

PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution

The Communist Party of India(Maoist)

Born in India

**Supplement: Joint Interview of the General Secretaries of
the Erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) & the MCCI**

3 **The Communist Party of India (Maoist) — Born in India**

18 **Talks with AP Govt & Mass Upsurge — A Political Battle in the Ongoing People's War**

27 **People's Resistance to Social Fascist Repression**

Political

Indian Soil Used for Counter-insurgency Training! 13
 Indian Parliamentary Pitiable Predicament 25

Homage

In Remembrance of Comrade Ashok Maity 30

Reports

White Terror in Uttarakhand 12
 Rajashtan Farmers' Militant Outburst 13

Press Releases

Veerappan's Killing Appears Stage-Managed! 14
 CPI (ML)(PW) and MCCI - Merged Communist Party of India (Maoist) Emerged 16
 Hail the Magebail Raid of 7 October 2004! 29

Supplement i to xii Pages

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Owned, Edited, Printed & Published by P. Govindan Kuttu, Peroor house, Tripunithura, N.F, Ernakulam, Kerala — 682 301
 Printed at Chithira Printers & Publishers, (Old No. 43/848 A) New No. 63/ 321, Poruvelil, Kannachanthodu Road, Kochi — 18

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) — Born in India

(This article was received at our office at the end of October. Given its significance we are reproducing it in full — Editor)

It was a solemn occasion. The evening of September 21 2004; somewhere in the thick jungles of India. Senior leader of the new CC(P), Com. Shome, declared to the audience of guerrilla fighters, cultural activists and senior Party leaders the birth of a single, unified proletarian party in India — the Communist Party of India (Maoist); the CPI(Maoist). This was the result of the confluence of two major streams of the Indian revolution, that of the CPI(ML) and that of the MCCI, into a mighty river of the CPI(Maoist). Except for a very brief period during 1969-1972, when the CPI(ML) was in existence, this is the first time that the country has a single, unified proletarian party. The CPI/CPM revisionists, have caused enormous damage to the great revolutionary traditions of the Indian people. Though some genuine Maoist forces still remain out of this new Party, the major two streams of the Indian Maoist are now one. The strong desire of the revolutionary ranks and progressive forces of the entire country, together with that of the aspirations of the more conscious sections of the oppressed masses, including the South Asian and International Maoist forces has, at last, been fulfilled. A genuine communist party is at last born on the Indian soil, nurtured by the blood of over 6,000 martyrs. Above all, it is a tribute to the aspirations and hopes of the heroic martyrs, who gave their lives for the cause of the liberation of our country, firstly from despotic British rule, and then from imperialism, feudalism, and Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalism.

History of Merger Process

It has been a long and tortuous path of over two decades of discussions between the two parties. The process witnessed many ups and downs. It saw even some dark periods. But finally it emerged triumphant.

The first ever meeting between the latter two parties began in 1981, when the then leaders, comrade Kanai Chatterjee of the then MCC and com KS of the then CPI(ML)(PW) met for over 12 days. After this very first meet both leaders, though belonging to different streams, stated that the grounds to merge are strong as both

were basically traversing a similar path. Both parties set out the procedure for preparation of the documents and then merger. Meanwhile, the erstwhile CPI(ML)[Party Unity] also had good relations with the then MCC, both having regular touch. This too continued until the early 1990s, after which relations soured and clashes began.

Though the desire for unity of the PW and the MCC was strong it did not progress much, because of various reasons. In 1982 com. KC died out of illness caused from the rigours of underground life and com. KS was arrested. After that the PW was rocked by two major internal crises in the CC, on both occasions involving the general secretaries of the party. Though attempts to further the unity process continued, particularly in the brief period between the two crises (1988-90), it was only after its resolution that talks were again taken up in seriousness from 1992. This continued for three years, after which it finally broke down due to some differences on international issues. Both parties issued a joint statement for the failure of the talks, outlining the differences and its suspension for the time being but vowing to take it up again later. Then relations to some extent also soured between the MCC and the PW, particularly after the merger of PW and PU.

Then in 1998 the two major parties within the M-L trend, the PW and the PU, merged to form a single party of this trend. But already the situation at the ground level in Bihar had deteriorated and after 1998 the clashes between PW and the MCC continued and intensified. Then the two parties entered the period now referred to as the "Black Chapter" of the Indian revolution. Large numbers were killed from both sides.

This situation caused much damage to the revolutionary movement. This process continued even when various genuine supporters of the movement opposed the retaliatory methods adopted by both parties. Many intellectuals and progressive elements who support revolution appealed to both the parties to stop these clashes. Different communist revolutionary groups and parties in the

country appealed to resolve the clashes. Many South Asian Maoist parties, and other international Maoist forces also appealed to stop the clashes. In due course the process of rethinking was already going on inside the MCC. At the time of the PW/PU unity itself the PW took a decision to unilaterally stop clashes, but neither did it make it public nor convey it to the MCC, so it had little impact. In this overall backdrop the MCC took the initiative in openly declaring a unilateral ceasefire in January, 2000. Thereafter, PW also responded to stop the clashes. Hence the negative relation between the two parties started turning into a positive one. In the meantime the PW held its 9th Congress in August, 2001. Also the MCCI had to face a major two line struggle with a small faction from within on certain ideological-political and other issues.

Finally, the process of talks between the two parties was once again started in August 2001. The other important reason for the growing closeness of the two were the decisions of the PW Congress which rectified some of its earlier understandings and also adopted Maoism in place of Mao Thought. In the very first meeting the delegations of the two parties offered a serious self-criticism, and decisions were taken to initiate joint activities at the Bihar/Jharkhand level. The written self-criticisms were taken publicly throughout the rank-and-file of the Bihar/Jharkhand party and the situation further developed in the positive direction.

Throughout the period of the latter part of 2001 and entire 2002 major joint activities were taken in Bihar-Jharkhand including the successful three-day economic blockade of the two states in protest against POTA. Talks also continued between these two parties through this period. Finally, it was in the important Feb. 2003 bilateral meeting that a decision was taken to take concrete steps for starting discussion on ideological-political issues of line with the clear direction and purpose of merger of the two parties. In this meeting a serious and extensive self-criticism was put forward by both parties for the "Black Chapter" and this too was carried publicly. Both parties vowed never to repeat clashes with class

friends no matter how severe the difference. At this meeting the grounds were also laid to advance and finalise the process of merger. They were, firstly, on the ideology of the Party — Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The other documents decided to be drafted were on the Programme, Strategy & Tactics, Political Resolution on the International and Domestic Situation, and the Party Constitution. The task of drafting the five documents was divided amongst the two parties.

Then, in four rounds of negotiations, between the high-level delegations of the two Parties and the respective CCs, final agreement was reached after detailed discussions on these documents on all major issues at a joint meeting of the two CCs on Sept. 2004. The documents were adopted and decided to be translated into about 10 regional languages to be discussed throughout the party. Some minor differences that remained were referred for further discussion and study to be clinched at a later date. Finally the joint CC meeting of both parties took the decision of merger and a Central Committee (Provisional) was established.

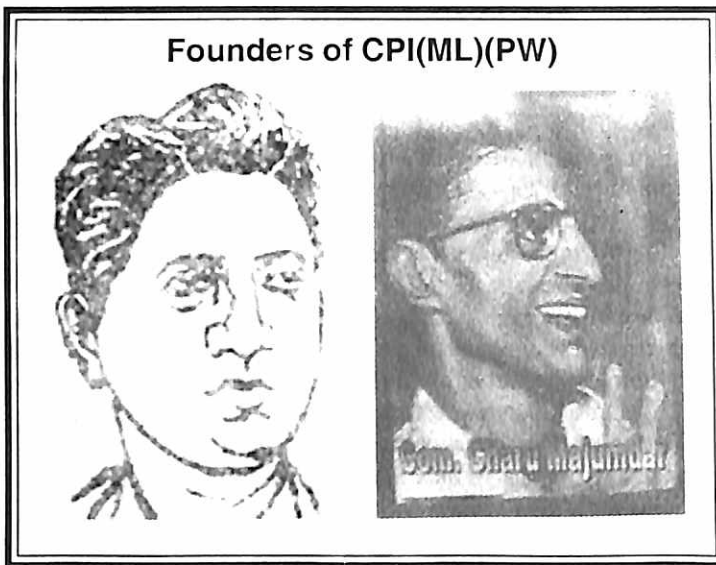
The new CC(P) of the CPI(Maoist) then took stock of the present-day situation in the country and chalked out plans on how to advance the people's war in the country. Besides, it vowed to pursue unity measures with all the genuine Maoists in the country who have not yet been united into the party. It also decided to involve all the vast section of the masses in these struggles directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. It decided to mobilize vast sections of the masses against the growing onslaught of the imperialists on the country, against state repression together with mobilizing support for all the movements directed against imperialism and feudalism. It decided to continue to expose and resist the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes along with their imperialist chieftains, particularly the US imperialist. It also decided to more actively stand by the side of the Nepali people led by the CPN(Maoist) and oppose if the Indian expansionist and US imperialists designs of intervening in Nepal with their military might. It also stated to continue to support the people's war led by the Maoist parties in Peru, Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere. It decided to continue to support

all people's struggles directed against imperialism and reaction. It will also support the working class movement and other people's movements in the capitalist countries. Further, it decided to continue to stand by the side of the Iraqi and Afghan people in their mighty struggle against US imperialist led aggression and occupation. The new party would also continue to support the struggle of the nationalities for self-determination including the right to secession and condemn brutal state repression on these movements. It would pay special attention in mobilizing and organizing the women masses as a mighty force of the revolution, and also against caste oppression and untouchability. It would continue to expose, isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces. It would continue to do so while keeping the edge of the people's struggles directed against the new Congress rulers in Delhi along with the CPI/CPM rulers and their imperialist chieftains.

A brief background of the Two Parties

It was the turbulent period of the 1960s. Turmoil raged throughout the globe. The Vietnam war saw US imperialism face major defeats at the hands of a small nation. In an unprecedented experiment the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution raged in China giving birth to the ideals of the new communist man. The Great Debate between the revolutionary centre of the CPC, and the centre of modern revisionism, the CPSU, polarised the Marxists of the world into two camps. The lines of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism, in the process, got more clearly drawn. It is in this context that many genuine and staunch communist revolutionary forces along with many outstanding and front-ranking leaders like

Founders of CPI(ML)(PW)



comrades CM and KC started emerging on the scene in the fight against revisionism. This fight was reflected in the 7th Congress of the CPM held in 1964 in the form of two diametrically opposite roads — the road of parliamentarism and the road of protracted people's war.

Thereafter, the earth-shaking events of the GPCR further surcharged the political atmosphere in India. The clarion call of the great Naxalbari movement led by Com. CM proved to be a **"Spring Thunder over India"** as graphically described by the CPC. It greatly unmasked the ugly face of the revisionist leadership of the CPI, CPI (M) brand. The powerful slogans like **"China's Path is Our Path"** and **"Mao Tsetung Thought is Our Thought"** spread to the four corners of India and even other parts of the Sub-Continent. Naxalbari thus marked a qualitative rupture with age-old revisionism in the Indian communist movement and firmly established the universal truth of MLM Thought in India. The Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was formed at the All India level and finally the CPI (ML) was formed as the reestablished Communist Party of India which firmly upheld MLM Thought, and took correct ideological-political positions on the major questions of the day, took up armed struggle along the path of PPW. The formation of the CPI (ML) was recognized by most of the Communist Revolutionaries in India and abroad. In this atmosphere a clap of spring thunder burst over the plains of Naxalbari which changed the face of Indian polity and brought armed struggle on to the agenda of Indian revolution.

Founders of MCCI



Earlier itself discussions had begun in India. Around the time of the 7th Congress of the CPM in 1964 Comrade Charu Majumdar opposed the official line and began putting forward a new line for the Indian revolution. He then formulated, as part of the process of developing a new revolutionary ideological and political line for the Indian revolution, his famous Eight Documents attacking revisionism and neo-revisionism. In the process he put forward the new line which was implemented through the historic Naxalbari peasant uprising. This was greeted by revolutionaries throughout the country, the student, youth, intellectuals, and more particularly thousands of peasants. Within a short time the flames of Naxalbari spread throughout the country. Most revolutionaries of the country were immediately consolidated into a coordination committee, AICCCR (All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries) and the revolutionary party, the CPI(ML), was announced at a rally in 1969. The 8th Congress was held in 1970 that established generally and basically the correct revolutionary line for the Indian revolution. The 8th Congress was recognised by the communist revolutionaries in India and by the CPC under comrade Mao Tse-tung.

At the same time there emerged another revolutionary stream in the revolutionary movement of the country. Comrades Kanai Chatterjee and Amulya Sen, while working amongst the masses in Kolkata, Howrah and Hoogli and comrade Chandrashekar Das raised the banner of revolt against the line of the CPM 7th Congress. The "Chinta" group was formed

in 1965 as a secret revolutionary centre within the CPM carrying out revolutionary propaganda amongst its rank-and-file. In 1965/66 six issues of the magazine were brought out which dealt with the following topics: (a) the class character of the Indian state, (b) China's path is our path, (c) neo-colonialism and the weapon of PL 480's role, (d) the Programme of the 7th Congress, the nature of the revisionist leadership and the peasant question in India, etc. The CPM's English and Bengali organs launched a massive attacks on the articles that appeared in the "Chinta". This resulted in big discussions throughout the rank-and-file. In late 1966 the secret magazine, "Chinta", was closed down and a magazine named "Dakshin Desh" was brought out openly. The group came to be known as the "Dakshin Desh" group. In early 1967, before the Naxalbari uprising com. Kanai Chatterjee had a long discussion with Com. CM. At this meeting they had a common understanding on advancing the peasant movement and decided to maintain close relations.

But the relations did not grow. From 1967 to 1969 the then "Dakshin Desh" group built up the movement in Kolkata, Howrah, Hoogli, Midnapur, Bardhwan, Birbhum and 24 Parganas, together with some work in Assam and Tripura. They built the peasant movement firstly in Sonarpur during the later part of the 60s and then in Kanksa in Bardhwan district. Thereafter they established some contacts with Bihar, it began work there. In October 1969 the MCC was formed. It was Com. Kanai Chatterjee who laid the basic line for their Centre in the very first issue of "Lal Pataka" brought out in 1969. The important

topics dealt with were: (a) the importance of Maoism (then called 'thought') in the present era, (b) in the present situation the tactical line and tactical slogans, (c) the correct policy towards the participation in elections and a correct analysis of the boycott of elections, saying that though it was a question of tactics, it acquires the significance of strategy in the concrete conditions of India, (d) the Correct line regarding the armed agrarian revolutionary war, that is, protracted people's war including army building and base areas (e) correct orientation towards forms of struggle (open and secret, legal and illegal, peaceful and armed), (f) the programme, tactics and methods of the peasant struggle, (g) approach and method towards the UF, (h) political propaganda (i) on the women's question, the student movement and the nationality question in India, and (j) methods of leadership.

These two trends of the CPI(ML) and the MCC grew to be the two major streams of the Maoist movement in India. Over the last three and a half decades the former evolved into the CPI(ML)(PW) and the latter into the MCCI. The base of the first was primarily in the South, particularly Andhra Pradesh, with some pockets in the North; while the base of the latter was primarily in Bihar-Jharkhand and neighbouring areas, including some pockets in the North and in the South **With the merger of these two streams into the CPI(Maoist), the major forces of Indian revolution have, at last been able to establish a Centre to lead the peoples' war in the country.**

The Documents Adopted; Political and Ideological basis for the Unity

Besides the five documents adopted, both the erstwhile parties presented a self-critical systematic review of their past with in depth analysis into all their shortcomings in their respective PORs (Political and Organisational Reviews) through the different phases of their history. The self-criticisms were sharp and sincere and created the basis to rectify errors and thereby Bolshevise the Party and rid it of its non-proletarian deviations. The process also helped develop the political line of the new unified Party. These PORs, together with the deep self-criticisms of the period of the "Black Chapter" has acted to further

cement the unity between the two parties.

Then the two CCs had extensive discussions to finalise the five basic documents that became the basis of the unification. Here, we will briefly look at the main content of the documents:

MLM DOCUMENT: 'Hold high the bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism' showed how Com. Mao developed Marxism-Leninism to a qualitatively new and third higher stage in the fields of philosophy, political economy, military science, and scientific socialism. He brought a leap in the understanding of the law of contradictions. Mao pointed out that the law of contradiction is the fundamental law of motion governing nature, society,

and human thought. Mao masterfully applied the relation between matter and consciousness to the relationship between theory and practice, immensely contributing to the theory of knowledge. Before the Chinese revolution, the path of armed insurrection, known as the Soviet model of revolution, was considered as the general path for seizure of power. Mao solved this question by adopting the new path i.e. Protracted People's War. Mao said that the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries would pass through two different but interlinked stages. The first stage would be the New democratic stage, which will uninterruptedly pass over to the socialist stage directed towards communism. And most importantly Mao led the historic and earth shaking GPCR. It represented a qualitative leap forward in defending and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was directed against the capitalist roaders who emerged in the socialist society and dialectically sought to resolve the contradiction that emerges between the development of the productive forces and the relations of production. The GPCR and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a completely new development in the arsenal of MLM to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

Marxism arose as a science of the laws of motion of nature, society and human thought, a science of revolution at a moment in history when the proletariat made its appearance as a revolutionary class capable of shaping the destiny of the society including its own destiny. Marxism is the ideology of the proletariat that was further synthesized and developed to new and higher stages. From Marxism it developed into Marxism-Leninism. Thereafter, it further developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is not a science pertaining to a particular field of knowledge but a science representing a whole comprehensive philosophical system, political economy, scientific socialism, and the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in comprehending and transforming the world through revolution.

PROGRAMME: In its programme the CPI (Maoist) pointed out in precise terms that after the so-called independence in 1947 the direct colonial and semi-feudal system of the British imperialists was replaced with semi-colonial and semi-feudal system under the new colonial form of indirect

Poem at the Commune by a cadre

But our aim was one

We were different
We were different
Our thought was different
But our aim was one

One thought I am right
Another thought I am right
One said follow me
Another said follow me
But our aim was one

One said armed Revolution is the only way
Another too, said armed Revolution is the only way
Both said the same slogan
But why they both became different
But our aim was one

At least they realized that
Both had little differences
At last both sat together
Solved their little differences
But there aim was one

Now the debate is over
Differences have vanished
Unitedly they both have announced

Under the Red flag a new Party
By the name CPI(Maoist)
Making MLM as their strong basis
Declaring to the people

We are one in thought
We are one in principles
We are one at work
And our aim is one that is New Democratic Revolution
And finally advance towards, Socialism, Communism.
We, with the people of the whole world, shall accomplish it.

imperialist rule, exploitation and control. During the subsequent years the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and big landlord ruling classes continue to serve the imperialist faithfully.

After the end of direct colonial rule, imperialism adopted new forms of indirect rule, exploitation, and control of the nations and countries subordinated to them. That is called neo-colonialism. This is a more deceptive and more sinister form of colonialism. In this context the domination and control of imperialist finance capital in every sphere of our life — economic, political, military and cultural — continued to increase further and further. Actually, the imperialists today control the key sectors of the Indian economy and even the administration.

Even today, our country is fundamentally a country of the peasant masses as two-thirds of the population live in the rural areas. The overwhelming majority of the peasantry is the most exploited and oppressed class. They are forced to live in most wretched and extremely poor conditions. Backward agriculture on fragmented land, mainly dependent on primitive methods in some places and the vagaries of nature, is subjecting a large population of peasantry, including an overwhelming number of middle peasants, to live a miserable life. The countryside is dominated by landlords, usurers, merchants and religious institutions. These exploiting sections are the mainstay of semi-feudal relations of production in the country.

With the increasing penetration of imperialist finance capital, its grip has been further tightened. This has also further introduced some capitalist relations of production, but this capitalism is very much distorted and disarticulated.

Viewing the dominant position of India in over all South-Asia, the imperialists have always backed, encouraged and instigated the expansionist designs of the comprador Indian ruling classes, so that they could continue their unchallenged control over the vast profitable market.

Due to these expansionist ambitions and intervention and subversive activities of the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, subservient to imperialism, Indian expansionism has emerged as a great threat to the security and integrity of all the South-Asian countries. The Indian

Ruling classes interfere in the internal affairs in Nepal has increasingly showed readiness to send its armies there, to crush the people's movements.

The Indian comprador bureaucratic class is one of the chief instruments for imperialist exploitation and control over India. It is completely tied with and dependent on imperialism for its existence and development. Its interests are closely interlinked with the interests of the imperialists in all fields. It is tied to imperialism and allied with feudalism. This comprador bureaucratic capitalist class (or big bourgeoisie or state monopoly bourgeoisie) is extremely reactionary, anti-people and anti-national and subjects the vast Indian masses — the proletariat, peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie — to ruthless exploitation and oppression and it is a hurdle for the development of the independent Indian economy.

In India the ruling classes, subservient to imperialism, have transformed the country into a prison-house of nationalities under the so-called slogan of "unity and integrity" of the country. It is in such a context that the ongoing nationality struggles in various parts of the country today are advancing by assuming various forms including armed struggle. The Programme unequivocally support these nationalities struggles. It stated to resolutely oppose the vicious attempt of the Indian ruling classes to suppress these movements with their military might. The right of self-determination including, and up to, the right of secession, would be upheld and highlighted forcefully in all circumstances.

