 15 May, Chhattisgarh government extended the ban on CPI(Maoist) and six revolutionary organisations of the state including DAKMS, KAMS, CNM and RPCs (Krantikari Jantana Sarkar) for another year. The Party and the mass organisations were first banned in the state in April 2006 under Section 3 of Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act 2005. The ban has been extended every year since then.

State props-up 'Bhumkal Sangathan' against the people in Gadchiroli

In 2015, the enemy propped up a counter-revolutionary 'Bhumkal Sangathan' led by ruling-class intellectual couple Arvind Soni (a professor in Nagpur) and Rashmi, Datta Sirke (Nagpur) and others on the lines of Salwa Judum, which has good relations with the leaders of Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh. It has declared that its objective is to conduct "ideological struggle" against the Maoists. But its real purpose is to further the counter-revolutionary agenda of the ruling classes in the garb of "social work". The leaders of this organisation have been engaged in counter-revolutionary activities for several years. In 2013, Soni along with others had conducted an anti-Maoist 'yatra'/walk from Korchi in north Gadchiroli to Aheri of south Gadchiroli with the total support of the police-administration and organised several meetings against the movement on the way. They asked the villagers about their problems and propagated against the movement and armed actions of the Maoists, blaming them for the

problems faced by the people. They also claimed that there were no roads, facilities and 'development' in the Adivasi village due to the Maoists.

When two informers belonging to the Banjara community were killed by PLGA in January 2014, he sat on a hunger strike in protest. When an informer was killed in 2015 by PLGA who was a Dalit, Arvind Soni again sat on an indefinite hunger strike against Maoists to instigate the Dalits against Maoists. But the Dalits did not respond to his theatrics because they knew well about the informer and approved of the decision to annihilate him.

It was Arvind Soni's organisation which had prepared and sent four students on a 'Bharat Jodo' cycle trip from Nagpur to Chhattisgarh earlier this year in order to propagate against revolutionary armed struggle. Likewise, Bhumkal Sangathan organised a meeting in May 2016 in Nelgunda village under Dudhraj Police Station of Bhamragarh tehsil which was attended by notorious Salwa Judum leaders like Madhukar Rao. It is the place where the police are trying to set up a camp to build a bridge over Indravati to link Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. Now a days Bhumkal Sangathan is holding meetings in the strategically important border areas of the two states to help the government forces set up camps and cut the inter-state links of the movement. It is also taking initiative to build a bridge by taking contributions from people and are trying to mobilise collective labour to build it in the name of development. The organisation is issuing statements against the killing of police informers. The Maoist Party is exposing the its anti-people character among the people and mobilising them against it.

Ravindra Kadam bares his Hindu-fascist fangs with his barbs at democratic forces

Speaking to a Marathi news channel on 16 February, IGP (Anti-Naxal Operations), Nagpur Range Ravindra Kadam insinuated that the probe conducted by Gadchiroli Police into DU Assistant Professor G. N. Saibaba's

alleged Maoist links has so far found that both DU and JNU have “a large number of Left-Wing radical students who are in touch with Kashmiri extremists groups”. This comment came in the context of the crackdown on JNU students by the Delhi Police at the behest of the NDA government and the Sangh Parivar. With such insinuations, Kadam has once again proved his allegiance to the Brahmanical Hindutva-fascists directing their operations against the people and their democratic struggles from RSS headquarters in Nagpur.

Maharashtra government extends its deceptive surrender policy by a year

Maharashtra government has extended its surrender policy for Maoist cadres by one more year till 28 August 2017. The government claimed that its new surrender policy which was launched in 2015 has been a success, resulting in 51 surrenders and a decline in the revolutionary movement last year. The new policy carries a reward of 5 lakh rupees besides other allurements and promises. Even before the new policy had come into effect, however, Maharashtra Police had routinely made claims of success for its surrender policy, saying that 48 Maoists had surrendered in 2013 and 40 did so in 2014.

Odisha government devices ‘new strategy’ against the Maoist movement

On 8 January, Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik, while addressing a police officers’ conference in Bhubaneswar, termed the Maoist movement as a “a major concern for the state” and asked senior police officers to pay special attention to curb its influence, particularly in four central districts of Bolangir, Kalahandi, Kandhamal and Boudh. Calling this “new development” to be “worrisome”, he said that “We should handle this new development effectively. We have already created adequate resources in terms of manpower, equipment and other logistics

supplemented by the deployment of central armed police forces. There is no reason why the police leadership cannot counter the inroads made by the Maoist into the central Odisha.” Following up on these pronouncements by the chief minister, Odisha government decided to chalk out a “new strategy” to check the growth of the Maoist movement in the state, particularly in Balangir, Kalahandi, Kandhamal and Boudh districts. This decision was taken at the unified command meeting on 13 January. The meeting decided to strengthen the intelligence network and greater coordination between the police and central paramilitary forces.

Naveen Patnaik seeks additional forces for Odisha

Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik appealed to the union home minister Rajnath Singh during the latter’s visit to Bhubaneswar on 29 February to sanction two additional companies of central paramilitary forces to combat the Maoist movement in the state. Similarly, during a meeting with the union rural development and Panchayati Raj minister Birender Singh in New Delhi on 8 March, Patnaik urged the central government to approve the building of 24 road projects under the ‘Road Requirement Plan Phase-II’ covering a length of 375 km at a cost of over 657 crore rupees in the districts and interior areas of the state where the Maoist movement is active.

Patnaik stated in the assembly on 28 March that 17 battalions of the central paramilitary forces including nine CRPF and eight BSF battalions are engaged in anti-Maoist operations in the state along with the state police. He also said that to combat the revolutionary movement, Odisha has so far received over 2,955 crore rupees under various central government schemes including Integrated Action Plan (IAP), Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme, Special Infrastructure Scheme, Construction and Strengthening of Fortified Police Stations Scheme and Modernisation of Police Forces

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Proletarians of all countries, unite!
Pages from International Communist Movement

The International Committee for the Support of People's War in India (ICSPWI) issued a call for an International Week of Action from 2 to 9 April 2016 in support of the ongoing protracted people's war led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The call was published and circulated in several languages including English, Spanish, French and Italian. Implementing the call as a mark of proletarian internationalist solidarity to the Indian revolutionary movement and the revolutionary masses of India, the people of various European, North American, South American and Asian countries led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, organisations and groups successfully carried out a series of programmes. This International Week of Action has greatly enthused, inspired and heartened the revolutionary party, army, mass organisations and the revolutionary masses of India. On behalf of the entire revolutionary camp in India, MIB extends its warmest revolutionary greetings to all our international comrades, friends and the people of these countries for making this Week of Action a success. We reproduce below the ICSPWI call, reports of actions from various countries and a statement by ICSPWI of its successful conclusion - MIB

Call for an International Week of Action, 2 - 9 April 2016

Unconditional freedom for all political prisoners in India!

Solidarity with all political prisoners in the world!

Stop Green Hunt, the war and aerial attacks on the people! Support the People's war in India!

In India more than 10,000 political prisoners are languishing in jails. They are leaders, cadres and members of the CPI(Maoist) and PLGA; Adivasi villagers who resisted the forced evacuation; peasants who struggled against the MOUs signed by governments and TNCs to exploit the people and continue the imperialist looting of natural resources; activists of the national minorities

organized against the rising threat of Hindu communal fascism; intellectuals as Dr Saibaba, artists, students and activists other democratic organizations, guilty of standing on the side of the people facing the war on people waged by the Indian state; people's women, feminists, united to rebel against the huge escalation of rapes, committed in part by the armed and police forces and paramilitary fascist squads



sponsored by the State. In jails the prisoners face every kind of harassment, torture, denial of bails, inhumane living conditions, arbitrary transfers, brutal assaults and punishments of solitary confinement, and often the detained women are raped.

