

**CPI(MAOIST) 10TH ANNIVERSARY
COMMEMORATIVE VOLUMES**

**COLLECTED
INTERVIEWS**

SEPTEMBER 2004 - AUGUST 2014

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

Foreword

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary celebrations of the formation of CPI(Maoist), as part of our endeavour to put together and republish a number of hitherto published and unpublished party documents, we are presenting here a compilation of interviews given by the party's central leadership since the formation of the unified party. The party puts forth its views and understanding about the domestic and international developments, political and economic situation, social, cultural and other topical issues from a proletarian standpoint from time to time. Along with party literature and press statements, interviews play an important role in the wider propagation of the party's opinion and stand. These interviews present the consolidated understanding of the entire party articulated by the leadership comrades. Released in the written form as also through audio-video recordings in some cases, these interviews were published in various party magazines, electronic and print media and the internet over the decade.

The last ten years have been a significant period in the Indian revolutionary movement. Ten years back, the two foremost revolutionary streams of the country CPI (ML)[PW] and MCCI achieved unity. a single directing centre of the Indian revolution emerged with the formation of CPI(Maoist) . This was the fulfilment of a long-cherished hope of the oppressed masses of our country and revolutionaries all over the world. The interview by the general secretaries of the two erstwhile parties on the occasion of the merger and formation of the new party in September 2004 extensively deal with various aspects of this unity. The Unity Congress-9th Congress of the party, held after 37 years of the 8th Congress of CPI (ML) in 1970, strengthened, deepened and consolidated this unity. The historic significance of the Congress is explained in an interview by the general secretary after its successful completion in early 2007.

The unified party made significant advances in the last ten years in carrying out the central task of areawise seizure of political power through

armed agrarian revolutionary war. The party is striving to fulfil the call of the Unity Congress to transform guerilla zones into base areas and guerilla war into mobile war. Many of these interviews elaborate the achievements of the party, army and united front along with the challenges they face in realising these aims.

The party withstood severe attacks from the enemy over these years and advanced the people's war by firmly adhering to its revolutionary line. It enriched and united itself through internal ideological and political struggles against right and 'left' deviations as well as non-proletarian trends. It engaged in struggles, polemics and debates against revisionism and right-opportunism in the international communist movement and strove to defend Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The party's martyred spokesperson Com. Azad's several interviews opposing the revisionist line of Prachanda-Baburam is a testimony to this.

The achievements of the PLGA in this period are recounted in many of these interviews. Com. Basavraj, the Central Military Commission in-charge, deals with various aspects of the people's war spearheaded by the PLGA under the leadership of the party in his two interviews included in the volume. While the first was published just after the historic Nayagarh Raid of 2008, the other was in the context of Operation Green Hunt and PLGA's resistance to it. In the same way, the significance of the attack on the notorious Greyhound forces at Balimela in 2008 can be learnt from the interview of Com. Bhaskar.

The interviews place before the people the advances made by the revolutionary movement in different guerilla zones by facing brutal repression unleashed by the reactionary ruling classes. They emphasise the role of the masses in developing embryonic forms of alternative political power. The achievements of the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya (DK) is highlighted by Com. Sonu in the interview given in 2007, a period when the fascist Salwa Judum campaign was on a rampage. Com. Kosa answers queries related to the assembly elections of Chhattisgarh in 2009 as well as the election boycott campaign of the party in DK. Under the guidance of the Central Committee, BJSAC spokesperson Com. Gopalji talks about the people's political power in Bihar-Jharkhand (B-J) which is sprouting by

fighting the armed goons of landlords, vigilante gangs and the government.

The revolutionary women's movement is an inseparable part of the Maoist movement. It has made great strides in mobilising the toiling women. Com. Sheela's interview included in the volume is a rich account of the movement in B-J, while Com. Anuradha talks of the DK women's movement as well as the movement of the country's urban women in historical perspective.

The last ten years have seen a massive upsurge of people's movements all across the country. Workers, peasants, the middle classes, dalits, adivasis, women, religious minorities, nationalities, students and youth, other oppressed classes and sections carried out militant struggles. The party was actively involved in many of these and extended support to others. The party tried to put forward its understanding of these movements and sought to mobilise wider support for them through these interviews. Various interviews of Comrades Ganapathy, Azad and Kishenji throw light on these movements in particular, although almost all interviews touch upon the ongoing people's movements. Since 2009, the interviews also give an overview of the party's efforts to fight back Operation Green Hunt, the latest and the most extensive counter-revolutionary war launched by the Indian state against the people of the country.

Our stand on the sham parliamentary elections is explained in the interviews of Comrades Azad and Abhay, while the interview by Com. Anand and the conversation of the general secretary with Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha clarified our stand on talks with the government. Detailed discussions about the experience of talks by the Andhra Pradesh State Committee (APSC) of the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] with the AP government, which took place at a time when the formation process of CPI(Maoist) was at an advanced stage, can be found in the interviews of Comrades Ramakrishna and Prakash published in 2004. Com. Satenna's interview included in the volume highlights the uncompromising struggles waged by revolutionaries within the four walls of the enemy prisons. Likewise, Com. Arvind responds to queries related to the disastrous path of economic development pursued by the Indian ruling classes since 1947 and presents the Maoist alternative. We also include the interviews of two martyred

leaders of Indian revolution Comrades Sushil Roy and Ajayda who present various aspects of the ongoing people's war in the light of their rich revolutionary experience.

Here we have mentioned only a few facets of the interviews included in the volume, though each one of them cover a wide range of topics and themes related to the ideological, political, military and organisational aspects of the revolutionary movement. All of them complement one another and chronicle the development of the movement in the past decade. Together, they present an overall picture of the Maoist movement in India. At a time when the enemy is conducting its brutal war on the people, banning revolutionary organisations, clamping down on the propagation of revolutionary literature, proscribing all genuine opposition to the existing system and running an aggressive psychological war against the Maoist movement, these interviews are significant in taking the voice of the party to the masses. They also provide the party an opportunity to respond to the concerns of the people.

Not all the interviews of the party's central leadership are in English. Nor have we been able to translate all of them from various Indian languages and make it available to the English readership. Moreover, many of these interviews are presently unavailable to us. This compilation therefore remains partial and incomplete. Our efforts to publish collections of more such interviews in English and some Indian languages will continue in the future.

With revolutionary greetings,
Central Committee
CPI(Maoist)

1 September 2014

CPI(MAOIST) 10TH ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATIVE VOLUMES

Collected Interviews

September 2004 - August 2014

1. Comrades Ganapathy and Kishen, General Secretaries of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) and MCCI, on the occasion of the merger of the two parties and the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), *People's March, Volume 5, No. 11-12, November-December 2004* 11
2. "South Asia is indeed becoming a storm centre of world revolution" - Interview of Comrade Ganapathy to the Worker, organ of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), *May 2006* 40
3. Interview with Com. Ramakrishna, Andhra Pradesh State Committee Secretary, CPI(ML)[PW], *People's March, Vol.5 No.9, September 2004* 60
4. "No Illusions that Something Drastic would Emerge Out of the Talks. If Government Violates Cease-Fire We will Fight Back by Intensifying the People's War!" - Interview with Com. Prakash, *People's March, Vol.5 No.9, September 2004* 68
5. Movement of Jharkhand Adivasi Women – An interview with Comrade Budhini Munda (Sheela, Shobha), Central Committee Member, CPI(Maoist), *People's March, October 2003* 78
6. "We have experiences of several countries where the toiling masses suffered heavily due to the wrong line of the Communist party" - Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, CPI(Maoist) on Nepal developments, *People's March, Volume 7, No.6 & 7, June-July 2006* 94

7. Interview with Comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI(Maoist) in the background of the successful completion of the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the CPI (Maoist), *People's March, Volume 8 No: 7, July 2007* 118
8. Interview with Comrade Sonu, Central Committee Member, CPI(Maoist) on the revolutionary movement in Dandakaranya, *People's March, Volume 8 No. 6, July-August, 2007* 152
9. History of Naxalite movement in West Bengal seen through the eyes of veteran martyr Comrade Ajayda, *People's March, Volume 8 No. 8, December, 2007* 166
10. Interview with Comrade Basavaraj, chief of Central Military Commission, CPI(Maoist) on the historic Nayagarh Raid, *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 2, 20 May 2008* 172
11. Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson of the CC, CPI(Maoist) on the present developments in Nepal, *People's Truth, No. 2, July 2008* 179
12. Interview with Comrade Bhaskar, Secretary, Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC) on Balimela attack on Greyhounds, *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 3, 20 July 2008* 195
13. Interview with Comrade Arvind on Indian economy, *People's Truth, Bulletin No. 2, July 2008* 207
14. Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, CPI(Maoist) on Kashmir and Khandamal, *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 4, 10 September 2008* 219
15. "People's war has shattered the hesitations of the women of Dandakaranya" - Interview with Comrade Janaki (Anuradha) by 'Poru Mahila', *People's Truth, Bulletin No. 3, September – December 2008* 233
16. Interview with Comrade Kosa, Secretary of DKSZC and member of Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 6, 15 January 2009* 243
17. Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist) on 2009 Lok Sabha Elections, *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 7, 15 April 2009* 253

8 ★ Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)

18. Interview with Comrade Kishenji on Lalgarh movement and other issues, *April-November 2009* 271
19. Interview with Comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI(Maoist), *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 11, 7 October 2009* 286
20. Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), on the current unprecedented military offensive by the central and various state governments on the CPI(Maoist) and the armed agrarian revolutionary movement, *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 12, 31 October 2009* 306
21. Interview with Comrade Anand, Secretary, Central Regional Bureau (CRB), CPI(Maoist), *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 13, 5 December 2009* 339
22. Comrade Ganapathy in conversation with Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha, *People's March, Volume 11, No.1, January-February 2010* 354
23. Comrades Satenna and Sonu in conversation with Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha, *People's March, Volume 11, No.1, January-February 2010* 379
24. Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), answers the questions sent by *The Hindu, April 2010* 401
25. Interview with Gopalji, Spokesperson of the Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee (BJSAC) of the CPI(Maoist), *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 17, May 2010* 434
26. "Nobody can kill the ideas of 'Azad'! Nobody can stop the advancement of the revolution!" - Interview with Comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI (Maoist), *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 20, October-November 2010* 446
27. Interview with Comrade Basavaraj, In-Charge, Central Military Commission (CMC), *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 26, August-December 2012* 494
28. Interview of Comrade Sushil Roy, veteran leader of CPI (Maoist), *October 2012* 514
29. Interview with Comrade Abhay, Spokesperson, CPI (Maoist) on General Elections 2014, *Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 29, January-June 2014* 521

1

Comrades Ganapathy and Kishen, General Secretaries of the Erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW) and MCCI, on the Occasion of the Merger of the Two Parties and the Formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

People's March, Volume 5, No. 11-12, November-December 2004

(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 (PM): 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 to 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 anything.

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 led 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 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!!!

2

“South Asia is Indeed Becoming A Storm Centre of World Revolution”

Interview of Comrade Ganapathy to The Worker, Organ of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

May 2006

1. Comrade General Secretary, would you please mention how you are analyzing the particularities of present world situation?

Ganapathy (GP): The particularities of the present situation are:

Politically, the absence of a socialist base for the world revolution; the growth of strong anti-Communist ideologies such as post-modernism and the NGO philosophy; rise of the US as the sole superpower after the collapse of the Soviet superpower in the beginning of the 1990s and the grave threat posed by the US imperialism to world people, especially after the September 11 attacks on the WTC and the Pentagon; the fascist offensive throughout the world against revolutionary movements, national liberation movements and defiant regimes in the name of containing so-called terrorism; and the growth of a strong anti-War, anti-Globalisation movements all over the world.

Economically, the integration of the so-called socialist economies, the state bureaucratic capitalist economies directly into world capitalist system; the ascendance of neo-liberal economic policies of LPG or Globalization,

some important changes in the production system and further intensification of neo-colonial plunder, exploitation, control of semi-colonial and semi-feudal and neo-colonial countries; change in the role of IMF, WB and emergence of WTO as powerful world imperialist economic bodies; the tremendous technological revolutions in information technology and biotechnology; important changes in economic strengths and positions of big imperialist powers in the share of world market and emergence of some new economic powers; and acute crisis in the world capitalist economy.

Thus all the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world have been getting more and more acute making the situation highly favourable for revolution. While such is the objective condition, the particularity of the subjective condition is that there is no organized challenge to the imperialists and the biggest bully of all, the American imperialists. With the restoration of capitalism in China after the revisionist take-over following the demise of Mao, the world proletariat and the oppressed people and nations have no leadership or guidance. The weak organized strength and lack of leadership for the world people has made the imperialists more aggressive and oppressive. Today, in every country the Communist Party has to make revolution almost without any substantial help from other countries, say, like the situation prior to the October Revolution, in a way.

There is one big difference, however. After the setbacks and defeats in the world proletarian revolution, we are able to understand more deeply the problems of socialist construction, and think of ways and means to overcome such setbacks in post-revolutionary societies. We, as Marxists, not only see the setbacks and defeats in the world revolution but also the continuous struggle of the oppressed nations and people, learn valuable lessons from past mistakes and limitations in the construction of socialist society. We not only see the enemy's successes and strengths but also see the reasons behind it, his weaknesses and the acuteness of the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world, which will ultimately lead to his defeat and the victory of proletariat.

Whatever be the particularity of the present situation, one should not forget the protracted nature of the world proletarian revolution, the direction of development process of human society, and the historical task of international proletariat

2. Do you think there have been changes or new developments on the specificities that Marx, Lenin and Mao had synthesized concerning capitalism and imperialism in the erstwhile situation? If so, do you think the overall development of MLM is necessary to face the challenges emerging from the new situation?

GP: Yes, our Party thinks there have been some significant changes or new developments in the specificities concerning capitalism and imperialism from what has been synthesized by Marx, Lenin and Mao. However, regarding the character of the present era, our Party thinks there is no fundamental change and it is still the era of imperialism, and proletarian revolution.

First of all, we know that, our great international proletarian revolutionary teachers and leaders—comrades Marx, Lenin and Mao—lived in different stages/phases of capitalist/imperialist society, and in those times there were many great changes-qualitative or most significant in all spheres of society. Taking into consideration the developments in various sciences, and the advances made in the realm of class struggle and revolutionary practice, they developed proletarian science. MLM was established and developed in three stages. MLM too develops further like any other science, enriches the proletarian science through creative and concrete application to the changing conditions. There is always the need for the creative application of the universal truth of MLM to face the new challenges emerging from the new situation.

But it is yet another thing to say that it is necessary to develop MLM to face the new situation. I do not know of any Marxist teacher or genuine proletarian Party or leader who had placed the question in this manner or that MLM had developed in this way by any one genius or Party in the past. Nor will it develop so in future. I do not think Marx or Lenin or Mao had posed the question this way, or declared that it was their task to develop proletarian science. MLM had developed in the course of advancing the class struggle and solving the multifarious problems confronting the world revolution.

So, in this context let me remind you the changes after Mao as I mentioned in my answer to your first question. Let every genuine Maoist Party independently, and all genuine Maoist Parties collectively, strive to

face the new changes and challenges in the international arena. It is in the course of correctly solving the problems confronting the revolution that the revolutions in the various countries and the world revolution will advance by overcoming the present difficult situation. The development of theory might take place in one or a few aspects or in a more comprehensive way through this struggle and revolutionary process. Any Party, or Parties and their leaders might contribute significantly for the development of the theory in the course of advancing the revolution and understanding the objective development of other sciences. The world proletarian revolution advances in this way.

3. South Asia has been becoming a storm centre of revolution, what are the objective and subjective bases for this?

GP: As analysed by the Parties of CCOMPOSA, South Asia is indeed becoming a storm centre of world revolution. There are certain objective and subjective bases for this.

Firstly, all the countries of South Asia are semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries once ruled by the British imperialists. Hence they have many similarities and inter-relations in historical, economical, political, social, religious, cultural and geographical conditions.

Secondly, we must keep in mind first the geo-strategic location of South Asia and the immense interest of the imperialists in the region. The US imperialists, in particular, want to use SAsia as a counter-weight to China which is fast becoming a major economic-military- political power.

Third, it is the most populated region in the world accounting for a fifth of the world's population which is larger than China. It has a vast market and has been an important region of rivalry between the various imperialist powers who vie for greater share of the SAsian markets.

Fourth, Indian expansionism is a powerful enemy of the people and nationalities and a big threat to the development of the NDRs and national liberation struggles of this region; the revolutionary situation objectively and subjectively in Nepal is more matured than anywhere in present day world and the NDR is advancing with tremendous success under the leadership of CPN(Maoist); The NDR in India is in a more advantageous

position than ever before and it is advancing under the leadership of CPI(Maoist) and its great significance in the world socialist revolution; existence of Maoist Parties in Bangladesh and newly formed Maoist Party in Bhutan; the Maoist Parties of India, Nepal and Bangladesh are having proletarian revolutionary consistency, spirit, vigor and traditions in high holding the red banner of MLM since the days of great debate under the leadership of comrade Mao and Naxalbari; since the great Naxalbari uprising to contemporary PPW in Nepal and India, the revolutionary movements are creating great impact in every country of South Asia.

Since mid-90s there are good relations between all these Maoist parties with a strategic approach, specific policies and tactics to deal with the contradictions in South Asian Region to advance the revolutions and democratic struggles of oppressed nationalities in every country and entire region.; the support of revolutionary forces and democratic people in world is increasing day by day. So, any body can say there is an objective and subjective condition in South Asia to become a storm centre of world revolution.

4. Would you please shed light on the theoretical concept of CCOMPOSA and the role it is playing? How do you think it should develop to face the emerging new challenges regionally?

GP: As the name itself indicates, CCOMPOSA is basically a coordination committee of the Maoist parties and organisations of the region. The chief purpose for which we had formed this is to achieve better coordination between the Maoist forces in the Sub-Continent in order to wage united struggle against Indian Expansionism. Towards this end, it is necessary to unite all the forces, particularly the various nationality movements, in the common front against Indian expansionism and imperialism. The Maoist forces should act as the core of this front and provide the leadership.

However, we do not think the role of the CCOMPOSA is limited to fight against Indian expansionism. We should strive to achieve more ideological-political cohesion among the Maoist forces of the region, exchange the experiences and assist one another in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Ideologically we analyzed concretely the historical, economical, political, social, religious, cultural and geographical conditions to correctly understand the inter-relations between, problems facing, contradictions operating in the South Asian Region in general and concretely analyzed the expansionism of Indian ruling classes in particular. And basing on the above understanding, we politically formulated our strategic approach and tactics and specific policies to deal with the situation of this region. Thus struggle against Indian expansionism; and mutual help in this struggle and in the advancement of revolutions are the objectives of the CCOMPOSA and it was with this ideological and political understanding that both our Parties—[CPN(Maoist) and CPI(Maoist)], initiated to form it.

Yes, surely the CCOMPOSA is as an important instrument of Maoist Parties and democratic fighting forces to face the emerging new challenges regionally. But, its development will depend on the successes and advancements in revolutions of this region in general and Nepal and India in particular and also the role played by the Parties concerned in it and also on the political situation in this Region and world over.

5. The unity between two revolutionary parties in India, the CPI (ML) (PW) and MCCI has inspired very much the masses the world over and South Asia in particular. But there are still several revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties outside of this process. Does this process still continue?

GP: I agree with you regarding the impact of the merger of two Maoist Parties and the formation of CPI(Maoist) in India. And I also agree that there are still several revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties outside of this process. This fact was taken cognizance of by the Joint meeting of the CCs of the two erstwhile parties at the time of the merger.

The CC of our new Party has correctly assessed that there are still some (not several as you say) revolutionary forces outside the Party and decided to take up the unity task by the new central committee as its one of urgent tasks. Our new Central committee in its first meeting has decided to start immediately the unity process with other revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and revolutionary individuals. We are making serious

efforts to realize this task in a principled manner. Regarding the unity of genuine revolutionary forces, I want to clarify there must be an agreement on basic ideological, political, organizational, military issues which will ensure the unity on the Party basic line for the unity with any revolutionary Party. And also our Central Committee is giving very much importance to the practice of any revolutionary Party to correctly judge its genuineness.

In order to correctly assess the words and deeds of any revolutionary Party, we are asking the review of its practice. For principled unity we need the review of any Party in Indian context and lessons gained in the history of revolutionary movement of India. With this unity effort already we are getting some positive results also. But, unfortunately some parties are not positively responded. In spite of their negative approach, we are still waiting for their positive response. I believe that this revolutionary situation itself forces all the genuine revolutionaries to unite. Their responsibility lies in their consciousness.

6. Would you please mention the basic theoretical and political concept of unity between revolutionary parties?

GP: Basically, theoretical and political unity on the following questions must be essential for the unification of revolutionaries in India:

Our ideology of MLM, Nature of the Indian society, state character, major and fundamental contradictions and principal contradiction; Stage of the revolution, Strategy of the revolution and path of the revolution; Political, organizational and military line and basic tactics of PPW; Stand on the questions of Caste, Nationality, Women and Religious minorities; International situation and the fundamental and principal contradictions in the contemporary world, Domestic situation, and so on. Along with the theoretical and political unity on these questions, it is very important to take into consideration the historical evaluation of practice of the parties that wish to unite as well as their current practice.

To think of unity basing only on the basic documents related to the ideological-political line of the parties and not taking into account the practice of the parties, is fraught with inherent danger since no party can be genuinely revolutionary if its practice does not match its theory. We should oppose

some of aspects proposed by the RIM for the unification of Maoist Parties in a country.

7. How have been the activities, situation of the movement and influence after party unification?

GP: Unification of the two Maoist Parties has had a tremendous influence on the oppressed masses of the country and the various revolutionary forces. The Party organization now spans across the length and breadth of the country, from Assam -Tripura in the east to Gujarat in the west, and from Punjab in the north to Kerala in the south. We now have presence in almost every state though it is weak in some states. The merger of the two Parties has strengthened the organization specially in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, UP, Orissa and Chathisgarh and to a smaller degree in eight other states.

The merger at the central level was immediately followed by the merger at the state level which took almost 6 months. This has been one of the main activities during the period after the merger. We have also taken up the Assembly Election Boycott campaign in Bihar, Jharkhand during the month of February this year. It had a good political impact and there was virtually no campaigning by the parliamentary parties in most of our areas. Some of the armed tactical offensives as in Chandauli of UP in November last in which 17 policemen were killed, the annihilation of the SP of Mungyr district in Bihar, ambushes in West Bengal, Maharashtra, series of attacks in Chathisgarh, Jharkhand and AP had demonstrated the increased striking power of the PLGA after the merger of the two Parties and the two guerilla armies.

As regards political offensive, attempts are going on to build a strong anti-imperialist, anti-repression movement. We are now in a position to build mass organizations having a really All India character and proceed in the direction of building united front at the all India level.

The impact of the merger is felt even more by the exploiting ruling classes who have been yelling loudly that the new Party poses a grave danger to the internal security and the unity and integrity of the country and that all efforts should be made to stamp out the Red Corridor stretching all the way from Nepal to Kerala in the south. Meetings of the Chief Ministers,

DGPs, Chief Secretaries and so on of 13 states are having meeting after meeting devising plans to suppress the people's war led by the CPI(Maoist).

8. India is a big country with a lot of diversities. How are you evaluating the character of the political contradictions based upon various particularities of economic, social, cultural and religious arenas along with geographical diversity? In such a situation what kind of working plan you have prepared to apply the line of People's War in India?

9. A considerable section of Indian population has been concentrating in the cities and industrial sectors. The nature of contradiction automatically brings about changes in the form of movement. Looking at it from this angle, how do you see the possibility of insurrection in the cities? If so, have you thought about the need to develop military line that connects the protracted people's war with insurrection?

GP: Almost a third of the Indian population resides in urban areas. The size of the working class in India is quite huge. Though as a percentage of the total population it is not very high as in the capitalist countries, in numbers it is very significant. For instance, the strength of the organized working class itself is more than the population of Nepal, not to speak of the unorganized working class which is four times more. It is important to take this fact into consideration when formulating tactics.

The weightage of the working class and the urban area in the overall revolution is greater than what it was in pre-revolutionary China. The uprisings of the working class and the urban population play an important role in the latter stages of the Indian revolution. We have to adopt diverse tactics for mobilizing the urban masses into the revolution, take up their political-economic-social-cultural issues, give more importance especially to work among the various sections of the urban population, expose and isolate the revisionist and bourgeoisie TU leadership, build a united revolutionary-democratic movement of the working class, build strong anti-imperialist and anti-CBB political movement, and concentrate on the key sectors of the economy. We must, no doubt, prepare the urban masses for insurrection but they must be first trained to integrate with the peasantry and to lead, participate and extend solidarity to the armed agrarian revolutionary

movement and thus lay a strong basis for worker-peasant unity.

The protracted people's war strategy includes the aspect of insurrection in the cities which generally takes after the liberation of the vast backward countryside. However, in the urban areas in and around the Base Areas and the guerilla zones, uprisings do occur much earlier and there will be continuous tussle between the revolutionary armed forces and the enemy's armed forces for the control over these urban areas for a long period of time. The line of PPW in India has its own specific characteristics. From the very beginning of our work in urban areas, we must give emphasis to building a self-defence movement, should inter-link the armed activity with the guerilla war in the sub-urban areas and with the armed agrarian revolutionary war in the countryside.

With the above strategic outlook our Party will further develop our political and military line in practice by summing up the experiences and the changes in conditions.

10. Strong national movements are being waged in the different parts of India. Would you please explain in brief the contradiction and inter-relation existing between the new democratic revolution and the national movement? Also how are you charting plans to win over the national movements in the fold of new democratic revolution? What are the ideological and political problems you are facing while doing so?

GP: Nationality movements have become an inseparable aspect of the Indian political scene, and however much the reactionary ruling classes of India have been trying to suppress them, or buy over their leadership, they are rising up again and again like a phoenix.

In the opinion of our Party, national movements are an integral part of the New Democratic Revolution. The demands of the various oppressed nationalities in India also form part of the agenda of the NDR. The just and legitimate right of the nationalities to self-determination, including their right to secession, is supported by our Party and this important democratic right is included in our Party programme. Thus theoretically, there is no contradiction between the new democratic revolution and the nationality movement as the latter's aim is to achieve liberation from imperialism and

reflects the aspirations of the vast masses, including the national bourgeoisie, which is also part of the new democratic front at this stage of the democratic revolution..

However, there are serious limitations on the part of the leadership of most of the nationality movements. They do not have a clear anti-imperialist orientation and often capitulate to imperialism. There is lack of consistency and there is vacillation. There is no ideological-political clarity regarding the national programme. This, obviously, poses some serious problems and hence we see some of the nationality movements capitulating to the machinations of the reactionary ruling classes and the imperialists.

The working class party has to make conscious effort to impart ideological-political education to the leadership of the nationality movements; orient their movements against imperialism, CBB and feudalism; help them formulate a democratic programme so as to reflect the aspirations of the broad masses; and achieve effective coordination between the armed agrarian revolutionary struggles and the national movements.

The armed struggles waged by the nationalities are an important component of the Indian new democratic revolution and our Party will make all effort to give them a correct revolutionary orientation and to achieve coordination against the common enemies.

11. How are you evaluating the present political situation in India? In the present context, would you please let us know about the immediate tactical program of military and political offensive within the present stage of strategic defensive?

GP: The present political situation in India is extremely favourable for advancing the people's war in the country, more so in the context of the merger of the two Maoist Parties in September last year. The crisis is quite acute in the economic, political and social spheres, all the fundamental and major contradictions are becoming more and more acute day by day and the various sections of the people are waging militant struggles on their demands, often clashing with the Indian state and the armed struggle of some oppressed nationalities are continuing.

Our Party has been trying to utilize this favourable situation by taking

up political and military offensive. Our TCOCs, which have been taken up as well-coordinated campaigns at various levels, have had a good impact. We have been taking up such tactical offensives to seize arms and ammunition from the enemy forces and arming PLGA, to establish organs of people's political power, and to stall the offensive operations of the enemy forces, and also during the PLGA anniversary week every year, and during the elections to parliament and assemblies.

Politically, we are trying to intervene in the various types of situation in the states where we are strong, utilize the contradictions within the ruling classes, and build broad-based militant mass movement against state repression, imperialist globalization and its ill-effects, Hindu communal-fascist offensive and religious fundamentalism of all types. But given the vast size of India and the weakness of our subjective forces, we are not yet in a position to effectively intervene at the Central level and our intervention is still largely at the state and lower levels. We do have plans to politically intervene at the Central level in a significant way in the near future.

12. As a practitioner of proletarian internationalism and an immediate neighbor, you are definitely studying in depth the People's War in Nepal. What do you see as important achievements for the world communist movement acquired from the development of 10 years of People's War in Nepal? Do you have any suggestions that you would like to provide in order to advance the Nepalese revolution further?

GP: Yes. We have been definitely studying the People's War in Nepal right from its Initiation. As a firm adherent of proletarian internationalism, our Party had always maintained good fraternal relations with your Party in Nepal, tried to study the ongoing people's war and, as you are aware, tried to assist in whatever way possible long before the initiation of people's war in your country. We have had several rounds of discussions during 1995-1996 when the people's war was initiated and during the period after the Initiation. During these discussions we had exchanged our views on several issues such as: the concept of Gonzalo Thought and the understanding regarding 'ism', Thought and Path, nature of the revolution in the 21st century, concept of South Asian Socialist Federation, role of RIM, experiences of Peru, question of comrade Stalin, and so on. The discussions

between our two Parties have been quite useful and helped in understanding one another better.

As a Party leading the revolution in India, we made special effort to study the advances made by the people's war in Nepal. The development of a decade of people's war in Nepal has a great impact on the world revolution and has provided rich and varied experiences for the revolutions in other countries. The world communist movement and the Indian communist movement have greatly benefited from the experiences of the PW in Nepal.

As for concrete achievements, I think the comrades in Nepal had very effectively and creatively combined the universal truth of MLM with the concrete practice of the Nepalese revolution. This creative application of MLM to the concrete conditions of Nepal in the context of the contemporary world situation by the CPN(Maoist) is itself an achievement. This is because dogmatism is still a strong trend in the world communist movement at present even though the right opportunism or right revisionism continues to be the principal trend. Hence the breakthrough achieved by the CPN(M) by the creative application of MLM will be an eye-opener to many of these dogmatic Maoists.

Another significant achievement of your Party, as I see, is the effective use of tactics. The CPN(M) has been able to change its tactics swiftly and boldly in accordance with the changes in the situation, without any hesitation, about what others would say. We can see this effective use of the weapon of tactics throughout this ten-year period and our Party appreciates the boldness and the creativity of your Party leadership in such a flexible use of the weapon of tactics.

The advances made by the people's war in Nepal has also proved that initiation of people's wars and rapid advances are possible in backward countries if the proletarian party is equipped with a correct revolutionary line based on MLM and the leadership effectively combines theory with practice and creatively develops appropriate tactics without any rigidity.

As for our suggestions, we have been continuously placing them before your leadership during our bilateral discussion with CPN(M). We found that there is a certain degree of overgeneralization with regard to some of

the achievements of the people's war in Nepal, such as attributing universality to some things that are basically a feature of the revolution in an extremely backward country. And while it is a good thing that your Party has been taking up tactics quite boldly, there is also the problem of oversimplification of some situations and, at times, taking tactics based on an overestimation of the situation such as the intensity of the contradictions between India, China and the US.

13. The reactionary states in both the countries, India and Nepal, have been augmenting co-work constantly to conspire against and repress the People's Wars in both of the countries. They have lost their sleep over questions of Red Corridor, Compact Zone and Joint Action and they have been very much terrified of this. In this backdrop, how do you think the inter-relation between two revolutionary parties, the CPI (Maoist) and CPN (Maoist), should be?

14. The Nepalese People's War has entered into the stage of strategic counter-offensive. This situation in itself is the phase of central political and military intervention against the enemy. It is clear that the reactionaries the world over in general and Indian expansionism in particular are assisting the despotic Gyanendra regime openly and even preparing for open intervention. What do you think the role of your party should be on behalf of the justice-loving Indian masses to prevent such intervention?

GP: I shall try to answer both the questions together as both are closely related.

It is a fact that the reactionary ruling classes of India and Nepal, aided and abetted by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, have been working together to suppress the people's wars in both these countries. The victory of the revolution in any country in the world is intolerable for the reactionaries of the world who have been spreading vicious propaganda and unending myths about the "final defeat of communism" and the "final triumph of capitalism", that there is no alternative to capitalism, and such trash. The spectre of a communism is haunting them again with the rapid advances in the people's war in Nepal and India.

The Red Corridor or the Compact Revolutionary Zone, which is the name given by the ruling classes to the region stretching all the way from the revolutionary Red Bases in Nepal to the guerilla zones of AP and further south, has become a nightmare for them. The further advancement of the revolutionary guerilla war in this vast region, the strengthening of the PLGA and its transformation into PLA, and the establishment of Base Areas in this strategic region, will bring about a qualitative transformation in the people's war and the entire political scenario in the country. The faster we can realize this, the greater will be the help that we can render to the revolution in Nepal.

The relations between our two Parties-CPI(Maoist) and CPN(Maoist)-have to be further strengthened, no doubt. Particularly when the revolution in your country is in the strategic counteroffensive, it is necessary to have better coordination. We must think of proper methods to maintain these relations regularly.

At the present juncture, when the Indian expansionists are trying to bolster the rotten reactionary monarchy of Gyanendra and even contemplating to openly intervene, our Party will strive to mobilize the vast Indian masses into a broad political movement against the intervention and aid by the Indian government to the Gyanendra regime, along with stepping up our armed campaign against the reactionary Indian state.

15. How have you summed up the negotiations that took place between CPI (Maoist) and Andhra State Government?

GP: Till now our CC did not sum up the negotiations between AP State Committee of our Party and the Andhra State Government. But recently, in last February, our Central Regional Bureau has summed up these negotiations basing on the policy and guidelines of our Party. Earlier we had formulated our policy and guidelines on this question by applying MLM to the concrete conditions, i.e., the political situation and our movement.

The CRB summed up the negotiations as our war in the political front that had brought positive political-organisational gains to the Party. *“To sum up, the initiative taken by our Party in AP in forcing the government to declare a cease-fire and drag it to the negotiating table, is a good example*

of political intervention on the part of the revolutionaries. Though there are some shortcomings and mistakes during this period, positive aspect is the principal feature of our political initiative. During this period, our Party had gained much more popularity, legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of the people. We had placed our revolutionary politics boldly before the people and undertook massive political mobilizations by utilizing the period of cease-fire. Yet, there is a wide gulf between the Party's political influence and organizational strength."

On the negative side, there arose some legalist trends in a section of the Party cadre and leadership. There was an overemphasis in practice on legal meetings and rallies instead of orienting the masses towards militant struggles mainly on the political demands. There was lack of necessary military preparation on our side by the time the enemy began his offensive in January '05.

After our CC reviews the experiences of our tactics of negotiations in AP, we shall place whatever is needed before the people.

16. How is your party looking at the role the RIM has been playing ideologically and politically in the contemporary international communist movement?

GP: Our Party has a positive and critical approach towards RIM. On the one hand, we recognize the positive ideological-political role played by RIM on certain questions such as its analysis of the counter-revolution in China after the demise of Mao. This certainly helped those revolutionary parties that had some confusion regarding the developments in China.

On the other hand, our Party also has differences on some ideological-political questions such as the question of assessment of Stalin, concept of a new International, question of democratic centralism, the problems in the functioning of CoRIM and so on. The manner in which RIM has been dealing with the question of Stalin is only creating more differences within the Maoist camp. We are debating with CoRIM on all such questions.

Our Party has adopted the correct method of unity – struggle - unity in resolving our differences with RIM. We must adopt this method in solving the problems confronting the ICM.

17. What do you think is the main subjective problem within the communist movement at present? How should the ideological and political struggle be conducted against this?

GP: You mean the problem of leadership of Maoist Parties of various countries in the ICM at present. I suppose there may be some problems in every genuine Maoist Party. We can understand this problem in the backdrop of the situation in the ICM and complex situation of the world. There is an urgent need for waging healthy struggles by the Maoist Parties on the ideological-political problems confronting the world revolution.

To achieve this, the struggle in Maoist Parties can be waged in two ways, from inside and outside, principally inside. To achieve good results in inner-Party struggle, any party can take fraternal Party's suggestions and any fraternal party may give suggestions. To achieve good results in international debate or struggle, it is incumbent upon the concerned Parties which initiate the debate to consult genuine Maoist Parties and chalk out the problems that are to be solved in order to serve the world socialist revolution. Any genuine inner-Party struggle or ideological struggle at the international level can help the Parties mutually. We must follow the methods based on MLM in conducting inner-Party struggle or international debates on ideological-political matters. If we fail to follow this method, we will not be able to achieve the desired goal.

There is also another type of struggle, that is, the struggle between a revolutionary and revisionist Party or between revolutionary and revisionist camps internationally. Any genuine Maoist party should not mix this type of struggle with the struggle between genuine Maoist Parties and should be cautious not to use the same method for both types of struggles.

18. How has been your experience in building and strengthening a proletarian communist party within the framework of non-proletarian thinking that crops up from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations?

GP: I feel it is not only the problem of any semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, but a problem confronting the proletarian Party of every country including all the imperialist countries in general. But this problem has its own specific characteristics depending on the concrete conditions of that

country. It also implies to all countries in the course of revolution and at the time of socialist transformation or socialist construction.

India's specificity is that it is semi-feudal and semi-colonial and hence non-proletarian thinking crops up continuously in the Maoist party in India due to these specificities. Most of the cadre in the party hail from the peasantry and, as we know, we have to make conscious effort to transform the thinking of the peasantry.

Not only the peasantry, non-proletarian thinking crops up in virtually every section of the population in India due to the predominance of semi-feudal, semi-colonial relations and culture which affects the entire society. Factors such as patriarchy, caste feelings and even discrimination, nationality sentiments and prejudices etc., have some impact even on the cadre hailing from the working class.

In the erstwhile PW, we had two serious inner-Party struggles in 1985-87 and 1991-92 against SM-VS liquidationist clique and KS clique respectively. In both these struggles the Party acquired rich experience, its ideological-political line was enriched, and a higher unity of thought and action was achieved in the course of these struggles. In the erstwhile MCCI there was an inner-Party struggle against Bharath-Badal clique which helped in the Party's growth and in achieving further clarity on ideological-political questions.

The Rectification campaigns taken up by the erstwhile PW in the various states and at the central level after its Congress, had helped greatly in ideologically remoulding the outlook of the Party rank and file and overcoming the non-proletarian trends within the Party.

19. Marxism asserts that everything is illusion without State Power. How are you planning to establish People's Power in the areas where you have a stronghold? What are the problems you are going to face when you take this question onto immediate agenda?

GP: Every genuine Marxist believes that, *"everything is illusion without State Power."* Hence, our Party's basic line is formulated based on the Maoist principle- *"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. But*

while the principle remains the same (for all countries), its application by the Party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according to the varying conditions.”

Hence, in accordance with the above understanding, we are propagating the politics of seizure of power and establishment of organs of people's power and Base Areas from the very beginning of our work in any area. And for establishing the Base Areas, we are basically concentrating on the vast backward rural areas with favourable terrain. This is based on the laws of protracted people's war in India, which envisage that, in order to confront an enemy who is far more superior in strength, the revolutionary forces will have to select areas, in which the enemy is relatively weaker and which are favorable to the revolutionary forces, and develop the revolutionary war there. Our country has many such areas that are strategically important for the people's war where Liberated Areas can be established. These Bases will act as the lever or fulcrum for coordinating and advancing the people's war in the country, and for seizing political power countrywide.

We have selected such areas and advanced the armed agrarian revolutionary war by confronting the local feudal forces and the State's armed forces. After several armed confrontations with the armed forces of the Indian state, we have been able to establish organs of people's political power in some of these areas. Establishing Base Areas and organs of people's power is on our immediate agenda and we have taken this as our basic principal and immediate task.

At present, the revolutionary movements are advancing in the vast belt encompassing the extensive area of Jharkhand, Dandakaranya, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, UP, etc. These have a great strategic significance. We are planning to build these areas into a contiguous area of armed struggle, with each area influencing the other. As these areas get consolidated, we will be able to utilize their impact on the surrounding areas and develop them into guerilla zones thus expanding the area of armed struggle. We have the aim of developing the revolutionary movement in strategic areas of various states as our subjective forces gain strength.

However, although we are establishing organs of people's power in our strongholds, it is not an easy thing to establish stable bases for quite

some time, given the vastly superior strength of the Indian state. Besides unleashing white terror on the people, the Indian ruling classes have also taken up reforms in the areas of armed struggle in order to divert the masses and to win over a section to their side. Hence, along with strengthening the PLGA and transforming it into PLA, we have to arm the masses in a big way and prepare the masses mentally, imparting ideological and political consciousness to them from the beginning. In spite of these efforts, the scale and magnitude of enemy attack might force us to retreat from some of our strongholds and developments like a base area changing into a guerrilla zone cannot be ruled out. The transformation of a guerilla zone changing into a base area or the vice versa will occur depending on the state of the enemy's offensive, successes or defeats in the war, the state of our subjective forces, the spread of the people's war, and on the domestic and international situation.

(Answers to question no. 8 and the last question are not included)

3

Interview with Com. Ramakrishna, Andhra Pradesh State Committee Secretary, CPI(ML)[PW]

People's March, Vol.5 No.9, September 2004

(In the background of the talks between State government and CPI(ML) [People's War], Comrade Ramakrishna, Secretary of APSC held a press conference in the deep forest of Nallamala region in the first week of August to elucidate the CPI(ML) People's War party's understanding on various aspects concerning the talks. The interview is widely covered in the press. We are giving excerpts of the interview for our readers - PM)

Q: How do you respond to the government's proposal People's War should leave weapons and carry out their political propaganda?

A: Such utterances from the government can only cause obstacle to the process of talks. It is a stumbling block for arriving at ceasefire agreement. The condition of leaving arms can never be acceptable to us.

Q: Then how your representatives had signed an agreement with the government to carry out propaganda without arms?

A: People's War representatives are fully aware of the fact that there is no question of leaving the arms. We came to know from the news paper reports that they had signed an agreement with the government to do propaganda

without weapons. But we don't have complete information on this aspect. Facts will come out only after we discuss this issue with our representatives. Slight delay in the communication from our side might be one reason for this.

Q: Do the representatives have the authority to sign an agreement?

A: They have. But the important agreements like cease fire has to be made only between the Party and the government. Representatives will work out the modalities of the talks.

Q: Do you say that government is creating obstacles for talks?

A: If the government is blindly insisting on leaving arms then it would definitely obstruct the talks. We may compromise on some aspects and do the necessary adjustments. But the issue of weapons is non-negotiable.

Q: Your party has said that talks are also part of the war and government is also saying that talks are part of their strategy. Is it correct?

A: It is for the government to decide. If the government wishes to be responsible to the people it shouldn't insist for leaving the arms. If the government decides otherwise then we will opt out of the talks.

Q: Are you satisfied with the government's attitude towards talks?

A: Government is failing in creating a conducive atmosphere for the talks. Chief Minister is saying that he would recognise our party as a political party only when we leave our weapons. DGP is going one step ahead and asking us to join the mainstream. They are doing all this as part of their plan to disarm our party and deprive the people with leadership. There were some threatening letters to our representatives.

Government is trying to act innocent on this issue. Finally they arrested a constable Javed. They have deliberately trying to cover up the senior police officials by arresting a small fish. Similarly both Chief Minister and Home Minister are talking about the Voddegudem incident (in which a covert attempted to kill the District Committee Secretary, but killed two squad members) as if it is our internal affair. They are saying that they have

stopped combing operations. But by showing some pretext or other like suicides and other small incidents police are still going into villages. They are threatening our sympathisers saying “you have only three months period. Then there will be ban again and we will arrest you”. Government is stopping such activities.

Q: What do you say about the criminal cases filed by police on your representatives who participated in Mogilicherla meeting?

A: There may be a lobby within police department. It was created during the Telugu Desam government period. However all such incidents are not taking place without the knowledge of the government. Government is deliberately ignoring them as they are working to serve their class interests. IAS and IPS officers in the country are working only for serving the interests of exploitative classes.

Q: Do the People’s War is going to deviate from its armed struggle line?

A: Armed struggle and seizure of political power are the ideological issues of People’s War party. And they are not negotiable. Bringing them into the agenda of talks means obstructing the talks. In the blood stained history of the past 30-35 years, we built People’s Guerrilla Army (PGA) with more than 2000 members. It is not proper for any one to ask us to abolish this army. The greatest wealth of the people in this country is this People’s War party and the People’s Guerrilla Army. Intellectuals and the people of other classes should deeply think about these aspects. In the present society violence is in an organised form. There are continuous attacks on women and Dalits. The exploitation of compradors and imperialists is going on in urban areas. In these circumstances people have taken up the arms to safeguard their democratic rights.

Q: What is the difference in attitude of previous Telugu Desam government and the present Congress government with regard to People’s War party?

A: Except for some methods, there is not much difference. Congress party is continuing the same policies of Chandrababu government. The decisions of the government are changed while implementing the same. They

propagated that there will be no prices for the heads, but in practice they gave directions that it will limit only to those who are killed in encounters. They didn't come to agreement on cease-fire. This is nothing but deceiving the people. Until now they didn't even declare their representatives. At the same time government is trying create an impression that it is more democratic than the previous one and trying to attract intellectuals on its side. We are feeling that the government is not sincere in its efforts for a dialogue. They are making appeal to us to show restraint during this period of talks and also to the police. Its appeal to us is understandable. But why should it appeal to police which is nothing but a tool in its administrative machinery. It should issue orders to the police. The present government is implementing the policies of Chandrababu in a different form. It is giving a sugar coating to them. Except for their fight for power there is no difference in these political parties. It is the Congress which had opened the doors of Rama Janma Bhoomi. And they are the ones who brought first loans from IMF.

Q: How far you are trusting the government?

A: It is for the government to create the trust. The Voddugudem incident caused serious loss to our party. The loss would have been much more severe if we had lost our DCS. We asked the government to appoint an inquiry commission within 10 days. Home Minister also assured for an immediate inquiry. Not a single step has been taken in this direction so far. Without punishing the police officials responsible for this covert operation it is difficult to advance the talks. They are saying that People's War has the right to hold public meetings and then why the conspiracy cases on the speakers of Mogilicherla meeting. These cases should be removed immediately.

Q: What is the progress on talks? What is your stand on the next phase?

A: We had sent some proposals to the government suggesting the measures for both sides. Government had sent its response in the name guidelines for positive dialogue. However there is no mention of cease-fire in it. From the very beginning government is talking about political propaganda without weapons. They are asking us not to hold meetings in the villages and call

officials to these meetings. But we questioned the government is putting these conditions when it has already announced for unconditional talks. We expressed our reservations about leaving the arms and asked the government not to put it as a pre-condition. Chandrababu also made similar precondition. If required we will take the issue of arms to the people. In lifting ban and in fake encounters government didn't show its sincerity. It didn't lift the ban it only allowed it to lapse by not extending it. In this way government failed to create confidence in it. In view of the total situation in spite the limitations for the talks we are strongly determined to advance the talks for solving the basic problems.

Q: Is it proper for you to roam with weapons when the talks are going to take place?

A: We are showing restrain in the rural areas. We told that we are not going to use weapons and we are abiding by it. We will continue this attitude as long as government shows the same restrain. We show same restrain while displaying our arms. It means our forces don't march in the villages. But we will got villages to teach politics to the people. We preserve this right. We are making our cadre understand to take steps to prevent any violations. For ensuring no such violations from both sides we suggested a 30 member supervisory committee. No such committee is formed until now. There is no mechanism to expose the facts in case of any covert actions. Even now government should form a supervisory committee. Talks can advance only after such measures. Until now we are conducting ourselves in a responsible manner. If the government reduces its violence we can also reduce violence from our side. If violence and counter-violence are reduced then we can say that talks are fruitful. Organised violence may not be reduced immediately but state violence should be immediately stopped.

Q: Apart from the violence what are the other issues that can come up during the talks?

A: We will place the problems of the people before the government. We place the issues, which had facilitated the defeat of Chandrababu. We will raise the issues like World Bank loans and its conditions, Hindutva policies, land issue, 1/70 Act etc.... We will educate the masses on these issues and

organise them. These talks are nothing but the talks between the people and the government. There shouldn't be any ban on People's War party in the future. Abolish the rewards on the heads of party leadership. Conduct inquiry into all fake encounters. Control the black gangs. These are all not mere party problems and its demands. They are people's problems and demands. In any country whenever such talks take place political prisoners are released. But our party leader Bandi Prakash is languishing in the jail for the past 15 years.

Q: What are your plans for strengthening the People's War party?

A: We are raising our recruitment. We became weak in urban areas and among middle classes. We are making efforts in this direction. We are lagging behind in deploying the cadre. We are trying to overcome this shortcoming.

Q: Are you going to form any alternative political party?

A: As party carrying out armed struggle there is no scope for us to work openly. We don't have any plan to form a legal party. We will not form any separate party.

Q: You didn't work openly in the past 9 years.

A: Our legal organisations are working. They resist the fascist policies of government and educate the people.

Q: Satyamurthy is accusing that People's War party is moving in the direction of abdicating the armed struggle. He raised the caste related issues. What is your response to them?

A: Satyamurthy had renounced Marxism and armed struggle. We give little importance to his utterances. Government is using him. From the day he left the party, he is attacking our party on ideological, political and cultural matters. But there is no consonance between his words and his deeds. He is intentionally maligning us. Our party is the party of oppressed classes. It is a proletarian party. There can be people from different castes. We are fighting by mingling with masses. Only Mogilicherla is enough to prove our mass base. After leaving the party, could Satyamurthy organise 200 people

behind him? He is general staff without any army.

Q: Do you think he has joined hands with government?

A: As of now it is difficult to say. We will talk about it only when we have definite information on this. But what we can say for now is that he became part of the government attack.

Q: Satyamurthy is saying that People's War is prepared to leave arms?

A: He is making contradictory statements. Whatever he may say, our objective is areas wise seizure of political power. We are feeling that we are lagging behind a bit in building the army for this purpose. Had we done this earlier we could have built liberated areas by this time now. We could have advanced further from military point of view.

Q: Your squads are retreating even from your politically strong areas?

A: We had faced some losses because of our delay in taking decisions. We couldn't effectively face the enemy because he is already ahead of us. In some areas we are able to stop the enemy. We had faced losses because we didn't form the People's Guerrilla Army for a long time.

Q: There is a feeling that you had made excessive recruitment during the Chenna Reddy period which lead to coverts. Don't you fore see such danger in the present recruitment?

A: We had some bitter experiences. That is why we follow certain standards while recruiting. And take precautions to avoid enemy penetration. People from all classes are being recruited. Many of them have not become communists before joining the party. They are coming because of their problems and sufferings. We are moulding them. This is a long way. Some of them are subjected to some weaknesses and vacillations. Those who are leaving the party are not completely forgetting their ideology. But government is destroying their values. It is converting them into coverts by threatening them. In the mean time we will overcome our shortcomings in our theoretical education.

Q: Do you think that your party is weakened because of the reduction in

number of educated people?

A: This is a wrong concept. Educated people may talk more politics. Farmers and labourers may talk less. That doesn't mean that there will not be any political growth in them. We may take more time to politically educate them. However low level recruitment of educated people is definitely a shortcoming. With the educated people it becomes easier to strengthen the movement in different fields.

Q: Do you think growing careerism among the youth and students is a reason for the fall in their recruitment?

A: Until 1985 Universities had been the revolutionary centers. In the process of growing imperialist exploitation they are diverting students' attention away from their social responsibility.

4

“No Illusions that Something Drastic would Emerge Out of the Talks. If Government Violates Cease-Fire We will Fight Back by Intensifying the People’s War!”

People’s March, Vol.5 No.9, September 2004

(An Interview was given by the Politburo member of CPI(ML)[People’s War], comrade Prakash On the current and Peace Talks in AP, on 17 July 2004 to the Telugu daily, Vaarta, The Hindu and the BBC. We are producing below parts of the interview - PM)

Q: There seems to be a sea-change in the situation in AP following the defeat of the TDP. How has such a drastic change in government policy towards the Naxalites, particularly the CPI(ML)[People’s War] come about? What reasons do you attribute to this change?

A: Yes. Of course, there is a drastic change in government policy towards our Party and the ongoing people’s war at least for the present. The present Congress government in the state has stated that it regards the Naxalite movement from a socio- politico-economic standpoint rather than from the usual Law & Order approach. It had initiated some measures that reflect the changed approach. The reason for this sudden change in the ruling class policy is not difficult to understand if we analyse the situation in the state since the last three decades, especially during the fascist regime of

Chandrababu Naidu's TDP.

For over three decades, 35 years to be precise, the ruling classes in AP represented by the Congress and TDP, had pursued a consistent policy of suppressing the Naxalites with brute force. Over four thousand people had been killed during this period, three-quarters of them after the formation of the CPI(ML)[PW] in April 1980. But the Party and the revolutionary movement had continued to grow braving the massive repression and suppression campaigns of the successive governments. It had spread from a small area in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts in AP to about 15 states in the country. It had become clear that the movement cannot be suppressed by brute force alone. A section of the ruling classes had thus advocated a policy of Talks with the Naxalites for some time past with the objective of ensuring relative peace at times. It is also a part and parcel of the imperialist strategy of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) which stresses on a multi-pronged strategy towards revolutionary movements and national liberation wars—a strategy that includes cease-fire and Talks which are aimed at blunting the edge of armed struggle and corrupting the movement through concessions and reforms.

The most important reason for the perceptible change in policy of the new government is the pressure exerted by various sections of the people, the democratic organizations and intellectuals, and even the opposition parties since the past few years on the Chandrababu Naidu's government. The people's aspiration for peace and democracy and their desire for an end to the *police raj* was completely neglected by the Naidu government. The latter had even insulted the people by coming up with the agenda of suppression of the Naxalites during the recent elections. Naidu had called upon the people to give a referendum on his policy towards the Naxalites and as it turned out, the people gave a clear verdict on the anti-people policies of the TDP and rejected its stand on the Naxal issue. The hatred of the people towards the TDP's fascist rule was so deep that 28 of the 34 ministers who had contested the elections, including several stalwarts, were defeated.

The opposition parties, understanding the mood and aspiration of the masses, came out with a host of promises such as: setting up a judicial

enquiry into all the fake encounter killings during the nine-year-rule of the TDP; an end to all fake encounters, combing operations, arrests and harassment of people; and to initiate Talks by first creating a congenial atmosphere in the state as soon as they assume power. They had also promised to lift the ban on the CPI(ML)[PW].

It is against this backdrop that the Congress party that had come to power changed the earlier policy of outright suppression and initiated some measures for holding Talks with the Naxalites.

Q: How do you see the impact of the recent elections on the present situation?

A: The April 2004 elections in AP is an example of the unarmed protest of the masses against the policies of imperialist globalization, liberalization and privatization; communal and pro-Hindutva policies of the BJP and the TDP; and the fascist white terror unleashed by the TDP government on the people at large. The elections provided an outlet for venting out the pent-up anger and hatred of the people against the elitist, lop-sided, pro-imperialist development model pursued by the TDP government headed by Chandrababu Naidu for nine long years. **Though parliamentary elections do not change the nature of class rule or bring any basic change in the lives of the masses at large, though they only replace one set of bandits with another, they do reflect the mood of the masses at a particular point of time.** In this sense, election 2004 can be seen as an indicator of the degree of disillusionment of the masses towards the so-called development model that is said to transform the country into an economic superpower and the state of AP into *swarnandhra pradesh*.

It is this factor that has served as the backdrop for the change in the policies of the YSR government in AP as reflected in its relative emphasis on rural development, peace Talks with the Naxalites and an accommodative attitude towards various deprived sections of the society. To understand the current peace talks in AP, it is essential to go deeper into the most crucial factor that had prompted the new rulers to wield the olive branch.

Chandrababu Naidu's TDP had openly declared a war against the Naxalites ever since it had come to power in 1995. The vast tracts of the

state had been turned into virtual concentration camps, all fundamental rights were suspended, the basic human right to life was denied, and the democratic space for the articulation of the people's aspirations and their right to protest was snatched. During Naidu's reign, at least 2000 people belonging to various revolutionary organizations were eliminated, three-quarters of whom belonged to the CPI(ML)[People's War]. Several thousand people were arrested, tortured, and implicated in false cases; their property was destroyed. The state languished under a pall of fear. The police assumed the role of prosecutors, judges and executors. They acted as political leaders and de facto rulers. It is this imposition of a police state over civil society in AP that became a focal point in the elections this time. The call by Naidu to give a referendum on his government's policies towards the Naxalites was overwhelmingly rejected and, on the contrary, the people gave a referendum against his misrule through the means immediately available to them.

It is clear from the above that any government that assumes power cannot outrightly reject the aspirations of the masses at least in the immediate context. The very assumption of power by the Congress owes much to the election promises it had made, along with its allies, to begin peace talks with the Naxalites, to treat the Naxalite issue as a socio-politicoeconomic one rather than a law and order issue, to do away with fake encounters and to restore the democratic rights of the people, and their assurance that all fake encounters during the nine-year-rule of the TDP will be referred to a judicial commission and the guilty officials punished. **Though consciously underplayed by the mainstream media, this factor has no doubt played an important** role in the defeat of the TDP-BJP alliance.

Q: How serious is the new government in implementing the cease-fire and going for Talks with the PW? Will the police top brass allow this to happen especially when the demand for a judicial enquiry would fix several of these officials whose hands are stained with the blood of hundreds of people?

A: The Congress government is clearly in a fix. On the one hand, it has to meet the people's expectations and fulfill the promises it had made during the election campaign, while on the other, it has to ensure that the Naxalites do not grow strong by using the relaxation in the police offensive. It is like

riding on the tiger's back: dare to climb down and the tiger will devour you. How long this situation will prevail is difficult to predict. The entrenched police officials, of course, are quite reluctant to change the policies towards the Naxalites.

The stakes involved are too high to be dispensed with easily. A congenial atmosphere would mean restrictions on their entry into the Naxal areas; a virtual end to their age-old practice of extortion from the people in the name of links with Naxals, from traders, contractors and others; ceasing the operations of the private armed gangs of former Naxalites involved in real estate deals and encroachments; a sharp reduction in the complaints to the police filed by the rural people involved in disputes; an end to promotions to police officers involved in killing leaders through fake encounters and through covert agents; and so on. The police bullies, who ruled the state of Andhra Pradesh as their fiefdom during the nine-year-old reign of Chandrababu Naidu, were a much pampered lot, answerable to none other than the biggest bully heading the state — the darling of the World Bank and the imperialists, Naidu.

Just as a Bush, with a mind-boggling array of weapons of mass destruction at his disposal, can think nothing else other than relying on his armoury of steel and metal to break the mettle of all those who defy his imperialist diktat, so does the fascist mind-set of these police bosses give room for any other solution.

Literally every police official had minted money in the name of suppression of the “Naxal menace” and it is hardly surprising that this section of the police brass would vow not to see the “horrifying” scene of Naxals holding Talks with the government and bringing about a temporary truce.

In fact, the government had dillydallied for over a month before declaring a ceasefire. It was only due to the mounting pressure from the various democratic organizations and the insistence of the CPI(ML)[PW] and other Naxalite organizations that it had ultimately come down on June 16 and announced “cessation of armed hostilities” for three months.

Q: Can the government perform such a seemingly impossible task? Can it succeed in satisfying both the police officials and the Naxalites at the

same time?

A: It is, of course, not an easy task to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. To achieve this the new government had worked out a plan: Prepare a mask that is acceptable to the people at large, a democratic mask that very few would dare to contest and thus create a situation where the PW leadership would be forced to come to the negotiating table on government's terms.

And the government was able to win over the democratic intellectuals of the Concerned Citizens Committee (CCC). Ever since the YSR government came to power the CCC was taken into confidence and is pushed into the foreground to place the government's viewpoint with the democrat's soothing touch. The conditions of cease-fire which many would have opposed had the government spelt them out directly, have acquired some legitimacy and respectability coming out from the mouths of intellectuals who have some reputation and credibility in the society so far. The Naxalites should be confined to the forest or only come unarmed to the villages for carrying out their propaganda; they should not recruit cadres or increase their fire-power; they should not strengthen themselves in whatever manner by using the relaxation in state repression; they should not summon government bureaucrats in front of the people and question them; they should not even harass the police informants, not to speak of killing them, no matter how many informers the police may create during the period of ceasefire. The authors of these conditions may be an Aravinda Rao or a Purnachandar Rao but they gain some respectability through the endorsement given by the democrats of the CCC. **The enthusiastic support exhibited by these intellectuals has given great relief to the new government as it now can make its conditions seem reasonable.**

Emboldened by the moral support by the new apologists of the government's policy towards the Naxal issue, the police had stepped up their campaign against the Naxalites. "7000 new recruits in the fold of the PW", claims a police report in a Telugu daily. "Large-scale extortions by PW cadre", claims another report. "Naxals go on arms collection spree", runs another news item. Police continue to feed such stories to the media in a subtle manner. The motive behind these stories is clear: tighten the noose

around the PW and bring back the Golden Era of Chandrababu. The overall direction of the government is to disentangle itself from the present situation in a way that does not discredit it altogether in the eyes of the people. Hence it is building up its case towards this end.

Q: The media is full of reports that your Party is using the present relaxation in repression to increase recruitment, mass base, armed strength, etc. Will this not jeopardize the Talks?

A: There is a narrow-minded thinking in certain quarters that Talks between the Naxalites and the government would only strengthen the former, that they will utilize any relaxation in the repression to increase their fire-power, cadre strength, money power; that they would be better placed at the end of the day when the Talks break off, as they are bound to be, at some point of time—an inevitable consequence given the conflicting class interests of the two contending parties. Hence, they argue, the government should only give a few concessions to the People’s War party, “sufficient” to bring it to the negotiating table, so as not to give them any opportunity to take “undue advantage” of the situation.

This police logic only wants the entire drama to be completed at the earliest so as to step up their offensive through fake encounters and tortures, trampling upon human rights and civil liberties, and keeping the vast masses in a perpetual state of fear and insecurity through untold brutalities. The police brains can never think of anything else than use of brute force to stifle people’s resistance and dissent.

Thus **the Congress-TRS government is now following a policy of Double Speak.** While maintaining it is committed to carry out its election promises and its stand that Naxal issue is a socio-economic one, it has been trying to adopt a law & order approach in actual practice. Its argument that armed cadre of PW should not conduct their propaganda in the villages, that they should not take up recruitment, should not harass informers, and so on, would only mean that the PW should consciously weaken itself, place itself at the mercy of the armed gangs maintained by the police or, in other words, not undertake any political propaganda. It is amusing to see the Congress rulers dance to the tune of the police officials. Would a revolutionary party stop recruitment and desist from any attempt to

strengthen itself just to please the government and to obtain some relaxation in state repression? How can such a police approach to the problem help build mutual confidence and ensure peace?

Q: There is a strong feeling in some quarters that your Party indulges in excessive violence, that you seek violent solutions to every problem. And every government till date has been arguing that it is “senseless” Naxal violence that had forced them to resort to violent means of suppression....

A: Any attempt to equate the violence of the ruling classes to perpetuate their exploitation with that of the oppressed masses in defence of their rights means playing into the hands of the exploiters and supporting the status quo. **Anyone who aspires to reduce the level of violence in the society must appreciate and uphold the right of the oppressed masses to defend themselves from the relentless attacks by the ruling classes on their right to life, right to livelihood and the right to dignified and honourable existence in society. No amount of sermonising on ending all violence in an abstract manner will be of any help unless the qualitative difference between the violence of the ruling classes and the legitimate response of the oppressed masses led by the revolutionary party is understood. It is only by keeping the former type of violence on leash that the level of violence as a whole can be reduced.** As long as the inbuilt, institutionalised violence in the society and the violence unleashed by the State continue unchecked it will be met with just and legitimate revolutionary violence of the masses. Hence it is the task of the various democratic organizations and intellectuals to bring pressure on the government to stop all forms of violence on the revolutionary movement and various sections of the people who are waging struggles on their demands.

The factional violence organized by the ruling class parties, the underlying institutionalized violence that is inbuilt in our semi-feudal society under the stranglehold of imperialism—the caste violence with its most abominable evil of untouchability and inhuman caste discrimination; the most degrading treatment and humiliation of women and the indescribable violence perpetrated on them by the patriarchal society; the massacres, pogroms and attacks against the Muslim, Sikh and Christian religious minorities by the fascist Hindutva gangs; the endemic ethnic violence instigated by sections

of ruling classes and the imperialists; the violence of the big landowners, the rural bad gentry, unscrupulous contractors and moneylenders, and the brutal State violence expressed through fake encounters, tortures, arrests etc; and various forms of ruling class violence should be distinguished from the just and legitimate violence of the oppressed people and the revolutionary violence of the CPI(ML)[PW].

Q: What do you intend to achieve from the Talks? Would these lead to any positive outcome?

A: We do not have illusions that something drastic would emerge out of the Talks or that any of the basic problems of the people would be resolved.

We are going for Talks to ensure a relatively democratic atmosphere in the state even if it be for a short while. Our aim is three-fold: one, to provide a democratic space for the oppressed people so that they can enjoy their democratic right to agitate on their basic issues and to build a democratic movement; two, to reduce the level of violence in society by avoiding civilian targets that had become a norm for the police state; and three, to focus on various people's issues and also attempt for a democratic resolution of some of the issues through discussions.

Q: Would this lead to the withdrawal of armed struggle?

A: Our immediate aim is to capture state power through armed struggle by waging a people's war based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Our ultimate aim is to establish Communism. This aim is nonnegotiable. The Talks have nothing to do with this aim of ours. Hence the question of withdrawal of armed struggle does not arise.

But at the same time we are for ensuring peace as long as the ruling classes do not undertake violent suppression of the democratic and revolutionary movement. We do not believe in violence *per se*. Our violence is a legitimate response to the violence unleashed by the ruling classes who do not permit the militant democratic-revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people. **We had declared that we will suspend our armed activities so long as the state suspends its armed suppression of the revolutionary movement.** This includes state violence and state-sponsored violence of

the vigilante gangs. Cessation of armed hostilities is declared by the two sides for a period of three months.

Q: How long will the present state of cessation of armed activity continue?

A: It all depends on the attitude of the government. If the government does not obstruct democratic activity then why should we resort to armed actions?

If everything goes well and the government does not create hurdles in the way of the democratic movements waged by the people and our Party that is at the head of the people's movements, if it does not resort to repressive policies and sincerely sticks to the conditions of ceasefire, we do not mind extending the period of cease-fire in the interest of the people. But our experience shows that the ruling classes do not tolerate the political mobilization of the masses in a militant way. We also make it clear that people will not confine themselves to legal methods of struggle. They will defy the unjust laws and restrictions and will take up all forms of struggle to achieve their aims. For instance, if there is a ban on holding a meeting or a demonstration, the people will defy it. If there is a ban on strike, the workers will defy it. The people will confiscate the land of the landlords, forest lands, *inaam* lands, *banjar* lands, and so on braving the police threats. If there is use of brute force by the state the people will be forced to fight back by using all means at their disposal. Our Party will be with the people and lead their struggles. To sum up, **we will not be the first to violate the terms and conditions of cease-fire. But if the government violates them we will have to fight back by intensifying the people's war.**

5

Movement of Jharkhand Adivasi Women – An Interview with Comrade Budhini Munda (Sheela, Shobha), Central Committee Member, CPI(Maoist)

*Published in the form of an article in
People's March, Volume 4, No. 10, October 2003*

1. You are a leader of NMS. So please tell us about the women's movement in Jharkhand and the historical background behind starting Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS).

A: The women of Jharkhand have a long history of heroic struggles against the British colonial rulers and the comprador-feudal rulers of post-British India. The Santhal rebellion of 1857-58 has made an indelible imprint on the history of India.

Women played an active role in that rebellion and formed a good chunk of the 30,000 that set out to march to Calcutta. They participated in the raids on the houses of the enemies. Many women were killed or arrested during the Santhal hul (rebellion)

Women were also active during the Munda uprising at the end of the 19th Century led by Birsa Munda. The Puritanism and revivalism of Birsa's religion with its opposition to the worship of spirits (bongas), the drinking of rice-beer (haria), the giti ora (the dormitory for youth), the akhara (the dancing ground) and stress on equality between sexes had a positive impact

on the women who participated as armed fighters in the uprising.

Women also participated in large number in the campaigns taken up by the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) in the late 1960s and 1970s. Those campaigns were for the seizure of land, harvesting of paddy and land appropriated by the moneylenders, for recovery of pawned articles and so on. Women also led the anti-liquor and anti – wife-beating campaigns and campaign against witch hunting. In spite of these campaigns, patriarchy remains quite strong though not as strong as in the feudal-dominated plains. The JMM's programme was more and more oriented to train the women as housewives by teaching them domestic chores such as cooking, stitching, embroidery etc. though the women have a role in the village councils no role in the higher institutions that take real decisions. Thus political participation of women has not really improved over the past century also. Wife beating, witch-hunting, sexual abuse by outside exploiters (dikus) etc. are still quite conspicuous. It was in this historical background that NMS was established.

2. When did you establish NMS? How did it emerge as a powerful women's organisation?

A: NMS commenced its activities in the early 1980s. It emerged after the tribal peasants in Jharkhand started getting organised under revolutionary leadership against the feudal oppression of Rajput landlords and the harassment of officials and contractors of the forest department. It first started in the district of Giridih, a district in which the majority of the peasantry belongs to the Santhal tribe. It is a women's organisation in which almost all the activists and leaders are drawn from the adivasis – from Santhals, Mundas, etc.

Women were first organised in the anti-feudal struggles. Women faced intense exploitation both economically and sexually . They had to slog 12 hours with only a meagre allowance of food. If they didn't go to work for some reason the goons of the landlord used to come to their homes and drag them to work. The Rajput landlords did not treat the adivasis as human beings. The newly wed bride had to spend the first night with the landlord. They kept some of these women as concubines also. The whole family, including children, had to do forced labour (bandhua majduri). Verbal abuse

was also routine and common. They could not wear chappals, and they could not sit on a chair in front of the landlords. Rural Bihar served as a model of feudal exploitation. It is from the darkness of this condition that the people, including women started getting awakened in the late seventies.

Adivasi woman have a double burden. She takes part in production outside the home and the whole domestic burden is borne by her. She does the cleaning, cooking, washing and also looks after children. Both share bringing of water and firewood. She works in the fields (women don't plough) and also forages the forest. She collects mahua seeds, wood for fuel, leaves for making plates etc. Kendu Patta is also collected by women in the season. They also make rope. They even go to the nearby towns to work as daily labourers. They have no right on land traditionally.

Women organisers spoke against this exploitation and organised women. But they did not fail to mention the social customs among the peasants which oppressed women and also about male supremacy at home. At first, men opposed NMS and women's participation in organizations. Later when the peasant movement against the landlords gained momentum and as men and women began participating in them in large numbers, their attitude gradually changed. They could see how women were exploited. Women's resistance opened their eyes and NMS got a strong foothold. Verbal abuse stopped completely and now they are addressed as 'Bhai' & 'Behen'. They wear chappals and are invited to sit in chairs!

The struggles against the forest department followed, asserting the rights of adivasis on the forest (produce). The thekedars cruelly exploited the innocent adivasis. The girls were in addition exploited sexually. All this came to an end with struggles. Wages increased. Right to forest produce was won.

The change in society did not stop there. It entered the homes of the poor. Old customs changed. Especially the role of women in changing society got full recognition. Now the political arena is open to women. They easily attend meetings. Now the situation in struggle areas is such that if the husband is in the Krantikari Kisan Committee, the wife is in the NMS. When one goes to the meeting the other stays at home to look after children!

After the women firmly established their role in society, NMS began

taking up 'women's issues' extensively. A whole generation (or two?) has grown up witnessing this 'Vaicharik Sangharsh' (ideological struggle) in the countryside, which changed the fate of the women in these regions forever. And changed the feudal thinking of men too.

Repression became severe from 1997. But it has only boomeranged and the NMS emerged stronger than ever. It brought forth the ingenuity and creativity of women and their leadership qualities have shone brighter.

This brief introduction of the history of NMS will not be complete without mentioning Comrade Bhakthida. He was the mentor and father figure for NMS. An elderly man worked in Dhanbad district and was a strong defender of women's cause. He took along the first, young women organisers along with him and trained them in their work. Extremely popular among the village women and children, he drew them into revolutionary struggles as he went along. That is why, whenever the history of NMS is to be written, the first leaders of the women's movement remember him fondly and say that his name has to be engraved in golden letters!

3. What is the organisational structure of NMS?

A: According to the NMS manifesto, the structure is thus: A State Executive Committee (called Rajya Parishad) is elected in the State Conference. A State Body comprising President, Secretary, Joint Secretary and a Treasurer (called Rajya Karyakarini Committee) is to be elected from the Rajya Parishad. Then there is the district Executive Committee (Zilla Parishad) that is elected in a district Conference and a district body is elected from the executive committee. The same procedure is followed for the next layer i.e., the 'Anchalik Committee.' (This comprises the street or ward committees in the cities / towns or gram panchayats.) At least 3 of these committees can form a Anchalik Committee. The basic or fundamental unit is elected in a basic level conference if there are at least 15 members.

For now, they could form up to district committees only. The efforts to hold a State Conference and elect a State Body & EC are on. They also want to form a Central Executive Committee combining the units of NMS in Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarkhand, Orissa, West Bengal etc.

In the basic (village) committees and Anchalik committees there are

village women (part-timers) but the leading district committee members are whole timers and a fulltime worker of the organisation also leads the anchalik committee. The organizers and PRs form the core leadership of the NMS and are the backbone of the organization. They are women dedicated to building up a revolutionary women's organisation and spreading the revolutionary women's movement not only in Jharkhand but in other parts of the country as well.

According to the manifesto, the Zilla Parishad should meet at least thrice in a year and the Zilla Karyakarini Committee should meet at least once in a month; the Anchalik Karyakarini Committee should meet at least once in a month and the basic level units (committee) should meet at least twice in a month.

4. What issues did NMS take up? On what problems did it build struggles?

A: As mentioned earlier, women took active part in all the anti-feudal struggles and in the struggles against the jungle *thekedars* (contractors). Now, let us see how they have been tackling women's issues and problems.

(i) Child Marriages: Among adivasis, girls do not get married at a very young age but in some areas they are married off by 13 to 15 years. Among the non-adivasis and other castes in the plain areas this is widely prevalent. And in Bihar in some districts there is a custom called 'Rasgaddi'. A girl is married off between 9 to 12 years of age but the boy just puts sindoor on her head and leaves her at the parent's home. This is popularly called first marriage. After she grows up, say, at the age of 18 or so, again a ceremony is conducted and the girl is sent with the boy. At the time of the first marriage itself they decide when to conduct 'Rasgaddi'. The girl's family has to spend a lot of money both times.

The NMS has done a lot of propaganda against child marriages and has created an atmosphere against it. So they get prior reports of child marriages, which are going to be conducted. The NMS didis go there and after a long discussion convince the family that physically and emotionally also it is not good for the children to get married at such a young age. The people get convinced and stop the marriage. Then a bond is written that they will not get their children married for another 9 to 10 years. And when they want to

marry them off they ask the permission of the NMS. If all the conditions are fulfilled then the NMS promptly gives the permission.

Over the years the NMS stopped many child marriages and carried on political propaganda also. As a result, in Jharkhand where NMS is strong, child marriages have stopped and girls are married off only after 18 years of age. Even among the non-advasis it has increased to 18 years age. But in the plains of Bihar they could not achieve much success in this regard, but propaganda work is going on.

(ii) Dowry and dowry-related deaths/harassment: The practice of taking dowry is not prevalent among the advasis, but it has reached an unprecedentedly high among the non-advasis. Harassing women for dowry and later murdering her is also prevalent. Often, the in-laws and the husband just try to get rid off her and have a second marriage.

NMS has done a lot of propaganda against giving and taking dowry. (propaganda of NMS on any issue includes posterings, wall writing, rallies, demonstrations, songs, plays and village level meetings). When NMS comes to know that a marriage is being conducted with dowry they go and tell them that 'this is not allowed in the (NMS) area.' They educate all the village people. A bond will be written by the groom and his parents that they will not take dowry nor will they demand it in future and that they will look after the girl and will not harass her in any way. The NMS also educates them not to spend lavishly at marriages and if they agree conducts a 'shibir vivah'.

After continuous efforts from NMS now the situation is that no one openly takes or gives dowry. But yet the give and take goes on clandestinely. Definitely the practice has come down in the areas where the NMS is strong but to completely eradicate the evil requires more effort at changing people's attitudes and a complete economic change in the society. And the NMS is actively trying for both these changes.