The Programme further stated that the condemnable caste system and casteism, especially Brahminical casteism, is a special feature of the semi-feudal system prevailing in India. Casteism crushes the self respect of the individual, treats them as inferiors and creates a social hierarchy with each rung in the ladder looking down on the other. In this way it creates walls that divides the people and create hurdles in the unity of the oppressed. The Party would fight for equal rights, reservations and other special privileges for dalits and other backward castes. Simultaneously it would expose the hollowness of the policies of the ruling class parties and the state on these issues. It would also expose the opportunist dalit leaders who build their

own electoral fortunes in the name of taking up dalit issues. It would take up struggles on these issues with their own independent programme, through the mass and class organisations, without forming separate caste-based organisations.

Constituting half the population of the country women are subjected to male domination and suppression through patriarchal institutions like the family, caste system, property relations and culture, in addition to the imperialist and feudal exploitation and oppression. Sexual harassment and atrocities on women have increased in recent years, particularly because of imperialist globalization, liberalization and consumerism. 'Women represent half the sky'. Without unleashing the pent-up fury of women as a mighty force of revolution, victory in revolution is impossible. Hence, the Programme stated that the mobilization of women in advancing people's war against imperialism and feudalism is a must. It further stated that, besides the class-struggle there is need to carry on the struggle in the political, economic, ideological and cultural sphere for equal rights of women.

The religious minorities constitute 15 percent of the Indian population. They are victims of the discrimination, harassment and cruel oppression being perpetrated by the ruling classes through fanning Hindu communalism by even using their state machinery. The party would oppose, expose and fight against the growing threat of these Hindu fascist forces ideologically, politically and also fight against them at the local level by adopting all the appropriate means. At the same time it would also continue to expose the fundamentalism of other religions.

STRATEGY & TACTICS: The document, The Strategy & Tactics of Indian Revolution, stated that a concrete class analysis of Indian society reveals that the character of Indian society is semi-colonial, semi-feudal. This determines that the Indian revolution would have to pass through two stages. The task of first stage is to change the semi-colonial semi-feudal society into an independent new democratic society.

The targets of the revolution would be the imperialists, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the big landlord classes. These three mountains are heavy weights on the back of the people.

These three enemies have blocked the development of the country and people. The enemies of the revolution are imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. The motive forces of the revolution are the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie, with the national bourgeoisie being vacillating allies.

Therefore, the immediate basic programme before the political representatives of the Indian proletariat and its vanguard — the communist party — is to overthrow the semi-colonial, semi-feudal rule of the big landlord-comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie classes, and imperialism that backs them, through armed struggle and to establish the people's democratic state under the leadership of proletariat-the new democratic state in place of it, by smashing the reactionary autocratic state.

The stage of revolution is the new democratic revolution to be achieved through the path of protracted people's war. To carry on and advance the people's war the basic, principal and the immediate task of the present stage of the revolution would be to arouse and organize the people, in a planned way, for agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war in the countryside - specially in the remote countryside (which is most favourable for the building up of the guerrilla war, the people's army and the base areas), and to build up the people's army and the rural red base areas through guerilla warfare. In this process the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) will advance and develop into a full-fledged People's Liberation Army (PLA) while the guerrilla zones will transform into Base Areas.

In India the parliamentary system was imposed by British imperialism from above. Moreover, bourgeois democratic revolution too has not been completed here. Hence no bourgeois democracy ever came into being here. Actually, no viable solution of the fundamental problems of the people can be sought through using any parliamentary institution. Besides this, the experience of last 55 years has amply confirmed the fact that whoever tried to participate in the elections in the name of tactics of using it, most of them got entrenched in the mire of the parliamentary system and revisionism, sooner or later. In fact, the tactics of participation in the election in the name of using it is tantamount to abandoning the

tasks of building and advancing the armed struggle.

The S & T further states that the three magic weapons of the revolution will be the Party, the Army and the United Front. A correct understanding of these three questions and their mutual relations will give the accurate direction for the entire Indian-revolution. Thus the S & T says it is extremely imperative for us to grasp the importance of the construction of each of these weapons from the very beginning as well as the masterful application of these to the concrete practice of the Indian revolution based on the teachings of MLM.

This new democratic state will be the people's democratic dictatorship exercised by the united front comprising the proletariat, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeois class under the leadership of the proletariat based upon the worker-peasant alliance. The state will guarantee real democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship over the tiny minority of the exploiters. The party's ultimate programme is socialism and then advancing towards communism on a world scale.

POLITICAL RESOLUTION: This document dealt with both the international and the domestic situation.

At the international level it stated that the present day world is under great disorder, turbulence and instability rarely witnessed after World War II. This ever intensifying crisis exacerbated all the major contradictions and the principal contradiction in the world, i.e. between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples. After the 9/11 incident, in the name of fighting against terrorism, US imperialism being the biggest terrorist of the world and the number one enemy of the world people, is unleashing a series of wars of aggression and carrying out attacks on the people all over the world. This has generated a powerful backlash from the people in various forms. The people of Iraq and Afghanistan are leading a heroic battle against US-led imperialist aggression. The dog fight for the near stagnant world market, control over sources of raw materials and strategic regions between these imperialist powers has further sharpened the contradiction among them, thus transforming various regions of the world into a bone of contention. The

ongoing trade wars, the emergence of trade blocs and the intense competition for economic resources and political control indicate the intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions. Vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are continuing as the storm centres of world revolution. Guerrilla war against US occupation is intensifying in Iraq and Afghanistan. People's war under the leadership of the Maoist parties in India, Nepal, Philippines, Peru and Turkey is advancing. The workers in imperialist countries are fighting militantly against the policies of globalisation. Genuine revolutionary parties based on MLM are emerging in several capitalist countries.

The PR states that the objective situation to advance proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and the New Democratic Revolution in oppressed countries, into two streams of the World Socialist Revolution, is excellent. But the strength of the subjective forces, the organised strength of Maoist parties, is not yet strong enough to carry out this task successfully. Due to this weakness vast sections of the struggling masses, all over the world are under the influence/ leadership of fundamentalists, revisionists, social democrats and NGOs. It is an immediate task of the Maoist parties to bring out the workers, peasants and other oppressed masses out of their influence and organise them under their leadership. Also, the unification of genuine Maoist forces should be taken as an immediate task.

Regarding the situation in the country the imperialist offensive around the world is also clearly reflected in India. Today, particularly after 1990, with a major offensive of finance capital under the banner of LPG, the Indian ruling classes are more brazenly acting according to the naked dictates of the imperialists. This process which got a fillip during the PVN-Manmohan govt has further intensified and took a new turn after the BJP led NDA govt assumed office in Delhi. Particularly the US imperialists assumed a more dominant position in all affairs of Indian polity. This process was further accelerated after the 11 Sept. events, because these events proved to be a new turning point in the world situation. Hence the US imperialists declared India as their new "strategic pillar" in Asia. While chanting the "swadeshi" mantra they implemented all policies



dictated by the US imperialists. The new Congress govt is trying to hoodwink the people by implementing reform programmes with a "human face". These developments have further intensified all major contradictions including the principal contradiction, i.e. between feudalism and the broad masses of India.

Due to imperialist dictated policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation by the central and state governments the living condition of the Indian people have deteriorated. The working class has become victims of lay-off, retrenchment, closure, wage freeze, scrapping of other social benefits, contract and casualization of labour, curtailing minimum trade union rights etc. the vast majority of peasants are still under the yoke of feudal exploitation. They are forced to live in the most wretched conditions. The agricultural sector is placed at the mercy of the imperialists and the CBB, for seeds, fertilisers, and farm machines. The price hike of all agricultural inputs on the one hand and the negligible price on their produce has virtually pushed the entire poor farmers and a sizable section of middle

farmers in handing over their lands to the big landlords. Privatisation and commercialisation of education has deprived the weaker sections of society from education. Large number of indigenous, small and medium scale industries are being closed. Attacks on Dalits by castiest forces are increasing day by day. Adivasis are deprived of their livelihood and culture. Sexual harassment and other atrocities have increased in recent years, particularly because of imperialist globalisation and consumerism. Communal pogroms on the religious minorities, particularly the Muslims, are carried out by the Hindu fascist forces in the interests of the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist chieftains. Thousands of armed forces are sent to put down the nationality struggles.

Finally, the document states that the Indian people who have a very rich tradition of heroic struggles and sacrifice are fighting militantly against the anti-people policies of the Indian ruling classes and the imperialist monsters. People's movements, particularly the people's war led by Maoist

forces, are advancing in Andhra, Jharkhand, Bihar, Dandakaranya and the adjoining parts of India. The unification achieved by the two Maoist parties, the MCCI and the CPI (ML) People's War, is a big leap in the Communist movement in India and will also have a positive impact in South Asia and the ICM. The revolutionary movement is advancing by facing the all round attack of the ruling classes subservient to imperialism, towards establishing Base Areas and transforming the PLGA into the PLA. In this process thousands of martyrs heroically laid down their precious lives for the cause of NDR, Socialism and Communism.

CONSTITUTION: The unified Party has put forward a new Constitution firmly based on the Bolshevik principles of democratic centralism, with the core comprising of professional revolutionaries. A wide network of Part timers will facilitate the Party to exist deep within the masses. It will be underground for the entire period of the New Democratic Revolution and its members will comprise the cream of society — principled, selfless, courageous, dedicated, modest, hard-working and fully

committed to the cause of the Indian revolution and to socialism and communism. All members will put the interests of the Party and the people before their own personal interests. It will continuously view itself and its members self-critically in order to correct non-proletarian tendencies that inevitably enter the Party and seek to corrupt it from within. The ideological basis of the Party is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It will lead the two main weapons of the Indian revolution — the people's army and the United Front. It will strictly adhere to the principles of proletarian internationalism and seek relations with all other Maoist forces of the worlds on an equal footing. Its goal is communism and the first step in that direction is the New Democratic Revolution in India transforming to socialism.

The document states *"During the whole course the comrades throughout the party must cherish the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practicing Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigue and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and thereby correctly handling those, fighting left and right opportunism and non proletarian trend must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism."*

The Constitution presented the "Aims & Objectives" of the Party, the criteria for membership, the rights and duties of party members, the organisational principles of the party, party discipline, the party's organisational structure, the party Congress, the rights and duties of central committee, the method for internal debates in the party, and the question of party funds.

The Unity Commune

The deliberations went on for a month-and-a-half, and took place at a Commune located in a Guerrilla Zone; and the joint meetings of the two CCs, and then the meeting of the unified CC took place in the CM-KC Hall. On the front stage of the large hall, built in the midst of the forest, were the photos of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao; below which were the photos of Comrades CM and KC. On the side walls of

the hall were photos of some of the leading martyrs of both the parties.

On the arrival of the two sets of delegates, in the inauguration meeting, the flag of the party was hoisted and wreaths were laid at the memorial column of the martyrs. The meeting was addressed by senior leaders, including the then respective general secretaries of the two parties com. Kishan of the MCCI and com. Ganapati of the CPI(ML)(PW). The speeches were interspersed with poems and songs by Central Committee members and culminated with a cultural programme by the local cultural group. With dance performances, songs on the red flag, on Maoism, and on the peoples' army were presented by the troupe.

Again immediately after the unity of the party was announced at a programme on Sept. 21, 2004 speeches were presented by the main leaders of the merged CC.

The newly elected general secretary of the unified party, Com. Ganapati, said that this unity was just the first step in our effort to unite 90% of the masses of India who are oppressed and ruthlessly exploited. He then briefly introduced the five documents of the new Party and the need to spread their contents far and wide throughout the country. He said that though the two parties have merged at the top, the first task lay in uniting the entire party at the lower levels, the PLGA and the PGA into a united people's guerrilla army, and the unity of the mass organisations throughout the country. He brought out the irony of the situation, that on this very day that this new party was being founded, on that very day a meeting at the highest level was taking place in Hyderabad on how to crush the Naxalite movement. The meeting was called by the central Home Minister and attended by the Chief Ministers and police chiefs from nine states. He called on the entire Party to be alert against the enemy and intensify the armed struggle to build Base Areas; and also to unite the vast masses of the people into a mighty United Front.

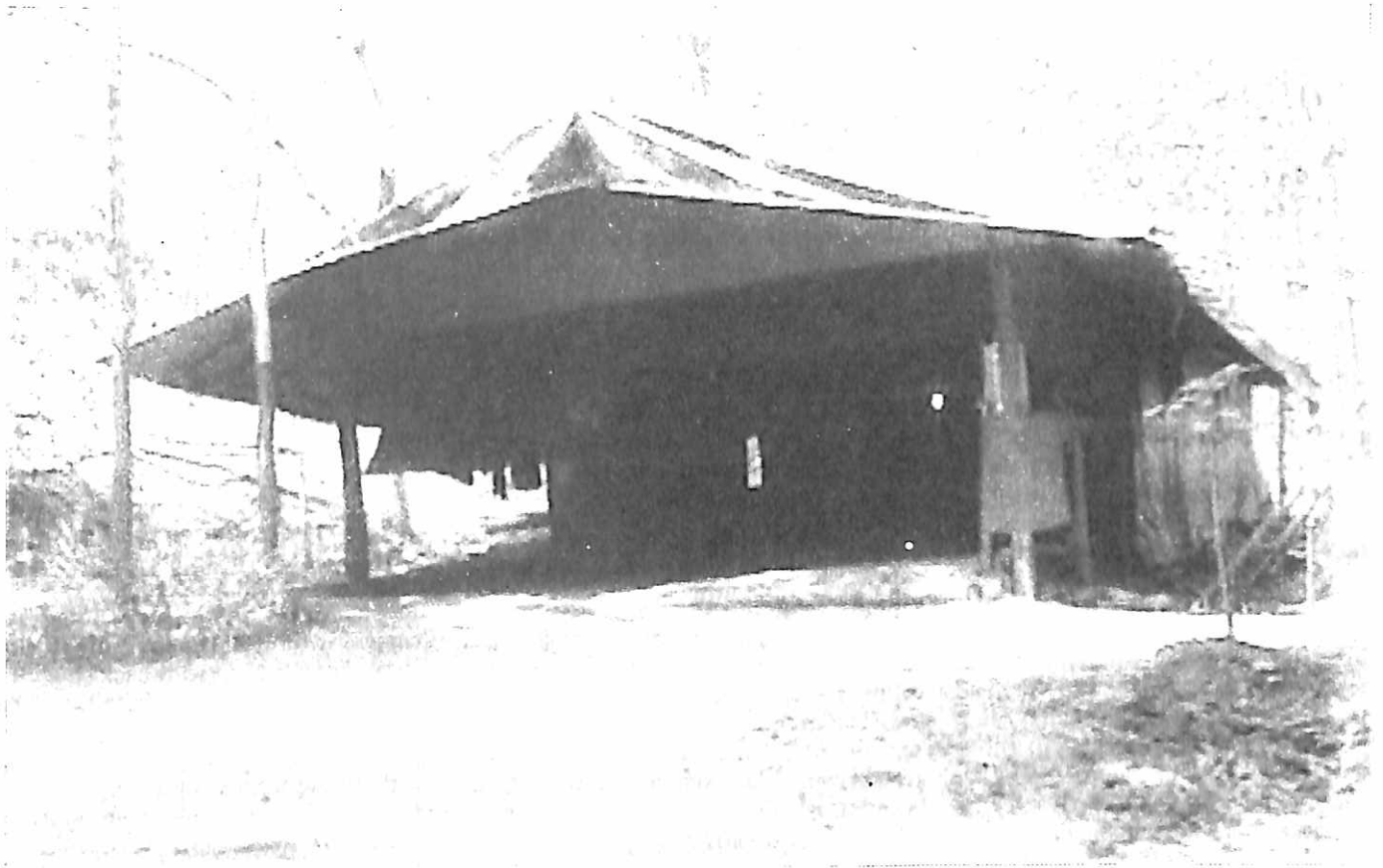
This was followed by a short speech by com. Kishan, a senior leader and the secretary of the erstwhile MCCI. He said that from today not only are the two parties merged, but also the two armies of both parties stand merged and will henceforth be called the PLGA. He called on those assembled there to build the Party and PLGA everywhere and to build a huge Base

Area stretching all the way from the North to the South. He called on all to fulfil the tasks set by the new CC.

The meeting was conducted by senior leader of the new CC, com. Brajesh, and concluded with a spirited performance by the cultural troupe. The very young troupe whose average age would be around 15 years, had as its lead singer a young Mahila comrade. The haunting tunes on the red flag, Maoism, and other such political themes, including one newly written on the unity of the two parties, mesmerised the entire audience. Their well rehearsed dance performance was performed with the seriousness of a professional and the fervour of a revolutionary. The programme ended with an hour long tribal dance, set to a political theme, in which all participated. The atmosphere at the programme was emotionally charged and poems were presented in about six languages by CCMs, PLGA fighters, computer staff and even one in English by the head of the electrical team. All were the product of the historic unity underway. It was an occasion difficult to forget.

The Commune itself, set deep in the forest, was like a well equipped township of over 150 comrades. The main meeting hall, 60 feet by 20 feet, was constructed with the precision of an urban mason with 15 days of hard labour by the guerrilla fighters. It was decorated inside by a red cloth all around. Then there were living halls with toilets constructed, dining hall, kitchen, computer room, TV, lighting of the entire township, a medical room and a young doctor (trained in the squads) who systematically visited each tent every evening. Water was boiled, and on some occasions sweets and food of different varieties was served.

The sincerity, discipline, warmth of all at the commune was a picture of the new society being born. Each went about their duties with a revolutionary dedication, always willing to help, and with a gentle smile always on their face. Most enchanting of all were the little children who were extremely affectionate, lively and playful; but full of confidence and going about their duties with clock-work precision. There was no element of ego, the cultural artists, the doctor and her assistants would be seen serving food during meal-times. The dignity of labour was respected. The doctor took real care of the patients, like true barefoot doctors one read about in China with



CM-KC Hall where the Historic Meeting took place

the approach to “*Serve the people*”. So were all others at the commune.

As the CPI(ML)(PW) arrived in batches to the MCCI commune they were received by the entire camp standing to attention and shaking hands with the new arrivals. This was followed by a special welcome song/dance by the cultural troupe for the delegates, followed by a short cultural programme. The unity meeting culminated with a lively meeting, cultural programme, the lowering of the red flag and the singing of the Internationals. An interesting aspect of the concluding function was that besides the GS’s speech there was only one on the October Revolution — all others were by the ordinary cadres present there who expressed their sentiments on the unity that had just taken place. Those who spoke were not only SAC and Regional Committee members, but also PLGA commanders, cultural activists, computer staff members, mahila comrades and even the head of the children’s group. They not only spoke, some even presented poems written for the occasion. All left the commune with ever greater determination to cement the unity achieved and advance the people’s war in India to still greater heights.

The Major Tasks Set

The CC(P) set the basic, principal and immediate task to advance the ongoing People’s Democratic Revolution by developing and intensifying the people’s war throughout the country. It took up as its basic and principal task of building the PLA and Liberated Areas by advancing the armed agrarian revolution. To orient all activities to precipitate implementation of the central task. Foil every attack of the state and central governments, aimed at liquidating the party and PLGA and suppressing the peasant revolutionary struggles, by waging people’s war. To strengthen the Party, PLGA, and United Front and intensify the guerrilla war with the perspective of liberated area.

To strengthen the Party the task set was to further Bolshevisize it by struggling against all non-proletarian trends and to unite all those genuine Maoists that are still not part of the new party into the merged Party.

To strengthen the PLGA the task set was the building a vast base of the people’s militia and building up the platoons and companies into higher formations under a well established command and control system.

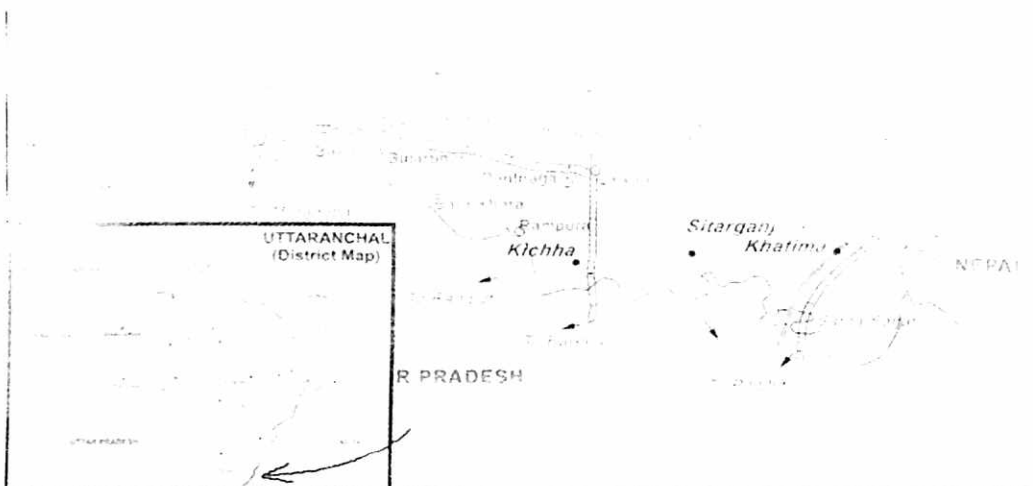
To strengthen the UF the task set was that the Party mobilise the huge mass of people of the country, comprising roughly 90 crore (900 million) people against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. Besides this strategic United Front, tactical United fronts will have to built mobilising the masses around the main political tactical slogans : to Intensify and Advance the People’s War! Establish People’s Political Power; Build mighty mass movement against the imperialist war designs and imperialist dictated Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation; Expose, Isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu Fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces also; Resist and Defeat growing state repression and fight for the repeal of all Black laws; Fight the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes backed by Imperialism!