In spite of the fierce condition of detention, prisoners are resisting and struggling with revolutionary spirit and turning the dark jails in which are confined into a battlefield against the raising fascism in India and the Indian regime.

The struggle for their unconditional release is an urgent task for all the solidarity forces and it is integrant part of the support for the victory of their liberation war.

All India is more and more turned by the ruling classes into a “prison house of people’s movements”. The Indian ruling classes, under the guidance and with the assistance of imperialists, launched the multi-pronged and country-wide offensive called Operation Green Hunt. This is supposed aimed to wipe out the Maoist movement but it is in fact it targets and is aimed to suppress any genuine democratic

demand of the people. Thousands of revolutionary and democratic mass organizations leaders and members have been assassinated, tortured and put in jails. Blamed under false cases, many of them are facing harsh punishments, under the draconian laws adopted by the central and state governments that brand people’s leaders and strugglers as ‘anti-national or terrorists’.

Imperialist economic and financial crisis is intensifying continuously and also the imperialist aggressions and reactionary wars intensify. In this situation, the Modi’s brahmanical fascist BJP government have given top priority in its agenda to annihilate at the earliest the Maoist struggle, the newly shaping people’s political power organs, the Krantikari Janatana Sarkar (Revolutionary People’s Committees) and to plunder country’s natural wealth at a speedy pace at any cost. Modi, who is the first servant of domestic and foreign Corporate Houses, has not only initiated but is also aggressively implementing the third phase of Operation Green Hunt. In this context, Modi’s regime proposed aerial attacks on Adivasi areas.

Indian Maoists appeal all revolutionary parties and organizations, international solidarity organizations, trade unions, renowned democratic progressive intellectuals, workers, peasants, students, youth, artists, writers, scientists, environmentalists, teachers, to raise their voice against the decision of aerial attacks on adivasi majority areas and to take to streets in protest.

The liberation war of the masses in India cannot be stopped by the savage repression, rather it extends the political and moral solidarity to the people’s war.

The International Committee in Support of the People’s War in India launches an International Week of Action from 2nd to 9th of April 2016 all around the world.

In this week all initiatives will express solidarity with all political prisoners in the jails of imperialism and reactionary regimes and support to all struggles for their liberation.

International Committee to Support the People’s War in India

Report of programmes from different countries during the International Week of Action, April 2 - 9, 2016

Germany

This year the international week of action set the focus in the FRG on spreading the political demands of the call, on carrying out activities in different cities and gain new forces for the international campaign. Central organized activities were carried out in six cities, additionally there were different actions of propaganda in other cities like Hanover. Here a brief summary:

At the beginning of the week of action on 2nd of April an informational meeting on the history and general situation of the Maoist movement in India took place in Cafe Commune in Berlin. It emphasized the merits of the Peoples War and the New Power. Furthermore the necessity and possibility of the unity of all progressive forces against the genocide carried out by the reaction in India was highlighted. Beside several political structures a number of non-organized comrades took part in the meeting, who made the discussion very positive and vivid. On Friday 8th of April a rally was held in the park in front of the Indian embassy.

Göttingen: In Göttingen the meeting took place in the Rotes Zentrum. Young

revolutionaries, who came for the first time in contact with the issue, participated. After the informative part there was a lively discussion about the peculiarities of the People's War in India and also especially on proletarian internationalism.

Cologne: Simultaneously as in Göttingen an information meeting took place in Clara Jugendzentrum in Cologne. German and Turkish forces of the revolutionary movement participated in this meeting. The number of participants allowed a deeper discussion after the speech.

Bremen: In Bremen young revolutionaries, who had very little or nearly none information on the Peoples War in India, participated in the meeting. The significance and the relevance of the People's War in India regarding the development of a revolutionary movement in practice in countries like the FRG were intensely discussed.

Hamburg: In Hamburg there were three meetings during the week of action, starting on Tuesday with a meeting in the local seat of ATIK on the topic of political prisoners in India. This was connected with the repression in the FRG especially against Turkish revolutionaries like the detained ATIK



members. In this context a call for the upcoming actions to support them was made.

The meeting on Wednesday at the Internationales Zentrum B5 highlighted the role of women in the People's War in India. The extreme patriarchal conditions in India and how the CPI (Maoist) struggles against them were the primary topic of the presentation and discussion. Furthermore some of the heroic female martyrs of the Indian revolution were portrayed.

The final event was celebrated on Friday as an Indian cultural evening. The broad participating Turkish revolutionary youth got an impression of the People's War in India by the screening of the movie „Red Ant Dream” in background. The highlight of the evening was the recitation of translated Indian poems of the revolutionary poets Varvara and Singh, which were made specially for this occasion.

The end of the week of action in the FRG was marked by a rally of the League Against Imperialist Aggression at metro station Sternschanze in Hamburg. Music, speeches and slogans like „the true face of their democracy is that they are mass-murderers” („Das wahre Gesicht ihrer Demokratie – Massenmörder das sind sie”) mobilized masses to spontaneously join the rally. The distribution of the call of the International Committee in Support of the People's War in India was embraced. This way talks and discussions developed, new contacts could be made and the impact of the Indiaconference 2012 on the masses became evident due to the fact that many of the bypassers spontaneously commented on the activities as a continuation of the massive propaganda work done in relation to the before mentioned conference.

Hanover: Parallel to the meeting on political prisoners in India on Tuesday in Hamburg an interview on the current political situation in India, the People's War and the situation of the political prisoners in India was aired on Hanovers leftist radio station „Radio Flora”.

Magdeburg: The meeting in the Soziales Zentrum of Magdeburg aroused great interest. Prior an expressive Dazibao in support of the People's War in India and demanding the

release of the political prisoners was put up, among other things. At the meeting the room was overcrowded, so some attenders had to listen from a nearby room. After the presentation a broad discussion which touched several aspects developed and even included topics outside India like the Peoples War on the Philippines.

During the week of action some translation were published: A translation of the document “The Main Task Today is the Struggle to Build Up the True Revolutionary Party Through Uncompromising Struggle Against Revisionism” by Charu Mazumdar, a translation of the document „Struggle against the airstrikes against Bastar by the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, a translation of the essay “Professor, P.O.W.” by Arundhati Roy and an overworked version of “Walking with Comrades” also by Arundhati Roy.

In summary the week of action in the FRG [Federal Republic of Germany] was a success. We want to emphasize the great importance that especially young revolutionaries in several cities participated and we succeeded in broadening the campaign significantly. It is evident that there is a significant solidarity with the Indian comrades at hand and practical experience shows that this is the case all over the FRG. The question is that we grasp firmly our responsibility and so we are assure that in the upcoming developments of the campaign it will be possible to realize activities in more cities. And so it shall be.

Berlin and North Rhine-Westphalia: As part of the week of action, organized by the International Committee to Support the People's War in India, in solidarity with the New Democratic Revolution in India diverse propaganda actions took place in Berlin and North Rhine-Westphalia.

The Indian People's War of the oppressed masses, led by the communists, has also an immense meaning for the revolutionary and anti-imperialist youth in the FRG. It demonstrates the vitality of Communism and is a constant source of inspiration and an

example for the struggles that must be developed in our country – applied, of course, to the concrete situation in the FRG, an imperialist state.

The semi-colonial semi-feudal Indian State reacts to the progressing revolutionary process with aggravated repression, terror and oppression. Apart from the massive relaunch of “Operation Green Hunt” (named after the green uniforms of the guerrilla army) through the hindu-fascist Modi regime, a broad war waged by hundreds of thousands of military policemen against the people in the guerrilla-controlled zones on the land of the Adivasi, especially in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Bihar and West Bengal is taking place, as well as the never-before-seen air raid operations on the territories of New Power. This is first and foremost expressed by the increasing imprisonment and muzzling of critical revolutionary-democratic intellectuals, such as the 90% disabled Professor GN Saibaba.