When the NMS comes to know that a woman is being harassed for dowry or is being thrown out of her in-laws house they conduct a jan adalat (people's court). The husband is summoned and asked to come forth with the reason for abandoning her. Usually what they get is a lame answer. So they argue with him against it. If he still insists on leaving her, they just

calculate how many years she has toiled in their house and how much she should get for it and also make a list of all items she had brought into their house from her parents and the dowry amount is also calculated. They tell the man that she has spent half her life serving him and now at her age she can't remarry so easily, with the children and so that he should just cough up the whole amount which is her due. Obviously, the man fails to do so. If he has land, they demand a share in the land also. Then he is reprimanded for all his wrongs. Normally he takes his wife back. A bond is written by him promising to look after her well. If the man is ready to give back the money or a share in land, some times a divorce is given to them. Usually the woman wants to live with him and only wants him to 'change'. So NMS tries to fulfil the woman's desire.

Now, in the Jharkhand NMS strong areas dowry harassment has come down a lot. If a girl is killed for dowry, NMS conducts a Jan Adalat. Once the husband had to return the dowry and also a compensation of Rs.50,000 to the girl's parents. He is usually beaten up as a punishment and made to write a bond that he will not remarry without the NMS's permission.

(iii) **Shibir vivah:** The NMS conducts propaganda against feudal marriage customs and lavish marriage expenses. People influenced by the propaganda ask NMS to conduct a Shibir Vivah. In this there is no dowry. It is a simple get together of all the people and relatives. They all have meals and the marriage is solemnised in a public meeting. The bride and the groom, mass organisation leaders and of course the NMS didis speak on marriage and the relations between men and women, how they are in feudal society and how they should be democratic. The bride and groom wear new clothes garland each other, shake hands, eat sweets and the marriage is over. Such marriages give the people a glimpse of the new culture coming up in the struggle areas and have definitely saved the girl and her parents a lot of expense and trouble. When the boy and girl love each other or when they are from different castes, they approach NMS and a Shibir Vivah is conducted.

The people look after the NMS didis as one of their own family and NMS gets a lot of invitations to attend marriages. It is interesting to note that in Chhattisgarh NMS tells them straight away that they won't attend a

marriage where dowry is taken, whereas in Jharkhand they attend the marriages wherever possible or at least send them their best wishes (*sandesh*).

(iv) Sexual harassment, rape: Sexual harassment cases and rape incidents have come down in NMS areas. When a rape incident occurs NMS conducts a Jan Adalat. They enquire and if they find the boy is from a poor family and has come under the influence of imperialist culture of TV, cinemas and if he accepts his crime, he is warned severely and let off. Obviously, having to face the Jan Adalat is in itself a big punishment for such boys. If the rapist is a goon or has done it before then the punishment is severe. He is beaten up, his head is shaved, *chuna-tikka* (spots of lime) is applied on his head, a garland of *chappals* placed around his neck, and he is paraded in the villages. Some times a hand or leg is cut off in serious cases.

Once a boy had relations with a girl. When he came to know that she was 5 months pregnant he fled. The girl had no father. A complaint was lodged with NMS and the people searched for the boy and within 2 days arrested him and brought him to the Jan Adalat. The boy's parents complained to the police. And they landed up just when the Jan Adalat was going on. Women questioned the police - "we did not invite you, why have you come? You have no work here!". When the police said they came to arrest the rapist, women just said, 'what evidence do you have that he raped, just get away from here' and they had to flee. The boy was given a piece of their mind and a *shibir vivah* was conducted without any dowry or poojas and a bond was written in which the boy stated that he will look after her well throughout his life.

In Bihar in 1994 when a girl named Meena was raped there was a big agitation and NMS ensured that the culprit got punished though the police and government tried to protect the boy from a landlord family.

As mentioned earlier due to anti-feudal struggles, the sexual exploitation of women by landlords has completely stopped. In both Bihar and Jharkhand there have been struggles against the sexual exploitation by forest range officers and contractors and several of them were beaten up. Now this has also stopped completely.

(V) Anti-liquor struggles & wife beating: Lot of propaganda work was done against arrack. The adivasis brew as well as sell arrack. In some villages NMS conducted raids on arrack shops and brewing centres and have broken the pots. In a few places they even raided some shops nearby and destroyed whisky and brandy bottles also. But this struggle has not taken place in a big way, so only in a few areas it was controlled and propaganda is under way – against drinking, brewing liquor and the increasing violence on women due to this. It is interesting to note that in the Jan Adalats conducted on wife beating, the wife is asked to give the unheeding husband a beating, which immediately brings him to his feet, and he promises the ‘*behenjis*’ to look after her well. But the NMS tries to solve the problem amicably as far as possible between wife and husband. In the feudal / adivasi society a wife who speaks up or beats her husband is considered to be a very bad woman, but people accept it when it is done in a Jan Adalat conducted by the NMS. The participation of village women in the political arena has increased their self-esteem in the family and reduces violence on them.

(vi) Health problems: The public health centres in the villages and forests are in a very poor state and the people never get any medicines or proper treatment in them. The NMS has taken up the issue in a big way and every year conducts campaigns and organises rallies against the Health Dept. Especially during monsoons all kinds of diseases spread and NMS makes it a point to mobilise people at this time every year. The people go in a rally to the Health department offices in the nearby towns and hold demonstrations/ dharnas till the officials agree that they’ll come to their villages and distribute medicines on such and such a date. The nutritious food, which was to be given to the pregnant women, was also ensured due to these struggles. Epidemics were controlled and vaccines like polio are being administered properly. NMS does propaganda also on the double standards of the government in giving medical facilities to the rich and the poor. Through songs, doctors are requested to give treatment to the poor. Apparently some doctors were beaten up in Jan Adalats for not treating the poor people. But NMS realizes that only when there is struggle the officials are coming and a continuous process of treating the poor is yet to begin.

(vii) Polygamy: NMS strongly opposes polygamy. Formerly when a man used to get a second wife for himself either by abandoning the first wife or without, there would be no opposition from any quarter of the society. But NMS has taken it up as an issue for propaganda and agitation. In the Jan Adalats both the man and his second wife are brought to justice and punished. The people in the Jan Adalat oppose polygamy, but say “it’s wrong, but once it’s done. What can we do?”. If possible they ask them to separate and he is advised to look after his first wife well. Both of them are paraded in the villages in the belief that it will deter people from doing such things. But on this issue they are relying more on propaganda than agitation.

(viii) Equal wages for equal work: One of the demands on which the NMS vows to fight is equal wages for equal work. In feudal Bihar – Jharkhand, it goes without saying that women are paid much less than men. So there were agitations for increase in wages and the demand for equal wages to women is also put forward. Now, in NMS areas women get equal wages and the wage rates for all have also increased considerably.

10 years back they used to be given Rs. 4 or 5 for a sekda (100 leaves) of Tendu Patta (Beedi leaves) over the years it increased to Rs. 50-55.

(ix) Superstitions & witchcraft: One of the major problems of a backward society is the prevalence of numerous superstitious beliefs that make women the worst victims. The backward villagers especially the adivasis believe in witches and ghosts. Not knowing the scientific reasons for illnesses, if somebody dies or falls ill they feel some witch has done something. They go to the Ojha (witch-doctor) who for his own ends points out to some women indirectly. The ‘victims’ then go and beat her up and ostracise her family or even kill her. Many poor women have met such a fate for no wrong of theirs. It’s only natural for the women’s organization to take up this issue seriously. A lot of propaganda work is being conducted and Jan adalat held whenever they come to know that a woman had been named a witch. The witch doctor and the persons who blame her are brought to book. In cases where she had been beaten, she is asked to beat the ones who tortured her. They are made to pay all her medical expenses. On this occasion NMS educates the people on the landlords’ interests behind propagating such superstitions among poor people and also explains the

medical reasons for illnesses. (Usually widows become victims. In order to confiscate their lands this witch business was started by the exploiting classes and the men of the poorer classes also followed suit and many poor widows were killed in this name and their land confiscated.) Earlier, the victims used to go to the police for justice. But they used to demand money. Now they have stopped going and look to NMS for support. The practice of killing and beating women in the name of witches has come down

(x) Saving the forest (*Jungle Suraksha*): Women have not only resisted the forest contractors who stopped them from collecting forest produce, but they have also apprehended forest officials who were smuggling teak or were assisting those who smuggle. The women lay waiting and caught them red-handed. They were beaten up and a bond was written not to do such things again. The carts carrying illegally felled wood were caught by NMS women. NMS takes upon itself the responsibility of stopping this smuggling and does *jungle-suraksha*.

(xi) August 15 and boycott of elections: Every year on August 15th NMS goes to the schools in the areas and propagates among the children about fake independence and the children boycott the function organised in the schools. They even hoist black flags where possible. There is this interesting incident of a 3rd standard boy, who got inspired by NMS 'didis' & led all his school students (including his seniors) to boycott the function. They took out a rally shouting slogans on top of their voices. The police came, arrested them and each boy was made to stand on a bench and given one blow and warned not to do such things again. And the missionary school authorities dismissed this boy for leading the students! (he started to move around with the NMS didis and has now become a good organiser).

The NMS boycotts elections because they are of the firm opinion that the lives of people are not going to be changed through this corrupt electoral system and a revolutionary change is necessary. Hence it conducts propaganda along these lines. In one village in West Bengal the women were so fed up with CPM goondaism that they did not want CPM candidates to get elected and wanted to burn down the polling booths. The police guessed something was wrong and stopped the women. The women said, 'we want to cast votes, why are you not allowing us' and barged into the

booths in 3 places and brought the boxes out. The candidates who come to campaign are also questioned by the women on women issues. The NMS just conducts propaganda on this question.

(xii) Celebrating March 8th as a struggle day of toiling women: 99 percent of the work of NMS is based in the rural areas. But the NMS leadership is very conscious of the fact that without the support of the intellectuals and the middle class sections in the cities it will be difficult to carry on. Though they have not deployed any organizers to work in the towns and cities, it determinedly celebrates March 8th in big cities every year and propagates its ideology among the city dwellers. So since 1990, March 8th was being celebrated in the cities of Bihar and Jharkhand by mobilizing thousands of women from the countryside. A month long campaign is conducted by volunteer teams of NMS and Jharkhand Abhhiyan (the cultural front) in the villages and in the city. On March 8th a rally and public meeting is conducted.

Since 1997, in various ways the authorities have been trying to stop the NMS from celebrating March 8th in cities. But the NMS women with a single minded purpose of celebrating March 8th have been overcoming all obstacles by fighting militantly and have been literally celebrating March 8th as 'the struggling Day of toiling women'. The only reason the police could cite was that 'NMS propagates MCC ideology'. The NMS strongly condemns this and pins them down on the question of whether women have a right to celebrate the International Women's Day or not. They have had experiences when permission was not given or if it was given it was cancelled at the last minute or they were permitted to hold the meeting but not the rally, if nothing else they are asked to stop for at least half an hour before taking out the rally. And police stop NMS women from the villages from coming to the meeting.

The village women try to find various ways to enter the city but the police do succeed in limiting the numbers. Once they have reached, they argue their way out and conduct the programme as planned. Now-a-days to avoid police interruptions the women are woken up at 3 am and all the proceedings are preponed by a few hours. By the time the police get wind of it it's too late to stop. NMS also has alternative arrangements made to

conduct the programme in some other place but till now they have not had to use them for March 8th.

5. *What is the extent of state repression on NMS? How are you facing them?*

A. From 1990 itself, arrests of the activists had started. Restrictions began to be imposed on public meetings. Revolutionaries can withstand the repression when they are among the people. Similarly NMS activists live among the people and conduct their programmes secretly and openly according to the necessity.

Though there was some repression on NMS from its very inception, 1997 was the turning point. Till now there are no killings or firings but women have been arrested, tortured, booked under false cases, beaten up during the combing operations and interrogated. In many districts village women have also been raped as part of operations conducted against the Party and the squads/platoons. In Jharkhand, women have also been booked under POTA (though except for one woman all have been consequently released). In some villages arrested women have been paraded to deter other women from joining organizations.

The women did not take all this lying down and NMS was instrumental in organising the resistance of women. Many are the instances where women have rounded up the police and beat them up. In many villages the women (some times the whole village) gheraoed the police stations to get the arrested persons released. In one village in Jharkhand such was the anger of the women that they made the police lick their own saliva! Some times there were firings on people gheraoing the stations.

In Jharkhand the adivasis beat the drum (called *nagaara*) whenever the police attack. Hearing it, all the people from neighbouring villages will gather and resist the police. They also take their bows and arrows along and sometimes use them. Women take any household implements they can lay their hands on or else pelt stones. Many such battles with these militant people have left the police helpless. And in almost all incidents, the police are made to write a bond in which they apologize for their ill deeds and promise not to come again. Indeed, they did not enter such villages after

that!

There have been some heroic instances of resistance by women under the leadership of NMS. In one instance, 3,000 women did a 24-hour rasta roko against rape by police. The men stood guard. The rapist policeman was fully beaten up. The DSP apologised and wrote a bond that they will not do so again.

One Santhi of Jharkhand was arrested when campaigning for March 8th in 2002, severely tortured, booked under POTA, sent to jail and was released in 2003. Some women who were tortured and raped had gone back. But the majority stayed, continued to work or at least support the organization.

Some girl children who work in Jharkhand Abhiyan have also been arrested while campaigning for March 8th. They were threatened not to give programmes. Due to people's pressure they were released the next day.

In 1997, when six district conferences of NMS were arranged, police tried to stop each one of them. NMS had made alternative arrangements to conduct them in a different place. So when the police blocked all the roads and tried to disrupt the Conferences, NMS just went and conducted the Conferences in the alternative places exactly as they had planned. Big processions were taken. And to the ire of the police immediately posters were put all over that they had successfully conducted their district conferences!

6. What attempts are made for the political education of your activists? What books and magazines have you published?

A: The NMS has given importance to educating women who come into the organisation to work full time for the movement. Since many of the women and girls who are coming are from poor peasant families, many of them are not even literate. They are encouraged to become literate as soon as possible. Then apart from the three basic books, classes are also being conducted for the organisers on the following subjects like grammar, geography, history, Marxism, and history of revolutions in the world in the 20th century and new economic policies.

The following are the publications of NMS: 1. *NMS ka Aahvan* (Call of NMS), 2. *Krantikari Nari Andolan ki Disha* (Direction of the revolutionary women's movement), 3. NMS Manifesto, 4. *Mahilaon ka Lal Sena Dal* (women's Red Armed Squad), 5. *Chamakta Lal Sitara* (Glowing Red Star) 6. *Stree Swatantrata aur Communist Naitikata par Lenin ke Vichar* (Lenin's views on women's liberation and communist values).

The first three books form the theoretical base of NMS. All the members are educated on the first three books. Classes are held and combined study undertaken in committee meetings. NMS doesn't have a magazine of its own and all its reports are published in the magazine Jan-Jwaar (which in fact carries the reports of many other mass organizations).

All the three basic books stress on the relationship between class struggle and women's liberation. The NMS flag has 5 stars in it which respectively indicate – independence, democracy, equal rights, women's liberation and socialism. NMS stands firmly in the camp of the socialist women's movement. It stresses that women's movement needs the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to develop in the correct direction. It also says that we should strive for socialism after the victory of the New Democratic Revolution and realizes that even under socialism the class struggle for women's liberation must go on.

Once an NGO named 'Jago Bahan' (ironically it has only men in it) called NMS to the meeting in which the topics were 'consumerism & women; globalization and women etc. NMS was not given a chance to speak! So they contented themselves by singing songs, which depicted their ideology. Actually it was a foreign-funded organization. NMS innocently invited them for its March 8th programme but they didn't turn up. Later they took the stand not to go into fronts with such NGOs.

7. What problems did you face from village men while starting NMS? How did you resolve them?

A: In the earlier days, the organizers of the NMS had to struggle a lot to mobilize women. In the villages men did not allow their women folk to attend meetings in the night which is the only free time they have after the daylong toil. So, NMS organizers had to adopt methods like also calling

men for the meeting and speak about general problems of the village. Finally the meeting would end up as a general meeting of the village. But still NMS organisers were able to propagate their ideas. Only after the general revolutionary atmosphere created through the revolutionary struggle grew could women come to the meetings on their own.

8. *In how many districts is it functioning at present? How do you plan to expand the organisation? How do you see the future of the struggle for women's liberation?*

A: In the beginning NMS work started in three districts – Dhanbad, Giridih and Hazaribagh. Later it expanded to Dumka, Devghar, Jaamthad Goda, Sahebganj, Bokaro, Ranchi, Simdega, East & West Singhbhum, Chatra, Palamu, Lathedar, Lohardagga, Garhwa, Gumla, Kodarma. Till now NMS units have been formed from village level to district level and we are in the process of forming a State level Committee. Apart from this we are planning to form the committees of NMS in the States of Bihar, UP, Uttarakhand, Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Assam, Punjab, Orissa, Delhi etc.

Thus, through hard work and revolutionary zeal, through a conviction that women's situation can be changed only by organising the mass of poor and peasant women, through patient and determined effort and learning-through-doing has the NMS grown over the years. It has grown and spread along with the spread of the revolutionary movement in North and East India. But being a rural based organisation it is little known in other parts of the country. Yet the organisers and leadership of the NMS have set their sights far beyond the tribal women of Jharkhand.

So long as feudal and imperialist exploitation of women persists, so long as the discrimination against women continues, so long as women live like animals and slaves, so long as women are deprived of economic and political rights, burnt to death for the dowry, become victims of the atrocities of the police, mafia and goondas, so long as export of girls for prostitution and the male domination exists – struggle has to be waged for the women's liberation (*nari mukti ke liye*) which is possible only with the establishment of socialism in the country. Even after establishing a socialist society there will be necessity of women's organizations as we understand from the discussion of Com. Lenin with Clara Zetkin.

6

“We have Experiences of Several Countries where the Toiling Masses Suffered Heavily Due to the Wrong Line of the Communist Party”

**Com. Azad, Spokesperson,
CPI(Maoist), on Nepal Developments**

People’s March, Volume 7, No.6 & 7, June-July 2006

(With the latest developments in Nepal and the tactics and Strategy now being put forward by the CPN(Maoist) and the continuous appeals by Indian Marxist and revisionists to the India Maoists to learn from the Nepalese Maoists, People’s March has been trying to get the response of the Indian Maoists. At last we have received by e-mail a response from the spokesperson of the CPI(Maoists) which, to a large extent, gives their response. We are giving below an interview taken by our correspondent with comrade Azad, the spokesperson of the CC, CPI(Maoist) in end June 2006)

PM: How do you look at the current developments in Nepal?

Azad: We, in India, have been watching the ongoing developments in Nepal with great interest. The militant mass agitation by the people of Nepal against the reactionary, autocratic regime of King Gyanendra in April, in the backdrop of the powerful armed struggle, was indeed historic. The people

of Nepal had inscribed a glorious chapter in the annals of Nepal by forcing the fascist King to relinquish his adamant stand and to concede power to the parliament. Our Party hails the historic struggle of the people of Nepal for democracy and a better society. However, it had been the expectation of the revolutionaries in India that the struggle in Nepal would go on until the overthrow of the King and capture of power by the revolutionary and democratic forces. We would have preferred to see a siege of the Narayanhitti palace and its overrun by the people. We hoped that the Maoists would wrest the initiative from the hands of the seven party alliance which wants to strike a compromise with the King and betray the aspirations of the people. This appeared possible. But events have not turned out that way. We can say that the people's aspirations have been fulfilled partially.

PM: How do you view the tactics of the CPN(Maoist) in joining the interim government and promising to abide by the verdict of the constituent assembly?

Azad: The situation in Nepal and the World is complex. Due to the weakness in the international communist movement we see many a people's war bogged down in a struggle for survival for decades. In this situation it is no doubt that the Nepalese party and people have made historic advances. But we feel there is need for caution with the present tactics. We think that Maoists forming a government jointly with the comprador bourgeois-feudal parties such as the reactionary Nepali Congress, revisionist CPN-UML and the other parties of the ruling classes will not aid, but actually harm, the cause of revolution. The very thinking that one can reform the state peacefully from within without smashing it is against the fundamental teachings of our Marxist teachers regarding state and revolution. One may bring some reforms from above and satisfy certain deprived sections of the people but it will never solve the basic problems of the people as you cannot smash feudalism and throw out imperialism from the soil of Nepal by utilizing the old state whatever embellishments one might do to give it a refurbished image. Nothing short of a revolutionary upheaval of the masses can achieve the above objective.

The present stand of the CPN(Maoist) is no doubt surprising after they had brilliantly built up their people's army of about 25,000, their Base

Areas, the UF and their new Organs of Power, and had stated that they were in the phase of the strategic offensive to seize power. In the process they effectively defeated all efforts of the police and RNA to crush them, maintaining the military and political initiative. But now there is no reference even to the strategic offensive and how it is to advance.

As regards the stand of the CPN(Maoist) that it will go by the verdict of the constituent assembly even if the latter favours a constitutional monarchy, we think it only means tailing behind the masses and abdicating the revolutionary responsibility of enhancing the consciousness of the masses and leading them.

PM: And what about the dissolution of the revolutionary organs of power and merging of the two armies?

Azad: These organs are the product of protracted people's war against the old state and they stand out as shining examples of people's democratic dictatorship at the local level brilliantly built by the CPN(Maoist) party. The immediate task and the tactics should serve to strengthen these organs and mould them into organs of uprising like the Soviets in revolutionary Russia and China. While consolidating these organs of power we must strive to mobilize the masses in a big way into uprisings and strive to capture the cities leading to the final seizure of power at the opportune moment. In fact in the concrete situation in Nepal today the Maoists have really only two revolutionary options. Either they must intensify the mass upsurge, evolve the organizational forms of political power suitable for seizing political power at the national/all Nepal level or if that is not possible owing to an unfavourable balance of class forces the existing base areas should be consolidated and strengthened and steps taken to complete the democratic tasks and advance towards in the direction of the socialist tasks. It is possible that in this process two Nepals will emerge – a reactionary one based in Kathmandu and few cities and a revolutionary Nepal based in the countryside. Instead of taking recourse to one of the two options, dismantling these organs means sacrificing the basic class interests of the working class and the toiling masses.

As regards merging the army within a reconstituted state army, it is

even more dangerous. Mao said that without a people's army the people have nothing. The army is one of the main instruments of class rule. How can two diametrically opposed classes have a single army? By merging the people's army with the reactionary army of the ruling classes (until now the faithful servant of the King) the Maoists have further endangered the interests of the people. The people will become defenceless in case of a reactionary armed offensive by the enemy. We have experiences of several countries where the toiling masses suffered heavily due to the wrong line of the Communist party. In Indonesia we know of the cruel massacres of communists and their sympathizers carried out by the ruling classes due to the line of hobnobbing with the reactionary ruling classes whom they considered as nationalist and democratic forces. We also have before us the examples of Chile, Nicaragua and several other countries. One cannot rule out the possibility of the reactionary ruling classes carrying out a coup and reestablishing their monopoly over political power at an opportune moment when the revolutionary forces have been effectively disarmed or weakened. This has been the experience in several countries following the 2nd World War i.e France, Greece etc. But, of course, if the Maoists do not pose a threat to the interests of imperialism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois (CBB) and they get accommodated and incorporated into the system then they too would be received with warmth by the ruling classes. The invitation to the UN to supervise the cease fire and monitor the demobilization of the people's armed forces is extremely dangerous. The UN is essentially an instrument of imperialism and particularly American imperialism. It is bound to work in the interests of the reactionary ruling classes of Nepal and imperialism. Overall, the decision of the CPN(Maoist) to dissolve the revolutionary people's governments in the countryside and to merge the PLA with the reactionary army will unfold an irreversible process of losing all the revolutionary gains achieved till now.

PM: The various parliamentary parties in India, not to speak of the Left parties like the CPI and CPI(M), have been hailing the line of participation in the interim government and parliamentary democracy taken by the Nepali Maoists and say that it will have a positive impact on the Maoist movement in India. How does your Party assess its impact?

Azad: It is the wishful subjective thinking of these parties in India that the developments in Nepal will have a “positive” (what they mean by positive is the Maoists shunning armed struggle and joining the so-called mainstream of parliamentary politics) impact on the Maoist movement in our country. Anyone who is familiar with the history of the Maoist movement in India, with the numerous ups and downs it had gone through in the past four decades after Naxalbari, knows how resilient our movement is. Even when confronted with great difficulties and odds against the revolutionaries, the genuine Maoists in India never vacillated or drifted from their line of new democratic revolution and achieving it through the line of protracted people’s war. They had not only rejected the parliamentary path but also fought against the parties who wanted to participate in elections in the name of utilizing it as a tactic. Of course, there are some pseudo revolutionary parties, like the CPI(ML)-Liberation which had degenerated into parliamentary parties but these stand exposed before the people as revisionist parties in the guise of MLM.

No wonder, the various ruling class parties and the so-called left parties in India are elated at the change of stance by the CPN(Maoist) led by comrade Prachanda. They are naturally hailing the line taken by the CPN(Maoist) and are calling upon the Maoists in India to realize the futility of armed struggle and to follow the Maoists of Nepal by participating in the parliamentary pig-sty in India. As bitter enemies and opponents of revolution all these parties have been in the forefront in suppressing the ongoing people’s war in India. The decision of the CPN(Maoist) to participate in the government along with the reactionary parties, declaring their commitment to the so-called rule of law and the future constitution, and to become actors in the ensuing game of parliamentary elections following the elections to the constituent assembly has come as a breather for the ruling class parties in Nepal and the parliamentary system of India.

In fact, in his interview with *The Hindu* last February, comrade Prachanda himself hinted at the “positive” impact that his line of multiparty democracy will have on the Maoist movement in India. It must have come as a great relief for the Indian ruling classes to hear comrade Prachanda speak of his Party’s commitment to multiparty democracy and the message he wants to give to the Naxalite movement in India by successfully

establishing multiparty democracy in Nepal.

When asked what he would say if he were to meet the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, comrade Prachanda said:

“We are fighting for genuine multiparty democracy but they are imprisoned there, in Patna, Siliguri, Chennai. If you release them all, a message will go out. And if you feel the Naxalite movement in India is a problem for you, we feel we are trying to deal with the problems in Nepal in a new way, so if you release our comrades and we are successful in establishing multiparty democracy in Nepal, this will be a very big message for the Naxalite movement in India. In other words, the ground will be readied for them to think in a new political way. Words are not enough; we need to validate what we are saying by establishing that democracy.”

It is really a matter of grave concern that comrade Prachanda, instead of demanding the expansionist Indian ruling classes to stop all interference and meddling in Nepal’s internal affairs, only talked of how their tactics would bring about a change in the outlook of the Maoists in India. Needless to say, these remarks will not only be deeply resented by the revolutionary masses of our country who have seen the wretched system of parliamentary democracy in India but will also be proved totally wrong through their revolutionary practice.

PM: The CPM and one of its top leaders, Sitaram Yechuri, was focused as a messiah from India to play a role between the Maoists and SPA. After returning back to India he and his party advised the Indian Maoists to follow the line of the CPN(Maoist). How do you explain this when they seem hostile to the Maoists here? Apart from this Yechury told the press that the Indian Maoists have planned to kill him and the secret regarding this decision was informed to him by the Nepali Maoists. What is your comment please?

Azad: The CPM is a party of the Indian ruling classes, representing the interests of imperialism, feudalism and the CBB in India. Their primary task seemed to be to bring the Nepalese Maoists into the parliamentary ‘mainstream’ which they also keep preaching to us in India. When we do not accede they have used the worst forms of state terror against us as in

West Bengal. Their aim is the same in both countries — to pacify the Maoists in India with bullets and do the same with the Nepalese Maoists with sugar-coated bullets. Yechuri and the CPM in effect played a more affective role for the Indian ruling classes when the Congress was fumbling with the Karan Singh fiasco. But when he overdid his ‘diplomacy’ and was sidelined, he cooked up the conspiracy theory of the Maoists in India planning to kill him to regain some credibility and try and sow seeds of mistrust between the two Maoist parties. A true Chanakya!!

PM: Why are you opposed to the tactic of multiparty democracy as proposed by the CPN(Maoist)?

Azad: Firstly, we are greatly perturbed by the proposal put forth by comrade Prachanda in his various interviews that his party was committed to multiparty democracy which will be practiced not after the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat but within the semi-colonial semi-feudal society. The 2003 Plenum document was quite vague regarding CPN(Maoist)’s concept of multiparty democracy or political competition, i.e., whether it is applicable after the seizure of power by the revolutionary party or prior to seizure itself. It only says it is possible to organize political competition within the constitutional limits of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist democratic state. However, the statements, interviews and documents released after the 12-point Delhi Agreement between the CPN(Maoist) and the Seven Party Alliance in November 2005 all point to the need for competition within the existing system after the Constituent Assembly is elected.

There is also confusion regarding the class character of the Parties with whom such political competition has to be conducted. While the 2003 document clearly stated that these forces will be anti-feudal and anti-imperialist in character, the post November 2005 documents and interviews of CPN(MAOIST) provide scope for such competition with the constituents of SPA who are basically comprador bourgeois-feudal in their character in spite of their role against monarchy, or, more specifically, against King Gyanendra’s autocratic rule.

In fact, in the same document entitled “Present situation and our tasks”,

presented by comrade Prachanda and adopted by the Central Committee Meeting of the CPN (Maoist) in May 2003, it correctly described the nature of the parliamentary parties in Nepal in the following words—

“In form it may appear as a triangular struggle involving monarchy, parliamentary forces and revolutionary forces, but in essence and if one looks from a class point of view, the struggle involving only two forces (reactionary and democratic forces) are seen. It has been practically proved that the differences between the autocratic monarchical and parliamentary groups are nothing other than that of share of power within the old state. It has been time and again proved in Nepal that monarchy in the name of nationalism (fake) and parliamentary forces in the name of democracy (fake) want to occupy the seat of power and betray the nation and the people on identical class basis.

“What we have been saying from a class and theoretical point of view and what has become all the more exposed in the present cease-fire and negotiation process is that it is the clash of interests between different international reactionary centers which is behind the mutual recriminations and contradictions between different reactionary groups in Nepal. As the royal army and the palace elements are being manipulated and protected by western imperialism, particularly American imperialism, and the main parliamentary forces by the Indian rulers who seek special hegemony in South Asia, they are having a continuous tug of war between them. Hence the whole Party should be clear that, in the background of political development particularly after the palace massacre, the idea of seeing either the monarchical or the parliamentary forces of Nepal as more democratic or more nationalistic than the other, will be specially harmful and wrong. It has become all the more clear in the present day Nepal that we can never have any ideological and political relationship with either monarchical or parliamentary groups except to manage contradictions in a particular situation.”

While the above analysis of the class character of the parliamentary parties, their fake democracy and loyalty to various imperialist powers, is basically correct, it is indeed very unfortunate that the CPN(MAOIST) has not adhered firmly to that analysis from a strategic and class perspective. It

is one thing to make necessary adjustments, understandings and tactical unity with these parliamentary forces and even with a section of the imperialists against the main enemy when conditions for such alliances become ripe. But to create illusions on the character of these parties or overlook their links with imperialists and Indian expansionists will do great harm to the revolution in the long run.

Moreover, we find that comrade Prachanda and the CPN(Maoist) had turned the tactics to the level of strategy and path of the world revolution in the 21st century. Thus, in his interview to The Hindu comrade Prachanda stressed that the Maoists' commitment to multi-party democracy is not tactical but the result of a lengthy ideological debate within the party over three years. He said: "our decision on multi-party democracy is a strategically, theoretically developed position and we are telling the parliamentary parties that we are ready to have peaceful competition with you all."

The CPN(Maoist) leader directly assured the comprador bourgeois-feudal parliamentary parties that his Party is ready to have peaceful competition with all of them. And by describing this decision on multiparty democracy as a strategically, theoretically developed position comrade Prachanda has brought a dangerous thesis to the fore—the thesis of peaceful coexistence with the ruling class parties instead of overthrowing them through revolution; peaceful competition with all other parliamentary parties, including the ruling class parties that are stooges of imperialism or foreign reaction, in a so-called parliamentary elections; abandoning the objective of building socialism for an indefinite period; and opening the doors wide for the feudal-comprador reactionaries to come to power by utilizing the backwardness of the masses and the massive backing from domestic and foreign reactionaries or the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal and petty bourgeois forces to hijack the entire course of development of the society from the socialist direction to maintaining the existing system (even if in a new form) in the name of democracy and nationalism. Whatever may be our good intentions for building a more democratic system, the laws governing class struggle will not permit of such a system. History has proved this time and again from the days of the Paris Commune right up till the earlier revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

PM: Then are you in favour of multiparty democracy at least after the seizure of power? If not what is the form of government you envisage after the revolution?

Azad: The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding regarding the form of government that will be best suited for the proletariat is the Commune or the Soviet or the Revolutionary Council that can best serve the proletariat and the vast majority of the masses as they act not as talking shops and mere legislative bodies but as both legislative and executive bodies. The representatives to these bodies are elected and are subject to recall any time the people feel they do not serve their interests. If we look at the very process of the protracted people's war it entails the setting up democratic power in the Base Areas of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PROLETARIAT elected democratically at gram sabhas with the right to remove them also by the gram sabha. Here there is a close interaction between the power structures and the will of the people and therefore truly democratic. Once power is seized at the all-India level, till the transformation to the socialist stage all genuinely anti-imperialist and anti-feudal parties will be part of the new power, and the transition to socialism can only take place through continuing the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This does not deny democracy for the masses at large but, as Lenin said, petty production generates a bourgeoisie daily, hourly and these elements will find their representative at all realms of state power, including the Party. Can anyone think of a better form of government and better form of exercising democracy in the real sense of the term?

“To decide once every few years which members of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament--this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary- constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics”, said Lenin.

This was said by Lenin over a century back. Since then, particularly since World War II, the parliament and its related institutions have become even more corrupt and rotten to the core.

A good example of how the new power was built was the Paris Commune. The concepts practiced there were further worked out in the

Soviets of the USSR, the communes in China and the experiments of the GPCR and is being sought to be practiced in the Base Areas being set up by the Maoists in different parts of the world.

Comrade Lenin also explained very lucidly how the Parliament functions even in the most democratic of the republics and, contrasting it to the Commune, showed how the Communes (or the Soviets in Russia and Revolutionary Councils in China) are the most suitable forms of government for the proletariat and the toiling masses.

“The parliamentary bourgeois republic hampers and stifles the independent political life of the masses, their direct participation in the democratic organisation of the life of the state from the bottom up. The opposite is the case with the Soviets.

"The way out of parliamentarism is not, of course, the abolition of representative institutions and the elective principle, but the conversion of the representative institutions from talking shops into "working" bodies. "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary body, executive and legislative at the same time."

"The Commune substitutes for the venal and rotten parliamentarism of bourgeois society institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, for the parliamentarians themselves have to work, have to execute their own laws, have themselves to test the results achieved in reality, and to account directly to their constituents. We cannot imagine democracy, even proletarian democracy, without representative institutions, but we can and must imagine democracy without parliamentarism, if criticism of bourgeois society is not mere words for us, if the desire to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie is our earnest and sincere desire, and not a mere "election" cry for catching workers' votes, as it is with the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries..."

PM: And how do you ensure political competition with other parties? The CPN(Maoist) claims that it is only by organizing political competition and institutionalizing the right of the masses to install an alternative revolutionary party in power that counter-revolution can be effectively checked.

Azad: It is, indeed, surprising that the CPN(Maoist) should arrive at such a conclusion even after the proletariat is equipped with rich and varied experiences on the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, after it is armed with such an appropriate form, method and weapon as the cultural revolution and is in possession of a wealth of writings by our teachers--Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao—and by several Marxist writers on the subject of checking the degeneration of the Party, Army and the State; preventing the restoration of capitalism; and building a new type of state and society. To think that continuous proletarianization and revolutionization of the Communist Party can be ensured and that counter-revolution can be effectively checked by organizing so-called political competition or by institutionalizing the right of the masses to install an alternative revolutionary party or leadership on the state means falling into the trap of bourgeois formalism and undermining the real task of mobilizing the masses extensively to wage bitter class struggle against the old reactionary defeated classes and the new bourgeois class developing within the Party, Army and the Administration. It is difficult to grasp how alternative revolutionary parties can exist- especially since the communist parties have always understood that different political lines represented either a proletarian outlook or a bourgeois outlook.

The crucial point lies not in ensuring the right of the masses to replace one Party by another through elections, which is anyway the norm in any bourgeois republic or bureaucrat bourgeois-feudal republic, but ensuring their active and creative involvement in supervising the Party and the state, in checking the emergence of a new bureaucratic class, and themselves taking part in the administration of the state and society and in the entire process of revolutionary transformation. And it will be the foremost task of the Party to organize and lead the masses in checking counter-revolution and bringing about the revolutionary transformation in all spheres through continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. And this is the most important lesson handed down to us by the entire historical experience of the world revolution, particularly by the GPCR.

Moreover, is it possible for the Party of the proletariat to prevent the comeback of the defeated classes to power and check counter-revolution peacefully or by a coup by providing such an opportunity to them to compete

in a “democratic” manner? Would the Bolshevik Party have won the elections in Russia after the revolution had it organized such political competition given its near-total absence in the vast backward countryside where the most reactionary ideas ruled the roost? In fact, the Bolshevik Party had to even dissolve the constituent assembly immediately after it captured power despite the fact that it was only a minority in it as the constituent assembly acted as an instrument of the reactionaries and became an obstacle for carrying out revolutionary reforms and for exercising proletarian dictatorship as in the Soviets. It is not just the case of Russia, in many countries, particularly in semi-colonial semi-feudal countries, where petty commodity production and peasant economy predominate, the feudal ideology, culture, customs and the force of habit among the majority of the population will make it possible for other non-proletarian and even reactionary parties under the anti-feudal anti-imperialist cloak to come to power relatively easily. Hence it will not be surprising if we find that the idealist and subjective proposal of the CPN(Maoist), though made with good intentions, ultimately becomes a convenient tool in the hands of the capitalist-roaders to seize power.

As regards political competition with other parties, we have the experience of China where several democratic parties such as the Democratic League, Peasants and Workers’ Party and others competed with the CPC and contested in elections to the various organs of power. Although these existed for almost a decade after the revolution the people rejected them when they refused to support socialism and tried to take China along the capitalist road. Political competition was encouraged in China, not in the form of participation in Western-type bourgeois parliamentary elections but in the elections to various bodies. Democratic parties and organizations belonging to the four classes that comprised the motive forces of revolution were to take part in the elections to the various bodies.

The CPC had strived to unite all the anti-feudal anti-imperialist parties and forces during the new democratic revolution and also after the seizure of power and establishment of people's democracy or the people’s democratic dictatorship.

In his article On the correct handling of contradictions among the people, in 1957, Mao explained the policy of the CPC towards other political parties

after the capture of power thus:

“It is the desire as well as the policy of the Communist Party to exist side by side with the democratic parties for a long time to come. But whether the democratic parties can long remain in existence depends not merely on the desire of the Communist Party but on how well they acquit themselves and on whether they enjoy the trust of the people. Mutual supervision among the various parties is also a long-established fact, in the sense that they have long been advising and criticizing each other. Mutual supervision is obviously not a one-sided matter; it means that the Communist Party can exercise supervision over the democratic parties, and vice versa.”

In China many methods were evolved to prevent capitalist restoration and the rise of a new bourgeoisie in the Government and Party. Mao's let a hundred flowers blossom and let a hundred schools of thought contend; his 'Three-thirds' system of democratic representation which restricts the seats of Communist party members in all elected bodies to a maximum of one-third of the whole and gives two-thirds of the seats to members of other parties and non-party elements; his putting six political criteria for political parties to stand for elections; etc; are only a few of the examples adopted. Democracy is not merely a formal putting a vote but must exist in the very living process of any organisation, with the leadership under the close supervision of the masses and cadre; this too is possible with only a general raising of MLM consciousness of the Party and the masses and intensifying the class struggle. In China there were many parties after the revolution sharing power, but the unity was on a principled basis, and was part of the front to deepen the class struggle against the remnants of the feudal and CBB forces. In Nepal they in effect dilute the class struggle by forming a government with feudal and CBB elements.

The most important thing is that all the revolutionary bodies in the proletarian or people's democratic state are elected and every person so elected is subject to recall which is not seen in the so-called parliamentary democracies.

PM: Do you find anything wrong when the CPN(Maoist) says it will go to the new democratic stage via the bourgeois democratic or multiparty republic?

Azad: No Maoist would say it is wrong to fight for the demand of a Republic and for the overthrow of the autocratic monarchy. And likewise, none would oppose the forging of a united front of all those who are opposed to the main enemy at any given moment. Needless to say, such a united front would be purely tactical in nature and cannot, and should not, under any circumstances, determine the path and direction of the revolution itself.

The problem with the theorization by the CPN(Maoist) lies in making the fight against autocracy into a sub-stage of NDR and, what is even worse, making the sub-stage overwhelm (dominate and determine) the very direction and path of the revolution. The programme and strategy of NDR drawn up by the Party prior to its launching of the armed struggle, its targets to be overthrown, and even the concrete class analysis made earlier based on which the revolution had advanced so far, are now made subordinate to the needs of the so-called sub-stage of Nepalese revolution. It is like the case of the tail itself wagging the dog. The sub-stage of a bourgeois democratic republic has become the all-determining factor. It has subsumed the class war, set aside the strategy of protracted people's war, brought multiparty democracy or political competition with the bourgeois-feudal parties as the most important strategy, nay, path, of the future Nepalese revolution.

As far as we know, , we can say that the numerous types of state system in the world can be reduced to three basic kinds according to the class character of their political power: (1) republics under bourgeois dictatorship {in addition to these there are the fake republics in the backward semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries under the joint dictatorship of the CBB and feudal elements, backed by imperialism }; (2) republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes. In essence, the slogan of a bourgeois democratic republic given by the CPN(Maoist) cannot but come under the first type of republic in spite of the participation of the revolutionary party in the state power along with the comprador bourgeois-feudal parties.

In his interview with BBC correspondent, comrade Prachanda gave his vision of future Nepal in the following words:

"We believe that the Nepali people will go for a republic and in a peaceful

way the process of rebuilding Nepal will go forward.

"In five years' time Nepal will move towards being a beautiful, peaceful and progressive nation.

"In five years' time the millions of Nepalis will already be moving ahead with a mission to make a beautiful future, and Nepal will truly start becoming a heaven on earth."

He further asserted that a democratic republic elected in such a way will solve the problems of Nepalis!!

"We believe that with the election of a constituent assembly, a democratic republic will be formed in Nepal. And this will solve the problems of Nepalis and lead the country into a more progressive path."

Anyone reading the above lines would think that these views reflect more a nationalist sentiment than a proletarian class outlook.

How will Nepal start becoming a "heaven on earth" after becoming a bourgeois republic? How can the formation of a democratic republic "solve the problems of Nepalis"? Can it free itself from the clutches of imperialism after becoming a republic in the present imperialist era? Does the CPN(MAOIST), which claims to believe in MLM, really think that the "process of rebuilding Nepal will go forward in a peaceful way"? And is there a single instance in world history where such peaceful process of rebuilding has taken place? Does not the history of world revolution show that bitter class struggle, bloody and violent at times, continues even after decades following the capture of power by the proletariat? Then how could comrade Prachanda think of such a peaceful process of rebuilding Nepal even at this sub-stage?

Do the parties belonging to the SPA really fight imperialism, Indian expansionism and feudalism in Nepal? Is there a guarantee that the CPN(MAOIST) will defeat the bourgeois-feudal parties, with which it wants to go for political competition, in the elections and ensure that Nepal does not drift into the clutches of imperialism and Indian expansionism? How could one be so naive as to believe that once the elections to the Constituent Assembly are over and Nepal becomes a Republic, not under the leadership of the working class party but may be under an alliance of a hotch-potch

combination of Parties i.e., an alliance of ruling class and working class under CPN(MAOIST), the country would free itself from feudalism and imperialism and become a "beautiful, peaceful and progressive nation" ?

According to comrade Prachanda's opinion, "the reactionary class and their parties will try to transform this republic into bourgeois parliamentary one, where as our party of the proletariat class will try to transform it into new democratic republic. How long will be the period of transition, is not a thing that can right now be ascertained. It is clear that it will depend upon the then national and international situation and state of power balance."

This so-called transitional multiparty republic is sought to be transformed into a new democratic republic through peaceful struggle by means of political competition with reactionary class and their parties which try to transform it into a bourgeois parliamentary republic!!

Whatever be the tactics adopted by the CPN(Maoist) the most objectionable part in the entire matter is its projection of these tactics as a theoretically developed position which it thinks should be the model for the revolutions in the 21st century. In the name of fighting against dogmatism our comrades of CPN(Maoist) are slipping into dangerous territory

From the various interviews of comrade Prachanda and other leaders of CPN(Maoist) we can clearly see a basic shift in the Maoist position from the immediate aim of accomplishing the new democratic revolution with the goal of fighting for socialism and communism to the establishment of a "multi-party democratic republic" through elections and bringing social transformation through peaceful means. This goes against the MLM understanding on state and stage of revolution. We think that this stand of the CPN(Maoist) and the confusion and deviation that had arisen concerning the democratic republic is due to its wrong conclusion regarding the present stage of the revolution in Nepal as explained earlier.

Moreover, as long as the Party wages a consistent struggle against imperialism and local reactionaries and pursues the line of redistribution of land and wealth, nationalisation of all comprador, foreign industries, banks and foreign trade, it is certain to face opposition from the other parliamentary parties. And if it wants to be part of the parliamentary game it has to abide by its rules and cannot carry out its anti-feudal, anti-imperialist policies in a

thoroughgoing way. Even the independence of the judiciary has to be recognised as part of the game of parliament and can cause obstruction to every reform which the Maoist party tries to initiate after coming to power through elections.

Then there will be several institutions like the judiciary, the election commission, the media, various artistic, cultural and even religious bodies, non-government organisations, and also human rights organizations some of which are floated by the ruling classes, and so on. If one slips into the quagmire of the so-called multiparty democratic republic, one cannot escape from upholding these so-called independent institutions. Many of these can become hideouts of the reactionary forces and work for counter-revolution in diverse subtle ways. One cannot forget the subtle manner in which the western agencies infiltrated and subverted the societies in East European countries and even in the former Soviet Union.

PM: Comrade Prachanda says that the tactics adopted by his party are based on the specificities of the political and military balance in the world as well as particular class, political and power balance in Nepal besides the experiences of the 20th century. What is your Party's opinion on this?

Azad: It is true that comrade Prachanda in his interview to The Hindu last February cited the above three factors for his party coming to the decision on multiparty democracy. In fact, this understanding could be seen in the CPN(Maoist) even before the said interview. For instance, in the CC meeting in August 2004, it began to be skeptical about the prospects of victory in a small country like Nepal when it is confronted by imperialism and there is no advancement of any strong revolutionary movement.

“In the present context, when along with the restoration of capitalism in China there is no other socialist state existing, when despite objective condition turning favorable currently there is no advancement in any strong revolutionary movement under the leadership of the proletariat, and when world imperialism is pouncing on people everywhere like an injured tiger, is it possible for a small country with a specific geo-political compulsion like Nepal to gain victory to the point of capturing central state through

revolution? This is the most significant question being put before the Party today. The answer to this question can only be found in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on this depends the future of the Nepalese revolution.”

The same Plenum had also pointed out why the series of tactical steps like cease-fire, negotiation, political way out etc., were taken up.

“There is no doubt that the imperialist forces are now in preparation for even more vicious assault as the Nepalese People’s War is in preparation for strategic offensive from its current position of strategic equilibrium. The entire complexities, opportunities and challenges of Nepalese revolution are the manifestations of this objective condition.....But, in Nepal, the development of revolution has reached a very sensitive stage of preparation for strategic offensive. It is essential to understand that the series of tactical steps undertaken by the Party such as cease-fire, negotiation, political way out etc. are based on this strategically favorable and tactically unfavorable world situation and the condition of strategic equilibrium inside the country.”

It is true that the revolutions everywhere are confronting a tough situation especially after the setback of China. Tactically speaking, in the present-day world, the enemy forces are quite strong while our subjective forces are weak. World imperialism has unleashed a massive offensive on the revolutionary forces, national liberation movements and on the people’s movements everywhere. But this is only one side of the coin. At the same time, the objective conditions are quite favourable; imperialism, particularly US imperialism, is hated by the people everywhere and massive people’s movements are breaking out against imperialism, particularly US imperialism, throughout the world. Any revolution in today’s world has to inevitably face the attacks by the imperialists. And the only way by which we can fight and teach a lesson to imperialism is by firmly and creatively mobilizing people for waging people’s war.

If the CPN(Maoist) had a deep and thorough understanding of the strategy of PPW it would have had adequate clarity on how to grapple with the situation in the event of external military intervention and transform the war into a national war and capture state power in the course of the war. But its desire for quick victory led it to the highly dangerous short cut method of coming to power through an interim government and participating

in the elections in a so-called multiparty democratic republic following the elections to the Constituent assembly. While the continuous successes it had achieved were the result of the creative application of the strategy of PPW, it had wrongly synthesized it as a strategy of fusion of PPW with the armed insurrection. And it expected to achieve final victory within a short period and announced that it had entered the stage of strategic counteroffensive in August 2004. But after realizing the difficulties involved in capturing the towns, especially the capital Kathmandu, and the probable intervention by the Indian armed forces and the US imperialist forces, and lacking proper understanding of the strategy of PPW, it opted for the easy road of a bourgeois democratic republic which would never take the country towards new democracy or socialism notwithstanding the affirmative assertions by the CPN(Maoist).

Thus, instead of adhering to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding on the imperative need to smash the old state and establish the proletarian state (the people's democratic state in the concrete conditions of semi-feudal semi-colonial Nepal) and advance towards the goal of socialism through the radical transformation of the society and all oppressive class relations, it chose to reform the existing state through an elected constituent assembly and a bourgeois democratic republic. It had gone to the extent of saying: "We are ready to accept the people's verdict, if they chose constitutional monarchy and multiparty democracy." It is indeed a great tragedy to see the Maoist party finally ending up in these political positions in spite of having de facto power in most of the countryside.

PM: Comrade Prachanda says that the line of multiparty democracy applies to the Maoist movement in India too. How does your party see this?

Azad: We saw his comments on this point in his interview with The Hindu correspondent. It says:

"We believe it applies to them too. We want to debate this. They have to understand this and go down this route. Both on the question of leadership and on multiparty democracy, or rather multiparty competition I believe those who call themselves revolutionaries in India need to think about these

issues. And there is a need to go in the direction of that practice. We wish to debate with them on this. If revolutionaries are not going to look at the need for ideological development, they will not go anywhere.”

Such advice has been coming forth from the various ruling class parliamentary parties in India since long. The revisionist CPI and CPI(M), who swear by Marx and Lenin, regularly sermonise through their magazines, documents and statements, regarding the futility of armed struggle for seizing state power and achieving revolutionary social transformation. They desperately try to show how parliamentary multiparty democracy is the best instrument for achieving this transformation as witnessed in West Bengal and Kerala. The CPI(ML)-Liberation, in the name of MLM, preaches the virtues of multiparty democracy and calls all those who do not wish to be tied to the parliamentary pig-sty as anarchists and adventurists.

It is good that the CPN(Maoist) wants to debate with the Maoists in India on the question of leadership and multiparty democracy. There have been interesting discussions and exchange of opinions and experiences between the leaderships of our two parties on the concept of leadership, on the question of personality cult and concentration of all power in the hands of one individual, etc. Our opinion has always been that it is necessary for a good section of the Party leadership to work among the masses and concentrate on building class struggle even after the seizure of power in order to prevent the degeneration in the Party functionaries, officials in the various state departments, particularly the armed forces, in the various units in the production sphere, and so on. We must encourage the masses to criticize the mistakes committed by the party and the party leaders even in the course of the revolutionary movement prior to the seizure of power. We must develop collective leadership rather than focusing on any one individual or delegating revolutionary authority. Dependency on one or few individuals instead of developing collective leadership and involving the entire Party membership and the masses in decision-making has been one of the causes that led to great reversals in Russia and China where, after the demise of outstanding proletarian leaders like Stalin and Mao, the CPSU and the CPC turned revisionist so easily.

We agree with comrade Prachanda when he says that “from the lessons

of the 20th Century communist states - we want to move to a new plane in terms of leadership - where one person doesn't remain the party leader or the head of state.”

In fact, this had also been one of the major points of debate during the inner-party struggle in the CPN(Maoist) during 2004-05 when comrade Bhattarai (Laldhoj), in his Basic Questions for Inner-Party Discussion, raised questions such as: Is proletarian leadership a centralized expression of collectivity, or is it a person centered? Does the principal law of dialectics, viz. one divides into two, apply to the main leadership or not? How does the system of a single person occupying the top Party, army and the state posts, and that too for life, solve the question of generating revolutionary successors and of continuous revolution? Our party, the CPI(Maoist) wish to conduct a serious debate on these questions and also on the question of Prachanda Path and on the concept of path, thought and ism.

PM: Finally, what would you say with regard to the concept of 21st century democracy as proposed by the CPN(MAOIST) led by comrade Prachanda?

Azad: What is new in the concept of 21st century democracy raised by CPN(Maoist) and how is it qualitatively different from the democracy of the 20th century? CPN(Maoist) had also claimed that its “decision on multi-party democracy is a strategically, theoretically developed position” which is even applicable to conditions in India. One knows about bourgeois democracy and proletarian democracy, that democracy too has a class character, which in a class-divided society democracy will serve the ruling class while exercising dictatorship over the rest of the people. In bourgeois republics the nature of democracy is bourgeois. It is meant to serve the bourgeoisie while oppressing the vast majority of the people. Its essence is bourgeois dictatorship. Likewise, in people's democratic republics, the democracy is meant for all the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist classes while dictatorship is exercised over the enemies of the people and their agents. The qualitative difference between different types of democracies lies in their class character. But when the CPN(Maoist) says that there is a qualitative difference between the democracy of the 20th and 21st centuries without any reference to the class character, it is not only unconvincing but

also seems to be highly subjective.

One reason given is that in the 21st century there has “been unprecedented development in science and technology, particularly in electronic communication technology, in the world.” How this unprecedented development has a bearing on the strategy of the revolutions in the 21st century or on the nature of democracy in the 21st century is not clear.

It says that “in the field of ideology, the central committee has attempted to draw a strategic outline of the world revolution based on the analysis of today’s world situation and mainly the new analysis of globalized imperialism and proletarian movement and has succeeded to present a totally new concept in relation to leadership and accomplishing revolution and preventing counterrevolution” and “in the field of politics” it says, it has made a “qualitative leap in the concept regarding political and military strategy and tactic established in the 20th century.”

We are still not clear what is this new concept and qualitative leap claimed by CPN(Maoist) except for their line of multiparty democracy and political competition which boils down to competing peacefully with the various reactionary and revisionist parties for power in a so-called transitional multiparty democratic republic.

PM: One last question. What is the message you would like to give to the revolutionary ranks of Nepal, India and the rest of the world?

Azad: First we would seriously request the CPN(Maoist) and its leadership to reconsider some of its recent positions and learn from the history of past mistakes. The Nepalese party and people have a great history of struggle and sacrifice. Over 10,000 have lost their lives in the course of the present people’s war. We salute these heroic martyrs of the Nepalese and world revolution. We are confident that the great Nepalese people will advance the revolution forward facing the numerous twists and turns in the movement. There is no doubt that revolution today is no simple task; the path will be zig-zag.

We also call on the people of India to lend full support to the Nepalese revolution. But while doing so it is also the duty of the Indian and world proletariat to render friendly suggestions to their comrades in Nepal. After all, the interests of the Nepalese revolution are very much in the interests of

world revolution, and more particularly of its neighbour, the Indian revolution. The revolutionary people of India are ready for any sacrifice in support of the Nepalese revolution. We are confident that we will march forward, together, against the obnoxious system of world imperialism and its local semi-feudal base.

PM: We, on behalf of the People's March wish to thank you for the interview on this so crucial issue in a neighbouring country.

Azad: Thank You.

7

Interview with Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI(Maoist) in the Background of the Successful Completion of the Congress of the CPI (Maoist)

People's March, Volume 8 No: 7, July 2007

(The questions that follow have been sent by various newspapers to Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI(Maoist). More than half of these were sent by BBC. The answers by Ganapathy are being sent to the media in the background of the successful completion of the Congress of the CPI(Maoist) and other recent developments — Azad, Spokesperson, CPI(Maoist), 24 April, 2007)

On the Unity Congress of CPI (Maoist)

Q: We heard that you had successfully held your Congress recently after a gap of almost 37 years. Why has there been such a long delay?

A: It is true that we held our last Congress—8th Congress—way back in 1970. The reason for not holding it for almost 37 years is the condition of the revolutionary forces in the country. Two years after the last Congress the movement suffered a serious setback; the highest committee, the CC, became disintegrated following the martyrdom, arrests, and even betrayals by some members like SN Singh who had, in fact, split the Party in September 1971 itself. After the martyrdom of comrade Charu Majumdar, the entire CC ceased to exist as it got splintered into several factions. I say

factions because they were all part of the original CPI(ML). Prolonged existence as separate groups gave them distinct identities in course of time as independent groups and parties with their own respective programmes and tactics. Moreover, they made their own self-critical reviews of the past. Such a state of affairs had rendered the prospects of unity all the more difficult.

Some groups began to traverse the same old path of the Danges and Joshis, although they claimed to oppose their line, such as the “Liberation” group led by Vinod Mishra whose degeneration began in the early 1980s after a history of glorious struggle during the 1970s. There were some that went on postponing the initiation of armed struggle against the state indefinitely to some auspicious day in the future with the plea that the state is too powerful and armed confrontation with it required more time and preparation. Hence they confined themselves to so-called phase of armed peasant resistance or the anti-feudal phase of struggle. Till today these groups have not completed their preparations to begin their armed confrontation with the state! These were the Right opportunist groups such as TN-DV, ND, various factions of CP Reddy etc. Then there were some others that stuck to the original programme of the CPI(ML) but refused to adopt a critical outlook towards the past mistakes. They continued dogmatically with the Left sectarian mistakes such as over-assessment of the international situation and the subjective strength, and an underestimation of the enemy forces and hence could not build any movement of significance. It was only a few Parties such as the CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU] which had upheld the basic line of the 8th Congress, made a self-critical review of the past tactical mistakes and shortcomings in the movement thereby enriching the line further, carried on the people’s war based on the enriched line, and hence could develop relatively strong movements in different parts of the country.

While this was the condition of the CPI(ML), on the other hand, the MCC led by comrades KC, Amulya Sen and Chandra Shekhar Das, grew up as a separate party with almost the same programme as that of the CPI(ML). Both parties would have been part of a single party but due to some historical reasons this did not materialise during the time of comrade CM. Later, as the CPI(ML) itself got split by 1972, unity became a thing of

the future. From then on unity of the Communist Revolutionaries remained one of the principal tasks in the agenda of every revolutionary organisation. But unity cannot materialise due to the desire of the revolutionaries itself. The will, i.e., the sincere desire for unity, is no doubt, an important factor but what is decisive is the political line and practice of the parties. Hence it was only during the 1980s and 90s when movements were built by Parties such as the MCC, CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU] that a strong basis for unity was laid. However, the unity between these Parties could not materialise for a long time due to political differences and also due to shortcomings on the part of the leaderships to make conscious efforts for unity. I can elaborate this if needed. The main reason for the long delay in holding the 9th Congress has been the failure to achieve unity among the major revolutionary forces in the country.

Q: How is democracy ensured in the Party when you could not hold the Congress for so many years? How are the cadres involved in formulating the line, tactics and policies of the Party?

A: The specific feature that I had described above, i.e., not holding the Congress for a long period due to our failure to achieve unity of all the genuine communist revolutionaries in the country, does not negate inner-Party democracy. Each revolutionary Party had its own internal democratic process of involving cadres in policy-making. The erstwhile MCCI, CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU] had their respective central conferences, plenums, special meetings etc at regular intervals where they summed up their past work and the positive and negative aspects in advancing the people's war, made the necessary changes in the policies and tactics, and enriched the line. A central conference is, in essence, similar to the Congress. The only reason for not naming it as the Congress is the recognition of the existence of various revolutionary parties and groups in the country. It was generally felt that a Congress could be held after achieving the unity of all the revolutionary forces in the country. The erstwhile parties that are now part of the CPI(Maoist)—the MCCI, CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU]—had held their central conferences and plenums at regular intervals. The PW had organised its first regional conference of Telangana way back in 1976. It had its state conference in 1980, its central plenum in 1990, its All India Special Conference (AISC) in 1995, and its Congress in 2001.

Likewise, the MCCI had its central conference in 1996 and the PU in 1983, 87 and 1996.

Thus through these conferences and plenums the entire Party was involved in the democratic process of discussions, internal struggle, and resolution of all disputed issues democratically. In fact, the CPI(ML)[PW] began preparations for holding the Congress in 1995 after the break-down of the merger talks with MCC. The AISC of erstwhile PW in 1995 was actually planned as a Congress but at the eleventh hour we decided to change its name to that of a special conference but having the significance of a Congress. This was done keeping in mind the prospect of unity with the CPI(ML)[PU]. In 2001, the unified CPI(ML)[PW] held the 9th Congress but it was the Congress of revolutionaries belonging basically to only one stream of the Indian revolution, the CPI(ML). The Congress was held due to an assessment by the PW leadership that unity with MCC may not materialise for a relatively longer period of time especially in the background of strained relations between the two parties at that time. Later, this assessment proved to be wrong. Within 3 ½ years after that Congress the new Party, CPI(Maoist), was formed with the merger of CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI. To sum up, healthy democratic processes were in place throughout the histories of the major Parties constituting the present CPI(Maoist) even though we could not hold the Congress for a long period.

Q: We heard from some media reports that serious differences had emerged in the recently-held Unity Congress, that there was strong opposition to your re-election as General Secretary, that the Congress could not even elect the central bodies, and so on. Are these true?

A: Such concocted reports are based on speculation by some media personnel but are mainly part of the disinformation campaign unleashed by the Intelligence agencies. The APSIB, in particular, has a special department for such disinformation with the sole purpose of spreading confusion among the people and Party cadre. They have been circulating such stories ever since the merger of the two Maoist Parties, particularly over the past one year. They have been desperately trying to spread the rumour that the merger was not a principled one, that there are serious differences between the two erstwhile parties, and that both have different lines of thinking

which are reflected in their respective practices, and such trash.

And we know from where the so-called media reports that you are referring to had originated. These police stories had been faxed from Hanamkonda by the SIB and were published in some Telugu dailies on March 26. Through these reports these liars had desperately tried to project a totally false picture about the situation in our Party. They tried to prove that while the erstwhile MCCI wants to intensify the people's war by resorting to more and more military actions, the erstwhile PW comrades think it is better to put off the actions for a while and concentrate on building militant mass movements. It is indeed amusing to see such reports just 10 days after the PLGA had carried out the biggest ever action in the history of the Maoist movement by eliminating 68 police personnel including SPOs in Rani Bodili in Chattisgarh and after we had declared that more such actions would follow if the reactionary ruling classes do not give up the brutal campaign of mass murder and destruction in the name of *salwa judum*. There isn't an iota of truth in these fabricated lies.

These police stories also spread the lie that "*the setbacks and differences were so serious that the Congress could not even reconstitute the Politburo, Central Committee, Central Military Commission, and various state committees and that some of the key leaders are likely to face disciplinary actions.*" In fact, at no point in the history of the revolutionary movement in India we had such strong and closely-knit central and state Party structures. The Congress had unanimously elected the Central Committee which then set up the Politburo, CMC, various Regional Bureaus, and central departments and sub-committees. I would proudly say, the establishment of a strong, centralized leadership for leading the Indian revolution has been one of the significant achievements of the Congress. The state committees are elected by the concerned state conferences and not by the Congress. The press release shows the poor homework of the SIB.

It was even more amusing to hear from the report that disciplinary action, including demotion, is likely to be taken against some key leaders. There is not an iota of truth in these wild assertions. The above shows not merely the disinformation campaign but also the psychology of the SIB and the police in AP who desperately wish that the "key" leaders of our Party be demoted.

Q: Then you say there are no differences at all?

A: Why not? Ideological-political debates are the life-blood of any communist party. It is through such internal struggle that a Party's line gets further enriched and the Party becomes stronger and more unified. We never keep our differences secret. We had published the differences in the last issue of our theoretical magazine, the *People's War*. In the current issue of the magazine the debates which took place in the Congress are reported in detail. These debates indicate the strength of the party, not its weakness. It shows the democratic credentials of the Party which allows freedom of expression for all kinds of opinions and viewpoints, and its ability to digest various opinions if they are expressed in a constructive way to enrich the Party line and not with a malafide intention to wreck the Party. Whatever opinions had come up at the Congress were placed by the comrades in all sincerity, with a view to enrich the line and find solutions to the problems confronting the Indian revolution.

One very important point to be noted here is that differences which had come up at the Congress were not differences between erstwhile MCCI and CPI(ML)[PW] but were those within a single Party. If you are aware of the history of our Party you would find that even more serious differences had come up in our earlier conferences and Congress. In the AISC of PW in 1995 or the central conferences of PU in 1987 and 1996, or in the 2001 Congress of the unified PW, the differences were of quite a serious nature. There were differences on the principal contradiction in the world, on the contradiction between the CBB and the Indian people, mode of production in India, and so on. There was also a sharp debate on the question of Right deviation in the Party line during the 2001 Congress of erstwhile PW. All these serious differences were resolved through a healthy debate and by placing for vote where needed. This time the differences were not as much serious as in the past. The media reports, obviously, were wide off the mark. Thus the differences within the old PW, or the unified PW after the merger of PW and PU in August 1998, or in the CPI(Maoist) after the merger of the PW and MCCI, are very much normal in a Communist party. Any difference, even the most serious ones, can be resolved in a Communist party by adhering to the principle of democratic centralism. That is the greatness of the principle of democratic centralism which is the

basis for the existence and functioning of a communist party.

It was only in Karnataka that a small group calling itself the Minority had split away from the Party after they had lost the majority for their Right opportunist line in the state conference. If they had the communist spirit and discipline and were not carried away by petty-bourgeois individualism and anarchic methods, they would have remained in the Party and fought for their line in the Congress. Of course, while carrying out the line and policy decided by the majority in the Congress, one has the right to bring up one's line or standpoint on any question once again as part of the next Congress.

Q: So you say there is no truth in the reports about the strong opposition to your re-election as the General Secretary and that you had to accede to many of the demands of your detractors as part of the compromise formula?

A: No truth absolutely. Reports of opposition to my election as GS are a planned fabrication by the Intelligence agencies like the central IB, APSIB etc., which had taken the task of spreading disinformation about the leadership as one of their principal tasks. My re-election was a unanimous decision of the CC. They saw no reason to make any change. And I do not understand what they mean by my detractors or their demands for neither of these is true. As regards the so-called compromise formula I can only laugh at the desperation of the enemy camp to establish fictitious differences and compromises.

The losses in AP are not seen as the losses of erstwhile PW but as those of the entire Party. The entire Party concentrated keenly on analysing the reasons for the losses and took lessons from the positive and negative experiences of the movement in AP. Synthesising the experiences of the movement in AP was very useful for the entire Party, which had imbibed its positive experiences and drew lessons from its negative aspects.

Q: Where was the Congress held? How did you manage to hold it when the government has been seriously trying to foil it?

A: (*Laughs*) Let the Intelligence agencies keep guessing where it was held.

As for the media, we can take you people to the place sometime later. As history is being built, these places will assume great historical importance for future generations. Then everyone will come to know. But one thing I can say for the present—it is held in the midst of people, protected by people and nature all around. And, of course, at the venue it is our heroic PLGA fighters who worked day and night, doing 24-hour duty, alert to every move of the enemy forces, sitting in ambushes for the police forces if ever they dared to venture into the area. Even if the enemy forces had entered the area our guerrillas would have ensured that there were no losses of leadership. Placing full confidence on the PLGA and the masses, we conducted the Congress without any tension or problem. In fact, we had even extended the Congress by a few days.

Holding the Congress was only the final act of the entire democratic process. As part of this process, we held conferences in about 15 states; 12 of these were state-level conferences, and these were preceded by regional, zonal/divisional/district conferences and in some places sub-zonal and area conferences too. There was a big education campaign with study camps, classes etc. All these had consumed a large part of our time last year. But for the extensive mass support and the protection provided by our guerrilla forces, these programmes would have been simply impossible given the continuous suppression campaigns unleashed by the enemy. We had to shift the conference venue in AOB and one or two other places when we were informed by the people that the enemy was surrounding the place. It is the people who are our eyes and ears and as long as we enjoy the support of the people, and maintain methods of strict secrecy, no enemy force can do anything.

There were serious attempts by the central and state governments to disrupt the conferences and the Congress. There was open declaration to that effect in the papers in the months of November and December last. A special wing was set up for a period of three months in the Home Ministry to foil the Congress. They knew it would be held in the months of January or February since it would be relatively difficult to hold after that due to the onset of summer. Thus holding the Congress was one of the biggest challenges the newly-unified Party had faced after the merger. More than a hundred delegates—the core of the Maoist Party—had to come from

different states unnoticed by the enemy. A huge force of tested PLGA fighters had to be mobilised for protection purpose. And the arrangements for such a huge camp, that too in the coldest days of winter, were not easy. Any small leak anywhere would have disturbed the programme. Under these difficult conditions successful completion of the Congress is definitely a big achievement for the Party. It has shown that anything is possible with meticulous planning, secret methods of functioning, a committed guerrilla force and the strong support of the people.

One tragic incident that took place on the eve of the Congress was the martyrdom of our beloved comrades Chandramouli (BK) and his life-partner Vijayalaxmi (Karuna). Chandramouli was a member of the CC and the CMC and Karuna was a DC member. They were caught by the APSIB goons on 26th night and murdered in cold blood the next day after cruel torture. There was some tension when we heard the news of their martyrdom. However, the enemy did not find anything indicative of the Congress on their person and both of them stood like rock when unspeakable inhuman tortures were being inflicted upon them. The cruel enemy could not extract a single bit of information from these great communists, the proud son and daughter of the Indian people. Even in their martyrdom they made great contribution in blood for the success of the Congress. Their sacrifices will be remembered forever by all our Party cadres and the revolutionary masses.

Q: What are the major decisions of the Unity Congress? Will there be any change in your overall plans and tactics now?

A: The general direction of the Congress is to intensify the people's war and to take the war to all fronts. Concretely it decided to take the guerrilla war to a higher level of mobile war in the areas where guerrilla war is in an advanced stage and to expand the areas of armed struggle to as many states as possible. The destruction of the enemy forces has come into the immediate agenda in these areas without which it is very difficult to consolidate our gains or to advance further. Likewise, there is an immediate need to transform a vast area into the war zone so that there is enough room for manoeuvrability for our guerrilla forces. And in expansion the element of secrecy is very important. Keeping in view the massive deployment of the central forces

and special police forces of the states the Congress had drawn up plans to adopt various creative forms to cause serious damage to the enemy forces. The police and central forces will be taught how dangerous it is to enter our areas. We decided to strengthen the Party and the PLGA, mobilise the masses actively to resist the enemy forces, and to transform these areas into our strong bases by destroying the enemy's power in all forms. And all this will be achieved by wide mobilisation of the masses into the war. As it is, hundreds of people, and at times even more than a thousand, are involved in the attacks against the enemy as you can see from the recent counteroffensive operations as in Rani Bodili, Riga, CISF camp in Khasmahal in Bokaro district, and so on in the past one month itself.

With the experiences we gained in AP in the midst of ever-increasing and continuous state repression and state-sponsored repression, it is all the more important that our forces are not exposed wherever they are working. But at the same time we shall be in the forefront of every people's movement. The Congress has decided to take up struggles against the SEZs which are nothing but neo-colonial enclaves on Indian territory. They are not just snatching fertile farmlands of the peasants but are transforming the entire country into special zones for the unhindered ruthless exploitation and control by imperialists and the comprador big business houses. The Congress gave the call to go deep into these struggles. We have no illusions on the cruel, fascist nature of the Indian state, and hence there is utmost need for maintaining secret methods of work as well as to be prepared for every kind of sacrifice.

Q: Finally, how do you sum up the achievements of your Unity Congress and its significance?

A: Our Unity Congress is an event of great historic significance in the history of the revolutionary movement of India. It not only marks the near-completion of the process of unification of the Maoist forces in the country but also the consolidation of the Party and the political line for the Indian revolution. The reaffirmation and enrichment of the revolutionary political line established by our founder leaders-comrades CM and KC-is the biggest achievement of the Congress. Several ideological-political questions were debated and settled by the Congress thereby bringing about a higher level

of unity. Another achievement of significance is the establishment of a unified centralised leadership for the Indian revolution.

After a long time in the history of the revolutionary communist movement in India since the 1970s, a single directing centre has come into existence, with the merger of the MCCI and CPI(ML)[PW] in September 2004 and this centre has become further consolidated and firmly established in the unity congress with the approval of the entire Party.

On the losses in Andhra Pradesh

Q: There have been serious losses in Andhra Pradesh in recent times. What are the reasons? Has your movement become weakened overall? How do you plan to overcome these losses and regain the initiative?

A: I agree that the losses in the state of Andhra Pradesh are quite serious. They certainly have a considerable impact on the revolutionary movement in the country as a whole. AP, particularly the region of North Telangana, has been an important centre of revolutionary movement for a long period and a great inspiration to the revolutionary masses of our country. But we have to keep in mind that so far as the question of establishing base areas goes, it has been the more backward areas falling in central and eastern India that were selected by the Party with the immediate task of liberating these vast areas. Hence the focus of our movement had gradually shifted to Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand.

You must have known that AP was made into a model state, an experimental state where the imperialists, particularly the World Bank, and the Indian ruling classes had concentrated to implement their multi-pronged LIC strategy against the revolutionary movement, with its focus on brutal suppression and reform. No other state affected by the Naxalite movement has such a massive police commando force as in AP, nowhere do you find such extensive intelligence network, infrastructure, funds, training in counter-insurgency warfare, and unlimited powers to the police. No other state had witnessed such a bloodbath as AP had for the past four decades and particularly from the mid-1980s. There are hardly any political prisoners in AP jails since the policy had always been to bump off the revolutionaries—whether they are members of the central committee or sympathisers—after

they are arrested. Fake encounter killings had been the tradition right from the time of Vengal Rao during the struggle of Srikakulam almost 40 years ago. Thousands of crores have been spent on so-called reforms with the aim of weaning away a section of the people from the revolutionary movement. It is a fact that a small but articulate and influential section in the countryside has been won over through these reforms. In a word, we can say that the Party and the revolutionary movement in AP bore the brunt of all the counter-insurgency measures initiated by the reactionary ruling classes in the initial stages. Today these are being implemented in several other states. We are making an in-depth study of enemy's counter-revolutionary tactics, plans and methods and taking lessons from these. The movement in AP, at the cost of huge sacrifices of thousands of comrades, has given us invaluable experiences on how to counter and defeat enemy's tactics and plans. With these, the Party is now more equipped to defeat the enemy's tactics in other states.

Setbacks and losses are not unnatural in protracted people's war. Revolution proceeds along a zig zag course and not along a straight line. The movement in AP has seen many ups and downs. But always it rose up like the proverbial Phoenix. No doubt, at the present juncture, we are facing a tough situation in AP and the enemy has the upper-hand from the tactical point of view. We had lost a good part of the state leadership and cadre but the most promising aspect is that the people are still with our Party. The support base of the Party has not eroded much although they meet us secretly, ask us to solve their problems, and they work without getting exposed to the brutal State. For them our Party is the only hope. People are pained at every loss suffered by the revolutionaries. You can gauge the mass support from the turn out at the funeral meetings of our martyrs. In spite of the threats and restrictions imposed by the police goons, more than 20,000 people had turned up at the funeral of comrade Chandramouli (BK) and Karuna in the former's native village of Vadkapur in Karimnagar district. The pent-up anger and hatred of the people for the reactionary rulers and their police-Grey Hounds-SIB goons will grow into a movement of such great proportions that it will wash away the exploiters and oppressors and all the muck accumulated in society for long. No force on earth can stop this high tide of revolution whatever losses and setbacks we might be facing

today in AP. The ruling classes are aware of the great potential for the revolutionary movement in AP. That is why while boasting that Maoists in the state had become completely weakened and that AP will serve as a model on how to deal with the Maoist movement, the fascist YSR government has initiated several measures with a long-term plan such as a hundred per cent increase in the strength of the Grey Hounds commando force, acquiring helicopters for anti-Naxal operations, sanctioning of Rs. 2000 crores of central aid to deal with the Naxal movement, and so on.

The present historical epoch is an epoch of great turmoil with tumultuous changes taking place worldwide. Even the most powerful militarised imperialist power like the US is finding it impossible to suppress the national liberation struggle in a small country such as Iraq or Afghanistan. In India, the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the people by the ruling classes in collaboration with imperialism has created an explosive situation. Utilising the excellent international and domestic situation prevailing today we are confident we will be able to come out of the temporary setback in AP.