Finally, recognising that the Indian revolution is part of the world revolution, the CC(P) decided to unite even more deeply with all the genuine Maoist forces internationally particularly those in South Asia, as part of its proletarian internationalist tasks. ■ ■

White Terror in Uttarakhand

In end August, in the districts of Udham Singh Nagar and Nainital, near the Nepal border, hundreds of special police combed the Saufutia forests arresting, beating and torturing the poor villagers. Having received information of a reported MCCI military training camp in the area, the ruling classes went into a panic. The media built up a hysteria sometimes targeting the MCCI, sometimes saying that it was of Maoist from across the border. The Aug 31 issue of the Hindi daily, the "Dainik Jagran", said that roughly 35 people who were given military training in a camp in the area have melted deep into the forests, with no trace. In the process the police have arrested six people from the Rudrapur area including a mahilla villager while the Nainital police arrested 11 more. All are villagers and are extremely poor. Some families have no food to eat. The police said (*Amar Ujalla*, Aug.31st) that Maoist influence has spread to three districts of the Kumaon region —Nainital, Udham Singh Nagar and Chapavat. They claim that April 22, the founding day of the then PLGA (People's Liberation Guerrilla Army) was held in a big way in the region. The names of those involved being put out by the police include two mahilla comrades. They also claim a lot of Maoist literature has been seized in the area. They further reported that over and above the existing police force four additional platoons have been combed the area. The masses say they have been spreading terror in the region.

A five member PUDR (People's Union of Democratic Rights) team which visited



the area, in its report stated that: in the name of investigation the police are infringing all the basic rights of the people; all the arrests made are totally illegal; the arrested are not being produced in court; that in Uttarakhand anyone who seeks to fight against the excruciating poverty is framed as a Maoist and attacked; the charge put on the arrested are 'anti-national' which can result in a death sentence. They have demanded that one Ishwar, arrested from Haldwani, be immediately produced in court; the continuous interrogation searches and threats to large number of social and political activists by the police be immediately stopped; action be taken on those officials that illegally detain people; remove the anti-national charge on those arrested.

On Sept.15. in Haldwani a large detachment of armed police surrounded the house of M.B.College student, Ishwar, demanding his brother, who is an activist of a student organisation. For five days there was no trace of him. When a team of PUCL activists went to meet the police in this connection, Ishwar suddenly appeared and he too was framed as an anti-national.

But the terror of the Uttarakhand government is not only

focused on Maoists there but on all democratic dissent — and it is increasing day by day. A few months back struggling workers in Pantnagar were brutally attacked by the police; in the Capital, Dehra Doon, teachers were lathi-charged; similar attacks on the struggling people were made at Sultanpur, Ravindranagar and numerous other places. In the present round of attacks no one has been spared, not even civil liberties and democratic rights activists.

This continuing white terror in Uttarakhand by the Congress government there was roundly condemned at a public meeting held by the Uttarakhand Sanyukt Sangarsh Morcha in Rudrapur (Udam Singh Nagar) on Oct 15 2004. This Morcha was a front of some 20 mass organisations covering a wide spectrum of student, youth, women, workers, peasants and citizens organisation with Kamla Pant as the convener.

Interestingly this region has a history of the naxalite movement in the early 1970s when 31st battalion of the PAC had been moved to Rudrapur in 1972 to crush the upsurge that was spreading like wild-fire against the big landlords of the region. Before 1947 this region was thick forests, but after 1947 Pakistani and Bangladeshi (then East Pakistan) were settled in this region by the government who turned the region into lucrative agricultural land. The land was captured by big landlords and in the 1960s the situation became tense. The Naxalites movement entered the Terai and spread fast to Rudrapur, Gadarapur, Kichcha, Shaktifarm, Bajpur, and Kashipur. Later, due to mass state terror the movement was crushed. But, as it appears the revolutionary tradition lives on in the region. No doubt, this time they will more effectively fight back the landlord-government-police combine.



Arrested villagers

Rajasthan Farmers' Militant Outburst

It was a mass upsurge at the Rajasthan farmers against the reduction and prolonged poor supply of irrigation water. The agitations in the three towns of Rajasthan's Srigangana district culminated into violent outbursts on 27 October, 2004 and the BJP government of Rajasthan under Vasundhara Raje called in the army and resorted to brute force, killing 4 farmers and critically injuring many.

It was a genuine demand of the farmers of the region for water for irrigation. The entire movement burst forth when the government turned down the demand of continued supply of 5.23 cusecs of water per 1000 acres for cultivation. The whole movement was led by Kisan Mazdoor Vyapari Sangharsh Samithi, owing no allegiance to parties like the Congress or the BJP. The BJP led state government called out the army in those three towns on the evening of 27 October when the farmers turned more violent after the killing of 4 earlier in the day. The determined farmers stood their ground even after an indefinite curfew was clamped in the towns. On the morning of 27th in Rawla town on the Sriganganagar-Bikaner road the farmers set fire to the office and residence of the

Station House Officer and attacked the police. 4 were instantaneously killed. At Ghadsana the police rained lathis on the agitating farmers and burst tear gas shells only a few days earlier when some 175 government functionaries, including the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and Deputy Superintendent of Police were held hostage by the farmers for the second day.

27 October witnessed pitched battles between the police and the farmers at many places. At Ghadsana, despite prohibitory orders, hundreds of farmers from villages collected and set fire to the offices and residences of the SDH and the Tehsildar and attacked the office of the Sub-Registrar, besides setting ablaze a police post belonging to the Border intelligence. In Khedi the villagers hurled stones at army men of the Rajasthan armed constabulary who forcibly entered the village despite road blocks. What is notable is that even after the announcement of curfew at 2-30 P.M. it could not be enforced as the people resisted police entry into the areas till evening.

The violent upsurge of the farmers of Sriganganagar is not something sudden and isolated. The adjoining districts like

Bikaner and Hanumangarh have been witnessing farmers' agitation for sometime past for the same issue of short supply of water for irrigation from the Gang and Indira Gandhi Canal systems. In the neighbouring district of Bhatinda, in Punjab, the cotton farmers have also been agitating. Even after a bumper crop they face devastation, where cotton prices have crashed from Rs. 2,700 per bale last year to Rs. 1,700 this year. This price fetched will not even cover their cost of production. They have been burning their crop in protest and demonstrating in Delhi.

The wrath of the farmers amply proves that the BJP mantras on Mandir and the anti-Muslim tirade shows signs of wearing out. They now ring hollow, to the peasants. Rajasthan peasants, not much known for turning so violent, now realise through their bitter experience that their demands can be heard by the people in the corridors of power only by such demonstrations of fury against government policy. The outburst of the peasants in Rajasthan proves the favourable revolutionary situation needing intervention from the Marxist-Leninist forces in India to lead it to overhaul the system itself. ■ ■

Indian Soil Used for Counter-insurgency Training!

Do the Parliamentary Left Oppose Military Training of the U.S. and Other Armies?

In a report that appeared in the October 3, 2004 issue of *The Statesman* it said:

"Some 120 Km. from the Mizoram capital of Aizal the training school tucked away somewhere amid thousands of hectares in the vicinity is probably like no other in the world. The army's Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School operates. The Six Week training schedule is rigorous and includes raiding terrorist hideouts, fending for oneself in unfriendly situations, honing firing skills against unconventional targets, rescuing hostage and mastering the art of intervention.

The Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School has been training armed forces and police personnel. Already over 300,000 personnel from countries that include the USA, Nepal, Iraq, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan

learned to live by the school's motto: fight the guerrilla like a guerrilla. Brigadier Ponwar says the main objective involves training in the latest technology to combat terrorism.

With the 9/11 attacks armies around the world have been to reorient their fighting forces in learning how to fight unconventional wars.

In March this year, US soldiers enrolled for jungle warfare training – the first joint infantry exercise between the two countries. This proved a unique opportunity for the Americans because the "USA does not have a jungle warfare school", says Brigadier Ponwar "And we also learnt many things from the US troops. Our trainers went to Israel and other countries and that's how we've come to know about their expertise", he added.

The Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School is now planning ahead to

meet the challenges of modern day counter-insurgency operations in both rural and urban areas."

It is very clear from this that the US and Indian forces are more closely collaborating to crush revolutionary movements in this region. This training course in not only target against the Maoist and nationality movements in India, but also the movements like the CPN(Maoist) in Nepal and other armed struggles in Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. The school produces assassins, killers, murderers and the most ruthless counter-revolutionary forces on the region. The US involvement in such training amounts to direct military intervention of foreign forces in our country. But all the parliamentary riff-raff are silent. The people must vehemently oppose the presence of foreign troops on Indian soil.

[We are printing this press release given the significance of the Veerapan phenomena. Later we will produce a more detailed analysis of this. The media portray him only as a criminal, while there are far bigger criminals in the corridors of power, where Veerapan's wealth would not even be a small fraction of what these establishment criminals (like CM Jayalalita) have amassed. Their main concern was that the government and forest officials could not corner the vast wealth in these forest. But, more on this later — Editor]

Press Statement

Veerappan's Killing Appears Stage-Managed! Veerappan's Guerrilla Methods and Implications on Future Police and Maoist Tactics

The death of Veerappan on 18 October says many things.

The circumstances in which he died point to the fact that it was not a real but a stage-managed encounter. As the Jayalalitha and Dharam Singh governments answer and dodge probing questions, it will become increasingly clear that the encounter was a murky affair.

Ruling class sections and top police brass wanted him dead than alive. If Veerappan was alive and provided a fair trial he would have continued to threaten top politicians and senior bureaucrats of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. By killing him, these utterly corrupt and criminal elements, have saved their skin. The ruling classes of the two states have preferred a visibly fishy operation to eliminate him rather than face the embarrassment of a live Veerappan spilling the beans by addressing the people from a courtroom pulpit.

The suspicious encounter of Paparapatti in Dharmapuri, TN, tells that police are not bound by law. They are a law unto themselves. And, the more specialised a police force gets, the more it integrates with the top political leadership and the more brutal and murderous it can get in the elimination of its adversaries.

This is the most apparent and immediate fact that emerges from the so-called Veerappan encounter.

But that is not all.

The death of Veerappan and his leading associates has other serious implications too.

Veerappan operated in expansive jungle terrain. He compelled the Karnataka and TN state governments to allocate up to 4,000 police forces during peak periods and a regular combined force of about 2,000 during periods of "normality" in operations to eliminate him. The Karnataka Special Task Force (STF) of more than 1,000 personnel was trained and formed in the course of the state government's armed operations against him. All police

reports and the versions of those kidnapped and released by him establish that he adopted a guerrilla mode for his sustenance. Hence the most important instruction for the Karnataka government in the two decades of anti-Veerappan operations has been the experience it has provided the STF in specialising in counter-guerrilla operations in a vast jungle terrain.

A part of the new Rapid Action Force (RAF) to take on Maoist revolutionaries in the Malnad has been formed with handpicked personnel who have also had anti-Veerappan field experience. This is an advantage for the enemy.

In 2001 the CPI (Maoist) [formerly CPI (ML) (People's War)] commenced its activity in the Perspective Area (PA) by organising the peasantry on their social, economic and political demands. The state government was pressed by the need to concentrate its forces in two different forest pockets separated mutually by a distance of about 300 kms. This was an additional strain on the police. The presence of Veerappan served the objective division of the state government's specialised forces and was in this sense advantageous to revolutionaries. But with the elimination of Veerappan and the subsequent withdrawal of STF from south Malnad now, the state government has the advantage of concentrating its special forces in one pocket.

The inability of the state government to capture or kill Veerappan led it to making a deal with the murderous Israeli secret service agency Mossad in 2003. Like its counterparts in Andhra Pradesh, the Karnataka government will continue to develop closer counter-revolutionary links with the Israeli state in the days to come to deal with the revolutionary struggle and any popular democratic movement.

The death of Veerappan therefore broadens the smile of Chief Minister Dharam Singh. He and the police coterie at the top are doubly happy. With Veerappan gone, they presume they can eliminate the Maoist revolutionary movement much sooner than they envisaged.

Despite some apparent advantages for the government, a correct reading of the Veerappan experience will prove that the reality can continue to be disturbing for the enemy.

Veerappan relied on the support of a narrow section of people. But CPI (Maoist) revolutionaries rely on the broad masses of the people. Despite certain similarities in the mode of guerrilla operations with Veerappan, guerrilla units of the PLGA (People's Liberation Guerrilla Army) differ widely from Veerappan since they rely entirely on the masses. They organise them in struggles against the landlords and the state on their social, economic and political demands. Maoists build mass organisations, party units and militia units among the people. We educate and train the people by continuously learning from their rich practice to undertake the New Democratic Revolution. While Veerappan had no social mission, Maoist guerrillas have lofty social objectives. We are guided by the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and we imbue the people with revolutionary politics and activate them in order that they realize and play their role as the movers and makers of history. Revolutionaries grow from small to big and from weak to strong as they engage the masses in the social struggle against oppressors more and more. Advanced elements from the masses identify and join the ranks of revolutionaries. This is very much unlike Veerappan who by himself had no potential for growth.

Maoists imbed themselves deep in the hearts of the masses. In this sense they are like fish in water. Maoists mobilise the people to fight Hindu fascism, untouchability and the hated caste system, against patriarchal oppression of women and for the liberation of the oppressed nationalities. To undertake a counter-insurgency operation against a Veerappan and against Maoist guerrilla units which rely on the masses and mobilise them for the establishment of revolutionary political power and a liberating democratic alternative are two entirely different matters. This will be the first and foremost difference and the first and foremost challenge before the armed forces of Dharam Singh. This is something the Karnataka police will in future only hopelessly contend with.

Veerappan sustained himself for two decades without

a revolutionary mass base. He did so by not only combating the 4,000 strong STF units of Karnataka and TN, he also overcame simultaneous operations of the central para-military forces such as the BSF and CRPF. In the course of his armed presence, he also effectively retaliated against the central and state forces, while neutralising informers intermittently. This is the biggest instruction to Maoist revolutionaries. If Veerappan with all his characteristics, could manage to sustain himself for two long decades, the armed forces of the CPI (Maoist) which has rich experience in organising the people in class struggle and conducting guerrilla warfare from the forests and plains of Dandakaranya, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkand or Bihar can confidently surpass and overcome the advantages that have resulted for the enemy from Veerappan's death. Besides, Veerappan is just a local phenomena while the Maoist armed struggles are part of not only an all-India movement, but an international movement — getting all-India and international support.

The PA today covers territory which is as vast as the area in which Veerappan operated. While it took two state governments and a commitment of up to 4,000 forces to conduct anti-Veerappan operations, the Karnataka state government has to now manage comparable forces single handed to fight Maoist revolutionaries. This is an obvious disadvantage for DGP Borkar's police.

Though Veerappan started off as a bandit, the fact that he fought and sustained himself against the state for two long decades is instructive for Naxalite revolutionaries. The brightest illustration of the Veerappan phenomenon, despite some immediate advantages it poses to the Karnataka police, is the fact that a guerrilla mode of existence can sustain a small and weak force against the might and the thousands of highly trained and well equipped forces of the centre and the states.

Veerappan was finally killed not as an armed guerrilla in the jungle, of which he was master. He died in terrain and conditions that were new and strange to him. In this sense though Veerappan is dead, the mode of guerrilla existence which he introduced into the annals of Karnataka's current history is instructive and lives beyond him.

Gangadhar
For Karnataka State Committee
Communist Party of India (Maoist)

20 October 2004

Press statement:

CPI (ML)(PW) and MCCI Merged →

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

This unified party has been formed after thoroughgoing discussions held between the high level delegations of the two parties initially and then finalized by the Joint Central Committee meeting of both the parties. Through these thorough-going and constructive discussions, held on an equal footing, five documents have been drafted and finalized. These documents are: *Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, the *Party Programme, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution*, the *Political Resolution on the International and Domestic Situation* and the *Party Constitution*.

In addition to these documents it has also been decided that our beloved leaders and teachers of the respective parties, the late Com. Charu Mazumdar and Com. Kanai Chatterjee, will be recognized and highlighted as the founding leaders of the unified party. It was also decided that both these parties, stemming from the turbulent period of the decade of the 60's, particularly from the great Naxalbari uprising, livingly inherited all that was revolutionary in the long history of the Indian communist movement. The peculiarity of the situation is that both these parties continued to flow as two separate streams of the revolutionary communist movement, wedded to the same cause of carrying forward the Indian revolution over the past 35 years. All these steps taken together clearly disclosed a unified understanding on almost all ideological and political questions of line. The line established provided a principled basis for the unity achieved by both the parties.

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

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

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

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

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

→ **C P I (Maoist) Emerged**

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

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

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

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

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

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

With revolutionary greetings,

Kishan

**General Secretary
Central Committee
Maoist Communist Centre of India
Date: 14-10-2004**

Chandrapatray

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

Talks with AP Govt & Mass Upsurge — A Political Battle in the Ongoing People's War

Nitin

The popularity of the politics of people's war in AP has once again been evident by the huge turn-outs for rallies organised in the name of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW), now called the CPI(Maoist). When the Party was banned and even liberals were being hunted down and massacred in cold blood such open mobilization became impossible. In such conditions many tended to fall prey to bourgeois propaganda that the Maoists of AP are mere terrorist bands with no popular support. This has once again been proved a fallacy just as it was in 1990. For those who talk about joining the mainstream the open rallies of the Maoists were far larger than any of those held by the electoral parties just a few months earlier. By the time of sending this report over two million people have participated in the various meetings of the Maoists during the past few months.

In fact, for AP, Naxalite politics is the mainstream. As mentioned by some leaders "*Naxalism is not a problem but the solution to the problems*" and also that "*the question of carrying arms and conducting armed struggle were non-negotiable*".

The real "*problem*" is of democratic rights; the "*problem*" is of deep-rooted poverty, the "*problem*" is of land hunger; the "*problem*" is of joblessness; the "*problem*" is of rising debts and suicides; the "*problem*" is of growing bankruptcies of small business; the "*problem*" is of imperialist policies and its devastation; the "*problem*" is of state terror and black, murderous gangs; and the "*problem*" is of rising inequalities. Do the rulers have any solution to these problems that have only magnified no matter which party is in power? But, the Naxalites have a solution. If state terror and brutal violence is unleashed on even the most peaceful of struggles, like the peasants of Rajasthan and Punjab, the Muslims of Hyderabad, on the dalits of Haryana and Tamilnadu, on the workers of Pantnagar and elsewhere, etc, then what moral right do the rulers have to dictate who should carry arm and who should not?

To understand the situation in AP leading to the 'peace' talks, it is necessary

to understand the developments in the state in the past one year, especially since the Alipiri attack on Chandrababu Naidu, the then Chief Minister of the state, by a brave unit of the PGA of the then CPI(ML)[People's War], on October 1st, 2003. The attack symbolized the heroic resistance of the masses who were suffocated under the autocratic TDP rule. It was a reply to the anti-peasant, anti-working class, anti-dalit, anti-advansi, anti-employee, anti-women, anti-Muslim, in short, the anti-people, policies of the TDP government led by the imperialist stooge, Chandrababu Naidu. It was a fitting rebuff to autocratic Naidu's bluff that the revolutionary movement was suppressed and exposed the hollowness of the TDP's claim that within a short time the PW would be completely wiped out.

The attack had set into motion a chain of events that had changed the very political scenario in the state. The TDP government led by Naidu miscalculated the people's sentiments thinking that the attack could be used to its electoral advantage. So, he dissolved the state Assembly ten months before it was due, and opted for mid-term elections. He made the issue of wiping out Naxalism from AP as one of his main electoral planks. But, the exact reverse happened. The people, who were actually inspired by the daring attack carried out by the PGA, showed their anger through the immediate means available to them by trouncing the TDP in the elections. The anti-people policies pursued by the TDP proved their nemesis. The negative vote for the TDP, combined with the numerous promises made by the opposition during the elections, brought the Congress to power.

'Peace' Talks and the Role of the Masses

The ten days from 11th October—the day when the three top state leaders of the then CPI(ML)[People's War] in AP came out of their Nallamala forest base accompanied by the two leaders of CPI(ML)-Janashakti, for the first round of 'peace' talks with the state government—to the 20th of October, when the leaders returned to their forest base after the completion of the Talks, have been

tumultuous days. And in the whole drama, the people were not mere spectators but active participants. They poured out in huge numbers to the numerous meetings organized by the CPI(ML)[PW], which later became CPI(Maoist) following the unification with the MCCI on September 21. Such a prospect was dreaded by the former TDP government led by Chandrababu Naidu which had backtracked from the Talks in July 2002 fearful of the mass movement resulting in advantage to the CPI(ML)[PW].

However, this became possible only in the background of the electoral defeat of the TDP and the political compulsions on the YSR government since the Congress party had promised to the people that it would hold Talks with the Naxalites after coming to power. The Congress government tried to go back on its promise by placing preconditions for Talks such as not carrying arms during the period of Talks. However, the pressure from the various people's organisations had compelled the government to go for Talks without insisting on the pre-condition.