To send moral support to the comrades and to spread awareness on a local level of the presently almost largest and clearest revolutionary movement in the world, diverse agitprop actions were undertaken. Apart from distributing flyers with the committee’s callout for the awareness week, in Neukölln, a predominantly worker and immigrant neighborhood, a large mural was glued onto the central statue at Hermannplatz, which has been reaching out to the local farmer’s market visitors and passers-by for over a week. Next

to the statues, large graffitis with the words “Victory to the Indian People’s War” have emerged. In Kreuzberg, an 8 meter-long banner with German and English-language slogans reading “Support the People’s War in India” was mounted in Görlitzer Park.

In Berlin, the awareness week came to an end with a rally in solidarity with the just struggle of the Indian People in front of the Indian Embassy, organized by Jugendwiderstand and ADHK. 25 persons protested on Friday afternoon with banners reading “Stop Operation Green Hunt! Put an End to the Terror against the Indian People” and “Solidarity with the People’s War in India!”, as well as slogans such as “The True Face of Democracy – Mass Murderers is what you are!”, “Freedom for all Political Prisoners!” and “Solidarity means Resistance – Struggle against Fascism in every Country!” in Tiergartenstraße. The committee’s callout as well as Jugendwiderstand’s contribution were read out loud and rebellious German, English and Indian music was played.

Austria

Under the call of the International committee to support people’s war in India, we, Revolutionary Construction, participated in the international week of action. As an organisation with proletarian internationalist basis it is very important for us to connect our struggle in an imperialist country with the



struggles in oppressed countries, and to see them as an driving force for our own political work! Also Austrian imperialism is involved in the oppression and exploitation, as well as in the support of counter-revolution, of the people in India. With posters, sprays, events and meetings were popularized the demands of the International Committee and we tried to spread the great struggle of the Indian masses, and its highest expression, the people's war. Connected with theoretical debates of an important writing of Mao Zedong, we marked an important point in the campaign, the universal importance of people's war, to also raise the consciousness of the progressive forces in Austria.

Vienna: In Vienna we organized a meeting "Support people's war in India". With presentations and pictures we showed the current situation of the political prisoners as well as the situation and the advances of people's war in India. In the following discussion we focussed as main points on the role of the CPI(Maoist) in people's war as well as on the reactionary support of Austrian imperialism in the suppression of the people in India. For example: Raiffeisen-bank has big microcredit activities among the poor peasants in India, and so it is directly responsible for the suicide of tens of thousands of peasants as a result of the exploitation through microcredits. We managed it to mobilize new interested people which took part on the meeting, which we will also include in our ongoing activities. Furthermore, we spread the

claims of the action week with sprays in the proletarian districts of Vienna.

Upper-Austria: With many posters and wall-paintings we popularized the demands of the international week of action in Linz. Also we organized an information evening on the current situation of the political prisoners and the people's war in India. A good step of the campaign was that we mobilized new forces, which is a good basis for further activities of solidarity.

Tirol: In Innsbruck we organized a meeting of solidarity on the fighting masses and the people's war in India. We discussed about the current fight for freedom for the political prisoners in India an about the people's war. With propaganda actions we spread the demands of the international week of action, including sprays and posters.

Vorarlberg: With the posters of the international week of action we supported the struggle of the people in India, and we showed solidarity with the people's war in India.

Italy

In Milan activists of ICSPWI participated and spread leaflets calling to a protest at the Indian Consulate and in solidarity with political prisoners at the protest march to free the youth arrested for the clashes of the past 1st of May. In Taranto painted posters have been stuck preparing a solidarity event



scheduled on April 5. MFPR issued a poster to be circulated nationally.

France

In Paris, as a part of the International Week of Action, a meeting for the release of Dr. Saibaba and on the current situation in India was organised by the Internationalist Red Collective on 8 April at ACTIT (54 rue Hauteville, 75010 Paris). The meeting spoke for the defense of the revolutionary prisoners in India.

Galicia

A meeting organized in Coruna was held on April 16 as a part of the International Week of Action.

Brazil

As part of the International Week of Support for the People's War and for the revolutionary and democratic prisoners in India a series of events were held in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo by the Brazilian Center for Popular Solidarity (CEBRASPO).

On April 7th a debate was held at the Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences (IFCS) of URFJ.

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In downtown Rio de Janeiro, dozens of people attended the event, in addition to addressing the situation of thousands of revolutionaries and democratic political prisoners in India there was a discussion of the revolutionary struggle led by the CPI(Maoist) which is going on in the country as well as the resistance of peasants and tribal people against the invasion of their land by the imperialist monopolies.

On the 8th of April a protest was held before the Indian Consulate in Sao Paulo. Activists of CEBRASPO, Red Unity (UV), the Popular Women's Movement (MFP), the Worker's League (LO) and other organizations distributed thousands of leaflets, held up banners, posters and flags and shouted slogans of internationalist support to the political prisoners in India.

On April 8th the League of Poor Peasants (LCP) in the Jose Ricardo revolutionary area in Pernambuco held a meeting in support of the political prisoners in India and against Operation Green Hunt.

A representative of Cebbraspo in São Paulo spoke about the reason for the demonstration and also other important international





campaigns developed by people's organizations, such as that in support for political prisoners of the Confederation of Turks in Europe (ATIK) etc.

Protesters denounced Indian consul's refusal to receive the manifesto drafted by Cebraspo and protested against the genocidal war on people unleashed by Indian state and its fascist regime.

The Indian genocidal state launched the third phase of Operation Green Hunt against peasants, tribal peoples, revolutionary activists and especially the members of the Communist Party of India Maoist (PCI), who carry out the people's war against the Indian fascist state. After the start of the third phase of OGH many democratic intellectuals and activists of people's and revolutionary movements were imprisoned in the dungeons of the old state.

Banners were stuck at Sao Paulo University and University of Montes Claros.

Chile

With the slogans "Stop Operation Green Hunt!", "Stop aerial attacks and war on people!" we joint the International Week with these actions of proletarian internationalism. In the Metropolitan University of Educational Sciences, UMCE was held a meeting in which we discussed about this struggle and its advances. We spoke about the conditions of India, imperialist oppression and how the people organized under the leadership of the

revolutionaries (Naxalites) of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

At the Catholic University, a stronghold of compradors and landlords classes, democratic students spread information about the Indian people's war and the call of the event.

In Rancagua, Manque Radio, a community and libertarian radio realized a special program to inform about the situation in India, explaining how people dismissed all electoral illusions and joined the People's War.

In addition a brochure by Indian professor Dr. Amit Bhattacharya in Jadavpur University based on his writing: *India, Imperialist Domination and Revolution*, was circulated. The latter exposes with scientific rigor the characteristics of domination and how the People's War presents a model of genuine development for the Indian people.

Colombia

News of the campaign was disseminated by the press organ of the UOC (MLM) *Revolución Obrera*

Tunisia

The Support Committee for the People's War in India-Tunisia took part in the International Week by making propaganda in revolutionary circles via an ad hoc poster. Support activities were held in Tunis.

ICSPWI Statement on the successful conclusion of the International Week of Action

ICSPWI salutes the success of International action's week in various countries in the world.

It is important that many workers, youth, women, people have directly participated with the spirit of international solidarity with political prisoners in the jails of the Indian Modi's regime.

It is important that many Maoist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist organisations have organised different kind of actions according to the conditions and the level of the possibility in every country.

A bulletin will be realised in this month with reports and information.

The wind of this LAW arrives in India and the Indian people involved in the revolutionary struggle and in the people's war are encouraged in its epochal struggle for a New Democratic Revolution.

Now it is required that the initiatives continue particularly against Green Hunt and Aerial attacks against people.

In some Universities in Europe advances the ICSPWI proposal to invite Indian democratic representatives of association and people's organisation in the next months.

It needs in the same time to develop analysis of the concrete situation for preparing a new wave of the international support, for extending mass mobilisation against Indian regime and imperialist states that have strict relation with Indian regime.