And what is more important, we made advances in many other states in spite of the losses we had suffered in AP. The situation is now qualitatively different from that of the earlier periods in that we are now able to advance the movement in a number of states even if we suffer losses and setbacks in one or two states. Way back they could suppress a Naxalbari, a Srikakulam, a Birbhum, a Mushahari, a Kanksa or Sonarpur but today the revolutionary movement has become further strengthened, has spread to large tracts of the backward countryside, has well-knit Party structures, Army and vast mass base. It is advancing through centralised planning and direction. Hence it is not an easy thing for the state to suppress the movement as in the past although it might achieve an upper hand in one place. The Congress had chalked out a concrete plan to overcome the setback in AP by transforming the unfavourable factors into favourable ones. Overall there is great future for the Party and revolution.

On SEZs, Nandigram and role of CPI(M)

Q: How do you see issues like Singur and Nandigram? Are your people involved in inciting violence in Nandigram as claimed by the CPI(M)? Do you intend to get actively involved in such issues?

A: One should only be surprised if we are not involved in such life-and-death issues of the masses. We intend to mobilise the masses against the conspiracies and treacherous policies of the rulers to snatch the land of the people and hand over the same to the MNCs and the comprador big business in the name of development through creation of hundreds of SEZs. The policy of SEZ is aimed at creating neo-colonial enclaves within our country where no laws of the land can be applied. The SEZ policy is being aggressively pushed by the Indian ruling classes goaded on by the imperialist MNCs as part of their globalisation offensive. Struggles against the SEZs acquiring fertile farmland of the peasants and also huge projects are turning more and more militant as witnessed in Kalinga Nagar, Singur, Nandigram, Lohandiguda, Polavaram, etc. Kalinga Nagar, Singur and Nandigram, in particular, have become important symbols in this struggle against exploitation by the big comprador houses and the imperialists.

As regards Maoists inciting violence in Nandigram, the entire world would laugh at the temerity of these “Left” Front rulers. Even Goebbels would turn in his grave seeing how much his art of lying has been improved by “Marxists” like Buddhas, Karats, Yechuris etc. These political brokers have been desperately trying to divert the issue by repeating ad nauseam that Maoists from outside had incited the local people and hence the police had no other alternative than to open fire in self-defence. Like every reactionary ruling class the “Marxist” rulers of Bengal too are harping on themes such as “foreign hand” for the mess which they themselves had created. Brinda Karat had commented that Maoists had used the sea-route to enter Nandigram. It is sickening to see the utter political bankruptcy of these so-called ideologues and the poverty of their logic. In the eyes of these hypocrites and double-dealers, a Salim or a Tata, are not outsiders while Maoists, who live and die for the people, become outsiders. Worse still, like ostriches, they think that the world does not know how thousands of armed goons had been brought by their Party from different parts of the state to Nandigram along with a huge police force to enact the massacre. Karats and Yechuris are placing this on outsiders in their sheer desperation to justify their savage massacre in Nandigram.

Nandigram reveals the ugly cruel face of the social-fascist CPI(M) whose goons along with the police had committed indescribable atrocities on the

people, raped women, killed over a hundred people including even children, and, what is most abominable, had buried the corpses or thrown them into the river. Buddhadeb had emerged as Bengal's Dyer and has proved himself to be a loyal servant of the big comprador houses and the MNCs. Like a true dalal, his government had taken up the task of acquiring lands from the people to hand over to the big business. One thing has become established beyond a shadow of doubt with the state terror and state-sponsored terror in Nandigram: the CPI(M) is the best bet for the MNCs and comprador big business for securing their class interests in the country. It will not be a surprise if they choose to bring these most loyal servants in Marxist guise to power even at the Centre in the future.

As for our role in such movements we shall definitely make all efforts to be in the forefront and lead the movement in the correct direction. We call upon the people to turn every SEZ into a battle-field and assure them that we will render all support to the people's movements against SEZs.

On the annihilation of Sunil Mahto

Q: Last month JMM leader and MP from Jamshedpur, Sunil Mahto, was gunned down by your guerrillas along with five others. There have been reports that Dy Chief Minister Sudhir Mahto was also warned. How far are these acts justified? Is your Party planning more such political assassinations in the near future?

A: We do not kill everyone just because he/she is an MP or a minister. Although all legislators are directly or indirectly responsible for all the policies made by the government, it is mainly a small coterie of political leaders that play a crucial role in finalising the policies under the dictates of the imperialist-CBB-feudal combine. It is such political leaders that we single out for attack.

In the case of Sunil Mahto, we had to eliminate him only because he has been actively involved in unleashing brutal repression on the revolutionary movement in Jharkhand. He is not just a leader of JMM but is associated actively in the vigilante gang called the Nagrik Suraksha Samiti (NSS) which had taken part in the cold-blooded murder of 11 of our Party cadres in Lango village in Dumaria bloc in East Singhbhum district in 2001. Although he was not the main architect of this massacre, he had encouraged

the activities of this private mercenary gang sponsored by the state. Of late, he had come to the forefront organizing the armed campaign against the Maoists movement according to the game plan of the reactionary ruling classes to divide and pit a section of the adivasis against the revolutionary movement in the name of *Sendra*. We already have bitter experiences in Chattisgarh where the so-called peace campaign in the name of *salwa judum* is playing havoc with the lives of thousands of adivasi people. Over 700 villages had been razed to the ground, almost 60,000 people were uprooted from their homes, over 400 were murdered, several women were raped and property of the people was destroyed by these *salwa judum* vigilante gangs accompanied by the police and central forces. We also have the experiences of AP where vigilante gangs such as Cobras, Tigers, etc had created a campaign of terror in some areas. A similar plan is being sought to be unleashed in Jharkhand in the name of *sendra* and Sunil Mahto was one of the main leaders spearheading this campaign against the Maoists. The so-called Tritiya Prastuti Committee (TPC) too has been playing a similar role in Bihar with the support of the state. Hence we had to eliminate the main leader, Murari Ganju, in a daring attack by our PLGA on the 9th of April. Such punishments will be carried out where necessary on cast-to-case basis in a selective manner and this must not be treated as our general policy.

We wish to make one thing clear: we are not for indiscriminate killing of leaders or ordinary members of political parties. We basically rely on mobilization of the masses to isolate, expose and fight the anti-people policies of various political parties and the attacks by the vigilante gangs while engaging our PLGA squads and action teams where needed. Annihilation of Sunil Mahto should not be interpreted as our antagonism towards JMM as a whole. We are not against JMM as long as it desists from indulging in anti-people activities and attacks against the revolutionary movement. We appeal to the activists and ordinary members of JMM to understand the conspiracy of the ruling classes to divide the adivasi people in the name of *sendra* and call upon them to fight the state-sponsored private vigilante gangs like NSS as well as all those leading the notorious campaign of *sendra* against the revolutionary movement in Jharkhand.

On the biggest ever attack by the Maoists in Chattisgarh

Q: Recently your PLGA had inflicted one of the biggest blows to the police force and the salwa judum by killing a huge number of police and SPOs in Rani Bodili in Chattisgarh. Do you foresee more such attacks in near future? And do you believe the salwa judum can be stopped through such actions?

A: The daring tactical counteroffensive operation carried out by the PLGA led by our Party, the CPI(Maoist), on March 16 on a police base camp in Ranibodli in Bijapur police district in Chattisgarh in which 68 policemen including Special Police Officers (SPOs) were wiped out is an inevitable consequence of the brutal reign of terror unleashed by the state and central governments in the name of *salwa judum*. You must know the actual ground situation in Dandakaranya to understand why such a massive operation had to be planned.

For almost two years since June 2005, the BJP government in Chattisgarh and the Congress-led UPA government in the Centre had sponsored a counterrevolutionary terrorist campaign of mass murder, torture, and arrests of thousands of the adivasi peasantry, gangrapes and murder of hundreds of women, destruction of thousands of houses, foodgrains, and all property of the adivasis, killing or taking away thousands of cattle, forceful evacuation of tens of thousands of people from almost eight hundred villages and issuing threats and intimidation to anyone suspected of being a member of revolutionary mass organization or sympathetic to the Maoists in Dandakaranya, particularly in Dantewara, Bastar, Kanker, Bijapur and Narayanpur districts. Over 5000 youth were inducted into a state mercenary armed force, paid monthly salaries, and pitted against the native adivasis who are fighting for land, livelihood and liberation under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist). The Naga and Mizo Battalions were specially brought in along with a huge CRPF and other special police forces to Chattisgarh who had been committing the most barbaric and inhuman acts against the adivasi population.

All these cruel attacks against an entire population are meant to establish peace of the graveyard and clear the way for the unhindered loot by rapacious

hawks like Tatas, Ruias, Essars, Mittals, Jindals and imperialist MNCs. Over one lakh rupees worth of MOUs were signed by the Chattisgarh government with these corporate comprador big business houses to drain the rich mineral and forest wealth of the state. At the behest of these daylight robbers, adivasi dalals like opposition leader of the Congress, Mahendra Karma, Home Minister Ramvichar Netham of the BJP and others have been leading this counter-revolutionary war against the adivasi population.

A huge central force is deployed which is now more than 13 battalions, recruited 10 additional battalions of state forces, and inducted even minors of 14 years of age into their mercenary police force. KPS Gill, notorious for the mass murders of youth in Punjab, was specially appointed as advisor to the Chief Minister. A carpet security system is initiated with police camps in close proximity in order to strike terror among the people.

We, on behalf of the CC, CPI(Maoist), once again warn the state and central governments that our Bhumkal Sena and PLGA and people will carry out attacks on a much bigger scale if the murder campaign in the name of salwa judum is not disbanded immediately. We declare that the sole responsibility for such needless loss of lives of hundreds of policemen and SPOs lies squarely on the shoulders of the state and central governments. Large-scale armed retaliation by the adivasis led by our Party is inevitable if the atrocities on the adivasi people continue in the name of salwa judum. Like George Bush who can only think in terms of using more brute force to control the fire of national liberation in Iraq, the Indian ruling classes too can only think of sucking in more and more repressive forces in order to suppress the people's war and grab the mineral wealth of Dandakaranya. However, they will only end up in further escalating the civil war in Dandakaranya.

We do share the grief of the families of the dead policemen and SPOs but we are being compelled to wipe out the police and mercenary gangs who are obeying the orders of the ruling classes and their imperialist mentors to suppress the revolutionary movement for looting the wealth in the state. We appeal to the jawans of the central forces, particularly the Naga and Mizo battalions, to disobey the orders of the rulers and to withdraw from

Chattisgarh. We appeal to the SPOs who are being pitted against the adivasi people to quit the mercenary force as they are fighting an unjust war against their own brothers and sisters in the interests of the reactionary rulers. We call upon the democratic organizations and individuals and the vast masses of the country to condemn state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism on the adivasi people of Dandakaranya, to demand immediate disbandment of salwa judum and the mercenary SPO force, to fight for the withdrawal of the notorious central forces from the region, set up a judicial enquiry into the killing of over 500 adivasis by the police-salwa judum mercenary combine.

On the Party's plans to win over the middle class

Q: History shows, the middle class wants status quo. Indian middle class is growing more powerful. How do you plan to co-opt them?

A: It is true that the Indian middle class has grown in number. At the same time, a sizable chunk of the middle class is facing a crisis due to soaring prices, unemployment, growing insecurity of life, steep increases in family expenditure due to high cost of education, health, transport etc., which have become privatized to a great extent and had gone beyond the reach of a significant section of the middle class. In short, despite the numerical growth of the middle class it is at a receiving end. Hence we see that the growing frustration in large sections of the middle class is forcing them into streets for their demands as witnessed in strikes and other forms of struggles by teachers, government employees, students, and even shopkeepers who are affected by the shopping malls and FDI in retail sector. Another important factor has to be noted—most of yesterday's luxury consumer goods have become today's daily necessities. And the list of necessities is growing by the day with the large-scale proliferation of consumer goods and the promotion of consumerism by the market-place. Hence frustration is growing among members of this class as they are unable to procure these goods since much of their incomes have to be spent on the basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter.

Middle class is terribly affected by such issues as price-rise, insecurity, corruption, unemployment for their children, high cost of education and

health-care, threats from real estate mafia etc. Keeping these in mind, our party has drawn up plans to mobilize the middle class into struggles on such issues.

In Defence of armed struggle

Q: Why armed struggle is a must? (Isn't it a fact that violence pushes a large chunk of people away from the Party?)

A: The question of armed struggle or non-violent struggle is not based on the subjective whims and wishes of any individual or Party. It is independent of one's will. It is a law borne out by all historical experience. It is a fact of history that nowhere in the world, nowhere in the historical development of the class society, had the reactionary ruling classes given up power without resorting to violent suppression of the mass protests, without violent resistance aimed at clinging on to power until they are thrown out by force. Of course, one can cite instances of regime changes occurring through peaceful movements, through massive protests, but all of these were mere regime changes—not systemic changes. A section of the ruling classes might give up power to another section of the same class without the need for a violent upheaval but the same is not the case when one ruling class is replaced by another with diametrically opposing class interests. However, we find that even these regime changes are not infrequently marked by violent clashes as witnessed in several parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We will indeed be the happiest people to bring about systematic change without the need for armed struggle.

When we began the struggle it was basically a peaceful movement on the various issues of the people such as land, livelihood and liberation from feudal and imperialist exploitation and oppression. It needs hardly any genius to grasp the fact that no feudal lord would give up his land or power just because the masses demand it as their democratic right. The landlord would use all means at his disposal to suppress the mass resistance by brute force. He would get the local police and special forces, the central para-military forces and, if needed, the army. We had seen this whenever we had initiated the anti-feudal struggle — in Jagtyal during the late 1970s, social boycott of the landlords imposed by the peasantry had forced them to flee the villages

our revolutionary movement had spread to over a hundred villages which shook the powers that be. What happened next to this non-violent struggle should be an eye-opener to all those who harbour illusions or biased against armed struggle. After few weeks the landlords came back with the mercenary forces and unleashed large-scale violence and cruel repressive measures such as arrests, torture of peasants, destruction of their property, declaration of the area as disturbed, clamping down on the civil rights of the people, and so on. It was at that juncture that the Party was compelled to take up arms and not out of any romantic notion. —the same is the case with anti-imperialist struggles and nationality movements. Who would want to give up their precious lives and undergo harsh, rigorous lives tortures and hardships when the demands of the masses such as land, national self-determination and liberation from imperialist exploitation and oppression are achieved through peaceful means? All movements began as peaceful movements but had to take the form of armed struggle due to the moves of the reactionary ruling classes. The case of Iraq is a classic illustration of how an entire population has been compelled to take up arms due to the unbridled violence unleashed by the imperialists for satisfying their unsatiated greed for oil. The same is the case with Palestine, Kashmir or elsewhere.

The second part of your question is a big myth. Nowhere had the masses been repelled from the Party on account of armed struggle. Rather, it is the lack of effective resistance that is acting as a discouragement wherever the state had bared its fangs. Without destroying and defeating the armed forces of repression it is impossible to rally the people or give them confidence. In fact, it is not our guerrilla squads alone that are putting up resistance. The people are playing a great role in heroically resisting and actively supporting the PLGA in its armed resistance to the police forces. Well, that's the ground reality notwithstanding what the intellectuals analyzing events from their ivory towers might think and theorise.

Q: Why there cannot be protest in a non-violent way?

A: You must rather put the question the other way round. You must ask the reactionary ruling classes—the big landlords, the big business houses, the imperialist MNCs, the powerful Indian state and its armed forces, the state police and the bureaucracy—if at all they would listen, as to why they do

not allow protest in a peaceful way. Why do they beat up, arrest, torture, and kill people who dare to go on strike? Why do they terminate the services of workers and employees for going on strike? Why do they send their mercenary police forces, the CRPF and the army to open fire upon people staging peaceful marches, dharnas and meetings without any provocation, why do they allow the khaki gangs to rape women, destroy property, enact fake encounters in violation of all provisions of the Indian Constitution, and for all these crimes against humanity, are let scot-free? Why do they create a Kalinganagar, a Nandigram, an Arwal, an Indravelli, and scores of such barbaric acts? Why peaceful protests of people in Kashmir against disappearances are not just ignored but even attacked with such ferocity? Why do they continue to enforce the savage Armed Forces Special Powers Act in Manipur when it is actually the Indian army and the police forces that are committing atrocities upon the people as the case of the rape of Manorama classically illustrates? Can you ever forget the savage beatings of the protestors by these khaki-clad or olivegreen goons breaking their skulls, and not sparing them even after they fall down seriously injured?

No ruling classes anywhere in the world had allowed the people to achieve their basic demands of land and liberation from oppression in a peaceful way; even the so-called democratic states allow it only to the extent they do not pose a threat to the *status quo*, to their exploitation and amassing of super profits. *Ahimsa* (non-violence) and *Karma* (fate) are the ideological bases and the dubious catch-words of the exploiting classes to perpetuate their violence and hegemony over the vast masses.

To begin with, none would or could go directly to violent ways to solve their problems. It is only after their peaceful marches, rallies, dharnas, hunger-strikes, general strikes etc., go unheeded or sought to be crushed that they are forced to resort to violent methods. This is an incontrovertible fact whether it is the anti-feudal armed agrarian struggle led by the revolutionaries, nationality movements of the North East, Kashmir or the anti-imperialist struggles. You only have to take a glance at the origin of the armed movements anywhere in the world, not just India, to appreciate this universal truth. To put it shortly, forms of struggle adopted by the people always depend upon the moves of the ruling classes and not vice versa. And you should also bear in mind that even today we use both violent and

non-violent forms of struggle and not just violent forms.

Q: Is your violence for self-defence or to grab state power?

A: Strictly speaking, you cannot separate the two. In the long-term perspective, or ultimately our goal is to seize state power without which it is impossible to liberate the people of our country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and the big comprador bourgeoisie i.e, change the existing unjust socio-economic system. But in the process of preparing the people for the ultimate goal of establishing their own power, the ruling classes are resorting to savage repression on the party, the masses and the revolutionary movement as a whole. Hence in the course of mobilizing the masses into movements we are compelled to take up arms for self-defence even at an early stage. And for a relatively long time our war will have this nature and all our tactical counter offensive operations and campaigns should be seen as part of the war of self-defence at this stage.

On the fight against the “mighty” Indian state

Q: Indian state is getting increasingly powerful. How do you plan to fight the Indian state?

A: Tactically speaking, yes. There has been a massive growth in the repressive forces and a strengthening of the Indian state. It is spending huge amounts on defence and “internal security”, liberally disbursing funds to the states to suppress the revolutionary forces, nationality movements and other democratic movements.

However, this growth of repressive forces brings one important point to the fore i.e., the Indian state is finding it impossible to control the growing people’s movements without continuously increasing its forces. Seen this way, the massive growth in the security forces does not signify the strength but rather the weakness of the Indian state and that it has lost its legitimacy to rule in the old way. It shows the desperation of the Indian ruling classes and the imperialists to rely more and more on the coercive methods in order to cling on to power and ensure their exploitation. If it were not for the ever-growing democratic and revolutionary movements in the country

there would not have been the need to desperately strengthen the state apparatus and resort to such massive increases of repressive forces.

But let me tell you one oft-forgotten fact. No state, however powerful it might seem to be, can surpass the power of the people. As comrade Mao had correctly pointed out, even the mightiest state is, after all, a paper tiger. Yesterday we saw how the mightiest army of the most powerful state in all human history had to tuck its tail after the humiliating defeat in Vietnam. Today the entire world is watching with disbelief in their eyes as the mightiest imperialist armies led by US imperialism are being trounced in Iraq by ordinary ill-trained, ill-equipped but resolute national liberation fighters. In the ultimate analysis, it is the freedom-loving people who are mightier than any state. And one must not forget the universal truth that wherever there is oppression there will be resistance. However strong and powerful the state might appear to be it can and will be defeated through the resistance of the masses.

Our recently held Unity Congress—9th Congress had addressed this issue in much detail and worked out plans to counter the state by relying on the vast masses of our country who are oppressed by imperialism, feudalism and the comprador big business. And, of course, by enhancing our military capabilities as well. A specialised study of the strength and weaknesses of the Indian state is taken up. As you might be aware, even the mightiest enemy will have the weakest points. We have to correctly identify these weak points and deal effective blows so as to achieve victories.

On the question of Parliament and Party's stand

Q: Why can't you fight election and go to Parliament and raise issues in a democratic way?

A: It is indeed a logical question which anyone who sees only the outer shell of so-called parliamentary democracy would ask. What is important is the kernel, the essence, the content and not just the form. When you strip off the outer garment of democracy you find the rotten, stinking corpse inside. That is why Lenin described Parliament as a pig-sty and a mere talking shop. Why are we calling it a talking shop?

Firstly, the real problems of the people can never be addressed by the Parliament and Assemblies, not to speak of solving them. The Parliamentary institutions are not meant for that. They have no real power. They may pass some resolutions that seem to do good for the people but these have to be implemented through the Executive which has the real power. We know the fate of the Land Ceiling Acts, legislation on untouchability, dowry, etc which are only showpieces. It is the executive which carries out everything. In periods such as Emergency during Indira Gandhi's regime, when the Parliament itself was subverted, the real power of the Executive had come openly to the fore. But the man on the street knows how it is the revenue official, policeman, and the local magistrate who decide his life. However good a legislative act might seem to be, it is money power, muscle power and nepotism that decide every aspect of his life.

Secondly, Parliamentary institutions are meant to defend the status quo, not to change the system. They do, of course, make some cosmetic changes now and then to maintain their credibility among the masses. Most important of all, it is the imperialists, comprador big business houses, big landlords, contractors and the mafia which control the Parliament. Those who enter the Parliament are the representatives or mere puppets in the hands of these powerful lobbies. Even a good-intentioned parliamentarian cannot go beyond the rules drawn up by these bigwigs. If you see the business transacted in the parliament, you would find that more than 90 % of it is just trash, with no bearing on the real problems of the country.

That the system of elections is a big farce needs no elaboration as it is known even to a schoolchild. Do you call it democracy to purchase votes with liquor and money, whip up caste, religious, and ethnic sentiments? And even after the election, purchasing the legislators as you purchase any other item in the market-place? If a Narendra Modi, the butcher of thousands of Muslims in Gujarat, can win elections and get reelected as the chief minister; if criminals, dacoits, and most notoriously corrupt politicians can get elected; and if votes can be obtained at gun-point and through booth capturing and rigging, then do you really think that there is any meaning in this so-called democracy?

That is why our Party has complete clarity on the nature of legislative

system unlike some other parties that swear to be revolutionary but indulge in parliamentary politics in practice. We are firm in our belief that it is only through struggle that people can solve their problems and the parliamentary institutions can do nothing good except creating illusions. Parliament is a safety-valve to let out the pent-up anger of the masses lest the system blow to pieces. You think raising issues in the parliament is the democratic way whereas we believe that people are raising their issues in a democratic way through organised protests. We shall always be at the head of such struggles and not step into the mire of the undemocratically elected powerless talking shop called Parliament that serves as the instrument of the big business and the feudal forces, and is subordinate to imperialist dictates.

Q: Do you fear that if you go to Parliament, the party can become corrupt?

A: The answer to this question is already covered in my earlier elaboration. To say in one word, more than being corrupted after entering Parliament, which is also true in the case of the ML parties, it is the corrupt parties and individuals that can really become part of the parliamentary system. Our Party firmly believes that as against the money power of the Parliament the real alternative before the people is the establishment of genuine people's democratic power. We had built such organs of people's power in some parts of the country such as *janthana sarkar* in Dandakaranya. These revolutionary organs of power show how real power is exercised as compared to the impotent, corrupt and criminal parliamentary institutions.

On the mass base of the Maoists

Q: What is your mass base?

A: Our mass base is the vast oppressed masses, the wretched of the earth, the impoverished, deprived, destitute, alienated masses. The workers, peasants, middle class, dalits, women, advasis and all the toiling millions upon millions of masses are our base. These vast masses constitute the real India, not the fatty upper layer of five or ten per cent of the society. It is these vast masses who need revolution and they see us the alternative even if most of them have not seen us. As our subjective forces grow we shall

enter these vast sections throughout the country. Today we have a strong mass base among these sections in all the areas where we are leading the anti-feudal armed agrarian struggles. There is still the need to go deeply into other sections in the urban areas—the working class, students, youth, middle class, small traders, hawkers, and so on.

Q: Can you give statistics how much of your cadre base has increased in last one year?

A: I cannot give the exact statistics as we do not want the enemy to know about the actual growth of our Party. Let them keep guessing and produce statistics through so-called research foundations, intelligence agencies, and so on. Anyway we are a bit flattered to see the statistics given by these agencies about the rate of growth of our Party and areas of our struggle and influence. But one thing I will make clear—we have certainly increased our overall cadre strength, our mass base and its quality in the past one year despite severe losses in some states.

Q: How much of Indian territory is under Maoist control? Indian PM once said 160 out of 604 districts –was it an exaggeration?

A: As I said earlier, we are indeed flattered by such statistics regarding our movement. But one thing we can understand from the Prime Minister's statement i.e., how much of a nightmare we have become to the reactionary ruling classes of India. In fact, several agencies and foundations churn out figures to show how much of a threat the Maoists have become. One author says we are increasing at the rate of two districts per week! Another says we had expanded from a mere 64 districts in 2005 to 169 districts by the beginning of 2007, yet another researcher assertively says that the Maoists had expanded to most of AP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh and Orissa, and so on. Most of these figures are only their imagination and are deliberately presented in an exaggerated manner in order to deploy more police forces and allot greater amount of funds to suppress the revolutionary movement.

It is an exaggeration to say Maoists control that many districts. But as far as our influence goes I should say it is even more than that.

On People's Power

Q: What do you mean by 'people's power—we have seen in a communist state in West Bengal what communists do when they come to power. How would you ensure you will be able to give power to people?

A: It is not surprising that like most people, you too are confused by the names. Just because a Party calls itself Communist does not make it communist just as a party calling itself bharatiya janatha party does not make it an Indian people's party or a samajwadi party into a socialist party. The stark fact is that the CPI(M) had long back abandoned the communist project and Marist ideology though it calls itself a Marxist Party. It had become a social fascist party from the time of the outbreak of Naxalbari armed peasant uprising in 1967 when thousands of revolutionaries were massacred upon the orders of the then Home minister Jyoti Basu in West Bengal during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The recent massacre of scores of people in Nandigram on March 14, the brutal suppression of the people's struggle in Singur, and its open declaration to allow the MNCs and big comprador houses to set up SEZs and transform the state into a haven for these sharks had shown how the Bddhadeb's Marxist party is acting at the behest of the Tatas, Salems and imperialist MNCs. The pre-hatched systematic execution of the massacre in Nandigram by the police-CPI(M) goons combine, in particular, has revealed their social fascist character to the new generation of the Indian people. So what you are referring to in West Bengal is nothing but social fascist rule.

Now coming to your question about people's power—we call it people's power only when real power is exercised by the people themselves. You can see it in parts of Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand. We had developed it in some villages in AP but these were destroyed due to the weakness of our armed strength which could not counter the massive offensive by the central and state's special forces. Wherever we had established organs of people's power in embryonic form, there you can see the initiative and energy of the masses being released and coming into full play, active participation of masses in administering their own lives, collectively developing their villages through construction of schools, tanks, hospitals, etc and increasing production, resolving the local disputes by themselves

without ever the need to go to the bourgeois-feudal courts, in short shaping their own destiny. Where our people's army and people's militia are relatively strong and succeeded in destroying the state's armed forces, there the people are no more oppressed and exploited by the tribal elders, landlords, forest officials, bureaucrats, big contractors, policemen. The people's assertion has also kept the big industrial sharks and the imperialist MNCs at bay. Women enjoy relatively greater freedom than their counterparts in the rest of the country.

We have to develop this people's power from the local to higher levels by strengthening the people's army and transforming it into a mighty force, destroying the enemy power by intensifying the people's war, and establishing the base areas. It is in the base areas that this power becomes relatively more consolidated. However, until the final capture of state power on a countrywide scale there will be severe constraints to the exercise of the people's power at the village and area levels. You have to look at the power the people are exercising in these areas of struggle keeping these limitations in mind.

On the Islamic Upsurge

Q: But globally the fight is now becoming pro-globalisation versus Islamic upsurge—in this scheme of things how do you see a classless society?

A: Globalisation is a war on the people and on every value cherished by the people for centuries. Globalisation is the ideology of the market fundamentalists. The market fundamentalists are destroying everything a nation had possessed and preserved for centuries. They promote nothing but sheer greed and self-interest with the sole aim of global hegemony and the means to achieve it is a war on all fronts—military, economic, political, cultural, psychological. And to achieve this “lofty” goal, they think even the destruction of the world is collateral damage.

There is a people's upsurge against globalization all over the world and Islamic upsurge is an integral part of the worldwide people's upsurge against imperialism, imperialist globalization and war.

A classless society-Communism—is a conscious human project and

has to be built through the transformation of human consciousness. And to achieve this, the first step is to destroy imperialism on a world scale and domestic reaction in every country. Islamic upsurge is a reaction to imperialist globalization and imperialist oppression and exploitation of the world people, and Muslim masses in particular. As long as imperialism exists, and as long as it bolsters up decadent reactionary comprador Islamic regimes in countries of Asia and Africa, it is impossible for the Muslim masses to come out of their fundamentalism. It is only after the destruction of imperialism on a world scale can the Islamic masses come out completely from their obscurantist ideology and values. This will pave the way for the establishment of a classless society.

Q: What is your opinion about Islamic upsurge?

A: The answer to this question is already contained in the above explanation. In essence, we see the Islamic upsurge as a progressive anti-imperialist force in the contemporary world. It is wrong to describe the struggle that is going on in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestinian territory, Kashmir, Chechnya, and several other countries as a struggle by Islamic fundamentalists or as a “*clash of civilizations*” long back theorized by Samuel Huntington and which is being resurrected by all and sundry today. In essence all these are national liberation wars notwithstanding the role of Islamic fundamentalists too in these struggles. We oppose religious fundamentalism of every kind ideologically and politically as it obfuscates class distinctions and class struggle and keeps the masses under the yoke of class oppression. However, “*Islamic fundamentalism*”, in my opinion, is an ally of the people in their fight against market fundamentalism promoted by the US, EU, Japan and other imperialists.

The upsurge is bound to raise the anti-imperialist democratic consciousness among the Muslim masses and bring them closer with all other secular, progressive and revolutionary forces. I see the Islamic upsurge as the beginning of the democratic awakening of the Muslim masses despite the domination of fundamentalist ideology and outlook in the Islamic movement at present. Our Party supports the Islamic upsurge and seeks a unity with all anti-imperialist forces.

Q: Nasarullah of Hizbollah has recently said that Left should come close to Islamists. In Indian context—what do you feel?

A: I basically agree with what Nasarullah of Hizbollah has said. One must understand that Nasarullah is referring to the struggles for national liberation from imperialism in Islamic countries.

The need of the hour is to achieve the unity of all forces opposed to imperialism, particularly US imperialism, which is aggressively destroying every human value handed over to us by thousands of years of history and is oppressing every nation of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Left cannot even claim itself to be democratic if it does not initiate steps to unite with the forces in the Islamic movement which are fighting for national liberation from imperialism, particularly US imperialism. All the ongoing movements which are supposed to be led by Islamic forces in various countries as I had mentioned above, are national democratic movements in content. The strong religious language used by the leadership of these movements does not alter their national democratic essence and their anti-imperialist character.

On the developments in Nepal

Q: What do you think of Nepal?

A: Our Party's official stand has already been given in the form of statements, interviews and articles in the last issue of our theoretical magazine, *People's War*. There was also an Interview by our Party spokesperson last year. We are having a debate with various Maoist Parties on the developments in Nepal.

The people of Nepal had shown great mettle in fighting the monarchy but the fight is only half-way through. The real fight is not against Gyanendra and the monarchy which is but a symbol of the feudal-imperialist oppression and exploitation of the vast masses of Nepal. Without throwing out the feudal forces, the imperialists, the Indian big business and the local compradors, mere ouster of Gyanendra would not solve any of the problems of the Nepali masses. And this can be done only by firmly carrying on the people's war to final victory. No Parliament can touch the seat of these

reactionary forces who de facto rule the country.

We believe there is a serious danger of diversion to the people's war in Nepal after the CPN(Maoist) had taken the stand of multi-party democracy in the name of 21st century democracy. While saying that such a step is necessary to prevent the restoration of capitalism after the revolution, what they are actually doing is to participate in elections even before the seizure of political power!! And this will harm the interests of revolution. We are having debates with the Maoists in Nepal on these questions. We are telling them not to have illusions in parliamentary democracy. The history of parliamentary democracy the world over as well as in India for almost six decades shows what a farce it is.

The most dangerous part of the deal is the disarming of the PLA by depositing the arms and placing the fighters in cantonments. This will do no good except disarming the masses and throwing them to the mercy of the oppressors. Neither the imperialists nor big neighbours like India and China would allow any fundamental change in the socio-economic system in Nepal. They cannot remain passive spectators if their interests are undermined by the Maoists whether through a people's war or through the parliament. Hence the Maoists can never achieve their aim of putting an end to feudal and imperialist exploitation by entering the parliament in the name of multi-party democracy. They will have to either get co-opted into the system or abandon the present policy of power-sharing with the ruling classes and continue the armed revolution to seize power. There is no Buddhist middle way. They cannot set the rules for a game the bourgeoisie had invented.

On the role of the Party in the contemporary world

Q: Developments are taking place at a rapid pace in both international and national arena. How do you see a role for your Party in this turmoil?

A: Our Party has a great role to play in the contemporary international and domestic situation. Our Congress has analysed the present political situation and issued calls to the Party and the people. It drew up the necessary immediate tactics and tasks to utilise the situation and achieve advances and leaps in the ongoing people's war in India. The new Central Committee

had further concretised these in the form of time-bound programmes and plans. Several resolutions were adopted by the Congress on the issues confronting the people in our country as well as the world. We hope to actively intervene in these issues and build a broad-based militant political mass movement.

The next ten to twenty years will witness massive political and social upheavals all over the world and our country is going to witness mass upheavals in several states against the onslaught of imperialism, anti-people policies of the Indian ruling classes such as carving out neo-colonial enclaves called SEZs, massive displacement of the poor in both urban and rural areas, against draconian laws, state repression, unemployment, corruption, inflation, neglect of social welfare, and so on. Militant confrontation between the people and the state will become a general feature throughout the country and I am sure our Party will be at the head of these movements. It will grow to the status of providing leadership to the vast majority of the oppressed masses of our country. Imposing ban on our Party and the mass organisations, murdering our comrades, unleashing cruel repression on the people, intimidating and harassing all those associated with the revolutionary movement and all their repressive measures cannot prevent this inevitable establishment of our Party's leadership over the vast masses. The reactionary and revisionist parties, the Parliamentary system are very much discredited in the eyes of the people and they cannot but see our Party as the only alternative before them to achieve their real liberation.

Q: And finally do you feel it is a very crucial moment in history of India's Maoist struggle? If so, why?

A: I do not know what exactly is in your mind when you placed the question. But I would say yes, for several reasons. When for the first time you see the emergence of a single directing centre for the Indian revolution after the merger of the two major Maoist streams in the Indian communist movement, when you hold a Congress—the highest authority in the Party—after over 3 ½ decades, 37 years to be precise, it indeed becomes a crucial moment in the history of India's Maoist struggle. And it is more than that. Holding the Unity Congress itself has been the greatest challenge to our Party in recent times. The reactionary ruling classes, of course with the advice of the

imperialists, had tried by all means at their disposal to disrupt the Congress. However, with meticulous planning by our Central Committee and various leading committees of our Party, with the protection provided by the heroic fighters of our PLGA, and the ever-vigilant people's militia and revolutionary masses, we could complete this gigantic democratic exercise that was initiated two years ago. It is a matter of pride that we could give a fitting rebuff to the enemy by successfully holding the Congress for over a fortnight.

It is a crucial moment for another reason too. Today the Maoist movement is facing the great challenge of building a strong PLA and establishing the base areas in the remote countryside as an immediate task. The reactionary ruling classes are sparing no stone unturned to prevent the emergence of such Red bases (democratic government of the people) in India's heartland as that would mean the emergence of a real alternative to the rotten, Parliamentary system and the criminal, communal, fascist, comprador parliamentary parties. Hence we see the massive deployment not only of the central forces, state's special forces but also setting up huge armed force from the local population, arming and training them, and pitting them against the revolutionary movement organizing massacres that remind us of the pogroms of the Black Hundred in pre-revolutionary Russia, and the Nazi gangs of fascist Hitler. Such is the scenario enacted in Dandakaranya in the name of *salwa judum* and to a lesser extent in Bihar-Jharkhand in the name of Sendra. They would not hesitate to send the Indian army to create more bloodbaths and, the Maoist movement can advance only by smashing these attacks by the enemy forces. That is how we see the present moment as a crucial moment in the history of the Maoist struggle in India.

And the last reason why we should call the present moment a crucial moment is that we, the Maoists, are confronted with the great task of providing revolutionary leadership to over a billion people at a time when the entire country is being transformed into a neo-colony, when the country is being sold away to the imperialists and the big business in the name of SEZs, when millions upon millions of people are being displaced by so-called development projects, when workers, peasants, employees, students, sections of the intelligentsia, dalits, women adivasis, nationalities, religious minorities and others are seething with revolt.

8

Interview with Com. Sonu, Central Committee Member, CPI (Maoist) on the Revolutionary Movement in Dandakaranya

People's March, Volume 8 No. 6, July-August, 2007

(Com. Sonu is a member of the CPI(Maoist) Central Committee. In light of the recent decision of the Unity Congress-9th Congress to take the people's war from the level of guerrilla war to mobile war, Com. Sonu elaborates on the measures being taken and the problems faced. This interview must be seen in the backdrop of the continuing hostilities of the paramilitary forces and SPOs, in the name of Salwa Judum, where raids continue to be conducted on villages, killing villagers on a daily basis, destroying crops, houses and reducing villages to ashes. – Editor, PM)

Question 1: How far is it true that the tactics, military mass mobilization and political struggles brought forward by the State through the Salva Judum Campaign (SJC) led you to into a civil war and encircled you?

Sonu: The tactics that the *enemy* brought forward through the Salva Judum Campaign are nothing but counter-insurgency tactics and 'mopping up' military tactics. They mainly brought forward the cruel most tactics of 'burn all, destroy all, kill all'. They also took up certain development activities to convince 'civil' society, as the masses of the world are increasingly becoming conscious. These are the stick and carrot tactics the enemy had been implementing in any revolutionary war for a long time. They openly say that whatever the actual objective behind the massacre of the Salva

Judum military campaign might be, the main issue is to eliminate the terrorist Naxalites. They have been trying to distance the revolutionaries who have been working for the past three decades from the masses by taking to murders, atrocities, house burnings, destroying crops, looting other properties and other such repelling methods. This had been named a 'peace campaign', as a voluntary revolt of the masses and a peaceful/non-violent revolution against the 'naxalite terror'. This propaganda is of the Goebbels kind. In such a situation it has become inevitable for the masses to intensify their self defense. Masses are making war through their unique sacrifices. They are facing the unjust war imposed on the oppressed masses by the ruling classes. They are resisting the massacre by the reactionary forces. The enemy is portraying this to be a situation of civil war in this area.

Perhaps, the war created by the enemy by sending the police and paramilitary forces in thousands on the adivasi masses, who have been severely neglected for the past generations and have been facing unlimited exploitation, could not be anything but a civil war. You have said that the enemy is taking up military mass mobilization through the Salva Judum. We cannot say this in regard of a fascist organization. No wise person would believe that they are taking up mass mobilization. If we see the 500 and more villages where the Salva Judum goondas and the police created terror, we could understand the situation in which the 50 thousand masses reached the camps. If we consider this to be military mass mobilization, we would commit mistake in understanding the broad masses. When I think about your question I remember what Gramsci said. He said that a fascist organization too tries to obtain *the acceptance of* the masses for its *actions, that is, it tries for legitimacy and to mobilize the masses*. Comrade Mao too said very clearly — 'Moulding people's opinion becomes necessary for counter revolution and revolution'. It is necessary for them to mould the opinion of the masses to permanently exploit them. This is exactly what they are trying through the Salva Judum. This is what they have been doing recently and with force.

Coming to encirclement, the enemy is following this tactic. In the name of carpet security they are establishing camps extensively (at a distance of 3-5 kms). As a part of encircling the Maad hills they have established camps around the Maad hills in big numbers. They have established camps on

roads, rivers and other vital areas. They are trying to cut the contacts between the divisions and between the sub zones. The camps and the deployment of forces remind us of Jammu & Kashmir and the forces deployed on the borders of the country. Encirclement is going on. This has to be countered only through counter encirclement. The broad masses are the great source for our counter encirclement.

In essence ours is a struggle at both the political and military levels.

Question 2: Organisations with liberal bourgeois ideas and progressive ideas brought forward two issues—solving the problems through the announcement of unconditional ceasefire by both sides and talks. Your comment?

Sonu: Who has to make the ceasefire statement first? This is an important issue. It is the government that sent thousands of forces against the oppressed masses and as you said indulged in civil war. First the government must establish a peaceful atmosphere. It has to withdraw *all the forces*. It has to provide conditions *for* the masses to enjoy the minimum civil and democratic rights. These are the actions *that* the government has to take up immediately after announcing a ceasefire. It would then be meaningful to have talks later. Then we would not hesitate to announce a ceasefire. Acting contrary to this would only be like the sheep believing the butcher. We were never against talks. The differences between the Chathisgarh state government and the central government in this matter are clear. The Centre throws the ball into the court of the State government saying talks are the affair of the State government. The State government says that Naxalite problem is a national problem and that the Centre must conduct talks, throwing the ball back into the Centre's court. In fact none of them actually wish to solve the problems of the masses through talks in a peaceful atmosphere.

However intellectuals with progressive ideas are mainly confined to press statements. They need to bring greater pressure on the government. They would gain greater credibility as progressives only when they could think and practice unconditionally on the side of the masses. We hope that they do move in that direction, as with the policies of LPG and the inhuman and genocidal forms of repression used, the masses of our country are being pushed to the brink.

Question 3: Political agitation too is needed along with armed resistance to counter the imperialist/CBB exploitation which loots the natural resources. How do you respond to this issue? What are the problems and solutions you have in mind ?

Sonu: Let us start the answer with the well known principle that ‘war is the continuation of politics by other means’. We are not only depending on armed resistance, though it is a fact that the main form of struggle is war. The masses in this area are facing problems like those across the country. Mainly the evil consequences of globalization have become most dangerous. Displacement of people has become a burning problem. People are relentlessly fighting against the same. People took up a militant political struggle opposing the Bailadilla mine exploration and laid down their lives in that struggle. Five years back women, men, children and even the old came on to the roads opposing the construction of the Nagarnar Steel plant. The Police butt charged people including pregnant women and put many in jail. Many were arrested and put in the lockup. The officers conducted fake gram sabhas and declared that the people accepted the project. They have laid the foundation stone for the construction of the Steel Plant. Now the people of Lohandiguda, Bansi, Chargam, Raoghat, Bodhghat and many such areas are fighting against being displaced. In the first week of March 2007 thousands of people blocked the road to achieve their demands, despite police repression. Singurs and Nandigrams will break out everywhere. In the Chathisgath State alone the Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists on the one hand and the Multi National Corporations on the other are making agreements to establish big industries. By now investment plans upto 130 billion dollars is on hand. We have to understand the relation between this capital and Salva Judum. In fact these capitalists designed Salva Judum with agents like Mahendra Karma to continue their investment without problems and to eliminate the revolutionary movement. So the masses have to take up militant political struggles against the exploitative ruling classes for their existence. They are doing that too. When necessary they have to take up armed resistance too in continuation to these politics. We are participating in these struggles to the best of our strength. But the TATAs, Essars, Mittals, Ambanis, Jindals, etc have put pressure on the state governments and it banned our party and revolutionary mass organizations.

So we are forced to work with many limitations in this ‘democratic’ country. Coming to solutions to problems, the heroic masses of Nandigram showed a solution recently. The people of Kalinganagar and Posco too are in the path of struggle. The people in Chargam chased out the Nikko Company and showed a solution. Thus, the solution to any problem depends on the level of mass struggles.

Question 4: Suppression campaigns like Jan Jagaran Abhiyans of the government are nothing new to the people of Bastar and your party. Why and how is it, there is a qualitative change in the present SJC when compared to the earlier two campaigns?

Sonu: This is a very interesting question. We have to look for an answer historically. Of course, let us do it in brief.

As you said these suppression campaigns were nothing new. Earlier too, two campaigns were conducted, one in 1991 and the other in 1997 under the name of Jan Jagaran Abhiyan. But, there is really a qualitative change between the earlier campaigns and the present one. It is because there are a lot of qualitative changes in the revolutionary movement. An alternative people’s democratic system is being formed in Dandakaranya. This is advancing on the path of protracted revolutionary war. You must have been going through the sensational news in the media about this progress, describing it as ‘Pasupathi to Tirupathi’ and ‘Lohapatti Red Corridor’. So the ruling classes are determined to fight with this so that the revolutionary movement does not get strengthened and spread; and to see its end.

Coming to the second issue — we must see this in the light of the globalization, liberalization, privatization economic policies. There are abundant mineral deposits in Jharkhand, Chathisgarh and Orissa. There are valuable resources in these forests. As I mentioned above, in Chathisgarh alone the state government entered into agreements for an investment of 130 billion dollars. In Orissa the agreements were for an investment of 250 billion dollars. The revolutionary movement has become a hurdle for the implementation of these capital intensive projects. Unless this problem is solved the agreed investment cannot come into practice. New ones too

would not come. So the ruling classes decided to fight to root out the revolutionary movement in order to make these regions safe for big capital.

The third and the last, but important issue is the local one. After the launching of Salva Judum, the revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary masses in Indravathi area alone of Bhairamgarh block seized 800 acres of land belonging to landlords under the leadership of the people's governments (Janathana Circars). It was distributed to 150 poor peasant families. Certain amount of land was taken for collective agriculture in all the villages. This did not end here. People are tilling all these lands. In 1991 the revolutionary masses seized thousands of acres of lands in Telangana, and Andhra areas. Some of this was distributed too. But the 'state' forcefully obstructed tilling of those lands. Gradually some of these lands once again went under the control of the landlords and some of them sold the lands tactically. Or else, they were left fallow. But this is not the case in Dandakaranya. Salva Judum has to continue if the landlords are to seize the lands that the peasants took control of. Therefore there must be many more forces to crush the movement. All the landlords know that they cannot live if this continues the same way. The landlords have left their villages and are guiding the Judum from the towns. Another issue worth realizing is that all of them are close relatives to the agents of hard core big feudal, trader classes and the opposition Congress party leader, the Bastar 'tiger', Mahendra Karma.

All these conditions mentioned are different from those of 1991 and 1997. The fundamental difference in the nature of the campaigns could be understood only if we see it in this background. The earlier campaigns were led at local state government initiative; the present one is being directed by the Centre as part of its counter-insurgency methods of LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) against the Maoist movement as a whole.

Question 5: Can the SJC being jointly conducted by Congress-BJP bring about changes in the contemporary Indian politics and in political alliances ? What is your Party's analysis on the intensifying internal contradictions among the ruling classes ? What is your opinion about how the SJC will reflect on the politics of Chattisgarh? Will there be any effect on alliances and fronts in future elections ?

Sonu: I don't think there would be countrywide changes with Salva Judum at that level immediately. This is related with the existence of the exploitative ruling *classes* in Dandakaranya. It is also related to the revolutionary movement making a severe impact on Chathisgarh state politics. The Congress leader Mahendra Karma approached the BJP with his seasoned opportunist politics. He claimed to be a member of Raman Singh's cabinet. The BJP is not that strong in Bastar. So they had to patronize Mahendra Karma. Now both these parties have stood as man-eating parties that the Bastar masses could never confide in. On the other hand the revisionist CPI in its normal way is trying to utilize this situation for its benefit. It is gaining certain positive results in this regard. However the CPI and CPM are not in a position to have alliances with the Congress in the background of Salva Judum. The Congress and BJP would not enter into open alliance. So there might not be major changes in the coming elections in the background of SJC. But in the two bi-elections (Kota assembly and Rajnandgaon Lok sabha) an anti establishment vote won, more than the SJC. As our People's War intensifies there might be changes in Indian politics. Presently all the parties are supporting the suppression of the revolutionary movement in some or the other form, under the label of law and order. It is but natural for the politics of these parties (tactics) to have a difference in tone.

Question 6: The Congress and BJP are taking up countrywide propaganda and the CPM too is joining them, though tactically. America is interfering and there are responses to this as a country wide problem. In this situation how far do you think you have gone forward in voicing your opposition together with your friendly forces?

Sonu: We are very much backward in this regard. America is coming forward to suppress the revolutionary movement developing in this part of the globe. The patriotic forces, democrats are condemning it severely and this is a good and welcome sign. But we have to yet voice our opposition to American interference together with these forces, as you said. Our Unity Congress-9th Congress took this as our immediate task in our United Front work.

Question 7: The revolutionary movement in AP around the Dandakaranya guerilla zone has weakened and the greyhounds of AP

have become part of the forces of suppression in this area directly. What political changes would this lead to?

Sonu: It is true that we were weakened in Andhra Pradesh. Our Unity Congress-9th Congress decided that the movement underwent a temporary setback. In the wake of the weakening of the movement, the greyhounds of AP are increasingly penetrating into this area. They are combing in Sironcha, Ahiri areas of Maharashtra, Kunta, Gollapalli, Kishtaram, Madded, Usur in Danthewada district and other such areas. Our guerillas were martyred and greyhounds forces were injured during these operations. This is the objective reality.

The Andhra police established the special greyhounds with a foresight, in Khammam and Visakhapatnam. Later a joint command of AP, Chathisgarh, Maharashtra and Orissa was formed under the leadership of the Andhra DGP. As our people's attacks are intensifying in Chathisgarh, they are conducting meetings frequently for better coordination between Andhra and Chathisgarh. After the Rani Bodili attack the Chathisgarh Home Minister, DGP and other higher officials met the Andhra police for two days. One the whole, establishing the greyhounds and the SIB like in Andhra to suppress the Naxalites countrywide and intensifying the economic reforms under the dictates of imperialist International Financial Organisations has become the policy of the central and the state governments. The Andhra police are claiming to be heroes because of their success. However, on the other hand, the revolutionaries of Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand are intensifying People's War as a good antidote to the greyhounds. All the enemy forces have joined hands and are taking up severe measures to intensify the attacks. A military airport is being established in Moonji in the heart of Maad. In Nagpur, military airports are being established to control the Naxal activities in all the states. All these are being taken up by the enemy with a long term view to suppress our political struggle with their brutal military strength. In this situation the weakening of Andhra movement is a loss. Our Congress took serious decisions to revive that movement.

Question 8: For the past few months there is a discussion going on about sending the Indian army in the place of paramilitary forces to DK. How does your party assess the political impact and consequences

not only in DK but all over the country? How are you prepared politically in this regard?

Sonu: It is true that there is such a discussion. But the reality is that an army established study group is playing an active role in directing the entire para-military operations. The military has already set up a jungle warfare school in the region and are consciously involved in guiding and directing the paramilitary. Military experts are coming all the way to study all the main attacks taking place here, for the past three years. In Moonji and Nagpur, military airports are being built. Long term arrangements are being made with this view. Thirty years back our people feared the police who were then going around with lathis. Now they are seizing weapons from the paramilitary forces. These people would in future fight with the army too. In this background the Centre is encouraging the states to establish Indian Reserve Battalions in the mould of the army, instead of deploying the army for internal security. Army would take up large scale suppression methods. The security forces of the exploitative ruling classes would be increasingly severe and cruel in suppression. They would in a sense teach the masses to fight.

Question 9: We have come to know that your Main force has increased two to three times and the Base force increased 10 times during the Salva Judum campaign. Without a qualitative change how would you enhance fighting power?

Sonu: You are right. Our Main forces, Secondary forces and Base forces have increased in number. But, the numbers are different from what you mention and is a technical matter. Your auxiliary question is more important. Your question about how we are going to increase our fighting ability without a qualitative change is serious. There would be a qualitative change only when our fighting capacity is enhanced. Quantitative increase of forces alone would not help. This is only one dimension of the issue. Another and important dimension is the improving of striking power of the increasing forces. In order to increase the striking power, the fire power has to increase. War skills too should increase. All these issues are interlinked.

In my answer to your second question I said that we have to increase the war skills in order to advance to mobile war. But how will the increase come about? War skills would develop only through making war. We could see this clearly in our practice in the past two years. Earlier we faced a lot of problems in fighting back the enemy coming by foot. We must admit that we could not deal them big blows. So we could not seize their weapons too. But the Salva Judum taught us a lot. It is constantly engaging us in war actions. This increased our forces. We are gaining new experiences in guerilla actions. In the light of lessons from these experiences, we made necessary changes in the training of our forces. We achieved certain improvements in our weapons. I shall now tell you a few fresh examples of 2007. In January our PLGA guerillas ambushed 30 policemen coming by foot at Jaraghati in the Maad area. They separated and eliminated seven of them and seized their weapons. We followed a new technique in arranging mines near Pundri near Bhairamgarh in February and eliminated seven police there too. On 1st March we killed the police forces coming by truck near Darbha near Kunta in Dantewada district and seized 9 weapons. It is of particular importance that it was the notorious Naga police that were killed in these incidents in February and March. The Rani Bodili incident on 15th March is well known. It is unique in the history of India where enemy forces have been killed on such a large scale at the hands of revolutionaries. We seized 36 weapons in this daring attack. We lost 6 of our heroic guerillas in this heroic raid. Their ideals and their war skill would help us a lot in our future practice.

Question 10: Could you elaborate some more on the nature of the forces involved in countering the massive forces of the State machinery and the nature of the type of battles that you are likely to face in the near future?

Sonu: There are three kinds of forces in our PLGA —1. Main force; 2. Secondary force (Regional force); 3. Base force (militia). We have clearly defined the three kinds of forces. According to this definition the Main Forces does not confine to one area. They engage in war actions in any part of Dandakaranya. They plan these actions mainly in the leadership of the Zonal Military Commission. However as the forces increase, the war actions

are planned in the leadership of the Sub-Zonal Commands. Overall, all the Main Forces are under the direct leadership of the Special Zonal Military Commission.

Presently we consider the Company (strength 70 to 100) as the Main Force. We considered that the Company would be the primary unit in the regular army. This could be said to be the *first measure in the serious efforts to transform* the PLGA into the PLA. So we did *not* confine the Secondary forces and the Main forces to just one area. In view of the needs of the war actions all these forces may be brought together. But their responsibilities differ. They have commands of their own. Party committees too exist in the respective military formations.

Coming to the Secondary forces they are now working under the direct leadership of the respective Divisional Committees (Divisional Commands). They have been formed up to the platoon level. *Anyhow* there is *one important* issue to be *mentioned in this* regard. Whenever there is a special operation they would have to implement the instructions of the Central Military Commission, Special Zonal Military Commission and get down to actions of war. All the forces together need to intensify the guerilla war. The guerilla war must develop into mobile war, failing which, it would wither. This is a military principle. This was put forward strongly by Comrade Mao, Comrade Giap and many others.

Question 11: There have been reports of advancing the war to ‘mobile warfare’ from ‘guerilla war’. What does this mean and entail? It is difficult for the common person to understand its implications?

Sonu: One of the primary characteristics of mobile war is big formations. The second is improved war skills.

Big formations must be seen as the centralization of forces. Normally guerilla war would entail hit and run methods and here the concentration of forces too would be to facilitate this approach. But mobile war is a higher method of war than guerilla war. Initially it would have the nature of guerilla war and the principles of regular war gradually come forth clearly and develop accordingly.

In order to eliminate the enemy forces in a big number and liberate the territory, guerilla war has to gradually change into mobile war. This is the reason why forces must be centralized in mobile warfare. Mobile war is also called a War of Annihilation. It means it needs relatively more time to fight with the enemy than the guerilla war. Only thus could the enemy be annihilated. Centralization is necessary to fight back the enemy.

We have to seriously consider forming regular higher formations at the same level at which we initially centralized the forces. If we are to get down to effective war actions we have to improve the military formations. Unless we do so we cannot face the enemy.

There are two probable deviations when we take up centralization of forces or building higher formations. One is to reject big units due to localized thinking. The second is to take the big units as the main issue while neglecting local and small units. Both are wrong. So paying attention to local and small units is as important as the centralization of forces for building big units. We cannot conduct successful war actions with centralization of forces alone. Coordination between the forces and actions is very important.

If we think that increase of forces means merely centralizing existing forces, there would not be any progress in the war. Merely centralization of forces without expansion of our overall forces would create an imbalance between the Main Force on the one hand, and the Secondary and Base forces on the other. The Main Force can be increased only by recruiting new forces into the people's army on a large scale. That is what we are doing now. This is the right way to improve the forces. Centralization could be enhanced only through such increase in strength of the entire forces.

Question 12: The Indian para-military and armed forces have the most sophisticated weaponry and huge strength. Many doubt whether you can be successful in fighting such a powerful enemy. What is your response to these doubts?

Sonu: It is very true that our weaponry is no match for that of the reactionaries who are getting all sorts of assistance from the US and Israel. This weakness has been haunting us for a long time. We have just started to overcome this weakness. Even now the 12 Bore weapon happens to be

the main weapon in our PLGA in DK. The Bow and Arrow happens to be the main weapon of the masses and people's militia. We are putting in severe efforts to bring a change in this situation. The seizing of 20 tons of explosive material from an attack on the NMDC godown by our guerillas, masses and militia, helped us a lot. As a result our people's militia has been taking up mine warfare for quite some time. It is bringing about miracles. The enemy shudders with fear at the pressure mines of our people's militia. We cannot arrange modern weapons for all. We cannot compete with the enemy in this regard. But there is a need to bring a great change in our weapons for all. Leaving aside the question of which division was able to seize arms and which was not, the PLGA guerillas must seize the enemy weapons during every action daring their lives. Our PLGA's actions are progressing in this direction. We are still waging a guerilla war. Guerilla war is a popular form of struggle. Guerilla war is the method of struggle where war is conducted depending on the heroism of the masses. Modern weapons can be countered through guerrilla warfare and success achieved. We must not forget this. This was earlier proved in Vietnam; it is once again being proved in Iraq. Yet, this doesn't mean rejecting the fact the weapons have a vital role in war. Utilizing weapons too is a part of tactics. This is the reason why we are fighting intensely to arrange weapons as per the level of our present war actions. We are achieving certain progress.

Question 13: Finally, what is your vision of the future and what would you call on the people of the country to do vis-a-vis your struggles and battles in this one corner of the country?

Sonu: Firstly we are not only restricted to any one corner of the country and our Party has a presence in 17 States; and guerrilla war is taking place in Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra and many other states. Our struggles are part of this. These struggles may be at varied levels of development but they will advance according to the laws of protracted people's war. To liberate our country from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and build a genuinely free and prosperous India there can be no short cut. History has shown that however torturous the path there is no alternative. What do we see today? The imperialists and their agents are impoverishing the masses

on a scale unheard of in these past fifty years and also we see the imperialist stranglehold over our country grow by the day. Peaceful dissent is crushed ruthlessly. There are hundreds of such examples in just the past two years. So what is the alternative? It can only be armed resistance, like we are undertaking in Dandakaranya. There is no other path. Our struggle is nothing but a part of the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nationalities going on in this country. The only difference is that it may be more advanced. It is part and parcel of a common battle. We are facing great atrocities; there is urgent need for others throughout the country to raise their voices against it. The preservation and advance of our struggle will play a dynamic role for all other struggles going on in the country; just as the advance and support of other struggles in the country will be of great assistance to our struggle. It is a dialectical relationship of each assisting the other to take on the monster that is the Indian State, backed by the imperialist, particularly US imperialism. We expect this support from the masses of India and all progressive forces. The vision of a new India can already be seen, in embryonic form in the new power and Janatana Circar being established here. It is bound to grow.

9

History of Naxalite Movement in West Bengal Seen Through the Eyes of Veteran Martyr Comrade Ajayda

People's March, Volume 8 No. 8, December, 2007

(As this interview was taken in 2001, this was before the formation of the CPI (Maoist). Com Ajayda went on to be a CC member when the merged CPI (ML)(PW) was formed and again when the CPI(Maoist) was formed, until his martyrdom. – Editor, PM)

I was studying in the 9th standard in Kolkata. My teacher was a CPI member and my two maternal uncles were very active in the CPI. It was then, at that young age that I was introduced to Marxism; I read Emile burns 'What is Marxism'. The reports of the Tebhaga movement inspired me much. In those days communism was very popular amongst the workers and petit-bourgeoisie. That was the years 1957 to 1960. Any communist was treated with much respect. In 1957 a batch of students propagated for the CPI candidate Narayan Rai who was implicated in the Alipore conspiracy case. I was part of that group. My mother very much encouraged me. She was involved in the agitation in Kolkota in support of the Tebhaga movement that was fired upon. I have been active since 1957.

At that time my family economic conditions were not good, so while studying, I had to also support the family. In college, I was a member of the SFI. When the leadership came back after meeting Stalin they put forward a Strategy and Tactical Line which was basically supported by the CPI(M). An alternative group of cadres (supported by as section of the leadership)

circulated a document clandestinely in the party that gave more stress to agrarian revolution. Today there are still groups that distribute this alternative line. It was even distributed at the 30-year Naxalbari celebrations.

There was a debate on Tehbhaga movement; the general view was that the struggle was economist and merely raised the demand for the peasants to get two-thirds share of the produce. But in the course of the struggle the landless peasants raised the slogan of seizure of power, particularly in North Bengal. The Suderbands was a major centre of the Tehbhaga movement and a doctor was a the leader who became a legendary figure.

With the China conflict, a fierce two-line struggle began in the party following the debate between China and the USSR in the International Communist Movement. Some supported Khrushchev revisionism and some opposed. During the India-China war all CPM cadre were arrested; CPI cadre were also arrested but then released. Terror was unleashed against the communists and hysteria whipped up against China. Nationalism was whipped up with the slogan: counter China, counter Communism. We introduced the debate that a socialist country does not attack another country.

But, by Oct.1966 a big food crisis hit the country and there was no kerosene available to cook food. We organized the students and launched a struggle for food and kerosene; this we started from the suburbs of Kolkata, from the Barasath area. Police opened fire and one student was killed. But the movement spread. Then, there was a massive upsurge against the government and the goons were thrashed. There was firing and tear gas attacks on the people on a large scale in Kolkata and all suburban areas. There were regular pitched battles with the police. The military was called in and they too began operations against the movement. It was like a huge urban uprising with massive people's support; people came out of their houses offering water to the agitating people. Finally the government accepted all the demands and also released all the political prisoners.

In 1966 the CPM leaders came out of jail said there was no need for violence and we will force the government to hold elections. Elections were held in 1967 and the United Front government came to power. The CPM said, if voted to power it will bring a Bill that will give land to the tiller and factories to the workers.

By then I joined a government job in 1967 and was part of a worker's cell of the party. From 1967, for about three years there was a massive worker's movement and the 'Gherao' form of struggle became their most effective weapon. The CPM opposed the worker's militancy

It was amidst this general peoples upsurge that in May 1967 the Naxalbari Uprising broke out. This became a turning point. Many comrades from the CPI and CPM supported the movement; but much of the leadership said it was anarchy, putschism. Pramode Das Gupta said Charu Majumdar was mad and someone must restrain him. After Naxalbari, the two-line struggle came to the forefront. Then the Naxalbari Krishak Sangram Samiti was formed and all revolutionaries joined it. All the youth, particularly the working class responded enthusiastically. Students joined in huge numbers. The flames of Naxalbari spread all over the country. Then the AICCCR was formed. In this there was a big debate on whether to form mass organizations. Lot of small journals participated in the debate. The Asit Sen and Parimal Das Gupta lines were defeated.

I was with the Lal Jhanda Group which had comrades like Phani Bagchi as leaders. There was massive support and money was never a problem. In 1969 there was a massive land movement. Crop seizures were taking place on a gigantic scale and the CPM could not oppose it in its bid to befool the people. During this period most of the waste land and ceiling land was seized.

At this juncture, there was a very powerful legal trade union movement but it was not oriented towards the rural area or armed struggle. The youth were going enmass for the armed struggle. But there was no concrete plan for it. The cardinal question was how to reorient all these movements for the armed struggle. The AICCCR call to go to the rural areas resulted in thousands of youth from every district going to the rural areas.

Everywhere there was debate chiefly on what stand to take in the Great Debate and the GPCR. There were huge processions every day in Kolkota against the war in Vietnam. When the President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, visited Kolkota he had to be taken from the airport in a helicopter.

During the Bidhan Roy government and the severe food crisis, the CPI

had formed an anti-famine committee. To press the government for food there was a massive rally in Kolkota. The CRPF was deployed to stop people from entering; yet lakhs came. There was a lathi-charge, tear gas and police firing — 81 died on the spot and hundreds were wounded. It was like Jallianwalla bagh. Charu Mazumdar had later said it was wrong to have mobilized rural people to Kolkota. It was important to mobilize people for struggles in their own areas. There was talk of developing squad actions against jotedars, but a real plan was given on how to build the struggle for the seizure of power and develop the peoples' army.

Meanwhile the armed struggles developed and there was need to lead them. The AICCCR was insufficient. The need for forming a party was felt. Within the AICCCR most did not even know that a party was to be formed. It was suddenly announced at a rally May 1st 1969. Even Asit Sen who was leading the rally was not aware that the party formation would be announced.

Many workers supported the movement and some also went to the rural areas. The Gherao movement continued. Many came out of the revisionist trade unions and formed groups within the factories in support of Naxalbari and the CPI (ML). Party cells were also formed. But there was not much consolidations as attention was not given to organizational forms. Higher level party committees were formed but nothing below (what we call ACs today).

The students went to the rural areas in large numbers in all districts of West Bengal and made investigations and found out the jotedars. They formed squads to annihilate them. In the first stage they tried to integrate with the people. But later the line developed for squad action directly. It was thought that this would automatically lead to the formation of the PLA. It was thought that this was the only revolutionary form in the rural areas. It was not thought as we think today. These youth dared to do anything; the political commitment was immense. They even went outside the state. From the students many leaders developed. It had a positive impact on the rural people as they took revolutionary politics to them.

But many felt that the declaration of the formation of the PLA was premature. Some came out of the party, but without alternative activities;

and some came out and formed new groups. We also opposed this line in the party. But then most were arrested.

There was the July 20th Vietnam rally and after com. CM's martyrdom, a one-page issue of *Deshbrati* was printed and widely distributed. *Deshbrati*, the Bengali organ of the party was brought out clandestinely. Initially 35,000 copies were brought out; but later the mechanism broke down.

In Kolkota the idol smashing programme started spontaneously. It was com Saroj Dutta who theorized it. The massacres that followed were helped by the CPM. One side of the lane would be blocked by the CPM and the Congress goons and police would unleash the brutal killings. In the initial phase the women would go to the police station and get the youth released. There was a big participation of women — relatives of male comrades. Many went to the villages, were in the squads; many were in tech work doing couriering work. There were one or two women who rose to district level leadership.

By the time of the Bangladesh war the movement was already in decline. After com CM's death I was with the Liberation group led by Madhav Mukherjee in Bengal until my arrest in end 1973. The person who was to meet me was arrested the previous night. I was in the custody of the Intelligence Bureau for three months. Five conspiracy cases were clamped on me. In the IB lock up we were 15-16 comrades. We faced three months of severe torture. But here we met others arrested from various places. About 80% of those arrested surrendered to the police. We began to re-think the wrong policies; but it was difficult to hold discussions with the comrades who had surrendered.

Once in jail we formed the commune and there were good discussions. And it was through this process that we developed our line. In the jail we studied, read poetry and gave slogans. I was in three jails at different times. In the Bardhwan jail there were 25 in the commune; in the Hoogly jail 50 in the commune; and in the Presidency jail there were 1,000 Naxalites. Here each ward had a commune.

In the jail there were two views. One view was for staying with the common prisoners; the other view to avail of the class status of being educated comrades and get that status. The first line was very helpful" for

jail breaks, couriering, getting books, etc. On April 19th there was an alarm to beat every one of us. I was kicked until I became unconscious. This happened twice in Presidency jail. In Hoogly jail we were ill-treated by the comrades as we opposed the annihilation line and were isolated from the commune.

We then developed relations with others. When we came out of jail in July 1977 we tried to join the COC of Suniti Kumar Ghosh for nine months. But we were not successful. We were 12 comrades, ten of whom were from jail, who formed the CPI (ML) (Party Unity). We decided that without activity no unity can be achieved. Of the 12, some went to Bihar; I went to Nadia district of Bengal. And so the PU grew and the rest of the history is known.

10

Interview with Comrade Basavaraj, Chief of Central Military Commission, CPI(Maoist), on the Historic Nayagarh Raid

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 2, 20 May 2008

(The Maoist Information Bulletin Editor met the Chief of the Central Military Commission (CMC) of the CPI(Maoist), comrade Basavara,j in the deep jungles of Dandakaranya. All the guerrillas were in high spirits and were proudly showing the new shining weapons—brand new AK-47s, Insas rifles, SLRs, LMGs, scores of short weapons, and several other arms seized from the police in Nayagarh. Some of these young dare-devils claimed that they carried three weapons for over a month before help came from other locals. None of them seemed to have worn out though they looked a bit emaciated after the grueling journey without food sometimes and battling with the police in the first few days after the raids. We reproduce below the short interview with the CMC chief taken in the middle of April, 2008 - MIB)

Q: The PLGA led by the CPI(Maoist) had carried out the biggest ever raid in Nayagarh. But according to the claims by the police and government spokesmen as reported in the media at least twenty Maoist guerrillas were killed in Gosama forest on the very first day following the raid. And double that number in the next few days. Are these reports true?

Basavraj (BR): The police claim is an outright lie deliberately floated to

show some achievement on the part of the police after the severe blow they received in Nayagarh. Such lies are a commonly used ploy aimed at creating confusion in the revolutionary camp and giving some boost to the morale of the police. This is a part of the psychological warfare used by enemy classes everywhere. Only two of our comrades became martyrs while the enemy suffered three casualties and many more were injured. I will cite the facts in brief.

Our PLGA forces reached Gosama on the morning of 16th after successfully completing the operation at about 12.30 in the night. By around 9 in the morning a batch of SOG personnel reached the place. Our comrades opened fire at them and they retreated immediately. We were expecting them again and so were prepared for a fierce fight. At around 3pm the SOG came along with CRPF. They may be around 120 men. In the first round of firing by our comrades three of them died. One of them was an assistant commandant. They began to retreat in confusion. We chased them for at least 2 kilometres. They continued to flee and we were later informed by villagers that they had run away to a distance of 20 Km. Such was the “courage” displayed by these special anti-Naxal forces in real fight. .

Even more interesting is the fact that no policemen turned up for over 24 hours to collect the bodies of the dead SOG personnel. It was only on the evening of 17th that the people of the surrounding villages were sent to bring the bodies. The brave SOG men had no guts to come back to Gosama even to collect the dead bodies!

During this exchange of fire we lost two comrades—Comrade Rambathi and comrade Iqbal—one from the 7th Company and another from 9th Company. All the rest retreated from Gosama next morning. And there hasn't been a single casualty on our side after this incident.

Q: Naveen Patnaik claimed that 80 per cent of the arms were recovered. Is that true?

BR: This is yet another lie. There is no recovery by the police as such. What happened was we ourselves had burnt a large quantity of arms and ammunition as it was difficult for us to carry all of them. We were, in fact, expecting 400-500 arms and went prepared for it. However, we found

more than double the quantity of what we had foreseen. Since the place was far away from our stronghold areas it was impossible to carry the entire load. Hence we burnt around 400 inferior arms which the police claimed they had recovered. Most of the arms burnt were relatively inferior ones while we took away the sophisticated arms with us. (Pointing to the brand new weapons that hung over the shoulders of the PLGA fighters present there, he said), Like these.

Q: So you say that your operation was successful contrary to the claims by the police and the government of Orissa?

BR: If you view it from one angle i.e. the objectives that we had set for the tactical counteroffensive operation and our expectation prior to the operation I can say it was successful. We seized more arms than what we had initially planned and anticipated. Each of our comrades carried back at least two weapons and some even three along with some ammunition. It was a hectic job to carry such a heavy load over long distances. In fact, we didn't even expect so many auto and semi-auto weapons. From this angle it had been a greatly successful operation. But to burn some of the arms because we could not carry them was, of course, a tactical lesson for us. If only we knew that so many arms were in Nayagarh our planning would have been a bit different.

Q: What was the reaction of the government of Orissa and the Central govt after the successful raid?

BR: As you might have gauged from media reports after the raids, the government of Orissa became panicky, so panicky that it even took measures immediately to strengthen the security of the police stations in Bhubaneswar as Nayagarh was less than hundred kilometers from the state capital. Even neo-liberal “Marxist” Buddhadev took measures for enhancing security in Kolkata. These stupid rulers can never understand the principles of guerrilla war, that we hit at the weak spots of the enemy and not where he is strong as in the state capital.

Then they made desperate, frantic efforts to show some achievement in their war with the Maoists by deploying over 600 CRPF men, over a

thousand personnel from Orissa's SOG, 200 Greyhounds from AP and others. Two helicopters were provided by the Indian Air Force to assist the ground forces in the forests of Gosama. The scene was like a virtual war between two countries. The difference is, here, in the civil war, the people are on our side while the enemy is compelled to use helicopters, UAVs, etc as they do not even get information from the people. This infuriates the enemy forces so much that they begin attacks on innocent people as we had witnessed in Orissa after the raids. Over 300 people were arrested from various places—ordinary, innocent people none of whom was a participant in the Nayagarh raids or knew anything related to it. An adivasi youth, for instance, was shot dead by CRPF in Banjar Nagar in Ganjam district.

All these innocent people were poor and landless peasants and youth who live in villages that are suspected to be shielding Maoists. There was talk of bombing some villages and some suspected sites where Maoists might be camping. Home Minister Shivraj Patil stopped short of taking this step due to fear of opposition from various parties and people and, being an election year, was waiting for political consensus to take such measures against the Maoists and adivasi villages. The harassment and atrocities on the people by the Orissa police and CRPF continue to escalate. The more atrocities these mercenary forces perpetrate on people the more they will get isolated. But all this doesn't bother them and hence the oppression and repression by the state will continue and alienate the rulers even more from the people.

Q: There was a big talk of the involvement of the Greyhounds from AP in the police operations after the raid. Did it have any effect on the morale of your cadre given the reputation of the Greyhounds in suppressing the movement in AP?

BR: The efficiency, courage and fighting skill of the AP Greyhounds is a big myth. The setback of the movement in AP is not because of the Greyhounds but due to several other major reasons. Though Greyhounds was created in 1989, our movement in AP developed in leaps and bounds until 1997. The so-called achievements of Greyhounds are not much related to actual battle with the Maoist guerrillas in field but due to methods of

deception like poisoning the food and making the guerrillas unconscious before murdering them as in Pamedu in February, deploying covert agents, etc. In fact, most of the leaders who became martyrs in AP were picked up from various places by the SIB, taken to forests and shot dead. And this is shown as a victory for the Greyhounds. Comrade Chandramouli (BK) and his life partner comrade Karuna, comrades Sande Rajamouli (Murali), Somanna etc i.e., all the CC members and most of the state committee members were killed in this way.

In Gosama too they came only after we had left as they knew there would be casualties on their side if they came face to face. In fact, Greyhounds are very cunning, they do not go when they think it is risky. They attack only when they receive complete information through covert agents and informants about the PLGA movements and that too with enormous forces and the best weapons available including area weapons like grenade launchers, rocket launchers, mortars and with good logistical support, highly centralized coordination and command as well as air support. Overall, I can say, these so-called elite anti-Naxal special force makes more of a show than actual fight. Unlike the SOG men who foolishly came and were beaten back by our forces. We were waiting to give them a good blow on our terrain but the Greyhounds knowingly came late on the scene. When our PLGA forces heard that Greyhounds were also in Orissa after the raids our PLGA forces were insisting that we should deliver a blow to these so-called elite force and wait for a few days. We will wipe them out if they dare to step into our territory.

Q: How many of your PLGA fighters had participated in the raids?

BR: Just 175 comrades. Of these 20 belonged to people's militia. Only 90 of them had proper weapons.

Q: Then how did you manage to overpower such a numerically superior force?

BR: It was the element of surprise and the courage displayed by our PLGA fighters and commanders. There were 400 policemen at the Police Training School in Nayagarh and only 52 of us took control within a matter of two

minutes. At the police HQ another 32 guerrillas took control of over a hundred enemy forces. We did not have enough forces to stop the enemy forces in all the routes. But we managed to stop the enemy and retreat safely. We had christened the operation as “Ropeway Operation” which means our guerrilla forces would adopt a strategy of descending on the enemy forces like we descend from a ropeway, take them by surprise and swiftly complete the operation. And it went off exactly as we had planned except for the fact that we had to spend more time in loading the arms and ammunition due to the huge quantity.