The massive support expressed by the masses of AP towards the communist revolutionaries had taken the wind out of the sails of the ruling classes who had been campaigning that the Naxalites had no mass base and were merely a bunch of terrorists. The media that normally attacks the revolutionary movement was forced to report the impact of the mass upsurge to retain their credibility in the eyes of the readership. All the regional newspapers, TV channels and a section of the national media commented that AP had never before witnessed such a warm and enthusiastic welcome to the leader of any party, that even the visit of the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, would not inspire such a wide media coverage. For ten days, the Telugu media had made the itinerary of the Naxal leaders the major cover story. The important events during this period such as the Maharashtra Assembly elections, YSR's Delhi visit, and so on, evinced hardly any interest, so preoccupied was the AP media with the new turn of events. The warming up had begun a few days prior to October 11 when the Naxal leaders had come over ground for the first round of Talks with

the state government.

The unusual interest shown by the media is not difficult to comprehend. Naxalism is topics of keen interest to the masses of AP. thousands, of the cream of AP society have given their lives for the cause of the oppressed people. The masses value such a party of selfless sacrifice compared to the greedy mafia of the parliamentary outfits. Therefore the interest of the people is quite understandable, in a state where Naxalite politics has deep roots. The issue of 'peace' talks had been in the air for quite long since 1999. It seemed to have made a beginning in 2002 but was aborted by the TDP government in July that year. It became a controversial issue since then that divided the political parties in the state vertically. It became the most prominent issue during the elections when Naxalism was made the main Law & Order issue in the state and the principal agenda by the TDP while the opposition asserted that Naxalism was not only a Law & Order problem but also a socio-politico-economic issue to be resolved through dialogue. This issue had been one of the vital issues for the defeat of the TDP and the unpopularity of Chandrababu Naidu.

Ever since the YSR government assumed office in May 2004 after the Assembly election, the issue of Talks had been in the air but it took five months to be transformed into a reality. There was suspense whether the Talks would eventually take place at all since both sides determinedly stuck to their respective standpoints, that is, on the question of carrying arms during political propaganda in the villages and when attending public

meetings during the period of Talks. The stalemate continued for almost four months from June 16. The period saw massive meetings of the Naxalites in various parts of the state.

Thus the most important factor leading to the actual realization of the 'peace' talks is the active role of the masses. It was mainly to appease the masses that the very slogan of the 'peace' talks and Naxalism as a socio-politico-economic issue was put forth by the Congress party, TRS, CPI, CPI(M) etc., during the last elections thereby reaping the benefits in the form of votes. And when the Congress government tried to renege on its promise by placing impracticable condition that the Naxalites should not carry arms to the villages and must remain in the forest during the period of 'peace' talks, it was again the masses who opposed this move by the YSR government and demanded unconditional Talks. Hence, the controversial 7th Clause had to be set aside temporarily. The massive rally of September 30 in Hyderabad captured the opposition of the masses to YSR government's insistence on the 7th Clause for the 'peace' talks and the growing pressure of the various democratic organisations and individuals on the government for going for Talks without any conditions.

The Myth Of Janajeevana Sravanti or the People's Mainstream Propagated by the Ruling Class Parties

The massive turn-outs at the meetings of the Naxalites, the cheering by the crowd all along the route taken by the Naxal

leaders, the unending stream of delegations from various mass organisations and parties who met the Naxal leaders and submitted their petitions on the burning problems they were facing,—all these demonstrated the overwhelming mass support enjoyed by the PW, now CPI(Maoist), notwithstanding the ban imposed on it and on the revolutionary mass organisations for almost 12 years.

All these proved beyond any doubt that it is the Naxals who are in the mainstream while all other parties are actually in the Parliamentary mire in the name of mainstream. What the ruling classes mean by mainstream is nothing but parliamentary stream, and the bourgeois/ reactionary political leaders never visit nor act in the interest of the masses once they get elected and are away from the actual mainstream of the masses whereas the Naxals live among the masses, rely on the masses round-the-clock, and die for the masses.

The popularity of the Naxals among the masses of AP can be gauged from the fact that when they came out for attending the memorial meeting of comrade Charu Majumdar on October 11 at Guthikonda Bilam where a huge column was constructed in memory of comrade CM, people began to throng the place from the various corners of the state. This was the village where com. CM had come in Feb. 1969 to reorganise the party in AP after the formation of the AICCCR attended by top leaders at a secret gathering to form the AP state unit. There were about two lakh people at the meeting in Guthikonda Bilam though there was no transport to the place and people had to walk long distances. Then there were thousands of well-wishers who wanted to see the Naxal leaders making it quite difficult for the organizers to control them.

From Mogilicharla on July 28 to Guthikonda Bilam on October 11, that is, in just two and-a-half months, at least two million people attended the various meetings organized by the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] and some lakhs of people the various meetings of the CPI(ML)-JS. In this very first meeting at Mogilicharla, taken in memory of the martyred NT SZC member, com. Ramkrishna, in his own village, was attended by about three lakh people. In subsequent meetings the trend of mass attendance continued. The mobilizations took place in spite of threats and intimidation by the police who stopped

The Nizam College Grounds at the Hyderabad meeting on Sept 30, on the eve of the talks, overflowed with crowds and hence alternative arrangements had to be made to accommodate the unending stream of people coming from various corners of the state. The organizers had to divert thousands of people to the nearby Lal Bahadur Stadium and giant electronic screens were instantly put up in the stadium so that the people could watch the meeting there itself. It was estimated that 3200 vehicles had brought the people to the meeting and several hundred more were stopped by the police on the way. The rally and the meeting became a grand success despite the attempts by the police to disturb and disrupt it. The newspapers showed huge crowds at the meeting that might well run to over three lakhs.

Around 2 PM a massive procession started from Tank Bund to Nizam College, traversing almost 3 KM, distance, where tens of thousands participated. Revolutionary slogans rent the air, which turned the city in Red. The CPI(ML)[Janashakti], which is also participating in the talks with the govt., was also co-convenor for the meeting. Jana Natya Mandali and Arunodya cultural teams performed songs and dances for more than six hours. One after another speakers spoke on various issues of the masses. Ganganna a leader of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW), who was released from jail in Aug 04 is one of the main speakers from the party.

In Memory of Our Beloved Leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar

Over 35 years back, in Feb. 1969 Comrade CM attended the meeting of Andhra Pradesh revolutionaries who were the torch-bearers of the CPI(ML) to build up the Srikakulam upsurge in Guttikonda Bilam, a small village in Guntur district. Now, this same village witnessed tens of thousands at a people's rally on 11 Oct. 2004. The occasion was to inaugurate a martyr column in memory of Comrade Charu Mazumdar.

Com. Ramkrishna, the leader of the delegation team, which attended the talks with the AP state government, spoke extensively on the achievements of the party over the past 35 years. Other underground leaders, Comrades Sudhakar, Ganesh, and Amar, too addressed the well attended gathering of over two lakhs. A tangibly revolutionary atmosphere surcharged the air and the whole area echoed with revolutionary songs. People firmly stood by the party and took a pledge to advance the armed struggle. Comrade C.M. and tens of hundreds were martyred for the great cause. The blood which profusely flowed in the past, added a reddish glow to the tall statue which touching the sky, symbolising confidence. It declared that martyrs are immortal and struggle will advance, the future is ours.

thousands of vehicles carrying people to the meetings. All this shows the tremendous influence and support that the political line of the CPI(Maoist) enjoys amongst the masses of AP. The support shown by the masses is the support for the revolutionary politics of armed struggle; it is the support for Protracted People's War and the political tactics of the Party.

The various bourgeois parties and the so-called Left parties have been continuously appealing to the Naxalites to join the mainstream. What they mean by the mainstream is nothing but the parliamentary stream while it is actually only a stinking gutter that emits the putrid smell of the rotten, corrupt, dishonest, hypocritical politicians. The fact is that the Naxalites live among the people every day, every hour, and every minute, whereas the dishonest and reactionary politicians, who swear by the people at the time of the elections, never see their faces until the next elections after five years. They are never part of the Janajeevana Sravanthi or the people's living stream. This fact was once again illustrated in the most crystal-clear terms in AP in the past few months when lakhs of people poured into the streets to attend the rallies and memorial meetings, and other activities throughout the state. The fact that no cricket or cine star, no political leader could attract such a huge crowd of people so effortlessly, indicates the deep roots of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in AP, based on its revolutionary programme, the political tactics and the long revolutionary practice of the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW].

The massive support to the Naxalites

is a slap in the face of the ruling classes led by the Congress party which has been saying that CPI(ML)[PW] was not a political party and that only when it lays down arms will the government recognize it as a political party. It is a slap in the face of the US imperialists who had declared the CPI(ML)[PW] and the MCCI as terrorist organisations. Moreover, the unity of these two 'terrorist' organisations is a fitting rebuff to the US, the No.1 international terrorist. On the very eve of the day of the talks, the news that the PW and the MCCI had merged, and a new Party — the CPI(Maoist) — formed, struck the country like a lightning bolt.

The reality of the political scene in AP is that the CPI(Maoist) is recognized by the masses as their true leader and as the only alternative before them to solve their problems. The endless stream of petitions from various sections of the people submitted to the CPI(Maoist) leaders asking them to solve their problems reflected this reality. The Nalgonda SP became so furious by the unending stream of representations made by the various organisations and individuals to the Naxal leaders at the Manjira guest house, that he even threatened the people not to give petitions to the Naxals, particularly to the CPI(Maoist) leaders. During the short period of over-ground stay of the CPI(Maoist) leaders, there were several delegations of people, including the handicapped, and almost 700 petitions were submitted to the delegation of the two Parties.

The rush of petitions to the Naxal leaders by people from virtually all sections

indicate the depth of the economic-political-social crisis in the state and the profound crisis afflicting the existing system. It shows the lack of credibility of the so-called elected representatives in the eyes of the people and the discrediting of the so-called democratic institutions and their futility for the people. It points to the immense confidence exuded by the people at large on the revolutionary politics and the revolutionary alternative presented by the CPI(Maoist). It demonstrates the heart-felt love and affection of the masses towards the Naxalites as expressed through their attendance at the meetings and rallies called by the Naxals and by thronging in thousands to see them when they came overground for a very short period of ten days. The credibility of the CPI(ML)[PW], now CPI(Maoist), lies in its uncompromising, relentless struggle waged for over three decades facing severe repression and the sacrifices made by thousands of its cadres and leaders in their struggle for the people's cause.

The theme of the petitions was that the government had completely neglected their problems, that Courts did not give them justice, police were on the side of the oppressors and the corrupt leaders, that land was illegally seized by the landlords and encroacher with powerful connections and hence it was the Naxalites alone who can mete out justice to them. The people came from all walks of life: those who were evicted from, and deprived of, their lands by the landlords, moneylenders, forest department, Courts and other government agencies and powerful lobbies; the peasants who are on the verge of committing suicides due to bankruptcy arising out of the deepening agrarian crisis and the unbearable pressure from the moneylender-trader-bureaucrat nexus; workers thrown out of jobs due to closures, lay-offs and retrenchments due to World Bank dictated privatisation; urban poor and middle classes who had lost their land due to land-grabbing by the politician-bureaucrat-industrial houses and the neo-rich and influential sections backed by the private armed mafia sponsored and maintained by the police top brass; hapless customers of Banks like the Vasavi, Prudential Banks that had become bankrupt due to the fraud perpetrated by the rich and mighty; the doubly oppressed Dalits, adivasis, women, religious minorities, whose lives were shattered by the policies

of imperialist Globalisation besides the oppression by the feudal, upper-caste chauvinist and Hindu fascist forces; victims of domestic violence; students who complained about the undemocratic atmosphere in the Campuses and the communalization, commercialization and the elitist nature of the education; and so on.

The land issues occupied the largest number, around 150, followed by water-related issues, which were around a hundred. Then there were the issues of workers, rural poor and peasants, Dalits, women, adivasis, Muslim minorities, employees, hut-dwellers and other urban poor, handloom weavers, handicapped, corruption cases and financial frauds of bureaucrats and political leaders, political disputes, etc.



“Militant Struggle Alone Can Solve The Problems”— Assert The Naxal Leaders

The CPI(Maoist) leaders assured the people that their Party would certainly take up their cases during the Talks but made it clear that such problems could never be resolved through Talks but only by resorting to militant struggle. They assured that the CPI(Maoist) would always stand by their side and will take the lead in

Meeting at Mogilicharla

waging such a struggle against the exploiters and called upon the people to be ready to wage armed struggle to achieve their demands when all other means fail to solve them. They also explained why armed struggle for the seizure of power alone is the solution for their basic problems and the overthrow of reactionary imperialists, comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie and feudalism and the establishment of a New

Democratic Society. For this the people have to join and strengthen the PLGA, transform it into PLA and establish Base Areas in the backward countryside first and encircle the cities ultimately thereby capturing political power countryside.

At the end of the first round of Talks, the representatives of the two Parties-CPI(Maoist) and Janashakthi-explained at a press briefing that the Talks were not concluded satisfactorily as the government had “not come out with any concrete solutions or initiatives on any of the people’s problems raised”, that “the ruling classes failed to implement the Constitutional obligations and their own promises till now”(which was why, they said, they had to demand their implementation but the government failed to give any categorical assurance), that “the announcements were very vague and were just like the promises they have been making for the last 57 years”. The leaders declared that in spite of this poor performance of the government representatives, they would wait and see how the government would act in the next two months and that their participation in the next round of Talks would “depend on

CPM & THE MAOISTS

The statements of the CPM leaders sound little different from the fascist Advani’s stand towards the Maoists and the need to crush them with a firm hand. The line of approaches of West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya and Tamilnadu CM Jayalalitha were only correct, others should follow them as models, Advani stressed. The Chief Minister of West Bengal virtually dismissed suggestions of negotiations with the Naxalites. In his view, “the Andhra Pradesh government has not done well by pursuing unilateral talk with the Naxalites.” This report further added that: “Instead the West Bengal government has demanded financing of the Central government to raise a battalion of Special Forces. Already the launching of special armed forces is underway.”

The D.G. of the state police has said that “within two months these forces will be operative.” [Ananda Bazar Partrika, 24 September 2004]. The West Bengal State Secretary of the CPI(M) Mr. Anil Biswas retorted threateningly “People’s War shall be tackled through administrative measures.” [Ananda Bazar Partika, 1 October, 2004]. But the CPM, a master in hypocrisy and opportunism see no problem in opposing talks in West Bengal while supporting it in AP in order to garner votes in the latter and not get isolated from the masses there.



Meeting after.....Rally at Hyderabad

the government's initiative during the next two months."

The 'peace' talks were held for four days from October 15-18 in Marri Chenna Reddy Human Resources Development Institute. There were three underground leaders from the former CPI(ML)[People's War] and three legal representatives while from CPI(ML)-Janashakti there were two from the leadership and two from the legal organisation. Besides the ten delegates from the two Parties there were eight from

the Government of AP. Eight mediators were present as Observers.

Impact of the Mass Mobilisation during Period of Talks

The Naxalites caught the attention of the masses of the entire state and even in other parts of the country; they could muster the support of the people for the democratic rights of the masses and create a new wave of mass political mobilization across the state and involve the masses in

the political battle on a wide scale; they focused on the problems faced by the various sections of the masses and propagated the politics of new democratic revolution with armed agrarian revolution as its axis and the necessity of protracted people's war to liberate the country; they sought to prove the hypocrisy of the Congress government in meeting the people's demands placed by the Naxalite parties; in short, they posed a revolutionary alternative before the people.

During the process of the 'peace' talks, the unification of the two Maoist Parties in the country into the CPI(Maoist) generated great enthusiasm among the people and carried the message of the new Party widely among the masses. With the unification, the Talks which were to have been held under the banner of the CPI(ML)[People's War] took place under the name of the CPI(Maoist) which was announced on the evening of October 14th, by com. Ramakrishna, the secretary of the AP state committee of the party, one day before the commencement of the first round of Talks. The PGA volunteers accompanying the CPI(Maoist) leaders, promptly changed their nomenclature to PLGA. The

As a part of rallying mass opinion against state repression and in favour of talks, the CPI(ML)(Janasakti) hosted a public meeting in Manugur town of Khamam district. The CPI(ML)(JS) AP State Secretary Com. Amar spoke on the occasion. The erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) NTSZCM Com. Ganesh also addressed the gathering. Com. Chandranna, a delegate for the talks on behalf of Janasakti, also delivered a speech. Some other comrades also addressed the rally attended by roughly 13,000 people.

The three biggest meetings which were held till now were the July 28 at Mogilicharla in Warangal dist., the September 30th rally at Hyderabad, and the October 11 mobilization to inaugurate Charu Mazumdar's memorial column. Apart from these three mass meetings, other programmes also took place. In all these political campaigns, people participated whole-heartedly and listened to the leaders who spoke.

Many such meetings were taken in the backward rural areas as in Adilabad, Nizamabad, East Godavari (Rajamangi), Vishakapatnam, Vjaynagaram, Srikakulam, Guntur, Anantpur, Karimnagar, Warangal, etc districts.



Meeting after..... Rally at Mogilicharla

significance of the merger and the revolutionary line of the newly unified Party were explained as part of the Talks process.

Although the government did not concede any demand in reality, widescale political propaganda was carried of the CPI(Maoist) alternative. The CPI(Maoist) leaders had meetings with the SC/ST/BC

associations, Muslim organisations, women's organisations, and even some bodies belonging to the national bourgeoisie.

The ruling classes may have hoped to use the talks as part of their LIC (low intensity conflict) strategy, to try and wean away the party, or some sections of it, away

from the path of armed struggle to peaceful co-existence. But, in this, they failed miserably. On the contrary, the debate over Clause 7 brought the question of armed struggle on to the agenda, and it was the rallying slogan of the Naxals "*the question of carrying arms and conducting armed struggle were non-negotiable*" that spread far and wide. As Mao once said: reactionaries lift a rock only to drop it on their own feet — Clause 7 became one such rock.

Will There be Another Round?

Two issues have frightened the new Congress rulers which have begun to rethink about the second round of 'peace' talks. First, the relative easing of the terror rule of the TDP has allowed the masses to mobilise widely around their demands in opposition to the World Bank dictated policies that are destroying their lives. This cannot be tolerated by the imperialist financiers and their local agents that had chosen AP as their model. Second, they are scared by the wave of support for the revolutionaries and the legitimacy gained by the CPI(Maoist), which could facilitate their consolidation. Though it was announced that the next round would be held within two months, the statements by the Chief Minister and the DGP from the very next day after the conclusion of the first round of Talks showed the dilemma of the ruling party and the police bosses.

YSR fumed that the Naxalites did not know the difference between industry and agricultural lands, that they were placing "*absurd and illogical demands*" and were "*playing to the gallery*", and that it was impossible to meet the demands such as redistribution of the lands given to the industrial houses and film studios in and around Hyderabad. The YSR government shamelessly came out in support of the illegal allotments made by the previous TDP government to the imperialist corporations, IT, pharma and Bio-tech companies, film studios and influential individuals all for a nominal price. It was the same YSR who had earlier fumed and fretted, when in the opposition, about the dubious deals of the Naidu government. The sudden change in the stance has exposed the true colours of the Congress government in the most convincing manner before the masses.

The YSR government has been wooing the Big Business houses, the

imperialist MNCs, and the Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs) to set up their operations in the state. YSR had unveiled a grandiose plan to create 30 million square feet of space in Hyderabad for IT and other companies and has dreams of making the city second only to Bangalore in software exports. Hence his impatience is exhibited in even hearing the demands about illegal encroachments and allotments to the business houses, let alone implementing them.

The DGP too was furious with the demand raised by the Naxal leaders about raising the salaries of the policemen and stopping the giving of awards for 'encounter' killings. The police chief who had overseen the fake encounters during the last phase of Chandrababu's brutal rule, had a lot to lose if enquiries were conducted into land deals in the City for he had his finger in the attractive pie. No wonder then, he lost his temper when the demand for enquiry into the land deals was made by the Naxal leaders, and hurled abuse at the CPI(Maoist) leaders like a lunatic.

There is also growing pressure from the Central government, the state governments of Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal and others on the AP government to give up talks with the Naxalites. The Chief Ministers meeting of nine states, held in Hyderabad on September 21, had exerted immense pressure on the YSR government in AP to give up the 'peace' talks and to adopt strong-arm tactics. Some complained that the Naxalites were carrying out attacks in their states and escaping to AP which was "a safe zone" thereby pushing the AP government to adopt repressive measures. Though the Union Home Minister, Shivraj Patil, had declared that the issue of Naxalism was a state issue and each state was free to choose its policy independently, he warned that the aim everywhere was to ensure that the Naxals did not strengthen themselves. The Centre gave the government in AP the choice to hold talks but to ensure that the strength of the Naxals did not grow. In fact the three day annual conference of the country's DGPs/IGs with the Home

Minister, focused primarily on the MCCI/PW merger and the 'dangers' of "left-wing extremism". The Home minister stated here that they should not "use the ceasefire as an opportunity to consolidate".

Against this background it is doubtful whether the government would be prepared to hold another round of talks with the revolutionaries. It is more likely that the government would bring the issue of arms once again into the agenda and insist that further progress in the talks would be possible only by accepting the 7th Clause. It is once again the people who can tilt the scales through their active participation in opposing the government's moves. Whatever be the next step, whether another round will take place or not, one thing is clear: the revolutionaries, particularly the Maoists, had carved a deep niche in the minds and hearts of the people in the state in the brief period of the 'peace' talks and are now certainly better placed — politically and morally — to confront the enemy and further advance the people's war.