It needs an antifascist and anti-imperialist alliance with all that are available in this new wave.

For this a series of talks will be realized in the next weeks and months, particularly in Europe in June-July and in Latin America in October.

Other new proposals can be sent to ICSPWI that will send them to all solidarity movements.

Unconditional freedom for all political prisoners in India!

Stop Green Hunt, the war and aerial attacks on the people!

Support the People's war in India!

ICSPWI

May 2016



International Declaration of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organisations for May Day 2016

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

*Long live the 50th anniversary of the
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!*

Long live the Proletarian World Revolution! Long live Maoism!

On this Mayday we call upon the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in China. In the GPCR, as a great strategic beacon, the Mao Tsetung Thought was intensely spread and Chairman Mao became the recognized leader of the world revolution and the one who brought forward a new stage of Marxism-Leninism: Maoism.

Five decades after Chairman Mao affirmed that “imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers” imperialism has descended further into its prolonged and deep crisis; in a world evermore ridden from storms the conditions to advance the revolution are increasingly favourable.

In the current phase of imperialism, the brutal concentration and centralization of capital reaches even more sharp levels. Today, 1% of the world population have more riches than the rest of the world’s population all together. With the ever-greater concentration of capital in the last five years the wealth of the 62 richest people in the world rose by 45% while the wealth of “the poorest half” fell by more than 38%. This “poorest half” is in its absolute majority situated in the oppressed countries, 33% in India alone. This big bourgeoisie are increasingly concentrated in the hegemonic superpower: five years ago, 41% of the owners of most of the world’s wealth lived in the USA... and they are now 46%. Due to the increasing centralization of capital, for the first time since 1999 the USA will account for over 50% of the amounts transacted in monopoly-related transactions worldwide.

At the opposite pole, around the world there are at least 800 million people living in extreme poverty. This poverty is expressed most acutely in semi-feudal countries; 75% of the global masses living in extreme poverty are poor peasants. About 750 millions have no access to clean water and 25% have no access to electricity. Hundreds of millions of people are being brutalized by imperialist wars, forced displacements, epidemics, starvation, and brutal unemployment—even in countries like Greece the youth unemployment is above 50%.

Imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, develops its imperialist wars of plunder and pillage against the dominated countries, mainly in the Middle East: Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Iran, is the main part of the booty of the current imperialist repartition, in which Yankee imperialism strives to deepen and consolidate its condition as sole hegemonic superpower status while the Russian imperialism strives to maintain their spheres of influence and its condition of being an atomic superpower. As well as imperialist China strives for a stronger repartition and so thereby, they are getting increasingly in contradiction with the Yankee imperialism, the sole hegemonic power. Between imperialist countries of Europe the struggle for hegemony (mainly between Germany and France) is not yet decided; this brings their leading powers into distress towards the other imperialists.

The imperialist coalition led by the USA, in dispute with Russia results in collusion to divide and rule the Syrian nation and the whole subcontinent (as recent agreements between Lavrov and Kerry shows); it is promoting all

kinds of massacres and genocides in the name of war on “terror.” For this they are launching smokescreens, putting peoples against peoples to divide the anti-imperialist front.

After more than five years of imperialist aggression in Syria there are over 470 000 dead, nearly 2 million people injured. In five years the country’s average life expectancy has fallen from 70 years to 55.4. These numbers add up to no less than 5,350 people who died trying to migrate in 2015.

The sharpening of our epochs main contradiction—the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism—sharpenes all the other contradictions, such as the contradiction of inter-imperialist rivalry and the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries.

The passing of Russia into an active role in the war in Syria is a part of its struggle to defend its interests in Syria and Ukraine. As part of inter-imperialist dispute for dominance of the region, the lackey governments of Turkey and Saudi Arabia are making all sorts of provocations encouraging Yankee imperialism to devastate the region even more, and to isolate and defeat Iran even more—as the episode of the recent decapitation of Shiite leaders shows. The inter-imperialist dispute cannot result in any benefit for the masses but instead it will deepen the colonial and semi-colonial domination as we are witnessing in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya.

Hence, regarding the struggle of the Kurdish people against the domination of the Turkish State and Middle Eastern countries, we reaffirm that only the New Democratic Revolution, through the People’s War lead absolutely by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties, can achieve the liberation of their people and ensure the national minorities their unrenounceable right to self-determination—even their right to complete separation.

Large waves of immigrants and refugees are coming to the European imperialist countries, shaken by crisis, as result of the imperialist war, in which these European imperialist countries participate, and the misery and despair in which the oppressed peoples of the Middle East, Asia and Africa

are subjected. To this you have to add the massive unemployment on the continent, especially among youth.

These migratory waves are part of the imperialist plunder, because the imperialists need to incorporate every year hundreds of thousands of immigrant workers to keep their economy going in face of the “population deficit” in the imperialist countries themselves. Germany needs to incorporate annually 500,000 immigrants in its economy until the year 2060. But these same imperialists propagate the “immigrant threat” to boost imperialist chauvinism among the population, promoting fascism to separate the bulk of the proletariat from the migrant proletarians and create public opinion for the war against the peoples and wars of imperialist aggression.

The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie sharpens, in the form of the contradiction between the masses and the imperialist governments and states. Additionally the imperialist war is “brought back home.” With the attacks in Paris and Brussels, the European imperialist bourgeoisies, starting with the French one, pay the cost for their active participation in the war of plunder in Syria, the imperialist interventions in Libya, Mali, etc.

While they extend imperialist war of domination abroad, internally they wage war on the poorer masses of their countries. Imperialism uses war as a mean to solve all sorts of problems. In the name of the “war on terrorism,” they impose the Emergency State, repression and militarization of the whole society, reactionary campaigns of racism and xenophobia against immigrants’ neighbourhoods.

With the policy of “adjustments and new labor laws” they continue suppressing the long time conquered rights by the proletariat and increasing the exploitation of wage labor. Millions of workers, especially young people, took to the streets in powerful protests in France and other European countries.

The proletariat, the masses, led by communists, must organize the proletarian and mass resistance against the internal war and resolutely undertake the preparations to

turn the imperialist wars into revolutionary wars.

To do so from the belly of the imperialist beast, communists are constructing new Maoist Communist Parties, making efforts to merge with the deepest masses of the proletariat, to win ideological hegemony in the revolutionary movement in order to, in front of all non-proletarian ideologies, mobilize, politicize and organize the most exploited sections of the working class and the poorest masses, to prepare and carry out through actions the beginning and development of the People's War.

The countries oppressed by imperialism are the storm centres and base of the world revolution. In India, the Philippines, Turkey and Peru, the masses and the peasants, the main force of the New Democratic Revolution, rise up through Agrarian Revolution to defend their lands and defeat the displacement plans from the countryside carried out by bureaucratic capitalism engendered by imperialism.

In India, the People's War developed by the CPI (Maoist) has survived the encirclement and annihilation campaigns of the enemy, imposing defeats on imperialism and all reaction, and it is a great example for the masses of the whole world regarding the way forward. Hundreds of millions of peasants joining the masses of Indian workers — raised up in People's War under the direction of CPI (Maoist) — add great strength for the world proletariat.

The old Indian state, headed by the reactionary Modi clique, promotes the massacre of Adivasi peasants, mass arrests in the countryside and in the cities, and the persecution of revolutionary leaders and democratic personalities as part of the war on the people in a desperate attempt to stop the revolution. Thus the Indian reactionaries are revealing the true character of the government and the Indian state and its fake democracy.

By developing the People's War and joining the national liberation struggles of the New Democratic Revolution, the CPI (Maoist)

is preventing the division of the masses. They are defeating the new revisionism; they are an example for the International Communist Movement.

As part of the unequally development of the revolutionary situation in the world, the bankruptcy of the opportunist governments in Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Venezuela, etc. is part of the crisis of electoral revisionism and opens great possibilities for the revolutionary proletarian movement.