Q: What is the aim of the raid?

BR: It is a universally proven truth that no exploiting ruling classes anywhere in the world will give up their anti-people policies or political power without a bitter fight until the last. They will unleash the cruelest repression on people waging just struggle against exploitation and oppression with the aim of ushering in a just and equitable social order. As com Mao said long ago: “Without a people’s army, people have nothing”. All other mass organizations and mass struggles will assist the people in achieving some of their demands but without armed struggle they cannot achieve their real liberation from class oppression. If you keep this in mind it is not difficult to understand the aims and objectives of our raids in Nayagarh, Koraput, Giridih and elsewhere.

The aim of the tactical counteroffensive in Nayagarh is to arm the people, intensify the war against the much superior, well-equipped, well-trained enemy forces and to spread the people’s war throughout the country. Being a people’s army, our PLGA has to equip itself mainly with the arms seized from the enemy forces. Since our PLGA will always have relatively inferior arms when compared to those of the state’s armed forces, it becomes all the more necessary to equip at least a part of our forces with sophisticated arms in order to achieve tactical victories over the enemy forces.

Q: Naveen Patnaik says that your Party is carrying out such actions out of desperation and that you do not have the support of people. Do you think that the people of Orissa would appreciate your action in Nayagarh?

BR: (Laughing with his mouth wide open he said) No one but a fool would

say that ours is an act of desperation. Naveen Patnaik doesn't even know what the term desperation means. Arresting hundreds of innocent people, torturing and harassing them, foisting false cases against people who dare to question, and shooting down people who protest against the government's policies of selling out the state's mineral and natural wealth to the imperialist MNCs and comprador business houses, setting up, training and arming private vigilante gangs like shanti sena against revolutionaries, outlawing organizations like the RDF—all these are called desperate actions. On the contrary, the big tactical counteroffensive actions that we carry out such as the Nayagarh raid are planned at the highest level with the aim of equipping the people's army with sophisticated weapons and spreading our people's war throughout the country.

Q: Naveen Patnaik had proposed that his government was ready for talks with the Maoists if they abandoned arms. What is your Party's response to his proposal?

BR: His so-called proposal for talks was categorically rejected by our Party. You can read the statement issued by comrade Azad on behalf of our Central Committee. Patnaik's proposal for talks has no substance. It is nothing but a deceptive ruse. He was forced to issue such a statement upon pressure from democrats and civil rights activists.

11

Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson of the CC, CPI(Maoist) on the Present Developments in Nepal

People's Truth, No. 2, July 2008

Q: *The results in the April 10 elections to the Constituent Assembly in Nepal have been overwhelmingly in favour of the Maoists, a development least anticipated by even the keenest observers. How does your Party in India, the CPI(Maoist), look at the election results in Nepal?*

Azad: As mentioned in my press release on behalf of my Party's central committee last week, the election results in Nepal have demonstrated the overwhelming anger of the masses against the outdated feudal monarchic rule in Nepal, against the Indian expansionist's bullying and domination of Nepal, against US domination and oppression, against comprador-feudal parties which allowed this to continue and betrayed the masses for too long. The results are a reflection of the growing aspirations of the Nepali masses for democracy, land, livelihood and genuine freedom from imperialist and feudal exploitation. It is these aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the masses that had completely trounced the parties that had either supported the King and/or the Indian ruling classes or hesitated to come out strongly against feudal, imperialist oppression and Indian intervention in Nepal. The royalists could not win even in a single constituency out of the 240 constituencies where direct elections were held. And leaders of the so-called mainstream such as Madhav Nepali, Sujata Koirala were rejected outright which came as a great shock to the ruling classes.

Hence, when an alternative like the CPN(M) came to the fore, with its open commitment to abolish the feudal monarchy once for all, abrogate all unequal treaties signed with India by the former ruling classes of Nepal, and ensure democracy and equality for the oppressed sections of society such as Dalits, adivasis, national minorities and women, the masses enthusiastically veered towards the Maoists. To put it in a word, the people of Nepal had come out resolutely against constitutional monarchy, Indian expansionism and US imperialism; the results reflect the growing aspirations of the Nepalese masses for land, livelihood and democracy.

Our Party looks at the election results in Nepal as a positive development with enormous significance for the people of entire South Asia. We send our revolutionary greetings to the people of Nepal for rejecting outright the monarchic rule and the comprador-feudal Parties during the April 10 elections to the Constituent Assembly. These results point to the real aspirations of the Nepalese people and should serve as a guide to the CPN(M) for its future course of action.

Q: What do you think are the reasons for the impressive results in favour of the Maoists in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in Nepal?

Azad: As far as we can see there are six major reasons:

One, the masses of Nepal had enough of King Gyanendra's autocratic and authoritarian rule. Constitutional monarchy is indeed an anachronism even in the 20th century let alone 21st century. In fact, people of Nepal had put up with such a rotten, reactionary feudal rule too long a time. And when they found an opportunity to throw it out they grabbed it. There was never such an opportunity during earlier elections as all the parliamentary parties were either loyal to the King or displayed nominal opposition to the King. It is only the CPN(Maoist) which had shown its firm commitment to abolish the monarchy once for all and had come to the fore as an alternative to the bourgeois-feudal parties.

Two, the masses of Nepal had enough of bullying, intervention and domination by Indian expansionism. There is a general atmosphere of suspicion regarding the motives of the Indian ruling classes in Nepal. The people of Nepal had suffered too long under the obnoxious unequal treaties

signed by successive rulers of Nepal with the Indian government such as the 1950 Indo-Nepal Treaty of Peace and Friendship, the Mahakali Treaty, and so on. The Indian rulers have always had an eye on the natural wealth of Nepal, its rich natural gas reserves, hydro-electric potential, forest products etc. Along with imperialist exploitation, oppression and plunder, the Indian CBB too is seen as an obstacle for the development of the local industry and trade. Besides this, Indian ruling classes have been continuously interfering in the political affairs of Nepal. They supported the monarchy all along and in the past few years took up the so-called two-pillar theory of supporting the King as well as the Nepali Congress. They gave training, supplied arms to the Royal Nepal Army, and sent all sorts of aid to contain the Maoist revolutionaries in Nepal. All these despicable acts had only fuelled the anger of the masses against Indian government. Now when an opportunity presented itself before them in the form of the CPN(M) they naturally voted for it which should be seen as a vote against Indian domination. None of the other Parties showed the guts to confront India. It was only the CPN(M) which categorically assured the people that it would do away with all the unequal treaties with India, ban obscene Hindi films, stop recruitment of Gurkhas into the Indian Army and provide them with alternative employment, and so on.

Three, the masses of Nepal had enough of the exploitation, oppression and intervention of the US imperialists. Throughout the rule of King Gyanendra and even until today after the humiliating defeat of his loyalist parties in elections, US imperialists has stood by his side rendering all aid to perpetuate his rule and to brutally suppress the Maoists. They had placed the CPN(M) on its list of terrorist outfits. This is a grave insult to the people of Nepal who view this as unwarranted meddling in Nepal's affairs. By supporting the discredited King the US imperialists became even more discredited and hated by even those who had no anti-imperialist consciousness or opposed to US imperialism as they see it as a protector of the feudal monarchy.

Four, the promises made by the CPN(M) to establish a democratic, federal, secular Nepal with freedom, democracy and equality for all the oppressed sections of society such as Dalits, adivasis, national minorities and women had an electrifying impact. For the first time, these oppressed

sections were given considerable representation in the elections. Under such conditions, the oppressed masses came out enthusiastically in support of the Maoists. Women's turn-out, it is said, was equal to, and may be even greater than that of men—something unimaginable in a feudal country like Nepal.

Five, the most important factor is the positive impact created by the decade-long people's war led by the Maoists on the overall balance of forces in Nepal. The Maoists had established control over almost three-quarters of rural Nepal. Through the people's revolutionary governments in the countryside they had carried out several reforms which brought the masses closer to them. The people's war had raised the political consciousness of the masses, enhanced their assertion, and roused their democratic aspirations. The growth of the mass movement for a Constituent Assembly all over Nepal is a logical offshoot of the decade-long people's war. In such a context, most of the Parties which had been staging only shows in the name of fighting for a Constituent Assembly became irrelevant in the eyes of the people.

The impact of armed struggle should not be underestimated. For instance, even in India if we see, the united Communist Party won an overwhelming majority of seats (31 out of 32 seats) in the elections to the state assembly in Telangana region in 1957. This, in spite of the fact that the CPI had withdrawn the Telangana armed struggle so much was the impact of the anti-feudal armed agrarian struggle on the people of Telangana.

Lastly, though a less important factor, mention must be made of the support of the local capitalists and a section of the traders who, even though are opposed to the Maoists in general, think that bringing them to power is the only guarantee for peace in Nepal. The local capitalists and small traders aspire to grow and develop in an atmosphere free from the hegemony and strangulation of imperialist and Indian expansionist capital. This they know none of the comprador-feudal parties can deliver and the only hope is with the Maoists.

Q: *Now that the Maoists have come to power will they be able to carry out the promises made?*

Azad: This is the most difficult question to answer. The immediate problem

for the Maoists is to secure a coalition of forces that can meet the target of two-thirds majority in the Constituent Assembly in order to incorporate their radical reforms into the new Constitution. But to achieve two-thirds majority they have to rely on the reactionary comprador-feudal parties such as NC and social democratic UML. Needless to say, it is impossible to carry through the promised reforms with such a hotch-potch combination of forces. These Parties in the coalition will not be willing to be a party to the programme of the Maoists and will, moreover, try to subvert any radical changes which are aimed at curtailing their own class interests.

It is a fundamental tenet of Marxism that no radical restructuring of the system is possible without the militant mobilization of the vast masses into bitter class struggle. It is impossible to make genuine changes in the system through measures initiated “**from above**”, i.e. through state decrees and laws. Whichever Party may be in power, not excluding the most radical Maoists, it can only make laws at best, but to implement these it is imperative to mobilize the masses and advance class struggle against exploiters and oppressors. Without this the liberation of the vast majority of poor is an impossible task. And for the CPN(M), even enacting the much-promised laws will be an almost impossible task given the present coalition in the CA. No ruling class will give up power without putting up a bitter struggle and carrying out counter-revolutionary activities against the oppressed class. **Hence the real, bitter and most cruel struggle for power will now unfold following the elections. The reactionaries will oppose every change tooth and nail. And, lacking a majority in the Constituent Assembly, the Maoists will be powerless to affect radical changes in the Constitution. Either they have to compromise and adjust with a section of the reactionary forces thereby sacrificing the class interests of the oppressed in whose interests they had come to power, or, they have to mobilize the people and intensify the struggle through all means, including armed insurrection, in order to implement genuine democracy and establish people’s power. There is no other alternative.**

We must not forget the experiences of Indonesia, Chile, Nicaragua and other countries where the Communist Parties had come to power but were either thrown out in counter-revolutionary coups accompanied by counter-revolutionary massacres of Communist cadres, or threw out the Party in

so-called elections as in the case of Nicaragua. The experience of Nicaragua is very much relevant in the context of so-called multi-party democracy. The Sandinistas, in spite of their massive pro-people democratic reforms while in power, and in spite of having a strong and powerful Army, were thrown out in the elections through a conspiracy of the US imperialists and all the reactionary forces. The CPN(M) and the people of Nepal should learn from these experiences and defeat the conspiracies of the reactionary forces to stage a come-back through devious ways.

Q: *How do you envisage the future scenario in Nepal? Will India and US imperialism adjust to the new reality that had emerged in Nepal and support the Maoist government or will they create hurdles?*

Azad: We will be living in a fool's paradise if we think that imperialist America and expansionist India will be comfortable with the Maoists in power in Nepal or that they will adjust themselves to the new reality. Though they will have no other go but to continue diplomatic relations they will also continue to create an adverse situation for the new government if it does not obey their dictates. The fact is that the US rendered all help to its stooge parties in Nepal to defeat the Maoists. It tried its best to keep the monarchy alive as the King was the most reliable pillar for its rule by proxy in Nepal. And as for India, it received a slap in its face when its chief stooge—GP Koirala and his NC—tasted an ignominious defeat. Most of the stalwarts of NC were trounced and swept away in the flood of people's fury as their traitorous deals with India have by now become well-known to the Nepali people.

However, India has gained in another front. In the Tarai region it supported the two Madhesi parties which won a considerable number of seats with the backing of India. **India will use the Madhesi trump card to create disturbances in Nepal if the new regime does not toe its line. Already Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJF) led by Upendra Yadav has demanded that the Maoists should make their stand clear on the demand for Madhesi autonomy (Ek Madhes Ek Prades) and had asked the Maoists to discontinue their relations with international forums like the RIM and CCOMPOSA. Both US and India will try by various means to bring the new government to toe their line. They can, for**

instance, hit at Nepal's belly—its economy—by paralyzing industrial production, blocking trade and supply lines thereby creating food shortages and shortage of consumer goods; in other words it can squeeze Nepal through an economic blockade. This it will do if it thinks the new regime is going too far. As it is, the situation in Nepal is already too delicate with almost 10 hours of load-shedding even in capital Kathmandu and a shortage of all essential commodities. Its powerful neighbours can alter the balance through economic blackmail which could lead to growth of social unrest and massive protests against the Maoists. **Acute shortage of essential items and rising prices can lead to disenchantment with the fledgling regime and a dip in its popularity thereby giving an opportunity to the discredited parties to re-establish themselves. Thus the situation in Nepal will remain extremely delicate and unstable even though the Maoists had won an impressive electoral victory.** Comrades Prachanda and Bhattarai know this well and hence they have been appealing for India's cooperation. They had gone on record saying that there will not be stability in Nepal without India's cooperation. The fact that Nepal is a small country sandwiched between two powerful and big neighbours—India and China—and that it is a target for the US imperialists makes the governance quite a difficult proposition. **Hence the Maoist face an extremely difficult task ahead in balancing all these forces and carrying on with their people's agenda through land reforms and indigenous industrialization towards a new democratic economy.**

Q: Then do you mean the electoral victory of the Maoists and their capture of state power through parliamentary means is a futile exercise, and that it cannot bring the desired radical change in the social system?

Azad: I don't exactly mean that. The control of state power, if they really can control, does give the Maoists a means to defend the gains accrued during the long years of revolutionary war and to affect radical changes in the social system. But this will be difficult to achieve through the type of state power that has fallen into the hands of the Maoists at the present juncture. In fact, even in classical revolutions as in China, where the Communist revolutionaries had seized power through an armed revolution, Mao had warned of the danger of the rise of a new class by virtue of their positions in the state machinery. After Mao, the state had degenerated into

a machinery of oppression and suppression of the vast masses. The lesson that we Communists had learnt from this experience is that the Party should concentrate on organizing the masses and mobilizing them to rebel against all types of injustice and exploitation perpetrated by state and Party bureaucrats.

In Nepal, where the Maoists have come to power in alliance with a section of the reactionary ruling classes, it is an even more urgent task of the Maoists to continue the class struggle by organizing the masses against all forms of exploitation and oppression. In this the Young Communist League appears to have been doing commendable work which is a reason why it is feared as well as hated by the other parties. To the extent possible, the Maoists could use their relative control over the state to help the masses in their struggle for freedom, democracy and livelihood. **Basic change could be achieved through continuation of class struggle for which, the state can, at best, render some help.**

Q: Sitaram Yechuri of the CPI(M), among several others, have said that the Maoists of India have to learn from Nepal's experiences and take the parliamentary road to come to power. What does your Party say in this regard?

Azad: Why Yechuri alone? Even the DGPs of Jharkhand, AP and other states where Maoist movement is strong had said that before. Just two days ago the SP of Warangal, Sajjanar, notorious for his cold-blooded murders of the revolutionaries, was saying the same thing. Leaders of other reactionary ruling class parties had been harping on the same theme ever since the revisionists began participating in parliament in our country. Some like former RAW chief Thorakan have said that the Maoist victory in Nepal would have a demonstration effect on the Maoists of India.

Firstly, those who say this forget that the situation in Nepal and India are completely different. In Nepal the immediate political task before the entire Nepali masses was a struggle against the monarchy which circumstance had brought about a measure of unity among the various parliamentary parties and broad sections of people. The King himself, with the active guidance and aid from US imperialism had created a situation where all forces had to close their ranks and wage a struggle for democracy. The fact

that hardly two per cent of the Nepali population supported the monarchy, as revealed by a 2008 Survey report, shows the basis for such a united struggle of the Nepalese people and the CPN(M) utilized such a situation. In India, it is a fight against the semi-colonial, semi-feudal social system of which the parliamentary system is part and parcel. All the major parliamentary parties are representatives of the comprador-feudal classes, obey the dictates of imperialists, and hence stand in the counter-revolutionary camp. Here the immediate task is struggle for land, livelihood and liberation for the vast majority of the masses.

Secondly, Yechuri and others, in their desperate attempt to laud their parliamentary line, consciously underplay and hush up the experiences of Chile, El Salvador, Nicaragua etc. In this context, it is very much relevant to cite the experience of Nicaragua. In Nicaragua, the Sandinista National Liberation Front took over power in a popular rebellion in 1979 by overthrowing the long dictatorship of Somoza family. The Sandinistas brought massive changes in the economic, social, political spheres, achieved significant successes in land reform, literacy, health programmes, and so on. The US imperialists under Ronald Reagan armed, trained and gave all sorts of aid to the mercenary private armies called contras to fight the Sandinistas and created economic problems by enforcing trade embargo on Nicaragua. The Sandinistas agreed to hold elections in 1990 after peace negotiations with the UN but they lost to the right-wing coalition of 14 opposition parties. Massive US funding and support from the reactionary classes of the Nicaraguan society, combined with the grave economic crisis, led to the defeat of the Sandinistas despite many revolutionary and progressive changes they brought in favour of the poor and oppressed sections of society during their rule. That the Parliamentary system can bring a fanatic mass murderer like Narendra Modi to power is enough to understand the limitations of the Parliamentary road to power.

Lastly, these social democrats also underplay the tremendous impact of the decade-long people's war in Nepal on the lives and consciousness of the Nepali masses which led to the victory of the CPN(M). As pointed out by the CPN(M) in its Commitment Paper for the Constituent Assembly released in March 2008 just prior to the elections: *"None can imagine today's political transformation without the contribution of the Maoist*

people's war. The class, ethnic, regional, sexual and Dalit consciousness that has emerged in the country today and that the country has been constitutionally declared a federal republic, the credit mainly goes to the 10 years of People's War. Had there been no 20 thousands of People's Army developed in the course of People's War none could imagine that monarchy would have kneeled down so easily.

Yechuris, Karats and Buddhadebs have over 40 years of experience in the Parliamentary pig-sty. But what basic changes have they brought in the system? Their parliamentary cretinism has done no good for the masses. The rich have grown richer and poor poorer even in the states where these revisionists have been in power. Without their support the ruling UPA government headed by Manmohan Singh would not have dared to carry out the anti-people policies. They had correctly dubbed themselves as “*a barking dog that doesn't bite*”. **They agree that they are powerless to do anything more than acting as “speed-breakers”, as described by one of their spokespersons, in the path of the anti-people onslaught by the UPA government at the Centre. The fact is, they are not merely speed-breakers. They actually act as political brokers intermediating between the vast masses and the reactionary rulers trying to bring about class harmony in place of class struggle.** In the states where they are directly in power they have become no less exploiters and oppressors than the Congress and the BJP. Singur and Nandigram are their laboratories for carrying through their pro-imperialist, pro-comprador big business policies. And in this they have become even more brutal thanks to the vast army of social fascist gangs at their disposal. These political prostitutes spin one theory after another such as “*the bigger evil versus the lesser evil*”, that they have no power to stop the SEZs across the country, unless, of course, they come to power at the Centre to justify their hob-nobbing with Congress at one time, TDP at another and such antics. But in the same breath they hypocritically say that without SEZs, privatization, foreign investment, etc., West Bengal and Kerala cannot go ahead with industrialization, and so on.

No wonder, imperialist and comprador capital is very impressed by the performance of the Indian “Left”. NRI industrialist Lord Swaraj Paul, who is the chairman of the Caparo Group which is setting up a component unit in Singur, was all praise for the CPI(M) and its leader Buddhadeb when he

visited West Bengal as the head of a delegation of the United Kingdom branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. **These social fascists have now become the blue-eyed boys of the World Bank, Tatas, Salems, Swaraj Pauls and the people of India will fare no better under a CPI(M) government at the Centre.**

There is little wonder they have been asking the Indian Maoists to follow suit. Our Party firmly believes that a basic change in the system cannot be achieved through the parliamentary path but through class struggle. In our country this takes the form of armed agrarian revolutionary war. We, of course, do not reject other forms of struggle and organization, besides armed struggle and armed organization, and you would have realized this if you are a keen observer of our movement. This is of no consequence to our Mr. Yechuri who only dreams of seats in the Parliament like any other ruling class party. We, on the other hand, invite everyone opposed to imperialism, feudalism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and the neo-liberal policies of the reactionary ruling classes of India, to come forward to wage a united militant struggle instead of whiling their time in an impotent anti-people Parliament and acting as lobbyists and power brokers. For revisionist chieftains like Yechuri, who are bogged down neck-deep into the morass of parliamentarism and bourgeois lobbying, such a revolutionary alternative is naturally an anathema.

The task before the revolutionaries is to destroy and reconstruct the entire economic, social, political, cultural institutions that sustain the status quo and hamper any radical reform. Just coming to power through Parliament cannot lead to a restructuring of the system. There are several other so-called independent institutions like the judiciary, the election commission, the human rights commission sponsored by the imperialists, the media, various artistic, cultural and even religious bodies, non-government organisations, and so on all of which can be transformed only through a upheaval of the masses and not through Parliamentary reforms.

Q: Prachanda had earlier said that he would be the first President of Republican Nepal but a few days ago he changed tack and declared that he would head the ministry. Do you think it is correct for anyone in a Communist Party to be the head of the government, chief of the Party

and army at the same time?

Azad: We too had seen his statements in this regard. He still says he wants to be the President if it is acceptable to all i.e. by political consensus. As such, the present Constitution of Nepal has no provision for an Executive President. It will take another two years for the Constituent Assembly to adopt the newly drafted Constitution and to arrive at a final decision on this. Hence comrade Prachanda might have reconsidered his earlier decision and decided to become the Prime Minister.

Now the question is not whether the Party chief should be President or Prime Minister. Who should lead a government or any other body is for their Party to decide. But we have a different opinion altogether. We think that the principal concentration of the Party chief and the main leadership should be on developing class struggle and not get immersed in the administration of the state. If we believe that the role of the Party is to continue class struggle until the final stage of Communism then we can appreciate our viewpoint. The lesson that we draw from the historical experiences of revolutions and the most important lessons of the GPCR is that once the Party has led the revolution to final victory it had also laid the basis for the rise of a new class of Party and state bureaucrats. When the Party and state completely coalesce then it will be terribly difficult to fight the rise of bureaucratic class and to mobilize the people against the wrongs done by the state. Hence it is very much essential that the party leaders do not lose touch with the masses. They should integrate with the masses, and organize and guide them against each and every form of exploitation and oppression. In Nepal, where the Maoists have to share power with a section of the comprador-feudal classes, this task becomes even more crucial.

Q: Prachanda and Bhattarai had declared that they are willing to invite FDI and to create a business-friendly environment in Nepal. They also said that they would encourage capitalism. Is it correct for a Maoist party to invite foreign investment and develop capitalism?

Azad: Firstly we must understand the reality of Nepal. It is an extremely backward, semi-feudal country that lacks the minimum infrastructure and industrial production. It is a part of the Fourth World, if we can call it so. The UN has placed it in the category of Least Developed Countries (LDCs).

Hence the first task in Nepal would be to liberate the vast masses from the feudal clutches and develop industry on that basis. As regards developing capitalism in Nepal there need not be any objection from revolutionaries as long as it is national capitalism and is properly regulated to meet the needs of the masses and is directed towards the growth of the internal economy and not for exports or for serving the imperialists. **But if the encouragement is for inflow of foreign capital it will be detrimental to the interests of the country in the long run. The foreign capital would begin to control the economy of Nepal even if the Maoists are the major partners in the government just as it had done till now. The Maoists could consider encouraging indigenous capital and help its growth while gradually eliminating foreign capital.** Both Prachanda and Bhattarai had a meeting with businessmen under the aegis of the Federation of Nepalese Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FNCCI) as soon as the results became clear. There is pressure from businessmen for an investment-friendly environment, maximisation of profit, tax reforms, new flexible labour laws and a positive industrial policy.

In the past Maoists had opposed private institutions in health and education sectors. But now Prachanda has promised private-public partnership will be encouraged in health and education sectors. Bhattarai has promised to remove whatever hurdles that may arise in the private sector. We have been hearing reports of talks between the Maoist leaders and the officials of World Bank. If these reports are true then it could have dangerous consequences on the future of Nepal. Depending on FDI and adopting a pragmatic approach towards industrialization of Nepal in the name of overcoming the country's economic backwardness will only lead to opposite results and will only strengthen the hold of the imperialists and continue the prevailing backwardness. The key aspect for the development in any backward country is not just investment of capital but the expansion of the home market. This can only be achieved by raising the purchasing power of the masses. Once this grows it will act as the motor for the industrial development of the country.

Q: How do you foresee the future fraternal relations between your Party and the CPN(M)? Given the fact that the Indian state does not want the

Maoists of Nepal to maintain relations with the Indian Maoists, and the demands by MJF in this regard is a clear indication of growing Indian pressure, will fraternal relations between the two Parties continue as before?

Azad: We believe and desire that fraternal relations between the CPI(Maoist) and CPN(Maoist) should continue as before. As long as both the Parties stand firmly committed to proletarian internationalism, international pressures and internal pressures will not come in the way.

Of course, there is bound to be increasing pressure from various quarters on the Maoists of Nepal to cut off their relations with other Maoist Parties. Particularly India and the US will exert utmost pressure in this regard. We do understand the complexity of the situation. However, we must keep in mind that every Communist Party is a detachment of the world proletariat. And any proletarian Party will place national interests subordinate to the interests of the world proletariat. Comrade Prachanda had correctly said that ideological ties between the two Parties will remain intact. And we believe the ideological debates and discussions have to continue. The various international fora such as CCOMPOSA should continue with their aims and activities in spite of the new situation that had arisen.

Besides, we will continue to deepen people to people ties between our two countries and oppose any form of interference and domination of Nepal by the Indian expansionists. We will promote solidarity for the Nepal people and revolution amongst the people of India on a wide scale. All this is our proletarian internationalist duty. We expect the same from our Nepal comrades.

Q: What do you have to say about comrade Prachanda's comment in his interview to *The Hindu* that "*for the Indian Maoist party, its leaders and cadres, these efforts of ours provide some new material to study, to think about and go ahead in a new way. Our efforts provide a reference point.*"

Azad: As Marxists we must study critically any phenomena, particularly new experiences. Yet, we should not come to hasty conclusions but must carefully observe the outcome of such efforts. All these need to be assessed from a class view-point and not a non-class approach. Marxism is a science

and it gives the tools to analyse all social phenomena scientifically. This we need to do for the experiment in Nepal or any other. Of course, we have already many historical precedents, these too should be considered and the Nepal experience seen as part of this and not in isolation.

Q: Finally, is there anything you want to say to the people of Nepal and the CPN(M)?

Azad: Our Party, CPI(Maoist), sends its revolutionary greetings on behalf of our CC, entire Party rank and file, and the people of India to the CPN(Maoist) and the people of Nepal for their categorical rejection of monarchic rule and the comprador-feudal Parties through the elections to the Constituent Assembly. We understand the Himalayan task confronting our fraternal Maoist Party in Nepal—the twin task of running and reforming a reactionary state machinery while advancing the class struggle to achieve complete victory of the revolution.

We wish to appraise them that the real battle for the transformation of the lives of the people of Nepal and the economic-social-political system of Nepal begins now. **Lack of vigilance even for a moment could prove dear to the Maoists as well as the people of Nepal as vultures within and outside their country are only too eager to maintain the existing social order and itching to destroy all the gains achieved by the people and the Maoists.** We wish to remind the CPN(M) and the people of Nepal regarding a warning we had given in November 2006 when they decided to become part of the interim government. I repeat what we said then: *“The agreement by the Maoists to become part of the interim government in Nepal cannot transform the reactionary character of the state machinery that serves the exploiting ruling classes and imperialists. The state can be the instrument in the hands of either the exploiting classes or the proletariat but it cannot serve the interests of both these bitterly-contending classes. It is the fundamental tenet of Marxism that no basic change in the social system can be brought about without smashing the state machine. Reforms from above cannot bring any qualitative change in the exploitative social system however democratic the new Constitution might seem to be, and even if the Maoists become an important component of the government. It is sheer illusion to think that a new Nepal can be built without smashing*

the existing state.”

Control of the Army is very crucial at the present juncture of Nepal's history. If it is not freed from the control of the royalists, imperialist stooges, and other reactionary forces and firmly placed under people's control then there is immediate danger of sabotage and counter-revolutionary coup with the active assistance and guidance of imperialists and Indian expansionists. **It is an urgent task before the CPN(M) to organize and consolidate the masses, build a vast people's militia to defend the masses from attacks by the exploiters and oppressors, train up the army with a pro-people democratic orientation, and release the huge, latent potential of the masses which will serve as the driving force for advancing the revolution in Nepal to the next stage.** We earnestly hope that the CPN(Maoist) will fulfill these tasks and continue the class struggle to achieve real liberation of Nepal from imperialism, feudalism, Indian expansionism and advance towards socialism and Communism.

Our Party will wage uncompromising struggle against the machinations and expansionist designs, the intervention and bullying and acts of subversion of the Indian ruling classes in Nepal and assure that we shall stand firmly by the side of the CPN(M) and the people of Nepal in their fight for genuine freedom and independence. In the long run it is only the victory of the revolution in India that can ensure real equality and mutual respect between the two countries. And our Party will step up its efforts to advance the revolution in our country to its ultimate victory.

12

Interview with Comrade Bhaskar, Secretary, Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC) on Balimela Attack on Greyhounds

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 3, 20 July 2008

(This team of correspondents of the Maoist Information Bulletin was lucky enough to be in Andhra-Orissa Border region when the sensational and deadliest ambush on the elite anti-Maoist Greyhounds of Andhra Pradesh took place in the Balimela reservoir on Sileru river close to Chittrakonda in Malkangiri district on June 29. And luckier still were we to get an Interview with the chief Maoist leader of the region within a week after this historic tactical counter-offensive by the PLGA. We are reproducing below the Interview with the Secretary of the AOB SZC, comrade Bhaskar. Little did we realize that his words would be vindicated barely a week after the Interview in the form of another daring ambush on the mine-proof vehicle carrying the Orissa police and personnel of the Special Operations Group, Orissa's counterpart of Greyhounds from neighbouring Andhra Pradesh.

It took us over a week of trekking through the beautiful hill ranges and valleys, rivers and streams, and tiny hamlets of adivasis to reach the pitched tents of the camp of the Maoist leader. With a Company of the PLGA providing us round-the-clock protection there was relatively less tension in the air unlike the situation an year or two earlier. The change in the overall atmosphere, the spirit of the comrades and the people in the villages, was quite perceptible to those of us who had visited the area a couple of months ago.

The two incidents within a month—the daring Gunukuraayi ambush on May 28 and the Balimela attack of June 29—had definite impact on the movements of the Greyhounds and the central forces notwithstanding the non-stop propaganda by the ministers and top-level bureaucrats and police chiefs that massive combing of the forests is going on. In fact, the people who had been rendered passive until a couple of months back due to the continuous attacks by the combined forces of the Centre and the two states of AP and Orissa were overjoyed by the news of the annihilation of 38 Greyhounds by the Maoists. In almost every village we were greeted with overt satisfaction and they served us whatever special delicacies they could afford to celebrate the glorious event. We could perceive the pent-up anger and hatred towards the Greyhounds in the faces of the adivasis everywhere. In a way, we felt, Manmohan Singhs, YS Reddys, Naveen Patnaiks, et al are rendering a service, as Geaorge Bush has been doing, in recruiting cadre for the Maoists through their policy of treating the maoist movement as a Law & Order issue and sending in more forces for suppressing the people. The more atrocities these mercenary forces are committing the more the people are moving towards the Maoists. The Interview was taken in Telugu and we are producing a translation of it below - MIB)

Q: First, we are eagerly looking forward to have a firsthand account of the daring attack by the PLGA on the Greyhounds. How did you manage to deliver such a big blow that had stunned the Government of Andhra Pradesh which had declared just a few days earlier that it is a state free of the “Maoist menace” to use their phrase?

Bhaskar: Firstly, the success of our operation is due to the support from the people and our creative application of guerrilla tactics which envisage that we hit the enemy at his weakest point when it is advantageous to the guerrilla. Here we knew that water route offered us a good opportunity to cause the maximum damage to the enemy. When they are in the river there is no scope for the Greyhounds to resist or get out safely from our ambush. That is our first point in choosing the river for our ambush.

Secondly, we carried out a thoroughgoing study of the methods used

by the AP Greyhounds, Orissa's SOG and the Central para-military forces in their military operations against our forces, the routes they use to enter and retreat from our areas, their camping places, their mode of transport, their communication system, their intelligence network, and so on. Although there is a lot more to study we have enough information and knowledge to undertake actions such as the one you are now referring to. We could also get hold of some police informers and through our interrogation we could secure quite a lot of information concerning the movements of the police, their secret, tight-knit network of agents in the villages.

Then there is a continuous flow of information from our own sources which exist in almost every village. If a stranger entered the area we promptly get information regarding his/her movements with queries as to what should be done with them. Realising the fact that no amount of terror on the people can cut us off from our sources of information, the police too have been trying to maintain their movements in the area under strict secrecy. They have become so paranoid that they detain anyone who comes across them fearing that information would reach the Maoists.

It is based on our intelligence inputs and mass support that we could take up the tactical counteroffensive. The decisive role was played by our heroic PLGA fighters who are seething with hatred and anger against the Greyhounds, the APSIB and other police forces who had let lose a campaign of terror committing murders, rapes and indescribable atrocities on anyone suspected to be sympathetic to the Maoists. Thus when we received information that the Greyhounds batch was returning by motor boat our forces decided to teach them a lesson which they will never forget in their lives. It is the meticulous planning based on information from the people and the brilliant execution by our PLGA's brave warriors that resulted in the grand success of the operation.

As for the claims of the Government of AP that the state has been cleared of Maoists I would only ask: if that is true then why is the government trying to further strengthen the Greyhounds, the SIB and other police forces? YS Reddy, Jana Reddy & Co know very well that Maoists have a strong social base in AP. They had seen the sea of mass support for the Maoists during the period of talks when lakhs of people had gathered for meetings

and demonstrations. Can they really think that all this support and sympathy would have vanished so soon just because they had murdered some Maoists and placed a ban on all open activity of the revolutionaries? They know that their claims are hollow and are only meant for public consumption. They themselves live in constant fear and amidst maximum security. Fear of Maoists turns their dreams into nightmares. This is not an exaggeration and you can see it yourselves from the elaborate security provided for each VIP, the trouble they take for checking every culvert and road for landmines, the incessant checks carried out everywhere.

Q: Were rocket launchers used in the attack in Balimela? And was it a factor for the grave losses suffered by the Greyhounds?

Bhaskar: No. We used rifles and LMGs for attacking the boat. We had the advantage of terrain and we knew the enemy will not be in a position to fire back at us. So we took full advantage of the situation and tried to wipe out as many Greyhounds as possible.

Q: Did you try to take any hostages?

Bhaskar: No. We did not think it was of much use to take hostages at this point of time. And we did not make any plan for it. The sole objective of the attack was to wipe out the enemy forces.

Q: Will there be more such big attacks in the immediate future?

Bhaskar: Why not? If we get a chance we will undertake even bigger attacks with the support and involvement of the masses. In a war, each side will try to wipe out the opponent. And a revolutionary war is a war between the reactionary ruling classes and their hired armed forces on one hand and the vast majority of the oppressed masses led by the Maoists on the other. Hence the enemy will attack not just the revolutionaries but also the masses who support them. This will bring more and more people to the side of revolution opening up immense possibilities for carrying out bigger offensives on the enemy forces. The greater our success in mobilising the masses into the war the greater will be the possibility for undertaking such big counter-offensives.

***Q:** We haven't heard a word of sympathy for the Greyhounds anywhere in the villages we had visited. On the contrary people seemed overjoyed when 38 Greyhounds were wiped out. And there seemed to be hardly any Party or organisation in Andhra Pradesh which had condemned the Maoist attack. Why is there so much hatred against the Greyhounds in AP?*

Bhaskar: This is not at all surprising for those who are aware of the atrocities committed by the Greyhounds against the revolutionaries and people at large in the past two decades. The list of crimes committed by these thugs is too long to mention here. From the day this elite counter-insurgency commando force was set up with the sole goal of suppressing the revolutionary movement, it had began to unleash a reign of terror on the people committing indescribable atrocities. Against all provisions of law they had arrested, tortured and murdered thousands of revolutionaries, democratic-minded citizens and people throughout the state, particularly in North Telangana. Some of these like comrade Ilayya and Rajamallu had just "disappeared" in their hands. They raped women as witnessed in Vakapalli where 11 adivasi women became their victims. they loot at will, kill at will, and burn at will.

The Greyhounds are the epitome of state terrorism. They are state-hired terrorists. They have become an anti-social force answerable to none and are guided by the highest political authority. Whether it is an NTRama Rao, a Janardhan Reddy, a Chandrababu Naidu or a YS Reddy their reactionary counter-revolutionary role is no different. They are akin to the death squads under fascist military juntas of Latin American countries. The young boys who join the Greyhounds become transformed into killing machines devoid of all human feelings, become degraded individuals, become lawless, lumpenised criminals. Moreover, the Greyhounds and SIB officials have a vested interest in carrying out their counter-revolutionary terrorist operations. They get lots of incentives like access to funds found in possession of Maoists or other Party funds that are kept in dumps. The Greyhounds personnel get rewards and promotions whenever they succeed in their murderous operations against top Maoist leaders. That is why people at large nurse intense hatred and anger against these mercenary forces. And

that is why you find so many poor adivasis and other pprssd sections of people celebrating the tactical victory of the Maoists. There are no tears shed for the dead Greyhounds. And none of the democratic organizations and individuals thought it wise to condole the death of the Greyhounds or to condemn the Maoist attack.

Q: But are there not poor dalits and oppressed elements serving in the Greyhounds? Do you consider all of them as your enemies?

Bhaskar: It is true there are young boys hailing from dalit and adivasi background. And there are people belonging to lower classes. But which army of the exploiters in the world consists of the rich and prosperous classes? Everywhere it is the poorer sections of the society who are used as cannon fodder by the exploiters in their war against the people. The moment they are recruited into the Special Forces the greyhounds are trained and motivated in such a way that they forget their class background and only think of how to protect the interests of the propertied classes. They are transformed into killing machines. We have to see the state's armed forces not from the class backgrounds of its members but from the specific role they play as instruments in the hands of the reactionary rulers to suppress and oppress the vast majority of the people and whoever raise voices against their exploitative rule. Only by adopting such a class point of view one can understand why their class backgrounds do not carry any special significance.

However, at one point of time when the revolution goes into a high tide there is bound to be a change in the attitude and role of at least a section of the Greyhounds who hail from the poorest classes. The more the bodybags reach their homes the greater will be the pressure from the parents to leave the dirty mercenary jobs. Moreover, the crisis of the system is so deep that none will be spared from rising prices or displacement from their homes due to the onslaught of the MNCs and comprador business houses. Will not a Greyhound family residing in the bauxite mining area affected by displacement due to Jindal's war on the people? Will they not realize that the struggle waged by the oppressed people is just and legitimate? Some of them will reevaluate their relations with the people and the revolutionaries. They too will rebel and join the side of the revolution. Hence we have been appealing to the young boys and their parents to stop suppressing the people

at the behest of the imperialists and big business houses and to come over to the side of the people. Our propaganda will definitely have an impact on the saner elements even in this counter-revolutionary force.

Q: Outside there is a tendency to write off the Maoist presence in Andhra Pradesh especially after the setback in North Telangana and Nallamala regions. In Orissa too, Naveen Patnaik has been talking of having dealt severe blows to the Maoist movement and causing extensive damage to the Maoists there. Hence the June 29 strike at the Greyhounds, seen as a role model to all anti-Maoist police forces in the country, has come as a big shock to the police and must be a surprise even to the revolutionary well-wishers. How do you explain this sudden change in your striking capacity and the situation as a whole?

Bhaskar: Well, the tendency is generally to write off a movement if there is no big action against the state's forces or political leaders for a while. Just because there is no effective blow from the Maoists the rulers boast that they have finished off the Maoists and the media propagates these stories. And when there is one big action the very same people present a totally different picture. And the media talks of the phenomenal growth of the Maoist movement and the grave threat it posed to the security of the country. We should not merely come to an assessment based on one or two actions but take a more balanced view by considering various factors.

Q: Like?

Bhaskar: Like what is the extent of loss of the revolutionary cadres, the preparedness and consciousness of the masses, the extent of mass base enjoyed by the revolutionaries, the involvement of the masses in the war in one way or the other, the ability of the revolutionaries to withstand the enemy offensive by first preserving the subjective forces, and then taking up counter-offensives, big and small, in a planned manner. We had definitely suffered losses in AP after YS Reddy's government deliberately broke the talks towards the end of 2004 and unleashed a brutal campaign of murder and fascist suppression. In AOB, the losses have been relatively lower but for some period of time our activity was severely constricted due to the

continuous military offensive by the Greyhounds and other police forces.

However, we have to realize one universal truth. Those who fight a revolutionary war learn over time how to confront the tactics of the enemy although one might be confused and confounded in the initial stage. As the enemy unleashes his offensive most aggressively one has to wait and carefully study his tactics and movements, and grasp his weaknesses so as to deal effective blows instead of rushing headlong against the enemy. When a new offensive is unleashed by the enemy he is likely to have an edge over the revolutionaries in the beginning due to the extensive preparations made and the changes in the methods adopted. But this is only temporary. Very soon revolutionaries will be able to grasp and counter the new tactics, plans and methods used through diligent study. An unfavourable situation can and must be transformed into a favourable one through such conscious study, preservation and accumulation of forces, and drawing up correct counter-tactics to defeat enemy's tactics.

In fact, such has been the case not only in every revolutionary war but also in wars of national liberation. For instance, in Iraq and Afghanistan the enemy tried to break the morale of the fighters and people by deploying an overwhelming force armed to the teeth with deadliest weapons, unleashing terror campaigns of mass murder and bombings, mass rapes of women, cutting off essential supplies, and so on. Moreover, a heinous psychological war was unleashed by spreading lies and slander against the national liberation fighters. But what has been the result after years of such brutal offensive is now before everyone's eyes.

In the beginning the people's forces are overwhelmed, they were dispersed, disorganized, had no supplies, and had to lie low. But over time they studied the enemy, his methods and modus operandi, they got reorganised, evolved new tactics to counter the enemy offensive and dealt crushing blows to the biggest gendarme of the world. A ragtag group of fighters have now once again taken control of vast areas of Afghanistan and Iraq. Initial victories or gains for the enemy create much hype but the revolutionaries and national liberation fighters will ultimately win as they are fighting a just cause.

In AP, it is true that we had suffered severe losses. But we are learning

from our mistakes and hence we are confident that we shall definitely bring about a change in the balance of forces in course of time.

In Orissa we never suffered any setback unlike in AP. Our strength has been growing due to our grass-roots work among the masses. I do not know what extensive damage Patnaik has been referring to. His statements should be seen as morale-boosting exercises which is necessary if he has to motivate his forces which had taken a severe beating in our hands since long. In fact, almost all the counter-offensives we had carried out in Orissa in recent times have been a complete success. Koraput, R Udayagiri and Nayagarh multiple raids are glaring instances reflecting the upper-hand of our forces and the weakness of the enemy forces in Orissa.

We are getting more and more support from the masses who invite us to their villages to help them fight the feudal forces, big industrial houses, cruel usurers, unscrupulous traders, big contractors, forest and government officials, and other exploiters. We will definitely go to these vast masses of people and rouse them against the various forms of injustice and oppression. They will join the PLGA in greater numbers precisely because they need revolution and an army capable of defending their rights and interests. We will continue to develop our forces further by using the favourable situation and the pent-up anger, frustration and class hatred of the masses against the marauders.

The people of Orissa are very militant as one can witness in Kalinga Nagar for instance. The reactionary rulers can only think of unleashing the most savage repression and terror upon the people suppressing every legitimate struggle and activity. They had set up special forces and deployed several battalions of CRPF to carry out this bloody suppression campaign against the revolutionaries and struggling people. Hence the war will only get more intense and more and more people will rise up in arms against this unjust system. Naveen Patnaik's brawl can be taken as the brawl of politicians who go on saying that they would win a certain election if when they know that they would forfeit their deposits.

Q: How did you get exact information regarding the movements of the Greyhounds even though you have poor communications and restrained by the enemy's continuous combing operations?

Bhaskar: We did have difficulties in the beginning when the enemy began his brutal offensive. During every offensive people get terrorized initially and our sources dwindle to an extent. But as our chief activity is to organize the masses gradually we bring them out of their temporary passivity and involve them in war directly or indirectly. The deeper and more extensive our mass base the more intelligence inputs we receive on a continuous basis from the people. People are our eyes and ears.

Today every movement of the enemy is monitored by people without rousing enemy's suspicion. We have a vast network of people who supply information about the movements of the enemy forces. Hence the enemy is taking precautions to move during night without being watched by the people. But this is not possible always. And when our militia members are active in the village they will find the means to keep a watch on all possible routes being used by the enemy. It is quite risky as slight suspicion can lead to loss of life. Now we are confident that even in the midst of more severe repression we can gather information about the movements of the enemy by basing on the masses.

Q: *But everyone—whether it is YS Reddy, Naveen Patnaik, Raman Singh or Shivraj Patil, not to speak of the top police brass—has been saying that Maoists do not have any support among the masses and that they thrive on mere extortion and threats. What do you have to say about that?*

Bhaskar: I would prefer to ignore the continuous slander carried out by these brigands. They very well know that they are uttering total lies and that Maoists have a deep base among the masses. And that precisely because of this all their attempts to subdue the Maoists are coming to nought. Some of them are compelled to admit this fact and demand more funds from the Centre for carrying out reforms so as to wean away the masses from Maoist fold. Even those who do not want to admit the fact of mass support for the Maoists say that some reforms are necessary along with brutal suppression.

The fact is, it is the police, para-military and other special forces engaged by the enemy that do not have any support among the people. Rather, they are hated by people. They are seen as enemies by people at large. Hence

the police and central forces have to live a life of isolation and constant fear. What relation can these mercenary forces have with the people except one of oppression and exploitation? What interest they will have in serving the people? They are sent to villages to suppress the Maoists and anyone extending support to the Maoists. Then it is not surprising that they eye everyone with suspicion as the Maoists live among the masses. Hence they get totally isolated from the people. It is only a handful of degenerate, evil and corrupt elements in the villages who support them while over 90 % of the people sympathise and support revolution. All our forces rely on the masses for almost all our daily needs. They affectionately offer us food even when they themselves do not have anything. They want us to always stay with them for they know that without the people's army they will have nothing, that landlords, moneylenders, big contractors and forest and government officials would return and exploit them as in earlier times. This is the ground reality whatever the rulers might say.

And what do they mean by extortion? It is the various parliamentary parties, particularly those who are in seats of power, who extort funds from the people in various ways. In the name of development, they float various social welfare schemes and pocket a large chunk of the funds allotted. They loot people's wealth, suck their blood like leeches, set up private gangs for squeezing the people. Name any Minister or legislator and you are sure to find him/her having close nexus with land mafia. These Ministers, legislators, bureaucrats and top police officials are the biggest extortionists and daylight robbers.

Q: What would you say to the proposal for talks by the governments of AP and Orissa?

Bhaskar: This issue has already been dealt with in the statements and Interviews by our Party's leaders. We reject outright the farce of talks by YS Reddy and Naveen Patnaik. We will not commit the mistake of falling into their trap. Their proposal for talks is a part of the LIC strategy guided by the imperialists to weaken the revolutionary movement. It is also a ploy to gain time for making greater preparations to suppress our party and the people's war. After receiving blows every regime, even the most fascist

one, tries to divert the fighting people and gain time for preparations to come down with more savage repression.

Q: Finally what is your message to the people?

Bhaskar: Firstly, on behalf of the entire Party, I convey my revolutionary greetings to all the people who have contributed to the tactical victory against the Greyhounds. We look forward to more active participation of the people in our revolutionary people's war to change the existing exploitative order. Our message to the people of AOB and the entire country is: All reactionaries are paper tigers. No force on earth can defeat or subdue people's aspirations and struggle. As the tactical victory of the PLGA led by the CPI(Maoist) has demonstrated, armed masses can deliver severe blows to the superior enemy force with proper planning and bold execution. More and more people should come forward to join the PLGA to transform it into PLA and deal greater blows against Greyhounds and other reactionary forces who suppress the people to serve the interests of the exploiting classes. Always keep in mind Mao's great words " Dare to struggle, Dare to Win! The whole world is ours!"

13

Interview with Comrade Arvind on Indian Economy

People's Truth, Bulletin No. 2, July 2008

PT: *The GDP is growing at a rate not seen in post 1947 India at 8 to 9%. What then is the problem with this model of growth compared to the earlier period what is referred to as the mixed economy? What is the Maoist view on this?*

Arvind: What they say that the higher the rate of growth rate the higher will be the employment generation in the country. The higher the employment the higher will be the purchasing power and the standard of life of the people. But, the past decade experience itself has shown this to be false. There has been jobless growth and except in the service sector, all spheres have in fact seen an absolute decline in employment. This can be seen in agriculture, manufacturing and even in the employment in the public sector. Not only are employment opportunities declining but also their wages/salaries are being badly hit by extensive contractualisation of labour and also high inflation of necessities. In other words there is a drastic drop in the purchasing power of the masses. The major basis of the present growth rate has come from a gigantic increase in the wealth of the rich and particularly the super-rich, the import-export sector, the financial sector and the so-called ICE (information, communication and entertainment) sector. Today the service sector accounts for 55% of the GDP but only 0.5% of the employment of

20 lakhs. On the other hand agriculture now accounts for not even 20% of the GDP but it has 70% of the employment. Even in the manufacturing sector, employment has dropped by 3% in the last decade. Such warped development is unsustainable. The real benefit from this model has been to create Mukesh Ambani types who is now the richest man in the world, one lakh millionaires and a growing upper class eating off the crumbs of the super-rich. For 90% or more of the population it entails greater and greater poverty.

Q. But then are you saying that the Nehruvian model of the mixed economy, where growth rates were a mere 3-5%, was better than the present, which has been introduced in this era of globalization, liberalization and privatization.?

A. If at all comparisons are to be done what is going on now under the LPG model is outright plunder, loot and robbery, reducing the masses, and particularly the rural population, to a state of destitution never seen before in these six decades of post-1947 rule. The over one-lakh peasants who have committed suicide in the last decade is only the tip of the iceberg. And the situation for the masses is deteriorating by the day. Massive retrenchment is taking place in all PSUs and all jobs are being contracted out. In the earlier model though conditions were very bad, now things are much worse. The point is not which of the two is better, as it is the same people who have adopted both these systems; both were needed for the growth and development of big business at their particular times. Soon after 1947 the Tata, Birla type big business houses themselves promoted the public sector through what was the Bombay Plan (or Tata-Birla Plan) as they needed cheap raw material for their industries and also the development of an infrastructure at public expense. So these big business houses milked the exchequer for funds, depended fully on government banks for their funding (PSU banks held majority shares in their companies), used taxpayers money for infrastructural development and robbed the raw materials cheap (also developed through huge capital expenditure by the government which they were not prepared to put in).

So, one can say the big business houses as also the existing foreign

industries grew with such gigantic doles from the government in the so-called mixed economy. Now once having set up massive empires with government props, these same big business houses are demanding privatization and liberalization without government interference as they now need the freedom to grow at break-neck speed and govt regulations (particularly in the sphere of labour) act as a restriction. Now the LPG policy facilitates maximum growth of their wealth; then, the Nehruvian model helped maximisation of their wealth. It is the so-called Left that has created this misnomer of the socialist (or mixed) model versus the supposed capitalist model. Both are capitalist models demanded by their needs at different times. Also imperialists have played a role in the models chosen. After the Soviet Union degenerated into an imperialist country their influence on the country in the 1970s and early 1980s had a temporary impact on the model of development. But then, this did not reduce British/US investment and also coincided with the needs of big business as outlined in the Bombay Plan.

Q. The country has so far seen only these two models of development. All discussions in the financial and academic spheres only compare one or the other. Now you say that both will not help the country. That is the problem with you Marxists you can never see anything positive in any policy. Everything is negative..... then and also now. Is this not some form of nihilism?

A. However much we may wish good, that will not come unless there are realistic policies to achieve it. What I have said in the last answer is merely portraying the reality. Tell me is the reality any different from what I have said, so that you could accuse me of nihilism etc. But we should not run away from the reality. The fact is that two centuries of colonialism played havoc with the country and destroyed all that was growing. From this state of ruin the country was taken over by the elite but the imperialists merely retreated to the rear and these masters also have been changing. But it is they who have been calling the shots both then and now.

So, the country and its people continue go towards ruination. No doubt the elite have gained then; they gain now on a scale they never dreamed of

before. But we are not talking of their gains; when we say country, we mean the mass of its people. They have always lost out on any new policies which are made by the moneybags, for the moneybags and in their interests. One must understand there are certain laws that govern these systems and they have their internal dynamics; however much we may wish something good mere good intentions cannot achieve those positive results unless the inner dynamics of the system is understood and then changed in a way that can deliver the positive results that we seek. The problem with many an NGO, social worker, liberal, etc they seek change, but do not wish to see how this can be achieved as they do not delve into the laws that govern the system. So they rest content with mere palliatives.

Q. If it is neither of these two models, then what is the solution to the ills of the country?

A. To this Question the answer cannot be given in just a few words as what you are asking is a full-fledged alternative for all the ills of the country. The answer to this would require an entire book and not a few lines as this entails not only the economic welfare of the masses that constitute the country (which ofcourse is the starting point) but also the social, political, cultural, health, etc development of the masses. That would require a very exhaustive answer. Besides, we have no magic wand for all the ills of society. As Marxists we understand the laws that govern society and seek to apply these to our country and the situation prevailing here. With further experience gained through both the practical movement of the day and also the experiences around the world, and taking cognizance of the changes continuously taking place, our knowledge further grows. But, while saying so we must understand that the laws of development of society discovered by Marx and Engels and further developed by Lenin, Stalin and Mao, gives the only scientific basis for understanding society. No, doubt, like in the natural sciences, with the discovery of further laws of understanding society and change, this science too will develop. Anyhow now to come to the point that you have raised.

We will give a very brief picture of the change we envisage. If the economy must grow the starting point must be that there must be extensive industrialization all over the country; not a few pockets of industrialization

in an oasis of backwardness. This is not possible unless the purchasing power of the masses is enhanced and they have the capacity to buy goods that will act as the motor for industrialization. It is the expansion of the home market of the country that has to be the starting point. Once this is achieved other steps follow. But how is this to be done? Today over 70% of the population of our country live in the rural areas in utter backwardness and poverty weighed down by varied forms of feudal, semi-feudal and now 'modern' forms of exploitation and loot. According to a study over 77% of the population live on Rs. 20 per day.

Here, the land Question is central. Coming out of this archaic form of existence, through distributing land on the basis of land to the tillers and then moving on to cooperatives, destroying the moneylender/trader/politician/bureaucrat nexus that robs them in every conceivable way, and extricating the farmer from the more recent trap of the imperialists, etc is the only solution. No half-baked step can help an iota. Once the huge rural population is freed from the chains of backwardness and market fetishism and start bettering their standard of living the demand will develop for goods, leading to industrialization all over the country. The capital for this initial phase of industrialization can come from taking back the wealth looted from the country and people by TNCs, big business houses, bankers, politicians, mafia, et al. The loot has been enormous so there will very little problem as the amounts looted and that have to be taken back are huge.

Q. But what you are suggesting here is a socialist model; that has been a total failure where it was experimented as in Russia and China. Why should it work here?

A. There is no doubt that all the great socialist revolutions that had taken place during the last century had been reversed by the end of the century. That is true. The reasons for the reversals have been studied to some extent; they have to be gone into in much greater depth while building new socialist societies. While that is true it is also true that the serious problems people face have not been solved by capitalism and cannot be solved by capitalism. The reality today proves that. In fact in this stage of imperialism the system is in continuous crises, moving from one crisis to another. And

in this phase of imperialist globalization, the bubble-type economies it is generating due to the necessity of depending excessively on speculative capital (due to a lack of outlet for investment in industry and manufacturing) has made the system even more fragile. In 2000 the IT bubble bust; now the housing bubble has bust in the US, precipitating a worldwide financial meltdown. Besides this, the capitalist/imperialist system results in the massacre of millions through genocides as has happened in Africa and Latin America in the last decades and wars as is happening in Iraq, Afghanistan, etc. Besides, it silently kills lakhs each day through hunger, starvation, disease, etc.

In the coming days, with the economic/financial crisis likely to deepen horrifying conditions can be expected. An attack on Iran is imminent precipitating enormous chaos and suffering worldwide. The holocaust may look mild in comparison. So capitalism does not have any answers for the unbelievable suffering of the people. So, what is the alternative then? Society has not given any other answer besides socialism. All the erstwhile socialist countries took gigantic leaps in their societies and for their people while it lasted. This cannot be denied. That there has been a setback in the socialist experiments will help enrich future revolutionws.

Besides, the laws of social development show that the inbuilt causes for the recurring crises of capitalism are insoluble; and that development, if it is to take place can only take place in the direction of socialism. So, however painful the path, real development of societies is possible only in the direction of socialism. In a country like India which has not even reached real capitalism and is mostly bogged down in extreme backwardness it would first have to go through a democratic revolution to free it from the chains of semi-feudalism and imperialism. That is what the genuine Marxists in the country are attempting.

Q. If yours is just another economic model where is the need for all that violence that is taking place wherever the Maoists are active?

A. What the Maoists say is very clear; i.e. a thorough democratization of the country, its economy, its polity, its culture, and all social relations. Here it necessary means depriving the feudal elements of their power and

land and big business and TNCs of their ill-gotten wealth which has reached vulgar levels of opulence. Quite naturally the gigantic sums extracted by politicians, bureaucrats and all their hangers-on will also be seized. Without this there can be no re-organisation of society on a genuinely democratic basis.

There are unfortunately no short-cuts. Those that have tried like the parliamentary ‘Marxists’ and NGOs (see Narmada Bachao movement) have failed miserably. Because we are principled and uncompromising it is the state that is intolerant of such forces. Why us who question the entire system; they were even unable to tolerate a top RAW official (i.e. someone from their own class) who brought out details of corruption in the top hierarchy. He has been hounded, threatened and is likely to be arrested. So it is the government and their imperialist backers who are not willing to tolerate the slightest opposition to their freedom to loot the people and the country. They first try and buy them through corruption and if that is not possible they come down with a heavy hand. But, unlike others the Maoists do not buckle under and equip themselves to retaliate. They know to what levels of viciousness these reactionaries can go (and have gone) and so prepare for that in advance.

Q. Well now let us come to the present. What do you have to say about the enormous amounts being invested in mining, infrastructure, SEZs etc. Will this not lead to some level of the modernization and industrialization of the country?

A. Yes, lakhs of crores are going into these projects by big business and TNCs. The amounts involved are mind-boggling. Just recently Laxmi Mittal has signed MoUs with the Orissa and Jharkhand governments for 12 million ton per annum steel plants in each of the states involving a huge investment of \$ 10 billion each. All such MoUs give massive tax and other concessions to these giant magnates by the respective governments; though they are never prepared to give a paisa to the starving masses. That is why much secrecy is maintained about the details of these agreements. They are never disclosed publicly, not even to the people who are affected. Parts of Orissa for example, the people have faced starvation deaths for decades, but the

government has done little about it. But to financial magnates like the Mittals who are in no need for concession, due to their vast wealth, are granted every possible gift.

What is the logic of this? It is nothing but the class system that demands this; no doubt the ministers and bureaucrats will get their commission. But that too is part of this system. From the smallest to the biggest deals worldwide are done through giving kickbacks. But with each development project thousands will be kicked off the land, deprived of their only source of livelihood pushing more and more people each day to the brink. All the new projects are with hi-tech machinery so the local people can never have any hope for employment. And the number employed will only be a microscopic fraction of those displaced. This can be seen with all the projects, whether mining, SEZs, dams, infrastructure or urban development. According to reports the SEZs are all set to grab a huge 1,750 sq kms of land displacing 1.14 lakh farming households and 82,000 labouring households; i.e. a minimum population of one million people. Where will all these people go for their livelihood? Today, a huge 1,000 megawatt power plant requires barely 50-100 people to run it. TISCO has nearly halved its staff (from 70,000 to 40,000) but production has been increased five-fold.

Then take the massive retail chains that are coming in. The second biggest employer in the country after agriculture is retailing with 12 million retail shops in the country and 4 crore people dependent on it. At a conservative estimate it is expected that 4 to 6 lakh families will be displaced by these retail chains (EPW; Feb.12 2005). So, what we have as the end result is not 'development' but retrogression with an ever-growing pool of destitute people. Besides giving windfall profits for business, how does it benefit the people of this country. Not only is it destroying the people but also the ecology. This model of development has already destroyed much of our soil (green revolution), forests, water resources and even the health conditions of the country. Yet, it pushes on in the same path at an even faster pace. One can only imagine the havoc it will create with the environment of the country. So, the present model of development is a prescription for disaster. Ofcourse, meanwhile the moneybags will make their pot-full of wealth and stack it safely in foreign safe havens.

Q. But it is said that this development will be much like the industrial revolution which created much deprivation initially but later took the countries on the path of industrialisation. So, if this is so, surely this industrialization will in the long term be good for the country and its development.

A. This is also the argument of the CPM when they came to the defence of their projects after Singur and Nandigram. But it is not the reality. Here the model of development is not like during the industrial revolution. No doubt in both cases the rural base is feudal (or semi-feudal as in India); but during the industrial revolution there was no imperialism (and compradors) to suck away all the surplus and then the level of technology was intrinsic to the level of development of that time and so able to absorb the displaced population. This is not the case here in India. The projects mostly displace people and are not able to create much employment. The few jobs that will get generated are only for the well-educated urban middle class.

So, if we look at it from the long-term it will mean crores thrown out from the land as a result of mining projects, big dams and infrastructural development with no alternative source of employment. In the urban areas the development taking place in the malls, huge retail chains are all set to displace the massive population (second only to agriculture) that survive on small retailing. So, with displacement to take place in crores, with jobs being cut due to extensive contractualisation of labour, and with the agrarian crisis deepening, a nightmarish situation is developing in the country. What is taking place is not development; it is retrogression.

Ofcourse if you look at the situation from the eyes of the power-that-be, India is shining with high GDP growth rates, stock-market booms and private sector profits sky-rocketing. The glossy TV and print media only focuses on this latter aspect of India, pushing the real India into oblivion. That is why middle classes are not realising the gravity of the situation, and are getting carried away by the media propaganda. And the crumbs thrown off the table are lapped up by a section of the middle classes who create public opinion for the present model of development.

Q. If that is the case you should not be opposing the industrialization

but should be demanding jobs for those displaced. Also we see no future on the land as agriculture has become totally unviable. In fact in some places entire villages are asking for projects to buy up their village. In such a situation where agriculture is unviable what is the logic of clinging on to that small plot of land. Surely going for industrialization is the solution, if it can be done in a more humane way?

A. To demand for jobs is one thing; but what we must realize whatever may be the promises of the government in the present model they will not be able to provide locals with jobs. Let alone the rural displaced population, in fact even the next generation of middle classes will not be able to get stable jobs except probably in the police and the army. All PSUs which provided the main source of stable employment are cutting jobs on a huge scale, contracting out all their work; also there is strong pressure from the IMF to do this, in order to cut the fiscal deficit.

So, the present model will not be able to provide the jobs as propagated by the supporters of this model, including the CPM and the particularly vocal West Bengal Chief Minister. According to a study by Team Lease Services (Outlook Apr 9 07) there will be a 15-fold increase in unemployment by 2020. Now come to the Question of the viability of the land. Who has made it unviable? Experiments have shown that even one acre of land, with sufficient water, and a few cattle is sufficient to support a whole family for a year if scientifically used. So, today why is even 5 acres said to be unviable. Reason is due to continuation of semi-feudal backwardness the poor peasant has never been able to come out of the clutches of the landed/moneylender/trader/politician/bureaucrat combine; thereby keeping him in a continuing state of impoverisation.

Then added to this has come the commercialisation of crops to serve imperialist and CBB interests, which initially gave the rich peasant some profit but is now ruining the entire peasantry due to uneven terms of trade (between the output and the cost of inputs), destruction of the soil, lack of irrigation, etc. Finally it has been made unviable due to the hefty drop in investment by the government in agriculture (According to the RBI the Centre's expenditure on agriculture fell by 20% between 1990/91 and 2004/05 and on irrigation and flood-control by 15%). All these three factors have

destroyed the peasantry even further and made agriculture unviable. If one goes away from this model through getting out of the clutches of the semi-feudal looters and the imperialist/CBB dictated market economy, rejuvenate the soil through avoiding chemical fertilisers and pesticides and through scientific methods of watershed management and re-forestation, and through systematic irrigation of the land, the land can not only be made viable, it can produce even a surplus. So in fact the non-viability of the land is part of the overall model of this method of development.

Q. You Marxists always speak of crisis creating a situation for revolution but your crisis never seems to come?

A. Well it did not require a crisis to kill over a lakh farmers by suicide and push crores to the brink; it did not take a crisis to displace millions of people by the warped development policies; it did not require a crisis to reduce the health conditions of the masses to the levels at which has reached today, which is probably today the biggest silent killer; it did not take a crisis to massacre hundreds through state terrorism on revolutionaries, nationalities, muslims, dalits and any struggling people. Even without a crisis all this is happening. You can just visualize what would happen when a crisis strikes.

But, today the international economy is exceedingly fragile as proven by the recent sub-prime crisis in the USA; major banks in the US, Britain, EU, Japan were on the verge of collapse and were only saved by the government pumping in huge funds to bail them out. Even according to the head of the IMF the real impact of the sub-prime crisis will strike in 2008. The war clouds are gathering with increasing threats to Iran. Oil prices have peaked at \$ 92 per barrel and is likely to shoot through the roof in the case of war with Iran. All major economies like those of Europe, Japan are stagnating with unemployment at peak levels. The US has the biggest budget and trade deficits ever and the dollar has dropped to its lowest level ever (1.4 dollars to the euro). There is fervent military exercises as to be seen in the development on the Quadriangle (led by US and comprising Japan, Australia and India) on the one side and the SCO (Russia, China and Central Asian countries) on the other. The writing is on the wall.

Q. What do you have to be say about the current high rate of inflation?

A: The worldwide high rates of inflation are nothing but one more reflection of the growing crisis in the world economy with its reflection in India. The latest figure for India of 11% would actually be around 20% if we take retail prices and prices of basic necessities. It is destroying not only the poor but also the middle classes. The main cause for this is the nature of the crisis-ridden world economy where the TNCs and big business are not willing to cut their super-profits and agri-business is making fortunes. Besides speculation in futures (in basic commodities), hoarding, the skyrocketing prices of oil (now at the unbelievable \$140 per barrel and likely only to go up), the conversion of vast amounts of foodgrains to bio-fuels, etc. are all adding to the price rise. This is bound to go up as the days go by as the economic crisis is only deepening.

Q. So what then is likely to be the immediate future?

A. While big business will continue to make fortunes while more and more people will be pushed to destitution. At the international plane wars and devastation will be the order of the day. Already 7 lakhs have been butchered in Iraq, thousands in Iran, and now an impending attack on Iran. We can expect devastation on a huge scale all over the world and particularly in India where the rulers are bent on tying the country to the apron strings of the most brutal terror in the world — the US. The country and our people face two alternatives — horrors of acute distress on a scale rarely seen before or the agony of revolution. The former gives no hope while the latter gives birth to a new bright future. The pain and agony is that of the birth of a new society born from the womb of the present will usher in a just and equitable order.

14

Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, CPI(Maoist), on Kashmir and Kandhmal

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 4, 10 September 2008

MIB: I would like to ask your opinions on two of the most important developments which took place in our country in the past one month—the massive movement for azadi in Kashmir and the attacks by VHP-Bajrang Dal on the Christian community in Orissa. How do you look at these developments?

Azad: The first, the mass uprising of the Kashmiris, is a significant turning point in the struggle for self-determination of the Kashmiri nation. It is a development that all democratic forces and people of India at large should support unequivocally. And the second development, the savage attacks on the Christian community by the saffron terrorists, should be squarely condemned by one and all. There is urgent need to unite all secular and democratic forces to isolate and fight back this fascist offensive on the religious minorities by the state-backed Hindu fanatic terrorists.

In this context, I would like to first stress the point that the greatest threats to our society and the security of the people of various religious communities are state terror and Hindu fascist terror. These stand as the most important weapons in the hands of the reactionary Indian ruling classes in their war on the people. These two types of terror are so intertwined that most often they become indistinguishable. In Gujarat, for instance, it will

be difficult to say how many had died in direct attacks by Hindu fascist gangs and how many in the violence unleashed by the state against the minority Muslim community. Overall, even where the state had no direct role in the murders and brutal attacks on the people belonging to religious minorities, it played a dubious role by not intervening and acting as a passive bystander when the attacks on helpless people is taking place. Not controlling Hindu fascist mobs and allowing them to kill at will is one form of pro-Hindu partisanship of the Indian state. While both are seen in Kashmir and Orissa, it is state terror which has been claiming the lives of thousands of people in Kashmir while in Orissa, it is Hindu fascist terror backed by the state that had played havoc with the lives of the minority Christian community.

MIB: What is your stand on Kashmir?

Azad: Our Party's stand on Kashmir has always been unambiguous. We stand for self-determination of the Kashmiri nation. Kashmir has been made part of the Indian Union not in accordance with people's wishes but by manipulating and entering into a secret pact with the then Hindu ruler Hari Singh. The accession of Kashmir to India was clearly against the aspirations of the majority of the people. This fact is completely brushed aside, deliberately hushed up, and is being distorted by every parliamentary party as well as the media. It is the duty of the media to place these facts before the people of our country most of whom are not aware of the facts of history. The more the real history is known to the people the greater will be the support for the just struggle of the Kashmiris. Hence political parties, bureaucrats, and so-called intellectuals and a good section of the media have been desperately trying to hush up the tragic story of Kashmir's accession to India which took place against the wishes of the majority. Our Party will always stand by the Kashmiri people's aspirations for independence, freedom and their right to exist as a sovereign nation.

MIB: How do you look at the latest developments in Kashmir in the wake of the Jammu agitation for handing over 100-acre disputed land to the Amarnath Shrine board?

Azad: The Issue of the transfer of the 100 acres of land to the Amarnath Shrine Board is the creation of the ruling classes. It is as much the result of a conspiracy of the Hindu chauvinist forces led by the BJP as the Congress-led UPA government. It has a stunning similarity with the opening up of the Babari Masjid gates by Rajiv Gandhi in 1986 to appease the Hindus and obtain votes. At that time, the sangh parivar led by the BJP utilised the issue to inflame communal passions, whip up Hindu communal frenzy, and finally carry out the destruction of the Babari Masjid itself with the acquiescence of the then Congress government at the Centre headed by an inefficient PVN Rao. What the Congress had aimed to achieve by throwing open the doors of Babari Masjid for the Hindus had come in handy for the Hindu fascist forces. Today the game played by the ruling PDP-Congress coalition government in Kashmir with regard to the transfer of land to the Board and then revoking it had created a situation which the Hindu fascist forces have been trying to utilise to their advantage with an inept Manmohan Singh looking on like a Nero.

The long history of communal harmony between the Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir was shattered by the conspiracy of all these forces, particularly by the Hindu chauvinist organisations. The fact is, from time immemorial, it was the Muslim community of Kashmir that had supervised the Amarnath yatra, made safe arrangements for the pilgrims and there were never any attacks or tensions precisely because the administration in Kashmir had taken the responsibility. Many Hindu pilgrims to Amarnath are virtually carried over the shoulders of Muslim workers. There had never been any ill-feeling or tension between the two communities. It is only after the entry of the Hindu chauvinist parties that the atmosphere is being vitiated and anti-Muslim feelings are roused with the narrow sectarian aim of garnering Hindu votes and suppressing the demand of Kashmiris. Naturally, this had brought such a massive reaction among the Muslims in the Valley that a second intifada (after the first one in 1989) has now erupted.

MIB: *You support the present uprising of the Kashmiris? And what is your stand towards the Hindu agitators in Jammu?*

Azad: We unequivocally support the uprising of the Kashmiris. As far as the opinion of our Party is concerned we believe that a Kashmir independent

of both India and Pakistan will be better for the Kashmiris. Pakistan is as authoritarian and brutal in suppressing the people's just struggles as India. However, it is for the Kashmiris to decide ultimately whether they would stay with Pakistan or remain an independent sovereign nation. The pro-Pakistan sentiment in the Valley is due to the indescribable brutalities perpetrated by the Indian state, the murders, rapes, tortures and other atrocities committed by the Indian Army, half of whose strength is deployed in Kashmir alone, and by the other central forces and the police. The anti-Muslim pogroms organised by the Hindu fascist forces, the passive, and at times, active, participation of the organs of the Indian state in the massacres and persecution of the Muslims, had quite legitimately given rise to the perception among the majority of Muslims that India is a Hindu fascist state. Hence even among those saner elements that condemn the dictatorial rule in Pakistan, there is a feeling that Pakistan is a lesser evil when compared to India ruled by Hindu fascist forces or pro-Hindu forces and a state machinery that is highly communalised and overtly anti-Muslim. The immediate factor that drives the Kashmiris into the lap of Pakistan is the reign of terror let loose by the Indian state on the ordinary Kashmiri who now thinks that getting out of the clutches of the Indian state is of utmost urgency as their very survival is at stake. What happens afterwards has become so immaterial to the Kashmiri precisely because survival in the midst of the brutal attacks by the Indian state has now become the most important thing today. Under India it means certain death. In Pakistan at least there will be no religious persecution—such seems to be the thinking of the majority of the Kashmiris. For the Indian citizens whether Kashmir will be an independent nation or a part of Pakistan should not come in the way of recognising their right to self-determination. The support should be unconditional.

Of course, it is yet another matter to have an opinion on the issue but it cannot be made a condition or imposed on the will of the majority. For instance, our Party itself believes that it would be in the interest of the majority Kashmiris if they chose to become a sovereign nation instead of becoming part of Pakistan. We should certainly strive to convince the masses in Kashmir to the extent possible that they should have an independent Kashmir and not fall prey to the machinations of Pakistan. But we can

never make this a condition for accepting the Kashmiri demand for azadi from India.

MIB: Does it mean CPI(Maoist) will unconditionally accept the demand for azad Kashmir if it came to power?

Azad: Absolutely. Right from the time of formation of CPI(ML) and MCC in 1969 led by comrades CM and KC respectively, both the Parties had stood by the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri nation. The Party's programmes had categorically stated this. As I had stated earlier, we shall certainly try to explain to the forces of freedom that becoming part of Pakistan will not be to the advantage of the ordinary Kashmiri, that Kashmir's wealth will be plundered by the exploitative ruling classes of Pakistan, and that the long-term interests of Kashmir lie in being an independent sovereign nation maintaining good relations with both Pakistan and India. The more democratic the approach of India towards Kashmir the closer will be the Kashmiris to the Indians.

MIB: Some argue that granting independence to Kashmir will give rise to centrifugal tendencies in the country and more states would demand secession.

Azad: This is an argument brought forth by all despotic, authoritarian rulers who are hell-bent on looting and plundering the wealth of Kashmir rather than respect the national aspirations of the Kashmiris. Those who argue this way have either no sense of history or are trying to mislead the people with apparent logic that has no material basis whatsoever. It is a clever ploy to suppress the people's struggle in Kashmir. Even a schoolboy can throw this argument into the dustbin without giving it much thought, so fallacious and irrelevant is the logic behind this argument.

Kashmiris have been demanding secession ever since they were made part of the Indian Union. The Indian rulers had tried to appease them by giving it special status (Kashmir even had a prime minister) under Article 370. Everyone in the world knows that case of Kashmir is different from other states in India barring the nationalities of the North East. The advantage of being in a bigger country is known to all. It is only when it becomes

intolerable to exist in a multi-national state, when the persecution of the nation has gone beyond the limits of human tolerance, only then will any nation think of seceding. In my opinion, there has been a good degree of integration among the various nations in India and pan-India Parties, trade unions, mass organisations etc cutting across national boundaries have become a general feature. Hence the demand for secession from India does not arise so easily from other states barring Kashmir and North East. Yet one cannot rule out the possibility of centrifugal forces arising if the ruling classes of India, in collusion with the imperialists, continue to keep various nations in a state of backwardness and loot their wealth at will. It is only when existence within the framework of the Indian Union becomes unbearable that any other nation will think of following in the foot-steps of Kashmir. Even without the issue of Kashmir such a probability always exists. As long as India remains a prison-house of nations the longing to be free and independent will be alive.