DEMANDS DURING THE FIRST ROUND OF 'PEACE'-TALKS

Two major demands were placed by the CPI(Maoist) and Janashakti parties. The first demand was: Initiation of some immediate measures as a first step for the creation of a democratic atmosphere for the smooth conduct of Talks, namely:

- i) withdrawal of cases against persons involved in the struggles on people's issues;
- ii) release of all political prisoners;
- iii) scrapping of cash rewards on the heads of the Naxal leaders and cadres; and
- iv) disbanding of armed vigilante gangs maintained by the State.

The second major demand was land distribution to the poor and landless. This was supported by all the mediators present and by the various democratic organisations in the state. It was suggested that the land should be distributed on the basis that every family in the village should have some land; temple lands should be distributed to the dalits mainly; 1/70 act should be implemented strictly; corporate and contract agriculture should be given up; provision of market for the agricultural produce, free power supply to the peasantry, irrigation, reduction of private debts and supply of institutional credit to the peasant, control of unscrupulous traders in substandard and spurious seeds, pesticides and so on.

The details of the agricultural lands in the outskirts of Hyderabad city which were grabbed by the industrialists and influential individuals as submitted by the delegation of CPI(Maoist) and Janashakti were as follows:

Ramoji Film City, 2000 acres; Sanghi Nagar 1500 acres; Satyam Computers, Byrraju Foundation and others 2000 acres; Doctor Reddy Labs 1000 acres; Jana Harsha 2000 acres; Narne Estates 2000 acres; GPR Estates 1000 acres; Sri Mitra Real Estates 1000 acres; Devender Goud's Family 1500 acres; Sri Nidhi Real Estates 1000 acres; Jayabheri Estates (Benami of Chandrababu Naidu and Muralimohan) 2000 acres; Raheja Estates 1000 acres; Larsen & Toubro (Naidu's benami) 1000 acres; Genome Valley (ICICI Knowledge Park, Shapurji Pallomji Bio-tech Park) 3000 acres; Wipro, Infosys, Microsoft, Oracle and other software Cos 1000 acres; IMG Bharath Academy 800 acres; AWARE 500 acres; Indian Business School 250 acres; Sylvan University 200 acres;

Besides the details of the above, a list of several companies and individuals who had encroached upon the government lands and lands of the poor in the outskirts of Hyderabad city with the support of the Government was submitted to the government. The prominent among these were: Theatres such as Imax, Estates such as Lahari Maxima, Mayuri, Amaravati, several cine studios such as Padmalaya, Ramakrishna, Ramanaidu, Builders such as 21st Century, farm houses, Holiday Resorts, Clubs, Guest houses, and the lands given by the government for industrial and commercial purposes. The Naxal leaders demanded an enquiry into these illegal encroachments and to redistribute the land to the landless and homeless urban poor.

'Peace' and Democracy for the people, self-reliant development of the state based on local resources and meant for local markets and needs, and land distribution in favour of the rural poor, or in short, democracy, self-reliance and land reform were the principal slogans put forth by the two Parties before the people.

Indian Parliamentary Pitiabie Predicament

Dr. Gupta

Manmohan Singh has dissolved all the consultative committees of the Planning Commission. Apparently some economists refused to serve on a panel which had members drawn from the World Bank and other foreign agencies. The P.M. in the power game side-stepped the 'leftists' making the CPM et al swallow the bitter pill and stopped any commotion. The parliamentary left claimed to have put Mr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission – "a World Bank man", according to the ex-CM of West Bengal – who, of course never desisted from rubbing shoulders with World Bank functionaries during his tenure as the CM under severe pressure. If the Congress is critically dependent on the CPI(M), the 'left' too has compulsions to continue with its support. Mr. Jyoti Basu has rightly and shamelessly said "We are dependent on the Congress(I) and Congress(I) is also depend on us". What may be the grumbling of the CPI(M) and its 'left' allies, they cannot afford to let the UPA fall. The much touted argument – the like of which polluted and killed the left in the 'left' in the past – has been propagated for public consumption that withdrawal of support to the Congress government shall enable the BJP romp home to power once again. The entire vainglorious attempt and full-blown cries of the CPI(M) and its allies against the presence of the World Bank and other foreign institutions are clearly and simply bogus and hackneyed enactments of the same old scene in the parliamentary drama. *The Telegraph* editorially poo-phooed the CPI(M) and its allies' hypocrisy with such acerbic comments "To its own constituency, however, small that might be outside West Bengal, the left has to show that it does not accept such policies" [3rd October, 2004] The baggage of left image needs to be refurbished time and again by hitting the home constituencies that the 'left' shall not allow the Centre to toe the World Bank *diktats*. The public posturings and pronouncements are mere eyewash. Jyoti Basu blandly stated on the Congress(I) – CPI(M) led 'left' bonhomie ".... Though we have opposed the party tooth and nail for 45 years, there is no denying that we are today depending on each other for survival" [The Telegraph, 4th October, 2004]

The *idli-chutney* break-fast meeting with the CPI(M) and its allies after the dissolution of some advisory committees was held to soothe the confused and unexpressively hurt feelings of the

spineless 'left' leadership. Manmohan Singh said over the breakfast delicacies, that he was open to providing the 'Left' parties an access to papers and other resource material as a part of policy making regarding "not just economic and finance but security, foreign policy, education, health, rural development, etc." [The Telegraph 3rd October, 2004]. After the angry campaign by the 'Left' against the inclusion of 14 experts from global agencies including the World Bank, the West Bengal Left Front Government's advisor to crucial policy matters, the 'Left' leaders only swallowed the bitter pill and decided to cry but not to bite, the bottom line being not to destabilize the beloved UPA Government. Why not the CPI(M) led 'left' and Congress(I) will paper over their minor differences? Why not Manmohan Singh will roll the red carpet to the spineless parliamentary left? Now the World Bank or such bodies can not be CPI(M)'s enemies in principle, leave aside minor policy matters. The much projected More Advanced Left Front in West Bengal has no qualms in according a red carpet welcome to the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, numerous organizations like McKinsey to loot West Bengal by allowing the wheels of so-called globalisation, liberalization and what not. Now the CPI(M) and its 'left' allies have discovered an ally in the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, under whose tenure the liberalisation policy dictated by the US-led organizations was initiated in the early 1990s. In the CPI mouthpiece *New Age* its general secretary A.B. Bardhan accused Montek Singh Ahluwalia and some others but gave a clean chit to Manmohan Singh arguing "It is good that the Prime Minister often reminds his colleagues that it is a coalition government." [Quoted in The Telegraph, 9th October, 2004]. What a ridiculous drama! Once again we quote from the *Telegraph* (3rd October, 2004) editorial

The Buddhadeb-Yechury Lap-dogs

"These shows of protest are important for the left for through them they speak to their constituency and demonstrate that left policies have not changed. The left has changed, and changed radically – Mr. Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee and his policies in West Bengal are examples of change – but it has to show its followers that it hasn't. It is not easy to do an ideological turnaround while pretending that it isn't doing one." The latest addition to this funny game of sloganeering against privatization and such policies is

the West Bengal 'Left' government's move towards privatizing a premier state unit (KMWSS) for manufacturing and distribution of water. The beneficiary is JASCO, a unit of Tata Steel. [Ananda Bazar Partika, 9th October, 04]

The rank hypocrisy of the 'Left' is all too evident in its sounding left phrases interspersed with dampeners. On 28 October they advised the Central Government not to send Indian officials for Iraq polls scheduled for the early next year to be presided over by the US occupation army. The advice was simultaneously soaked with a rider that "they had no objection if Iraqi personnel were trained for the task in India" [The Hindu, New Delhi, October 29, 2004]. This at once proves that the unprincipled 'Left' parties don't have any objection to the stage-managed upcoming fake election in Iraq. The training of Iraqi stooges in India is nothing wrong but as mock-opposition demands some left verbiage and demonstration they oppose Indian personnel's sojourn for the same purpose in Iraq.

On the very same day, West Bengal's chief Minister Buddhadeb told the CII gathering in New Delhi, the second time in less than two months, that his party, the CPI(M), was not going to bring down the UPA government and will "even reconcile with the economic policies." Bhattacharjee made it clear that "Maximum, we shall agree to disagree". He also enthralled the audience of top industrialists saying "We have even got McKinsey to study the possibility of industrially exploiting the agricultural sector." Without even a blink Bhattacharjee grabbed the mike and said "I know what you are going to ask. Why this apparent divergence of views between the Centre and at the state level? I suggest you don't take it seriously." This hypocritical scum then directly attacked the militant workers of Bengal with such naked statements: "We have made serious policy mistakes in the past with regard to private capital and with regard to the trade union movement. We are taking corrective measures. We sincerely request you to come and invest in the state." [The Indian Express, New Delhi, October 30, 2004] What venomous utterances of the Bengali babu Marxist! Somersaulting, double-talk, barking without any bite, being true to the grain of parliamentarism are all the hall marks of the 'Left' props of the Congress government and the rule of the exploiting classes. Now those 'Marxist' left parties have been so mortgaged to those classes dependent on the imperialists that they

rather now appear like cheaply paid chamchas before the common people. It is no coincidence that on the same day Finance Minister Chidambaram clearly told the Mumbai business circles that "Foreign direct investment is here to stay and it's time for Indians to go global" [The Indian Express, Ibid]. The Congress(I) and the industrialists know it too well that the 'Left' cries against FDI are simple jokes in the theatre of politics embedded in grabbing the spoils of power. It was not surprising that after the meeting with the Union Minister Mani Shankar Aiyar on the same day, the CPI(M) PB member Yechury scaled down his June position and agreed to a hike in petrol and diesel prices. One remembers that in the last June the 'Left' deceived the people through a countrywide agitation against a hike. At that movement they felt the compulsion to show off the protest image soon after the elections. The Congress(I) also was not in a hurry then to dump publicly all its electoral promises. Now both the Congress(I) and the CPI(M) led 'Left' are in the same boat. So after some months of barking, obviously not biting, the CPI(M) leader Yechury satisfied himself with such a tame comment: "We understand the government is under tremendous pressure." [The Indian Express, Ibid]

This is parliamentarism which can go to any extent, from hobnobbing with the ruling classes, saving the exploitative state from attacks by revolutionaries to policing/spying activities. Expose it, fight it to establish revolutionary Marxism in India.

The direct interference of the USA and the 'left'

The granade attack on a recent Dhaka rally of pro-India former Bangladesh PM Sheikah Hasina, which according to the disclosure in the Dhaka's *New Age* daily of a judicial probe blaming a "foreign hand" obviously i.e. India's spy agency RAW [The Telegraph 4th October, 2004] This also prompted the intervention of the US Federal Bureau of Investigation and Interpol to help Bangladesh in the investigation [Ibid].

The game has assumed a high-pitched claim and counter claim with India interminably sending forth salvoes to Pakistan and now Bangladesh for all bomb blasts and even nationality movements and the latter targeting India for sabotages and destabilizing activities. The recent blasts in the North East, particularly in Assam prompted India to put a suspicious glare on Bangladesh. Assam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi jumped a step further to cry that "The roots are in Bangladesh and Myanmar. These roots have to be uprooted." Close on the heels of North-east of India, a massive car bombing killed atleast 40 in Multan, Pakistan on 7th October, 2004. Such blasts, killing innocent civilians in India or Pakistan, generally have the long hand of spying agency of this or that country, which have now been operating as part of US imperialism and its spying agency the FBI's so-called war against terrorism. The term 'terrorism' has now been redefined by US imperialism to target forces against it and also has been conveniently tagged on certain forces nurtured and armed by them till the other day.

Closer home, U.S. defined terrorism has not only found takers in the BJP, Telugu Desam, Congress(I) but in also the CPI(M) and its 'left' allies. With the serial blasts in Assam and Nagaland all sat up to join the chorus, the spearhead of the attack being the anti state nationality movements and the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movements led by the CPI(Maoist). The role of US imperialism in South Asia has now been more pronounced and are more directly interfering. Some years back the criminal BJP led Government allowed the notorious FBI of the US to officially operate from Indian soil for surveillance and policing activities. The CPI(M) and its allies then screamed a mock scream. Soon after, when a drama of attack on policemen guarding a US controlled building in Kolkata was staged, the "Left" Front in West Bengal not only grew nervously supine before US functionaries; Writers Building, the government headquarters, witnessed the CPI(M) CM clothed with shame outstretching his hand to the US

ambassador for a tete-a-tete to fight 'terrorism'. Now with the North-East blasts the US ambassador in India has gone many paces ahead of the past by officially offering the Chief Minister of Assam the clearly interventionist "service" "to track down terrorists". The Home Minister of India Mr. Shivraj Patil clarified "that the ambassador offer was in keeping with the bilateral cooperation agreement on countering terrorism. The US ambassador, Mr. David C. Mulford, was acting in accordance with the spirit and letter of the argument". [The Telegraph, 8th October, 2004]

The Home Minister's clarification in fact helps tumble down the skeletons from the cupboard extolling the so-called sovereign edifice of the Indian state. Patil makes it known to the mock-heroic CPI(M) like 'left' protesters that the bilateral cooperation between the US and India means joint battle against 'terrorism'. - the US perceived threat. The opinions of a pro-US daily as well as of the native allies run thus: "The US administration has articulated a profound concern about the growth of terrorism across the world. It also has more sophisticated instruments to check terrorism than is available in India. The offer to help in the North-East grows out of this concern." How come the CPI(M), CPI, etc. oppose this "great" role of US imperialism in its "holy war" against 'terrorism' when they too blare out the some battle cry? The US and the Indian government have sent several consignment of sophisticated fire-arms to Nepal to eliminate the Maoist communists fighting for the elimination of feudal and imperialist interests. All such efforts are meant for the US international strategy against so-called terrorism. Has not the Indian parliamentary left been consistently deaf and blind to such US-India joint ventures against such efforts at crushing the anti-imperialist and democratic forces? No, Never, the 'left' prove themselves as a laughing stock or clowns to the masses as well as to their enemies.

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People's Resistance to Social Fascist Repression

Sukanta

Arrests of revolutionary activists and sympathizers keep going on without break. Leadership of various ranks of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) are not getting bail, even some mass organisation activists and sympathizers after 6-9 month of their arrest are not getting bail for ordinary cases. The land where social fascism rules, there the police and judiciary can never contradict the long hand of Allimuddin Street, the HQ of the CPI(M) state committee, the actual power center in current state politics.

The CM and Police Minister Buddha has been pursuing the policy of striking hard to smash the revolutionaries. After assuming power, to promote imperialist and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie's business interests in the state, he instructed the armed forces to smash the protest voice of the Marxist-Leninists. Regular combing operations, arrests, patrolling by the CRPF, EFR, RAF, SAF and special task forces have been going on in the 3 districts of south Bengal. Alongside such operations Jharkhand police forces are manning the W.B- Jharkhand borders. Particularly in East-Singhbhum the regular attacks by special forces on the struggling people have been a common feature.

Now Bengal CM Buddha is planning to call the Chief Ministers meet, comprising four adjoining states-WB, Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa- as early as possible to draw up concrete plans on how to tackle the CPI(Maoist) party in these 4 bordering states. Already the joint coordination committee of 9 states is functioning and hosting regular sittings to plan how to curb Naxalism. The then Home Minister Advani declared in a meeting of this JCC that Left extremism is the main threat for the countries' security, and long perspective plans were drawn which are now in operation.

In the last summer the whole of Bengal-Jharkhand-Orissa guerrilla zone perspective area was cordoned and white terror reigned in the area. Having seasonal advantage and on the pretext of parliamentary elections large contingents of para-military forces were deployed. Army helicopters hovered over the sky of this zone to assist the ground operations for quick deployment and coordination.

On 14-October 2004 a land mine went off in the jungle of Ramghar of West Midnapore. The EER Jawans who are camping at the Ramgarh Rajbari complex

moved on foot to attack a group of Maoists who were in the area. The plan boomeranged. When the armed personnel were crossing a temporary bridge a mine went off at 5 P.M. resulting in the death of six jawans of whom 4 belonged to the First battalion and the rest two to the second battalion, another four jawans were also injured in the ambush. From the Loksabha speaker Somnath Chatterjee to Anil Biswas [West Bengal State Secretary of the CPI(M)] and from Buddha to DGP Shyamal Dutta everybody is issuing statement after statement.

In the area, where the land mine was blasted in the last Feb. Com. Asim Das, a leading State Committee member of the erstwhile People's War was shot dead in a fake encounter, for which Maoists took revenge eliminating the paramilitary forces in memory of their beloved leader.

The top brass of the police visited the site and as usual issued statements crying for modernization of the state forces with sophisticated firearms. To justify such cook and bull stories like that Naxalites are armed with sophisticated weapons, people speaking Telugu are masterminding the attacks, etc. are intentionally spread. So to counter them the police needed auto weapons. Special plans were also drawn to give more teeth and cruelty to the ongoing operations.

40 Companies of paramilitary forces were deployed immediately in the area. The SPA of the South Bengal districts, the IG, DIG of intelligence and law and order, met under the leadership of S.Dutta, the DGP of West Bengal police in Lalgah PS and discussed plans in a closed door meeting. The people of the area would certainly foil and resist the special plans drawn by the officials in their struggle for democracy, freedom and political power of the oppressed.

Within 24 hours after the ambush at Khasjungle, according to newspaper reports, 30 comrades were detained. They belonged to the near by villages of the ambush site such as Bankisole, Dumurgeria and Benchapra. The 'Marxist' government of West Bengal will continue arresting the people who are with the Maoists. Police seized all the ferryghats on the Kangsabati river, which affected the people of 50-60 villages at the time of the Puja festivals.

Mr. Anil Biswas, the PBM and WB state secretary of the CPM, will always express his opinion on behalf of the government, prior to the CM or other

government functionary, on state govt. policy matters. After the Kharjungle ambush Anil Biswas talked to the press and said "Due to this ambush the govt. closes its doors with Naxalites to conduct talks. Talks are not possible if they do this form of violence" and he ruled out any initiative from the side of the state to consider talks with the Naxalites.

The very next day a fitting reply came from the state secretary of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) State Secretary Comrade Somen, that they are not begging anything nor standing at the doorsteps of the 'Marxist' government. There is no such situation for talks in the state and the 'Marxist Government' will only understand and can hear the sounds of blasts. Let the people decide what to do for their freedom and emancipation. A show of force is going on from the government side from *Mahakarn* and elsewhere daily.

Other Protests by the People's Guerrillas

In October 2003, a land mine was blasted as a part of resistance by the erstwhile PGA guerrillas in which a notorious officer Nilmadhab Das of Bandwan PS died and some others were injured. It was the first land mine blast in the state of West Bengal as a part of people's resistance. Later on 25 February 2004, in the Khokrajara (Daldali forest) area of Belpahari 7 jawans of the state Special Forces and a civilian driver were killed by the guerrillas of the erstwhile PW party.

On 23 September a raid on the 4-member escort party of the police in a passenger Bus was successfully executed. The incident happened near Basdihni jungle in Bankuras Ranibandh area. The four police personnel were overpowered by the guerrillas of the erstwhile MCCI and captured four rifles and 140 bullets. People's guerrillas used simply chilli powder to overpower the security personnel to seize the weapons. These incidents affected the morale of the police force.

To save their skin the top brass of the police officials started suspending the lower rank personnel. Four personnel of the escorting party were suspended. After the Kharjungle ambush of 14 October two intelligence officials near Saranda Police Station of Bankura district were also suspended on 16 October in the name of negligence of duty. On the other hand top police brass and their close followers

instigated a section of women in the EFR HQ to demand sophisticated weapons. The crisis which the state is facing will further deepen the dissatisfaction of the people, which will culminate into further crisis in social life.

Those who are scape-goats to cover the ugly face of the 'Marxist' rulers will certainly revolt against the rulers in the coming years.

Somnath's somnambulism: 'India's deep-rooted democracy'!

The first 'Marxist' speaker in parliament is serving the ruling classes living upto their expectation. Chatterjee told the media in West Midnapur that Naxalites should shun violence and join the 'main stream'. He also sermonized that Indian democracy is deep rooted and it can't tolerate any division or terrorism on its land.

What type of democracy we do really have in India will not come within the frame work of this article but we have to see how the Indian 'Marxists' are upto the 'democratic norms' in West Bengal. We can cite only one example.

West Bengal people know about the struggle in Garbeta in Midnapur. First the battle between the TMC-BJP combine on the one hand and the CPM on the other and afterwards when the PW party concentrated in this area a sharp contradiction arose between the CPI(ML)(PW) and the TMC-BJP. When the PW entered Garbeta to organize the masses for revolution there came about a sweeping change.

In the course of development the BJP-TMC combine was defeated. But revolutionary forces were weak to consolidate the gains. So, temporarily the CPM occupied the entire area. Since the last 4 years the entire area was seized by armed gangs and legal functionaries of the 'Marxist' Party with clear backing from the police department. So no freedom, democracy, individual rights or constitutional rights prevail in this period. Only the CPM goons will rule the area according to their fascist intention.

Nargeesh a little magazine which gets published from Garbeta came under the brutish glare of the CPM leadership. They started to issue threats to the 5 youths who questioned the "unquestionable authority" of the CPM. A gang of 50 goons ransacked the house of the editor - publisher of the magazine. They took him to the paddy field and told that if he dared continue with the publication and stick to principles of freedom of the press or other such

principles, which *Nargeesh* has been propagating, then he would be finished off. They kept a revolver at his forehead and threatened him. The young souls of *Nargeesh* stand firmly and continued their progressive activities.