In Brazil, the deep political and economic crisis of bureaucratic capitalism shattered the official propaganda that sought to present Brazil as a new "rising power" ("BRICS" as a new perspective to the world, etc.). In the midst of the economic crisis, traditional and new political parties, representing different class fractions, pitted an endless struggle to see who stays on top of the old bureaucratic state machine. And although the bankruptcy of the opportunist aroused an anti-communist new wave, the peasant uprisings, united with the struggles in the cities, promise to shake up the entire old order and raise the class struggle to new levels.

These facts unmask the new revisionism of PCPMOVADEF/PCPMLM in Peru, of Prachanda and Avakian that want to deny the validity of the analyses of Lenin and Mao, separating the two great currents of the International Communist Movement: the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and the proletarian revolution, whose unity is guaranteed by the Communist Parties.

More than ever the urgent task of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement is to fight the current state of dispersion in the International Communist Movement, struggling for a Unified International Conference of Parties and Organizations that are Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. Pursuing this task will serve to establish, through the line struggle, new levels of coordination between Maoist forces around the world that will trigger new Peoples Wars and enhance the anti-imperialist movement under the hegemony of the revolutionary proletariat.

Celebrate 50 years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Developed and led by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the GPCR was the most advanced stage, the highest level of the Proletarian World Revolution. It put forward and solved the problem of how to lead the class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, how to continue the revolution under socialism and move society to Communism after the ascent and success of capitalist restoration in USSR (1956); and for 10 years it prevented the capitalist restoration in China.

The GPCR, mobilizing hundreds of millions of masses in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was the most shattering and overwhelming blow to bourgeois ideology, politics and culture, arming the international proletariat with Mao Tsetung Thought, which turned into Maoism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung established that to struggle against power holders who take the capitalist road is the immediate task of the GPCR, however, that its fundamental task is to solve the problem of world outlook; the question is to eradicating the roots of revisionism. Therefore we must grasp the shining GPCR and its teachings underneath the change of ideology and in this sense fully assuming Maoism as the key issue for the class to take power, supported by a people's army capable of defending the New State supported by immense masses.

Fifty years after the initiation of the GPCR the powerful East wind is continuing blowing to sweep away imperialism from the earth. The glorious People's Wars of India, Peru, the Philippines and Turkey threaten to set the entire prairie on fire. These People's Wars, despite a thousand difficulties, are proving that the imperialist bandits are the real terrorists, the popular masses are the real heroic builders of a new world, that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers, and that the masses are almighty.

On this Mayday, amidst a world evermore stormy and challenging, to celebrate the GPCR is to continue swimming against the current,

challenging wind and tide in deep ideological and political struggles to uphold Maoism in the struggle of the international proletariat to conquer power. The Communists around the world must assume their role with acts of war against imperialism so as to place Maoism in command and as guide for the new great wave of world proletarian revolution and sweeping imperialism off the face of the earth!

We celebrate the beginning of the struggle to put Maoism as commander and guide of the proletarian world revolution to sweep away imperialism from face of the earth, a challenge that requires to resolve the pending and delayed task of constitution and reconstitution of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Parties throughout the world so as to trigger the People's War in as many countries as possible.

Down with imperialist war, long live the People's War!

For an International Unified Maoist Conference and a new Maoist International Centre!

Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers!

1st of May 2016

LIST OF SIGNATORIES:

Collective of Iranian Maoists

Committee for Building the Maoist Communist Party, Galicia, Spanish state

Committees for the Founding of the (Maoist) Communist Party, Austria

Communist Nucleus Nepal

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan

Communist Movement of Serbia

Communist Party of Brazil Red Fraction – CPB (RF)

Communist Party of Ecuador Red Sun – CPE (RS)

Communist Party of India (Maoist)

Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist – TKP/M-L*
Democracy and Class Struggle, British State
Klassenstandpunkt, Class Position, Editorial Staff, Germany
Great Unrest WSRM, Wales, British State
Maoist Communist Group USA
Maoist Communist Movement Tunisia
Maoist Communist Party – France
Maoist Communist Party – Italy
Maoist Communist Party Manipur
Maoist Group Shouresh – Iran (MGS)*
Maoist Organization for the Reconstitution of Communist Party of Colombia
Maoist Revolutionary League – Sri Lanka
Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party Construction Committee (Germany) MLM-PAK
Network of Communist Blogs
Peru People’s Movement (Committee for Reorganizing)
Red Fraction of Communist Party of Chile
Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR-RCP Canada)
Revolutionary People’s Front of Bolivia MLM
Serve the People – Communist League of Norway
Servir le Peuple – Sheisau Sorelh – Occitany – French state
Workers Voice – Malaysia

(* Official signature not yet received due to difficulties of communication.)



Statement of Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain on the Current Situation in India

20 March 2016

Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain continues to stand firmly with Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and strongly condemns the attempts by the Indian state and Hindutva forces to stifle the voices of democratic dissent, disagreement and discourse in the campuses. We congratulate the students and the faculty for standing unitedly and firmly at a time when assaults on democratic rights is taking place across India on various sections of the people. We thank and congratulate the students, faculty and staff of various educational institutions from within India such as Jadavpur University, Hyderabad Central University, IITs, IIMs, FTII and IIMC for standing with JNU. We also thank hundreds of academicians such as Noam Chomsky from universities across the globe, including Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Cambridge, Oxford and Warwick for their outpouring solidarity in support of JNU. We also thank the legal team who volunteered to act as lawyers for the six JNU students including Kanhaiya, Omar Khalid and Anirban Bhattacharya and also for successfully getting the JNU Students' Union President Kanhaiya out on interim bail. It demands immediate release of Omar Khalid and Anirban Bhattacharya from prison.

On a similar note, IWA, Great Britain strongly condemns the arrest of Prof Geelani, Delhi University, barely three days after the arrest of JNUSU President Kanhaiya Kumar. While the six JNU students have been charged with sedition over an event on JNU campus against the hanging of Afzal Guru, Prof Geelani is facing the same charges over an event at the Press Club on the same issue. S.A.R. Geelani's biggest crime is that he is a Kashmiri Muslim and questioned the capital punishment given to Afzal Guru. IWA, GB demands his unconditional release from detention.

IWA, GB likes to remind that yet another Delhi University Professor, G.N. Saibaba, who was incarcerated in Nagpur jail for 14 months, was sent back to prison again in the last week of January, within six months after being released on bail based on his deteriorating health conditions. He was charged under the colonial Sedition Act and the UAPA. The only fault of this 90 per cent disabled wheelchair-bound Professor was that he questioned the ongoing military assault of the government, code named 'Operation Green Hunt', on the poorest of the poor—the Adivasis of Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand. He also questioned the signing of hundreds of secretive mining and infrastructure contracts (MoUs) by the Central and State governments with multinational corporations, who are looting the natural resources, grabbing thousands of acres of land of the indigenous people and destroying their livelihood. In a related development, a contempt notice was issued against Arundhati Roy by High Court Justice Arun Chaudhari in December for her views published in Outlook magazine on the arrest of Dr G.N. Saibaba and subsequent rejection of his bail plea early last year. IWA, GB demands immediate release of Dr G.N. Saibaba and withdrawal of the contempt notice served against Arundhati Roy.

We cannot see what is happening in the JNU or Rohith Vemula's institutional murder in the University of Hyderabad in isolation from what has been happening elsewhere in India and across the world. As the global economic crisis is deepening, the corporations are bringing extreme Right-wing forces to power in many countries, which are intensifying their assaults on the democratic and constitutional rights of the people, including students. Historically, students have been in the forefront—may it be the anti-war

campaign against the US war on Vietnam or against the Chinese Government's assault at Tiananmen Square. On the 9th of March, 2016, about half a million students and industrial workers jointly took to the streets in Paris and other cities around France, striking against President François Hollande's proposed changes to the labour laws, which are seen as a major assault on workers' rights. The demonstrations shook the French rulers, reminding them of the 2006 militant demonstrations of students and youth. From that perspective, the students in India have a huge responsibility in building a democratic movement in India, resisting the ongoing assaults by the pro-corporate Hindutva government.