Now the important question is: who is afraid of national self-determination? Who fears if Kashmir gets separated? Why should anyone fear if at all any nation wants to secede from India when it feels it can no more tolerate the oppression and suppression? The common people in our country will never think of keeping any nation forcefully within the Indian Union. They respect the national aspirations of Kashmiris or, for that matter, of any nation, whatever form these aspirations may assume. It is only the exploiters, oppressors, thugs and plunderers ruling the country, and the multinational vultures who seek to keep the entire country under their control, that are scared of the cries of freedom. They are the biggest usurpers of fundamental rights of the people. They know nothing beyond making super-profits even if it means decimating the entire population. This has been the history of every colonial power right from the discovery of America and India. To their minds, people have no role other than serving as slaves and are as easily disposable as animals. Kashmir, in the eyes of these rapacious plunderers, is like a bone of meat. Kashmiri people have no relevance for these marauders. It is the territory and its riches that are to be retained even if it meant turning Kashmir into a graveyard.

MIB: Then can the Kashmiris ever attain their goal of sovereignty?

Azad: There isn't an iota of doubt about that. No nation, however, small and weak it may be, can be suppressed forever by another nation, however strong and powerful. This is a universal truth vindicated by history. British colonialists grabbed our entire country and boasted that the sun will never set in the British empire. But they had to flee seeing the mighty waves of people's struggles. It was only a matter of time. Hitler overran entire Europe and imposed fascist rule. But it did not take long for the subjugated nations to free themselves from the fascist yoke. Kashmir may be run at gun-point and through genocides for some more time. But ultimately the Indian mercenary troops have to turn tail just as they did in Sri Lanka in 1987. The fact is, the more the ruling classes try to keep Kashmir under the Indian Union through brute force, the more will this create centrifugal tendencies elsewhere in the country. With more than half the Indian Army engaged in this war against Kashmiris, the crisis will further deepen in all spheres. Even a mighty superpower such as USSR had to pay a heavy price for its aggression on Afghanistan. The crisis assumed such serious dimension that it could not control the ultimate disintegration of the Union which broke up into several independent republics.

The case of India will be no different. If the rulers, in their insatiable greed, continue to retain Kashmir at gun-point, then it becomes impossible for them to address the burning issues of the people everywhere leading to volcanic eruptions of people's struggles. The regional imbalances will reach such massive proportions that more and more nations would want to secede from India. Thus not accepting the demand of the Kashmiris will lead to more Kashmiris in other parts of India. And, of course, given such a favourable situation, the revolutionary war too will advance by leaps and bounds and achieve victory even faster by forging a revolutionary united front with the various struggling nations in the country.

To think that a nation could be subdued and suppressed forever means living in a fool's paradise. No nation will allow such a thing to happen. Today the peaceful struggle of the Kashmiris is sought to be suppressed by imposing curfews, and shoot-at-sight orders. The massive outpouring of the Kashmiri youth, women and old men onto the streets of various cities and villages has shattered the lies and myths propagated by the media that it is only a handful of terrorists who have been raising the issue of secession

and that they have no support of Kashmiri people. The massive turn-out of people had unnerved the rulers. While they can kill a few innocent youth and say they had eliminated a terrorist plot they do not know how to control such a mass uprising. Hence the only thing they could think of is to impose curfew even if it meant hunger, starvation and deaths due to lack of medicine. But the people have begun to endure even these hardships. The people of Kashmir had seen their beautiful valley being raped and robbed by the Indian ruling class thugs. They had seen an entire generation of their youth being decimated by the Indian armed forces; their mothers and sisters raped; houses and property destroyed. All this, instead of cowering down a nation and subduing the people, had triggered even greater fury and determination to be free from the rule of murderers, rapists and thugs in Delhi whether led by a VP Singh, Vajpayee or Manmohan Singh.

Today the overwhelming majority of the protestors are below 25 years. It shows that the war is going to be even more ferocious and the liberation fighters more determined. The decimation of the older generation has made an indelible mark on the minds of the present generation which is seething with revenge. The massive uprising, when it takes armed form, will succeed in throwing off the yoke of Delhi durbar. That is the significance of the present uprising which I call, the second intifada of Kashmiris. The day is not far off when Kashmir will be a free and sovereign nation. Instead of parting with Kashmir in a friendly way and maintain good relations, the Indian ruling classes, by being adamant and oppressive, will only end up making Kashmir its permanent enemy.

Kashmir will, in its own way, prove to be India's Vietnam. Indian mercenary troops will get such severe beating in Kashmir that they will have to retreat in the most ignominious way, like the US troops from Vietnam during the 1970s or Russian troops from Afghanistan during the 1980s. The much-trumpeted Indian Army will be weakened in the war on Kashmir. The war on Kashmir will lead to the aggravation of crises and contradictions in all spheres. This will lead to fissures within the hitherto strong Union and more nations would take to the war-path for their self-determination. All this is a likely scenario of the future and not any figment of imagination.

On the attacks on Christian community by Hindu Fascist forces

MIB: Now coming to the developments in Orissa, there has been lot of confusion as to who had carried out the attack on VHP leader Laxmanananda Saraswati at his Jalespeta ashram in Khandamal. Even to this day VHP and sangh parivar are claiming that Christian organisations had executed the attack. What are the facts?

Azad: Laxmanananda Saraswati was the driving force behind the attacks on Christians in December last. He leads the Hindu fascist VHP in Orissa. Last year itself, our Party had planned to eliminate this poisonous weed that is vitiating the peaceful atmosphere in the state. We succeeded in eliminating this venomous snake on August 23rd.

VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal, BJP and others of the saffron brigade have to create an excuse to justify their brutal attacks on Christians and hence had fabricated lies that it was not the Maoists but Christian organisations that were responsible for the killing of Laxmanananda. This they did according to a well-hatched conspiracy. They had even put up posters in our Party's name to the effect that Maoists had not killed the Swamy.

MIB: But some reports in the press say that CPI(Maoist) had sent a letter to VHP and Bajrang Dal leaders stating that its cadres were not involved in the killing of Laxmanananda.....!

Azad: It is an outright lie. It shows to what lengths these Hindu fascists can go in order to unleash communal frenzy and brutal attacks on the religious minorities. Our Party had owned the act of elimination of the satan in the guise of swami on the very day of the incident. One or two papers had reported it but immediately the Hindu fascists tried to divert the issue by placing the blame on the Christian organisations. They put up posters in our Party's name disowning the incident. Then they fabricated the letters. Laxmanananda deserved the punishment and we only regret that we hadn't done it earlier.

The Hindu fascists who share power with Naveen Patnaik's BJD are itching to repeat the Gujarat experiment in Orissa. The difference is, in Orissa they target Christians unlike Muslims in Gujarat. And to do this they

have consciously fabricated the letters and posters. These offspring of racist Hitler will stop at nothing to carry out pogroms against religious minorities in India.

MIB: Why did you decide to kill him? Wouldn't the government and the courts have taken care of the criminal acts of the Swamy?

Azad: If the governments and courts at least stuck to the law enacted by themselves then such incidents would not happen. But the reality is, there is only the law of the jungle in our so-called democracy. The state machinery and the political parties are infested with the worst type of communalists. Under the present semi-colonial semi-feudal set up in India, never will the perpetrators of pogroms and atrocities on religious minorities be punished by the courts. On the contrary, they continue to enjoy power and even punish those who are the victims of communal violence. Witness the plight of Muslims in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, AP, UP, Karnataka virtually everywhere irrespective of whichever party is in power. While the actual perpetrators like Modi hold the reins of power the victims find themselves behind bars or harassed endlessly. In 1984, the worst perpetrators of massacres of innocent Sikhs—Congress leaders like HKL Bhagat—had nothing to fear as they themselves were in power and the courts anyway would never think of punishing Hindus for murdering the Sikhs or people of any other religious minority.

Hence it is the people, and people alone, who can, and should, punish these worst communalised criminals who control the police, courts and entire state machinery. Laxmanananda is a satan in the guise of a swami. Just see how gleefully his hordes of hooligans belonging to the fascist VHP, Bajrang Dal, RSS and such other Hindu fanatical forces had burnt alive Christian missionaries, burnt an orphanage that could have easily burnt alive several innocent children, burnt prayer halls, destroyed houses of Christian population, and even raped Christian women. Such is the real face of these so-called Hindu social and cultural organisations. No civilised society would tolerate the existence of such fanatical forces committing the most savage acts on the people of another religion. The VHP-Bajrang Dal-RSS-Shiv Sena and their chief political representative, BJP, deserve to be

in jails and hard labour. No people's government can allow these fanatical, senseless, sadistic, savage forces to roam freely in society spreading insecurity and fear among the religious minorities. These are poisonous weeds and if these are not destroyed the entire society would become rotten. They are the cancer of our society. These should be isolated from the society at large, eliminated to the extent possible by the people themselves, and subdued by various means. No government can ever think of doing anything against these real criminals. Moreover, it is these very criminals who adorn the seats of power.

MIB: How do you explain the growing number of bomb blasts carried out by terrorist organisations in which hundreds of civilians are being killed? Are not these minority organisations creating a sense of insecurity in every one?

Azad: Firstly, let me make it clear that we do not defend any acts that are aimed at innocent civilians. We condemn such acts whoever might be involved. But here, we should be extra cautious in judging the culprits behind every blast. The situation has come to such a pass that it has become difficult to say whether a blast such as the one in Ahmedabad or Bangalore was the act of a Muslim organisation or a Hindu fascist organisation or RAW at the behest of the Congress government. Anyone of these could have done it with the probability narrowing down more to the Hindu fascist forces. In fact, even a leader of the Congress Party, Digvijay Singh, had expressed doubts about the involvement of BJP in most of the incidents in the past few years. Right from the time of the so-called attack on the Parliament in 2001, the conspiratorial role of the BJP and the various outfits of the fascist sangh parivar is very much evident. Just as the VHP and Bajrang Dal had created an excuse for unleashing attacks on the Christians by forging letters in the name of CPI(Maoist) and putting up posters to deny that Maoists were involved in the elimination of Laxmanananda, several such bomb blasts too were carried out by gangs of RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal so as to unleash attacks on the Muslims as well as to garner more seats in the elections. Like Hitler himself setting fire to the Reichstag and blaming the social democrats in order to clamp down on the latter, the BJP-led sangh parivar too had organised the attack on the Parliament to bring in

POTA and carry on fascist rule in the name of containing Muslim terrorists.

Just as the American citizens were duped by the biggest fraudster their country had ever seen, by spreading the lie that Saddam Hussein had WMD in his possession which posed the gravest threat to the security of the US, the offspring of this fraudster in India—the Advanis, Manmohan Singhs—propagate that Muslim organisations are planning to carry out bomb blasts throughout the country. MK Narayan, the so-called National Security Advisor, claimed that 800 terror modules are presently operating inside the country. But to none of these gentlemen viewing the world through Hindu chauvinist glasses is the glaring evidence of bomb-making by VHP, Bajrang Dal, RSS and other Hindu fanatic organisations visible. MK Narayanan does not even care to consider the damning evidence at least after the death of the VHP, Bajrang Dal activists when making bombs in the house of an RSS worker in Nanded in Maharashtra in 2006, or the death of two Bajrang Dal activists in an explosion while assembling bombs in Kanpur last month. The material left behind by these two Bajrangis is enough to create terror across the country. But these Hindu fanatics and terrorists are never brought to book as the state itself is under their control.

MIB: What do you think is the role of the state and central governments in the attacks against Christian community in the aftermath of the Khandamal incident?

Azad: The Hindu partisanship of the government (both central and state) in the attacks against the religious minorities is once again proved by the brutal incidents in Khandamal and other parts of Orissa. In our country, as I had explained earlier, the state machinery itself has a pro-Hindu character. And, on top of it, where saffron terrorists are in power one can imagine the intensity of persecution of the religious minorities as in the saffron-ruled states like Gujarat, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Orissa. None of the so-called independent judicial enquiries have brought to light the actual condition of the religious minorities and the atrocities, brutal attacks, discrimination and persecution of the people belonging to the religious minorities that go on daily. And even the reports of some Judicial Commissions which had brought at least a few facts to light are gathering dust in the bureaucratic shelves. Why will culprits, who are in power, castigate themselves? The governments,

instead of nabbing the actual perpetrators of communal terror like the Advanis, Modis, Singhals, Togadias, Katiyars, arrest, murder and harass the victims themselves. Innocent Muslims are victimised. Once a lie is fabricated by the police and put out in the media it gets multiplied, magnified and circulated as a proven fact. If there is a bomb blast in a Hindu mandir, blame it on Muslims, If it is in a Muslim masjid, then too blame it on Muslims. You attack a church, burn alive a nun, destroy the property of Christians and no police will dare to lay his hands on you if you are a saffron fanatic. But you retaliate and you will be a terrorist in the lexicon of Manu's offspring ruling our country.

The strong pro-Hindu and anti-minority bias of the Indian state is evident in the open state terrorist attacks against Muslim organisations such as SIMI while not finding anything dangerous in the mayhem and arson created by Hindu fascist VHP, RSS, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena, BJP, etc. The great irony is that none of the charges framed against SIMI or members of SIMI has been proved but the ban continues, anyone associated with SIMI arrested and more cases are filed against innocent members of SIMI. But even with solid evidence captured so prominently by TV cameras, no action is taken against the Hindu fascist hordes.

In such a situation of open support and encouragement given by the Indian state to lumpenised hooligans of these Hindu fanatical organisations, how can the minorities ever feel secure in India? And how can the youth keep quiet when they see their brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers being murdered by Hindu fanatical thugs on the one hand, and hounded, arrested and shot dead by the state on the other? It is the deadly combination of state terror and Hindu fascist terror that had laid the basis for retaliatory acts by Muslim youth. The entire responsibility for the genesis of Muslim terrorist organisations lies with the pro-Hindu partisan attitude and anti-Muslim measures of the Indian state. If the state had tried to control the Hindu fanatics some feeling of security could have developed among the minorities. But when the state itself has become hand in glove with the organised Hindu communal fascists then where will the minorities go but rely on themselves for their own defence? No religious minority would ever think of provoking the majority community unless they themselves are under attack. The rise of the muslim jihadi organisations in India is for the

purpose of self-defence.

When people belonging to religious minorities are attacked the police look the other way if they do not become part of the attackers. And when the victims try to defend themselves or come into the streets to protest, they are fired upon, brutally lathi-charged and pushed into prisons. India today has become a big prison house for the people belonging to religious minorities. This is the stark reality in our so-called biggest democracy and the secular credentials of our so-called Republic.

MIB: How do you see the future of the Christian community in Orissa?

Azad: There will be radicalisation of Christian youth. They will realise that there is no security for their lives and religion under the present pro-Hindu fascist state and society. They have no other alternative than to organise themselves for their defence against the attacks by the saffron terrorists and state terrorism. The children of Manu i.e., the sangh parivar demons who want to enforce Manu's cruel caste system of the Hindu order will not allow religious minorities to rest in peace. They itch to repeat Gujarat in Orissa and elsewhere. Christian community and people of all religious minorities should organise themselves for the defence of their lives and property. All secular and democratic forces should extend all out support to the minorities. The task is even greater on the Hindu majority who should isolate and ostracise the saffron gangsters who are a blot on Hinduism itself.

15

“People’s War has Shattered the Hesitations of the Women of Dandakaranya”

**Interview with Comrade Anuradha (Janaki)
by *Poru Mahila*, the Organ of KAMS**

People’s Truth, Bulletin No. 3, September–December 2008

(Poru Mahila, the organ of the Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan, published an interview of Com. Anuradha, known as Janaki in Dandakaranya, in its March 2001 issue. She had been working in the urban movement and had come to Dandakaranya to observe the adivasi peasant movement and to participate in it. Com. Janaki had led the guerilla squads directly as a divisional committee member of South Bastar from 1997 to 2000. Poru Mahila chatted with her on her experiences in the urban movement and in the adivasi peasant movement. The main features of that conversation is presented here. People’s Truth reproduced that interview in the light of her martyrdom in 2008).

***Poru. Mahila (Po Ma):* Com. Janaki, would you please first explain to us the oppression faced by urban women?**

Janaki: Though all women in India are under feudal, capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal oppression, it is seen in various forms in different areas, the

urban and the rural areas. The working class and middle class women in urban areas have some specific problems.

Firstly, if we look at the problems inside the family, even in urban areas women are oppressed by the feudal culture. Though the oppression of this culture may be less severe, still the majority of the young girls and women do not get the right in their families to take important decisions regarding their lives. The unmarried girls are under pressure to marry men from the same caste and same religion according to the decisions of the family. If a girl decides to marry a man of her choice from another caste or religion she will be subjected to a lot of pressure. She would have to face severe opposition from the family. Even if a woman wants to work outside home she will have to take the permission of her father, brother or husband. People of some castes and religions (for e.g. the Muslims and *Kshatriyas*) do not like their woman to do jobs. So it becomes inevitable for women to fight even for economic independence. In addition, since capitalist values have spread widely man-woman relations have also become commercialized and women are facing severe problems. The dowry and other items which have to be given to the grooms' family before and after marriage has become a big problem for the parents who have given birth to girls. Added to that, it has become common to all communities to harass women for dowry both physically and mentally. When the wife's life can be measured in money and gold killing her for their sake is not far behind. This terrible situation can be found in many households in the urban areas now-a-days. **Especially since the past 25-30 years, maybe India is the only country in the world, where the new crime of burning brides for dowry has come into vogue.**

One thing we have to observe is that a part of women belonging to the working class and the middle classes do not get an opportunity to go out and take up jobs. All their time is spent in house work and working for the family. As a result they depend on others for their living. Socially they depend on their husbands. That's why they don't try to do anything independently. There are so many restrictions on them to venture out or step outside the threshold. And if we look at the women who take care of their children's studies it is almost like a machine. All her work revolves round her husband, the children's studies and sending them to tuitions.

The conditions of the working class in urban areas are pitiable. The main reason is the severity of the problem of not having a place to stay. So the poor are forced to set up house illegally in open places. Many of them build a hut on the sides of the roads, railway tracks and sewers (even on top of sewers). In narrow lanes and the sides of the roads hundreds of families are living by building shacks. There is not even an inch of space to build a bathroom or a place which can be called a verandah. As the towns expand slums keep increasing on the sides of roads, on rocky places and on the small hills inside the town. They do not have toilets or water facilities. Crowded people, polluted environment, and lack of basic amenities – women do their work facing all these problems. Fighting for water is a common sight. In *bastis* like these *goodaism* and their harassment is another problem they face. But above all the biggest problem is the demolition of these *bastis* by the municipal and government authorities on the allegation that they are illegal. Usually it comes upon the women to oppose these demolitions. Because when officers come in the daytime with the police and bull dozers it is usually the women and children who are at home. The urban system in a backward country like India does not recognize the right to have a household as a basic right.

Women in urban areas have many opportunities to step out of home and work. They get jobs in factories, offices, schools, hospitals and shops. But in many jobs they are not paid equally with men. Or the salaries are so low that they cannot run a household with that. Many working class women work in the construction industry under the contractors. Many women work as maids. All these works come under the unorganized sector. These do not have any job guarantee or a guarantee for salary. On top of it they have to face harassment from the contractors and the men under whom they work. This takes place in many forms. Not only the working class women but even educated middle class women are facing such harassment. Women are harassed sexually with such pressurizing tactics as threatening to oust them, not giving them work, transferring them, writing bad remarks in their records etc. Very few women are able to share such things with others.

Now-a-days in big cities electronic industries of the imperialists have come up on a large scale. Girls are employed in many of them. But the

problems of more labour, less salaries and a ban on organizing are present in these industries. So they have to fight even for the basic right of forming unions.

In the past some industries like *beedi* making and *agarbatti* making were thriving in households. Now even many new companies are giving most of the work to do at home. The poor housewives are taking up these jobs thinking they can earn a bit while being at home. There is lot of exploitation in this work. Even if they work all day long with the help of their family members it is difficult for them to earn even 20 rupees. The labour power of poor women is paid very less. They are being exploited a lot is what I want to say.

Lastly, another point is the influence of imperialist culture is very great on the urban women. They are not only influenced by consumerism but are also victims of it. This is increasing day by day. Instead of human values they are giving more importance to beauty and beauty products. As a result there is an environment of insecurity due to atrocities and harassments in the urban areas. The young women are facing a feeling of insecurity to step out of the house. In an urban life women are suffering from many such problems. But there are very few organizations which fight against them at present.

Po.Ma: *Tell us about the various trends in the women's movement.*

Janaki: Around 1980s there was a spontaneous outburst of women's movements in many parts of the country, especially in the cities. This movement was an indication of the increasing democratic consciousness and anti patriarchal consciousness among the women. After the *Naxalbari* movement dealt a severe blow to the semi feudal, semi colonial system in India, there was an outburst of working class and student movements and there was the Emergency and the social, economic and political crises of the ruling classes – the women's movements sprung out of this background. Internationally also there was the influence of the student and women's movements. Mostly the student, middle class and professional women participated actively in these movements. Out of these spontaneous democratic movements many small and big women's organizations also

took birth. But in the past 20 years there have been many changes in the women's movement, their political character and in these organizations. Later the women's liberation movement, dependent on the urban middle class women, split into various political and ideological streams. In the nationality movements, especially in the Kashmiri struggle for their self determination the active participation of women has increased considerably. Women are playing a prominent role in exposing the inhuman atrocities of the police and army. Under the leadership of the Maoist Party the revolutionary women's movement has developed well in the rural areas especially in *Dandakaranya*, *Jharkhand* and *North Telengana*. Even the BJP and RSS have recognized the strength of women and are paying attention to spreading decadent social values and vicious politics among them.

Many women who had spontaneously participated in movements against dowry deaths, *sati* and harassments, drawing the attention of the nation towards such problems, had withdrawn from the movement in later years. But many out of them have gained a name for themselves as researchers and ideologues on women's issues both in India and abroad. Many of them founded voluntary organizations (NGOs). They are getting funds from international agencies for women studies and emancipation of women. But they have a feminist viewpoint and a feminist ideology. Now they have become propagandists for feminism, saying that patriarchy is the main problem for women, and that we have to fight only against patriarchy. But patriarchy has its roots in class society. In all societies it is perpetuated by the exploiting classes, i.e. feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. So fighting patriarchy means fighting against these exploiting classes. But the feminists are against recognizing this. They believe women's conditions in this society can be changed by politically lobbying with the governments and by propaganda alone. In reality this feminist stream today is representing the class outlook and the class interests of the bourgeois and upper middle class women in the country.

The women organizations of revisionist parties like CPI, CPM and Liberation are working actively in some cities. They run movements on social and political issues of women. Along with issues of women's oppression they even take up processions and do *dharnas* on problems like price rise

etc. They are different from the feminist stream, because they don't give importance only to struggles against patriarchy. But they are also completely reformist organizations. Because of their revisionist politics they are not linking the women's liberation with revolution and are working with the belief that by changing governments they will be able to improve their conditions inside this existing social framework itself. For e.g. for the past 2, 3 years they have concentrated all their activities on gaining the right of 33 percent reservation for women in the parliament. Actually the common people have lost confidence on the corrupt parliamentary system long back. It has also been proven that whoever gets elected to the parliament will always serve the exploiting ruling classes and not work for the rights of women or those of poor people.

There are some organizations in the urban areas which are working actively basing themselves on Marxist analysis, seeing the roots for the exploitation and oppression of women in the class society and recognizing the link between women's liberation and social revolution. Since a decade they have been working among the working class, students and employees among women. They are not only taking up movements against women's oppression and other problems but also doing extensive propaganda among women about their rights and about the exploitation and oppression perpetuated on them.

It is an alarming phenomenon for the democratic and revolutionary women's movements that the *Hindutva* forces are also working among women. They are reinstating age old feudal values in the name of opposing western culture. In the name of Hindu traditions and *Bharat Mata* they are diverting the growing consciousness of women. Not only that, they are carrying out vicious propaganda against religious minorities among them. They are even giving them military training in the name of *Nari Shakthi*.

In brief, the women's movement is divided into various ideological streams all over the country. We have to study them and build up a strong women's movement by fighting against the wrong ideological trends in them.

Po.Ma: How much do the outside people know about the revolutionary women's movement? What is its impact?

Janaki: The adivasi women's movement emerging in the *Dandakaranya* since the last decade has a lot of prominence in the history of contemporary women's movement in India. The vigor and initiative of Kashmir women is more than in other parts of the country. Thousands of women are coming into the streets opposing the cruel repression of the army and all kinds of atrocities. After the political activeness of Kashmiri women it is the *Dandakaranya adivasi* peasant women who are playing an active role socially and politically. They are organized on a widescale in large number of villages. They are opposing the age old patriarchal traditions inside the *Gond adivasi* society. They are participating in the armed struggle against the exploiting government and its army and in political campaigns. This is a big victory of the *Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan*.

But it is very sad that very little is available outside about the extent of the KAMS and about its activities. The CPI (ML) (People's War) members and sympathizers in other states know little about it. The party put in some efforts for this. The paper written for the Patna seminar (it was published in Telugu and Hindi), the book on women martyrs and some stories and short stories helped in propagating it. **But information about this revolutionary women's movement is not going out regularly. Even your magazine 'Poru Mahila' is seen outside very rarely. It is necessary to plan its distribution outside the movement areas also.**

Nevertheless whatever little information they maybe getting but those belonging to democratic and revolutionary organizations are very much enthused about it. They are getting influenced by the determination and courage displayed by *adivasi* women. **Widespread propaganda about KAMS and its activities is much needed. Through that we can give a fitting reply to the government's negative propaganda about the approach of revolutionary parties towards the women's question.**

Po.Ma: Tell us about your experience in DK.

Janaki: Before coming to DK I read articles and reports about the women's movement here. But I did not have an assessment that it was so widespread. That's why I was very happy to see the size of this movement. I must tell you something. In the lessons taught about tribal societies in the colleges

they say that the *Gondi* society is very liberal. But after observing the *Muria, Madia and Dorla* people from close quarters I understood how patriarchal the tribal society was too. I understood how important it is to study the problem of women's oppression deeply. Though the participation of *adivasi* peasant women in the production process is widespread, patriarchy has curbed much of their basic rights.

While writing about the women's movement during the war for new democratic society in China Jack Beldon, the American writer and journalist had written, 'The Chinese Communist Party has got the key to the victory of the revolution. They have won over the most oppressed section of the Chinese society'. When I saw the women's movement in DK it were these words of Beldon which came to my mind. **In fact, after the Chinese Revolution it was the revolutionary movement in DK that has proven that where there is a people's war, where there is armed struggle against the feudal, comprador, imperialist system for the victory of New Democratic Revolution, the working class women participate actively on a large scale for the emancipation of the whole society as well as for their own emancipation. People's War had shattered the hesitations of the women. It doubled their strength. It showed the path for the liberation of women.** There is a link between the semi feudal semi colonial society and women's oppression. **It has been proven once again by this victory of the DK party that the Marxist principle that we can carry forward the fight against patriarchy only along with the fight to end this system is correct.**

Wherever the party is working systematically, we can see that the participation of women is more in all political activities and movements. In 1998 due to the severe famine conditions in *South Bastar* many women had migrated to Andhra Pradesh for daily wage work. There were KAMS range committee members too among them. But when we asked them to come for March 8 meetings, in one place 700 and in another 450 had attended. Before that in rallies against famine conditions thousands of them had participated. When I was there, women got recruited into the PGA on a large scale. In some places the recruitment of young women was more than the young men. **The thing which influenced me the most was that the wives of married comrades who were already in the squads are also**

getting recruited. Many of them had given away even their little children to their relatives and are becoming guerilla warriors in the ongoing great People's War for changing this society. And, I have seen many women comrades who stood steadfast with the People's War without looking back even though within a few months their husbands had died in police encounter or in some other accident. By breaking away from the traditional, dreary, narrow confines of the family they like this new life more, though it is full of dangers. In that manner their life and their existence is becoming meaningful. I have seen many comrades taking training and taking up new responsibilities.

Building up KAMS units in every village, election of their committees, election of Range Committees in range conferences, sending the unit members to villages for propaganda campaigns, participation in *bandhs* and other protest activities, giving them military training – all these are victories of this movement. **But what I have observed in my experience is that since the Area Committee members are engaged without respite in various kinds of responsibilities and due to some routine work style KAMS work is being neglected.** We have to think of new methods to involve the elderly women in the villages. Women and their children are facing a number of health problems. By increasing their understanding in these matters and by paying special attention to their welfare we can increase their zest. We have to increase their participation in the village level meetings. Many people call the KAMS as an organization of young women. Widening their narrow knowledge of society is another challenge in front of us.

Likewise there is a need to give special social and political training to women members in the squads and platoons. We have to plan to give them continuous education in scientific knowledge regarding health problems. Though there are discussions on these topics due to lack of time and due to getting immersed in various works they get postponed. We can get rid of their inferiority by giving them scientific knowledge and imbibing wide social thinking among them.

Po.Ma: What is your message to the women working in squads and in KAMS in DK?

Janaki: Our *adivasi* women comrades in DK are building a new history today. Though it is a most backward area of the country it is in the first place in the ongoing women's movement in the country. They are answering the guns of the police in a fitting manner by fighting equally with the men comrades in the armed struggle to free this country from the vicious clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie. In the villages they are standing up for their rights by facing the threats and pressures of village elders. They are weakening patriarchy in *Gondi adivasi* culture.

Though they are opposing such big enemies and forces, the shyness and sense of subordination whose remnants are still present, are also their big enemies which are obstructing their development. Inferiority complex comes out of these. Its roots are very deep. What I want to tell my KAMS colleagues is that they should increase their self confidence. They have to fight against the enemy inside them. In the coming days KAMS will be facing many big challenges. The state repression is already there. Apart from that, the government will try to keep the *adivasi* society and culture in backwardness with the help of village elders and through *adivasi* leaders. It will become necessary for the KAMS to face them politically. **Likewise the KAMS should keep itself ready to put forward its understanding regarding true liberation of women by intervention in the women's movement which is going on in the form of various streams in the country. To face all these challenges our women comrades should attain political and ideological maturity and have self confidence.**

(Translated by Nallamma. All emphasis in the original interview)

16

Interview with Comrade Kosa, Secretary of DKSZC and Member of Central Committee, CPI(Maoist)

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 6, 15 January 2009

MIB: The elections to Chhattisgarh Assembly have been just completed and the Party had given a call for boycott of polls. How did the campaign take place?

Kosa: Our Maoist Party has been taking up the campaign for boycott of elections to assembly and parliament ever since it entered Bastar 25 years ago. This time also we took the campaign throughout the areas of our struggle exposing the futility of elections and the exploitative class nature of the bourgeois-feudal parties. Our campaign received enthusiastic response from the people. Wherever we went people vent their anger and hatred towards the fake elections and spoke of how their lives had worsened during the rule of successive governments whether of the Congress or the BJP. They vowed to teach a lesson to the election parties if they ventured into their villages for electioneering. Lakhs of leaflets were released, posters and banners were put up in thousands of villages. Road blocks were placed on all roads leading to the villages in the interior regions. No election candidate or representative visited the villages in most parts of the six districts where elections were held on November 14. And on the polling day, in spite of the deployment of heavy police and central para-military forces, polling did not take place in at least 14 PS areas.

MIB: Reports say polling percentage had been quite high despite the boycott call. How do you explain the high percentage even in areas said to be under Maoist sway?

Kosa: The so-called high polling percentages is a fiction fabricated by the government and the media. How can there be a high percentage when voters had not even gone to exercise their franchise in hundreds of polling booths in Bastar range? And when even polling personnel and policemen did not reach many polling centres? These facts were even reported in some papers. In many centres the polling personnel and police stayed for just an hour or two and fled with the ballot boxes and later placed votes claiming a high percentage of turn-out in Naxal-dominated areas.

There have been reports in the media of rigging and other electoral malpractices in several villages. Scores of polling officials and police officials were suspended and cases were filed against them. For instance, in Gougunda centre in Konta Assembly constituency polling had to take place thrice due to electoral fraud. The polling personnel did not go to the polling centre on Nov 14. When repolling was done on Nov 24 once again the polling party did not reach the place but they themselves placed votes in the ballot boxes sitting in their vans. Cases were filed against 15 polling personnel and police officials and seven were suspended from their jobs. Finally repolling was again conducted on December 4 under the heaviest security. And even this had turned out to be a damp squib. Out of the 711 registered voters only 10 votes were cast in spite of the presence of over 1000 policemen at the time of repolling and threats and intimidation of voters.

While the extent of rigging could not be gauged or reported in the media on November 14 when polling took place in 39 Assembly constituencies, the news of massive rigging and malpractices began to trickle slowly as complaints were filed by opponents. As of now complaints to the election commission regarding rigging in scores of villages are pending. The extent of rigging could be gauged by the fact that in one polling centre in Maraknaar (K) Ramakrishna Nagar, out of 504 voters, 503 were said to have exercised their franchise! An unheard of miracle in the annals of Indian parliamentary democracy!! Overall, I can certainly say that hardly 5 % of the votes were actually cast in all our areas and the so-called high percentages are only

stage-managed. Moreover, none can imagine that BJP could have won in the areas of strong Maoist presence where the entire masses have been resisting the salwa judum-police atrocities and people would have voluntarily gone to cast their votes.

MIB: Have the political parties conducted election campaign in the Maoist areas? What was the programme of the Party to counter this campaign?

Kosa: I can categorically state that there has been no election campaigning by any parliamentary party in hundreds of villages in the areas of armed struggle and where our people's government exists. Local media continuously reported that there were neither leaflets, posters nor banners in the entire interior regions not to mention direct propaganda by the political parties. The only campaign material the media personnel found in hundreds of villages was that of the Maoists calling for the boycott of elections. Police openly advised the candidates and their representatives not to venture into interior areas and that they will not be able to provide protection for their meetings and visits to the vilages. Even in the roadside villages the campaigning of the parties was on a very low key. And where election meetings were held under heavy police protection people hardly turned up to hear them.

In hundreds of villages people's militia laid roadblocks by felling trees or placing burnt trucks, and the election parties had to return half-way. Masses were mobilized on a large scale to disrupt the fraud of elections. And where the parties managed to hold small meetings people questioned them to openly declare their stand on various issues, particularly on the savage terror unleashed by salwa judum-police-CRPF goons and the violation of the fundamental rights of the people. It is interesting to note the fact that none of the parties spoke against Maoists when they visited the villages and the Congress party did not have anything in its election manifesto on the issue of Naxalism for fear of distancing themselves from the people.

MIB: How many forces, both state and central, were deployed in Chattisgarh, particularly in Bastar range during the election campaign? And what measures were taken up to counter these forces?

Kosa: There has been a massive deployment of police and para-military forces in Bastar range during the elections. In order to stage-manage the elections by terrorizing the people, polling was held in two phases under the shadow of the gun. In addition to the existing 20 battalions in Chattisgarh—most of it in the districts of Dantewada, Bijapur, Narayanpur, Kanker, Bastar and Rajnandgaon—an additional 40 battalions were sent by the Centre. Another battalion of state's elite anti-Naxal special force, the STF, and over 5000 SPOs were deployed during election time. Totally I can say that around 60,000 armed troops were deployed on November 14 to complete this fake democratic exercise.

To counter these forces our Party, PLGA, organs of people's revolutionary power and the oppressed masses at large, were mobilized in big number to take up various kinds of mass resistance. Besides, our Main, Secondary and Base forces of PLGA engaged the police-central forces and salwa judum goondas in battles at several places. On the polling day itself there were 24 incidents of exchange of fire between PLGA forces and the state's armed forces.

A day prior to the polling, roads were dug up and road blocks were placed in most roads in the above-mentioned districts. Masses used several creative methods to resist the police. They used different types of improvised devices and methods to check the police from entering the villages and inflicted considerable damage to the enemy's forces. In one area alone 3,000 improvised devices and booby traps were placed causing serious injuries and some deaths. As a result, the police parties had to retreat winding up their combing operations mid-way. Raids were conducted on polling booths and EVMs were seized in some places. Two helicopters were fired at and in one incident a flight engineer was killed. These daring acts had checked the speedy advance of the police forces and provided some flexibility to the people and the Maoist revolutionaries to carry on the political campaign of boycott fearlessly while keeping the police and para-military at bay.

MIB: *How do you see the results of the elections? Would there be any change in state policy with regard to salwa judum, state terror etc?*

Kosa: The results of the elections do not have any impact on the lives of

the people or in the policies pursued by the ruling classes towards the Naxalites and the brutal atrocities, savage terror unleashed on the masses. To the people in the state whoever wins makes no difference. It is true that some Congress spokespersons had expressed that salwa judKarma, and implemented by BJP's Raman Singh government in Chattisgarh. The ghastly plan of pitting a section of the adivasis against the Maoists is incorporated in the Annual Reports of the Ministry of Home Affairs and hatched in Delhi with the consent of the major parliamentary parties.

And even if the Congress wins and is compelled to disband salwa judum (which has already lost steam in face of Maoist resistance and worldwide condemnation) due to popular pressure it will continue the same brutal reign of terror by deploying a bigger number of central para-military forces. The plan to raise ten battalions of Cobra force is already in the making and two of these are being deployed soon in Chattisgarh.

The experience in Andhra Pradesh shows the fascist nature of the Congress party under a democratic garb. YS Reddy made tall promises to put an end to the fake encounters and repression, claimed that his party considered the Naxal issue as a socio-economic issue and would hold talks with Naxals. But within a year after YSR's Congress came to power, it unleashed the most brutal terror on the Maoists and the revolutionary masses when it saw the growing people's struggles for land, democracy and self-reliance. The performance of the Congress in Chattisgarh will be no different if at all it comes to power, which itself is doubtful given the internal squabbles in the Congress party and massive rigging indulged by the BJP by misusing the state machinery.

MIB: What has been the impact of salwa judum on the Party and people's war? Has it eroded the mass base of the Maoists? How do you sum up the present situation vis-à-vis salwa judum?

Kosa: As a result of the continuous attacks on the villages burning down over 800, murder of over 700 adivasis, destruction of the property and mass rape of women, it is true that some of our mass organizations and local Party units were destroyed. Lives of the people had deteriorated as they lost their homes, crops, lands and almost all their meager property. A

significant section of people had fled to other regions like Andhra Pradesh in order to escape from the brutal attacks by the salwa judum-police forces. And some had been forced to go to the state-run camps managed by the salwa judum gangs.

However, in this context, one can see a vindication of the universal historical truth that repression breeds resistance. People of all ages—from boys and girls in their teens to old men—have taken up arms to defend themselves from the rampaging Judum and khaki hooligans. They formed the Bhoomkal Militia in several villages. Hundreds of youth have joined the PLGA. Due to this massive recruitment the Party has been able to go for higher military formations.

I can say that, overall, people's war has intensified and reached new peak after the reactionary rulers had unleashed the brutal salwa judum campaign and savage state offensive on the Maoist movement. Our mass base has become further consolidated though we lost some villages due to their destruction by salwa judum-police gangs and migration of some sections to other regions and to the state-run refugee camps.

MIB: There has been lot of propaganda in the mainstream media about recruitment of children into the armed squads and war-related activities. What are the facts?

Kosa: This is an outright lie. The fact is, children are forced to move with the squads and militia units due to the fear of massacre by salwa judum goons. They had seen other children's heads being separated from their torsos, their limbs mutilated by Judum goondas and the CRPF in front of their own eyes. Hence everyone in the village—from children to old men—have been compelled to flee to the forest and have been living there since two to three years under the protective umbrella of the armed formations of the PLGA. They carry traditional weapons to defend themselves from police and salwa judum beasts.

The reactionary rulers and the media have been raising a hue and cry that children are being recruited into the armed squads. Nowhere had we recruited anyone under 16 years of age. The minimum age for recruitment into PLGA is 16 years which we decided after taking into consideration the

specific conditions in our areas where children grow up in the midst of war and become mature by that age.

In villages where we are strong we are running schools for the education of children. We formed children's associations through which children are taught collective spirit and social awareness besides imparting physical fitness training and the art of self-defence. None of the children is given arms or involved directly in the war. However, it is also a fact that all adivasis—from children to old men—carry their traditional weapons to defend themselves from wild animals and this has been an age-old tradition. Today, we are encouraging them to use these weapons more effectively.

On the other hand it is the government of Chattisgarh and the police headed by the biggest liar and pseudo-intellectual Vishwa Ranjan that have been recruiting children below 16 years—a good number of the SPOs are aged 14 and 15 years—and using them as cannon fodder in their military offensive against the Maoist movement.

MIB: What are the methods used by the state to suppress the Maoist movement? How do you plan to counter the growing state offensive?

Kosa: The state has launched a multi-pronged attack to suppress the Maoist movement. Of course, brutal suppression by using huge police and central forces is the decisive element in this all-round offensive based on the LIC doctrine developed by American imperialism to crush revolutionary and national liberation movements worldwide.

Attempts are also made to lure away a section of the people from the revolutionary movement by dangling some reforms. However, these attempts had not achieved the desired results as the Maoist Party had initiated revolutionary reforms which are implemented through the janathana sarkar or people's government. A consciousness has developed among the people that they can decide their destiny through their own government. The conspiracy behind the government reforms stands exposed before the people as it also means large-scale influx and exploitation and oppression by government bureaucrats, forest officials and the police. Salwa Judum tried to smash the people's governments and destroy the development that has occurred in the villages through revolutionary reforms.

The state is setting up carpet security system so as to spread its terror network all over the countryside with the aim of establishing control over the entire area and to flush out Maoists from the people. At present police camps are set up at a distance of every 5 km in our areas and it is planning to reduce it to 3 km. Police forces are being trained in jungle warfare at the jungle warfare school in Kanker. Special training in counter-insurgency operations is given by Grey Hounds in Hyderabad. Police intelligence network is being spread to every village and huge sums of money are spent to recruit police agents from lumpen elements from adivasis. Covert agents are introduced into the Party, PLGA and local revolutionary organizations of the masses. On obtaining information anti-Naxal special forces immediately act in coordination and launch attacks on the Maoist squads and camps. Helicopters are increasingly being used to airdrop enemy forces and also to airlift the casualties and injured police personnel. Incentives are given to those posted in the areas of armed struggle. Huge funds are sanctioned for the construction of pucca school buildings so as to serve as camping places for the police and central forces. Wide roads are constructed to facilitate the easy movement of state's armed forces. And all these are done in the name of development to dupe the people.

Our Party has also taken up an all-round counter-offensive to effectively counter the LIC tactics of the enemy. We are arming the masses and setting up higher formations of people's militia to check the enemy at every step. Higher military formations have come into existence in the PLGA so as to destroy or cause maximum possible casualties of the enemy forces through surprise attacks by company and battalion-size formations. Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns (TCOC) are taken up for a time-bound period to achieve the maximum impact. Enemy's carpet security system can be destroyed through a combination of attacks by the Main and Secondary Forces of the PLGA and by constant harassment by the local militia units besides cutting off or disrupting the supplies to enemy forces. Our PLGA has also destroyed the enemy's intelligence network in several villages. Over a hundred police informers were annihilated in the past one year in two districts. Hence the enemy is unable to launch attacks on the Maoists at will as his eyes and ears are cut off in the villages. Some covert agents who were sent by the enemy into the Party, PLGA and revolutionary

organizations of the masses were also caught and punished. In the past one year almost a hundred police and central forces were wiped out in Dandakaranya.

MIB: There are also reports in the media that adivasis who had participated in salwa judum due to coercion and other reasons wish to return to their villages from the government-run camps but are scared that they will be eliminated by Maoist guerrillas if they returned. What is your policy regarding such people?

Kosa: This is again the propaganda of Vishwa Ranjan and his likes. There hasn't been a single instance of our PLGA killing anyone returning to their villages from salwa judum camps. In fact, there are several cases where adivasis are staying in camps but are visiting their villages to tend their fields during the cropping season and for collecting forest produce. After harvesting their crops they return to the camps as they fear that staying permanently in the villages bring reprisals from judum goondas.

We had declared our policy regarding those who return from the salwa judum camps in clear terms. We put up posters, distributed leaflets calling on everyone to return to the village. None is punished just because he/she has stayed in the camps or participated in the attacks along with the judum goons. If they accept their mistake in participating in the attacks and relent they are absorbed into the society. Only those who are serving as agents to the police are punished by PLGA. I will cite one interesting incident which occurred in the village of Akuva. Two villagers from Akuva village came back from the SJ camp in Matwada in Aug 2007 but the people did not trust them as they had participated in SJ campaign. To prove that they were against salwa judum, the two beheaded a notorious leader of SJ, Karrungal, and handed over the head to the people. People accepted them into their midst, but later, SJ goondas attacked the village and murdered these two former camp residents. And Goebels breed in Chattisgarh propagate that they were murdered by Maoists!

Our propaganda campaign and our attitude to those who had returned to their villages has been so effective that today the number of people staying in the camps has come down from almost 70,000 to around 13,000

or so. And most of the camp residents are the families of SPOs and leaders of salwa judum. Naturally, this has upset the plans of the reactionary ruling classes and their khaki mercenary chieftains to set up strategic hamlets and flush out the Maoists. Hence they incessantly carry out disinformation campaign that Maoists have been eliminating salwa judum participants.

17

Interview with Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), on 2009 Lok Sabha Elections

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 7, 15 April 2009

(The Maoist Information Bulletin spoke to comrade Azad, the spokesperson of the central committee, CPI(Maoist), on various topics ranging from the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections in India, the global economic crisis, its impact on India, the G20 Summit, etc. In this issue we are covering that part of the Interview related to the Lok Sabha elections to be held in April-May 2009 - MIB)

On the 2009 Lok Sabha elections in India

MIB: Election-2009 in India has been hailed as the biggest election ever held in the world with almost a billion voters participating. Does the increasing hype over the elections show the growing faith of the people on 'parliamentary democracy'?

Azad: Certainly not. The claim that there has been an increase in the faith of the people on 'parliamentary democracy' is a hollow, concocted and outright false claim. The very fact that every day the media, the central and state governments, and all the contesting ruling class parties are dinning into the ears of the people to exercise their so-called holy vote, shows the desperation of the reactionary ruling classes to refurbish the debilitated image of their so-called parliamentary democracy. Thousands of crores are

being spent on this propaganda alone.

So scared are these bandicoots that they can never imagine allowing the voters the minimum democratic right to reject the parties and candidates contesting the election. They fear that if the option of rejecting the candidates was given, then those who had been hitherto indifferent to the elections—who actually constitute the majority in any election—would perhaps vote against everyone and prove in categorical terms the futility of parliamentary democracy. But even otherwise, if you look beyond the 24-hour non-stop screening of election by hundreds of so-called news channels (I say so-called since hardly any of the news channels provides anything worth calling as real news), and go to the grass-roots level you can see the apathy, disillusionment, even hatred and anger against the parliamentary system and the parliamentary parties. Both have lost their credibility as never before and the more the people lose faith in the parliamentary parties and institutions, the greater is the noise generated by the media and the ruling classes through every means at their disposal calling upon the people to cast their vote.

MIB: Party has given a call to boycott the elections. But on the other hand it seems the interest and involvement of the people in the elections is growing. If this were true, then how do you account for this discrepancy and plan to deal with this?

Azad: As I had explained earlier, there is neither any interest nor involvement of the people in the Parliamentary elections. In fact, even the narrow base of some of the parties had taken further beating this time. Contrary to the images you see on the idiot boxes, the involvement of the people has further declined when compared to earlier election. Hence the desperate attempt by the rulers to rope in film stars, cricketers and popular personalities into publicity campaigns to “educate” the people regarding the virtues of parliamentary democracy, and about the great responsibility of the citizens in casting their votes. To make one believe that the system is really democratic, they call on you not to vote for criminal elements but for those committed to country’s progress, those who are not corrupt, and so on. What is to be done when all the candidates are rogues—which is evident in at least nine out of ten cases—is left unaddressed.

It is, of course, true that some of the candidates and parties are able to draw crowds to some extent. In a country with over a billion population it is not difficult to find a few thousands, and at times a few lakhs, of people to attend meetings and rallies if the sponsors arrange for transport and meals, and pay them some money. Then caste, clan, regional loyalties or admiration for cine stars attract some crowds. One can see how hard the political parties have been working in every state to bring cine actors into electioneering for various parties. The political leaders know that the disenchantment of the masses had grown to such an extent that they cannot even address them without roping in some popular personality. Seeing images of “huge” crowds at the meetings should not make one to hastily conclude that more people have become interested in the fake exercise of elections and that parliamentary democracy has gained some credibility in the eyes of the people. On the contrary, the opposite is actually the truth.

MIB: What do you say of the attempts by the “Left” parties to build a non-BJP, non-Congress secular democratic alternative at the Centre through a Third Front? What would be the impact of such a Third Front on the Indian politics?

Azad: The so-called Third Front that is sought to be forged by the CPI and CPI(M) as a secular, democratic front comprising all the non-Congress, non-BJP forces is actually a congregation of self-seeking discredited opportunists, all of whom had proved themselves to be hypocrites and double-dealers in their respective states. Who needs to be taught about the infamous history of a Chandrababu Naidu, a Jayalalita, a Mayawati, a Deve Gowda, a Naveen Patnaik? These notorious leaders and their parties, who had, at one time or the other, shared power with the Hindu chauvinist BJP, are being given a clean and secular-democratic image by the so-called Left.

Karats, Yechuris and other power brokers of the so-called Left had churned out the slogan of anti-communalism to justify their alignment with the most loyal agent of the imperialists like the Congress Party during the 2004 elections. It was only after almost four years, when the people began to trounce the Congress in the Assembly elections in various states and come out into the streets against the policies of the UPA, that these brokers

“realized” that the Congress was kow-towing to the imperialists! Now, after parting with the Congress, these opportunists see anti-communalism in Parties like the TDP, BSP, AIDMK, JD(S), BJD etc all of which had never really demarcated themselves from communal BJP and have no compunction in striking an alliance with it if it gave them a share in power. For our Marxist theoreticians and ideologues all these forces had suddenly become secular!! And one should not be surprised if they once again become the tail of Congress after the election. The opportunism of the Indian “Left” has no limits.

Just see. They found secularism, anti-imperialism and democratic moorings among parties such as the Telugu Desham, a party which was the first to transform a state in India into a laboratory of the World Bank and responsible for the murder of over two thousand Maoist revolutionaries during its nine-year rule besides the high-level of corruption of the regime led by Chandrababu Naidu. Then there are other opportunist and proven die-hard reactionary parties such as Jayalalitha’s AIADMK that had become infamous for the scale of corruption, abuse of power and fascist suppression of people’s struggles in Tamil Nadu; Naveen Patnaik’s BJD that had sold out the state to the imperialists and had proved itself to be the executioner for the imperialists and the CBB by massacring adivasis in Kaliga Nagar, POSCO, etc., besides protecting the saffron hoodlums as they went about killing, raping and persecuting the Christian minority; Deve Gowda’s JDU which shared power with the BJP and broke with it not because of BJP’s communalism but only when the latter wanted a greater share of power; and then you have a Mayawati who would do anything to grab power whether it be power-sharing with the BJP on rotational basis, or striking an alliance with the Brahmins and subordinating the Dalits to the upper-caste Hindus, besides crushing all opponents ruthlessly.

The attempt to forge together such opportunist, corrupt and notorious anti-people parties into a new front by the so-called Left should not come as a surprise if we keep in mind the fact that the social-fascist CPI(M) has proved itself to be a loyal agent for the imperialists and the CBB which has been proved beyond any doubt in West Bengal under Buddhadeb. It should also not come as a surprise if these opportunists, who masquerade under the garb of “Marxists”, rediscover anti-communalism and secularism in the

Congress (and forgetting for a while that it had surrendered to imperialism), and align with it against the communal BJP after the elections.

As per the impact of the Third Front, it has certainly weakened the two major alliances—the NDA and UPA—and has led to further fragmentation of the Indian polity. Whichever alliance wants to form the government it will have to depend upon and satisfy the demands put forth by the Third Front or whatever is left of it after the elections. Some of the constituents of the Third Front will, of course, jump into the alliance which is most likely to form the next government.

MIB: What are the actual issues confronting India and how do the various Parties address these issues in their manifestos and slogans?

Azad: The issues confronting the people of the country are many: the continuous fleecing of the people and looting of the country's wealth by the imperialists and the comprador big business houses; the ever-increasing imbalances between various classes, sections, states, regions, special social groups, nationalities; the deepening agrarian crisis that is leading to the suicide deaths of thousands of peasants; the industrial closures and lay-offs that are throwing out lakhs of workers onto the streets; wage-cuts and wage freeze, mounting unemployment; spiraling prices of essential commodities irrespective of what the government spokespersons bark day in and day out that inflation has been brought down to the lowest figure; fast-declining industrial growth despite the circus feats of Chidambarams., Manmohan singhs, Pranab Mukherjees to prove the contrary; growing aspirations of the nationalities for their self-determination in various forms such as statehood in Telangana and Gorkhaland, independence or aazadi in Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur; Hindu chauvinism and rabid anti-Muslim, anti-Christian frenzy whipped up by the saffron terrorists who seek to destroy the delicate fabric of our society; corruption that has become the life-blood of every Party; displacement of lakhs of people from their homes and lands in the name of SEZs and so-called development projects; state terrorist and state-sponsored terrorist attacks on the struggling people all over the country, particularly in Chattisgarh, Kashmir, Assam and other parts of North East, and so on.

Thus the issues that confront the people of our country are quite serious and none of the parties has courage to address any of these since a solution to any of these issues would mean cutting the very tree on which one sits. Every party's existence is based on carrying out policies that serve the imperialists, comprador houses, feudal forces, scamsters and real estate mafia gangs. Hence it is unimaginable that these parties would raise people's real issues in a serious manner. Instead they try to utilize the extreme poverty and destitution, unemployment, rising prices of essential commodities, rapidly declining living standards, and the overall insecurity, frustration and helplessness of the people at large to project themselves as saviours by declaring some sops in their manifestos and slogans. These unscrupulous, nefarious and hypocritical gangsters and bandits who rob the poor to fatten themselves put forth populist slogans and try to lure the people by throwing a few crumbs. Just see the competition between the various parties in offering freebies and social welfare schemes to the people during the present elections. If Congress party offered 25 kg of rice or wheat at Rs. 3 a kg per month to families living below poverty line, BJP promised to offer 35 kg rice or wheat every month at Rs. 2/kg. The TDP had gone a step further asking people not to buy colour TV sets as it would distribute one crore sets gratis if it came to power. Praja Rajyam Party assured the people of AP that it would supply cooking gas free and food kits for Rs 100 only.

In the last Assembly election in Chhattisgarh the show of populism by the Congress and BJP is nauseating to the extreme. These two biggest enemies of the country and the most loyal stooges of the imperialists and comprador big business houses had tried to outwit one another in luring the masses with sops. First BJP promised rice at Rs 3 a Kilo. Then Congress came up with Rs 2 a kilo upon which the BJP assured that it would supply rice at only one rupee a kilo along with free supply of salt.

There is no end to such hypocrisy and false promises made by these bandicoots. None of these parties would ever dare to touch upon the real problems and permanent solutions to these problems. Instead they seek to offer some 'first aid' to the sufferers by throwing some crumbs in exchange for unbridled power for five years. The very fact that every Party is compelled to offer such sops that promise to mitigate hunger and meet other basic needs of the masses shows the acuteness of the misery and

poverty of the people notwithstanding the tall talk of glowing India, rapid growth rates in GDP, joining the elite club of the top 20 countries in the world, and such non-stop trash. Their sops point to the condition of real India while the lion's share of the funds go to a tiny fatty layer that floats over the society like a scum. People will not be taken in by these sops but will demand their rightful share in the country's GDP, their right to employment, and right to a dignified life.

MIB: There seems to be relatively a greater impact of the regional parties in the current elections. What do you think is the reason for this phenomenon? Is there any future for the so-called All India parties like the Congress, BJP, CPI, CPI(M) etc?

Azad: I should say the elections this time are the most complex, most crisis-ridden and most fragmented in the annals of the so-called Indian parliamentary democracy. Extreme instability and contradictions plague every party and candidate. No Party or candidate seems to be certain of the electoral outcome, notwithstanding the outwardly confident postures. Hence the parties and candidates are resorting to all sorts of gimmicks to attract the apathetic voter.

The much-discredited so-called All India parties like the Congress, BJP and the "Left" have become thoroughly exposed before the people. All these Parties have in fact been reduced to the status of All India regional parties. And the alliances that they lead also have influence limited to certain regions in the country. The desertion by the "Left", Lalu's RJD, Mulayam's SP, Paswan's LJP, Ramdoss's PMK have left the Congress and its UPA in a pathetic condition. Likewise, BJP and its alliance NDA have lost the support of strong allies like Naveen Patnaik's BJD, Jayalalitha's AIADMK, and several smaller parties. Neither the BJP nor the Congress is in a position to hold their respective alliances together and centrifugal tendencies will continue to weaken these further. None of these is in a position to repeat the slogans they had issued during the 2004 elections.

While the India Shining slogan of the BJP has taken a severe battering in the background of the severest crisis in the Indian economy that has thrown millions of workers onto the streets and peasants to the verge of

suicide, its communal slogans and attacks on the religious minorities have isolated them from the people. On the other hand, the Congress party's common minimum programme has proved to be the biggest and most cruel joke of the decade; their so-called development had led to the displacement of tens of thousands of people across the country from their lands and homes, and the total surrender of the Congress-led UPA to the American imperialists stands thoroughly exposed before the people.

Then there is the hypocrisy of the so-called Left in running with the hare and hunting with the hound. But for its support, Manmohan's comprador clique could not have dared or succeeded in implementing the series of anti-people policies and placing the interests of the country at the feet of the US imperialists. After its opportunistic honeymoon with the UPA it had to distance itself seeing the anger of the people and used the civilian-nuclear deal as a pretext. Its rhetoric against SEZs is seen as a big gimmick after the brutal suppression of the people's struggles in Singur, Nandigram and elsewhere in West Bengal.

The economic crisis and the policies pursued by the UPA as well as by the preceding NDA governments had created a situation of extreme imbalances between various regions, sections, classes, special social groups, and nationalities. Naturally all this has led to a new polarization and realignment of forces in the Indian political scene. The regional aspirations, the anti-Hindutva feelings among the persecuted religious minorities, the feeling of betrayal of their interests by the major political parties which had pervaded the toiling masses, in short, the explosive situation in many parts of the country brought forth due to the severity of the current crisis had discredited the major political parties in the eyes of the people. It is in such a situation when the so-called All India parties had failed to address the issues of the people and have lost credibility in the eyes of the people that regional parties have begun to utilize the situation to increase their seat share.

However, all the parties belonging to the two major alliances and the so-called Third Front, as well as others are consciously evading the real burning issues confronting the country and the people. They are striving by every means to see that economic-social crises, the severe downturn in the

economy, closure of industries, growing retrenchments and lay-offs, agrarian crisis, etc do not become the agenda during the elections.

MIB: How do you intend to take your campaign on the boycott of Lok Sabha and other Assembly elections to the people?

Azad: We had already begun our election boycott campaign after the Election Commission declared the election schedule. Our stand has been made clear to the people through various forms—circulars, press statements, interviews, leaflets, posters, wall writings and so on. Our cultural teams stage performances among the people calling upon them to understand the real essence of the so-called parliamentary democracy and asking them to boycott the elections. We will carry out this propaganda until the end of the last phase of elections. Our campaign during elections is basically a mass political propaganda campaign. This includes questioning the candidates and representatives of the parties, gheraoing them, making them confess their misdeeds before the people.

Then there is active boycott where we prevent the candidates from carrying out their campaigns in the villages and smaller urban centres in our areas. We warn the parties not to venture out into our areas and when they do not heed our warnings, we stop their campaign, beat them up if they are notorious elements, burn their vehicles, conduct people's courts where possible and make the party representatives confess the misdeeds of their respective parties and seek apologies from the people. They are let off after they agree not to come to the villages again and that they will raise the misdeeds of their leaders in their Party fora. We also carry out counter-offensive actions against the police and central forces who are used by the reactionary rulers to enforce elections at gun-point. Basically our active boycott too is a political campaign though we undertake some actions aimed at destroying the enemy forces.

MIB: There is propaganda by some sections of the media including the BBC during the last November elections to Chattisgarh Assembly that Maoists had threatened to chop off the fingers of those who dared to cast their vote in the Maoist strong-hold areas? Is there any plan to forcibly prevent people from going to the polling centres?

Azad: The question of Maoists using force against people to ensure boycott of elections is only the fabrication of the reactionary rulers and the media. You cannot show a single instance where the Maoists had resorted to force on the people for having attended election meetings or having stopped them from casting their votes.

It is the criminal, parasitical, mafia gangs ruling the country who thrive on violence on the masses daily and hourly; they cannot survive a day without resorting to illegal detentions, cruel tortures and brutal murders of those who oppose the system. Terror acts such as chopping off limbs, blinding the eyes, giving electric shocks, and resorting to other third degree methods are the norms practiced by the STF, Grey Hounds, SOG, CRPF, SSB, and other forces deployed in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, AP, Orissa, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu etc. Salwa Judum in Dandakaranya reveals the depths of the cruelty of these mercenary forces.

If the BBC correspondent reported during the election to Chattisgarh state Assembly last November that posters were put up by Maoists warning people their fingers would be chopped off if votes were cast, a special editorial in Dainik Bhaskar went a step ahead alleging that Maoists had chopped off the fingers of several people! It is the reactionary rulers who run the print and electronic media in the country and the versions of the police are given credence at the cost of truth. And BBC is no holy cow; it is the mouth-piece of the imperialists. Its role in spreading stories of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and attempts to manufacture consent for the invasion of Iraq is well-known. It is no surprise that it has tried to mislead the people by spreading canards and lies against the Maoists in Chattisgarh. One more point has to be kept in mind here: it is often the police that put up posters and issue statements and leaflets in the name of the Maoists to discredit us. It is part of the psychological warfare of the enemy on which he spends hundreds of crores of rupees every year. The communal fascists like the BJP-VHP-RSS-Bajrang Dal and other reactionaries too put up such posters in their attempt to build public opinion against the Maoists. Hence the media should go a bit deeper than what appears on the surface.

Maoists never use coercive methods on the people. That is why the toiling, suffering, oppressed masses love the Maoists and are proud of the PLGA.

MIB: *What do you think of Advani's slogan of bringing back black money from foreign banks for investing in India? Is it realizable and would it help the Indian economy in this hour of unprecedented economic crisis?*

Azad: (laughing aloud) This will stand out as the biggest joke of the millennium. Whose black money would Advani bring back from foreign banks? That of the big landlords and big comprador business houses? That of the havala dealers, smugglers and real estate mafia? That of the unscrupulous contractors, traders, money-lenders and hoarders? Would anyone believe that Advani would cut off the tree on which he/she is sitting? And how has Advani discovered, all of a sudden, that lakhs of crores of rupees of unaccounted money is stashed away in foreign banks? Did he not know of the black money when he was the Home Minister and his saffron gang was in power before Manmohan Singh's khaki gang took over? Every rogue begins to indulge in populist rhetoric just before the election. For five long years before the election and, of course, another five years after the election, the issue is pushed into cold storage. This very fact shows the hypocrisy and the ulterior motives of these crooks.

Due to the contradictions within the ruling classes, it is possible that a tiny fraction of the black money belonging to those who are rabidly opposed to the BJP is targeted. We had witnessed this under Hitler. But, overall, black money would grow faster and in greater quantity under fascist regimes, whether saffron fascism of the BJP or the khadi fascism of Congress. Indian people are not fools to be taken in by the rhetoric of Advani. Without black money one cannot even imagine the existence of a BJP, a Congress, a CPI(M), or any other parliamentary party. Black money is the life-blood of the political mainstream of India. They contest elections using black money with the sole goal of multiplying their black money. Over a trillion dollars of black money is said to have been hidden abroad by India's filthy ruling elite who fund and run BJP, Congress and all parliamentary parties as their political representatives.

Why abroad? Black money is flowing right in front our eyes. One ground-level survey in the country would reveal several trillion dollars of black money. Just ask how a political leader, a bureaucrat, a police official

or an encounter specialist, a contractor or a stock broker how he came into possession of several crores of rupees worth of property that is not shown in the income tax. Confiscate such unaccounted property and assets and I am certain there will be no dearth of funds for the reconstruction of the country. A tiny stratum—around five lakhs or at the most three million as some put it—is holding the lifelines of our economy, dominates over our society and controls the state. It is only our Party—the CPI(Maoist)—that is capable of ferreting out this huge, mind-boggling sums of illegal money and restore it to the people to whom it actually belongs. No other Party, by its very class nature and vested class interests, is capable of such a task. In fact, it was precisely when the CPI(Maoist) touched upon the issue of urban land grabbed by the ruling elite of Andhra Pradesh in Hyderabad's posh localities that YSR turned mad, broke off the talks abruptly and unleashed the most cruel attack on the Maoists. Forget bringing back black money from abroad, the rulers would, in fact, go to any extent in protecting their black money even if it meant unleashing the most brutal attacks and massacres.

MIB: What is the impact of the current global economic crisis on the Indian parliamentary elections?

Azad: The current global economic crisis certainly has a deep impact on the Indian economy, society and the political scenario. It has a devastating effect on the Indian economy due to the total dependence on imperialists for exports and imports and license given to the imperialist FIIs to gamble in the Indian stock markets. The attempts of UPA government to resolve the crisis through monetary measures rather than boosting the real economy had led to disastrous results. It has led to a redistribution of wealth from the poor to a handful of wealthy families.

Today, due to the anti-people policies of the reactionary rulers just one lakh families hold assets worth \$ 350 billion (Rs. 17.5 lakh crores) or a little less than half the country's GDP. The combined wealth of 53 billionaires in India amounts to 31 % of the country's GDP. At the same time 83.6 crores of Indian people or 77 % of the population live on less than Rs.20 a day. According to the Global Hunger Index of 2007, India ranks 94 out of 118 countries tailing behind even countries like Pakistan and Ethiopia. All the

so-called rates of growth of GDP and development had only led to trickling down poverty. In spite of such glaring inequalities, the reactionary rulers are continuing their regressive policies of tax breaks and write-offs to the corporate-financial houses while taxing the poor and resorting to cuts in social welfare spending. Overall, the reactionary policies had further accentuated all the contradictions in Indian society.

The current political scenario being witnessed in the 2009 Lok Sabha elections reflects the deepening social contradictions and crisis in the Indian economy and society. India is undoubtedly heading towards a grave social explosion.

MIB: How real is the threat posed by terrorism to the country as alleged by every political party in the country? What do you think will be the role of the anti-terrorism card played up particularly by the two major alliances—UPA and NDA—on the election results?

Azad: The real threat to the stability and integrity of our country, as our Party has been stressing continuously, emanates from the so-called political mainstream, particularly from the two biggest parties—the Congress and the BJP. These are also the most trusted representatives or agents of the imperialists and the comprador big bourgeoisie. It is in their interest to keep the society divided as this would disrupt the class unity among the toiling masses, diverts them from their burning issues and the real path of their liberation, and helps the comprador ruling classes to perpetuate their rule. The very nature of our “parliamentary democracy” and the way elections are conducted, also gives scope for creating further divisions among the people, whip up communal passions, and create a sense of insecurity and helplessness.

Terrorism, and that too terrorism instigated by the foreign hand, is the card used by every reactionary from George Bush down to our local Bajrang Dal or Shiv Sena hoodlum to divide the people and divert them from the real issues confronting the country. A sense of insecurity among the people is very much needed if the reactionary rulers wish to have their way unquestioned. Insecurity grants license to kill, maim, loot and whatever you can. Promoting terror and unleashing a so-called war on terror have

become extremely necessary for the reactionary rulers all over the world. It is the military-industrial complex in the US—Halliburtons, General Dynamics, Lockheed Martin and others—that gained the most from so-called war on terror and had pushed the US into wars of aggression against Afghanistan, Iraq and itching for wars against Iran, North Korea and elsewhere. Hence they would go on pushing the so-called war on terror.

Likewise, in India, the comprador Tatas, Ambanis, Mittals, Ruias, Jindals, etc have much to gain in the ‘war against terror’. Thousands of crores worth deals are involved. The police top brass has a lot to gain by spinning tales of terror. Thousands of crores of rupees are sought by the police department to fight terror. And the police officials can have a field day by pocketing a big chunk of these funds. If there is no terror incident then they create one by placing a crude bomb in a dust-bin or a park or wherever you want, create a furore, get funds sanctioned for eliminating terror, eliminate some innocent people or put them behind bars, claim an astounding victory in the war against terror and get promotions for the bravery of the officers in knocking down the terrorists in “fierce encounters”. And the same cycle goes on and on. Exposures of these despicable acts by the top rogues in the police department, revelations of the hundreds of crores grabbed by ‘encounter specialists’ who had been the blue-eyed boys of the media till yesterday, make little impact. The non-stop visuals in the electronic media (most of it being police versions or concoctions by the saffron or khadi gangs) create an atmosphere favourable to carry on the ‘war against terror’, a sense of urgency to the task, prepare the psychological make-up of the people for further fascisation of the state and curtailing of the rights of citizens, in short, manufacture consent for the unbridled loot by the Indian counterparts of Halliburtons and Lockheeds.

In the current elections both the BJP and the Congress have been trying to compete with one another in creating a terrorist scare and each assuring the people that it alone is capable of controlling the terrorists. But these Parties which actually sponsor terrorism cannot fool the people through their rhetoric. Their rhetoric will not help them gain credibility or have an impact on the electoral outcome. People know the links between the saffron gangs and the blasts at Malegaon, Samjhautha Express and other places. They know how deep the roots of saffron terrorism are in the state apparatus,

especially the Indian Army. It is only by impartial investigation into every anti-people act by the Congress hoodlums and BJP's saffron gangsters, and meting out speedy punishments to these culprits that would contribute to mitigating the acts of counter-terror by the aggrieved religious communities.

MIB: Going by the clean chit recently given by the CBI to Jagadeesh Tytler in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots, is there any hope that the victims of those riots will ever get justice?

Azad: Anyone who knows the class character of the Indian state, its pro-Hindu bias, and the long history of state-sponsored attacks and persecution of religious minorities in the country cannot fail to see how it is next to impossible for the religious minorities in India to secure justice within the framework of the existing socio-political system. Not a single Hindu communalist-chauvinist leader or member of the mainstream political parties involved in instigating, and even leading, attacks on Muslims and Christians, has been punished in the six decades after the transfer of power from the British imperialists to the comprador-feudal classes in India.

None but the investigating agencies have any doubt about the involvement of Sajjan Kumar, HKL Bhagat, Jagadeesh Tytler and other Congress leaders in the massacre of innocent Sikhs in 1984. Likewise, the active involvement and leadership provided by LK Advani, Vajpayee, Murali Manohar Joshi, Ashok Singhal, Praveen Togadia, Vinay Katiyar and other Hindu communal-bigots in demolishing Babari Masjid and setting the entire country into communal conflagration is universally known. So is the role of saffron-clad butcher Narendra Modi who had indulged in ethnic-cleansing of Muslims in Gujarat indisputable. But none of these criminals has been punished and, on the contrary, they have their own commissions which exonerate them of their crimes. Nanavti commission's exonerated Narendra Modi or CBI's clean chit to Tytler show the extent to which the so-called commissions and investigating agencies have become communalized, degenerated and politicized. It is only when they have a political axe to grind that these come out with some names at times. Such is the criminal justice system in India that no victim in general can expect justice and, in case of police killings of religious minorities or state-sponsored murders justice is like an oasis.

It is only the people's courts that can mete out justice to the victims as one can witness in our jan adalats in Dandakaranya. Tytlers and Modis cannot remain unpunished forever despite the protection provided by the pro-Hindu Indian state and clean chit by Hindu chauvinist or mercenary commissions. People will certainly punish them however long it might take.

MIB: Will the CPI(Maoist) and its PLGA too carry out punishments of these communal-fascists?

Azad: Our Party—CPI(Maoist)—is an integral, indivisible part of the people and hence one need only wonder if we do not carry out the decisions of the people and fulfill their aspirations.

MIB: What is the alternative that the Maoists have in mind to the present parliamentary democracy in India? There is increasing noise by the ruling quarters that Maoists are opposed to development and the electoral success of Maoists in Nepal is shown as a model to be emulated in India too.

Azad: The alternative to the so-called parliamentary democracy and the fake elections that are conducted as a ritual every few years is people's democracy where it is the people, and not a few money-bags, who decide the destiny of the country and their own lives. It is the genuine democracy that is seen from the grass-roots level to the top and not vice versa. You can see the grass-roots democracy at work in the vast tracts of Dandakaranya where the Maoists are running a parallel government. There the people are supreme and every decision is made through gram sabhas or assemblies of the people and not by invisible hands. People are encouraged to criticize the Maoists if they commit any mistakes or excesses. Everything is transparent—as clear as daylight—for the people have nothing to hide unlike the traitors and double-dealers in the Parliament and Assemblies whose very existence depends on hiding their every nefarious activity. There criminals like Modis, Advanis, Singhals and Togadias or Tytlers, Sajjan Kumars and HKL Bhagats cannot loiter for years without end only to be finally. On the other hand, such criminals get punishments instantly in people's courts.

These people's courts will, of course, be refined further but the content remains the same—deliverance of real and speedy justice by taking the side of the oppressed and persecuted people. Money power, muscle power and other considerations have absolutely no role to play unlike in the existing judicial system in the country.

MIB: Finally how do you sum up your stand on the parliamentary elections in India?

Azad: Parliamentary elections do not bring any radical change in the unjust, exploitative and oppressive semi-colonial semi-feudal socio-economic system or solve the basic problems of the people. Parliamentary institutions are meant only to protect, serve and further strengthen the status quo. They are mere talking shops and can never adopt policies that would ameliorate the living standards of the people; they are powerless institutions as policies are decided not in parliament and assemblies but by a small coterie in consultation with the representatives of the big feudal landlords, CBB and imperialist agencies. What is worse, even the policies that are passed in the parliament are hardly ever discussed and at times are pushed through in the absence of none-tenths of the strength of the House.

Parliamentary institutions and elections to these institutions, like any other institutions of the state, have a class nature in a class-divided society like India; they can never represent the interests of the vast masses of toiling people but only those of a tiny elite ruling the country in collusion with the imperialists.

Elections are a safety valve that are used as a vent to let out the frustration, anger and hatred of the masses without endangering the interests of the exploiting ruling classes or the unjust system they represent. Elections are meant to create illusions in the minds of the people about an electoral alternative. When one ruling party gets thoroughly exposed for its anti-people policies another equally rapacious party is projected as an alternative and thus people are led astray from seeking the real path of their liberation; their anger is sought to be directed against one party and replace it by another equally anti-people party.

Elections are held to create legitimacy to the exploitative system and

so-called Parliamentary democracy which has lost credibility in the eyes of the people. By imposing the fraud of elections, even the most of notorious criminals, dacoits, corrupt leaders, communal-fascist parties and imperialist stooges (as all parties are) seek to gain legitimacy and wash off their crimes and notorious anti-people misdeeds.

Parliamentary elections held in India are not even based on bourgeois democratic consciousness and values but based on feudal values, ideas, caste-based politics, communal passions, regional sentiments, and money power and muscle power. All these factors basically determine the outcome of the elections though at times negative vote also plays a role in replacing one Party with another. Hence communal flare-ups, caste riots, ethnic riots etc are organized by the parties in order to build up their social base to win the elections.

Elections are the prerogative of the rich, and the poor have absolutely no role to play in contesting the elections; only those who have enormous wealth or are patronized by the wealthy have the opportunity to contest elections. Even among the major political parties it is only the wealthy that can get the tickets as it requires lot of money to bribe the High Command.

Finally, it is not the path of elections but the path of militant revolutionary struggle that can solve the people's problems. The path to the liberation of the people lies in carrying forward the people's war to final victory by overthrowing the feudal and comprador capitalist class and their imperialist masters and establishing people's revolutionary power throughout the country. Needless to say, even if a Maoist party wins the elections in exceptional conditions, as in Nepal, it cannot change the socio-economic system or the class character of the state which can be smashed only through revolutionary means.

Boycott of elections is a democratic right of the masses. Genuine elections can take place only in a new democratic setup which can emerge only after overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and CBB.

17

Interviews with comrade Kishenji on Lalgarh Movement and Other Issues

Times of India, 27 April, 2009

Times of India (TOI): You are one of the most wanted persons of the country. Even Left Front Chairman Biman Bose announced months ago that you have entered Bangal from Jharkhand. What made you come here?