Then the Zonal CPI(M) leader came to their homes to warn their parents not to send their sons for any political activity. He told them that if they did not stop them from continuing such activities then the Zonal committee would finalise who would kill them, the party cadres or the police! Then the parents grew afraid like any thing. However, the youth did not stop their activities. They met the District Collector to give a picture of the ongoing threats and danger to their lives from the CPM. They asked the District Collector to give them a patient hearing. What followed instead was the raids by the police. Twice. Thrice And so far many times the police search their houses but the CPI(M) culprits move freely.

To protest this the RSF students marched to Nandan - the cultural hub of the *babus* - where Buddha, Sabana Azmi et al attended a cultural festival organized by the CPM led government. There the students distributed leaflets and questioned the S.F.I., CPM's goondas about their methods in the name of democracy. A women activist announced from the mike that 'Lathi raj chalbe na' (The rule of batons shall not be allowed to go on) *Nargeesh* must not be attacked.

The 'Marxist' party leaders, particularly its paid intellectuals, used certain vulgar, slang language towards the women activists and others at Nandan, which no civilized person can imagine. Even the American soldiers who indulged in the atrocities on Iraqi prisoners would bow their heads in shame if they heard the vituperatives used at the cultural centre by the 'Marxist' *babus*.

The things further worsened in Gorbeta. At the time of writing this article we don't know what happened to the young literary activists of Gorbeta, because no one was present at their residences due to the harassment of the police.

This is the 'deep rooted democracy', which Somnath like CPI(M) *babus* are preaching. The CPI(M) led 'Left' Front rule has come to such a pass that even the 'Left' Front constituents occasionally receive beating and some of their leaders get manhandled by the CPI(M) ruffians.. A news item was published in all the Bengali and English dailies on 19.10.04 that a renowned trade union leader of the Coal Belt that too CITU's and twice elected MP Haradhan

Roy resigned from the CPI(M) and informed this to the press.

He wrote in his letter to the CPI(M) State Secretary that "After serving the party for 50 years I found that I had no other option but to quit because the CPM I knew had changed. The party no longer respects the critical minority view... I am still a believer in communism, but I realize I have no place in the party, which is controlled by contractors and the mafias." He further criticised the Bhattacharjee government, which is "serving the rich and the trading community by ignoring the rights of the working class and the poor". Roy, 80 years old, a prominent trade unionist in the coal belt, spoke of the dangerous reality obtaining here.

Resistance by the Fajul Nagar people against the 'Marxist' mafias

Fajul Nagar, a village in Murshidabad district stands witness to the crime and lumpen activities of the 'Marxist' mafias. To control the financial resources of the village for their petty interests they made it a regular feature to abuse, threaten and beat the villagers. Two police pickets were set up to control the people. Police always supported and backed the mafias.

Women folk of the village were the real fighters in the ongoing struggle against the 'Marxist' anti social leaders. These gangs imposed high tariffs for the ferry. So people damaged the Ferrighat to avenge the CPM goons' atrocities. Comrades Lujvan and Shuiphool were attacked by the anti-Social group led by the CPM in the village. After hearing this news people gathered in the village and torched the police camp on Sept. 20. Women led this struggle.

In another incident in Nadia district, people's guerrillas annihilated Kalu Ghosh, a notorious criminal who was the right hand of the Binpur CPM MLA Sunil Biswas. He raped women, looted the property of the peasants and rebuked, beat villagers at will. He created a terror in almost 6 villages. He acted as an agent of the police and passed on information to them. On 13 October Kalu was dragged from his hideout and annihilated in Bathjungla village.

Notwithstanding these protests, till now, the revolutionary movement is still weak. A massive political mobilisation and a consistent resistance needs to be developed to counter the CPI(M) government. Also an ideological fight and political debates need to be made to educate the vast masses who are opposing Buddha's brand of Marxism. It is essential thereby to strengthen the revolutionary movement in West Bengal. ■ ■

Hail the Magebail Raid of 7 October 2004!

We Shall Continue to Seize Arms to Defend Ourselves!

Revoke the Suspension of Dalit Constable Muddappa!

At noon on 7 October 2004 a special unit of the PGA (People's Guerrilla Army), the armed wing of the CPI (Maoist) raided a police post located in the house of a landlord in Magebail village, Sringeri taluk, Chikmagalur district, Karnataka.

The successful and daring raid yielded one Self Loading Rifle, one .303 rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition. The State Committee of the CPI (Maoist) congratulates the PGA and the masses for its success. The guerrillas took the lone constable on duty captive, cared for him and released him later.

The Magebail Raid was conducted in order to seize modern arms from the police so that cadres of People's War could defend themselves better against the growing armed offensive of the Dharam Singh government which has on the one hand called revolutionaries for talks but has continued its dreaded offensive to eliminate those very leaders it has invited to the talking table.

Revoke the Suspension of Police Personnel

After initial resistance, the lone constable, Mr Muddappa surrendered to the guerrillas. He cooperated with us. He was taken prisoner. The minor injuries he experienced happened on account of his initial resistance, despite appeals by revolutionaries that he should surrender. He was given rest and provided water to drink. Then guerrillas conducted political discussion with him. He was later set free.

Muddappa belongs to a poor Dalit family. He was posted on duty to defend the interests of an upper caste landlord against whom the people have been fighting for a raise in wages. The Dharam Singh government has thus tried to pit police constables who hail from poor and oppressed backgrounds against Naxalite revolutionaries who fight for the cause of the Dalits, Adivasis and poor so that the class interests of the upper caste landlords, big capitalists and imperialists is kept intact. Thus the ruling classes and top sections of the police bureaucracy are prepared to risk the lives of constables like Muddappa in order to keep this oppressive system intact.

Top police officers have suspended Muddappa and three other personnel. One of them is a constable and two others are his immediate seniors in the Sringeri police station. The State Committee condemns this. Mr Muddappa had no alternative but to surrender to the PGA which stormed into his room and confiscated the weapons before he could lay his hands on them. Or else his life would have been in jeopardy. This high handed act by the police bureaucracy is bound to lead to dissatisfaction among the common mass of constables.

Mr Muddappa, for instance, draws a salary of about Rs 7,300. Of this Rs 2,600 goes as deductions for loans and interest. He has a take-home packet of just Rs 4,600. It is not possible to properly maintain, feed, clothe and educate a family on such a meagre salary.

By contrast, top police officers such as those that are responsible for the suspension of Mr Muddappa and his colleagues draw hefty salaries each month. They collect protection money in lakhs and are corrupt neck-deep draining public coffers off crores of rupees each year. If there is anybody that deserves to be suspended, it is these oppressive and criminal officers who ill treat the constabulary, have let loose a military offensive on the masses and the Maoist party and have murdered comrades like Parvathi and Hajima, and not a Dalit constable like Muddappa.

The SC of the CPI (Maoist) appeals to the common constabulary that it will treat prisoners of the people's war with respect. It will not humiliate, ill-treat or punish the general mass of police personnel and will attend the wounded among the police if they surrender during PGA offensives.

The personal bag of Mr Muddappa was also seized in the course of the Magebail Raid. The SC has made arrangements to return this bag with all its contents to Mr Muddappa. We shall make no claim on even a pin from the personal belongings of this constable. Though Maoist cadres lost some of their bags and their personal belongings in the Barkana raid on our camp on 11 October 2004, Mr Muddappa's bag has been safely retrieved.

An Insecure Police Cannot Provide Security to Landlords

The SC welcomes the decision of Mr Chandraiah, the landlord of Magebail, to end police protection. We are glad that Mr Chandraiah now realizes that the police who were supposed to provide him with security for these last five months are themselves insecure and vulnerable to attacks by the PGA. It is impossible for such a police department to offer security to landlords in the Perspective Area (PA).

Landlords like Mr Chandraiah have played the role of police informers, flirted with reactionary forces like the Bhajrang Dal and mobilised other landlords and backward elements in rallies against revolutionaries. The CPI (Maoist) has no personal vendetta against small landlords like Mr Chandraiah. All we seek for now is a just wage for the labourers in his farm. If the hike in wages that was assured to labourers on 28 December 2003 and again on 26 April 2004, when our Local Guerrilla Squad visited his house and held a meeting in the presence of his workers is met; if he promises not to play the role of police informer and if he cuts off his connections with the Bhajrang Dal, the party assures him that it will take a more favourable approach towards him.

Landlords like Mr Chandraiah who take police protection do so at great cost. They have to bribe police officers, free-feed constables and mark out a portion of their houses for their residence. Women folk in their houses are exposed to humiliation by police. By rendering a part of their houses into police camps, they convert places of civil residence into points of possible armed conflict. Though it might not be

the intention of PGA guerrillas to harm the residents of the houses of landlords, there is every danger of injury to family members and even death in the course of clashes.

The conflict in the PA is a see-saw battle. The armed forces of the state and the armed forces of the revolution strike at each other. In the course of these battles, revolutionaries will gather their mass base and their armed strength. One Barkana will be followed by many Magebails. We have sunk our roots among the masses and will continue our struggle for a democratization and transformation of the social structure till we emerge victorious. Hence we cannot be wished away.

We are here to fight. We are here to stay.

The police brass and the Chief Minister Mr Dharam Singh who are to be squarely blamed for the growing transformation of the PA into a zone of armed conflict, will realize this harsh grass-roots reality only with much delay. If they turn the pages of the history of the Naxalite movement in this country, it might save them some time in comprehending us better.

But we hope small landlords like Mr Chandraiah who vacillate between the revolution and counter revolution and who dot the PA will realize the insecurity provided by the security apparatus and come to their senses more quickly.

Gangadhar
For The Karnataka State Committee
CPI (Maoist)

13 October 2004

In Remembrance of Comrade Ashok Maity

Comrade Ashok Maity, the dedicated Marxist revolutionary, is no more. He breathed his last on 11th July 2004 in Kolkata after lapsing into coma for two days. The spirited, simple and jovial comrade Ashok da plunged into the student movement in Midnapur district of West Bengal in the 1950s. Though sent behind bars as a firebrand student leader several times. Ashokda, after completing M.A. in Economics from Jadavpur University, instead of pursuing a lucrative job, turned into a communist whole timer. When still a youth he became the Midnapur district secretariat member of the CPI(M). He was also once P.A. to Jyoti Basu and saw in his

own eyes how the top CPI(M) leader and first United Front cabinet minister Hare Krishna Konar and Deputy C.M. Jyoti Basu conspired to kill the peasants in Naxalbari. He narrated to our comrades only five days before his death how Konar and Basu tried in vain to make a forced surrender of the Naxalbari movement leaders by appeasing the Central government. Comrade Maity later joined the CPI(ML) and was arrested in end 1970. He was a prominent leader in the peasant movement in Debra in Midnapur district. Soon after, in the savage killing of numberless comrades in Midnapur Central Jail Ashokda was brutally tortured, some of his ribs

irreparably broken and one wrist twisted for life. He was first counted among the killed. Comrade Maity was a retired professor of Economic before his death at the Indian Statistical Institute. He was a Marxist till his death and assured us of all help carrying on the revolutionary struggle when our comrades met him last. He upheld the continuation of the Naxalbari struggle by the CPI(ML) People's War and bitterly criticized the renegades hobnobbing with the CPI(M) in West Bengal. We pay our revolutionary homage to comrade Maity and share the sorrows of his family members and numberless friends. ■ ■

PEOPLE'S MARCH Supplement

Nov.-Dec. 2004

JOINT INTERVIEW OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIES OF THE ERSTWHILE CPI(ML)(PW) & MCCI

On The Occasion Of The Merger Of The Two Parties And The Birth Of The CPI (Maoist)

Given the historic significance of this merger and the birth of the unified Communist Party of India (Maoist) in the country, People's March sought an interview with the two main architects of this process; the erstwhile general secretaries of the two erstwhile parties, of the CPI(ML)(PW) and the MCCI respectively. PM sought their view on a wide spectrum of issues stretching from local issues, as the clashes in Bihar-Jharkhand, to issues affecting the entire country, and also the world. They also touched on issues linked to the merger process.

Through the interview PM sought to elicit the views of these leaders on, not only the past, not just the present but also the future of revolution in India and the entire world. The interview throws light on a wide variety of issues which no doubt is on the mind of those desiring radical change. This interview seeks answers to those burning issues of the day linked to: current situation in the world and in India, revolution and counter-revolution, Marxism and reformism, Maoist ideology vis-à-vis the varied non-proletarian trends, and the future of socialism particularly in the light of the setback to communism after the reversals in the USSR and China.

We hope this interview will be enlightening for all our readers in India and abroad.

Editor

November 7, 2004

First Ever Exclusive Joint Interview of the General Secretaries of the Erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) & the MCCI

In the context of the merger and the formation of the CPI(Maoist) our magazine interviewed Comrade Ganapathy and Comrade Kishan, the General Secretaries of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) and the MCCI at an undisclosed location. This is an exclusive interview to the People's March and the first time ever given to the press. Both leaders first gave their Red Salutes to People's March, being an independent magazine that reflects the Voice of the Indian Revolution. The interview was then begun with questions interspaced between the two leading comrades:

Peoples March: The Revolutionary Camp and the oppressed masses are naturally happy to hear about the unity. Why did it take such a long time; 35 years since the existence of your parties? Why did it take over two decades of talks for the unity process to culminate?

Ganapathy: It is true that the whole revolutionary camp and all the revolutionary and democratic forces, and the entire oppressed masses of India will certainly feel so happy. The formation of the unified Communist Party of India (Maoist) is a new milestone in the history of the revolutionary communist movement of India. A unified Maoist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a long delayed and highly cherished need of the revolutionary minded and oppressed people of the country, including all our ranks, and also all the Maoist forces of South Asia and internationally. Now, this long-aspired desire and dream has been transformed into a reality.

As part of the world proletarian revolution, the Indian revolution has been advancing forward to establish a new democratic society by smashing the existing semi-colonial, semi-feudal system through the path of protracted

people's war. Our party has been leading not only the struggles of the basic masses of workers, peasants and the petty-bourgeoisie, and supporting those interests of the national bourgeoisie that come in conflict with imperialism and the comprador big bourgeoisie, but also fighting against all forms of social oppression, for the rights and emancipation of the oppressed nationalities, women, dalits and oppressed castes, minorities, etc. In this way we have won the confidence of the oppressed masses, who know that our party will stand steadfastly by them in all their woes and for their complete emancipation from all forms of oppression and exploitation. Quite naturally they will be happy with this merger. With the merger, the Party's fighting capacity grows considerably, and, as a result, its effective striking power multiplies, thereby benefiting the masses. Over this lengthy period, where the international communist movement also has faced many splits and setbacks, the Maoist movement in India has seen some advancement and much sacrifice of the best of its cadre for this great cause. So, the entire revolutionary camp and the whole people are naturally happy to see our unity.

Now coming to the query that, why did it take such a long time for these two streams to merge. Yes, it is true that, the separate existence of our two parties' for thirty five years, and two decades of time for the unity talks, is a long time. But to concretely understand this, we must primarily look at the historical background, and the conditions in which these two Parties emerged and developed.

In the period after the Naxalbari uprising, there were differences of opinions with regard to the immediate necessity of formation of the Party between the two leaderships. These

differences could not be solved. So the CPI(ML), and MCC came into existence separately on April 22, 1969 and October 20, 1969, respectively. Later, the CPI(ML) was in disarray after the martyrdom of Comrade Charu Mazumdar (CM) and the setback of the movement. The Party split into many groups and there was vacuum of leadership on whom the major sections of the party could repose confidence. Apart from this, in 1976, after the demise of Com. Mao, with the seizure of power by the capitalist roaders, the counter revolutionary renegade Hua - Deng clique in China, and the Communist Party of China (CPC) turning revisionist, there ceased to be any international proletarian leadership and a revolutionary base. This had its negative impact on the Maoist movements worldwide, where a strong right-wing and revisionist trend swept the international communist movement. It had its repercussion in India too. Because of the absence of an International leadership and a revolutionary base, the problems of unity of revolutionaries in India were compounded.

By 1980, the CPI(ML)(PW) and CPI(ML)(PU) evolved from the CPI(ML) stream, and the MCC built peasant movements and got strengthened. The CPI(ML)(PW) and the CPI(ML)(PU), from their very inception, had good relations with the MCC. The PW and MCC began unity talks from their very first meeting in 1981. However, the reason for the delay in the process was the lack of continuity of leadership. The arrest of Comrade Kondapally Seetaramaiah (KS), the leader of the PW, and later the internal crisis of the PW and split in the Central Committee (CC) delayed the unity process for several years. In the early eighties, the MCC lost its two top leaders Comrades Amulya Sen (AS) and Kanai Chatterjee

(KC), which had some negative impact, resulting in further delay in the unity process. Though there was basic unity on several major issues between the two Parties, there were some serious political differences on some major issues, and also a lack of maturity of the leaderships prevented the unity from fructifying. However, in this long period the revolutionary movement has developed and expanded, and the People's Guerrilla Army/People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PGA/PLGA) got formed and guerrilla zones have been set up with the perspective of establishing Base Areas. Now, there is much more experience of both the leaderships and greater maturity in dealing with the issues and differences, and also in realising one's own mistakes. So, the situation was ripe for the big leap in the unity process. Thus, by analysing the objective and subjective factors for the delay in achieving the unity, we will take lessons from this experience and resolve, in the future, to strengthen the unity now achieved. Keeping the lessons in mind, we will also endeavour to unite the revolutionary forces who are outside the CPI(Maoist).

PM: The M-L movement in India has a long history of splits; what guarantee is there that this will not be followed by a split? Can you give any assurance to the masses?

Ganapathy: Yes, in the past history there were many splits within the M-L movement. But splits are only one side of the coin; the brighter side was that there were continuous efforts to unify the revolutionaries. The CPI(ML)(PU), though it had its origins in Bengal, it spread and strengthened by unifying several revolutionary groups. The CPI(ML)(PW), though it originated in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, it unified with revolutionaries in almost all the states where it was working. The MCC too, had originated in Bengal, unified many revolutionaries groups in it in many States and became the MCCI.

The past could be broadly divided into three periods: After the setback in 1972, the main trend was splits; in the 1980s the main trend was the

strengthening of the genuine revolutionary parties and the revolutionary movements, and degeneration of right and left opportunist parties and the weakening of their movements, and increasing steps towards unity; and in the decade of the 1990s the main trend was the development of the people's war and the unification of genuine revolutionary parties and forces. These efforts finally culminated in the formation of the unified CPI(Maoist) this year.

This unified party has been formed after thoroughgoing discussions firstly held between the high level delegations of the two parties and then finalized by the Joint Central Committee meeting of both the parties. Through these deep going and constructive discussions, held on an equal footing, five different documents have been drafted and finalized. These documents are: *Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, the *Party Programme, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution*, the *Political Resolution on the International and Domestic Situation* and the *Party Constitution*.

In addition to these documents it has also been decided that our beloved leaders and teachers of the respective parties, the late Com. CM and Com. KC, will be recognized and highlighted as the founding leaders of the unified party. It was also decided that both these parties, stemming from the turbulent period of the decade of the 60's, particularly from the great Naxalbari uprising, inherited all that was revolutionary in the long history of the Indian communist movement. The peculiarity of the situation is that both these parties continued to flow as two separate streams of the revolutionary communist movement, wedded to the same cause of carrying forward the Indian revolution over the past 35 years. All these steps taken together clearly disclosed a unified understanding on almost all ideological and political questions of line. The line established provided a principled basis for the unity achieved by both the parties. Basing on this unity the Joint Central Committee

meeting finally resolved to unite the two parties into a single unified party.

If we examine the history, it is true that a period has been marked with serious and agonising splits, which was a depressing feature especially after the set back in 1972. But since 1980, after the emergence of the CPI(ML)(PW) and CPI(ML)(PU), there was not been any vertical split within these parties. This is in stark contrast with the splits and degeneration in the parties of right deviation and Left sectarianism. The MCC too did not suffer any major split. And now the basis of unity has been principled and since it has been achieved after thoroughgoing discussions, it has a strong foundation.

Within the party there will be differences, and as a reflection of the class struggle in society, there would be the possibility for the emergence of non proletarian trends. There will be a fight between right and wrong within the party. All internal differences will be solved on the basis of MLM and correct methods. The Marxist method of self-criticism and criticism, conducting inner-party struggles and rectification campaigns, to weed out non proletarian trends, guarantee a strong party unity, which avoids any split. History proves that in the past too, we basically solved all major internal problems in this manner.

PM: Was your unity based on the needs to face the increased repression by the state on both your parties or on genuine unity of thought?

Kishan: In my view the merger of the MCCI (Maoist Communist Centre of India) and the CPI(ML)(PW) {Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)[People's War]} and the birth of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) looked at from all angles, is an event of historic importance. The birth of the CPI(Maoist) will not only create a new revolutionary wave in India's revolutionary struggles – i.e., in the development of India's agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war and people's war and the communist movement in India – but will also have a positive and important impact on the international communist movement.

The above mentioned can only fructify when the newly formed Party stands on a firm political, ideological and theoretical basis. Both these parties have a past 35 to 40 year long practical experience of conducting political, theoretical and revolutionary struggles. Yet they existed as two separate streams – i.e., the M-L stream and the MCC stream. To think that two such parties could take such a historic decision to unite, with just an approach to jointly facing state repression and not based on policy, could be due to subjectivism.

If you view the past 40 years history you will see that: (i) in 1969 the then “Dakshin Desh” Group (i.e., MCC) did not join the CPI(ML) formed under the leadership of Com. CM, and (ii) though 35 years have been traversed since 1969, and inspite of many rounds of unity talks, till the end full unity could not be established. The question finally before us is – why? No doubt, there existed some basic differences between the two.