JNU has brought some age-old important issues to the forefront once again for debate. One of them is the right to self-determination of nationalities and the question of Kashmir. Contrary to what the Sangh Parivar thinks, India is not just one monolithic nation. India is diverse with various nationalities, regions, tribes and cultures. In political terms India is a union of several nationalities, which are still struggling to evolve as full-fledged nations. The right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities, such as Nagas, Manipuris, Mizos and Assamese, is being crushed under the iron heels of the armed forces. Though there are name-sake State governments, Kashmir and North-Eastern States have always constantly been under military rule, with hundreds of thousands of armed forces being deployed there. The pre-1947 promises made by the Indian National Congress (INC) to the people of various nationalities in India for a real federal democratic republic remained as broken promises, making India a prison-house of nationalities.

Another question is the Capital Punishment and colonial repressive acts such as the notorious 'Sedition Act', which the British used on Bhagat Singh, Gandhi and Tilak. In addition to what they have inherited from the British, the Indian rulers have made innumerable draconian repressive laws such as AFSPA, TADA, POTA, NASA, MISA, UAPA, Chattisgarh Special Public Security Act and so on.

The same government, which has taken away the non-NET fellowships and is rushing to sell-off our educational institutions to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), is on the other hand continuing its assault on the industrial working class by diluting the already weak labour laws, making it easy for the corporations to hire and fire workers. The same Hindutva forces, who are responsible for the institutional murder of Dalit scholar Rohith Vemula of HCU, are also responsible for the suicides of thousands of peasants. The same fascist forces, that are responsible for the massacres of thousands of minorities such as Muslim and Christians across the country, are intensifying their assaults on thousands of villages in the mineral-rich forest areas of Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand and Bihar with an intention of displacing millions of Adivasis from their lands and homes for the benefit of foreign and domestic mining and heavy industry corporations. Attacks on Adivasi villages by armed forces are increasing. Arrests, torture, rapes, burning of crops and homes, stealing their savings and poultry by the armed forces have been going on as a routine for more than two decades. According to the reports of the Home Ministry, there are over one lakh armed forces such as CRPF, BSF and ITBP deployed in South Chhattisgarh, making it the most militarised zone in the entire country. Around two years ago the Indian Army too was deployed in the guise of establishing a training school for the Army. The Indian Airforce is building airstrips there.

Indian jails are overcrowded, most of them being people from poor working class/rural background and political activists. According to the 2013 prison statistics of the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), published in *The Times of India* (November 9, 2013), Chhattisgarh is the worst among any other State in India with 14,780 prisoners against the prison capacity of 5850, which means a 252.6 per cent. Most of them are Adivasis imprisoned under false cases. Sixtyeight per cent of them are undertrials and never produced before the court. Legal aid organisations such as jagLAG, who provide free legal advice to poor Adivasis and NGOs such as Red Cross, who provide free medical

care to the Adivasis, and many journalists such as Malini Subramanyam of Scoll.com, who report the atrocities of the armed forces on Adivasis, are driven out of South Chhattisgarh by the police. A day after being warned by the Chhattisgarh Police to vacate her home in a village near Jagadapur, tribal leader Soni Sori was attacked by some 'unidentified persons' who threw a chemical on her face.

Our country is passing through a critical phase of history in terms of erosion of democratic rights and shrinking democratic space. We appeal to the students and youth of India to stand in solidarity with other

progressive sections of the society such as journalists, lawyers and teachers to build a democratic united front against the ongoing assaults by the fascist state. They should stand in solidarity with the peasants who are being driven to take their own lives and adivasis who are facing the joint assault of armed forces and multinational corporations. They should join forces with the industrial working class as the French students are doing. The interests of working class and peasants are not any different from those of the students, as a majority of them come from poor peasant and working class families.

- *Release JNU students Omar Khalid and Anirban Bhattacharya immediately!*
- *Release Delhi University Professors S.A.R. Geelani and G.N. Saibaba immediately!*
- *Abolish Capital Punishment! Abolish the colonial 'Sedition Act'!*
- *Justice for Rohith Vemula and enactment of the Rohith Act!*
- *Complete withdrawal of Army from Kashmir, North-Eastern States and Chhattisgarh!*
- *Justice for Soni Sori! Stop assaults on journalists, activists and NGOs in Chhattisgarh!*
- *Long live the unity of students, intellectuals, workers, peasants and adivasis!*
- *Uphold the democratic values and fight to retain the rights achieved through democratic struggles!*
- *Freedom for all political prisoners!*



Protest against Operation Green Hunt, Brussels, April 2016

Galician MP raise questions in the EU Parliament about Operation Green Hunt, condition of political prisoners and persecution of public intellectuals in India

Different forms of protest programmes are being regularly held and protest actions organised by Maoist and democratic forces in various countries against Operation Green Hunt, to demand the release of political prisoners including Prof. G N Saibaba and hounding of intellectuals like Arundhati Roy in India who are vocal against the state and the Hindu-fascist forces. As a part of this campaign, Lidia Senra, a member of the European Parliament from Galicia, questioned the EU Commission about maintaining trade ties with India given its violation of the democratic rights of its citizens including Prof. Saibaba. This was one more significant step to expose the real character of the 'largest democracy of the world' and its reactionary ruling classes at the international level. MIB hails the efforts being made by our international comrades and friends. We reproduce the following report by the Galician Committee of Support to the People's War in India - MIB

Lidia Senra, member of the European Parliament from Galician Left Alternative (GLE), presented a question to the European Commission about the situation of Professor GN Saibaba and the position of the EU on this matter, as well as the harassment on the well-known writer Arundhati Roy.

The Galician Committee of Support the People's War in India appreciates the very positive attitude of the internationalist GLE representative Brussels. Below an excerpt of the official statement by Lidia Senra:

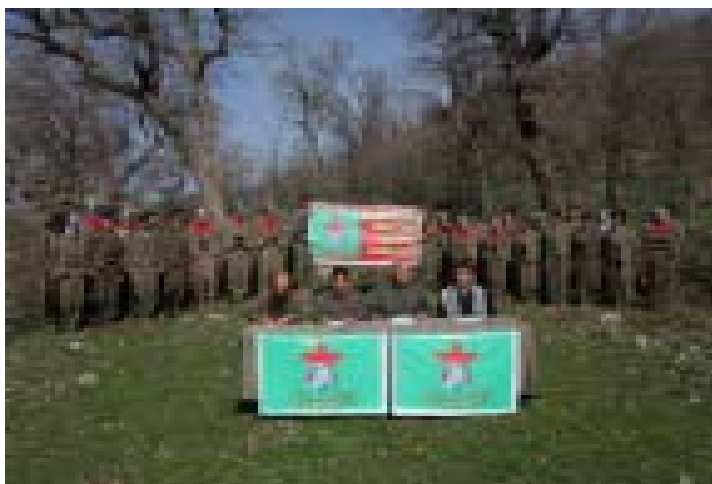
This week GLA recorded a parliamentary question questioning the EU on their business partnerships with poor countries. The Indian Government, with which the EU maintains different trade agreements, is carrying forward since 2009 a military and paramilitary operation called Operation Green Hunt in the name of which is expelling and imprisoning in concentration camps the tribal people originating from this states rich of important natural resources. Multinationals companies calculate they would get profit for more than 80 million euros of they could exploit, without being bothered by the population, all these resources.