Kishenji: (Smiles) I am not new to this terrain. I first came to Bengal from Dandakaranya in 1995. I have been to the villages in Lalgarh in West Midnapore in 1998. The Bengal-Jharkhand-Orissa (BJO) border zone, as well as North Bengla, has been our priority. North Bengal — which would give us access to the North-east, Bangladesh and Bhutan. But we chose the BJO because that is part of a contiguous forest cover spread over Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. I joined politics in my student days in Karimnagar College, North Telangana, from where I did my graduation in mathematics. Kondapelli Sitaramaiah was our political guru. We took military training from the pro-communist Tamil rebels in 1987. Today our party has an uninterrupted presence in this 800-km corridor up to Bangriposi in Orissa, except of short patch of 30 km.

TOI: West Bengal has been a traditional Left bastion for decades. What made you concentrate on this state?

Kishenji: Bankura, Purulia and West Midnapore are three of the most backward districts of the state. Our organizers have been working in these

areas since long. We have some organizers in Mayurbhanj and East Singhbhum as well. What I find unique in Bengal is the hegemony of political parties. True, there are no big landlords here as there was in Andhra Pradesh. But here political leaders have turned oppressors. Earlier, it was the Congress, and now it is the CPM. Power-hungry CPM leaders – some of them even coming from Dalit or poverty-stricken families – are now disowning their roots. They have become lackeys of the state machinery and are controlling everything from business to social institutions. They are social fascists.

Asim Mondal, who was killed in Bhulabheda, was a CPM leader-cum-timber trader. He used to decide prices of kendu leaf and was also raising a force against us. It's the same with others. The villages and villagers' lives are under their control. We warn them to mend their ways and only after extreme provocation do we pull the trigger. Unfortunately, their daily misdeeds and acts of repression are not reported by the media. It is only when they are killed that the news get highlighted. CPM leaders such as Dipak Sarkar (West Midnapore CPM district secretary), Lakshman Seth, MP from Tamluk and Anuj Pandey, CPM zonal secretary have turned tormentors.

They want to have the area under their control. People are scared of them. Men like these and their henchmen are our targets. Worse, they have lost the political courage to win hearts. Instead, they come with the police and torture the villagers in the dead of the night. They have recently formed a Ganatantra Suraksha Samiti, and police distribute their posters. How else do you expect us to challenge CPM leaders who are armed to the teeth? They are a counter-revolutionary force and have to be politically exposed.

TOI: While creating your bases in these areas, your party had come to the aid of the CPM in 2000 and then went with the Opposition. How do you reconcile this role reversal?

Kishenji: Yes, we joined the CPM ranks to fight the Trinamool-BJP offensive in Keshpur. That was in May 2000, when the Trinamool chief announced that Keshpur would be CPM's graveyard. Armed men were setting the huts of the poor villagers on fire... But the CPM atrocities in Suchpur, Nanoor in Birbhum and Chhoto Angaria and Garbeta in West Midnapore did not lose our sight. We started working among the poor,

voiced against corruption in the panchayats and started mobilizing the poor on social issues. We did not kill any CPM activist till 2001. It was only when CPM came to grips with the situation in 2001 and began targeting our men that we struck back. Finally, when Nandigram villagers rose against the state's land grab move, we took on the CPM's armed brigade. This time, Trinamool supplied us the ammunition. We kept up with the resistance along with Trinamool ranks for months after the Nandigram carnage. During the final assault in November, we ran out of stocks and had to beat a retreat. The CPM men captured 300 of the local militia, and literally treated them as slaves like war prisoners with their hands tied behind.

TOI: Even if one were to accept your logic of summary punishment, how do you justify the killings of low-rung party men who come from the poor families?

Kishenji: In most cases, killings have happened after all means of persuasion and reasoning failed. What may appear to you as a simple low-rung CPM leader is actually his mask that outsiders get to see. But believe me, we check many times in our committees, trying to gauge the people's pulse before taking any such final action. But yes, there have been mistakes. In 20% of the cases, there could have been more persuasive attempts. In 50% cases, we could have campaigned better, politically. The blast that killed the medical team was clearly a mistake. A rectification process is currently on in the party and we hope to emerge as an outfit that takes more judicious decisions.

TOI: What about the landmine blast that targeted the CPM's convoy in November?

Kishenji: Till the Nandigram carnage, Budhadab Bhattacharjee was not on our hit list. The villagers of Nandigram were fighting CPM politically when the massacre was ordered by the CM. That changed everything. Now, he is our target. So are CPM strongman and MP Lakshman Seth, West Midnapore district secretary Dipak Sarkar, zonal party leader Anuj Pandey...

TOI: The Maoists are also seen as anti- industry. The perception about the outfit, particularly in cities, is that it will not allow industrialization.

How can class struggle happen sans the working class?

Kishenji: We are not against industry. But we are opposed to the neo-liberal policies pursued by the Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee government. The neo-liberal bubble has burst. The deviated Marxists (CPM) are only giving lip service to it and at the same time are looking at options to come to post-poll adjustment with the Congress. The CPM government is pursuing the industrial projects dumped by advanced capitalist countries. People all over the world are rising against the most polluting sponge iron units, construction of big dams, chemical hubs that affect the environment. Even the proposed car factory in Singur is to create an assembly line and has low direct employment potential. Tell me, how do these projects help the sons of the soil? These are projects advocated by the IMF and the World Bank and the CPM government is trying to implement them. We will oppose Nayachar because a chemical hub will destroy the livelihood of 2.5 lakh fishermen. No developed country sets up chemical hubs now. Why should we? We will oppose Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee's dream project in Nayachar, the steel project in Salboni. As for Singur, industry will not happen there. The land was forcibly acquired from farmers. We will take over the acquired land, if the locals want it and return it to the tillers. But if the government chooses to usurp the rights of the poor and forest dwellers, we can't but resist the move. We are waiting for the response from the Opposition — Trinamool and Congress. Instead, we want a sustainable development path and inclusive growth trajectory that won't divest the poor from their fruits of labour.

TOI: *But how can you distribute government-acquired land when the law says to the contrary?*

Kishenji: I don't care what the law says. Has the law come of any help in booking the culprits who burnt men alive in Chhoto Angaria? Let law take its course, we will have our own if people want it.

TOI: *There are allegation that you party has been extorting businessmen and salaried persons and terrorizing villagers.*

Kishenji: This is far from truth. Our leaders lead a simple life. On the contrary, we have been resisting efforts by contractors to plunder the forest

wealth. Why should we fleece common people? If we need money, we will seize money from banks and collect the ammo from the state armoury. This is no secret. Our party has a written resolution on this. At times, some of the government officers have tried to lure some of our supporters with contracts. In such cases, we have pointed it out to them in presence of their guardians, who are also our supporters and asked them to fall in line.

Frontline, Volume 26 - Issue 22, Oct 24-Nov 06, 2009

Frontline (FL): Do you think the movement in Lalgarh is the fallout of the Singur and Nandigram movements rather than a heritage of the Naxalbari movement?

Kisjhenji: The movement in Lalgarh is the fallout of the Naxalbari movement, but the movements in Nandigram and Singur also had an impact on the Lalgarh movement and the people of Lalgarh. Such a long and sustained movement on a political issue has never taken place in the history of independent India. The main reason for this is the increase in political awareness among the masses. At the same time, there is, on the one hand, a worldwide economic crisis and, on the other, Indian multinationals seizing the land and property of the common people. These, too, had a role to play in the eruption in Lalgarh.

And of course the Nandigram and Singur agitations, in which we were also present, are certainly big factors. At present, it is not possible to carry out just a peaceful agitation in West Bengal; along with peaceful agitations there must be huge rallies and meetings involving the direct participation of thousands of people.

FL: There is a view that the Lalgarh movement is a spontaneous tribal movement that became so big that the CPI (Maoist) had to get on to it or be left behind. Your comments.

Kisjhenji: It is not as if we started doing our groundwork in the region yesterday; we have been doing our groundwork for a long time. The Maoist

role and leadership in the area has been a continuous process. But, at the same time, the PCPA [People's Committee against Police Atrocities] and the Maoist movement are not the same, and it would be incorrect to say that the people of the region have been influenced only by Maoists; they have been very much influenced by the PCPA, too.

FL: But if there were no arrests following the assassination attempt on Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee on November 2 last year, would you have been able to build such a strong movement?

Kisjhenji: Not something like this. It would have developed in a slow process. But the reaction of the people worked to our advantage – much more than it did in Nandigram or Singur. We didn't have any demand other than that the police apologise to the people, but the State government did not agree to it. We were left with few options.

FL: Did you at any point think that the movement might not need you?

Kisjhenji: Yes, I did. We expected a movement after November 2, but nothing so big. I expected the strength of the movement to be around 50 per cent of what it eventually became. But the movement itself has undergone a qualitative change over the months. Earlier, when the villagers protested, they assembled in large numbers with their traditional bows and arrows. Then the joint forces entered the region and many villagers fled.

Subsequently, they all returned and now they are not fleeing anywhere. They are standing their own ground and collecting weapons to strike back. So tell me, where do you think this spirit to retaliate is coming from? Whom do you think the villagers are supporting now?

FL: In 2007, it was decided that the CPI (Maoist) would broad-base its activities and not focus only on individual killings like the earlier naxalite movement. But Maoist killings are being reported almost every other day. So in what way is it different from the old programme?

Kisjhenji: At that time, annihilation of the class enemy was the only form adopted to bring about the revolution. We have changed that. We say that annihilation is one of the forms. This was not invented by Maoists; we

have seen in history that the masses have always allowed it. To us, annihilation is one aspect of our total movement.

It was not a regular feature earlier as you claim. It became a regular feature only after the joint forces entered the region. If you recollect, before the deployment of Central forces, we held a Jana Adalat [people's court] for 30 CPI(M) people in Madhupur [near Lalgah].

More than 12,000 villagers attended the trial. The public wanted the death sentence for 13 of those under trial. But Bikas [the Maoist commander of operations in Lalgah], after hours of persuasion, finally managed to convince the public that the time was not right to mete out such a punishment. Finally, the public agreed that those 13 people be just made to wear garlands of chappals and apologise. The other killings took place only after continued disregard of repeated warnings that were sent to the victims both by us and by the people of the region.

The victims were not just police informers, they practically marched with the joint forces. It is not that we killed only CPI(M) people, we killed members of the Jharkhand Party, too, for helping the joint forces and for joining the Gana Pratirodh [People's Resistance] Committee; and I would also like to add that there is no difference between the Salwa Judum and the Gana Pratirodh Committee.

We killed the main leaders of the committee. Of the six main leaders of the Gana Pratirodh Committee, three were from the CPI(M) and three from the Jharkhand Party. Here again, we killed them after repeatedly requesting them to desist from forming such a committee. They did not listen to us and we had no other alternative.

The annihilation policy of old and what we do today are not the same. Along with individual assassinations, there are also other forms of actions that we undertake – different kinds of mass movements, social boycotts of culprits, and various developmental works.

In fact, recently, in Shankabanga village [in Purbo Medhinipur], we dug a seven-kilometre canal for irrigation. We have done similar work in many villages.

FL: Tell us something about your plans in West Bengal.

Kisjhenji: Very simply, to establish a liberated area. We decided in 2007 that this [the Jangalmahal] would be a guerilla area. Since then we have progressed a lot, we have already reached out to more than half the population of the region and made it politically aware. I can tell you only so much. Our politburo does not allow us to divulge the tactical aspects of our programmes.

FL: But is there widespread recruitment into your movement from the region?

Kisjhenji: There has to be recruitment, or else how will the movement grow?

FL: There are reports of fresh plans by your party to try and assassinate the Chief Minister, and even storm Writers Buildings. Your comments.

Kisjhenji: The media need sensational news, and the police top brass need to justify their fat salaries. Do I really need to elaborate? As I have repeatedly said, to kill Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee was not my decision. It was the decision of the people of Nandigram, the people of West Bengal, and even sections of the liberal bourgeoisie.

FL: Railway Minister Mamata Banerjee, who earlier extended her support to the PCPA's movement, seems to have distanced herself from it. Your comments.

Kisjhenji: I have been asking Mamata Banerjee for the last three months to make her stand clear. After the general elections her fortune has soared, but what about the fortune of the “Ma, Mati, Manush” [Mamata’s political slogan of Mother, Earth, and People]? Their situation remains the same. What Mamata Banerjee is doing is indulging in opportunistic politics.

FL: With the State and the Centre now planning to launch a much stronger attack, do you not think that your movement, as it stands today will endanger the lives of thousands of innocent and apolitical villagers?

Kisjhenji: The state should think about that. People like Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram and Buddhhababu are responsible for the situation as it stands today. Ultimately, they are the ones responsible for the killings. We still want peace, it is the government that does not.

FL: *So are you willing to sit for dialogue with the government for the sake of peace?*

Kisjhenji: You are probably the 210th person to ask me this question. Chidambaram and Buddhhababu have clearly said there will not be any dialogue; they have already arrayed their forces for war, and still you people from the media keep harping, ‘You will all not survive this’. This is clearly to break the spirit of the common people. I do not understand why you all are continuously asking me this question. It really is not possible for me to provide routine answers to such routine questions. I am standing in a battlefield here.

Tehelka, Vol 6, Issue 46, 21 November 2009

Tehelka: *Tell me about your personal journey. What made you join the CPI(Maoist)?*

Kishenji: I was born in Karimnagar in Andhra Pradesh (AP). In 1973, after a BSc mathematics degree, I moved to Hyderabad in to pursue law. My political journey began with my involvement in the Telangana Sangarsh Samiti, which has been pressing for a separate Telangana state. I was one of the organisers of the Radical Students Union (RSU) in AP. During the Emergency in 1975, I went underground to take part in the revolution. Several things motivated me: Writer Varavara Rao of Revolutionary Writers Association; India’s political atmosphere and the progressive environment in which I grew up. My father was a great democrat and a freedom fighter. He was also vice-president of the state Congress party. We are Brahmins, but our family never believed in caste. When I joined the CPI(ML), my father left the Congress saying two kinds of politics can’t survive under one roof. He believed in socialism, but not in armed struggle. After the Emergency

ended in 1977, I was one of the leaders who developed the revolutionary peasant movement against feudalism in our district... It triggered a statewide peasant uprising.

Tehelka: The Home Minister has agreed to talks with CPI(Maoist) on issues like forest rights, land acquisition and SEZs? Why did you reject his offer? He's only asking you to halt the violence.

Kishenji: We are ready to talk if the government withdraws its forces. Violence is not part of our agenda. Our violence is counter violence. The state forces are attacking our people every day. In the last month in Bastar, the Cobra forces have killed 18 innocent tribals and 12 Maoists. In Chhattisgarh, those who are participating in the development activities led by Jantaana Sarkars are being arrested, tortured and killed. Stop this; the violence will stop. Recently, the Chhattisgarh DGP called the 6,000 Special Police Officers of Salwa Judum a force of pride. New recruitment continues. These people have been raping, murdering and looting tribals for years. Entire villages have been deserted because of the Salwa Judum. The government can say whatever it likes, but we do not believe them...

Tehelka: On what conditions will you de-escalate violence?

Kishenji: The PM should apologise to the tribals and withdraw all the troops deployed in these areas. The troops are not new, we have been facing State terror for the last 20 years. All political prisoners should be released. Take the time you need to withdraw forces, but assure us there won't be police attacks meanwhile. If the government agrees to this, there will be no counter-violence from us. We will continue our movement in the villages like before.

Tehelka: Before it agrees to withdrawing troops, can you give the State assurance you won't attack for one month?

Kishenji: We will think about it. I'll have to speak with my general secretary. But what is the guarantee there won't be any attack from the police in that one month? Let the government make the declaration and start the process of withdrawing. It shouldn't be just a show for the public. Look at what

happened in AP. They began talks and broke it.

Tehelka: *If you really have a pro-people agenda, why insist on keeping arms? Is your goal tribal welfare or political power?*

Kishenji: Political power. Tribal welfare is our priority, but without political power we cannot achieve anything. One cannot sustain power without an army and weapons. The tribals have been exploited and pushed to the most backward extremes because they have no political power. They don't have the right to their own wealth. Yet, our philosophy doesn't insist on arms. We keep arms in a secondary place.

Tehelka: *The government says halt the violence first, you say withdraw the troops first. In this mindless cycle, the tribal people you claim to represent are suffering the most.*

Kishenji: So let's call international mediators then. Whether it's Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal or Maharashtra, we never started the violence. The first attack always came from the government. In Bengal, the CPM cadre won't let any non-CPM person enter villages under their control. Police has been camping in the Lalgargh area since 1998. In such a situation, how can I press for higher potato prices and drinking water? There is no platform for me to do that. When the minimum wages in West Bengal were Rs 85 per day, people were being paid Rs 22. We demanded Rs 25. The Mahabharat began when the Kauravas refused to grant the Pandavas even the five villages they asked for. The State refused our three-rupee hike. We are the Pandavas; they are the Kauravas.

Tehelka: *You say violence is not your agenda, yet you've killed nearly 900 policemen in the past four years. Many of them came from poor tribal families. Even if it is counter violence, how is this furthering a pro-people goal?*

Kishenji: Our battle is not with the police forces, it is with the State. We want to minimise the number of police casualties. In Bengal, many police families actually sympathise with us. There have been 51,000 political murders by the CPM during the last 28 years. Yes, we have killed 52 CPM

men in the last seven months, but only in retaliation to police and CPM brutality.

Tehelka: How is the CPI(Maoist) funded? What about the allegations of extortion?

Kishenji: There are no extortions. We collect taxes from the companies of the big bourgeoisie. We have a half-yearly audit of our accounts. Not a single paisa is wasted by our party. In some states villagers also fund the party by voluntarily donating two days' earnings each year. From two days of bamboo cutting in Gadchiroli people contributed Rs 25 lakh in a year. From tendu leaf collection in Bastar people contributed Rs 35 lakh to the party in one year. Elsewhere, farmers donated 1,000 quintals of paddy to the party.

Tehelka: What development have you brought to Maoist-dominated areas? How has life improved for the tribals of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand?

Kishenji: We've made the people aware of the State's real face, told them how rich people live and what they're deprived of. In many of these areas the tendu leaf rate used to be one rupee for 1,000 leaves. We got it hiked to twenty to twenty-five times of this rate in three districts of Maharashtra, five districts of AP and the entire Bastar region. Bamboo was sold to paper mills at 50 paise per bundle. This rate too has been raised by twenty to twenty-five times. But these victories came after we faced State resistance and brutality. In Gadchiroli alone, they killed 60 people on our side, we killed five of them. The CPI(Maoist) also sends medical help to 1,200 villages in India almost daily. In Bastar, our foot soldiers are proficient doctors, wearing aprons, working as midwives in the jungles. We don't give them arms. We have 50 such mobile health teams and 100 mobile hospitals in Bastar itself. Villagers go to designated people for specific illnesses: for fever go to Issa, for dysentery to Ramu and so on. We give free medicines to doctors for distribution among the people.

Tehelka: If the State sends civil administration to the Naxal belt, will you allow it?

Kishenji: We will welcome it. We want teachers and doctors to come here. The people of Lalgarh have been asking for a hospital for decades. The government did nothing. When they built one themselves, the government turned it into a military camp.

Tehelka: What is your larger long-term vision? Outline three tangible goals.

Kishenji: The first is to gain political power, to establish new democracy and advance to socialism and then communism. After seizing central power, we will make our economy self-sufficient so we don't need loans from imperialists. We are still paying off foreign loans from decades ago. The debt keeps increasing because of the devaluation of our currency. It will never be repaid. This is what the World Bank wants. We need an economy that works on two things — agriculture and industry. First, the tribals want land. Until they own their land, the State will exploit them. The people should be entitled to a percentage of the crop depending on their labour. We are not opposed to industry; how can there be development without it? But we should decide which industries will work for India, not America, not the World Bank. Instead of big dams, big industries, we'll promote small-scale industries, especially those on which agriculture depends. The third goal is to seize all the big companies – from the Tatas to the Ambanis, cancel all the MoU's, declare their wealth as national wealth, and keep the owners in jail. Also, from the grassroots to the highest levels, we will create elected bodies in a democratic way.

Tehelka: But look at the history of communist governments the world over. They became as oppressive as the ones they overthrew. There are ample examples of coercion and absence of dissent in Maoist regimes. How is this in the best interest of the people?

Kishenji: ...We want to have a democratic culture. If there is no democracy, ask the villagers to start another revolution and overthrow us. In an embryonic form, we already have an alternative democratic people's government in Bastar. Through elections, we choose a local government called the revolutionary people's committee. People vote by raising their

hands. There is a chairman, a vice-chairman, and there are departments – education, health, welfare, agriculture, law and order, people’s relations. This system exists in some districts in India at present. The perception that Maoists don’t believe in democracy is wrong. What exists in India today is formal democracy. It’s not real. Whether it’s Mamata Banerjee, or the CPM, or the Congress party, it is all dictatorship. We negotiated the release of 14 adivasi women in Bengal to show the world who the State is keeping in jail; to expose their real face.

Tehelka: If you believe in democracy, why do you shun the democratic process that already exists? The Maoists in Nepal contested elections.

Kishenji: To create a new democratic State, one has to destroy the old one. Nepal’s Maoists have compromised with their enemies. What elections? There are 180 MPs with serious criminal charges. More than 300 MPs are crorepatis. Do you know the US Army is already conducting exercises at a base in Uttar Pradesh? They openly said they can take the Indian Army with them wherever they want. Who allowed them this audacity? Not me. I am opposing them. I am the real desh bhakt (patriot).

Tehelka: What kind of nation do you want India to be? Pick a role model.

Kishenji: Our first role model was Paris. That disintegrated. Then Russia collapsed. That’s when China emerged. But after Mao, that too got defeated. Now, nowhere in the world is the power truly in the hands of the people. Everywhere workers and oppressed masses are fighting for it. So there is no role model at present.

Tehelka: In power, you could be as fallible as the Nepal Maoists or the CPM?

Kishenji: If we change, the people should start another krantikari andolan (revolution) against us. If the ruler — no matter who — becomes exploitative and oppressive, then the people need to stand up to demand their democracy. They should not have blind faith in a Kishenji or a Prachanda. If any neta or party deviates from their own ideology, then end your faith in them and

revolt again. The people should always keep this tradition alive.

Tehelka: Have you ever faced any personal dilemmas? Is violence the only way you can mount pressure on the State?

Kishenji: I believe we are trying to do the right thing. We are waging a just war. Yes, there can be mistakes along the way. Unlike the State, when we make mistakes, we admit it. The beheading of Francis Induwar was a mistake. We apologise for it. In Lalgarh, we are trying different strategies. We have recently made concrete development demands and given the government a November 27 deadline. We've asked for 300 borewells and 50 make-shift hospitals. I have also knocked on the doors of Left Front parties – Forward Bloc, RSP, CPI and even CPM. I have even spoken to some ministers within the Bengal government. I've spoken to the Chief Minister himself...

Tehelka: The CM office has rubbished this.

Kishenji: I have spoken to the CM. I told him to stop State brutality and said we have mailed our development demands. He said he is under pressure from his own party and from Home Minister Chidambaram.

19

Interview with comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI(Maoist)

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 11, 7 October 2009

(We are publishing an Interview with comrade Ganapathi taken by Maoist Information Bulletin on September 10th . The Interview was conducted on issues related to the current developments in India and the world such as the Lalgarh mass uprising, the All India ban on CPI(Maoist) and the state offensive being unleashed by the Centre and state government, current world economic crisis, setback in Sri Lanka, Islamic fundamentalism and so on - MIB)

MIB: Lalgarh uprising has become a new revolutionary spark in West Bengal. Some people have described it as the New Naxalbari. What is the role of your Party in the movement?

Ganapathy (GP): Lalgarh mass uprising has, no doubt, raised new hopes among the oppressed people and the entire revolutionary camp in West Bengal. It has great positive impact not only on the people of West Bengal but also on the people all over the country. It has emerged as a new model of mass movement in the country. We had seen similar type of movements earlier in Manipur directed against Army atrocities and AFSPA, in Kashmir, in Dandakaranya, and to some extent, in Orissa after the Kalinganagar

massacre perpetrated by the Naveen Patnaik government in defence of the interests of the Tatas.

Then there have been mass movements in Singur and Nandigram but in these movements the role of a section of the ruling classes is also significant. These movements were utilised by the ruling class parties for their own electoral interests. But Lalgarh is a more widespread and more sustained mass political movement that has spurned the leadership of all the parliamentary political parties thereby rendering the latter completely irrelevant. The people of Lalgarh had even boycotted the recent Lok Sabha polls thereby unequivocally demonstrating their anger and frustration with all the reactionary ruling class parties. Its clear demarcation from the so-called parliamentary mainstream and its independent character has naturally created little interest among these parties towards the mass movement in Lalgarh. Lalgarh also has some distinctive features such as a high degree of participation of women, a genuinely democratic character, and a wider mobilisation of the adivasis. No wonder, it has become a rallying point for the revolutionary-democratic forces in West Bengal.

As far as our Party's role is concerned, we have been working in Paschim Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia, in what is popularly known as Jangalmahal since the 1980s. We fought against the local feudal forces, against the exploitation and oppression by the forest officials, contractors, unscrupulous usurers, and the goondaism of both the CPI(M) and the Trinamul Congress. The ruling CPI(M), in particular, has become the chief exploiter and oppressor of the adivasis of the region and it has unleashed its notorious vigilante gangs called harmad bahini on whoever questions its authority. With the state authority in its hands, and with the aid of the police, it is playing a role worse than that of the cruel landlords in other regions in the country.

In this background, anyone who dares to fight against the oppression and exploitation by the CPI(M) can win the respect and confidence of the people. Since our Party has been fighting uncompromisingly against the atrocities of the CPI(M) goons it naturally gained the confidence and respect from the people of the region.

The mass uprising as such is a product of this prolonged agrarian

revolutionary work in the region by our Party spread over the past three decades, and the militant movement for separate state of Jharkhand, besides the spontaneous outburst of the masses against the atrocities perpetrated by the CPI(M) and the police. The police atrocities in the wake of the landmine blast on Nov 2 acted as the trigger that brought the pent-up anger of the masses into the open. This assumed the form of a long-drawn mass movement. Due to the various factors described above, the masses had voluntarily come forth against the state and our Party played the role of a catalyst. To put it briefly, we should keep in mind both the conscious work of our Party over a long period of time as well as the element of spontaneity behind the Lalgarh uprising.

MIB: There are allegations that the CPI(Maoist) has taken arms and ammunition from the ruling CPI(M) in West Bengal to fight the Trinamul, and later also from the Trinamul to fight the CPI(M). A Politburo member of CPI(Maoist) had in fact admitted this in an Interview to the media. Is it correct for a revolutionary Party to take arms from these ruling class parties?

GP: This is only partially true. In our CC meeting of erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] held sometime in 1995-96, we came to know that some ammunition was taken by our local cadre from the CPI(M) unit in the area. There was, however, no understanding with the leadership of the CPI(M) in this regard. Our approach was to unite all sections of the oppressed masses at the lower levels against the goondaism and oppression of Trinamul goons in the area at that time. And since a section of the oppressed masses were in the fold of the CPI(M) at that time we fought together with them against Trinamul. Still, taking into consideration the overall situation in West Bengal, it was not a wise step to take arms and ammunition from the CPI(M) even at the local level when the contradiction was basically between two sections of the reactionary ruling classes.

Our CC discussed this, criticized the comrade responsible for taking such a decision, and directed the concerned comrades to stop this immediately. As regards taking ammunition from the Trinamul Congress, I remember that we had actually purchased it not directly from the Trinamul but from someone who had links with the Trinamul. The decision of our

CC was to purchase arms not only from arms smugglers but also from whoever was willing to sell to us irrespective of their party affiliation. There will never be any conditions or agreements with those selling us arms. That has been our understanding all along. As regards the said interview by our Politburo member, we will verify what he had actually said.

MIB: What are your tactics now in Lalgarh after the massive offensive by the central and state forces?

GP: First of all, I wish to make it crystal-clear that our Party will spearhead and stand firmly by the side of the people of Lalgarh and entire Jangalmahal and draw up tactics in accordance with the people's interests and mandate. We shall spread the struggle against the state everywhere and strive to win over the broad masses to the side of the people's cause. We shall fight the state offensive by mobilising the masses more militantly against the police, harmad bahini and the CPI(M) goons. The course of the development of the movement, of course, will depend on the level of consciousness and preparedness of the people of the region. The Party will take this into consideration while formulating its tactics. The initiative of the masses will be released fully.

Our Party too has a lot to learn from the masses of Lalgarh. Their upsurge was beyond our expectations. In fact, it was the common people, with the assistance of advanced elements influenced by the revolutionary politics, who played a crucial role in the formulation of tactics. They formed their own organisation, put forth their charter of demands, worked out various novel forms of struggle, and stood steadfast in the struggle despite the brutal attacks by the police and the social fascist harmad gangs. Lalgarh movement has the support of the revolutionary and democratic forces not only in West Bengal but also in the entire country. We are appealing to all the revolutionary and democratic forces in the country to unite to fight back the fascist offensive by the Buddhadeb government in West Bengal and the UPA government at the Centre. By building the broadest fighting front, and by adopting appropriate tactics of combining the militant mass political movement with armed resistance of the people and our PLGA, we will defeat the massive offensive by the central-state forces. I cannot say more than this at the present juncture.

MIB: The UPA government at the Centre has declared an all-out war against the Maoists by branding the CPI(Maoist) as a terrorist organisation and imposing an All India ban on the Party. Why has the government resorted to such a step and to what extent will this affect the Party and the revolutionary movement?

GP: Our Party has already been banned in several states of India. By imposing the ban throughout the country, the government now wants to curb all our open activities in West Bengal and a few other states where legal opportunities exist to some extent. The government wants to use this draconian UAPA to harass whoever dares to raise a voice against fake encounters, rapes and other police atrocities on the people residing in Maoist-dominated regions. Anyone questioning the state's brutalities will now be branded a terrorist.

The real terrorists and the biggest threats to the country's security are none other than Mamohan Singh, Chidambaram, Buddhadeb, other ruling class leaders and the comprador big business houses, feudal forces who terrorise the people on a daily basis. Salwa Judum, harmad bahini, shanti sena, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and various brands of cobras, tigers, senas etc., are terrorist outfits—vigilante gangs—directly set up and run by the state. The police, CRPF, BSF, other central forces, and the Indian Army troops have been creating widespread terror among the people of Kashmir, North East, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and elsewhere. These forces are the real terrorists who are let lose by their bosses in Delhi and Washington to subdue every form of protest by the suffering people. To the perverted minds of Manmohan Singh, Chidamabaram & Co the mass murders, rapes and tortures carried out by these goons on innocent people are the 'rule of law'. This is the new vocabulary in the lexicon of George Bush, Barack Obama, Rajapakshe, Manmohan Singh, Zardari and their breed of outright liars.

The UPA government had declared, as soon as it assumed power for the second time, that it would crush the Maoist "menace" and began pouring in huge funds to the states for this purpose. The immediate reason behind this move is the pressure exerted by the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, who want to plunder

the resources of our country without any hindrance. The Tatas, Mittals, Ruias, Jindals, Birlas, Vedanta, POSCO and so on have funded the Congress and are pushing the UPA government to crush the Maoist movement by using the Indian Army's counter-insurgency wing—the Rashtriya Rifles. These sharks aspire to swallow the rich, abundant mineral and forest wealth in the vast contiguous region stretching from Jangalmahal to North Andhra. This region is the wealthiest as well as the most underdeveloped part of our country. These sharks want to loot the wealth and drive the adivasi people of the region to further impoverishment.

Another major reason for the current offensive by the ruling classes is the fear of the rapid growth of the Maoist movement and its increasing influence over a significant proportion of the Indian population. The janathana sarkars in Dandakaranya and the revolutionary people's committees in Jharkhand, Orissa and parts of some other states have become new models of genuine people's democracy and development. The rulers want to crush these new models of development and genuine democracy as these are emerging as the real alternative before the people of the country at large.

MIB: Union Home Minister Chidambaram has announced that a massive military offensive will be launched against the Maoist-dominated zones in the country by the end of the current monsoon season. How do you plan to confront this offensive?

GP: All-round offensive against the Maoist movement was unleashed by the reactionary ruling classes of India with the aid and assistance of the imperialists since the past quarter century. Successive governments in the various states and the Centre have been hatching schemes over the years. But they could not achieve any significant success through their cruel offensive in spite of murdering hundreds of our leaders and cadres. Our Party and our movement continued to further consolidate and expand to new regions. From two or three states, the movement has now spread to over 15 states sending jitters to the ruling classes. Particularly after the merger of erstwhile MCCI and CPI(ML)[PW] in September 2004 the UPA government has unleashed the most cruel all-round offensive against the Maoist movement. Yet our Party continued to grow despite suffering some severe losses. In

the past three years, in particular, our PLGA had achieved several significant victories. It had defeated the most brutal state-sponsored terrorist campaign called salwa judum in Chhattisgarh, sendra in Jharkhand, various vigilante groups in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra and other states. After all these ignominious failures, the ruling classes decided to unleash the severest blood-bath to decimate our movement.

We have been confronting the continuous offensive of the enemy with the support and active involvement of the masses. Our brave PLGA is in the forefront of this resistance and it conducted several successful tactical counter-offensive operations against the enemy forces. We shall confront the new offensive of the enemy by stepping up such heroic resistance and preparing the entire Party, PLGA, the various revolutionary Parties and organisations and the entire people. Although the enemy may achieve a few successes in the initial phase, we shall certainly overcome and defeat the offensive with the active mobilisation of the vast masses and the support of all the revolutionary and democratic forces in the country. No fascist regime or military dictator in history could succeed in suppressing forever the just and democratic struggles of the people through brute force, but were, on the contrary, swept away by the high tide of people's resistance. People, who are the makers of history, will rise up like a tornado under our Party's leadership to wipe out the reactionary blood-sucking vultures ruling our country.

MIB: How do you overcome the serious setback suffered by the Party in Andhra Pradesh? Can you now ensure that such setbacks are not repeated in other states where the Maoist movement is strong?

GP: In Andhra Pradesh, ever since the outbreak of the armed mass uprising in Srikakulam in late 60s, the revolutionary movement had gone through several ups and downs. There was a serious setback by 1971 but gradually we could recover from the setback by taking the necessary lessons and, within a decade, we revived the movement in Telanagana and later throughout the state.

In 1985, we once again suffered a setback during the period of the first undeclared war by the then TDP government in Andhra Pradesh. For the

first time after the Srikakulam armed upsurge, the central forces were deployed in the state and fake encounter killings became the norm. It was also a period of grave internal crisis in the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW]. By 1989, our Party had however recovered from the setback by adopting appropriate tactics and created a new wave of struggles throughout the state. We further extended to new regions. Guerrilla zones came into existence in North Telangana (NT) and Dandakaranya (DK) by 1989.

Once again the government unleashed a second big offensive in 1991, banned the Party (erstwhile PW) in May 1992, and carried out a blood-bath murdering hundreds in fake encounters. Although we suffered serious losses initially, we recovered soon and defeated the enemy offensive. In 1998, the enemy began his third big offensive but failed to achieve his objective. Meanwhile our movement spread from Andhra Pradesh to entire Dandakaranya and parts of Orissa and other states. We suffered a serious setback in NT after 2001 while we continued to advance in other parts of AP.

It was due to several mistakes on our part that we suffered the serious setback in most of AP by 2006. At the same time, we should also look at the setback from another angle. In protracted people's war, there will be advances and retreats. If we look at the situation in Andhra Pradesh from this perspective, you will understand that what we did there is a kind of retreat. Confronted with a superior force we chose to retreat temporarily our forces from some regions of Andhra Pradesh, extend and develop our bases in the surrounding regions and then hit back at the enemy.

Our revolutionary movement took birth and developed based on the objective conditions. By correctly utilizing these objective conditions and adopting suitable tactics, our Party grew from a very weak force into a considerably significant force having an All India character and political impact. Now even though we received a setback it should be borne in mind that this setback is a temporary one. The objective conditions in which our revolution began in Andhra Pradesh have not undergone any basic change. This very fact continues to serve as the basis for the growth and intensification of our movement. Moreover, we now have a more consolidated mass base, a relatively better-trained people's guerrilla army,

and an All India party with deep roots among the basic classes who comprise the backbone of our revolution. This is the reason why the reactionary rulers are unable to suppress our revolutionary war, which is now raging in several states in the country. When our movement began after the setback in the early 1970s it was confined to a few pockets in Andhra Pradesh (erstwhile PW) and Bihar (erstwhile MCC). However, today it has spread over a vast area with deep roots among the masses. Hence we have an advantageous situation overall for reviving the movement in Andhra Pradesh.

We had taken appropriate lessons from the setback suffered by our Party in Andhra Pradesh and, based on these lessons, drew up tactics in other states. Hence we are able to fight back the cruel all-round offensive of the enemy effectively, inflict significant losses to the enemy, preserve our subjective forces, consolidate our Party, develop a people's liberation guerrilla army, establish embryonic forms of new democratic people's governments in some pockets, and take the people's war to a higher stage. Even in West Bengal, where the revolutionary movement was said to have been totally crushed after the setback of the early '70s, we had risen up again like the proverbial phoenix. Due to the advantageous factors mentioned before it will take considerably lesser time for the resurgence of the revolutionary movement in AP. Our revolution advances wave-like and periods of ebb yield place to periods of high tide.

MIB: What are the reasons for the setback suffered by the LTTE in Sri Lanka? Do you see prospects for the revival of the Tamil Eelam movement?

GP: There are several reasons for the setback suffered by LTTE in Sri Lanka.

Firstly, the LTTE became a victim of the global strategy of the international players. The US imperialists, the European imperialists, the emerging big power China, and the regional power India—all have their respective strategic interests in backing the Sri Lankan ruling classes in their cruel offensive against the LTTE. The Sinhala-chauvinist Rajapakshe regime was given a blank cheque by all these powers and by the imperialist tool—the United Nations. The UN was completely aware of the war crimes and

crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Sri Lankan military but chose not to raise a voice. And, when it reprimanded the Sri Lankan government for the terrible atrocities on Tamil civilian population, it was only a make-believe. The LTTE failed to correctly assess the strategic interests of these international and regional players and harboured illusions that some of these powers would intervene to put a halt to the Lankan Army offensive.

Secondly, the lack of proletarian leadership and the predominance of bourgeois nationalist outlook of the LTTE leadership acted as a severe constraint for building a broad-based united front against the common enemy of the Sri Lankan people. The LTTE failed to unite other groups who fought for Tamil Eelam. Its policy of indiscriminate killings and systematic elimination of other Tamil national liberation forces isolated it from a considerable section of the Tamil people. It also failed to unite with the Muslims in the East as well as with the huge population of Tamil workers in the tea plantations.

The occasional indiscriminate attacks by the LTTE on the Sinhalese people were utilized by the reactionary Sri Lankan rulers to whip up Sinhala chauvinism and justify their brutal massacres and bombardment on the Tamil population in LTTE-held areas. The bourgeois class outlook of the LTTE leadership had also led to its dependence on imperialist countries as well as on countries like India for a long period.

Third, the failure of the LTTE to study the changes taking place in the tactics and preparations on the part of the enemy played no less a role in its defeat. Initially, the military tactics of the LTTE, mainly its tactics of guerrilla warfare, had brought immense gains. It was able to inflict the most severe blows to the Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lankan army. It was able to gain control of almost the entire Tamil-inhabited regions in the North and East at one point of time. However, it did not objectively study the drastic changes that took place in Sri Lanka and the international arena and the overall strategy and tactics of the enemy. Hence, it continued to engage in positional war even when the enemy had a superior force, had access to unlimited supplies of artillery, naval and aerial advantage, and when it was carrying out non-stop aerial bombardment. If it had reverted back to guerrilla warfare instead of relying totally on positional warfare, and preserved its forces by retreating

from its territories temporarily instead of engaging in do-or-die battles, it could have maintained advantage in the long run and succeeded in defeating the enemy's new offensive. There was also a sense of self-complacency in the LTTE leadership due to the great victories against the Sri Lankan army during the 1980s and 90s and even against the Indian Peace-Keeping Force (IPKF) between 1987-89.

Lastly, the betrayals by a section of the LTTE leadership had a very serious impact on the LTTE. Particularly, the betrayal and split by Karuna played a crucial role in weakening the LTTE. The entire Eastern province went out of the control of the LTTE and the Sinhala ruling classes could form a puppet government under a renegade from the LTTE.

There is no doubt that the movement for separate sovereign Tamil Eelam has suffered a severe setback with the defeat and considerable decimation of the LTTE. The Tamil people and the national liberation forces are now leaderless. However, the Tamil people at large continue to cherish the national aspirations for a separate Tamil homeland. The conditions that gave rise to the movement for Tamil Eelam, in the first place, prevail to this day. The Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lankan ruling classes can never change their policy of discrimination against the Tamil nation, its culture, language etc. The jingoistic rallies and celebrations organized by the government and Sinhala chauvinist parties all over Sri Lanka in the wake of the death of Prabhakaran and the defeat of the LTTE show the national hatred for the Tamils nurtured by the Sinhala organizations and the extent to which the minds of the ordinary Sinhalese are poisoned with such chauvinist frenzy. The conspiracy of the Sinhala ruling classes in occupying Tamil territories is similar to that of the Zionist rulers of Israel. The land-starved Sinhala people will now be settled in the Tamil areas. The entire demography of the region is going to change. The ground remains fertile for the resurgence of the Tamil liberation struggle.

Even if it takes time, the war for separate Tamil Eelam is certain to revive taking lessons from the defeat of the LTTE. By adopting a proletarian outlook and ideology, adopting new tactics and building the broadest united front of all nationalist and democratic forces, it is possible to achieve the liberation of the oppressed Tamil nation. The Maoist forces have to grow

strong enough to provide leadership and give a correct direction and anti-imperialist orientation to this struggle to achieve a sovereign People's Democratic Republic of Tamil Eelam. This alone can achieve the genuine liberation of the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka.

MIB: Is it true that you received military training from the LTTE initially?

GP: No. It is not a fact. We had clarified this several times in the past. There is no relation at all between our Party and the LTTE. We tried several times to establish relations with the LTTE but its leadership was reluctant to have relationship with the Maoists in India. Hence, there is no question of the LTTE giving training to us. In spite of it, we continued our support to the struggle of the Tamil Eelam. However, few persons who had separated from the LTTE came into our contact and we took their help to receive initial training in the last quarter of 1980s. We had clarified this several times in the past.

MIB: Does your Party have links with Lahkar-e-Toiba or other Islamic militant groups having links with Pakistan?

GP: No. Not at all. It is only the mischievous, calculated propoganda by the police officials, bureaucrats and leaders of the reactionary political parties to defame us and thereby justify their cruel offensive against the Maoist movement. By propagating the lie that our Party has links with the groups linked to Pakistan's ISI the reactionary rulers of our country want to prove that we too are terrorists and gain legitimacy to their brutal terror campaign against the Maoists and the people in the areas of armed agrarian struggle. Trying to prove the involvement of foreign hand in every just and democratic struggle branding those fighting for the liberation of the oppressed as traitors to the country is part of the psy-war of the reactionary rulers.

MIB: What is your Party's stand regarding the Islamic jihadist movements? Do you think that growth of these movements will be helpful to the revolution?

GP: Islamic jihadist movements of today are a product of imperialist, particularly the US imperialist, aggression, intervention, bullying, exploitation

and suppression of the oil-rich Islamic and Arab countries of West Asia, countries of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, etc, and the persecution of the entire Muslim religious community. As part of their designs for global hegemony, the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, have encouraged and endorsed every war of brazen aggression and brutal attacks by their surrogate state of Israel. American imperialism had directly carried out invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq, bombed Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Iran, Pakistan and other countries. Moreover, after the 9/11 attacks, there has been virtually witch-hunting and continuous persecution of the Muslim community all over the globe. Atrocities on the Muslims have reached horrendous proportions unheard of since the persecution of the Jews under Hitler. Guantanamo Bay, Abu Ghraib, Bagram airbase, etc remind us of Auschwitz under the Nazis. With the instigation of the American imperialists, pogroms of Muslims and Palestinian Arabs are being organised similar to the Jewish pogroms under Hitler.

Our Party unequivocally opposes every attack on the Arab and Muslim countries and the Muslim community at large, by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, and their reactionary lackeys in the name of ‘war on global terror’. In fact, Muslim religious fundamentalism is encouraged and fostered by the imperialists as long as they serve their interests such as in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries, Kuwait, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan and other countries.

Islamic jihadist movements have two aspects: one is their anti-imperialist aspect, and the other their reactionary aspect in social and cultural matters. Our Party supports the struggle of the Muslim countries and people against imperialism while criticising and struggling against the reactionary ideology and social outlook of Muslim fundamentalism. It is only the Maoist leadership that can provide correct anti-imperialist orientation and achieve class unity among the Muslims as well as the people of other religious persuasions. The influence of the Muslim fundamentalist ideology and leadership will diminish as the Communist revolutionaries and other democratic-secular forces increase their ideological influence over the Muslim masses. As Communist revolutionaries, we always strive to reduce the influence of the obscurantist reactionary ideology and outlook of the Mullahs and Maulvis on the Muslim masses while uniting with all those fighting against the common

enemy of the world people i.e., imperialism, particularly American imperialism.

MIB: How do you look at the current developments in Nepal?

GP: Our Central Committee has discussed the developments in Nepal and opined that the leadership of UCPN(M) is presently pursuing a right opportunist line. In fact, as soon as the CPN(M) came to power in alliance with the comprador-feudal parties through the parliamentary route in Nepal, we had pointed out the grave danger of imperialist and Indian expansionist intervention in Nepal and how they would spare no stone unturned to overthrow the government led by CPN(M). As long as Prachanda did not defy the directives of the Indian government, it was allowed to continue but when it began to go against the Indian hegemony, it was immediately pulled down. CPN-UML withdrew support to the Prachanda-led government upon the advice of the American imperialists and the Indian expansionists.

We disagreed with the line of peaceful transition pursued by the UCPN(M) in the name of tactics. We decided to send an Open Letter to the UCPN(M). It was released in July 2009. We made our Party's stand clear in the Open Letter. We pointed out that the UCPN(M) chose to reform the existing state through an elected constituent assembly and a bourgeois democratic republic instead of adhering to the Marxist Leninist understanding on the imperative need to smash the old state and establish the proletarian state (the people's democratic state in the concrete conditions of semi-feudal semi-colonial Nepal). This would have been the first step towards the goal of achieving socialism through the radical transformation of the society and all oppressive class relations. It is indeed a great tragedy that the UCPN(M) has chosen to abandon the path of protracted people's war and pursue the parliamentary path in spite of having de facto power in most of the countryside.

The UCPN(M) has a great and glorious revolutionary tradition. The oppressed masses of India and entire South Asia were greatly inspired by the historic leaps in the People's War in Nepal and the establishment of Base Areas in vast regions in the country. When the revolutionary movement in Nepal reached the stage of the strategic offensive the entire revolutionary

camp keenly awaited further gigantic strides towards the seizure of power and the establishment of a truly New Democratic State. But, unfortunately at this crucial juncture, the leadership of UCPN(M) began to divert from the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and entered the path of compromise with the ruling classes of Nepal and the Indian expansionists. The leadership of UCPN(M) began to pursue a right opportunist and class collaborationist path throwing to the winds the historic advances achieved in the people's war at the cost of great sacrifices of over 13,000 heroic martyrs.

It is heartening to hear that a section of the leadership of the UCPN(M) has begun to struggle against the revisionist positions taken by comrade Prachanda and others. Given the great revolutionary traditions of the UCPN(M), we hope that the inner-Party struggle will repudiate the right opportunist line pursued by its leadership; come out of the revisionist stands and practice and once again grasp firmly the principles of MLM and apply them creatively to the concrete conditions of Nepal. We look forward to the day when it will re-build the fraternal relations with the genuine MLM forces around the world, particularly in India, and advance in big strides forward towards the establishment of a New Democratic State as the first step toward socialism and communism.

MIB: Of late, there have been serious losses of Party leadership at the central and state level. Besides, it is widely believed that some of the seniormost Maoist leaders including you have become quite old and suffer from serious illnesses, which is also cited as one of the reasons for the surrenders. What is the effect of the losses and surrenders on the movement? How are you dealing with the problems arising out of old age and illnesses?

GP: (Smiling). This type of propaganda is being carried out continuously, particularly by the SIB of Andhra Pradesh. It is a part of the psy-war waged by the Intelligence officials and the top police brass aimed at confusing the minds and demoralizing the supporters of the Maoist movement. It is a fact that some of the Party leaders at the central and state level could be described as senior citizens according to the criteria used by the government i.e., those who had crossed the threshold of 60 years. You can start calling

me too as a senior citizen in a few months (smiles). But old age and ill-health have never been a serious problem in our Party until now. You can see the 'senior citizens' in our Party working for 16-18 hours a day and covering long distances on foot. As for surrenders, it is a big lie to say that old age and ill-health have been a reason for some surrenders.

When Lanka Papireddy, a former member of our CC, surrendered in the beginning of last year, media propagated that more surrenders of our Party leaders will follow due to ill-health. The fact is that Papireddy surrendered due to his loss of political conviction and his petty-bourgeois false prestige and ego. Hence he was not prepared to face the Party after he was demoted by the CC for his anarchic behaviour with a woman comrade.

Some senior leaders of our Party like comrade Sushil Roy and comrade Narayan Sanyal, had become a nightmare for the ruling classes even when they were in their mid-60s. Hence they were arrested, tortured and imprisoned despite their old age and ill-health. The government is doing everything possible to prevent them from getting bail. Even if someone in our Party is old, he/she continues to serve the revolution by doing whatever work possible. For instance, comrade Niranjana Bose who died recently at the age of 92, had been carrying out revolutionary propaganda until his martyrdom. The social fascist rulers were so scared of this nonagenarian Maoist revolutionary that they had even arrested him four years back. Such is the spirit of the Maoist revolutionaries and the power of the ideology of Marxism Leninism Maoism which they hold high. When there are serious illnesses, or physical and mental limitations to perform normal work, such comrades are given suitable work.

As regards the continuing losses of leadership, it is a fact that we lost some senior leaders at the state and central level in the past four or five years. Some leaders were secretly arrested and murdered in the most cowardly manner like comrades Vadkapur Chandramouli, Sande Rajamouli, Patel Sudhakar at the central level, comrades Somanna, Mastan Rao, Ramchandrar at the state level, besides several comrades belonging to Party committees at various levels, PLGA commanders and fighters. Many more central and state leaders were arrested and placed behind bars in the recent past in Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Haryana and other states. The loss of leadership cadres will have a grave

impact on the Party and Indian revolution as a whole. We are reviewing the reasons for the losses regularly and devising ways and means to prevent further losses. By adopting strictly secret methods of functioning and fool-proof underground mechanism, by enhancing our mass base, vigilance and local intelligence, smashing enemy's intelligence network and studying his plans and tactics, we hope to check further losses. At the same time, we are training and developing new revolutionary leadership at all levels to fill up the losses.

MIB: How do you look at the changes in US policy after Barack Obama took over from George Bush?

GP: Firstly, one would be living in a fool's paradise if one imagines that there is going to be any qualitative change in American policy—whether internal or external—after Barack Obama took over from George Bush. In fact, the policies on national security and foreign affairs pursued by Obama over the past eight months have shown the essential continuity with those of his predecessor. The ideological and political justification for these regressive policies at home and aggressive policies abroad is the same trash put forth by the Bush administration i.e., the so-called global war on terror, based on outright lies and slander. Worse still, the policies have become even more aggressive under Obama with his planned expansion of the US-led war of aggression in Afghanistan into the territory of Pakistan. The hands of this new killer-in-chief of the pack of imperialist wolves are already stained with the blood of hundreds of women and children who are cruelly murdered in relentless missile attacks from Predator drones in Afghanistan and Pakistan. And, within the US itself, bail-outs for the tiny corporate elite and attacks on democratic and human rights of US citizens continue without any change.

Our Party had pointed out in a press release issued in Nov 2008 that it made no difference to the world whether a Republican Bush or a Democrat Obama becomes the chief of the world gendarme. Power and authority are not in the hands of any individual, however powerful he/she might seem outwardly, but in the hands of the ruling class dominated by a tiny, parasitic military-industrial, corporate-financial elite. The US military machine is pre-programmed to carry out aggression, invasion, subversion, bullying, and

mass murder irrespective of the consequences to fulfill its aim of achieving global hegemony. Bush or Obama can only act as an instrument to carry out these predatory goals, the only difference being the degree of efficiency and sophistication in the execution of this global project and the degree of deception that one is capable of. No wonder, Obama's team of administrators is a notorious bunch of oppressors like Robert Gates, Hillary Clinton, Larry Summers, and so on. Hillary, the Secretary of State in Obama administration, is known for her strong support for the invasion of Iraq and displayed her sadistic Nazi mindset when she warned of "totally obliterating" Iran if the latter ventured to attack Israel.

Obama continues the same old policy of bolstering dictatorial, fascist, and the most reactionary regimes in West Asia and extending all out support to a terrorist state like Israel. He has not just continued but also further stepped up the terror campaign of mass murders of civilian population, rapes, tortures and total destruction of entire regions in Afghanistan. He went a step ahead than Bush by doubling the existing American forces in Afghanistan and carrying out more drone attacks on innocent people than under the Bush regime. The lure of Central Asian gas is irresistible for the military-industrial complex ruling the US and Obama has become their best bet for accomplishing this objective. The immediate goal of these sharks is to lay the oil pipeline from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean cutting across Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India bypassing Russia and Iran. This will no doubt remain a mere pipe dream as no foreign invader in human history starting from Alexander in the 3rd century to the Soviet Union in the 1980s had succeeded in vanquishing the freedom-loving Afghan people. In fact, the soil of Afghanistan turned out to be a graveyard for all empires as aptly pointed out by Michael Beardson in 2001, and so will it turn out to be for the American imperialists.

Obama's dream to control the Caspian Sea gas and to encircle China by establishing permanent military bases on Afghan soil will remain a mirage. Instability in Afghanistan will provoke instability in the entire American empire and Afghanistan is sure to prove a graveyard for the American empire-builders. With the withdrawal of troops by almost all other countries from Afghanistan, the Obama administration is faced with an unenviable situation. The more troops it sends to Afghanistan the more will they get

bogged down in the quickmire of Afghan resistance leading to an explosive situation within the US itself. Obama has to first satisfy the interests of a military-industrial complex that is aggressively pushing for more adventurous wars and increased military expenditures as a way out for the severe internal economic crisis in the US. The right-wing Zionist lobby is fully behind Obama who assured during the election campaign that he would firmly stand by Israel's aggressive acts against unarmed Palestinians.

The oppressed people and nations of the world are now confronting an even more formidable and dangerous enemy in the form of an African-American President of the most powerful military machine and world gendarme. The world people should unite to wage a more relentless, more militant and more consistent struggle against the American marauders led by Barack Obama and pledge to defeat them to usher in a world of peace, stability and genuine democracy.

MIB: One final question. How do you sum up the present stage of war between your forces and those of the Indian state?

GP: Our war is in the stage of strategic defence. In some regions, we have an upper-hand while in others the enemy has the upper-hand. Overall, our forces have been quite successful in carrying out a series of tactical counteroffensive operations against the enemy in our guerrilla zones in the past few years.

It is true that our Party has suffered some serious leadership losses but we are able to inflict serious losses to the enemy too. In fact, in the past three years, the enemy forces had suffered more number of casualties than we did. The enemy has been trying all means at his disposal to weaken, disrupt and crush our Party and movement. He has tried covert agents and informers, poured in huge amounts of money to buy off weak elements in the revolutionary camp, and announced a series of rehabilitation packages and other material incentives to lure away people from the revolutionary camp. Thousands of crores of rupees have been sanctioned for police modernization, training, and for raising additional commando forces; for increasing the central forces; for training the central and state forces in counter-insurgency warfare; and for building roads, communication network and other infrastructure for the rapid movement of his troops in our guerrilla

zones. The Indian state has set up armed vigilante groups and provided total support to the indescribable atrocities committed by these armed gangs on the people. Psychological warfare against the Maoists was taken to unheard of levels.

Nevertheless, the enemy failed to contain the Maoist movement or cause any significant damage. We continued to make greater advances, consolidated the Party and the revolutionary people's committees at various levels, strengthened the PLGA qualitatively and quantitatively, smashed the enemy's intelligence network in several areas, effectively countered the dirty psy-war waged by the enemy, and foiled the enemy's all-out attempts to disrupt and smash our movement. The successes we had achieved in several tactical counteroffensive operations carried out across the country in recent days, the militant mass movements in several states particularly against displacement and other burning issues of the people, initiatives taken by our revolutionary people's governments in various spheres—all these have had a great impact on the people of our country while demoralizing the enemy forces. There are reports of desertions and disobedience of orders by the jawans posted in the Maoist-dominated areas. Quite a few had refused to undertake training in jungle warfare or take postings in our areas and had to face suspension. This trend will grow with the further advance of our people's war. Overall, our Party's influence has grown stronger and it has now come to be recognized as the only genuine alternative before the people.

The present stage of strategic defence will last for some more time. It is difficult to predict how long it will take to pass this stage and go to the stage of strategic equilibrium or strategic stalemate. It depends on the transformation of our guerrilla zones into base areas, creation of more guerrilla zones and red resistance areas across the country, the development of our PLGA into PLA and guerrilla war into mobile war. With the ever-intensifying crisis in all spheres due to the anti-people policies of the pro-imperialist, pro-feudal governments, the growing frustration and anger of the masses resulting from the most rapacious policies of loot and plunder pursued by the reactionary ruling classes, we are confident that the vast masses of the people will join the ranks of revolution and take the Indian revolution to the next stage.

20

Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), on the Current Unprecedented Military Offensive by the Central and Various State Governments on the CPI(Maoist) and the Armed Agrarian Revolutionary Movement

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 12, 31 October 2009

(The following is an Interview of Comrade Azad, Spokesperson of the Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), given to the Maoist Information Bulletin (MIB) on October 19, 2009. In this Interview, Comrade Azad answers a whole range of questions dealing with the current centrally-planned massive offensive against the Maoists and the counter plans of the Maoists, the question of state violence and revolutionary counter-violence, the issue of Talks with the government, the real meaning of Chidambaram's campaign for recapturing territory from the Maoists, and several misconceptions regarding: Maoist stand on development, on the charges of extortion, on recruitment of child soldiers, on the beheading of Francis Induvar, and so on - MIB)

Q: There is lot of talk about an unprecedented massive military offensive due to begin anytime now. How will your Party confront it?

Azad: The fact is, the unprecedented massive offensive has already begun. In the Chintagufa area in Dantewada district almost 4000 police and central forces led by around 600 elite commandos of the anti-Naxal CoBRA force had carried out their biggest-ever counter-revolutionary operation called

Operation Green Hunt in the third week of September. Some media reporters described it as Operation Red Hunt. Whatever is the name, it was the first major attempt by the central and state forces to wrest a part of the territory from the hands of the oppressed people led by the Maoists. This operation was a sort of a rehearsal for the forthcoming centrally-planned country-wide simultaneous offensive on all our guerrilla zones.

When the enemy attack took place near Singanamadugu village, our forces present there were hardly 50 or 60 in number. But they fought heroically, and successfully repulsed the attack by a superior force, by totally relying on the people. It was the people who gave us the information regarding each and every movement of the enemy force. Hence our guerrillas could deal the first biggest blow to these so-called CoBRAs who were specially trained in jungle warfare and sent to wage an unjust war against the Maoist revolutionaries. Six of their men including two assistant commandants—one from Manipur and another from UP—were wiped out in the real battle. These brave CoBRAs demonstrated their heroism and courage by murdering seven unarmed adivasi villagers, including two aged men and a woman, and burning four villages. Not a single Maoist was killed contrary to the false claims of the police that 22 Maoists were killed. Our forces chased them for about 10 kilometers. The people of the entire area stood with us in this counter-attack on the thugs sent by Manmohan-Chidambaram's khadi gang at the Centre and Raman Singh's saffron gang in Chhattisgarh. This heroic resistance by a handful of Maoist guerrillas underscores the superiority of the tactics of guerrilla war and the massive mass support enjoyed by the Maoists. It demonstrates the ability of our Maoist guerrillas to confront and defeat a numerically far superior enemy force equipped with all the sophisticated weaponry, aerial support and what not, by relying on the sea of people in which we swim like fish.

In the second week of October once again Chidambaram's men unleashed another massive offensive by amassing 10,000 men in Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra with MI 17 choppers surveying the area from the skies. It was as if an army from an enemy country was waging war on the Indian people. In the face of it our forces had successfully carried out a massive political campaign against the farce of the Assembly elections that were held on October 13 in Maharashtra.

Here I shall not go into the concrete details of our precise tactics to confront and defeat the unprecedented, massive, brazen offensive on the most oppressed people being unleashed by the Indian ruling classes on behalf of the imperialists and the comprador big business houses. I can only confidently say one thing for the present: All our plans, policies, strategy and tactics will be based entirely on the active involvement of the vast masses of people in this war of self-defence. The enemy class cannot decimate us without decimating the entire population in the regions we control. And if it dares to go into an all-out war of extermination of the tribal population the entire socio-political scene in India will undergo a fundamental shift and will witness a radical realignment of class forces. All peace-loving, democratic, patriotic, secular forces, all the downtrodden sections of the society will polarize into one pole while the most reactionary, anti-people, authoritarian, traitorous, jingoist counter-revolutionary forces will end up at the opposite pole. Such a polarization is bound to take place as the war advances and the enemy's mercenary forces attempt to turn central and eastern India into a graveyard. The war-mongers will be isolated and will face unprecedented social and political crises. However, on behalf of our Party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organisations and organs of people's democratic power, I can assure the people of our country that with their support, direct as well as indirect, we shall deal crushing blows on the enemy's mercenary forces and defeat their plans to hand over these regions to the international and domestic bandicoots.

Q: But your forces had killed around 20 policemen, most of them C-60 commandos, in Laheri in Gadchiroli district on the eve of the elections in Maharashtra. Is it not due to incidents like this which is provoking the government to deploy huge forces in these areas?

Azad: No, no. It is the other way round. It is because of the indescribable atrocities perpetrated by the specially-trained anti-Naxal forces that we are compelled to carry out such attacks. If they do not harass the poor, unarmed adivasi population; if they do not arrest, torture, murder them, and rape their women; if they do not engage in destroying the property, burn villages and crops of the adivasis, if they do not indulge in cold-blooded murders of abducted Maoists and declare them dead in so-called encounters, then why

will our forces undertake such attacks? How can this be a provocation? You know who the C-60 commandos are? They are specifically formed as an elite anti-Naxal force whose one and only task is to kill Naxalites and Naxal sympathisers. If no Naxalite is found they pounce on hapless adivasi villagers, arrest them, torture them, and murder them. And adivasi women have become their objects of rape. You might have heard of the heart-chilling story of a 13-year-old girl from Pavarvel village in Dhanora tehsil who was gang-raped by 5 or 6 commandos led by the notorious Munnasingh Thakur in March this year. Or the case of the gang-rape and murder of 52-year-old Mynabai from Kosimi village by several policemen in Gyarapatti PS in the same Danora tehsil in May last year. For the directors of this war on adivasis—Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram, GK Pillai and others—the gang-rapes of a 13-year-old girl or a 52-year-old woman are only collateral damage in their larger war for capturing the region to plunder its wealth. These rapists are immune from the “rule of law” advocated by Chidambaram & Co. Even after this poor little adivasi girl had identified Munna Singh Thakur by name, you know! Notwithstanding such solid evidence, the loud-speakers of the reactionary rulers—Arnab Goswamys, Chandan Mitras and others—had never bothered to raise a voice against such crimes against humanity perpetrated by these brutes. And what is worse, they even venture to describe these rapists as “brave commandos”! So what these brave commandos are doing in Dhanora tehsil is nothing but creating terror in the hearts of the people. That is why we wiped out around 50 policemen, most of them C-60 commandos, in the past eight months since February.

No right-thinking citizen of this country would condemn these heroic offensives by our PLGA against murderers and rapists in police uniform against whom no criminal case will ever be filed under this system and no “rule of law” applies to them whatever be their inhuman crimes. We boldly and unequivocally declare to the world, notwithstanding the shrill cries of the reactionary rulers and their henchmen about our blood-thirstiness and our ‘senseless violence’, that we shall punish these mercenaries if they continue to indulge in such crimes against the downtrodden masses. Every act of ours is in defence of the poor adivasis who are oppressed and suppressed by these policemen who have created extreme insecurity for

the people residing in large parts of Gadchiroli. Our attack in Laheri should be seen as part of our fight against state terrorism. The more such forces enter our areas, the more they will become vulnerable to such attacks. We will continue to wipe out the C-60 commandos, the CRPF, the BSF and other forces who are sent to the area to unleash terror.

For your information, I can confidently say that there are hardly any violent incidents in Gadchiroli on the part of the Maoists this year except the attacks on the C-60 commandos and the cruel policemen. Unfortunately some civil rights organizations and well-meaning intellectuals too had fallen into the trap of the reactionary ruling class propaganda that we are killing innocent policemen some of whom are even adivasis. If they really bother about the escalating violence and sincerely wish to put an end to it, they should question the government as to why it was setting up more and more special anti-Naxal commando forces and spreading terror in the adivasi-inhabited regions; why it is recruiting the local adivasis into the anti-Naxal police force and making them into cannon-fodder in the war against their very people; why it is setting up informers from the poor tribals by threatening them or bribing them with huge sums of money. They should ask where is the law & order problem from the Maoists who had actually stopped the illegal felling of forest trees, stopped the exploitation by the forest officials, forest contractors, timber smugglers, government bureaucrats, police officials, money lenders, non-adivasi landlords who had taken over tribal land against the provisions of the Indian constitution. They should ask themselves whether Maoists had done good or bad by securing a massive increase in the rate for plucking tendu leaves, cutting bamboo, laying roads, selling the minor forest produce and so on. And they should expose and oppose the conspiracy of the government in sending massive repressive force armed with the most sophisticated weapons against the Maoists.

We appeal to all peace-loving citizens of the country to objectively see for themselves who has been creating violence and spreading terror in Gadchiroli and other regions of so-called red terror. They should play a responsible role in reducing violence by demanding the withdrawal of the forces of state terror who have made the lives of the people a veritable hell. They should understand the just nature of our war. There need be no doubt at all that peace will certainly prevail once these forces of state terror are

withdrawn from these regions.

Q: The general opinion among people outside is that the Maoists are resorting to senseless violence and that many innocent people have become victims in their hands. For instance, the beheading of a Special Branch Inspector recently in Jharkhand. Was it not a cruel act?

Azad: First of all, it is sheer hypocrisy and double-speak on the part of those who are making such a big fuss about the plight of one Francis Induvar. They never speak of the thousands who had died unsung, unwept, unheard in the secret torture chambers maintained by the Indian state flouting every constitutional provision. Not only Maoists and their sympathizers. Every day how many common people are tortured by special branch officers like Induvar in these torture chambers is not recorded. And our honourable Chidambaram calls this sadistic, beastly behaviour of his mercenary force as the “rule of law”.

Do you know how many hundreds of adivasis were beheaded by the salwa judum-police-CRPF combine in Bastar region? And these sadistic forces set up by the Centre and state had even cruelly cut off the wombs and threw out the fetuses. If you just glance through the pages of the fact-finding reports of several independent organizations like the PUDR, Human Rights Forum, Human Rights Watch, CAVOW, and several others you will find an unending list of the crimes committed by the security forces and state-sponsored vigilante gangs. Why are the so-called analysts who appear on TV channels and throw mud on the Maoists accusing them of mindless violence, completely silent when more than a thousand unarmed adivasis are murdered in cold blood by the CRPF and salwa judum gangs in Dantewada and Bijapur districts in a matter of just three years? Why does their blood boil when one inspector is decapitated while keeping mum regarding a thousand other beheadings and mutilations that make the case of Induvar a relatively insignificant thing? I once again assertively say that the case of Francis Induvar is an exception and not the rule. This has to be kept in mind while trying to pass judgements on Maoist violence. As for the act itself we do not encourage such beheadings even if the police carry out such brutalities.

We will punish the enemy but there is no necessity for using cruel methods. No doubt, the anger of the victims of police violence is too difficult to control. When our guerrillas capture a cruel police officer especially one who has been responsible for the murder of several of our comrades there is bound to be serious reaction due to pent-up anger. However, cruelty is the trait of the policeman who serves the exploiting classes. For the Maoist revolutionaries who serve the masses of the people and aspire to build a new socialist society free of all class exploitation, cruelty is an anathema. We will educate our cadre so that such beheadings do not occur in future.

We also appeal to the policemen and intelligence officials not to engage in activities against the Maoists and the people. They should realise how they are being used by the reactionary rulers as cannon-fodder in unleashing a war of terror against their own people, how they have become pawns in the hands of unscrupulous self-seeking politicians who sell the country's interests for a few crumbs thrown by the imperialists and the big business houses, and we assure them if they desist from such activities we have nothing against them. We Maoists are aware that it is the poor and the starving people who are forced to join the police force and we do not wish their families to be left grief-stricken. We too share the grief of Ms Sunita Induvar and her children. But the rulers have compelled us to take up such actions for our own self-defence.

Our violence is revolutionary counter-violence. It is neither indiscriminate nor mindless as alleged by the reactionary ruling class representatives who cite some instances without context in their desperation to prove that Maoists are blood-thirsty monsters. When the enemy knows he is fighting an unjust war against the overwhelming majority of the people, when he knows that Maoists enjoy enormous support of the masses, when it is clear to him that he is fighting a losing battle, particularly during periods when he is losing his men in the war against the Maoists, what would he do except spreading lies and slander to boost up the morale of his own forces?

Q: But there are reports in the media that 6000 people were killed in Maoist-related violence in six years? How do you explain this?

Azad: This is a part of the propaganda war and psychological war unleashed

by the reactionary rulers. There is as much truth in this as there is in the propaganda of a George Bush that Saddam Hussein was in possession of weapons of mass destruction. A George Bush destroyed an entire country with his one big white lie. And our Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang wants to destroy the entire adivasi community in the mineral-rich areas under Maoist influence by spreading deliberate lies of senseless violence by Maoists. It is really unfortunate that a section of the media has become a vehicle for the proliferation of such lies and distortions.

We challenge the TV channel which spoke of 6000 killings by Maoists to come out with a concrete split-up of the figures. You select any period and analyse the violence on both sides, and you will find that the total number of unarmed innocent civilians and Maoist revolutionaries murdered by the police and state-sponsored vigilante gangs has always been far greater than the policemen and people's enemies punished by the Maoists. More than half of the 6000 deaths you are speaking of consists of those killed by the police and gangs like salwa judum. The hypocritical manner in which some papers and tv channels report on violence makes disgusting reading. If a hundred Maoists are murdered by the police and 50 policemen killed by the Maoists, a paper writes that "150 people killed in Maoist-related violence". This creates an impression in the public mind that 150 were killed by Maoists.

Some of the distortions and lies appearing in the media about Naxal violence are extremely obnoxious. For instance, Chhattisgarh DGP Vishwa Ranjan spread a lie that eight of a family, including a two-year-old and five women, were burnt alive in the village of Kesikodi in Kanker district in the second week of August. The entire media ran banner headlines condemning the Maoists for their inhuman and sadistic act and calling upon the government to crush the Maoists with an iron hand. Within two days it turned out that such an incident had not occurred at all. But the media lacked the honesty to admit its mistake and apologise to the Maoists for having run a vicious campaign against them. What was worse, the police gave the episode an added twist by charging the Maoists with spreading the lie so as to trap the policemen and carry out a massacre! And once again the media faithfully churned out this police story.

Let me take another instance which occurred just over a fortnight ago. On October 2, there was a massacre of 16 people belonging to Kurmis and Koeris by Musahirs over a land dispute in Khagaria district in Bihar. For two days, the entire media spat venom against the Maoists describing us as murderers and blood-thirsty monsters but by 4th the chief minister of Bihar and the police top brass clarified that Maoists have no connection whatsoever with the said incident. However, none of the newspapers or the electronic media bothered to tender an apology for their irresponsible and vicious attack against the Maoists. Even worse, channels like the Times Now had even continued this vicious propaganda a full week after Nitish Kumar himself ruled out any Maoist link with the incident. But images get implanted in the public mind and the media is mainly responsible for spreading such lies and false propaganda against Maoist violence.

In this context, I would draw your attention to one such incident that happened five years ago. Howrah-Delhi Rajdhani express was derailed for reasons best known to the railway authorities and several passengers died in the accident. The blame was immediately put on the Maoists. We had explained that we had nothing to do with the mishap but the media continues to repeat this lie against us and a section of well-wishers too fall prey to this vicious propaganda.

As for our revolutionary counter-violence, you should note that it has always been selective and organized. Our targets are proven die-hard class enemies, leaders and activists of armed vigilante gangs, policemen and special police officers who unleash attacks on the people and our revolutionary forces, corrupt officials, anti-people political leaders who are instrumental in policy-making, and proven police informers and covert agents who are sent by the police into the ranks of the revolutionaries. Without verifying the incidents, the media is just parroting the police version in the most irresponsible and casual manner. I agree there have been some mistakes in the course of our people's war which are an exception. However, each and every mistake committed by our forces has been frankly and promptly admitted publicly, and the comrades responsible for such incidents are warned or punished in accordance with the seriousness of the mistake. We have never hidden our mistakes, lapses, weaknesses and shortcomings. Our review documents reveal this very clearly.

Q: Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram have been repeatedly appealing to the Maoists that they are prepared to sit down for talks if the Maoists lay down arms. How do you respond to this call?

Azad: I can say this is the most absurd proposal which only stupid minds can think of. It shows that these men are either completely ignorant of the historical and socio-economic factors that had given rise to the Maoist movement or are too intoxicated by the brute force that they possess by which they dream they can stamp out a movement rooted in the socio-economic causes. With such men at the political helm of India one can only foresee a terrible tragedy for the vast masses of the Indian people who reject this system and opt for a revolutionary alternative.

Manmohan and Chidambaram and all the brains in their think-tank should understand why a significant section of the people led by the Maoists have taken up arms in the first place. Can anyone who has a capacity to think imagine that Maoists have taken up arms only to lay them down without arriving at a solution to the issues confronting the Indian society? If Manmohan and Chidambaram think they are doing us a favour by offering the proposal for talks without touching upon the actual issues that serve as the basis for our armed struggle they are only living in a fools' paradise. It is not that these men who occupy the highest pedestals in the government do not know these things. They only want to pretend that they are for peace and that it is the Maoists who are intransigent and reluctant to sit down for talks.

If these representatives of state terrorism really want to sit for talks then they have to fulfill several conditions all of which, of course, fall within the ambit of the very Constitution by which these gentlemen terrorists swear.

Q: What are those conditions?

Azad: I am just coming to the point. They should stop illegal abductions of Maoists and people suspected to be supporting Maoists. They should put an immediate halt to tortures and murders of unarmed people, instruct their so-called security forces to desist from raping women in Maoist-dominated areas, abandon their policy of destroying the property of the people and

burning adivasi villages. They should withdraw the police and para-military camps from the school buildings, panchayat community buildings and from the interior areas so as to instill a sense of security among the people. They should disband the state-sponsored armed vigilante gangs like salwa judum, sendra, gram suraksha samiti, nagarik suraksha samiti, shanti sena, and various types of cobras and tigers since all these blood-thirsty gangs are unconstitutionally established by the police top brass and the political leaders. An impartial judicial commission of enquiry should be formed to go into the inhuman atrocities by the police, CRPF, other central forces and the vigilante gangs on Maoists and the people at large and basing on the investigations the culprits should be punished as per the law. All political prisoners i.e., those arrested for being Maoists or on suspicion of aiding the Maoists, should be released unconditionally. They should repeal all draconian laws and Acts such as the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), Chhattisgarh Special Powers Act, etc. They should disband the government-organised concentration camps in the name of rehabilitation of the adivasis displaced from their villages, pay adequate compensation to over one lakh adivasis who were forcibly displaced by the salwa judum gangs and the CRPF-police combine. Likewise, all those who have become victims of state and state-sponsored terror, i.e., those who were murdered, maimed, raped and pushed into a state of mental trauma should receive adequate compensation. Through all these measures they should create a conducive democratic atmosphere in all these regions before placing their proposal for talks.

As for socio-economic issues, the lands of the tribals should be handed back to them wherever they are snatched whether in Salboni (West Bengal), Kathikund (Jharkhand), Lohandiguda, Pallamad, Bodhghat, (all in Chhattisgarh) Niyamgiri (Orissa) and elsewhere. The mining and other so-called development projects that lead to displacement of the tribals and destruction of their way of life should be immediately disbanded. All the MOUs signed with the imperialist MNCs like Vedanta and the big business houses like the Tatas, Mittals, Essar, Jindal, etc should be scrapped. The lands snatched away from the tribals by unscrupulous landlords, other non-adivasis, and by the government should be restored to their rightful owners. These demands might sound utopian and revolutionary but there is nothing

extraordinary in them. Most of these fall within the ambit of the Indian Constitution while others are needed for creating a conducive atmosphere for talks. If these are fulfilled, then one can think of talks to discuss on the deeper issues that are blocking the real development of our country.