These two streams have existed separately for the past 35 years because of some political and practical differences, and have yet advanced independently fighting back the massive attacks and encirclement-suppression campaigns of the state. So, how realistic would it be to think, such an important merger could take place merely with an approach to jointly face state terror?

Now I will answer your question from another angle. You must be aware of the fact that the unity talks initiated by the MCC’s founder leader, Com. KC, from 1981, with the then CPI(ML)(PW), under the leadership of Com. KS, failed in 1995. After that we were able to once again take up unity talks in February 2003. In that sitting, after serious and lengthy discussions and debates on numerous basic political and practical questions, it was possible to make a major breakthrough. Based on this positive conclusion the meeting took important decisions to carry on continuous unity talks, prepare some basic documents and conclude the unity process basing on these documents. The documents were - Hold High the Glorious Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-

Maoism, the Party Programme, the Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution, the Political Resolution (International and Domestic situation) and the Party Constitution.

If the main aim of this merger is to counter state repression there would have been no need to have decided to prepare the basic documents, but would have decided how to develop closer relations between the two parties to counter state terror and as to what other measures could be taken up to do so.

But that did not happen. In the course of the four rounds of bilateral discussions over the past 20 months the drafts of all these documents were prepared. Together with this, there were detailed discussions on all basic issues through which a general understanding was reached, only after which the historic decision for merger was taken.

Therefore, it can be clearly stated that it was only on the basis of agreement on basic political and organisational issues that the historic merger process could be completed and on the basis of a strong political, theoretical and organisational line was the Communist Party of India (Maoist) formed.

Now I will speak about the last part of your question. You asked whether this unity, based on ideology could be said to be a true unity. My answer is: it could be said yes, as also no. Because true unity based on ideology should not be seen in an absolute sense. It should be seen in a relative sense. In other words it can be said that this unity which is basically and principally based on theory is a true unity. But, together with this, there is a secondary aspect, i.e., to make it more based on theory and a true unity, struggle is also needed. In this case, the principal aspect is unity, and the non-principal aspect is struggle. Together with this, dialectical materialism shows us that true unity based on theory can only be possible through the dialectical process of unity-struggle-unity. If we look at all questions from the Maoist approach of “One divides into two”, it is only in the long process of negating the negative aspects and strengthening the positive aspects that we can further the process

in a correct way to achieve true unity based on principles.

Finally, in reply to your question, I would like to make one point regarding your question: it is absolutely impossible to fight state repression without a strong political-theoretical foundation and a correct Marxist military line. So, without a politically and theoretically strong Party we can’t achieve any thing.

PM: Given that you had such a bad chapter which went so far as to be involved in mutual killing how were you able to resolve these serious differences and even proceed towards unity with such speed?

Kishan: The first major point in the relations between our two parties was to develop a correct understanding of this bad chapter, i.e., Black Chapter in our relations. Till such a time as we both recognised this tension period as a Black Chapter it was not possible to solve the problems that had developed. Secondly, it was important to develop the understanding that we ourselves were responsible for this Black Chapter. Thirdly, it was necessary to understand that we had to make self-criticism with full frankness and sincerity of heart and mind, and also to place this self-criticism before the general rank-and-file and also the revolutionary masses.

Even the most difficult of problems can be solved if we are able to understand our own mistakes. If we grasp this feeling or only after grasping this feeling, there will be no hesitation whatsoever for a genuine and objective self-criticism. Precisely this happened regarding the solution to the problems associated with the Black Chapter. Today, both of us have done and continue to do self-criticism with frankness and on the correct aspects of this problem. We have both placed our written self-criticisms openly before the revolutionary rank-and-file and masses; and in future too we will adopt a similar method.

Through this process we have been able to successfully convert this Black Chapter into a new and bright chapter. Only through this process – i.e., through the process of genuine self-criticism –

have we been able to convert a bad thing into a good thing.

When this problem was correctly solved the unity process was bound to advance – and this is what in fact happened.

You asked as to how it was possible to advance with such speed towards unity? Well, I think, such a question is absolutely natural, given the Black Chapter that existed. But, it must also not be forgotten that in the past, in the long fraternal relations between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW] the aspect of cordial, strong and fraternal relations was principal, while the aspect of the black chapter was secondary. If you reflect on the past 24 years friendly relations between the two parties and many bilateral meetings on the joint activities and on political issues, you will find that there is a long history of political debate behind today's unity. Therefore if you see it in totality, this final unity may be seen to have been achieved quickly, but that is not fully so – in reality. In fact only by adopting a correct Marxist-Leninist method and after quite heated political debate over a period could we successfully complete this process and achieve unity.

PM: There are still some revolutionary groups in the country, what is your united party's approach to them?

Ganapathy: It is true that, there are still some revolutionary groups in the country and also many genuine revolutionary forces in the right opportunist parties of the revolutionary camp. In addition, there are numerous individual comrades, who do not belong to any Party at present. But they were part of one or the other ML Groups at some point of time. They are also part of the revolutionary camp in the country. We seek to unite all genuine revolutionary groups, forces and elements that remain still outside our unified Party. So, one of the important tasks of our Party building is to unite all these forces. We will make serious efforts to realise this task in a principled manner, by conducting thorough and consistent struggles against revisionism and all non-proletarian

tendencies, within the revolutionary camp, like reformism, economism, parliamentarism, postmodernism, etc, which seek to divert the masses from the path of revolution. For this we conduct polemics on political and ideological questions and tactics.

PM: What will the impact of this unity be on the people of the country?

Kishan: I think this unity and the birth of the CPI(Maoist) will have an unprecedented positive impact on whole of the masses including workers, peasants and all the toiling masses of India. In reality the pro-people mask of the various Gandhian vote mongering and fake Communist Parties have to a large extent been exposed. For long the people of India have been waiting for such a party that is capable of leading them in their liberation struggle. From the point of view of the masses, the emergence of the CPI(Maoist), which is equipped with the experience of conducting revolutionary class struggle and agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war, is a very important event. That is why it can definitely be said that this unity will have a positive impact on the people of the country.

But this is only one aspect concerning the birth of this new Party. Regarding other aspects it can certainly be said that with the announcement of the new Party, all the enemy and revisionist forces will go insane with anger. The above two factors will definitely occur.

PM: Now coming to other questions. What have your two parties achieved in the last 35 years long history of your existence? What is the contribution of your parties to the development of the political and ideological line of Indian revolution?

Ganapathy: If we look at the last 35 years of our past history, amongst all the confusions and setbacks that raged in the communist movement of India and in many countries, we have to a large extent, been basically successful in applying MLM to the concrete conditions of the Indian revolution and have got

many significant achievements.

The Unified Party with a collective leadership saw the emergence of an ideologically and politically mature party — a party of a new type — that has developed and steered itself through decades of intense class struggles and in the course of advancing the Guerrilla War. In the process we have also developed the Party line in the concrete conditions of the Indian revolution. And it is only by successfully doing this have we been able to grow into the type of force that we are today. With the present unity we have achieved unity of most of the revolutionary forces in India. This in itself is an outstanding achievement. Now our party has acquired an All India character which has spread to over a dozen states. In some states like, AP, Bihar, Jharkhand, and Chhathisgarh we are a significant force. The United Party has not only united the revolutionaries within India, it has forged formidable fraternal relations in South Asia by take part in forming the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) and also with revolutionary parties abroad especially with those parties which are waging PPW.

For the first time in the country, our two parties have formed a People's Liberation Guerrilla Army and have developed Guerrilla Zones, and intensified Guerrilla War with a view to advance towards the formation of Base Areas. In some of these Guerrilla Zones we have been able to establish the Revolutionary People's Political Power in an embryonic form. This alone is a substantial achievement in the face of the enemy's fascist encirclement and several suppression campaigns. Over the years the PLGA has been systematically strengthened from a small to a bigger force. This is reflected in: the growth from small skirmishes with the enemy to bigger battles; from small formations to bigger formations; from a few in numbers to larger numbers; to the development of a more systematic structure of commands and commissions; and, its greater ability to

arm itself with the seizure of arms from the enemy. The PLGA, though it is still small, with its heroic actions and with more than two decades of continuous and consistent armed tactical counter offensives against the State police and various Special Forces and various paramilitary forces, became the apple of the people's eye and a nightmare to the ruling classes.

By thoroughgoing debates and discussions on the Party crises we took lessons. These inner party struggles gave a better understanding on how to conduct two-line struggle on the basis of democratic centralism with the aim of achieving a greater level of unity, and with the aim of defeating the wrong line or rectifying wrong deviations. In the process of two-line struggles, the Party leadership and the whole Party got steeled and a collective leadership evolved. This is one of the remarkable achievements.

We have worked out specific policies for the various oppressed sections of the people, like the nationalities, dalits and other oppressed castes, women, minorities, etc. from the class viewpoint of the proletariat, and have lead many struggles on these issues.

In the areas where we are a force to reckon with, we have taken up issues of political, economic, social, and cultural oppression extensively and people have achieved substantial victories, including construction and developmental activities, where people's political power is being established by restricting the political power of the enemy classes. In these areas the people are relatively more politically conscious, well organized, and better off with improved working and living conditions compared to the other regions. Now, they have more self-confidence, they have gained literacy and knowledge, they are able to stand upright with self-respect against all authority and they are free from the tyranny and terror of the landed elite, government officials, etc.

Regarding the development of the political and ideological line, the united party has definitely enriched the party line. While adhering firmly to the respective parties' basic line, which was

formulated in the basic documents of earlier period of both the parties, latter we enriched several concepts basing on the rich experiences acquired in advancing the people's war over these years taking into account the political developments of the past three and a half decades. We firmly fought against both "Right" and "left" deviations that were seen in the forging of the three magic weapons of revolution – the Party, Army and the UF – and in the formulation of tactics. It achieved a higher level of understanding regarding the concepts such as that of people's army, guerrilla zones, Base Areas and the Revolutionary United Front; on persisting along the path of protracted people's war, creatively applying the Maoist strategy to the concrete conditions in India and rejecting entirely the parliamentary form of struggle in the concrete conditions of India; building a secret Party with an underground structure with Professional Revolutionaries (PRs) forming its core; consistently adhering to the revolutionary mass line and building powerful mass movements linking them to the Protracted People's War (PPW); etc.

The united party addressed the ideological-political questions confronting the International Communist Movement today such as : the guiding ideology of the proletariat, the General Crisis of Capitalism and its impact on the world revolution, the question of the principal contradiction, the danger of world war, the understanding on the nature of the present Era, the significance of national liberation struggles and the need to unify the two streams of the World Socialist Revolution, and, finally, the danger of revisionism in the International Communist Movement (ICM). The united party thus enriched the party's understanding on the above questions concerning the contemporary world situation and the ICM and adopted clear-cut proletarian stand-points.

In a nutshell, we can say that the two erstwhile parties have continued the ideological and political legacy of Naxalbari, and, while imbibing all the positive aspects, have further developed the line. The development of the line to

the concrete conditions is embedded in the now formulated documents — MLM, Party Programme, Party Constitution, Strategy and Tactics, and a Political Resolution on the current situation.

PM: What is the development of the political, organisational and military line since the 1996 Conference of the MCC?

Kishan: Even today, at the international plane, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nationalities and people is the principal and decisive contradiction. Due to the continuously deepening and increasing crisis of imperialism, the inter-imperialist contradictions are also intensifying gradually. Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the storm centres of Revolution. Revolution is the main trend in the world today and revisionism is the main danger in the present era. Because of the above conditions, the world situation is day-by-day becoming more favourable for revolution.

We drew these conclusions in our 1996 Conference and we follow this even today. In our November 2002 Central Committee meeting, after much discussion and analysis we reversed our earlier understanding that "*Russia was a weak superpower*" and concluded that this earlier assessment was wrong. In this meeting we also concluded that US imperialism was a superpower and declared it the number one enemy of the world people.

In our analysis of the domestic situation we had seen that under the domination of the US imperialists, various imperialist forces are in the fray to increase their influence in the country. All the governments, from the BJP alliance to the Congress and other alliances are implementing political, economic and all policies according to their wishes. Together with this the contradictions within the Indian ruling classes are also gradually growing sharper. In fact, hardly ever before has the revolutionary situation been so excellent and favourable as today. On the basis of this analysis we decided to make the formation of our red army and Base

Areas as a basic, chief, central and immediate task and to advance in that direction with speed; and to select strategic areas to systematically organize the work there. In the midst of this, in January 2000 a serious debate and dispute developed in our CC through which it was decided to accept Mao Thought as Maoism; and we took the decision that Maoism is a completely new stage, as a third, higher and qualitative development in the history of advancement of Marxism. Besides this, through an equally intense internal struggle we took a very important decision in this meeting to unilaterally stop all clashes with the erstwhile PW. In addition to this we also took a decision to stand by our earlier understanding of Stalin, basing on Comrade Mao's assessment of him in the course of the Great Debate.

In January 2000, the decision was taken to name Mao Thought as Maoism. But after this an opportunist group emerged in our Party that opposed this decision and which sought to put hurdles in the task of building the army and base areas. By launching a relentless struggle against them we were able to demolish them. At this time we also took initiative at the international plane to forge unity with genuine Maoists, and as part of this acquired membership to RIM. Similarly, at the national level we gave primary importance to unite genuine Maoists. And in this we also achieved success. Together with this, the erstwhile MCCI made major advances in all spheres. Major leaps were taken in strengthening all party committees, including the central committee, in both quality and quantity; and also in the sphere of determining a correct direction towards giving a well organized form to a Maoist military line and military organisation. We formed the most important department like the Central Military Commission and on April 22, 2003 announced the formal formation of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA). In the past few years this brave army has fought many a great and heroic battle. The fight and guerrilla attacks of Tekari, Pretshilla, Topchanchi, Churchu, Chandrapura,

Simrahni and Saranda are some good examples of such glorious battles. In short it can be said that the erstwhile MCCI, after its second central conference in 1996, and particularly after 2000, carried out a sharp two line struggle in the Party and defeated the incorrect line both theoretically and practically. And in the process, compared to earlier, we have been able in taking a qualitative leap in all matters.

PM: Both your parties are confined primarily to the most backward forest belts of the country. Why in these 35 years of existence have you not been able to have much impact on the plains and urban areas, where the bulk of the population live?

Ganapathy: In absolute terms what you say is not true that we are confined to the forests alone. Of course, it is true that our movement is stronger in the forests than in the plains and urban areas. This focus is linked to our path. Depending on the specific characteristics of the Indian revolution, we decided that the path of revolution is that of protracted people's war. That is by first setting up Base Areas in the backward areas and spreading these to the other areas and thereby ultimately encircling the cities from the countryside. So, it is according to this strategic understanding alone that work must be done in any area, whether forest, plain or urban. The forests and mountainous areas quite naturally get priority as these are the strategic areas where Base Areas can be set up. But, it is not correct to say that we have ignored the plain areas. We have built extensive anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles in the plain areas in AP and Bihar. Even today our Party is working in the plain areas in some states. In fact, in AP and B-J states much of our cadres, leadership and even the prestige of the movement were gained by developing the revolutionary movement in the plain areas. We built strong movements in several forest areas starting from and relying on the plain areas for our subjective forces and material help and concrete experience.

In the process we suffered severe

leadership and cadre losses due to the most cruel and fascist suppression campaigns by the enemy, and due to our shortcomings. Accordingly we are trying to formulate and change our tactics — forms of organisation and struggle and method of work — in the plain areas. Acting according to our strategic plan in building the revolutionary movement in plain areas by following the path of PPW, we have gained rich experience through our practice crimsoned with the blood of thousands of martyrs; and have also learned from the experience of the armed struggles of the oppressed nationalities of the Indian sub-continent.

Keeping in the forefront our path of revolution, i.e. Protracted People's War, we have been working in the plains, cities and villages and have consolidated our forces in the strategic areas. Before us, we have the experience of the first round of struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Birbhum, etc.; and then we also have our own direct experience of armed struggle since the end of the 1970s. This experience has itself proved the validity of the path of protracted people's war. So, while focusing on the strategic areas, we have worked also in the plains and urban areas coordinating this latter work with that of the strategic areas. If we did not have this orientation we too would have gone into right deviations like so many of the other M-L parties and groups.

Revolution cannot develop according to one's own wishes; it will follow certain laws determined depending on the nature of Indian society, and the stage of the revolution. The general laws of PPW have to be applied to the specific characteristics of the Indian revolution. In the revolutionary process, it is for us to discover these laws and act accordingly in the most effective manner.

Today we are strong in the forest areas as these are the perspective areas for setting up Bases; where we are intensifying and expanding the class struggle for the seizure of political power, even though the starting point of our work has been the plain areas.

We are also concentrating on the

forest areas for the strategic needs of building a strong people's army and establishing people's political power by politically mobilising the vast masses and smashing the state power of the enemy classes. We are coordinating the three types of movement (broadly) — forest, plain and urban — with each other according to the principles of PPW.

The specificity of the Indian revolutionary process is that the M-L movement faced a severe setback and splits after the historic revolutionary movements of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, etc. Another aspect of this specificity is the existence and continuation of two independent Maoist streams — M-L stream and the MCC stream — in the country. Yet, despite these ups and downs, we have recovered from the setback and rebuilt the revolutionary movement, and have been step-by-step unifying the revolutionary forces in the country. The unity of our two major Maoist streams is the most positive aspect of this process.

Despite these positive developments, the revolutionary forces are still weak in urban areas, and the revisionist leadership has still many influential pockets. There is a danger of revisionism which has a countrywide domination over the trade unions, a wide influence in the urban areas and even amongst the peasantry in some parts of the country, despite their feeble base. It also exists in the government and has a wide influence in three states. The revisionists, under the garb of the red flag, propagate bourgeois ideology and politics, and adopt reformist tactics. It acts as one of the main props of the rule of the reactionary ruling classes in the country. It is one of the main sources of injecting parliamentarism, economism, reformism into the body politics of the oppressed masses and has become a major hurdle in building and developing the working class and urban movements. Due to the long influence of revisionist politics and practice in some areas there will need for much patience, consistency and creative revolutionary initiatives to make a breakthrough.

The cities and towns are the bastions

of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes. Yet, in a few towns and cities we had built powerful working-class movements, and these movements had created panic amongst the imperialists and the ruling classes and created a positive impact on the people, particularly the working class, students and intellectuals. But, they have faced many losses. Today, though we are a weak force in urban areas, we have a presence in many cities and towns in several states and are trying to develop the working class and the urban movement, which is also being influenced by the growing armed struggles in the rural areas.

Finally, I would like to conclude that with great determination we will strive to advance and expand the Guerrilla war to establish Base Areas in the strategic areas; we will refine and develop our tactics to rebuild, consolidate and expand the revolutionary movement in the vast plains of India, to advance the People's War to drown the enemy in the great ocean of the class struggles of the vast masses; and we will rebuild, consolidate and expand the working class and urban movement in cities and towns, keeping in mind the strategic direction and the changing socio-economic-political conditions of our country.

India is a highly diverse and complex social system and a country of enormous size; here, the enemy is much stronger; and the interests of the imperialists in India are greater because of its geo-political and economic situation. Hence the odds are heavy; so, it will no doubt take more time, particularly in the plain and urban areas. But we are taking lessons from our experiences with regard to the work in the plain and urban areas. We will concentrate our work in the strategic areas to develop the People's Army, and intensify the armed agrarian revolutionary war and establish Base Areas; coordinate this work with the work in the plain and the urban areas in a planned way with a strategic outlook by keeping in mind the dialectical relationship between these three types of areas; and we will make a breakthrough in building powerful movements in plain and urban areas. So, I firmly say that,

our advance is inevitable.

PM: In what way will your unity have impact on the development of the guerrilla war in the country? How will you face the massive onslaught of the Indian state? What concrete tasks have you set yourself to achieve Base Areas?

Kishan: We believe that the direct impact of our unity will be most on the ongoing guerrilla war in the country. Also due to this, the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war will attain a new inspiration and new dynamism, a new energy, and a new upheaval and will thereby expand and intensify throughout the entire country. Especially, when our erstwhile armies of the PGA and PLGA will unite into the newly formed PLGA, this can be said with much greater certainty.

As far as the question of countering the massive onslaughts of the Indian state machinery is concerned, we think that not only we will be able to give them a fitting reply, but also completely smash them through the creative application of our strategy and tactics to the path of protracted people's war in India. In fact, one of the reasons that determine the specific application of the strategy and tactics to the path of protracted people's war is that the enemy is strong and masses weak. But this strength of the enemy and weakness of the masses is relative. This truth has been proved by our struggles over the last few years. Compared to earlier we have now, acquired some greater strength, while to some extent the enemy's strength had definitely reduced in relative terms. Besides, in a huge country like India, it is not possible for the enemy to deploy its forces everywhere, particularly in the distant and widespread rural areas. Therefore, facing all types of difficulties and crossing all hurdles we can definitely smash to pieces the Indian state machinery and beat back their fierce attacks if we, on the one hand, make the rural areas the main centre of our work, while on the other, if we intensify our work amongst urban workers and all the toiling masses and bring a proper balance between both these types of work.

Simultaneously we will have to recruit lakhs and crores of the masses into the military battles to conduct the revolutionary mass movements and at the same time bring a correct coordination between the two.

Therefore, one very important task before us is to bring a proper balance between the armed struggle and the widespread activities and movements of the masses and thereby develop and extend both.