Dr. GN Saibaba, international activist for human rights, professor at the Ram Lal Anand College of Delhi University, publicly defended

the human rights of dalits and adivasis and participated in campaigns against Operation Green Hunt. He suffers a 90% physical disability and is bound to a wheelchair but, as absurd as it may seem, he is accused to be "dreaded Maoist". In 2014-2015 he has been jailed for 14 months while no evidence against him was provided. Released on bail on May 2015 due the dramatic worsening of his health in prison (paralysis of left side, severe damage to the heart, kidneys and spine), on December the High Court of Bombay ordered he was put in jail again, while filed a case against the well-known Indian writer Arundhati Roy for having written article "Professor, P.O.W." (*Outlook Magazine*, May 2015). The almost complete paralysis of Dr. GN Saibaba increases the complication from the harsh conditions of isolation to which it is subjected. It is feared his life is in danger.

Thus, Galician Left Alternative in Europe asks the Commission to consider how the Indian government is fulfilling the respect of human rights and promoting peace established as condition by the Strategic Cooperation Agreement EU-India and the Joint Action Plan; and we also want to know whether the EU is considering to question the Indian government about the case of Dr. Saibaba and Ms. Roy.

Hail the formation of the People's United Revolutionary Movement (HBDH) in Turkey-Kurdistan



MIB hails the formation of the People's United Revolutionary Movement (Halkların Birleşik Devrim Hareketi or HBDH) in March 2016 in one of the guerrilla zones to jointly wage a guerrilla armed struggle against the comprador-feudal fascist dictatorship of the Turkish ruling classes under President Erdogan and his AKP. The constituents include TKP/ML (Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist), PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), THKP-C/MLSPB (Front-Liberation Party of the People of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit), MKP (Maoist Communist Party), TKEP-L (Communist Labour Party of Turkey-Leninist), TEKB (Revolutionary Communist League of Turkey), DKP (Revolutionary Communist Party), Devrimci Karargâh (Revolutionary Headquarter) and MLKP (Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (Turkey/North Kurdistan)). The joint declaration issued by HBDH stated:

"The Turkish Republic is trying hard to establish a one-party dictatorship and suppress the entire opposition by gathering behind itself all the traditional, modern, reactionary and fascist powers of the system of sovereignty.

This bloody and fascist alliance is being sustained over enmity against the Kurds today. The heavy destruction, pain and exploitation created by regional powers has brought the revolutionary potential to maturity and has paved the way for the Peoples' United Revolutionary Movement.

Defending and progressing the Rojava revolution, Kurdish resistance for self-rule and the United Revolutionary Struggle of our peoples means defending the life and future of all the oppressed, labourers, intellectuals, democrats and all the people.

No social circle in Turkey has a safe future within this system as all opposition powers are under attack.

If the Kurdish resistance for self-rule gets broken, the AKP government will suppress the entire opposition in Turkey with blood in the same veracity and cruelty.

The future of progressive, revolutionary and pro-labor circles in Turkey is therefore intertwined with the future of the Kurdish resistance".

Soon after its formation, HBDH guerrillas have carried out several armed attacks against the mercenary armed forces of the Turkish government and inflicted significant losses. HBDH members carried out an action against the Gendarme Base in Giresun's Çaldağ region on 6 May 2016. The Base Commander got critically wounded during the action and later died in hospital, while three other Turkish soldiers were wiped out. Similarly, four soldiers of the special operations unit of the Turkish military died during an action by HBDH near the Kalık Kuşadığı region of Dersim's Ovacık district on 26 May.

International combatants fighting in North Kurdistan call for solidarity

Internationalist combatants are fighting in the ranks of YPG/YPJ (People's/Women's Defense Units) in the Kurd-inhabited region of northern Syria and southern Turkey for the right of the Kurd nation to self-determination and an independent Kurdistan to be carved out from Kurd land occupied by Syria, Turkey and Iraq. The Kurd people are fighting a valiant armed struggle for decades against the armies of the fascist ruling classes of these states which are the lackeys of imperialism. This way they are also directly confronting the NATO imperialist block. They have recently released a statement saluting the struggle in North Kurdistan and called upon the youths to join the resistance war alongside the YPS (Civil Defense Units) and the people's guerrilla forces. The following statement is released by international combatants from Germany, France and Spain and is in Kurdish, Spanish, German and English languages - MIB

“We are revolutionaries from all over the world who have come to Kurdistan out of their own free will to join the struggle for liberation.

We are living in a time of constant emergency. While at the heart of the Leviathan the enemy continues to numb, stupefy and enslave the people in the most thorough and wicked way, the fringes are lost in war. Today the oppression of 500 years of capitalism lives on in countless forms.

The rulers know no limits when it comes to securing their wealth and pursuing their interests. If we look at all the news of a single day it is easy to simply drown in despair. And

that is exactly the point. We are to believe that there is no alternative, that the system we live in is the only option. When the soviet union collapsed it was said that we are at “the end of history”. But now, 25 years later, we see once more that capitalism isn't and never has been able to solve our problems. On the contrary, every so-called solution has only multiplied the existing problems.

The system thrives on oppression. The oppressors need us. They cannot exist without us, but we can without them. Slavery, war and sorrow, loneliness and despair are neither fate nor coincidence, they are inevitable



characteristics of a capitalist society. It is therefore our most urgent duty to organize against it. As much as they try to overwhelm our conscience and plant their truth in our hearts – we will not be deceived any longer. The alternative exists, right in front of our eyes.

For more than 40 years the resistance of the PKK against the occupiers, most notably the Turkish state, has never faltered. The PKK fight for freedom and autonomy, not just for Kurds but for all peoples of the Middle East. 4 years ago the fire caught in the western part of Kurdistan called Rojava, which was then liberated from the Syrian occupation. Rojava's people self-organized, leading to a full-scale social revolution. Everywhere they founded councils and communes for local administration, and cooperatives as basis for a new economy. The historical resistance that was put up to defend the revolution, the fight of the guerilla; liberation of women, radical democracy and ecology as foundation of an alternative society – these are our hopes in the 21st century. We draw courage and belief from the revolution in Kurdistan.

The situation right now is very critical. The war in Northern Kurdistan, the part occupied by Turkey, has been raging for half a year. The attack on the guerrilla-controlled territories by the Turkish occupation forces on 24th of July was answered by the people by declarations of Democratic Autonomy in many areas in Northern Kurdistan. They built up communes and local councils, just like in Rojava. Led by the YDGH and YDGK youth and young women's movement the people organized their self-defense and erected barricades in their neighborhoods. The Turkish state saw this as a threat to its authority that had for the last years merely existed symbolically in the Kurdish regions and attacked with uninhibited brutality.

For months now the people, most notably the revolutionary youth, have been resisting against the second-biggest army of NATO. Heavy fighting continues in the cities of Cizîre,

Silopya, Nisêbîn, Kerboran, Sirnex, Gever and the Sûr and Farqîn neighborhoods of Amed.

During the winter months the snow limits very much the movement of the guerrilla. This is why the enemy does everything in his power to break the will of the people before spring. In the 90ies the state burned down thousands of villages to separate the population from the guerrilla and force the people to become refugees. Today they attempt the very same, attacking civilians with tanks, helicopters and heavy artillery.

Everyday there is news of children, youths and whole families massacred by state forces. The state has send thousands of its best troops and heavy weaponry into the Kurdish regions to quell the revolutionary insurrection. The occupation forces have decreed curfews in all Kurdish cities, cut off water and electricity and keep spreading anti-Kurdish propaganda while heavily censoring all Turkish media outlets. But despite all this the people have stood up to all intimidation attempts and fight everyday with unwavering courage and conviction in the streets of north Kurdistan. Recently the civil defense units YPS, modeled after the Rojavan YPG, have been built up to support this resistance.

We congratulate the creation of the YPS and send our warmest greetings and respect to the YDGH. Many of our comrades have fallen in this struggle. Their memory gives us strength and their sacrifice will not have been in vain. We will carry on the flame of revolution with all our heart and mind. Our place is here, side by side with our comrades, fighting for a free Kurdistan and Middle East.