Q: What you say will never be accepted by Manmohan and Chidambaram as it would mean betraying their own class interests. So don't you feel that by laying down arms without such pre-conditions you can save your forces from the brutal offensive by the Centre?

Azad: We know that these die-hard agents of the ruling classes whose real social base comprises of hardly five per cent of India's population can never think in terms of the interests of the remaining 95 per cent of the population. They will not accept even these Constitutional demands unless the people rise up and bring enormous pressure or rebellions break out in their own police and other armed forces.

No people's force in history has preserved itself through meek submission to the enemy. Maoism teaches us that self-preservation is possible only through war. You cannot defend yourself against a powerful and extremely cruel enemy by submitting to him meekly. You have to choose the appropriate method to fight a relatively superior and powerful enemy and only by this one can ensure the preservation of one's forces. Whoever had surrendered to the enemy or had laid down arms had gone over to the enemy camp. For instance, the leadership of the communist party had betrayed the people by laying down arms in 1951 in the midst of the glorious Telangana armed agrarian struggle and turned revisionist. So a war of self-defence alone can ensure the preservation of the revolutionary forces.

And once you lay down your arms then of what use is your force to the people who are daily groaning under the oppression and suppression by the feudal forces, land and forest mafia, and the various wings of the Indian state? Without a people's army can the people achieve even a bit of justice? How can you expect an army, however small it may look at the present juncture, to abandon arms when the state's armed forces are engaged in brutal suppression of every people's movement? It is yet another thing if an agreement could be reached by both sides on a cease-fire without pre-

conditions. On this thing there could be some discussion and some agreement may also be reached if men like Chidambaram give up their irrational, illogical, impracticable, absurd condition that the Maoists should abjure violence if they have to sit for talks.

Q: When you take into account the serious setbacks suffered by the armed national liberation movements recently in many parts of the world such as in Sri Lanka, how do you think you can confront the mighty Indian state and succeed?

Azad: Every war has its own particular, specific features. The war waged by the LTTE in Sri Lanka received a severe setback due to several mistakes which were explained vividly in a recent interview by our Party Secretary comrade Ganapathy. You cannot compare a people's war waged under the leadership of the proletariat over a vast territory spread out over a few lakh square kilometers of area with a war waged by non-proletarian leadership in a small area roughly the size of a big district in India. Moreover, the people's war we are waging is based on the Maoist principles of guerrilla war. Until the time we reach a decisive stage in our war, we will not fight a positional war in a small area against a superior force that is likely to resort to aerial bombardment if needed. We can fight the mightiest enemy by properly adhering to the principles of guerrilla warfare. We will hit the enemy when and where it is convenient to us, and not when and where he provokes us. His aerial surveys cannot locate the guerrillas who mix up with the people or are in constant mobility. His air sorties too would fall on the wrong targets, may be sometimes on his own men (smiles). It has happened several times in Iraq and Afghanistan. We will even change our battle fatigues and move in the dress of civilians. It will be impossible for the enemy to target us if we adhere to these methods. He will only end up killing civilians and help us in getting more recruits into our guerrilla army. That's what the salwa judum had done. Thanks to salwa judum our guerrilla army has expanded rapidly.

It is the same story everywhere. A George Bush had created more enemies for the American imperialists. He helped Al Qaeda, Taliban and several other Islamic organizations find recruits and provided them with a justification for waging a jihad.

The unfolding explosive situation makes it impossible for these reactionary rulers to maintain stability or control the mass uprisings and armed resistance even if they continue their mad policy of continuously increasing their repressive forces while the vast majority of the Indian population languishes in extreme poverty and misery. The more these vultures spend people's funds to strengthen the state apparatus and the state's forces in order to ensure their own security and marginalize the vast majority of the Indian people who are left without even food, drinking water and the minimum necessities of life, the more they will become the objects of people's wrath and hatred. By stepping up repression instead of addressing the problems of the oppressed the reactionary rulers of India are digging their own graves by creating hundreds of thousands of Maoist guerrillas.

Guerrillas will learn how to fight and defeat the Indian army, or for that matter, even the US Marines. That's how the guerrilla army was born and developed to this stage. They learnt how to fight and inflict lethal blows on the elite anti-Naxal special forces and various Commando forces, they learnt how to fight the central para-military forces, the Naga, Mizo Battalions, who are projected as an invincible force. They had also dealt the first big blow to the COBRA force. They will teach the Indian Army too a fitting lesson if they ever dare to enter deep into the Maoist guerrilla zones. With tremendous mass support and participation in the people's war, the Maoists are confident of defeating the conspiracies of Chidambaram & Co and grow stronger from an escalation of the war just as it grew into a qualitatively stronger and highly steeled force after the reactionary rulers unleashed the cruel terrorist campaign through *salwa judum* in Dandakaranya, sendra and NSS in Jharkhand, *harmad vahini* and the social fascists in West Mednipur.

Repression breeds resistance. And the more Chidambaram's men go about terrorizing people, killing, torturing, raping and creating havoc in the adivasi areas, the more intense and extensive will be the armed resistance of the masses, and the stronger will our army become. This is the logic of historical development. Hence we will utilize the situation created by the enemy's white terror to organize armed resistance on a far wider and extensive scale than ever before. As I said before, we live among the people and if the enemy destroys the entire population, we are willing to die with

them rather than submit to the enemy.

It is the people who make history and not a George Bush or a Manmohan Singh or a Chidambaram. These vultures who prey on the corpses of millions of helpless people will be washed away by the unfolding tsunami of people's revolts throughout the country.

Q: Then will you never be ready for talks with the government by laying down arms as a pre-condition?

Azad: Never, not even in our dreams we can think of such a step. We have taken up arms for the defence of people's rights and for achieving their liberation from all types of exploitation and oppression. Laying down arms means a betrayal of the people's interests.

We may lose some forces in this brutal offensive by the enemy. But you must keep in mind that when the people's war began we had only a handful of committed cadre. Today it has grown into a mass Party with an All India character and we have a people's army for the first time in the history of the revolutionary movement in India. Even if we lose some forces we shall rebuild the movement as we are now doing in Andhra Pradesh. You will see the results of our painstaking underground work in the near future.

Q: Chidambaram has been saying that this is not a war against the Maoists but only a police operation. How do you describe the ongoing offensive?

Azad: This is sheer deception and a jugglery of words which the rulers of this country have mastered right from the days of Chanakya. What is it if not a bloody war when 75,000 well-trained para-military forces are mobilized against their own citizens aided by helicopter gunships, mine-proof vehicles, mortars, rockets and heavy artillery? And add to this an equal number of the police forces of the states in the war zones. This is a force which is greater in size than the armies of most countries in the world. And this force is trained and guided by the Indian Army which is playing a key role in the entire operations. The IAF has deployed its Garuda commandos and is ready to fire on the people and other non-combatants under the pretext of

self-defence. Only a Goebbels and Chidambaram have the guts to say it isn't a war. In fact, armed revolutionary war has been confronting armed counter-revolutionary war ever since the Naxalbari armed revolutionary upsurge.

But there is a hidden reason why Chidambaram has been repeatedly saying his military onslaught is not a war on the Maoists. Chidambaram is a shrewd and cunning man. He is aware of the implications if he officially declares a war. If it is a war then he has to adhere to the provisions of the International Geneva Convention.

But nevertheless, Article 2 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states that signatories are bound by the convention even in situations of armed conflicts where war has not been declared. We hope all civil rights organizations and democratic forces will bring pressure on the Indian government to abide by the Geneva Convention even if it deliberately denies going into war with the Maoists. We hope Chidambaram will instruct his forces waging war against us not to harm non-combatants or civilians, not to kill those who are wounded or detained during the war, not to indulge in mutilation, cruel treatment and torture; not to indulge in rape of women guerrillas arrested and the adivasi villagers, and to adhere to all judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples. It will be the bounden duty of the civil rights organizations and the media to ensure that Chidambaram who talks of the 'rule of law' ad nauseum will ask his men to adhere to these minimum provisions of the Geneva Convention during the current war.

Q: The government, leaders of mainstream political parties, and even some civil society leaders have been emphatically saying that there is no other option before them but to go for a military solution as the Maoists are blocking development work in the areas they control and are keeping the people in abject poverty. Why don't you allow development work to take place?

Azad: This is another myth circulated by the ruling classes and parroted by the media and some circari (pro-establishment) intellectuals who hide behind the façade of civil society. Even supposing the Maoists are blocking the so-

called development work by the government, how much percentage of the population is affected by it? If we take the Maoist-controlled areas as such, they embrace hardly 2 % of the Indian population. Even if we consider the areas under our direct influence, it would be no more than five per cent though the geographical area may be more. Then what are these gentlemen, who yell incessantly about lack of development in Maoist-held areas, doing in the rest of the areas that are home to 98 % of the Indian population? Who is keeping 77 % of the Indian population in abject poverty? Why are they living in grinding poverty with just Rs. 20 a day? Who is stopping the government from bringing development in these regions and improvement to their lives? Who has caused the suicides of two lakh farmers in just ten years? Are not Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram responsible for this great human tragedy which is a direct fall-out of their imperialist-dictated neo-liberal policies?

The BJP and the Congress have both turned the lives of the common people into a veritable hell. They brought forth SEZs to fatten the comprador business houses and the real estate mafia who are their blood brothers. How much of the funds sanctioned for development in the areas outside the Maoist influence actually reach the poor and the needy and how much goes into the pockets of these political leaders, bureaucrats and contractors? Several independent studies had revealed that more than 50 % of the funds allotted for the so-called development are siphoned off by these very bureaucrats, police top brass and political leaders who spit venom against the Maoists.

If a people's committee consisting of independent eminent personalities and social activists is set up and an enquiry is conducted into the assets of all the bureaucrats, police officials, political leaders, and businessmen, I think we can ferret out several trillions of rupees worth of illegal assets that can be put to good use. It is the imperialists, the feudal forces and the comprador big business houses that are blocking genuine development. It is the local gentry, the land mafia, the hoarders, unscrupulous moneylenders and landlords who are blocking real development in the rural areas. In the name of development, lakhs of adivasis and other sections of peasantry have been displaced from their villages by successive governments whether it is led by the saffron gang of Vajpayee or the khadi gang of Manmohan

Singh. What these rulers are carrying out in these regions is not development but destruction, pure and simple.

It is also not a fact that the Maoists are opposing or obstructing all the schemes of the government. No scheme that is really beneficial to the poor is blocked by us whether it is by the government or an NGO. A visit to our areas would prove this beyond any doubt. Can you imagine that Maoists who work for the people will oppose anything that is really beneficial to them? And if they do, would they not be isolated from those very people? How can you explain the ever-increasing mass support to our Party if we are doing anything against the will and wishes of the people? We are only opposing projects that lead to massive displacement, submerge entire villages, or snatch away fertile lands from the peasantry—projects such as the Netrahat Firing Range that displaces 224 villages in Palamau, Latehar and Gumla districts, dams like Mandal and Auranga, Abhijeet Power Project and Essar steel plant in Latehar, Bhushan and Jindal projects in East Singhbhum and Saraikela-Kharsewan districts, all in Jharkhand, Pallamaad mines, Bodhghat project, and Tata steel plant in Lohandiguda in Chhattisgarh, Jindal steel plant in Salboni, POSCO and Kalinganagar steel plants in Orissa, Jindal's bauxite mining project in North Andhra, and so on. The sanction for these projects was done without the consent of the local people, and in most cases, the land was forcefully acquired with the help of the police and the goondas of the management. In some cases, a drama of convening the gram sabhas and taking their consent (through intimidation and even at gun-point) was enacted. We shall lead the people against these anti-people projects and the secret deals made by the rulers with the imperialists and the comprador capitalists. Only anti-people die-hards can say this stand of ours is against real development.

Q: Chidambaram has been describing you as bandits, terrorists, murderers, extortionists and so on?

Azad: This belligerent attitude on the part of the Home Minister, who has many resemblances to the hawkish Donald Rumsfeld, is not at all surprising to us. It reflects the fascist mind-set and political bankruptcy of our reactionary rulers who are incapable of waging political battles with the Maoist revolutionaries. It is a sign of their desperation and their extreme ideological-

political weakness. Now I wish to make three points on Chidambaram's refusal to recognize the CPI(Maoist) as a political party.

Firstly, this guy is too enamoured of a military solution to the Naxal issue; he wants to just bomb us out of existence by describing us as terrorists. If he recognizes the CPI(Maoist) as a political party then he would have to logically try the political solution to begin with. But once you describe your enemy as a terrorist and a bandit engaged in ruthless, mindless violence, then you have no hassles in bombing him out of existence. Not a political party, hence no political solution—so runs the perverted logic of this gentleman heading the Union Home Ministry who received his apprenticeship in the thriving “war on terror” industry from the American imperialists. The war cabinet comprising of Manmohan, Chidambaram, GK Pillai remind us of the war cabinet under George Bush.

Secondly, the infamous statement that equates Maoists with bandits betrays the utter ignorance of the man who, to the misfortune of the vast majority of the Indian people, has come to occupy the helm of the Home Ministry. He is ignorant of the ideology, political programme, strategy and tactics of one of the biggest political parties in this country, a Party that is the only real opposition to the so-called mainstream political parties. One cannot but feel sorry for this ostrich that refuses to utter the truth even as he yells that Maoists are the “single biggest threat to the country”, that they are spread over 2000 police station areas in around 200 districts in 17 states, and so on. Then what prevents him from calling the CPI(Maoist) a political Party is something he will never be able to explain.

I suppose he imagines that a political party should be something akin to his own Congress party run by coteries and cliques comprised of a handful of leaders and extra-constitutional powers who are answerable to none, obnoxious dynastic culture, or in one word, a non-transparent, autocratic structure without any democratic functioning in the real sense of the term. In fact, none of the mainstream parliamentary parties can come anywhere near our Party in terms of democratic functioning. Our Party holds plenums at all levels every two years, conferences as frequently as we can, and a central Congress every five years. Every Party committee is elected at these forums. Not only in the Party, in all our mass organizations, organs of

people's power and other departments too, the same practice is followed. And you can imagine how extremely difficult it is for an underground party operating in the midst of the severest enemy onslaught, to practice such democratic methods.

Thirdly, I should say that in one sense, the title of bandit by our die-hard enemy is a compliment to us. When we hear such an attacking tone from our enemies we are doubly assured that we are going in the correct direction. In China, the reactionary ruler and traitor Chiang Kai-shek, who was an agent of the Anglo-American imperialists, described the Communist Party of China as a bandit party and the communists as red bandits. Comrade Mao took it as a complement and said that if the communist revolutionaries expected good words from the enemy then there must be something basically wrong with their line and practice. Even supposing we are red bandits who rob the rich to feed the poor, like some sort of robin hoods, as some believe, it is still not too bad a thing. But Chidambaram & Co are white bandits who rob the poor to pay the rich.

Interestingly, while Chidambaram refuses to recognize us as a political Party, even some police officers like the former DG of BSF, ML Kumawat, have better clarity at least on this question. People like Arnab Goswami of Times Now, who not only reflect the views of Chidambaram and the police top brass but also embellish them with their own perverted logic, become wild when someone says CPI(Maoist) is a political party. How can a party that beheads an Inspector be called a political party, he thunders. But even a schoolboy knows that not just beheading, but burning alive and massacring, thousands of Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, raping women of the minority communities, and organizing mass murders of over 10,000 revolutionaries in the past four decades, have not disqualified the Congress and the BJP as political parties. On the contrary they remain the two biggest representatives of the ruling classes.

If violence alone is to be taken as the criterion to determine whether an organization is a political party or not, then there will not be a single party left in the country's political scene. For instance, even at the peak of the revolutionary war in Andhra Pradesh, studies had shown that in any given period, the violence between the two ruling class parties, the Congress and

the TDP in Rayalaseema region alone, took a far higher toll of people's lives than the casualties in the entire state in the hands of the Naxalites. Stories of such rampant, brutal violence between sections of the ruling classes in their dog-fight for power abound in the states of West Bengal, UP, Bihar, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and several other states. Then with what logic do these so-called analysts argue that a few punishments on the part of the Maoists disqualify it as a political party?

All these ostriches betray their stupidity by imagining that they can transform a political party into a non-political entity with the wave of a hand. Will these ostriches ever lift their heads from the sand?

Q: Speaking to some TV channel Chidambaram said he would love to be the Minister for Environment and Forests so that he can sit in a forest lodge and study books. Any comments?

Azad: (laughing loudly) This is the cruelest joke of the decade. If, to our misfortune, Chidambaram becomes the Minister for Environment and Forests, then would there be any forests worth the name left? The reason why Chidambaram is longing for the environment ministry is not difficult for any keen observer of the unfolding events to understand. The files of many mining and so-called development projects are languishing in the shelves of the Ministry of Environment for want of clearance. The bauxite project of Vedanta Aluminum Ltd, a subsidiary of UK-based Vedanta got the clearance from the Environment ministry in April this year after pending for a long period. The Company is devastating the Niyamgiri Hills in Kalahandi and destroying one of the oldest indigenous tribes of India—the Dongria Kondhs.

The big steel, aluminum magnates and forest contractors want someone very close to them who will clear their projects without any hassle. If the Environment Ministry is in the hands of their loyal agents that would be the end of all their woes. No wonder, Chidambaram is longing to take over this job. One thing is certain: with Chidambaram at the helm of the environment ministry several more millions of adivasis would be displaced from their traditional homes, the forests would be decimated, the traditional way of life and the cultural identity of the adivasis would be destroyed, water

sources polluted, and ecological imbalance would further aggravate.

Moreover, the entire forests will be on fire as the people's war will spread even more rapidly due to the current repressive policies of the government. So can poor Chidambaram fulfill his long-cherished wish to study books in peace?

Q: Now tell us something about the development work in the areas under your control?

Azad: If you visit the adivasi villages in our areas running into a few thousands in the vast hinterland of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra you will see what real development means to the poor of this country. The most essential thing and a pre-condition for achieving real development in the lives of the people is an end to feudal and other types of rapacious exploitation. In the adivasi areas, the ruthless exploitation by the forest officials, revenue officials, contractors, village mukhiyas, non-advasi landlords and traders, and the policemen makes their very survival an impossible thing. Manmohan Singhs and Chidambarams may go on shouting from roof-tops about trickle-down effect, percolation of growth, and such abstract phrases that have absolutely no meaning or relevance to the poorest of the poor. As long as the poor masses are in the vice-like grip of the rapacious exploiters who are ruthless to the core, you cannot imagine any sort of improvement in their lives. This is true not only in the adivasi areas but throughout the country.

So the first thing I wish to emphasise is that our people's war had put an end to this terrible exploitation and oppression of the people living in the areas of our struggle. This itself has brought about a qualitative leap in their living conditions. From a life of slavery and animal-like existence these down-trodden masses are now living in relative freedom, administering their own lives and deciding their destiny. However, they have to ward off the attacks by the state's armed forces and state-sponsored vigilante gangs who are desperately trying to re-establish their lost hegemony and bring these proudly independent communities under their rapacious exploitation. Hence the people will fight unto the last man and woman to defend their new-found freedom and life of dignity and independence under the people's

governments.

The second point I wish to emphasise is that development is basically linked to the class struggle of the masses. I will not dwell into the details of the struggles waged by the adivasis under our Party leadership. There is literature on that. I only wish to point out that people had increased their real incomes quite significantly after we took up struggles against exploitation by the tendu contractors, bamboo contractors, forest department, road-laying contractors, traders, money-lenders, landlords, and so on. Through these struggles the adivasi peasants have been able to increase their incomes and standards of living. The liberation of the people from feudal customs, traditions, values and attitudes due to the conscious effort of our Party has also contributed to releasing the initiative of the masses, particularly women, tremendously.

Now after the formation of the people's governments, there has been further improvement in their lives due to improved productivity in agriculture, formation of co-operatives, mutual-aid teams, proper utilization of local resources, marketing of minor forest produce, setting up poultry farms, piggeries, fish farming and other productive activities. The development in our areas is carried out by the people's governments. You must keep in mind that we are carrying out the development activities in the midst of the incessant murderous attacks by state's armed forces and state-sponsored vigilante gangs, i.e, under the most severe constraints. Hence defence of the people's government and the gains achieved by the people too is an important task of these governments. We had eight departments under each people's government. A few months ago we established the trade and industries department taking the total government departments to nine. These are: agriculture, education & culture, health & social welfare, defence, economic affairs, justice, forests, and public relations.

We have set up schools in villages where the government had never bothered to go. And where school buildings were built, these are used for accommodating the police and the central forces; there are no teachers worth the name in schools which exist only on paper. In all these villages it is our teachers who teach the boys and girls basic subjects and make them basically literate. We have developed the language of the adivasis, published

text-books in their mother-tongue, and thus facilitated a flowering of their culture and rich heritage.

There is also a conscious people's movement for the preservation of forests and an improvement in agricultural productivity. Now no dispute in any of our villages goes to the police station, so naturally, the policemen are angry that they are losing their illegal incomes. Health conditions have significantly improved when compared to those existing a decade or two decades ago. We have set up basic medical facilities in the villages.

However, all this development is taking place within the framework of the existing socio-economic system in the country and hence it has its limitations. Moreover, the incessant attacks by the Indian state and vigilante gangs sponsored by the state are obstructing development and even destroying what has been achieved.

Q: The government wants to establish its authority over the areas controlled by the Maoists. Chidambaram has been talking of a policy of clear-and-hold or wrest-control-develop or area domination in the major pockets of Maoist control. His argument is there can be no development without recapturing territory from the Maoists. How do you counter this policy?

Azad: Although we have influence over a wider area, our actual control is confined to a small area when compared to the vast geographical area of our country. And this area is witnessing real development as I had explained earlier. The exploiting classes have absolute control over more than 90% of the country's geographical area. If at all they wish to reach out to the masses with their so-called reforms, who is preventing them from doing so? Instead of addressing the burning problems of the poor in these vast regions under their absolute control they are talking of recapturing territory from the Maoists.

This policy of clear-and-hold as against the search-and-clear operations or sweeps is a carbon copy of the policy pursued by British imperialists in Malaya and the American imperialists in Vietnam during the 1950s and 60s. This policy was described at length by Robert Thompson in his book "Defeating Communist Insurgency". The dual purpose of the clear-and-

hold policy is to kill the insurgents and destroy their infrastructure. The key element in restoring state authority and control is the programme of strategic hamlet. The enemy has realized that short-term raids into the guerrilla bases and zones, however large-scale they might be, will not fetch lasting results and the revolutionaries can regroup. Hence, there is an increasing emphasis on clear-and-hold operations with the creation of strategic hamlet as the key. The basic military strategy of the enemy is to deploy as many of his forces as possible in the same area of operation as that of the guerrillas. And the strategic hamlet is a pre-condition for restoring state authority as this ensures the physical and political isolation of the guerrillas from the population. So run the basic principles of this policy of Thompson now pursued by Chidambaram & Co starting with Lalgah.

The success of the British in Malaya was not due to the greatness of this policy but due to the revisionist line of the leadership of the Communist Party leading the revolution in that country. Coming to our own experience in India, we find that in the glorious Telengana armed agrarian struggle of 1946-51, around 3000 villages were liberated but we lost them to the enemy control due to the betrayal by the leadership of the Communist Party. If a revolutionary line is pursued by the Party and uses the principle of guerrilla war properly, it will be impossible for the enemy to completely clear and hold an area for long, not to speak of development. The colossal failure of the strategic hamlets created through the combined salwa judum-state military campaign is a proof of this.

The Indian government will pour in huge funds and carry out some reforms to win over a section of the people in a few areas. But even in these areas they cannot sustain for long nor can they set up strategic hamlets in a vast region. Anyway their chief aim is to clear the areas of Maoists and hand over the mineral wealth to the corporate sector. So even if they compel us to retreat from some areas through their brute force, the entire population will be on our side and our war will be waged on a far extensive scale against the occupiers.

The case of Vietnam is a classic illustration of the total failure of the clear-and-hold policy propounded by Thompson. Although 8000 strategic hamlets were established in just two years, the enemy could not protect

them or insulate them from the influence of the Vietcong, and several of these were recaptured by the guerrillas or used for their operations against the enemy forces.

The most important thing to keep in mind is: Guerrilla warfare is precisely developed to hit and run i.e., to hit at the enemy where he is vulnerable, harass the enemy day in and day out, cut off his supplies, create instability and a sense of insecurity among the enemy forces, annihilate them bit by bit, and finally throw them out from the area. Hence if the enemy wants to set up police and army camps in the interior, he will not last long. He will be under constant attack and harassment from our PLGA and the people's militia. How long can the enemy stay in these malaria-prone, water-scarce, inhospitable regions without any support or co-operation from the people? It will ultimately turn out to be a graveyard for these mercenary forces.

I can confidently say that within a short period, there will be demoralization and desertion from these repressive forces. We have to wait to see how Chidambaram would deal with these desertions and what measures he would adopt to boost up the morale of his forces. Raman Singh and Vishwa Ranjan have been boosting up the morale of their forces by carrying out massacres of unarmed adivasis as in Singaram, Tongapal, Singanamadugu, etc and claiming that several Maoists were killed by their brave forces. Chidambaram too has to travel along this beaten path thereby sending us more recruits. And the more areas his forces try to "recapture", the deeper they will get bogged down in an unending civil war. The one lakh and odd forces that Chidambaram is currently deploying in the Maoist areas cannot control a fraction of the entire region. These forces which spread state terror—the CRPF, BSF, EFR, IRB, CISF, ITBP, NSG, Cobras and various anti-Naxal special forces and elite commandos like the Greyhounds, STF, SOG, C-60, and so on—and their state-sponsored terrorist gangs like the salwa judum, sendra, TPC, JPC, NSS, Shanti Sena, Tigers and Cobras under various names, will get more and more bogged down and sucked ever deeper into the quicksands of people's war. Chidambaram's fond dream can never be fulfilled even if he turns the so-called red corridor literally into a corridor of red with the blood of the adivasis and Maoist revolutionaries by enacting gory blood-baths.

The reactionary rulers can neither wrest, nor control, nor develop any of the regions but will get embroiled in a war of attrition causing thousands of deaths of innocent adivasis and losing their own forces in huge numbers. They can only destroy the villages through their policy of “kill all, burn all, destroy all” as pursued by their reactionary counterpart Chiang Kai-shek in pre-revolutionary China. The more destruction and havoc these mercenary forces cause the faster our people’s army will grow and our guerilla war will spread to wider regions in the country.

Thanks to salwa judum, our war had achieved in four years what it would have otherwise achieved in two decades. Now thanks to Chidambaram, our war will expand to wider areas, mobilise wider masses, and also will gather new momentum and get new dynamism. Every mercenary repressive force, by its very nature and sense of insecurity in rebel-held areas, will end up murdering people and destroying their property. This is what even the mightiest army is doing in Iraq and Afghanistan and getting rapidly alienated from the people.

Q: But the Home Minister says the government is duty-bound to establish the “rule of law”?

Azad: The “rule of law”, huh! Is the Home Minister serious about it? If so, why does he allow his police and the army to abduct people, illegally detain them for days without end, torture them in secret torture chambers in the most brutal manner, and murder them? Why did he permit the SIB of AP to abduct, torture and murder our central committee member comrade Patel Sudhakar? Why did he not ask his men to produce comrade Kobad Ghandy in the court within 24 hours after his arrest and instead kept him in illegal detention for four days? Chidambaram revealed how big a liar he is by announcing that Kobad was arrested on the 20th of September and produced in the court within 24 hours. Just ten days ago, two of our comrades Ravi Sharma and Anuradha, were arrested from Jharkhand but the police vehemently denied even after the news was flashed in the media and the AP High Court called for an explanation from the police after a habeas corpus petition was filed. Only after they were completely exposed and all-round pressure was built up, the police produced them in the court on the

14th claiming they were arrested only the previous day. The list of such incidents is endless. As regards the atrocities on innocent people I had already described in some detail.

The so-called “rule of law” bandied about by Manmohan, Chidambaram, Raman Singh, Buddhadeb and others is only an empty phrase that exists on paper. In the eyes of the people it is merely an eye-wash and, moreover, is an instrument used to oppress and suppress them. If the “rule of law” is really implemented, the entire corrupt and lawless bureaucracy, police, and the political class would be languishing in jails.

Q: What of the child soldiers? Some papers and TV channels have even shown some photos of child soldiers recruited by the Maoists. How is it correct to arm the children when you say you are fighting for liberation from all exploitation?

Azad: Child soldier is another myth that is deliberately concocted and circulated by the police, the various reactionary parties ruling the country, some so-called political analysts employed by the reactionary rulers and dishonest media personnel as part of the enemy’s psychological warfare. Some media channels have been carrying out vicious propaganda that Maoists are preventing children from going to schools, using them in various war-related activities, and so on. They exhibit photos of young boys and girls in our guerilla camps and conclude that they are used by us for fighting the enemy. Shame be on these liars and distorters! They do not even have the minimum honesty and integrity to verify the facts before telecasting such falsehoods. Besides these deliberate distorters and liars, there are also some well-meaning friends and human rights organizations who to are misled by this propaganda. At the same time, the employment of young boys and girls under 15 as SPOs in Chhattisgarh is conveniently forgotten by the very same people who cry hoarse about the non-existent child soldiers in the Maoist PLGA.

I can confidently tell you that there is not a single child soldier in our PLGA. Boys and girls in the villages do create problems when our PLGA squads visit them. They want to come with us and even parents request us to take them and teach them as there are no schools in the villages, or, even

where there are schools, there are no teachers. So we take them to our camps and use the period to teach them basic knowledge—the three essential Rs. Then they go back home. They do PT exercises but no arms are given to these youngsters. It is these photos of children doing exercises that some channels have been showing and claiming that these are child soldiers. Our Party is a highly disciplined party with proletarian values and culture unlike the lawless lumpen goons of the ruling class parties who have the sole aim of gaining power and money. Even if a single case of recruiting someone who is under 16 years of age comes to the notice of any Party committee action is taken promptly. 16 years is the minimum age for joining the PLGA. One may debate on this as the minimum age in the armed forces and police is 18 years. We have already explained in several interviews why 16 years is good enough in the conditions obtaining in the war zones where children are associated with the Party and the people's army from a very young age. We can proudly say that the adivasis have received basic education only after our Party gained a foothold in these areas. Successive reactionary governments, whichever party they belonged to, have done absolutely nothing in this regard even though they were in existence for almost six decades. And now light has dawned upon rulers and they talk of development! Can there be greater hypocrisy than this?

Moreover, why are Manmohans, Chidambarams and all the ostriches refuse to free the children held captive in millions of sweatshops, quarries, and innumerable other places and send them to school? The children in the Maoist areas are a small fraction of the total child population in the country. What prevents the rulers from stopping child labour and providing education to them? And even worse, why are these gentlemen allowing their mercenary forces who call themselves C-60 commandos to rape pre-teen girls like the 13-year-old girl in Pavarvel village in Dhanora tehsil in Gadchiroli district, and leaving Munna Singh Thakur and other rapists scot-free even after they are identified by the victim?

Q: There have been several reports of extortion by your armed cadre. Some media reports allege that extortion money by Maoists reaches a whopping Rs. 2500 crores annually.

Azad: This is again a part of the dirty propaganda war of lies and falsehood

unleashed by the reactionary rulers who thrive on extortion. These rulers have more than a trillion dollars (almost 50 lakh crores) of black money sucked from the surplus produced by the Indian toiling masses and also siphoned off from the funds meant for the people. The top one per cent of the Indian population—the fatty layer thriving on fraud and extortion—wallow in filthy luxury, possess palatial buildings and what have you. Sonia, Manmohan, Chidambaram and the leaders of the major parliamentary parties are the political representatives of this filthy parasitical class. They have no right to speak against the selfless, dedicated revolutionaries who have given up everything to serve the people, literally live among the people, and have become martyrs for the people's cause.

The extortion money you are talking about is perhaps the money which the reactionaries could not extort from the people due to Maoist presence. In all the Maoist-controlled areas the local police, the government bureaucrats, forest contractors and other exploiters are unable to procure money from the people. They might have calculated how much they had lost due to the ongoing people's war and hence concluded that this money is going into the hands of the Maoists.

As far as our funds are concerned, we rely mainly on the people. We also collect taxes from the traders and others in our areas of dominance but it is nominal. This is not extortion. Extortion means what the political leaders, government bureaucrats, encounter specialists and police officials collect through coercion and intimidation from businessmen and people from all walks of life. The entire world knows who are the extortionists and yet the very same extortionists and other pseudo-intellectuals have the audacity to accuse the Maoists as extortionists. One is reminded of a thief himself shouting "Thief! Thief!" There are cases of extortion by state-sponsored pseudo-Naxalites like TPC, JPC, PLFI and so on who share the booty with the police officials.

Some of the pseudo-intellectuals and police top brass even allege that Maoists derive huge income from narcotics business as the DGP of Chhattisgarh, Vishwa Ranjan, has been doing. If our Party had some legality we could have sued this rogue for spreading lies and defaming the Party. The fact is, it is the police who had encouraged the cultivation of ganja in

Malkangiri and when the Maoists tried to stop it, the disgruntled elements from the ganja growers were turned into their informers by the police and used against us.

Q: Lastly, what is your Party's call to the people at large?

Azad: We appeal to the people of our country to stand up boldly against this unjust cruel war on the poorest of the poor waged by the central and state governments in the name of suppressing red terror. The only terror that is terrifying the people of our country is state terror, saffron terror, and the terror of the exploiters and oppressors. Violence is a structural feature of our society: it is an inbuilt, inherent characteristic of the existing unjust, authoritarian, hierarchical, oppressive and rotten society. Just think of it! A mere five per cent of the country's population oppresses and suppresses the remaining 95 per cent through extremely brutal violence reminding us of unthinkable medieval brutalities. All tools for perpetrating violence are monopolized by the ruling classes and their representative state apparatus. The poorest sections of the society, who live a life of extreme misery and destitution, are forced into meek submission to the exploiters as they have no means to fight the violent repressive tools in the hands of the state. It is these hungry and angry masses who form the backbone of our revolution. Their violence is only defensive violence or counter-violence to the eternal state violence. Every peace-loving democratic citizen of this country should realize this truth and defend the revolutionary violence of the oppressed led by the CPI(Maoist).

We must all ask the question: who is spreading terror? Whose policies have led to the suicides of two lakh farmers in just one decade? Who has been spreading insecurity and pushing the vast majority to live under daily fear of hunger and starvation? Who is artificially hoarding essential commodities and terrorizing the people? Who is snatching the lands from the adivasis, dalits, poor and middle peasants and handing them over to a few rich business houses and MNCs? Who is indulging in the massacre of religious minorities with the aim of ethnic cleansing and creating terror among the 20 crore minority communities? Who is setting up vigilante gangs and unleashing a brutal reign of terror, butchering adivasis, raping women, destroying property, and displacing over one lakh adivasis in just

two districts of Dantewada and Bijapur? Who is abducting Maoists and supporters of revolution, cruelly torturing them and murdering them? Who is a terrorist? And who has given Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique the right to wage war on the Maoists?

It is time for every Indian to raise these crucial questions and declare boldly: “Stop this brutal war against the people! Not in my name, fascist Chidambaram!” It is the organized resistance of the people and people alone that can stop this brutal war waged by Delhi’s war-mongers—Sonia, Manmohan and Chidambaram—and the warlords in the states, for serving the class interests of their masters. This alone can ensure that the biggest traitors who publicly mortgage the interests of our beloved motherland to their imperialist masters—the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram fascist clique—can never achieve their fond dreams of handing over huge chunks of our land to the imperialist marauders and their comprador agents in India.

Terrorism and “Left-wing extremism” are used by the reactionary ruling classes as a pretext to step up their fascist offensive on the people at large. This is necessary for the reactionary rulers in order to enforce their imperialist-dictated, anti-people, market fundamentalist, policies on a reluctant population.

We also call upon the policemen, who are sent to suppress their brothers and sisters for the benefit of a handful of exploiters and oppressors, to understand the conspiracies of the ruling classes, and appeal to them to desist from opening fire upon our own people. We have nothing against them so long as they cooperate with us and do not harm the people. We also call on them to join the revolutionary ranks or to help us through various means to defeat the cruel war being waged by a handful of hawks against the overwhelming majority of the Indian people.

Finally, we appeal to the media to verify the facts before propagating them and not to be carried away by the outright lies, deliberate distortions, baseless allegations, and the incessant mud-slinging by the police, bureaucrats, political leaders, and some so-called political analysts, who have unleashed a dirty psychological war against the Maoists and the revolutionary movement. The rulers have launched an all-out multi-pronged

war and are engaged in a vicious propaganda campaign against us. You know that our Party has been banned and our members and supporters are constantly being hunted. Hence, we have hardly any scope to explain our stand-point to the people of our country and answer the unending baseless allegations against us. Let us not make truth a casualty during this war. We hope the media will provide some democratic space to the other version of the Maoist revolutionaries while leaving the ultimate judgment to the people themselves.

21

Interview with Comrade Anand, Secretary, Central Regional Bureau (CRB), CPI(Maoist)

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 13, 5 December 2009

(We are publishing below parts of an Interview by our MIB correspondent with comrade Katakam Sudarshan aka Anand, Polit Bureau member and the secretary of Central regional Bureau, CPI(Maoist). He is incharge of one of the two major regions under the CPI(Maoist) where people's war is raging with great intensity. For almost three decades he has been in the field leading the struggle of the oppressed in the flaming fields of North Telangana to the adivasi-inhabited regions of Dandakaranya. A few years ago, he lost his life-partner, fiery, vocal and highly-talented comrade Sadhana, when she was the secretary of Adilabad district in North Telangana.

Short and soft-spoken, comrade Anand answered all the questions very patiently in his native tongue of Telugu. The questions were mainly related to the stand of the CPI(Maoist) regarding the proposal of talks by Union Home Minister Chidambaram, on the question of violence, and the other issues related to the Centre's war against the Maoists and adivasis.)

MIB: You, as the Secretary of a very important zone of armed struggle in the country, must be studying the policies, plans and tactics of the enemy. How do you look at the Centre's preparations for the final offensive or war on the Maoists?

Anand: To be frank enough, this is not something unexpected for our Party. In fact, we are in the midst of a cruel bitter war since several years. In fact, we had extended to Dandakaranya with a clear vision in the early 1980s as we were expecting a massive offensive in North Telangana in the course of the intensification of the class struggle in the region. Thus we made preparations to retreat to Dandakaranya when the need arose. And the course of development proved what precisely we had foreseen. Though we had put up a stiff fight and initiated a wave of armed mass resistance and mass struggles in North Telangana and throughout the state of Andhra Pradesh, at one point of time we had to retreat a large chunk of our forces to DK. In DK, the brutal state offensive had entered a new phase with the launching of the murderous terrorist armed campaign of salwa judum in June 2005 under the leadership of the Congress chieftain Mahendra Karma and the Hindu fascist Raman Singh government in Chhattisgarh.

Right from the time salwa judum received severe beating in our hands and was virtually on a backfoot after our heroic acts of resistance such as Ranibodili and Errabore, the reactionary rulers were preparing to intervene in a big way with their para-military and army if needed. Brigadier Ponwar, who is heading the Jungle Warfare School in Kanker, has been insisting ever since 2006 that salwa judum cannot deliver and that trained commando forces have to move in on a massive scale. This view is shared by several key figures in the political and police establishments. We have been diligently studying the enemy's imperialist sponsored policy of LIC, his multi-pronged counter-revolutionary strategy, his tactics and plans, especially after our serious losses in Andhra Pradesh. So it is not entirely an unexpected thing for us. Moreover, the imperialists and the comprador business houses in India are facing a severe crisis and there is acute competition in the global market. Hence cheap sources of raw materials are extremely essential for these vultures in order to compete in the world market and amass super profits. The MOUs began to enter the mineral-rich, adivasi-inhabited areas stretching from areas in West Bengal bordering Jharkhand to North Andhra and North Telangana. And these are also the regions where the people's war led by the CPI(Maoist) is raging intensely. Hence we expected that after we defeated the murderous campaign by salwa judum, the Centre would get into its foot-steps and continue the murderous campaign (salwa

judum II or Operation Tribal Hunt) on a far greater scale by sending huge contingents of central forces. How much the vultures—the corporate houses that are itching to lay their hands on the irresistible mineral wealth in the region—might have paid to the Congress, BJP, CPI(M), and other political parties, top police officials, bureaucrats and a big section of the media will remain a million-dollar guess. That these corporate houses had poured in huge sums is clear and that is why as soon as the UPA came to power for the second time the tempo was built up quite fast. Lies and statistics, facts and fiction, were combined dexterously and with great cunning to generate a Maoist monster devouring ordinary innocent people, obstructing development, extorting money, indulging in mindless violence, and what not. The Home Ministry prepared the ground for the massive offensive by first declaring the CPI(Maoist) as a terrorist organisation and imposing an All India ban. Simultaneously, 26 companies of central forces were sent to Lalgarh to crush a peaceful people's movement. Whatever be the differences between various sections of the ruling classes, however intense their dog-fights, one thing is crystal-clear: all these reactionaries—whether Gandhian Congress, swadeshi BJP or Marxist CPI(M)—are all united when it is a question of defending and advancing their common class interests vis-à-vis the revolutionary toiling masses.

It is because we had been preparing for this eventuality, the enemy could not cause much damage to the people's war or the various revolutionary organisations in this entire belt in spite of his best efforts and mobilising his best troops. In the first half of June i.e., within a fortnight after the UPA assumed office, our Polit Bureau came out with a concrete assessment of the situation, what measures the enemy was most likely to take, and how we should counter his tactics. This circular has been already quoted by many news analysts and so-called defence experts in their analysis. As you can see, things have been moving exactly as we had predicted. So to put simply, the war moves by the reactionary rulers are on expected lines. And fascist ruling classes have always followed similar course in the entire human history. They cannot think in terms other than brute force and genocides, and dirty psychological war of white lies and malicious slander.

Lastly, it would be entirely misplaced to describe the current offensive by the reactionary rulers as the final offensive. The final battle by the

Indian people led by the Maoist revolutionaries will have to be perhaps fought with the American imperialists. The present move by Chidambaram & Co will go down history as a foolish misadventure by the ruling classes. They will be tied down in an endless war and will be forced to continuously inject more forces as is being witnessed with every passing day. The entire region inhabited by the adivasis will prove to be India's Vietnam. We are certain that this would also aggravate the economic and political crises and lead to country-wide conflagration. Operation Green Hunt will end up in a terrible disaster for the reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist masters, particularly the US imperialists.

MIB: But Chidambaram has gone on record that there is no such thing as Operation Green Hunt and that it is purely an invention of the media..?

Anand: (smiles scoffingly). Perhaps he is right. The hunt is meant to exterminate and drive out the adivasis from the entire region so as to hand over the region's wealth to the corporate houses. It would be more appropriate to re-christen it as Operation Adivasi Hunt or Operation Tribal Hunt. So let us agree with Chidambaram on that. What he wants to do is to resettle the adivasis in what could be called 'strategic hamlets' as in Vietnam. But just as 'strategic hamlets' could not save the mightiest American troops in Vietnam, the strategic hamlets in DK or elsewhere too cannot save Chidambaram's forces and the reactionary, parasitic Indian ruling classes.

By saying that there is no big operation by the Centre and that it is only helping the states in dealing with Maoists, Chidambaram has proved to the world how big a liar he is. By continuously mobilising the central forces while pretending there is no big offensive he has revealed his ugly fascist features of a Hitler or George Bush. In fact, the vocabulary of the rulers is bizarre, to say the least. It is inverted and is always different from that of the people. When they say peace it should be understood as war. Likewise, encounter would mean cold-blooded murder. It has become so much a part of the rulers' vocabulary that the police directly threaten a person that he would be encountered. Mahendra Karma and Raman Singh describe salwa judum as peace campaign which actually means a campaign of murder, rape, arson and destruction. Relief camps set up by the government in Chhattisgarh mean strategic hamlets or nazi concentration camps.

Development in the vocabulary of the rulers means displacement for the people. Rule of law means complete submission of the people to oppression and exploitation. Aam aadmi means 'looting the aam aadmi'. Even Barack Obama was given Nobel peace prize for escalating war in Afghanistan and Pakistan, for murdering civilians through aerial bombardment in those countries and displacing millions of people. There is no end to the hypocrisy of language uttered by the ruling classes and imperialists. Thus the golden rule is to take the opposite of what the rulers say. More often than not, this turns out to be nearer to the truth.

Thus Chidambaram's denial of any big operation against the Maoists means he is certainly preparing for an all-out brutal counter-revolutionary war.

MIB: Chidambaram says he is ready to talk with the Maoists on all issues provided they halt violence. Are the Maoists ready to abjure violence and receive the olive branch offered by Chidambaram?

Anand: This endless chatter of Chidambaram could perhaps go down as the cruellest joke of this decade. You send thousands of troops to the adivasi areas, abduct innocent adivasis, torture them, murder them in the most inhuman way one could ever think of, gang-rape women at gun-point, slash out the tongue of a two-year-old child, chop off the breasts of a 80-year-old woman, burn down houses and entire villages, steal hens, pigs, goats and what not from the poor, helpless adivasis, commit indescribable atrocities through your armed vigilante gangs, and yet, you have the audacity to ask Maoists to stop the violence. Shame be upon this wretched man calling himself the soft-spoken Home Minister! He is soft to the murderers, rapists, bandits and dacoits in police uniform. He would not allow a single case to be filed against these uniformed goondas whatever be their inhuman crimes. He had even pledged that he would fight till the last drop of his blood to defend the rotten status quo and the interests of his class.

By repeating that he is ready to resolve all issues within 72 hours if the Maoists first abjured violence, what he is trying to do is to find justification for his cruel savage offensive on the people in the Maoist-dominated regions. He knows that as long as the salwa judum goondas, the SPOs, the state

police forces, the CRPF, BSF, CoBRA forces continue to murder, rape and destroy the property of the people, Maoists will have no option but to retaliate in self-defence. He plans to use this situation to justify his blood-bath. Create a situation where the Maoists and the adivasis cannot but fight back in self-defence, then focus on this ‘violence’ of the Maoists, and launch a massive blood-bath on the plea that Maoists are continuing with their ‘senseless’ violence notwithstanding the generous offer of talks by the government. Like George Bush in Iraq, once the reactionary rulers of our country have decided to clear up the mineral-rich forest regions, they will leave no stone unturned for achieving this dirty objective. Their modus operandi is simple and the proven track traversed by fascists all the world over.

Step up state violence and state-sponsored violence. Do not allow the media to visit the areas where the central and state forces are carrying out the worst forms of crimes against the adivasis. But when one police informer is punished by the Maoists, organise an official tour of media personnel to paint the Maoists as murderers of innocent people. Also arrange meetings of media personnel with vigilante gangs and the lumpen elements punished by the Maoists. With this fake build up aided by the loyal sections in the biased media, unleash the long-planned offensive to flush out the Maoists by resettling the adivasis in strategic hamlets—such is the hideous plan of Chidambaram which anyone with a little common sense cannot fail to grasp.

So it is not a question of our not responding to the so-called olive branch said to be offered by the government. There is nothing like a sincere offer for talks from the side of the government. It is ironic to see how a man, who has a knife stuck deep into the body of the adivasis, calls on them to halt violence. It is like a tiger with its claws stung into the sheep’s flesh asking the sheep to stop struggling against it. If Chidambaram has even an iota of sincerity he should first ask his uniformed men to stop murdering, torturing, raping adivasis, stop looting and destroying their property, and to withdraw these lawless rowdies in uniform. He should instruct Raman Singh to call off the salwa judum and initiate action against the crimes perpetrated by these goondas. To say that he has no power to control the inhuman atrocities by the police and state-sponsored vigilante gangs in the states on the plea that law and order is a state subject is the

worst form of opportunism, escapism and hypocrisy. It is a heinous way of evading responsibility as a Home Minister while sending his forces to escalate the violence by Raman Singh's goons. If Chidambaram has not lent his helping hand to Raman Singh's saffron fascist government by sending massive forces from the Centre the people led by our Party would have long back taught a fitting lesson to Raman Singh's goons. In fact, precisely when salwa judum is tottering and is under attack from all sides, and the state policemen are refusing to fight against Maoists and innocent adivasis, Chidambaram had stepped in to strengthen the state's rowdies with those of the Centre and continue the blood-bath in Chhattisgarh. Chidambaram has absolutely no moral right to call on the Maoists to halt violence so long as the repressive forces of the state continue to indulge in the worst forms of violence against the people.

The so-called mindless violence by Maoists is nothing but legitimate and just counter-violence in the defence of the poor and helpless adivasis and other oppressed sections who have been at the receiving end since decades and even centuries. If Chidambaram ends the indiscriminate, sadistic, ghastly, terrifying, spine-chilling, blood-curdling, savage and macabre violence by his uniformed men on the unarmed, poor, helpless adivasi men, women and children, then peace will prevail without much difficulty. From our side, we assure the civil society that the need for counter-violence would automatically end once the brutal state violence comes to a halt. We reiterate that the violence of the Maoists and the oppressed is only counter-violence to defend oneself from the unbridled state violence. And this counter-violence of the oppressed is justified by any count. Chidambaram's desperate attempts to isolate us in the name of unleashing 'mindless violence' will end up in smoke. Bush was able to fool and dupe the American people for a while by manipulating the media and manufacturing consent for his despicable lies against Saddam. Today his successor Obama is doing the same thing by showing the ghost of Al Qaeda and creating a blood-bath in Afghanistan and its extension to Pakistan. Every reactionary and fascist ruler invents an enemy to carry out his ulterior aims. If the greed for oil drove George Bush to weave absurd lies and unleash a heart-rending blood-bath in Iraq and Afghanistan, the greed for minerals drives our Chidambaram to weave a web of lies about Maoist violence. Some sections of the media that are in

the pay-roll of the corporate big business houses sing in chorus without any compunction.

MIB: Then do you see any possibility in foreseeable future of an end to state violence and some sort of a dialogue between the Maoists and the state?

Anand: This depends on a multiplicity of factors and not on the wishes of the Maoists or a Chidambaram. Just as a Bush went ahead to bomb and invade Iraq egged on by a tiny military-industrial complex ruling America, notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the world's nations were opposed to this imperialist act, the tiny corporate elite of India—the billionaires club—would push their political representatives Manmohan, Chidambaram et al, to go ahead to clear up and hand over the region's wealth to them. But it is the extent of people's protests and Maoist resistance that would ultimately set the limits to the onslaught of the rulers.

If the protests mount throughout the country and other battle-fronts open up, I mean not just armed resistance struggles and offensives by Maoists, but also movements against price-rise, corruption, displacement, separate statehoods like Telangana, Gorkhaland, Bundelkhand and others, against climate destruction, unemployment, land-acquisition or snatching of land by the bureaucrat-corporate-criminal mafia, police atrocities, atrocities against dalits, women, religious minorities and so on, Chidambaram will find it impossible to carry out his brutal aggression on the people. Peace movement by genuine democratic forces and the civil society with a clear, uncompromising, and principled stand against state violence, and in defence of the oppressed, would contribute much to dissuade Chidambaram and his band of vultures to unleash a blood-bath in the areas of armed struggle led by the CPI(Maoist).

Last but not the least, the heroic resistance of the oppressed in areas invaded by the state's rowdy forces and the victories achieved by the people led by our Party would lead to a fear psychosis among the mercenary troops similar to the Vietnam syndrome among the American mercenary troops during the Vietnam war. This could precipitate revolts and desertions among the forces and compel Chidambaram and Raman Singh to reconsider

their aggressive and abominable strategy of strategic hamlets and decimation of the local adivasi population. By turning the vast area stretching from West Bengal to Andhra Pradesh into a flaming field of intense armed struggle and spreading the armed resistance of the people to newer areas we can pin down the enemy forces into a Vietnam-like situation and push them into the defensive. Our Party is leaving no stone unturned to create such a situation. Only then, will Manmohan, Chidambaram or whoever is in the fore-front in unleashing the brutal counter-revolutionary war, will stop talking meaningless trash and begin placing serious proposals for talks by first putting a stop to state violence. There is no short-cut method.

MIB: So the CPI(Maoist), its PLGA, and the people are prepared for a long-drawn war against the invading forces..?

Anand: Of course, we are. At the outset, let me clarify that our strategy is the strategy of protracted people's war. This is the only correct and appropriate strategy in India for dealing with a superior enemy by taking advantage of the vast terrain, weak infrastructure in backward areas, a huge agrarian population, and the dog-fights among the ruling classes. We are prepared for a protracted people's war. If the enemy wants to wipe us out in 2, 3 or 5 years, as their various representatives and spokespersons have been saying at different times, and if he concentrates on selected pockets to clear us out, our strategy is to extend the areas of armed and other forms of struggle to yet wider areas, extending to even the heart of the enemy, i.e., his hitherto urban citadels. It is impossible for the enemy to prevent this from happening however much he might improve his intelligence network and repressive apparatus in the urban areas where a huge population that is more than the population of entire Europe is seething with unrest.

If the enemy thinks he has taken hold of a certain area from the hands of the guerrillas he will be perplexed to find he has lost some other areas from his hands in other places. It will be a see-saw battle with the enemy seizing our territories here and there, and we seizing the territories hitherto under his control elsewhere besides re-capturing our former strong-holds. Try as he might, the enemy cannot succeed even in his dreams to wipe out the Maoist movement which will culminate in the total liberation of our country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador

bureaucrat capitalism. As long as hunger and starvation, poverty and misery, deprivation and destitution, unemployment and disease, discrimination and oppression, and exploitation in various forms exist, Maoist movement will continue to thrive and make big strides. Our entire strategy revolves around the concept of bringing the vast majority of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces into the people's war to overthrow the state of the exploiters and oppressors. So our preparations are in accordance with this clear vision and strategy.

MIB: Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram and a host of spokespersons of the ruling classes have been saying that the Maoists would never sit for talks and can never think in terms of peaceful resolution of people's issues. They say that if at all Maoists come to talks it will be with an ulterior motive to strengthen their Party and army since their ultimate aim is to capture state power through armed struggle. Then how do you think the state can ever think of talks? Can there ever be a piece-meal solution to a problem that is related to the capture of state power?

Anand: I am glad you placed this very important question before me. At the outset, let me clarify that there are grave misgivings even among a sincere section of the people (I am not speaking of the deliberate distortions indulged in by the paid agents of the ruling classes) that, since the Maoists believe in armed revolution, they can never think in terms of peaceful resolution of people's issues. If that were the case, the Maoists would not take up people's issues such as minimum wages, retrenchments, wage cuts, subsidy for essential commodities, schools and hospitals, irrigation facilities, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, anti-price hike and anti-fee hike agitations, demands for separate statehood, and so on. If people's issues are not the concern of the Maoists, then there is no reason for their existence.

However, the Maoists firmly believe, and is proved by historical experience, that the reactionary rulers would never solve the basic problems of the people since the problems are directly related to the exploitation and oppression by these very rulers. On the contrary, the rulers would resort to brutal, fascist suppression of the democratic and peaceful movements of the various sections of the oppressed people. It is in the course of fighting

for the issues of the people that the Maoists aim to capture political power. If the people's real problems are resolved peacefully then why would they wage armed revolution for capturing power risking their lives?

Our clear understanding is that the exploitation and oppression by the imperialist, feudal and comprador rulers are the root cause for the problems faced by the people and hence these can never be resolved by the rulers. However, people can achieve significant gains through organized mass movements and we organise such mass struggles on every problem faced by the people to make living conditions better for them. For those who survive with one meal a day even the slightest increase in their incomes means a lot to their lives. And when it comes to issues like displacement you can imagine the enormous significance to the lives of the people. We are prepared to discuss with the government on ways to resolve all those people's issues that can be resolved within the present system. But we have absolutely no illusions that the government would really implement even its own laws and constitutional provisions as we had witnessed in the case of land reforms drama, without fierce resistance by the people. The central and various state governments have been implementing all the anti-people policies and plans with full knowledge of their disastrous consequences. Bandits and plunderers do not think of the consequences of their acts.

Having said that, I also think that the government would be compelled to resolve at least some issues of the people depending on the heat it faces from mass movements and all-round pressure. We are always prepared to do whatever possible in the basic interests of the people. We have no interests of our own apart from those of the oppressed people. Unless this is grasped thoroughly and looked at through glasses not tainted with bias against the Maoists, one cannot understand the reason for the existence of the Maoist party itself.

If the reactionary governments do not place restrictions on the legal activities of the Maoists, if they do not obstruct the peaceful meetings, rallies, mass strikes and struggles organised by the oppressed people led by the Maoists, then where is the need for them to take up arms? Arms are for the self-defence of the people and are used only when the state obstructs all avenues of peaceful struggle and resorts to brutal violence on democratic

struggles of the people. We see this everywhere from Nagaland, Assam to Kashmir. If the demand raised by the majority of the people—whatever the demand may be, including secession from India—is conceded, then where is the need for armed confrontation? If the police did not go about beating up adivasi men, women and children, blinding them, destroying their property, letting loose vigilante harmad gangs of the social fascists on the people, why would the people of Lalgargh come out as one fighting fist demanding apology by the police chief? And if the SP got rid of his arrogance and apologised for the high-handedness, instead of sending in more repressive forces to the area, then why would the Lalgargh people's movement assume armed form?

The story is the same everywhere. People generally resort to peaceful struggles on their issues, right from submitting petitions, sitting on hunger-strikes, organising dharnas and rallies, but these are crushed with an iron hand by the rulers through their police forces. It is at that point of time that people begin to pursue more militant forms including armed form of struggle.

As an advanced detachment of the working class in India, our Party formed the PLGA for defending the rights and just struggles of the oppressed people and advance their struggle to the culmination of capture of state power without which it is impossible to resolve any of their basic issues. Thus, the ultimate aim of our revolution and the means to achieve it are non-negotiable. However, it is possible to resolve some issues if there is sincerity on the part of the government. If the government does not obstruct peaceful activities and struggles of the Maoists, lifts the ban on the legitimate organisations of the people, then violence would automatically come down. The entire responsibility for the escalation of violence lies with the obstinacy and repressive stand of the rulers. We are always for a peaceful resolution of every issue but we are also prepared to take up arms for self-defence when compelled by the enemy. Chidambaram cannot confuse people by saying that Maoists are not serious to resolve people's issues. But the first and foremost issue of the people is an end to unbridled state violence. Only when this is done, there would be any progress in the de-escalation of violence.

MIB: And you had some experience in Andhra Pradesh in this regard?

Anand: Yes. That is why I can confidently say that levels of violence will rapidly come down if the state puts an end to its unbridled violence on unarmed innocent people. Impartial observers of the period of talks in Andhra Pradesh can see how counter-violence by Maoists had come down to absolute zero for over six months in spite of frequent provocations by the police to break the cease-fire. Eventually, it was the YSR Reddy's government which broke off from the talks and broke the cease-fire when it found it impossible to solve any of the demands raised by the Maoists. Interestingly, all the demands placed by the Maoist delegation were within the constitutional framework! After seeing the hypocrisy and ulterior motives of the Congress government in Andhra Pradesh which launched a brutal offensive after breaking off from the talks, would anyone believe Chidambaram's rhetoric about talks? Our experience in Andhra Pradesh has shown that revolutionaries should not go for talks with such enemies who use it only as a pretext for unleashing more brutal attacks. But there could be a cease-fire if the state first ends its cruel violence.

MIB: *You had once worked as the Secretary of the North Telangana Special Zonal Committee. Recent reports in the media point to a revival of the Maoist movement in Andhra Pradesh, particularly in North Telangana (NT). What is the precise situation there on the ground?*

Anand: At present I cannot say more than the fact that there has been some revival of our activity in parts of NT. We have changed our methods and tactics in the zone keeping in view our relatively weaker subjective forces and the extensive informer network and heavy deployment of the enemy force. In the north Andhra districts which fall under the Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zone, the activity of our Party, PLGA and revolutionary mass organisations, has always been there. The wiping out of 38 Grey Hounds and some other offensives carried out by our PLGA in North Andhra and in the bordering areas of Orissa has created a favourable situation for the movement of our forces and have also aroused the people to a good extent.

MIB: *There are strong opinions among some sections of people that the Maoists had unduly intervened in the culture, customs, traditions etc of*

the adivasis besides opposing development works by the government and this had angered the adivasis. This is cited as the main reason why the adivasis had joined salwa judum.

Anand: This is a white lie fabricated by the reactionary rulers, the police top brass and bureaucrats as part of their psychological war meant to justify the state-sponsored terrorist campaign of salwa judum. Through such totally baseless lies they have been trying to project their armed vigilante goons of salwa judum as spontaneous mobilization of the adivasis and as a rebellion of the local people against the Maoists. Paid agents of the corporate business houses have been trying to din into the ears of the gullible people that it is because of the materialistic outlook and impatience of the Maoists that they are getting isolated from the local adivasi population which is increasingly turning towards the government. Besides Chhattisgarh chief minister Raman Singh and other BJP ministers and leaders, Congress leaders like Mahendra Karma, there are others like retired DG of BSF, Prakash Singh, former chief of IB, Doval, and others who have been carrying out this malicious propaganda without citing a single instance of interference by the Maoists into the cultural lives and traditions of adivasis.

Maoists have been in Dandakaranya for almost three decades now. And today 90 % of the Party membership, most of the members in the various leading Party committees, PLGA fighters, and the leadership of all mass organizations, organs of people's democratic power or janathana sarkars hail from local adivasis. The adivasis constitute the life-blood of the Maoist movement in entire DK as well as Jharkhand, Orissa and other states at the present stage. In all the nealy three decades of our existence there was never any friction with the adivasi population but some of the heads of the tribes or tribal elders who had been lording over the general adivasi masses, have some grouse since the ongoing class struggle had replaced them with young militant leadership. But even among these elders a significant section is with the Party. Maoists had tried to instill new content to adivasi traditions, culture, songs etc., while fighting against patriarchy, blind belief and other evils. In fact, even this struggle against the evils was waged through the local adivasi leadership and hence revolutionary change became possible. Their collective life and customs were not only preserved but also

strengthened and extended to new spheres like co-operatives. It is this further consolidation of their collective life that has made their resistance to the state and state-sponsored terrorism too into a collective movement and has angered the parliamentary political parties, police, the bureaucrats and the non-advansi exploiters and oppressors who find it almost impossible to pick up informers from the areas where the advasis are consolidated. And that is why their houses and entire villages are burned down by the police, paramilitary and salwa judum goondas, their women raped and men murdered. It is these vultures who had uprooted the advasis and destroyed their culture. It is a shame that people like Prakash Singh and Ajit Doval are spreading such malicious slander. These were the only two dissenters in the entire fact-finding team which visited Dantewada in 2006. They were parroting the stories of the SPOs and salwa judum goons whom they met in government-run camps and they did not even bother to meet the thousands of real victims who had fled to the forests or remained in the villages. However much the reactionary rulers and their paid agents cry, they cannot hide the fact that Maoists enjoy immense support of the vast advasi population, and that after the state had unleashed the savage salwa judum the support for the Maoists had further increased. The vultures that are waiting greedily to plunder the wealth in the advasi areas cannot hide the true fascist nature of the salwa judum by spreading canards against the Maoists.

22

Comrade Ganapathy In Conversation with Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha

People's March, Volume II, No..1, January-February 2010

Q : How do you envisage the linking of this struggle with a general struggle in India in terms of class ? Chairman Mao after 1935 took the Long March to Yen-an created a base for national level and part of which was the united front with the Chiang Kai-Sheik. Thereby it became the main national power in China. How do you envisage becoming to a national power in India?

A: In China, in which condition Long March to Yen-an took-place and created a base and a part of it formation of a United Front with Chiang Kai-Sheik for national level is different to our present situation of New Democratic Revolution(NDR) of India. Chinese revolution took place in the first half of the 20th century. Since then several significant changes have occurred in the world. Those are, firstly emergence of a Socialist Camp and its subsequent down fall, secondly downfall of colonialism and emergence of neo-colonialism, thirdly emergence of so-called parliamentary system as the common political system throughout the world, fourthly, a long gap emerged in the revolutionary upsurge after success of revolutions in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos in spite of some upsurges and significant struggles in several countries. If we look at the entire world history, after emergence of

working class on the globe, it confronted the bourgeoisie class and all other reactionary forces and seized power from them in Paris for a short-while and then in Russia, China and several European countries for a long time and shocked the entire globe. In this trajectory, there were various ups and downs in the World Socialist Revolution but nonetheless the struggle continues. It was like waves at times and it slowed down at times, but it never ceased. So we have to see any revolution of a country in the light of historical context.

In relation to our revolution, first of all I would like to introduce our history in a short account to understand the present condition correctly.

Our unified Party, the CPI (Maoist) is formed on 21st September 2004 by merging the two Maoist revolutionary streams of India, the CPI(ML) and MCC. Our great beloved fore-founder leaders and teachers, Comrades Charu Mazumdar (CM) and Kanhai Chatterji (KC) led an ideological and political struggle ceaselessly for a long time against revisionism and modern revisionism of CPI and CPI(M). It was only through this struggle that the backbone of the revisionist parties' had broken down which resulted in a breakthrough in the Indian communist movement. As a result of this great struggle in all spheres by comrade CM and other genuine Maoists, the great Naxalbari armed peasant uprising broke-out like a Spring-Thunder. Then the new history has begun. Then onwards our two great leaders upheld the red banner of Naxalbari and lead the New Democratic Revolution. The revolutionary movement spread like prairie-fire to almost all parts of the country. It spread in different areas at a different scale. During this revolutionary course, within a short duration two Parties, CPI (ML) and MCC were founded on 22nd April 1969 and 20th October 1969 respectively, under the direct leadership of comrades CM and KC respectively. Due to several historical reasons we failed to form a unified Maoist Party at that juncture itself. But our basic ideological and political line, path and strategy of the revolution, and several other basic positions on important questions which we formulated simultaneously were basically same.

The Indian ruling classes unleashed a rein of terror on all revolutionary movements starting with the Naxalbari armed agrarian uprising. At the end of 1972, after the arrest and martyrdom of comrade CM and prior to it we

lost a large number of leaders and cadres in the hands of the enemy. Due to these losses we suffered a countrywide setback. Prior to the martyrdom of comrade CM, intensive internal political and ideological struggle started against wrong deviations, particularly in 1971; this struggle was aimed at the right arch-opportunist SNS clique. Party has disintegrated into several groupings due to our serious tactical mistakes, state terror, severe losses, lack of CC and proper leadership and some effects of two line struggle within the CPC (like the Lin Piao question). Since 1972 July to 1980 our Party, the CPI (ML) was dominated by several splinters, most of them led by right and left-adventurist leadership and disarray spread all over. But on the other side, under the leadership of MCC armed agrarian revolutionary peasant struggle in Kanksha took place and it suffered a setback within a short period due to state terror but steadily expanded to Bihar, and to some extent to Assam and Tripura.

We basically upheld the basic ideological and political line of a genuine Maoist Party, learned lessons from practice, seriously engaged in the class struggle and firmly stood for correct positions on several ideological and political questions which confronted the country and international arena. It was due to these positions that the CPI (ML)-Party Unity (PU) in November 1978 and on 22nd April 1980 CPI (People's War) (PW) had emerged from the CPI (ML) stream. Only due to this, once again we - MCC, PW and PU Parties could build armed agrarian revolutionary movement in different parts of the country, particularly in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. We strengthened our Party, revolutionary mass movement and armed struggle considerably in 1980s, 1990s and early years of the new decade of the new Century and also both of us formed People's Army in the form of PGA and PLGA which culminated in the great unity and formation of our new unified Party and unified PLGA in September 2004. Since 1977 a large number of genuine Maoist forces had merged and consolidated in the CPI (ML) [PW], MCCI and CPI (ML)-PU and still this process is continuing to some extent after the formation of the new Party too. In this period most of the right and left Maoist groups had become gradually disintegrated and disappeared and some of the right groups still exist even though they are weak. Still a tiny section of Maoist forces exist but they are suffering from sectarianism since a long time.

We opine that our struggle within the CPI and CPM is an integral part of the great struggle conducted in the ICM headed by the CPC under the direct leadership of comrade Mao. We also opine that the internal struggle within the CPI (ML) which took place for several years is connected directly or indirectly with the internal struggle of the CPC even before and after Mao's demise. Modern revisionist Deng clique which usurped power in China did much damage not only to our Party and revolution but also to the world revolution. We firmly stuck to Mao Thought and opposed Deng clique's modern revisionism and Lin Piao clique's left opportunism. Our experience clearly shows that Indian revolution had been influenced a lot with the positive and negative developments of International Communist Movement (ICM).

We, the Indian Maoist Party has traversed through a tortuous path for a long period. After formation of Unified Party, most favorable situation emerged for the advancement of revolution. We lost this good chance between 1969 and 1972. The biggest boon of this merger has been the result of synthesis of over 35 years of experience of Indian revolution. It has given us enriched basic documents in terms of strategy, tactics and policies. Our merger brought about a significant change from being two different parties working in distant separate small areas to being a Party with an all India character. Before merger, in spite of both Parties having CC, there was a serious limitation to them in functioning as Central Bodies with all India perspective. But after merger, our understanding further enriched about the uneven development of the country and uneven development of the revolutionary movement. Now we can plan with an all India approach in a better way. It is not yet complete but at least the disadvantages have been done away with notably. A clearer and enriched line has emerged in terms of both India and in world context. And other aspect in this advantage, is that it had its effect internationally too. Before this, mostly we did not see this much of international support. But, still it is nascent, nonetheless it had developed.

In recent years, we suffered several loses. But we have to think how to avoid this much of losses. But our CC has said that we should avoid mistakes to avoid losses and boldly face the enemy and go ahead.

At present in our country other Maoist Parties are not in a position to provide leadership to the masses due to their right deviationist line and limited strength. The progressive and democratic forces are lacking any revolutionary basic program of action and also at present they are having a limited area of influence. Along with all these limitations no one is having any people's armed force to defend the people. I firmly assert that at present no other Party or Organization is capable enough to be a rallying centre for all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces and people. Hence, at present juncture our Party can play a significant role in rallying all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces and people. Our party is having an all India character, good political militant mass base in several States, a People's Liberation Guerilla Army(PLGA) waging a war against enemy in several parts of India and New Democratic People's power is emerging in DK, Jharkhand and some areas of other states. We have a clear-cut understanding about the importance of unity of all revolutionary, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and oppressed social communities including oppressed nationalities against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Our New Democratic United Front(UF) consists of four democratic classes, i.e. workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie. If we wish to form a strong United Front then it must be under the leadership of proletariat, basing on worker-peasant alliance. If we wish to form a strong United Front then it must be supported and defended by the People's Army. Without People's Army people have to defend them. Hence the enemy is seriously trying to eliminate our Party leadership with the aim of destroying the revolutionary and democratic centre of Indian people. So the condition has matured further to rally people around one centre and revolution will advance under the leadership of CPI (Maoist).

At the same time, the world economic crisis, the anti-people and pro-imperialist policies of the Indian ruling classes and the rising state repression, infuriated the masses in the country increasing the revolutionary scope now that there is a single revolutionary party. For a long time, since Comrade CM's martyrdom, India was continuously lacking a single revolutionary platform. Even in the international scenario, there were many cleavages in the Maoist movements. In this particular context the emergence of our

Party provided new hope to the people.

I want to say that the Party has no illusion about the so called parliamentary system and knows well about the Indian state's might and its weaknesses, and on other side we clearly know our strength and weaknesses even after unity and the weaknesses of Maoist forces in our country and of other countries.

The favorable revolutionary condition, the widespread bitter class struggle rising in Indian society and the development of the armed struggle are being keenly observed by the enemy who is taking it most seriously. So these struggles will not be spared by the Indian ruling classes. So immediately in the context of world revolution too, putting together the experiences of Philippines, Peru, Nepal, and India, imperialism is more serious about the development of a bitter class struggle which is emerging in India. In the world present situation, if the Maoist revolution in India can advance to a new stage, it will become a grave threat to world capitalist system. That is why imperialism, particularly America has taken these developments seriously.

So, on the one side, there are more favorable conditions for revolution, and on the other side there is enemy's biggest ever onslaught to suppress the revolution. In this situation, our entire plan is to fully utilize the favorable conditions and resisting the enemy which will be the decisive factor in our plan.

In this context, at present, main hurdle in the path of Indian Revolution is the all-out war unleashed by the enemy. This war is principally against Maoist movement but not limited to this movement alone and is also aimed against all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic movements and the movements of oppressed communities of our society including oppressed nationalities. At this juncture, all these forces have to think together how to face this mighty enemy and how to unite to go ahead.

How can we resolve the problem of all-out war? For resolution of any problem, we have to analyze it deeply to identify the root causes of the problem. So, we have to look into these questions - Why this war? Who's imposing it? On whom is it being imposed? What is the nature of this war? How long will it continue? Can we accept this war or not? Who should

counter it? How to counter it? What is the aim of resistance war? etc.

This war is meant for destroying the revolution which is gradually emerging as an alternative political power to the existing reactionary political power in the country. This war is also meant for plundering massive mineral wealth and other rich natural resources of the vast areas of Adivasi people and other local people from Lalgahad to Surjagarh. They are imposing this war on those who are against this war, i.e. Maoist revolutionaries, Adivasi and other local people of the vast forest areas, workers, peasants, urban middle class, small and medium bourgeoisie, Dalits, women, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities, democratic organizations, progressive and patriotic forces who comprise more than 95% of the population. It is completely an unjust war. This war is imposed by the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie, Feudal forces of this country and imperialists, particularly America. These are the real looters, plunderers, corrupt fellows, blackmailers, hoarders, scamsters, murderers, conspirators, oppressors, suppressors, autocrats, fascists, utmost reactionaries and number one traitors. These reactionaries are planning to continue this war for a long time till they achieve their goal.

Any Maoist, democrat, progressive, patriotic, and ordinary person will never accept this unjust war imposed by the rulers. People will completely oppose this unjust, very cruel, inhumane and treacherous war. It will be defied by all people of our country and people of world. This unjust war is totally against the interest of the people and the interest of the country. People will unite and counter this unjust war by waging a just war. People will never tolerate any kind of unjust war. In the history of entire class society, people never tolerated any kind of unjust war for ever and had fought back every unjust war by paying price with their own blood and had ultimately won. Immediate aim of this just war is to defeat the unjust war completely and then advance towards changing the present social conditions which are giving scope to unjust wars. If we look at the political developments in the country, this inhumane all-out war is giving a tremendous scope to unite vast masses of people and certainly it will become counter productive to the ruling classes.

After 15th August 1947, we never saw this much of integration of

Indian economy, defense, internal security, polity, culture and entire state with the imperialists, particularly with the US imperialists. Nuclear Deal and several defense deals, glaring interference after terrorist attacks in Mumbai on 26th November 2008 and Chidambaram's visit to US and crucial agreements related to internal security are some glaring instances of this. Due to this significant change, the Indian expansionists are playing a crucial role in South Asia. The fundamental contradiction between imperialism and Indian people has further sharpened. This will give great scope to unite people against imperialists and fight back imperialism.

From several decades entire Kashmir and North East are under military and paramilitary domination. On the other hand drastic change has been seen in internal security due to increasing role of military in the internal security. Indian army was deployed at the time of historic Telangana armed agrarian revolution and for a short-while in some pockets of West Bengal after great Naxalbury peasant armed uprising. But today, the Indian army is being reorganized with a long term perspective. Under the dictates of US imperialists in the name of global war against terror, 3 years back Indian army has declared its new policy to deal with internal security and needs of the modern war with other countries. Under this restructuring plan Indian army is training a large number of its forces according to needs of wide-spread counter-insurgency operations. Now onwards Indian army would be used in a wide area of our country against its own people in the name of internal security. If it is really a people's government, how can it use its own army against its own people? The Indian state is functioning as an autocratic and fascist ruler in the garb of democracy. All the gains that were made due to revolutionary and democratic people's struggles are being challenged by the fascists. But this will also force the vast masses of the people to unite and resist with whatever means at hand to defend these gains and ultimately it will become counter-productive to the ruling classes.

We must talk about the current world economic crisis, particularly crises of US imperialists and other imperialist countries. This crisis is in certain aspects even deeper than the Great Depression of 1930s. But capitalism does not die on its own without a revolution. Now to come out of this crisis, imperialists will try to increase exploitation on working class and middle class of their own countries and increase plunder of third world

countries. MNCs and CBB concentrated on the large tracts of mineral wealth extending from Lalgahar in Bengal to Surjagarh in Maharashtra. To exploit this rich Adivasi region, the state and central governments have signed hundreds of MoUs. Indiscriminate loot of this region will destroy environment enormously and bring long term ecological changes. The most oppressed communities of Indian society, i.e. the Adivasis and other local people have come under a great threat. Probably for the first time in the world, such huge populations of indigenous people are being threatened. A new situation is being created and these oppressed people must resist and advance with a concrete program. Without the emancipation of these people, we cannot advance or successfully complete the Indian revolution; this clearer now than ever. Our Party is working on this problem and more and more people will unite and fight back the arch enemies of the Indian people - the imperialists, CBB, feudals and the fascist state.