No doubt, to establish Base Areas we have determined some definite tasks. For example, developing through Guerrilla Zones and Guerrilla Bases we will have to move in the direction towards establishing Base Areas. Together with this we have to strengthen in every way, the formations of all three forces of the PLGA – the Basic, Secondary and Main forces; and through a proper command system a correct coordination has to be developed between them. In addition, within a fixed time frame the military formations have to be developed from the company to the battalion level. In this way, through both qualitative and quantitative development, the PLGA has to be turned into a PLA.

If we are able to complete these tasks in a correct way, and we are able to draw vast sections of the masses into the guerrilla war and also into the various other forms of struggle, then we can definitely achieve victory in the protracted people's war, no matter how long, tortuous and difficult the process may be, facing the numerous twists and turns and ups and downs in the march forward.

PM: Now to turn to other questions linked to the political impact of your movement. Your parties did not seem to have much impact to fight against the massive imperialist penetration into the country? Why? Also there seems little impact on the fight against the monster of Hindu fascism Why?

Kishan: See, from one point of view, it is true that the impact of revolutionary struggles against imperialist intervention in the country cannot much

be seen. To some extent this is even a fact. Firstly our subjective force is quite less than what is needed, and even of that which exists, the strength in the urban areas and industrial areas is far less compared to the rural areas. That is why the extent it is needed to develop the workers movement and various other movements, we have not been able to do so. Therefore we have not been able to intensify the struggle against imperialism as is needed. While on the other hand, the other so-called anti-imperialists, like the parliamentary and revisionist parties and the NGOs, are nothing but a farce and a deception.

In reality the basis for real opposition to imperialism is only in the hands of genuine Maoists and revolutionaries. Therefore, even if at present the anti-imperialist struggle is somewhat weak, by rectifying our weaknesses in this sphere, we can definitely create and advance a strong movement against imperialist intervention, based on a correct approach to the issue. Though, on this issue, we are somewhat late, we can definitely advance this movement by adopting correct methods.

On the question of the struggle against Hindu fascism too there are a host of fake anti-communal forces. In such a situation it is no easy task, where, on the one hand we have to draw a clear-cut line of demarcation with such forces, and on the other create and develop a genuine movement against Hindu fascism. In the true sense, problems like communalism and Hindu fascism can actually only be solved by developing and extending the class struggle. That is why you will find that in those areas where Maoist revolutionaries have influence there communal riots will be seen to be relatively less.

Therefore, by focussing on worker-peasant unity and by being able to build our revolutionary mass base amongst them through patient work, will we be able to build and conduct a genuine movement against communalism, religious fanaticism and Hindu fascism in a correct way and in correct direction.

So, perhaps it is not fully true to say that the impact of the revolutionary

movement against the problems of communalism or Hindu fascism is very little. But, it is no doubt true, given the way the RSS gang are instigating communalism and provoking riots in India today, our response in giving an effective answer to them has been far less than what the situation requires. We are confident that the initiative we have now taken to rectify this shortcoming and the process we have recently started with soon bear fruits.

PM: How do you view the impact of US/Globalisation policies on our country?

Kishan: I am of the opinion that the imperialist, particularly US imperialist-promoted globalisation, has had a very bad impact on the life of our people and the national life of the country. These policies have pushed to devastation the living standards of every level of the people. If these are not stopped in the next few years it will have a horrifying impact. We believe that it is only the advancing agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war together with the development and expansion of widespread militant mass movements that can successfully complete the people's revolution, which alone can free our country from the dangerous effects of globalisation.

PM: India is such a diverse country of nationalities, dalits and various castes, minority groupings, linguistic sections etc. How do you expect to unite such diverse elements, all of whom face not only class oppression but also varied forms of social oppression?

Ganapathy: Women, dalits, Adivasis, oppressed nationalities and religious minorities are the most important of the social sections to be taken cognisance of by the party of the proletariat leading the revolution in the concrete conditions prevailing in India. All these sections have special problems of their own and specific types of extra-economic oppression apart from class oppression. We have to pay due attention to solve their special problems, like patriarchy, untouchability and other

forms of caste oppression, attacks on minorities and oppressed nationalities, etc and approach these problems from a class view-point. We also have to link these tasks with the ongoing revolutionary movement. Towards this end, we have to not only bring these sections into class organizations along with other oppressed masses, but also evolve the necessary forms of organizations and forms of struggle for the widest mobilization of these sections on their special problems both on a short-term and long-term basis. Broader joint fronts too should be formed wherever and whenever necessary to address the specific grievances.

However, while taking up specific tactics on the special problems related to these sections, we should keep in mind that the tactics should always serve our strategic line. We should place the specific programme for the solution of their specific problems in relation to, and in the overall context of, the on-going people's war in the country. We must educate these sections how their problems are essentially class questions; how the material basis for the final solution of their problems lies in liberating themselves from class oppression; and hence, the imperative need for waging war against the common enemies — feudalism, imperialism, and comprador bureaucrat capitalism, that are oppressing the vast toiling masses in the country — unitedly with other oppressed masses under the leadership of the proletariat.

We must demonstrate in practice how the people's war and the ongoing class struggle is bringing these sections increasingly into the centre stage; how the latent potential and creative energies, the revolutionary initiative and capacities of these oppressed sections are being released in the course of the people's war and the deepening class struggle. It is only by paying special attention and making conscious efforts, based on concrete planning, by the leadership of the Party to develop the oppressed among these sections, that we can bring a qualitative change in their overall status in the Party and position in the

revolutionary movement

By pursuing the above-mentioned general line and approach, we will be able to draw the clear line of demarcation with the bourgeois parliamentary and revisionist parties, with the reformist Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other petty bourgeois organizations, as well as with the so-called Communist Revolutionary organizations in our country with regard to the solution of the problems of these special social sections. This can be done by demarcating with the wrong approaches to these issues from the proletarian approach. At the same time we must fight against the mechanistic approach that ignores these social issues and thereby indirectly acts to perpetuate all these social evils. Conscious efforts have to be made amongst the masses and upper castes from the oppressed to educate them against their patriarchal and casteist views. We must also take up consistent political exposure of the various bourgeois-revisionist-reformist trends within the movements of these sections.

The Party must also fight against non-proletarian values inside itself that may manifest in subtle forms of patriarchy, casteism and caste biases, elitism and turning a blind eye to the rights of the oppressed sections. On the other hand it must also educate comrades who may be influenced by the varied post-modernist trends, bourgeois feminism, Dalitism, narrow nationalism, etc.

It is only by remaining loyal to the politics of the proletariat and the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and maintaining its own political and organisational independence that the working class can give leadership and liberate the peoples from the sectarian approach to all these social evils and arouse them and bring them into the path of the revolutionary democratic struggle in its true sense (as part and parcel of the new democratic revolution). Yet, it must be understood that merely the new democratic revolution will not do away totally all these social evils. Though the objective basis of an exploitative social

system may not exist, it will continue to manifest in the superstructure — in people's thinking and social/cultural norms and value. So, even after the victory of the revolution in the new democratic and socialist societies, the struggle will have to be continued in all realms of thinking and social practice.

PM: Today the dog-fights amongst the ruling classes are intensifying; how do you plan to use this to your advantage?

Kishan: The fact is that revolutionaries always utilise the growing contradictions within the ruling factions in order to advance the revolution. But it must be remembered that in India as yet there is no clear-cut polarisation due to these contradictions and none of these contradictions have reached the level of a war. Another point is that while they fight like dogs for the spoils of office, they get united when it comes to suppressing the revolutionary struggles. But of course, there are also contradictions amongst them, as to what policy is best used against the revolutionaries — soft or strong.

That is why this question is such a question which demands serious thought as to how this contradiction can be used in the interests of revolution. In order to effectively utilise the contradiction within these ruling classes to further the revolutionary struggle all the following points must be analysed and considered — the concrete condition of the revolutionary armed struggle and its nationwide impact; the condition of our subjective forces, particularly of the Party, People's Army and United Front, and its impact on the people of the country; and the question of our ability to keep the initiative in our hands and our ability to effectively intervene on the varied political issues of the day.

In this matter I want to say one more thing, in the present condition I don't think it is correct to ally with one section of the ruling class parties in the name of utilizing contradictions among them.

PM: Now coming to international questions. What is the significance of Maoism in the contemporary world? Can

it help analyse the big changes taking place and give a perspective for the future in the present context?

Kishan: We have accepted Maoism as the Marxism-Leninism of today. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is in itself an integrated whole. It is such a dynamic science that, with its help one can better analyse all the branches of science. With it, we can correctly analyze anything or event and draw conclusions.

We know that Marxism does not merely interpret the world, but determines the laws that govern its change. Accordingly, what ever changes have taken place in the world today or all the changes that have taken place since the very beginning of the imperialist era, till date, can only have been correctly analysed in the light of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This will apply to the future as well. Together with this, we must remember that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the guide to all our activities. Therefore, it acts as the theoretical guide to understand even big changes that may have taken place in any new conditions. We have to do our work not in a dogmatic way but apply it creatively.

In addition, to understand the future, within the framework of the present can only be done in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Development of the world situation takes place only through the process of passing through various ups and down, the zig-zag path and through the process of advancing through both victories and defeats. Even all advances in the world and the social system too go through this process and will also continue to do so in this way.

Therefore, I am of the firm opinion that to understand today's world and find solutions to its varied problems, the use of Maoism is of a historical and international significance.

PM: How do you plan to develop relations with other revolutionary forces throughout the world? What impact will this unity have on the international communist movement?

Kishan: We communists are internationalists. This internationalism is

best reflected through our slogan – Workers and oppressed people of the world unite! For the advance of the world communist movement there is utmost necessity to establish strong fraternal relations between the revolutionary struggles of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries and the working class movements in the capitalist-imperialist countries. With this approach, one of our important duties is to establish strong relations with all genuine Maoist parties in the world. From earlier itself both the erstwhile MCCI and the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] have continued bilateral relations with Nepal, Peru, Philippines, Turkey and other countries at the international level. The erstwhile MCCI had even joined the RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement), while the erstwhile PW had decided to further deepen its relations with RIM.

Now when a new Party – the CPI(Maoist) – is born, by following revolutionary traditions, the party has decided to continue its deep relations with RIM and all other genuine Maoists.

As India is a vast populated country, the unity of India's two important revolutionary organisations – the erstwhile MCCI and PW – will definitely have a very positive impact at the international plane. Today there is no socialist country in the world. Today, when the reactionaries are shouting from the roof tops that Marxism and Communism has been defeated, the merger of the erstwhile MCCI and PW and the formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party, is such an event, that too in a vast country with a population of one billion, that can give new life to the international communist movement. To the extent that we will be able to intensify revolutionary guerrilla agrarian war – i.e., protracted people's war – under the leadership of the new Party, to that extent new energy will be infused into the International Communist Movement.

PM: You have been always saying for the last 35 years the situation in the world is excellent for revolution. If so

why are the Maoist forces in the world so weak?

Ganapathy: Yes, the objective situation is in general terms excellent. The objective situation is very excellent in the third world or backward countries or oppressed countries or semi-colonies and colonies and the revolutionary objective situation is developing in the imperialist countries. But, why is there this contradiction that you mentioned? How can we understand this?

We should understand that there is a dialectical link between the objective and the subjective factors; it is not a mechanical interconnection or a one-to-one relationship. If there was such a mechanical relation everything would be pre-determined and revolution would take place in the backward countries first only. Lenin said that, to a revolutionary situation to mature, both the objective and subjective factors must develop and then alone revolution breaks out at the weakest link. Though, today the storm centres of world revolution are the backward countries and there the conditions are acute; in which of these countries revolution takes place is dependent on numerous factors. Similarly, the development and growth of genuine proletarian parties (Maoist parties) is determined not merely by the extent of poverty but by the political content of the general democratic movement in that country and the growth of genuine proletarian forces within it.

With the advent of imperialism, the crisis of capitalism took the form of a General crisis and ripened the objective condition for social revolution. The principal characteristic feature of the general crisis of capitalism in the era of imperialism is that capitalism as a whole is bogged down in a state of under-utilisation of capacity and permanent mass unemployment and inflation. The continuous massive destruction of productive forces through world wars and proxy wars, through under-utilisation of productive capacities of millions upon millions of people and the destruction of surplus commodities, even as millions of people languish in destitution; are all features of imperialism.

The general crisis of capitalism brought forth all the fundamental contradictions in society to a bursting point — that between capital and labour, between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people, and between the various imperialist powers and monopoly capitalist groups. The conflict of the productive forces with the existing relations of production thus took on an explosive form ever since the advent of imperialism, leading to fascism, world wars and social revolutions. These will continue until the final victory of the World Socialist Revolution over the world capitalist system.

The present day world is under a great disorder, turbulence and instability rarely witnessed after the Second World War. The collapse of Soviet Social imperialism and the complete integration of erstwhile bureaucratic capitalist states of East Europe, Soviet Union in the 1990s and China into world capitalist system have not mitigated the crisis of world capitalism. This ever intensifying crisis of the world capitalist system is the basis for the chaos, turmoil and instability which has become the characteristics of the contemporary world situation. After the 11th September incident, in the name of fighting against terrorism US imperialism is unleashing a series of wars of aggression and carrying out attacks on the people all over the world. This has generated a powerful backlash from the people, in various forms. Thus a new situation has emerged where instability and turmoil have deepened further.

Today, imperialism is facing an unprecedented worldwide crisis, unheard of ever since the end of the Second World War. All the fundamental contradictions are further sharpening. A new tide of revolutionary struggles, national liberation struggles and various people's movements against imperialist aggression, oppression, exploitation and the reactionary ruling classes is unfolding everywhere. There is great need to utilise this favourable situation to make great leaps in the ongoing people's war in our country and advance towards the establishment of a new democratic state and then march forward to socialism.

Vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are continuing as the storm centres of world revolution. Guerrilla war against US occupation is intensifying in Iraq and Afghanistan. People's war, under the leadership of the Maoist parties in India, Nepal, Philippines, Peru and Turkey, is advancing. The workers and vast sections of the masses in imperialist countries are fighting militantly against the policies of globalisation and war. Genuine revolutionary parties based on MLM are emerging in several capitalist countries. All this acts to weaken imperialism.

Yet, relative to the 1960s and 70s, the proletarian movement is weaker. The principal reason for this is the growth of the revisionist trends worldwide and the betrayal of the national liberation movements of the 60s and the 70s. The reversals in the Soviet Union (1956) and then in China (1976) and the conversion of the Communist Party Of Soviet Union (CPSU) and the CPC into revisionist parties fuelled rightist and revisionist parties throughout the world. The restoration of capitalism in these former socialist societies and the disintegration of the socialist camp had a very negative impact on the advance of the world revolution. Utilising the situation of this setback the imperialists went on an ideological and political offensive against communism trying to show it as being outdated and floating various new forms of dissent theories. On the other hand most of the genuine communist revolutionary forces were in disarray and ideological and political confusion rife with no international centre. It is these factors that have resulted in the relative weakening of the Maoist forces today. In addition the massive, genocidal repression unleashed on all revolutionary forces (as witnessed in Indo-China, Latin America, and now Asia) further created impediments in growth.

But today, with the conditions worldwide becoming even more horrifying and the regrouping of genuine Maoist forces and the birth of new ones, the revolutionary situation is bound to advance. The relatively faster growth of the PPW in Nepal is a concrete example of the excellence of revolutionary

situation. If Maoist parties emerge in various countries and take concrete tactics, under a correct strategy, they are bound to advance. To do so there is a need to correctly grasp MLM; know the nature of the imperialist era and grasp the historical task of the world working class and its Vanguard Parties; prepare the subjective forces; politically mobilise and lead the masses in the class struggles and advance the revolutionary wars to success.

PM: Finally, what message does your united Party have for the people of the country?

Ganapathy: Finally, our United Party calls on the people of India and the world over to:

Unite! Unite! And Unite! Unite all the revolutionary and democratic classes and forces of our country — workers, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, including all the oppressed social sections — under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)!!

Organize! Organize! And Organize! Organize in the Revolutionary Mass Organisations, Red Army, and the Organs of New Political Power under the leadership of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)!!

Struggle! Struggle! And Struggle! Struggle to break the chains of Imperialism, Feudalism and Comprador Bureaucrat Capitalism for liberation! Struggle for great victories to triumph countrywide political power! No force, however mighty, can suppress the people's struggles permanently! Ultimately Victory of the revolution is inevitable! It is the law of transformation of class society! Final defeat is only of the enemy! Final victory is only of the oppressed masses!!

We give a similar call to the working class, oppressed nations and the people of all countries — Unite, Organize and intensify the struggle against imperialism and all reaction, for the advancement and success of the world socialist revolution under the leadership of the genuine proletarian Parties!!!

2004 Index

January 2004

Indian Expansionism

Indian Expansionism: A great Threat to the entire People of South Asia, Including the People of India

Political

Dalit Resistance in Punjab

Silence on the Growing Atrocities on Dalits

Unite Firmly With Iraqi People, to Fight Back US Aggression

In CPM-ruled Land: The greyhounds will be hounded out of their lairs

Reports

Don't Extradite Nepali Revolutionary Leader C.P. Gajurel To Nepali Monarchy

Obituary

Grothendieck: The Other Name of Struggle

International

World, a Boiling Cauldron: As Contention Intensifies, War Clouds Gather

WSF and Anti-imperialism

Only Answer to Imperialist Globalisation & Hindu Fascism: Peoples' Struggles and Peoples' War

The Movement Against Imperialist Globalisation & War

Globalisation: The Mantra for All Parliamentary Parties

Supplement: Andhra Pradesh:

Globalisation and State Terrorism

February-March 2004

Editorial

Tale of Two Forums Retold: One, A Serious Step Forward; The Other, A Carnival

Political

Operation All Clear: Could the bullets suppress the aspirations of Nationalities?

Police Raj in AP

Press Releases

Boycott Fake Lokasabha & Assembly Elections!

Reports

MR-2004: A Step Ahead in the ongoing Anti-imperialist Struggle

The WSF or the Celebration of Dissent

Koraput Campaign in Orissa is a Milestone in the Annals of Indian Agrarian Revolution!

Condemn Illegal Deportation of top Maoist Leaders to Nepal

April 2004

Political

The Tragedy & Farce of India's Electoral System

Liberation's Betrayal of Liberation

Press Releases

Hail the heroic armed guerrilla offensive of the PGA in Koraput!

Reports

Goebellian Lies Cannot Stop the Advance of the Nepalese Revolution

WPRM Lawyer's Delegation from Germany Harassed By Indian Authorities to Meet Com. Gaurav

Brutal Attack on Naxalite Prisoners in Bihar The CPM too Begins its Fake Encounters Raj in West Bengal

Political

Resist US Occupation of Haiti

The Basque National Question

May 2004

Political

Boycott Elections! Build a Single Unified Leninist Party in the Country!!

Why Election Boycott? A Theoretical, Historical Analysis

Lok Sabha Election: Another Round Of Deception

Press Releases

A Call to the Indian Masses by the MCCI, PW and Janashakti

Successful Conclusion of the Third Conference of the CCOMPOSA

Reports

The Saranda Ambush & BJP's Panic

Punjab Farmers Agitation Brutally Crushed

Reports of the boycott impact in PW areas of West-Bengal

June 2004

Political

AP Elections: Rout of a Fascist

The Question of an Approach to WSF/MR

In Remembrance of Paul M. Sweezy

Interview

Interview with a member of the editorial board of the Red Sun

July 2004

Political

Martyr's Week: Commemorate Martyred Revolutionary Heroes

AP Elections and After: Suicides & Naxalites Pressure From All Around for the Release and Life Security of Comrade Kiran

Homage

Satyam — An Indefatigable Warrior

William H. Hinton: A Consistent Pro-people Writer

International

Full Support to the Iraqi Resistance

Winning Hearts and Minds — The Abu Ghraib way

Mercenaries in Iraq: Patriotism on heavy payment

Press Release

Let us Fight for Waiving all Loans, State or Private!!

Fight for scraping LPG policies, POTA and for lifting ban on political organisations!

August 2004

Political

AP Elections: People overwhelmingly reject Chandrababu Naidu's call for a referendum against the Naxalites

AP — One set of bandits replace another Chandrababu: Image and Reality

A Worshipful Obituary of Edward Said

International

Peru: Judge rules against isolation of Chairman Gonzalo

Press Release

We are ready for talks if ceasefire is declared without delay!

We too are ready for cease-fire

Press Statement: United Revolutionary People's Council, Nepal

September 2004

Political

Our Red Flag dipped in the blood of Martyrs' flying high in the hands of revolutionary masses!

Growing Suicide Deaths: Chilling Depth of Agrarian crisis

Reports

Bastar People's Rally Commemorating Bhoomkal

Massive Rally at Warangal

People's March in Dhanbad

Thousands gather in Muzzaffarpur

Saranda tactical counter-offensive

Freedom loving Manipuris Script History

International

Tear drops turn into a dagger: Palestinian women's struggle goes on

Press Release

Support the Manipuris struggle of self-determination!!

The US imperialists are no-body to call us "terrorists" Statement of the MCCI

Red Salute To The Heroic Fighters of Assam! Statement of the MCCI

CCOMPOSA's Call to Resist US intervention and Indian Expansionism in South Asia

Restore EPF Rates to their Original Level!

Interviews

An Interview with PW, comrade Prakash On the current and Peace Talks in AP

Interview with APSC Secretary Com. Ramakrishna

October 2004

Cover Story

Girl Child - An Endangered Species

Political

Kamtapuri Struggle: A Reply To Injustices Impact of Globalisation on workers and shrinking employment opportunities

Interviews

Interview with Com. Parvati