We call on all revolutionaries worldwide – join the resistance. This is not the time to sit at home and ponder what might be. We are building and defending the future now. We call for resistance and solidarity. Rise against the imperialist forces. Attack the institutions of the Turkish state all over the world. Come to Kurdistan and join the forces of YPJ, YPS and the guerrilla!"

Condemn the killing of Taliban leader Mullah Mansoor by the US imperialists

The top leader of Afghan Taliban, one of its founder members and a former senior minister in the erstwhile Taliban government of the Afghanistan, Mullah Mansoor, was killed in a US drone strike near Ahmad Wal town of Balochistan. Mansoor had only recently taken up the responsibility of leading the organisation in its fight against the US-led occupation forces after its long-standing founder leader Mullah Omar had died some time back. Speaking to the media, Taliban commander and spokesperson Mullah Abdul Rauf said that their leader was killed along with his driver in Balochistan close to the Afghanistan-Pakistan border by the US imperialists when they were travelling in a car. Mansoor was unarmed when his car was hit by the US missiles and he died instantaneously as the car turned into a fireball. Soon Pakistani forces converged in the area, recovered the burnt bodies and took them away.

The US government carried out this drone strike in blatant violation of Pakistan's sovereignty and with the full cooperation and consent of its comprador ruling classes to weaken the resistance forces of occupied Afghanistan, just as it did in the case of the killing of Osama bin-Laden a few years back. Apart from Afghanistan and Pakistan, the US and its allies are conducting similar drone strikes in North African and West Asian countries with impunity, often targeting the people's armed resistance forces fighting imperialism and their mass base, often killing civilians including the old and the young in large numbers. US imperialists have not spared even hospitals, schools, ambulances and other such civilian installations as part of their inhuman bombing raids. MIB condemns the killing of Mullah Monsoor by the US imperialists and expresses its solidarity with the resilient national liberation struggle of the heroic and indomitable people of Afghanistan. They will certainly overcome this loss and continue their armed resistance to ultimately bury US imperialism in the soil of Afghanistan as they did to other imperialist powers in the past.



Charred remains of the car where Mullah Mansoor was travelling after it was hit by US drone

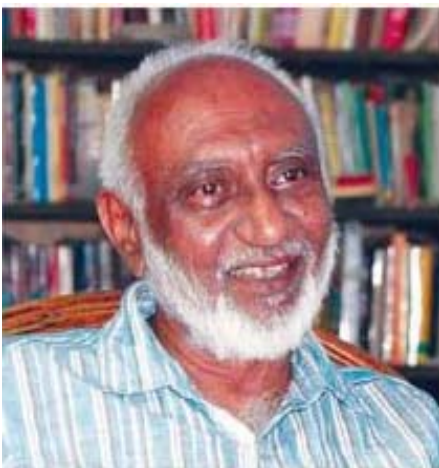


COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

01 May 2016

Red homage to Revolutionary writer and intellectual Comrade Satnam



Well-known social activist, revolutionary writer and intellectual Comrade Gurmit Singh (65) who was popularly called Satnam died in the intervening night of 27-28 April 2016. The Central Committee of CPI(Maoist) pays its humble red homage to Comrade Satnam.

Comrade Satnam was born in Patiala of Punjab. Influenced by Naxalbari, he left his BA studies and became a professional revolutionary in 1970. He took up the jobs of lathe-man, foreman and daily wage labourer to organise the working people. As a revolutionary activist, he worked among the peasants, transport workers, industrial workers, employees, teachers and intellectuals. He was with CPI(M-L) Party Unity till 1998. He became a member of CPI(M-L)

[People's War] after the merger of CPI(M-L) (People's War) and CPI(M-L) Party Unity in 1998. The Central Committee gave him the responsibility of working as an editorial board member of its magazine *The Voice of the Vanguard*. In this process the Central Committee conferred him the status of a State Committee-level cadre. After working in this capacity for some time, he expressed his inability to continue at that level.

He has been working for decades with determination to fulfil the revolutionary aspirations of the people. Like all revolutionaries, he was always sensitive to the oppressed masses and their problems. He has always raised his voice for the workers and peasants, minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, oppressed nationalities and women. He worked tirelessly to unite various democratic and Muslim organisations after the Gujarat massacre of 2002. His participation in Mumbai Resistance (MR-2004) was important. He was also an executive member of the Peoples' Democratic Front of India (PDFI).

He raised his voice against the national subjugation and the ongoing repression on the Kashmiri people. His role was significant in initiating and sustaining the movement in Punjab and the country against the organised fascist military offensive Salwa Judum on the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya during 2005-2008 and the countrywide unjust war on people – ‘Operation Green Hunt’ – since 2009. It was Comrade Satnam who was responsible for hosting the successful campaign of Dandakaranya Chetna Natya Manch when it toured Punjab to expose the repression by Salwa Judum. He organised cycle rallies and seminars against Salwa Judum and got literature published.

Comrade Satnam wrote a large number of articles in Punjabi and English for magazines like *People’s March*, *People’s Resistance*, *Lok Kafilā*, *Sulagde Pind* and *Jaykara*. He came to visit Bastar region of Dandakaranya for a few months in 2002. During that time he studied the movement here and made many valuable observations. He again visited Dandakaranya in 2006. The travelogue *Jangalnama* he wrote based on this visit became highly popular. The book written in Punjabi was later translated into seven Indian languages apart from Hindi. It was also brought out in English. “The Adivasis of Bastar knows neither of Nehru nor what had happened in 1947. They have also nothing to do with the transfer of power from the whites to the blacks. Delhi is just a synonym of government for them. To them government is nothing but greedy contractors, repressive police, displacement and violence.” These words taken from *Jangalnama* aptly introduce the outside world to the attitude of the exploitative government towards the Adivasis and the situation resulting from it in Bastar. He wrote many poems and stories in Punjabi and English. He translated Howard Fast’s famous novel *Spartacus* to Punjabi. He was a sensitive person. He had multifaceted talents. He could effortlessly discuss about society and science, poverty and terrestrial bodies, revolution and the universe, Karl Marx and Einstein, history and the time machine, the future and the black holes. He had a good command over Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi and English language.

It is noteworthy that Comrade Satnam has committed suicide. He took this step in a state of dejection, finding himself unable to understand the reasons behind the ups and downs of the revolutionary movement and the internal struggles of the Party in the light of theory as an integral part of the class struggle and disturbed by his inability to apply the basic ideological-political tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of India, particularly Punjab. Due to Comrade Satnam’s wrong decision to commit suicide, the revolutionary movement has lost the opportunity of receiving more of his services and contributions. Not self-destruction, but to move forward on the path of revolution to destroy the exploitative system by overcoming all hurdles is the speciality and the spirit of revolutionaries.

For over four decades, Comrade Satnam served the movement for a world free from exploitation, for better human beings and better life, for the revolution in India. He will always be remembered as a politically conscious social scientist and a dedicated communist worker and for his sensitive writing. At a time when the central and state governments have decided to intensify their attacks on the people of all the struggle areas including Bastar, the passing away of Comrade Satnam is a big loss to the country’s revolutionary movement.



Abhay
Spokesperson
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)

Never Forget the Class Struggle!

Class Struggle is the Key Link!

Keep Politics in Command!

*The Working Class must
Exercise Leadership in Everything!*

*Distinguish Fragrant Flowers
from Poisonous Weeds!*

It is Right to Rebel against the Reactionaries!

Bombard the Bourgeois Headquarters!

*Practise Marxism, and not Revisionism;
Unite, and Don't Split; be Open and Aboveboard,
and Don't Intrigue and Conspire!*

Fight Self, Repudiate Revisionism!

Grasp Revolution, Promote Production!

All Imperialists are Paper Tigers!

Unite to Win Still Greater Victories!

The East Wind Prevails over the West Wind!

Down with Imperialism!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long Live World Socialist Revolution!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!