People of North-East oppressed nationalities and Kashmir are fighting for their liberation since decades. They have advanced to some extent and faced unprecedented sufferings. They did not succeed but still they are continuing their fight. As we have had some successes in guerilla warfare, they are also seeing some hope in the Maoists. There is a new hope that if the Maoist revolution advances, it will help in advancing their national liberation struggles also. In this context, in accordance with MLM, the Party had always maintained the position of support to the right to self-determination including secession of all of these oppressed nationalities. They understand our policy and their fight need to be strengthened. This has to be utilized to unite with them and we should try to form a united front with them. For instance, when the Naga forces were deployed in Chhattisgarh and the Mizo battalions were placed here, there were some protests in Nagaland and Mizoram respectively by their own family members and democratic people. They said that they oppose the war on people; they don't want to send their children for suppressing other people. Strategically it is creating a better condition to unite people of all nationalities, workers, peasants, middle class and national capitalists against the suppression going on everywhere on them. This condition is gradually become counter-productive to the rulers.

Overall, enemy has declared an all-out war on the people in the name of internal security, and the danger from Maoists. We are relatively stronger in several parts of rural areas of our country than before 2004. In spite of it, at present our forces are still limited and we are weak in urban areas (in workers and petty-bourgeois). People's army is still weak and its weapons are inferior to those of the enemy. These are our weaknesses in general. Strengthening the people's army and advancing work in urban areas are two of most the important and urgent tasks before us. The Unity Congress of our Party has clearly announced a strategic plan and has given enriched documents for developing in these fields. On the other hand, social contradictions are sharpening very fast. Along with above urgent tasks, our Party is concentrating on uniting more and more people. If we succeed in this, we can make a leap in the revolution. We are hopeful about the emergence of a united front. In this new situation, it is one of our foremost tasks. We strongly feel that it is not only our task but the task of all revolutionary, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces. Contradiction within enemy classes is sharpening. It got clearly expressed in Nandigram and to some extent in the Lalgarh struggles. There we are utilizing this contradiction and it is necessary to effectively utilize it everywhere to unite people and advance the class struggle. In several areas we are also unitedly working with some democratic organizations and some individuals belonging to ruling classes on different issues of the masses by forming tactical fronts. All Maoists, all other fighting Parties, Organizations and people have to understand the importance of unity between them and formation of a united front. We are having a great hope on the unity of the people and on building a strategic united front and several tactical united fronts. This strategic united front will be amongst the oppressed people against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. In spite of intensification of the contradiction between imperialism and Indian people, still our country has not been attacked by any imperialist country nor has it become a direct colony by any other means. At present our condition is different from that of China in mid 1930s when CPC formed an anti-imperialist united front against Japan imperialism. So, at present we have to form an UF which is different from China's UF in mid-30s. Developments in the country are heading in the direction towards building a united front.

Q : How would the Party deal with the difficulties in the formation of the united front and along with the objective conditions, what does the party think about the subjective conditions in today's scenario ?

A : As the first aspect, Maoist party being the centre for the people of the country and their development, represents what they want. We are representing more than 95% of the population. There is more favorable objective condition for uniting people and people also want a party that will serve their interests. We are not working for partial reform within the bourgeois and exploitative system. We are fighting for the socio-economic demands of the people as well as for the qualitative change of the very basic structure of the society. If we succeed in clearly explaining it to the people, we will succeed in mobilizing and organizing them in the war and will win.

Wherever protracted people's wars, as well as national liberation wars had been fought, experience shows that without a strong mass base, an army, an area and the people, they did not succeed in forming a strong united front. In course of revolutionary struggle, while forming army and establishing base areas we may form several tactical united fronts and a strategic united front though they may be fragile. We have to strive hard to mobilize masses in the war against their enemies and build their own army and establish stable base areas and march forward to build a countrywide strong united front.

What are the ways and methods to win-over friends? For broadest possible unity, we cannot have sectarian approach towards friends of NDR. At present several forces are lined up against the enemy. We have to lead and help them to develop too. In the tactical united front on some issues, there would also be representatives of oppressive classes. We can not expect them to join our ranks, which is a long way ahead. Right now we need to firmly stick to our strategy and for that tactically we need to be flexible.

More clearly to say, there are two different kinds of United Fronts. One, within people, and the other between people and enemy (a section/group/persons from enemy classes) by utilising the contradictions in the enemy camp. Party has to do that. This scope is there to some extent on some issues. We call these contradictions within the enemy forces as the

indirect reserves of the revolution which can be utilised carefully. If we have the clear understanding that they are not our class allies, then we would not have right opportunist deviations. We need united fronts of this kind for the success of the revolution. The Indian Left, like CPI and CPM had trailed behind the bourgeoisie and degenerated.

Last aspect is that each class has its own class interest and a world view. In the united front also there will be unity and struggle. But overall, if the forces in a united front continue the struggle against the main enemy, then within UF struggle becomes secondary, while unity becomes principal. The real issue is how this struggle and unity can be balanced and used effectively. In the UF too, like in society different class interests clash. Even after the seizure of power, there will be unity and struggle in the people's state too and it will continue for a long time. So, in the united front unity and struggle should continue simultaneously. For us it is an utmost important task to concentrate on the ideological and political education of the masses. We can win-over the people who joined in UF by providing leadership in a correct way and handling contradictions within the UF in a correct way and imparting political and ideological education. It leads to winning over of large number of primary membership of other organisations. In a country, revolutionary breakthrough is linked to this process. The China and Nepal Parties had developed through leaps and bounds by doing the same. Both the cadre force as well as the army can also be expanded through this process. If we understand the dialectical relationship between the unity and struggle correctly, we will succeed in forming a strong united front and isolate and crush the main enemy.

I have talked about our basic understanding of a united front, about the subjective conditions, the revolutionary intellectuals and democratic organisations, aligned in a favorable position to the people. But this has to be made practically beneficial. The second question has been about breaking the fierce repression. How can all this be achieved?

We recognize that we are a small Party still. But our real strength lies in Marxist ideology, the classes it represents, its line, strategy and policies, commitment and revolutionary practice. What are the methods to achieve united front? Vast masses need to be united against enemies on the basis of mass line and class line. If we keep to the interests of the masses and use

both the mass line and class line correctly, we will definitely succeed and develop from a small force to a big all India force.

But practically how do you do it?

I talked about where lies our main strength at present even though we are physically small. But physical strength must be needed to fight and succeed. We need a powerful army and strong and vast mass base along with a strong Party. This is practically a must. If this is not there, no matter how much ever ideological strength we may have, it would lead to failure. So, we have to grow. For this, while facing the enemy repression, we have to take up correct tactics. Enemy is imposing all-out war on people. It is through this war that the enemy is creating his own trap. If we wage guerilla war effectively, then we will succeed.

In practical terms, there exist contradictions in the society. New contradictions that will emerge in the society including contradictions among the ruling classes that must be and should be utilized by Maoists in many ways for the advantage of the people. Not only to defeat enemy's all-out war, but for a longer term revolutionary purpose too, this is required. We should strengthen our mass base and fronts which are the main shields of our power. Comrade Mao said that for developing army and war people are the decisive factor. We must mobilize the vast masses against the enemy and utilize the contradictions of the enemy to smash them one after another.

While waging guerilla war, in Andhra Pradesh we had a setback; but we have not completely abandoned it; nonetheless it is a setback. Right from Godavari valley to Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand till Bengal border, we have to intensify and expand guerilla war. Enemy must be resisted by our forces and people. At present we have to cleverly utilize the tactics of hit and run basically. We have to develop guerilla war into mobile war and guerilla army into regular army. For this need active involvement of people. Our strength lies in the people. The enemy will strive to confine us to armed confrontation alone. And they want to limit us to a limited area. They are dividing our areas into various pieces and encircling us. But we can also chase their base camps like honey bees by mobilizing the people. In areas where the enemy camps are located, even in those villages, we have RPCs where still work is going on. Hundreds of people built up ponds

with complete knowledge of the security forces in the camps. So even as the enemy is dividing our masses, we are trying to unite people and are isolating the enemy from people while expanding our mass base, and trying to encircle the enemy camps/bases. We have to keep in mind the strategic importance of guerilla war. They are bringing one lakh paramilitary forces. They have decided to bring and deploy Rashtriya Rifles from Jammu and Kashmir. But Lalgarh to Surjagarh means crores of people. If we succeed in actively mobilizing and organizing the masses to fight back the enemy forces, then we can make this very war a basis for revolutionary change. It is definitely a challenge before us but we are confident that there is an advantage in long run which cannot be achieved in a short period. So while the enemy wants to finish this war in a short period, we want to stretch this war and transform the situation to our advantage.

They are trying to limit our area, while we are attempting to expand. They are building Gram Suraksha Samithis to fight so-called anti-socials and thereby doing their best to contain us. But people are inviting us. Even new, less experienced cadres who are meagerly armed are being asked by the people to visit new areas. For example, the villagers from Sonebhadra in Orissa have invited us themselves. Then again our plans to expand from Raigad to Nayagad in the form of Operation Ropeway under which the Nayagad Raid was orchestrated enabled us to expand into this area in as less time as 8-10 months. So, the Nayagad raid not only had military significance but also political significance as there were strategic reasons behind the raid. Then again Operation Vikas was undertaken to expand the Manpur area to the plain area. But still people are inviting us and their confidence is on the high. If we expand in this shape, we will grow definitely and expand the guerilla war and mass base. If we proceed like this and successfully stretch the war, then in the longer run the political and economic situations are bound to change and under the pressure the state will crumble. Presently, the state is willfully spending millions of rupees in military expenses, but as the war stretches and expands to newer and newer areas, the more it will spend in the longer run, the more would it lead to failure. We are waging war with this strategic plan.

I already explained the second aspect of this question in my answer to your first question.

Q : Is it possible at this juncture for the Party to be at the centre of United Front ? If not, will it be possible to continue? For instance, while working in Delhi where the Party is weaker, how does it envisage a united front?

A : It is of utmost importance to keep the Party in the centre of united front. We will strive hard to rise to the occasion.

I already answered the first aspect of your question in my answer to your first question.

About answer for the second aspect of your question, in Delhi if we could do that it would be easier to work. But that is not the condition today. So, the party after analyzing the situation, decided to keep the party in centre in various other means possible. There are other means – through other Maoist forces, democratic and other progressive forces. And therefore, in places like Delhi, where there is not so much scope for the Party directly to be in the centre, we have to work in other ways. Our forces must rise to the occasion, try to deploy capable forces for united front, identify the most reliable forces in allies and take their help. Different kind of other arrangements need to be made. In one sentence, other democratic, progressive and Maoist forces need to be brought together and in this transitory phase they would be made to lead.

Q : The situation in the early days of the Lalgarh movement was such that intellectuals in a large number came in support of the Lalgarh movement. But of late, the intellectuals have had differences in terms of the later stages of the movement, and the focus has been shifted to such laws like UAPA. How do you perceive the situation?

A : If I had the latest state committee report, it would have been easier for me to answer this question. But still I would like to say that initially there was lot of support among urban intelligentsia too. Now depending upon the enemy's onslaught and the nature of struggle, it will also lead to changes in the reaction of the support base. Some persons may also go to the opposition side of the Lalgarh movement. In Bengal, our influence in the Civil liberty groups and urban areas is not much strong. We need to do

more to develop enough. We need to strengthen our work in urban areas. A lot would depend on our work there and the development of Lalgargh movement in to the higher stage. There is a lot of difference between working among the basic masses and working among intellectuals. And the latter work involves several complex factors. In this context, if the intellectuals are united around any issue, even around UAPA, considering that it is not in contradiction to the larger struggle, it would be positive for us and the people. Those who cannot come to directly support the violent phases of the movement can come together in other issues like that. So, demands may change but those must be slogans of the people. And both, Lalgargh and new slogans need to be balanced. I would say that the Party will definitely take positive criticisms from any quarter of people, even from those who may not agree with our basic line but had stood for people. We invite criticism from people to rectify our mistakes and strengthen our Party. The movement against UAPA is bound to be useful in immediate and long term interest of the people. And in general terms, as such any mobilization in this field is not contradictory to the interests of the Party in the long run.

Q : Where do you place democracy in the working of the Party ? Democracy meaning the right to strike, the right to dissent, and the right to freedom of expression.

A : This is a very important question; however, on this question there is not any confusion in our Party. We need a new democratic state in which other than CBB, landlords and imperialists all others will have real or genuine freedom. Other than enemies of the people, for everybody there would be real or genuine democracy. In addition, I am saying that while preparing Policy Program of Revolutionary People's Committees(RPCs)/Janatana Circars, we have studied the experience of Graam Raajyaas of historic Telangana armed agrarian revolution, Policy Program of Chinese Soviets, People's Barrio committees of Philippines, Revolutionary People's Committees of Peru, United Revolutionary People's Councils of Nepal and also studied the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In accordance with the above we have all fundamental rights to the extent that every voter has the right to recall any elected person, even has the right to bring any one,

whichever position he/she may be in, who works against interest of the people to court in order to prosecute. In terms of the four great freedoms declared by Chairman Mao during the Cultural Revolution, except for the character posters on the wall, all the rest of the freedoms have been ensured in the Policy Program of the RPC/Janatana Circar. As the level of development in the Janatana Circar advances we would also follow the freedom for putting up character posters. According to the constitution, no physical punishment for political difference will be allowed; anybody has the right to freedom of expression, freedom of strike, freedom of dissent and even to unionize. The Indian state is trying to control dissent and therefore people are doing revolution. We would not repeat the same. For any crime, in prosecution, the person has the right to appeal from the village RPC to higher level and even to the Party. For instance, in one of the extension areas, there was an incident where in collusion with the Inspector General of Police, 33 members belonging to two villages became agents of the enemy. In this context our comrades went and handled the issue and called for a Gram Sabha. While the villagers wanted to give capital punishment to the main agent of the police, our comrades convinced the people to give a chance to that person and asked him to realize his mistake.

Q : In an united front, everybody might not join. Some Maoist outfits and democratic organizations can even remain outside. How will you handle that?

A : Those in opposition are people's enemies and more than 95% of the oppressed people would be against them. But even 5% is a big number in the Indian context. Our Party believes that over the course of the protracted peoples' war it gives scope to destroy the enemy political power both directly as well as culturally, as many followers are made to transform. In China, Madam Sun Yat Sen till the last day she was in power was probably never a member of the Party. They can stay only as long as they serve people and have support of the people. When socially and politically they become irrelevant, they will automatically vanish. It is possible for them to win in elections as such parties are having support of the people. This provision is there in our Policy Program of RPCs too. Even other persons belonging to

other Parties/organizations can join RPCs if they are voters and they have the right to be elected too (those who are working with the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal agenda). This being our understanding, it has to be practically developed further and practiced on ground too. In this regard Nepal had made some advancement, but at the end it deviated opportunistically.

We give scope to small and medium bourgeoisie to grow with some restrictions so that they may not become anti-people, and black marketing, stock piling and speculating can be controlled. We only restrict big capital of CBB and foreign countries. For instance in 1998-99 the government had stopped small traders from trading in forest products, so the Khirjas protested and we fought for them by building a movement, though we have stopped usury and have controlled indiscriminate exploitation, we are not stopping products from out side to come in. This is capitalist development of one kind too, but we are controlling it. It is needed to develop the people's economy. If traders had not cooperated, how would we have survived? Under the Janatana Circar, the trade and industry department is handling the small traders so that the bourgeoisie outside cannot take advantage. So freedom continues even if there are collaborators and the attempt is to win them over; it is only in a life and death context that physical punishment is allowed. However right now, while facing repression and war, it has to be acknowledged that we are in a complex situation.

On Talks

In general people and Maoist revolutionaries do not want violence or armed confrontation with anybody. Only in unavoidable condition only they take-up arms and resist their enemies and also they are waging liberation war by learning from the history. So, we see this as a war of self-defense. In this context of all-out war imposed by the enemy, we must recognize that the state of Andhra Pradesh has 130 thousand forces, 45 thousand forces in Chhattisgarh (decided to soon increase 20 thousand more forces) and 160 thousand forces in Maharashtra. Each state has a police force which is more than the national level forces of many European countries. The most cruel and dangerous special forces have been trained by the state along with the passing of various anti-people draconian laws. In Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh along

with Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh there are more than 700 to 800 thousand of police forces. Out of this, 250 to 300 thousand police forces are directly engaged with the people. And besides these, one 100 thousand paramilitary forces have been deployed in these areas. Here people are combating a force which is stronger than forces deployed to crush the movements in North East and Jammu-Kashmir. This is a brutal and violent repression campaign aimed at the suppression of the political movement of the people and for exploitation of the minerals.

In this context, if possible we can hope for some gap. The longer the gap, the better for people. Democratic work needs it in this context. But while the enemy is holding an automatic gun on one hand and pumping bullets on the people, one cannot talk about this. People will keep fighting. Even while facing raining bullets people never drop weapons and people never surrender. All democratic, progressive, patriotic forces need to unite and fight against the all-out war on the people by the central and state governments. To put concisely, the main demands that the party has placed in front of the government for any kind of talks are **1) All-out war has to be withdrawn; 2) For any kind of democratic work, the ban on the Party and Mass Organizations have to be lifted; 3) Illegal detention and torture of comrades had to be stopped and they should be released immediately.** If these demands are met, then the same leaders who are released from jails would lead and represent the Party in the talks.

Introduction on the development of our Party

In 1980 Comrade John Myrdal wrote a book on the AP movement. Since 1980s in our movement there have been several significant developments in various aspects both political and military. Here we want to give an overall picture about the party and its mass base. I would want to talk about the mass base, mass organizations and mass struggle along with the Janatana Circar. Comrade has already heard about the DK experience that has been covered largely by both Com. Murali and Com. Sonu. Here I would therefore concentrate mainly on the Party and its mass base in an introductory way.

When comrade visited AP, that time there was only CPI (ML) (PW)

State Committee along with the TN State Committee. There was also a Central Committee but of course constituted from only these two states, its scope was very limited.

The MCC was working in Bengal and Bihar in that period; however in Bengal it was very weak. In the same way PW was working in AP and Tamil Nadu, where in TN it was very weak. Com. Kobad Gandhi and some other comrades from Maharashtra had joined the PW.

Now we have presence in 20 states but the Party is still very weak in many of these areas. So there is an uneven development under the protracted people's war where according to our strength there are different levels of the movement in different regions. In this context, we must observe the development and the role of a revolutionary party which is important and which I will explain.

In 1980s the Party was trying to emerge from a setback. It was trying to reorganize and consolidate. On the one side, there was the problem of sectarianism and on the other hand, the mass base was largely lost. So we had to rebuild every thing both in terms of mass base and military. Accordingly, our tactics have also changed. At that time it was mainly the anti-feudal struggles and the anti-imperialist propaganda-agitation that had been launched to create an anti-state opinion and build open movements in the urban areas.

Previously, under Com. CM the line had been to disregard mass organizations. Later we rethought and after going through an intense self-critical review, we acknowledged that there were some mistakes in the earlier years and to advance on that basis we rebuilt the movement. The Self-Critical Review was made in 1974 and it was only by August 1977 that forces within the party were convinced. And in practice it was reaffirmed by Party's AP State Conference in September 1980 that marks the beginning of a new practice.

It was since then, that we saw the development of a perspective, taking into account the concrete Indian specificity. There were only a few experienced leaders that were left from the days of Com. CM. Many had gone into right deviation, some into left deviation and only few had come here. So, largely it was a new generation, a new youth, and to turn them

into experienced cadre, a lot of time had to be invested. When you had come here, the party was still undergoing this process. It was only after another 6-7 years that proper leadership would emerge in the context of PW.

First a revolutionary party needs a leadership to understand the socio-economic-political conditions as well as national and international conditions at a given time to formulate tactics accordingly. In the post-80s period we would see that we had made some developments in this sphere of understanding.

Secondly, a revolutionary party needs to organize people and lead class struggle. From the strategic perspective, we selected some areas to concentrate. We mobilized people and built several mass organizations and tactical fronts to lead class struggle on several issues. This is a significant development.

Thirdly, for a revolutionary party, it is an important and central task to build armed struggle. The CP Reddy group had the name of the CPI (ML) and was part of the PCP under the leadership of SNS. It was only they who had some squads in the Godavari area at that time which you had visited. People's War Party had started some armed squads in the shape of peasant squads just then while they already had 60-70 armed cadres by that time.

Later as we developed class struggle according to the path of the Indian revolution, for area wise seizure of power and to build people's army, the PW here and the MCC there started forming armed guerilla squads at the levels of 5, 7,9,11. Thereby some people's guerilla platoons and guerilla zones emerged. In some areas just before the 2004 merger, even people's guerilla companies had emerged. The PW formed People's Guerilla Army in December 2000, while MCC built People's Liberation Guerilla Army in 2002. In the merger process we merged the two guerilla armies and found the PLGA under CPI (Maoist). The next stage is to develop into battalions and further higher formations moving progressively towards the PLA.

Depending on the basic tenets, we are building organs of political power of the people. The vision was there in PW and MCC even before the 1980s. But in Bihar-Jharkhand practically it was achieved in terms of concrete development after the merger.

There are two more developments that I would like to point out. A party in practice evolves tactics and policies. But a large mass in its rank and file has to practice involving people in thousands and lakhs. In practice, there were some mistakes too. While rectifying these mistakes there were bitter internal and external struggles. It is only through the process of this ideological and political struggle that we have reached today's position. After the rectification and review of 70s, the PW had emerged and it had to face grave internal crisis in the form of 1. Sectarianism and dogmatism in the mid-80s. 2. The hurdle to advance the movement created by Com. KS and others in the beginning of 90s. Then again, the MCC-PW clashes had been a bitter and unforgettable experience, a black chapter in the revolutionary history of India. In order to face ideological and political challenges, the party had evolved some correct methods. On all the three occasions the party emerged successfully from the crisis. The MCC also in the same way emerged from its own internal struggle; a section of opportunists brought forth differences pertaining to Maoism, sectarianism and dogmatism but the party emerged from it successfully. The PU too fought against forces that opposed agrarian revolution and protracted people's war line and the party emerged from it successfully. At that time (in 1980s beginning) the PW, MCC and PU were smaller groups than VM and SNS groups. While VM moved to left opportunism and turned into right opportunism, SNS moved more and more into right opportunism. And in practice, SNS Group finally faced virtual liquidation with extremely nominal presence today.

Earlier, we faced the problem of having a line that said that only after seizing state power, other political questions like the nationality question, the women question, the dalit question and the question of religious minorities would automatically be addressed. However, we rectified this stand later and waged struggle both on immediate slogans and ultimate slogans together with a strategic understanding. This was a must for the success of NDR and development towards it. Various other ML groups just raised immediate slogans by keeping armed struggle aside and thereby went into reformism. But now, by putting together both immediate and ultimate slogans we move towards better development.

For Party education, there are several Party Magazines at Central, State

and District level. Around 25 of them are Party's. Several others are Mass Organizations' Magazines. E.g.

Centrally we are publishing People's War/Laal Pathaaka an Ideological and Political Magazine simultaneously in English and Hindi and in other languages; Awami Jung, a Military Magazine in different languages; Maoist Information Bulletin in English.

In DK we are publishing following 12 Magazines

1. Prabhat (Hindi, Party Political Magazine)
2. Viyukka (Ideological and Political Magazine, in Gondi/Koyam)
3. Padiyora Pollo (Military Magazine, Gondi/Koyam)
4. Sangharsharath Mahila (KAMS Magazine, in Hindi)
5. Jhankar (Literary and Cultural Magazine in multi-lingual)

At Division/District level in Gondi/Koyam: South Bastar Division: Pituri (rebellion); West Bastar Division: Midangur (fire fly); Darbha Division: Moyil Gudrum (Thunder); North and South Divisions of Gadchiroli: Podudu(Sun); Maad and North Bastar Joint Division: Bhoomkal (Earth quake); East Bastar Division: Bhoomkal Sandesh(rebellion message); Other than this the Janatana Circar also has a magazine called Janatana Raj (People's State).

There are also study classes that are organized with study notes and syllabus. Political classes are organized at different levels. There are some education departments/sub-committees and Teachers' Teams for political, ideological, organizational training of the Party, military, MOs, UF, RPCs etc. For rectification campaigns we organized collective studies and conducted classes in which we studied the rectification campaigns of the Chinese, Philippines and Peru revolutions. There are military instructors' teams for running military schools.

The Party in the DK area and most of adivasi and remote villages face the problem of enormous illiteracy and lack of primary school education. Eg. In DK, we organized the MAS (Mobile Academic School) for the purpose of primary academic education of party cadres. Hundreds of cadre has been trained since its beginning. The Janatana Circars also run academic schools with their own syllabus which were prepared in consultation with

the Education Department and Party.

Introduction on the development of People's Army (At present we call it as People's Liberation Guerilla Army)

I request you to refer our central documents for complete picture of our army development in specific conditions of the country and in which international situation it was formed. I request you to give attention on this due to its vitality in any revolution.

Introduction on the Development of UF

In terms of mass organizations, we have over the years, developed several fronts including peasant, workers, women, students, youth, employees, civil rights, literary and culture, nationality and children and so on. The stronger the party in a state, the larger the organization and the fronts. In the weaker areas there are fewer mass organizations at the state level in accordance with the strength of the movement. Now, the party has mass organizations at different levels both from local to all India level. We are building these mass organizations with the perspective of forming four-class alliance. In accordance with it we are building mass organizations in other sections too. By giving emphasis to mass organizations, we presently have 30-40 of them working in various fronts. During the beginning of 1980s MCC had few mass organizations working secretly and in AP we started mass organization in the peasantry, workers, students and literary-cultural sections along with the youth. Then we had some influence but later with the development of our understanding, we built different mass organizations from village level to all India level. In the 9th Congress of the PW and Unity Congress of the New Party it was decided to develop cover mass organizations and united fronts which would be issue-based and tactical along with different kind of mass organizations. At present on some issues even some persons belonging to enemy classes and local leaders of ruling parties could come together in loose fronts. Legal opportunities need to be utilized. There are some mass organizations working with MLM. There are some mass organizations that are working under complete cover even with others. The class struggle needs to be waged by all these mass organizations.

Introduction On International Relations

In terms of international relations I would like to say some aspects of it here.

In the beginning of 1980s both MCC and PW had been regional in scope, because of which we failed to a large extent in connecting to the larger international movements. However from mid-1990s onwards, both Parties and particularly after the formation of the CPI(Maoist), the party is now playing an anti-imperialist role to some extent internationally too. We are participating in international debates and sending delegations to international forums though much progress needs to be made in this front. It is nonetheless better than in the 1980s and 1990s. In terms of RIM, MCC had joined it in 2002. The PW was however opposed to joining in RIM as it believed that it is only after thorough deliberations, understandings and discussions that such an international platform could be evolved in order to avoid a sectarian approach. Therefore the PW did not join the RIM, while MCC went ahead. After merger, it was decided that whatever the new Party decides would be put to practice. And since then, as per the decision of the whole Party, it kept itself out of RIM. We kept outside RIM which by now has become virtually defunct. It is important for the success of the Indian revolution as an inseparable part of great world socialist revolution, to actively defend MLM, fight imperialism and support the class struggle throughout the world; to take the support of the international Maoist Parties/Organizations/Forces, proletariat and people; and to strive to organize Indian people residing in other countries. It is also one of our important tasks. For this purpose, we have to maintain fraternal relations with Maoist and anti-imperialist forces. We believe that it is important both to extend help as well as take international help for the success of any revolution.

We believe that CPI (Maoist) is a detachment of world proletariat revolution. If it succeeds, we would say one part of the world would succeed - it is not independent. It would work as a part of the world socialist revolution and it is strictly related to the success or failure of the world socialist revolution. More working class struggles in the imperialist/capitalist countries will have a favorable impact on Indian revolution and vice versa.

23

Comrades Satenna and Sonu in Conversation with Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha

People's March, Volume 11, No..1, January-February 2010

Interview with Comrade Satenna

(Com Sattenna who was released from jail recently. He was Politburo Member of our Party and Ex-Incharge of South West Regional Buro.)

After the setback of Naxalbari, Karimnagar and Adilabad peasant movement was started in AP by 1978. During this time, the Party decided to organise 'Go to Village Campaign' in 1977. Accordingly, in 1978 in Telangana, Coastal areas of AP, youth and students from APRSU and RYL along with Party Professionals organised political schools for 10 days in the shape of Go to Village Campaign. At the village level, a democratic revolution against feudalism was the agenda and appeals were made to the villagers through pamphlets, posters and rallies. There was a strong contradiction between feudal lords and peasantry in the shape of a class struggle. A perspective was needed for a protracted people's war towards a liberated base. According to the planning in DK (Adilabad, East Godavari and Visakha agency which were earlier all under DK, now with the spread of the movement, from the strategic point of view the Adilabad, East Godavari and Visakha were separated from DK) to build liberated zones for which purpose 7 squads went out.

Here after entry of the squads, in Warangal, Khammam and Nizamabad class struggle had intensified along with Karimnagar and Adilabad. Under the squads leadership class struggle developed in DK. In 1984 a committee i.e., Forest Liaison Committee was attempted to be formed in DK for the coordination of the movement. In 1987, a state level committee was elected, but due to absence of a central level committee it worked under the AP state committee. After the formation of present DK, I mean in 1995 there is a forest committee called Special Zonal Committee. In DK, the four districts i.e., East, Adilabad, Bastar, Gadchiroli had different situation as in different states there were different levels of exploitation.

1. In Adilabad, in the gond adivasi areas, there were mahajan, who through their usury practices, charged high rates of interest and grabbed peasant land.

2. In Gadchiroli there was not that much exploitation from money lenders, but it came from the forest department. Along side there were other contradictions, but the primary one being the state versus people.

3. In Bastar, there was land problem. Here there was contradiction within the people as well as from the forest department. There was lesser exploitation than Adilabad. Tribals, though they were divided into classes, contradictions here were not yet as sharp as in Telangana plain areas. There was a class society here, but due to the tribal traditions, unlike plains exploitation, the Mukhia/Manjis exploitation was less sharp, the main contradiction thereby being state versus people.

4. Visakha/East Godavari - here both contradictions i.e., landlords versus people and state versus people was perceptible. In terms of the land problem and the contradiction between Mukhia and the people, one may say that the tribal chiefs always use to keep the best lands under their control and the people only had the less fertile land. So in 1987, the Party gave a call for land distribution leading to struggles.

It was in this period that people were being mobilised and state intervention also increased. Com. Peddi Shankar was the first person to be martyred in DK in Moinbinpet of Gadchiroli. Then after the squads were attacked and the repression also intensified with people being arrested. There were differences in the levels of preparation in different region, but

nonetheless repression was common in the East and Adilabad and somewhat less in Bastar and Gadchiroli and the Party had to advance fighting state repression.

Mass organisations started being built initially there were peasant organisations where women also took part, later separate women organisations were also built for their emancipation. One of the prime issues around which the party mobilised the people was regarding increase in labour rates for tendu leaf collection. In this backward area, the contractors used to pay at a much lesser rate than decided by the government. From 1981 onwards the party started building up large mobilization against this. Later, the party also mobilised around the issue of feudalism and the mahajan's exploitation in this area. In this way, the party carried forward the bright history of the struggles of Srikakulam and Naxalbari.

The 1/70 Act that had prohibited non-advasis from buying land in the adivasi area was largely a farce because already by then thousands of acres of land had been acquired by the non-tribal rich peasantry or the landlord. Bitter struggles were led in Adilabad and other areas over this issue of land. It was during this time that forest land of thousands of acres was also being reoccupied under the party's leadership as the class struggle advance.

Repression also was going hand in hand like in 1981 April, the state police mercilessly fired upon the Indravelli meeting where many were martyred. But inspite of repression, the movement advanced progressively. So, in various areas mobilisation and struggle were launched on various different issues like forest land, increase in labour rate for paper mill works, mahajan exploitation and so on.

By 1985, in many areas the struggle had expanded and therefore the state in order to repress the rising movement made bigger plans to crush it, particularly in AP, in the shape of undeclared war on people. Around the same time, in the DK belt I mean AP part too police repression started leading to great losses in the form of indiscriminate encounters and arrests. But the movement advanced in DK fighting this repression.

Specially under the DK committee and the AP committee the movement to seize patta lands intensified in 1991. And as the momentum built around the land issue, repression, torture, elimination of squads was planned in

tandem with the state.

The movement advanced and even expanded by 1990 facing all kinds of onslaught by the state and finally the COC was formed.

Particularly, if you look at the Gadchiroli movement, adivasi people were to be mobilised in vast numbers. This eventually invited hundreds of arrests even of intellectuals by the Maharashtra police. By 1993 the peasant movement and women movement had intensified along with the development of the Party and huge masses amounting to thousands were being mobilised. Sharad Pawar, the then chief minister, launched a large scale repression to encounter the people. Within one year, 60 members were martyred. Simultaneously, in Bastar too state repression and encounters were on the rise. And eventually, both in AP and Maharashtra repression intensified.

In this context, in East Godavari and Visakha more than 106 villages were burnt here and an atmosphere of white terror was created. At many places, APCLC and AP intellectuals tried to collect funds to help the tribes as well as through sending fact finding teams. NT Rama Rao, in spite of coming to power with populist slogans, posing himself as a democrat, and giving Lal Salam to the naxals, after getting the seat of Chief Ministership, continued the rampant suppression and terror campaign like the earlier governments.

The movement advanced towards a liberated zone after the party came here and gave calls for people's war. But it was only in 2000, that the decision of building people's war was taken more concretely by the party and since then the developments in guerilla war had intensified at rural level and the revolution had taken the lead in the correct direction.

The CP Reddy group with which comrade had been acquainted in 1980, split into Prajapantha and Janashakti. The later again split into Pratighatana and Prajapratighatana. As of now, some groups of this faction are there here and there. New Democracy turned into a legal party and took the revisionist party line. It had one seat in the Assembly election. At present even that was lost. Janashakti, after the severe repression had suffered losses as well. But there after retarded in line.

Prison - Another battle ground for Revolution

The multi-pronged attack of the state has been there to eliminate our strategic leadership and for this purpose, the government had taken many plans. Largely their plans has been to use fake encounters. During some of the arrests, if they had been in a public area where encounter could not be used for elimination, the drama of court and judiciary was orchestrated. With the complete collusion of both state and centre, the entire judicial machinery and penal provision are in a pathetic condition. Particularly, Maoist prisoners face a lot of repression and torture to the extent of being kept in chains more than 24 hours, or in single cells by court order. The condition is largely similar in Maharashtra, Chattisgadh, Andhra. The later however, has relatively better jails and court system while inhuman conditions prevail in the rest. Particularly in Maharashtra, where there are hundreds of jails, squad members, party members, militia as well as state committee members remain behind bars, some for even 3-5 years without trial. Chandrapur, Amaravati, Nagpur and Bombay being the most notorious. In Chhattisgarh - Raipur, Durg, Jagdalpur and Bilaspur are the most notorious where more than 500 Maoists ranging from PB, CC, DVCM and other comrades are in jails. Other than in AP, where there are some lawyers who are pro-people, most lawyers in other states are appendages of the police system only. In terms of basic facilities, like food, drinking the condition inside jails is pathetic to keep psychological pressure, they don't allow communication from outside. Male and female inmates are kept separate and provisions like pen, paper etc. are denied. In terms of the condition of jails and the duration of arrests, there is coordination between different states and once the stipulated dates of confinement comes towards a close, inmates are shifted to other states with new charges. Prisoners are not allowed to meet their relatives who are harassed and sent back. Letters from outside had not delivered and prisoners have no right to write letters to his own correspondents. The party for instance wrote several letters to the five comrades jailed in Bhopal but not in last 3 years, not even a single letter reached them. Even though some of the prisoners get released, they are rearrested using 110. The surrendered people in Gadchiroli, were put back in prison in this way. More remarkably, the AC member of Gondia division had been released 5 times from prison and each time he was put in

jail again. And there are half-a-dozen such cases. Comrade Madanlal, State Committee member, Maharashtra, was kept in Chattisghad, where after he was transferred to Maharashtra and after the stipulated time, again he was brought back to Chattisgad with 14 new cases.

Cases are not being heard. Com. Murali and Com. Arun Perera in Nagpur jail, where they were in hunger strike for 27 days, finally forcing the High Court to give orders to speed up their cases. But still after 2 and half years, even after being acquitted from main cases, and the stipulated time till 16th December, he has been put back with 8 to 10 more cases.

Right now, due to advancement of the class struggle, mass struggle and civil liberties struggle in Andhra Pradesh, one can see some difference in the scenario, however there is no basic difference in the nature and character of the state. For the problems faced by the ordinary prisoners and Naxal prisoners, a forum had been built under whose leadership several movements were launched. When the Congress government gave release orders on which TDP put a stay order through High Court, this move was vehemently resisted by Maoists and Janashakti prisoners. It was because of such struggle, due to which some difference can be present in Andhra prisons. Again, there was a struggle in September, October 2008 when several ordinary prisoners died due to B1, B2 vitamin deficiency in Warangal jail. The Maoist prisoners who had won the right of separate kitchen, along with Janashakti prisoners in their commune had better dietary condition, but ordinary prisoners were exploited in their food ration leaving to the death of 22 prisoners. An all-jail strike call was given giving to a big movement. There after 11 ordinary prisoners from jail were disposed. There was another movement in 2008 in Balimela, after the greyhound forces were ambushed. The huge strike and movement finally forced the government to acknowledge the hunger strike which was only withdrawn after a delegation has been sent. Due to such movements, there is some advancement in the condition of some of the jails, but the rest remain in extremely difficult condition. Even the most basic facilities are denied. While the prisoners in AP receive 40 Rs. per day in terms of court day funds, prisoners in other states not even receive 20 Rs. The rates being 10 to 15 years back. Particularly Maoist prisoners are not only kept in false charges, but were also tortured and kept in single cells. Even after release, through inter-state coordination,

they are rearrested in front of jail doors and shuttled to some other state. Even the legal and constitutional rights are denied thereby rendering an extremely difficult situation. At the all India level, keeping in mind the repression on Maoists and Naxalite prisoners, we must fight on a national level by even mobilising ordinary prisoners. Such mobilisation can solve some issues.

During the elections, all parties, accept the fact that Naxalites are fighting for socio-economic reasons, but none of them after coming to power, accept the status of political prisoners for them.

CC member Com. Vijayda, Com. Barunda, Com. Shobadi and many others are kept back even after bails. Com. Barunda has been kept back 3-4 times and even UAPA cases have been put on him on a date when UAPA didn't even exist. Com. Shobhadi even after her release from Rourkela case, was kept back in Jharkhand. Com. Vijayda after receiving bail in Hyderabad case was again shifted to the Raipur jail in Chattisghad and had spent 6 years in jail. Presently he has been 70 years old. Com. Vijay, Com. Chintan Kishore, Com. Janardhan and Com. Ashutosh - all are suffering in isolated cells. All the democratic aspirations of state claims about become farce when they come to Naxalites. Comrades in Jail fight for even primary right, even on the face of torture, Com. Malati and Com. Geeta were brutally beaten up but still they continued their fight bravely. False charges were put on Nirmaladi where she was kept in Jagdalpur jail against whom 139 to 140 cases. So much so that the SP even gave open threats that there are many cases against her that virtually give her life sentence. There are around 40 cases against her husband. Com. Padma was arrested in Durg and was acquitted from a murder case lodged against her, but there were five new false case put upon her and she was kept in Jagdalpur jail. Even the orders by Supreme Court or High Court were never followed. Situation is very painful in Andhra Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand. Com. Srinivas arrested in AP, was tortured and both his hands were broken. The judge callously remarked that such things happen during interrogation. There were 27 false cases against him, including a charge of plotting when he was in jail. Com. Pandu Ranga Reddy, Regional Committee member had 40 cases against him. There are 50 to 70 cases in Andhra Pradesh, who have been in jail for 3 to 4 years. Such is the condition of judiciary that even

lawyers coming to the fore are being threatened and obstacles are being put in the way of their promotion. There is a fascist oppression launched in Andhra Pradesh, while in other states conditions are more overtly fascist. 5 comrades were shifted to Tamil Nadu from Orissa by ridiculously linking them with the Koraput raid. An AP lawyer when he went to Bhopal, he was badly harassed but when he remained steadfast, the hotel owner was threatened to clear his room. The colonial legacy that the Indian state inherited has been intensified over the years in its penal regime. In all states, there is a common story where false cases are launched and through pity warrant, court custody is asked for. The judge being influenced and the custody is easily taken. Thereafter, the person is taken to another place to an excuse of investigation, where he was forced to go interrogation. By the time he was produced back in the court, he is put back in jail with 20 to 25 cases. Obviously the police has no confidence on its false cases. Com. Murali, after his arrest, similarly was produced in court where the DGP produced 21 cases. He was taken in the name custody and was charged of large conspiracy and murder in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Bengal and Karnataka. So another elaborate list was made where not a single case was lodged in AP. Com. Murali, was even charged of the murder case in Jharkhand of Sunil Mahato and the Crime Branch came to him for interrogation, knowing fully well of his non involvement just because he was asked by his superiors.

All these hurdles and weapons are being used as an obstacle in the way of Indian revolution. It is an alround conspiracy of the state. Even after the Supreme Court had given orders that once a prisoner has been acquitted of a list of cases, no new cases can be put on him or her and even after High Court has given orders for speeding up cases, none of them are ever followed. A virtual Police Raj and fascist system is at work, particularly against the Maoist prisoners in jail. Comrades are not even allowed to speak freely or give statements. When my mother came to court, she asked me to come home immediately. When I said to her that I have been working for revolution last 30 years, and cannot come home abruptly, this was flashed all over the media. So it is upto the state to decide regarding the statements from the media. In AP or in other states, Narco has been practised on ordinary prisoners which has been proved unscientific. Even after the

Supreme Court ban, lower courts are seriously thinking of implementing it. For instance in Maharashtra, permission was given for Narco for Com. Perera and Com. Murali. Com. Perera cleverly misled the investigation by talking about Bal Thakerey, while I rejected the demand by arguing that completely different cases are lodged on me. The state is trying to impose this extremely unscientific interrogation as a new form of torture in its armoury. We have to build up legal aid front for a larger national struggle against the state and its fascist policy. The CRPP (Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners) has done some considerable work but more coordination is required. They observed Jatin Das Martyrdom Day by organising public programmes all over the country, but more lawyers need to come forward to make the platform more effective. CRPP should fight on a larger front by organising the rights of both ordinary and political prisoners. Such is the condition of the blind judiciary that there is a board that sets decide the fate of prisoners who have served for 13 years that unilaterally decide and add 7-14 years terms extending the duration to 27 years. In the Chattishgad border, people who have gone into AP, are being arrested indiscriminately in Warangal because they have been active and have been tortured in jails. The Jailor threatened him to put them in Naxalite barracks. This shows the inter-state coordination through which AP is helping in the repression of the DK movement.

Interview with comrade Sonu, PBM, CPI(Maoist)

DK includes Andhra, Chattisgadh, Orissa and Maharashtra villages and forest in the area covering the borders of 4 states comprise DK. The name Dandakaranya was not given by the Party. This name in history can be traced to the myths. It is said that Ram stayed in the Dandakaranya forest during his forest exile. At present in DK, there are 10 Divisions of the Party are working. As of now, the party is expanding outside DK, for instance Manpur and Mainpur divisions. Till 2004, It was only old Bastar and Gadchiroli that came under the struggle areas. Later Manpur and Minepur added. For easier coordination, the Bastar area divided into 6 divisions, while Gadchiroli divided into 2 divisions. These along with Manpur and Minepur, form the total 10 divisions. In the entire DK area, it is the Koya,

Dorla tribes who are predominant adivasi communities. Others comprise Halbi, Batra and the Pradhan. There are some dalit sections as well as the Mahar community of Maharashtra also falls under this area. Other than this there are some non-advasi communities like Sahu. The Koya and Dorla communities are together referred to as Gonds. That is why the name Gondvana. The total Gond population covering parts of Madhya Pradesh, Chattishgad, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa amounts to 70 lakhs. Here when we are working 10 divisions of DK, it covers a total of 45-50 lakhs population approximately. Spread over 60 thousand square kilometers approximately the movement is going on. Here people from before Christ itself throughout its history have been rebellious and fighting people. In history, even before the British, and of course during colonial times, these people fought in several massive uprisings. From 1825 to 1964 the people rebelled 10 to 11 times under various leaderships. In 1964 the people of Bastar under their Raja struggled for the last time against Nehru regime. And then after a 10-15 years of lull, we entered this area in the early 1980s. Throughout its history, the people of this area have fought against exploitation for their land and livelihood. They have had a democratic living in accordance with the tribal tradition that prevailed in India.

Here, after coming in 1980, the history of the early years of the party have been covered adequately by Com. Murali. In 1989, a state wide Adivasi peasant organisation started in DK in the shape of DAKMS. Under this organisation, men and women fought for land rights and particularly the landless peasants were consolidated under the slogan - land to the tillers. At present it reached near about one lakh membership. There after in 1991, KAMS was formed as a women's organisation for the purpose of emancipation of women. At present it has one lakh membership. And by now, we emerged as the most important Party in DK. In 2004, the CNM was started. Now it reached more than 10000 membership. I think it is the biggest revolutionary writers and artists organisation in India.

We have attempted to consolidate the masses here and have produced great results. As the people here had a long history of oppression under the state's forest department and the tribal chiefs - they naturally showed interest. Initially however it took some time for the people to built trust on the Party. But eventually once that was gained, there was great success. The first

struggle launched in this area, was against the forest department. The primary problem being that of the land. The forest department had enormous amounts of land under its authority. Initially, in spite of the presence of contradiction between the tribal head and the people, the people hesitated to say any thing about it, as they did not have confidence on the party. They feared that if the party leaves they would have face the brunt of the chief's revenge. Therefore in the initial years, we took the entire adivasi population versus the forest department and as they observed our sincerity and sacrifice in the struggle against the state, then the people consequently told us of their internal contradiction. Due to land problem, being the most serious one, it had taken most seriously by the party. There is almost no land less peasantry here today, however initially there were in considerable number. Three lakh acres of forest land were won over. So the first struggle within the village was launched around the land movement only. The tribal chiefs had a lot of land under their power. But once that was acquired along with the forest land, the standard of living in this area had an upward turn. In the initial years, there was dirth of food as well. Now they are getting food two times a day and also possess land. The struggle against the forest department was combined with the struggle against the tribal chiefs.

But state repression was also increasing simultaneously. A stage had come by then when the villagers had confident that DAKMS was their own organisation. Every villager participated in it in the form of a tradition. The old tradition of collective participation of the Adivasi was exploited by the party in its initial years for the purpose of the revolution. Now that they themselves started understanding the advantages of organisation and the party it raised the consciousness level of the people to the extent that they could clearly demarcate the contradiction between the people and the chiefs as well as the people and the state. So, the alignment also was very clear to them. The chiefs sided with the state, while the party and people came together.

By this time, there was the consciousness among the people, that if they needed to maintain their right over the land, then they would have to fight. Or else, the state and the chiefs would seize the opportunity to grab it back. So the party as well clearly gave the direction that if you organise yourself in armed only then you will be able keep your right.

It was around the same time, that the first Jan Jagaran started in 1990-91 and this was hardly a co-incidence. As the tribal chiefs lost their land as well as their traditional status, the DAKMS was steadily replacing them. So naturally, the state and chiefs colluded in organising the first white terror campaign in 1990-91 in the form of Jan Jagaran. At the same time, this was the time of the good increase in the recruitment for the party which shows that all these developments were related.

So, this is an crucial period in the history of DK movement. The white terror had started in 1990-91. The DK had also reached the Zonal level peasant and women's organisations and recruitment in the form of people's militia were on the rise. Just after a year in 1991, serious repression started in Maharashtra. Between 1991-1994 dozens were martyred in the undeclared war in Gadchiroli and Bastar. State most obviously was not ready to tolerate the people's movement. It was at this time, the party took the decision to fight against the state. It is since then, that action against the state forces started being taken. In 1987, actions against the state started in AP. By 1991 it had started in DK. Guerilla zone started being developed. This is also the same time that the party had planned to expand again and accordingly in 1989, 15-20 comrades were sent into Central India. By 1995 when the Party's 2nd Conference held, the development of Party in DK in terms of recruitment, militia as well as ambushes had expanded. The traditional chiefs had been more or less suppressed and by now all village problems were being referred to the DAKMS. This was a form of power transfer in clearest terms. Both the traditional chieftains and the government Panchayat system were losing ground. Even the patwaris stopped coming to village for revenue collection. The only active channel by now was the DAKMS. The Party observed a power vacuum. A new power has to seize the state. By 1994, the decision to create people's power organs was formally taken. And it was past 1995 the All India Special Conference was held. PU had sent a fraternal delegation. The Party also ratified the decision of building power organs. By 1996, the work for building a new people's power was on its way. There was a rapid increase in the speed of agricultural development activities for the agricultural people. The Janatana Circar at that time, thereby concentrated in the main problem in this area i.e., extremely the backward agriculture. Decision was taken to concentrate on the

development of agriculture. Because in the entire Bastar and Gadchiroli region, only 2% of the land was irrigated as per government records. Irrigation tanks were started being built at the village level leading to agricultural development. This also led to a new found unity among the people. Along with this, there was a new phenomena in the form of the development of a cooperative system. 3-4 families started ploughing together. Even while building houses or doing other works, cooperative teams of 11 members emerged. Other than agricultural activities, these work teams started participating in other collective works like the collection of the fire wood and other 10-12 works. These work teams at the level of peasantry, were built from the class perspective. Putting the poorer peasant families along with the rich peasantry would have meant by the time they ploughed their own land, the monsoon would be gone. The cooperative system as it emerged, led to the development of a feeling of collectivity and unity. There was land now in hand along with there was irrigation which led to for the betterment in the standard of living. Recruitment also multiplied simultaneously. As people's power consolidated, again, the state reacted with a second white terror campaign the name of Jan Jagaran campaign. Mahendra Karma, whose father was a British collaborator as well as a big landlord, led the first white terror campaign in 1990-91 and this time he again led it in 1997. As Lenin had correctly pointed out, as the power recedes, from the power of old feudal lords, they strike back with ten times more power and also in terms of a class enemy. This is what we clearly witnessed here.

In 2001, on the 9th Party Congress along with PU, a conceptual development was arrived in the party about base areas and building the people's army. After a thorough review, the decision was taken let us build guerilla bases. With the same perspective already in December 2nd 2000 the PGA had been formed. Since 2001, the first base area construction had to be analysed in more concrete terms. This was discussed and debated thoroughly. Accordingly within the guerilla zones, guerilla bases began to built. There fore, concrete shape was now finally being given to the construction of people's power in accordance with the terrain and available support of mass base. 500 to 3000 people in the villages were now being constituted into RPCs. The understanding was formulated that without army

people cannot built power. People's army and people's power were linked. This developed understanding helped us a lot in working towards both the development of the army and the development of people's power. 2 or 3 spots were selected for guerilla bases in each division, and in this shape 10-12 spots were concentrated upon to form the guerilla bases. Maad form the Central Guerilla Base.

After this decision was taken, work started towards that direction. The first step was to create village level RPC. The second step was to create ARPC over the selected guerilla bases in each division. By 2004 December, the first ARPC was built. And by 2005 February, the 2nd ARPC was formed. From 2005 onwards, till 2008 all the spots were covered by ARPC.

The party decision was to create minimum 3 ARPCs in each division which is under process. Now divisional governments are also built. The first divisional government was formed in 2007 March. During the initial stage of guerilla bases, the corresponding military formation was platoons. Now with the development of divisional circars, Companies were formed at military level. To intensify this process, we have made Zonal Level Circar Preparatory Committee. Once this is made, the zonal level circar will be in place and alongside in terms of military development, battalion are being built. The first battalion was formed on August 10, 2009.

At the village level, for the Janatana Circar, there is adult franchise. After that at higher levels, there is representative election. And the same process goes up to the Zonal level council. Considering the DK area was predominantly inhabited by adivasi people with limited experience in new governance, the first workshop for this purpose was organised in February 2008. It was an extremely productive endeavour as a free exchange of experiences and opinions to be taken for both the party as well as the people could take place. On the other side, as the higher level of people's government is being formed. The call for boycott of parliamentary election is now being more actively undertaken. In the 2008 November, Chattisghad Assembly Election, in the 2009 April, 15th Lok Sabha Election and in the 2009 October Maharashtra Assembly Election, we have observed the steady development under the leadership of the people's government of active and collective boycott of election by the people. All the RPCs called public

meetings in their villages and told the people that they have been electing their own government, how can they elect another government outside at the same time ? So entire population with the concrete consciousness have boycotted the bourgeois parliamentary elections.

Along side the people's militia have also developing steadily with the purpose of protecting the people's government. Our military strength have also been increasing and consequently the para military forces that during every election try to pressurise and threaten the masses have been effectively registered by the PLGA and the militia lately. In the entire Bastar struggle area there are only been 2-5% polling. For instance, in Gogonda, there were 700 voters and 1000 para military posted during election. As the bourgeois media itself showed, even after such arrangements there were only 10 votes cast, that too after 3rd time repolling which completely exposes the irrelevance of the bourgeois parliamentary elections to the people of this area.

As people's government coming to power, along side we are rejecting bourgeois parliamentary elections. This is the only place outside the Kashmir, where the very low polling was held and election boycott was so successful and this had definitely threatened the state.

In terms of recruitment too, PLGA has been taking recruitment campaign from 2001. Now however with the coming of the Janatana Circar, the duty of recruitment has been handed over to the RPCs, because the people's army is a responsibility of the people's government. Now, encouragement is being given at the village level to join the people's army. For instance 2008 December, in Gangalur the ARPCs of this area conducted two public meetings at two different places attended by more than 10 thousand people. From the dias itself, the ARPC president gave a call for recruitment into the PLGA. From these two public meetings alone, nearly about a 100 youth volunteered to join the PLGA and the party after scanning recruited 60-65 members from here.

All developments in this region of DK is now the responsibility of the people's government, i.e., the Janatana Circar, which is concentrating and dealing with the problems of the people. The weakening of the bourgeois parliamentary government is being simultaneously replaced by the

strengthening of the people's government. The RPCs originally had 7 departments later two more departments in the form of trade and industry and public relations were added. We are also trying to ensure women's participation in people's government with the idea of ensuring 50% share for women in governance. We are still working on this area and as of now there has been not much progress possible. We are working towards expanding it. Each department in the RPC is working in different field. Mainly, the agricultural department, the education and cultural department and the medical department are working most effectively for development. Now we are not taking taxes from the people at this stage. The middle and petty-bourgeoisie in accordance with the 4-class alliance are being made to pay taxes for agricultural development, medical as well as building of schools, we are at present depending on the fund collection from the people which is accumulated minimum shares from agricultural production and forest production. Particularly in terms of defence department, working for the people's militia, providing it with basic defence material, like flash light, gun powder, bows and arrows etc. the people's government is taking responsibility. We are all in a state of war. So for the defence of the people and protection of Janatana Circar we are concentrating on the defence department and the militia.

As the Mukhia's traditional privileges and the government's panchayat system are receding alongside the people's power is expanding. A clash between the two powers is inevitable. Mahendra Karma in 1997 directly aligned himself with the village chiefs with full state backing. In this campaign of white terror, many local comrades were tortured, many houses were burnt and people were threatened to surrender by giving open threat calls. One of our local comrades, for instance had been killed publicly in front of the public meeting, creating an atmosphere of terror.

We also had developed a military force even at the level of squads and took actions against the people's enemy. Masa of village Vedire was a cruel and notorious village chief and he was eliminated as the people's enemy. In this way selected people have been killed which made others hesitant while many surrendered in front of the people. This phase continued from 6-8 months.

Similarly again in 1997, the second white terror campaign was launched by the reactionary forces with full state protection. Again, selected people were punished while others were produced in front of the people, where many surrendered.

However the attack that started on 5th June 2005, in the name of Salwa Judum was qualitatively different both in extent and scope from the last two white terror campaigns. While the two Jan Jagarans had been largely organised at a local level, this one was the product of a coordinated planning from the local through the state, to the Central level. Both the state police and central para military forces along with the local level Salwa Judum gangs were unleashed on the people with much more long term perspective. The development and strengthening of the people's movement since 2004 after the party's merger made it the primary target of the state and it was at this time that Manmohan Singh identified the Maoist party as the single largest danger in the country. Salwa Judum therefore was a completely pre-meditated, coordinated and planned assault to crush the rising people's power.

From the 5th of June till December 2005, the terror campaign was on peak. Particularly the two blocs of Bhairamgad and Bijapur were selected for maximum concentration of terror and in the whole process at least 644 villages were destroyed. As per government records 300 thousand people disappeared. Only 60 thousand were accounted for who had been kept in 33 concentration camps or what they call relief camps while what happen to the rest the government still does not account for. Majority people are with us. A destructive campaign was undertaken when the people who have forced into the camps led a miserable life, while the villagers who dared to return to their own villages still largely live in jungles as the fascist repression in the form of indiscriminate loots, killings and rapes continued.

Initially when we use to talk about fascism people could not understand or appreciate what it really meant. But after Salwa Judum and the experience of the repression, they realised what fascism was. The party also tried to counter the terror campaign and 2006 January onwards a concrete planned campaign against Salwa Judum was taken up in which the PLGA started targeting the reactionary forces in a planned shape. Alongside a lot of positive developments started countrywide as the democratic sections of people

cooperated to a large extent in this phase. While the party also continued its campaign against Salwa Judum, the state propaganda of projecting Salwa Judum as an independent and spontaneous movement of the people, of the nature of democratic revolution had been thoroughly exposed. Salwa Judum for a long time was being projected by state as a effective mean for development against Naxalism. And this was challenged successfully throughout nation. Here, it was a battle for Adivasis survival. The party clearly called the people to join the militia for survival. And correct structure emerged in the shape of the Koya Bhoomkal Militia. It was inaugurated on 10th February 2006 with the spirit of the Bhoomkal uprising of 1910. Thousands join in the militia to fight for life and existence against Judum. The people, the PLGA, the party, the mass organisations and the campaigns in the national and international levels came together in the shape of a big movement for which the party is grateful to the democratic forces of the country. Finally the existence of Salwa Judum was officially halted by May-June 2006.

Salwa Judum was the product of a state that was eager to loot the natural resources of this region. With the coming of BJP in power in 2004, by 2005 hundreds of MOUs had been signed. The Texas Power Generation Company had invested for instance 5000 crores in Chattisgadh. In Lohandiguda, Tata had acquired enormous lands and so did Jindal in Bansi. Ultimately, it was the question of existence for the adivasi community and as experience shows the Bailadilla mines that had started as early as 1970, was profiting Japan while continuously hampering adivasi life and culture. This position for acquiring natural resources is the gravest danger haunting the adivasi communities. Manmohan Singh calls the Maoists as the biggest danger, but the real threat for existence is being faced by the adivasis and natural resources. That is why people came in large numbers, resisted Salwa Judum, attacked the forces and people as far as Nagaland and Mizoram protested the deployment of their forces like Naga battalion, Mizo battalion in this area. What we see in 2007 and 2008 is a demoralising of the state forces. And by 2009 October, Chidambram and Mahendra Karma and other architects of Salwa Judum had to finally give public statement annulling Salwa Judum. But as the terror campaign failed, again the state started mobilising its repressive resources and another wave of intensification of

the assault on the people is now being seen in the form of operation green hunt. In Salwa Judum we saw 18-20000 forces being deployed. Today there are nearly 100 thousand security forces being unleashed on the people. The SPOs of the Salwa Judum time are now being converted into Koya Commandos. And so Operation Green Hunt is nothing but a further more intensified extension of Salwa Judum. Such terror campaigns are not unique in DK, in Jharkhand and Bihar too there is the Sendra.

So from Lalgad to Surjagad, this entire adivasi belt with all its wealth and natural resources, though being projected as the Red Corridor is in reality a mineral corridor. And as they are threatened by the rising people's power in this region they are launching one offensive after another and after the failure of Salva Judum now we see the Operation Green Hunt. To conclude, white terror had started in 1990-91 after which we decided to form people's government which was followed by the 2nd white terror in 1997. And after this, we gave concrete shape to the people's power by consolidating the RPCs. Then came Salva Judum and since then, we gave spread into area level and through all these years, militarily we have moved from platoons through companies, moving towards battalion formation.

On the question of women

In the adivasi tradition, women just like in plains, also faced great pressure. Though the penetration of the Hindu traditional forces, have not been complete, but still oppressive practices prevail. Women in many areas here are for instance, not even allowed to wear blouse after marriage. There was also practice of godna or tattoos on the body. But since the spread of the movement, the new generation had stopped such practices. Overall one can see that women work more than their male counter parts. They not only help in ploughing but also manage cooking, looking after the baby, collecting Jungle products, and hence their participation and support is much higher. There are evil traditions and social evils like forced marriage that still prevail. In some areas the practice of Gotul continued till the end of the century where the youth in the evening also engage in open sex.

As the party started work in this area, in 1986 different women's organisations started being built in this area. In 1991, the Divisional level

KAMS came into being and considering that the women in this area had been the most oppressed section in society, they too were interested and took part. In the PLGA and the party, there already is 40% women participation. Along with the Daktari Millath of Kashmir, the KAMS with more than 100 thousand membership is one of the biggest militant mass organisations in the country. As the women started resting their faith on the party, the movement started towards political power for women. Such practices like forceful marriage have at least been stopped and today one may say that the women are living with dignity and they are aware that if there is any problem there is the party and the PLGA they can approach. Along with these great changes, now there is work towards giving more political power also.

Exploiting women and sexual assault on them has been used as a tool that the reactionaries and security forces for repression. But the women have emerged in a revolutionary role, braving all such offensive. They have not only sent their sons and daughters into the party and worked hard at home to manage the family but have also actively participated in the party's work and other struggles.

Q : There are very old traditions that requires to be handled very delicately even if there are evil influences. How do you handle traditions without destroying their autonomous identity?

A : It is very important question and the party whenever it has faced such problem, has reviewed it self-critically and have immediately asked for apology from the people. For instance, there is a culture of keeping women outside the village during the period of menstruation. The KAMS decided that they should be made to stay inside. This angered the people because of which the KAMS immediately self-reflected on the issue. Whenever we have learnt from our mistakes, we have asked for apology. In terms of the Gotul sex, I would say that the tribal tradition or culture in the 21st century has not remained in its pristine and pure form. We must acknowledge the fact that market penetration and subsequent exploitation have also been a reality. In today's times, taking advantage of tribal tradition, outsiders often exploit the women and there have been cases of women becoming pregnant while the stranger took no responsibility. With outside influence, pure

traditions of the adivasis have also taken aberrant forms. Thousands of women came out in protest. And there were rallies of around 5000 women protesting this tradition. Party immediately went in, debated and discussed the issue and stopped the practice. So we have to handle tradition with patience at the level of consciousness and education. For example, there is a tradition here, of giving importance to sir names. Intra surname marriage is strictly prohibited as they consider the same goddess. This is largely similar to Engels study of African tribes. Here a brotherly feeling immediately is struck if two Madaavis meet. Within the party there had emerged a difficult situation. Two comrades had fallen in love with the same surname. We consulted the China's constitution which has largely similar conditions of ours and found that it could be allowed after a gap of five generations. But we were not so consolidated enough and nor was China's context similar to today's needed did we have no RPCs at that time. It was a troublesome episode as it could have alienated the masses as well. We approached the whole party and the people and on the basis of the opinion, we did not support.

This area also had the tradition of spending frivolously and recklessly at marriage as it was related to status. This led to wasteful expenditure and financial ruin. So the party directed that instead of continuing the celebrations for two to three days families would be required to rap it up in one day. Then again, for every food item, whether it is vegetable, makai or mahua, the adivasis at the practice for organising festivities. This was hampering production relation and so the party called together all the priests in the area and asked for their suggestion as to how to tackle the issue. The traditional priests immediately cooperated and suggested six main festivals annually. Then again, the traditional medical knowledge that had been enmeshed in superstitious practices and the various medicinal herbs are today been exploited to make a rich knowledge base by the medical department of the Janatana Circar. We must keep in mind that people have to taken into confidence and this is only possible through education and consciousness, not by force.

Q : If the war is inevitable, i.e., if the state wants the mineral resources and wishes to crush the people's power, then what is the role that the

civil liberties organisations that have been trying to push the state back from the war ?

A : The Civil Liberties organisations had reached great heights, particularly after the emergency and since 1977 onwards they have played a great role in this country. But as the movement has been changing its character in this country over the years, there have been rapid development in terms of the people's struggle and the state repression. In order to effectively intervene and meaningful contribute to today's changed situation in the country, the civil liberty groups too in their opinions and ideas has to catch up with the changing developments. We also need to work to a great extent among them to meet this end. Now an important issue is taking place in the democratic circles. The question is about the development. The genuine democrats are with people's development but the rest are with imperialist development or with the ruling classes. In my view they are pseudo democrats. Now I fully hope that our movement will win the real democrats if we do all the things in the proper way. And this is the testing period for them too. Who raises their consciousness they will stand with the people. Otherwise vice versa.

24

Comrade Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), Answers the Questions sent by *The Hindu*

April 2010

1. In recent weeks one has seen statements by the Government of India and leaders of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) saying they are in favor of dialogue and talks but each side seems to lack seriousness. There has also been an element of drama or more precisely, theatre, with Kishenji and P. Chidambaram exchanging statements through the media. Our first question is whether Kishenji's statements can be treated as authoritative pronouncements of the CPI (Maoist) central leadership in pursuance of a national strategy? Or are these tactical announcements by him keeping only the specifics of the Bengal situation in mind.

Azad: It is true our Party leadership has been issuing statements from time to time in response to the government's dubious offer of talks. But to generalize that there is lack of seriousness on both sides does not correspond to reality. To an observer, exchanging statements through the media does sound a bit theatrical. And it is precisely such theatrical and sensational things the media relishes while more serious things are swept aside. Now, the stark fact is, lack of seriousness has been the hall-mark of the government, particularly of the Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram. It is Mr. Chidambaram who has been enacting a drama in the past four months, particularly ever since his amusing 72-hour-abjure-violence diktat to the CPI(Maoist) in the course of his interview with Tehelka Magazine sometime

in last November. As regards Kishenji's statements, they should be seen with a positive attitude, not with cynicism. Though our central committee has not discussed our specific strategy with regard to talks with the government at the current juncture, as a Polit Bureau member, comrade Kishenji had taken initiative and made a concrete proposal for a cease-fire. Whether comrade Kishenji's statements are the official pronouncements of our Central Committee is not the point of debate here. What is important is the attitude of the government to such an offer in the first place. Our central committee has no objection to his proposal for a cease-fire. But as far as the issue of talks is concerned, our Party will pursue the guidelines given by our Unity Congress-9th Congress held in early 2007.

2. Both the Government and the Maoists are also laying down preconditions. Chidambaram says the Maoists should “abjure violence and say they are prepared for talks... I would like no ifs, no buts and no conditions”. Now ‘to abjure’ can mean to renounce or forswear violence, or even to avoid violence, i.e. a cease-fire. What is your understanding of Mr. Chidambaram’s formulation? What do you think is the implication of what he wants the Maoists to accept?

Azad: It is a very pertinent question as no one knows exactly what Mr. Chidambaram wants to convey by his oft-repeated, yet incomprehensible, abjure-violence statement. Hence I can understand your confusion in interpreting Mr. Chidambaram's “abjure violence” statement. It is not just you alone but the entire media is left in a state of confusion. His own Party leaders are a confused lot. Some interpret Mr. Chidambaram's statement to mean that Maoists should lay down arms. Some say it means unilateral renunciation of violence by Maoists. Yet others say what this could mean is a cessation of hostilities by both sides without any conditions attached.

It is indeed very difficult to understand what Mr. Chidambaram wants to convey. This seems to be a characteristic trait of Mr. Chidambaram whether it be his pronouncements on Telangana, which are mildly described by the media as “flip-flop” behaviour and interpreted by both pro and anti-Telanganites according to their own convenience; or on Operation Green Hunt which he describes as a “myth invented by the media” even as the

entire political and police establishment, and the entire media, give out graphic descriptions of the huge mobilization of the security forces, and the successes achieved by Operation Green Hunt; or on MOUs signed by various MNCs and Indian Corporate houses with the governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal and others.

The Home Minister himself had displayed his split personality, not knowing what exactly he wants when he says Maoists should “abjure violence”. To a layman what this proposal obviously implies is that the State too would automatically put a stop to its inhuman atrocities on the adivasis, Maoist revolutionaries and their sympathizers. But not so to our Home Minister! When you ask us what our understanding of Mr. Chidambaram’s formulation is, our answer is: we are very clear that the real intent behind his rhetoric is not a cease-fire between the government and the Maoists, like that with the NSCN, but an absurd demand for a unilateral renunciation of violence by the Maoists. Anyone with a bit of common sense would understand the unreasonableness of the Home Minister’s demand. It is not that our so-called political analysts and others who appear on TV channels or write articles in the print media lack this common sense. It is their vested interests that come in the way of questioning the Home Minister in a straight-forward manner. Can they not put a simple question why the government cannot stop its brutalities on the people, adhere strictly to the Indian Constitution by putting an end to the police culture of fake encounters, abductions, rapes, tortures, destruction of property, foisting of false cases and such indescribable atrocities on the people and the Maoists? Chidambaram is cosy in studios and press conferences before English-speaking TV anchors and correspondents but can never answer the questions put by illiterate adivasis. That is the secret behind Mr. Chidambaram’s skipping the Jan Sunwaayi in Dantewada last December. For, drama and real life are entirely different.

The implication of what Mr. Chidambaram wants the Maoists to accept is crystal-clear. He wants the Maoists to surrender. Or else, Chidambaram’s para-military juggernaut would crush the people and the Maoists under its wheels. It is total surrender, pure and simple. While repeating that he never wanted the Maoists to lay down arms—as if he had generously given a big concession—he comes up with an even more atrocious proposal: Maoists

should abjure violence while his lawless forces continue their rampage creating more Gachampallis, Gompads, Singanamadugus, Palachelimas, Dogpadus, Palods, Tetemadugus, Kachalarams, Gumiapals, Kotrapals, Vechapals, Takilods, Ongaras, and so on. Not a word does he utter even as scores of inhuman atrocities by his forces are brought to light by magazines like Tehelka, Outlook, a host of websites, and, to an extent, some papers like yours. What is it if not sheer hypocrisy on the part of the Home Minister to ask Maoists to abjure violence while his paramilitary forces indulge in crimes every day, every hour, in gross violation of the very Constitution by which he swears?

3. The Maoists also have their preconditions for talks. In his recent interview to Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha, Ganapathy made the following formulation on the issue of talks:

“To put concisely the main demands that the party has placed in front of the government [of India] for any kind of talks are 1. All-out war has to be withdrawn; 2. For any kind of democratic work, the ban on the Party and Mass Organizations have to be lifted; 3. Illegal detention and torture of comrades had to be stopped and they be immediately released. If these demands are met, then the same leaders who are released from jails would lead and represent the Party in the talks.”

My question is whether these are realistic preconditions. For example, the “all out war” can be suspended first before it is “withdrawn”, i.e. a ceasefire, so why insist on its withdrawal at the outset? Are you asking for a ceasefire or something more than that?

Secondly, you want the ban on the Party and its mass organizations lifted and prisoners released. Usually in negotiations of this kind around the world between governments and insurgent groups, the lifting of a ban is one of the objects of talks rather than a precondition and the release of political prisoners an intermediate step. Is the Maoist party not putting the cart before the horse, making demands that the government may be unlikely to accept as a starting point, rather than positing the same as one of the end points of the proposed dialogue?

Azad: I concur with the logic of your arguments. It is logically a valid argument that such demands could be resolved in the course of actual talks and not as a precondition for talks. But you must also understand the spirit of what comrade Ganapathi has said in his interview given to Mr. Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha. Some clarification is required here. I will try to clarify what comrade Ganapathi has said.

Firstly what he meant when he said the government should withdraw its all-out war is nothing but a suspension of its war, or in other words, mutual cease-fire. Let there be no confusion in this regard. What Chidambaram wants is unilateral cease-fire by Maoists while the State continues its brutal campaign of terror. On the contrary, what the CPI(Maoist) wants is a cessation of hostilities by both sides simultaneously. This is the meaning of the first point. A cease-fire by both sides cannot be called a precondition. It is but an expression of the willingness on the part of both sides engaged in war to create a conducive atmosphere for going to the next step of talks.

Secondly, if peaceful legal work has to be done by Maoists as desired by several organizations and members of civil society, then lifting of ban becomes a pre-requisite. Without lifting the ban on the party and mass organizations how can we organize legal struggles, meetings etc in our name? If we do so, will these not be dubbed as illegal as they are led by a banned Party? According to us, the ban itself is an authoritarian, undemocratic and fascist act. Hence the demand for the lifting of the ban is a legitimate demand, and, if fulfilled, will go a long way in promoting open democratic forms of struggles and creating a conducive atmosphere for a dialogue.

Thirdly, what comrade Ganapathi had asked for is that the government should adhere to the Indian Constitution and put an end to the illegal murders in the name of encounters, tortures and arrests. We must include the term 'murders' which is missing in the third point. There is nothing wrong or unreasonable in asking the government to stick to its own constitution. As regards the release of political prisoners this could be an intermediate step as far as the nature of the demand is concerned. However, to hold talks it is necessary for the government to release some leaders. Or else, there would be none to talk to since the entire Party is illegal. We cannot bring any of our leaders overground for the purpose of talks.

4. *Would the Maoists be prepared to establish their bona fides on the question of talks by announcing a unilateral cease-fire or, perhaps the non-initiation of combat operations (NICO) after a particular date so as to facilitate the process of dialogue?*

Azad: It is quite strange to see intellectuals like you asking the Maoists to declare a unilateral cease-fire when the heavily-armed Indian state is carrying out its brutal armed offensive and counter-revolutionary war. How would unilateral announcement of cease-fire or NICO after a particular date establish the bona-fides of our Party on the question of talks? What purpose would such an act serve? It is incomprehensible to me why we are asked to “display this generosity” towards an enemy who has the least concern for the welfare of the people and derives vicarious pleasure in cold-blooded murders, rapes, abductions, tortures and every kind of atrocity one could ever imagine. And how would this “generous Gandhian act” on our part facilitate the process of dialogue with the megalomaniacs in the Home Ministry who do not spare even non-violent Gandhian social activists working in Dantewada and other places?

5. *What do the Maoists hope to achieve with talks? Are you only looking to buy time and regroup yourselves – which is what the government said the CPI(Maoist) did during the aborted dialogue in Andhra Pradesh? Or is it part of a more general re-evaluation of the political strategy of the party, one which may see it emerge as an overground political formation, engaged in open, legal activities and struggles, and perhaps even entering the electoral fray directly or indirectly at various levels in the kind of ‘multiparty competition’ that Prachanda says is necessary for the communist movement? When you say you want the government to lift its ban on the party, are you also undertaking not to indulge in methods of struggle (eg. Armed struggle) which led to the imposition of the ban in the first place? There are other Maoist and revolutionary communist parties across India that is mobilizing workers and peasants through mass politics. They have not been banned. Why does the CPI (Maoist) not believe those are legitimate forms of struggle? In Kashmir, the Hurriyat conference stands for the self-determination of J&K and seeks to mobilize people for this but the Indian state, which may use*

violence and repression and excessive force against people who peacefully protest, has not banned the Hurriyat. Does this not indicate that there is some space in the system for the Maoists to press their demands through peaceful political means?

Azad: Your question, or rather, a whole set of questions, requires a detailed answer. I am afraid it will take much space but I will try to be as brief as possible.

Before I proceed, let me clarify at the very outset that the proposal of talks is neither a ploy to buy time or regroup ourselves, nor is it a part of the general re-evaluation of the political strategy of the party that could lead to its coming overground, entering the electoral fray and multi-party competition as in Nepal. Our CC had already dealt in detail with the question of multi-party competition in our Open Letter to the UCPN(M) and various articles and interviews by our Party leaders. So here I will not go into it again.

Now, let me take up each of the points that you had raised.

First, you asked me what we want to achieve with talks. My one sentence answer is: we want to achieve whatever is possible for the betterment of people's lives without compromising on our political programme of new democratic revolution and strategy of protracted people's war. People have a right to enjoy whatever is guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, however nominal and limited these provisions are. And the government is duty-bound to implement the provisions of the Constitution. We hope the talks would raise the overall consciousness of the oppressed people about their fundamental rights and rally them to fight for their rights. Talks will also expose government's hypocrisy, duplicity, and its authoritarian and extra-constitutional rule that violates whatever is guaranteed by the Constitution. So talks would help in exposing the government's callous attitude to the people and may help in bringing about reforms, however limited they may be.

Another important reason is: talks will give some respite to the people who are oppressed and suppressed under the fascist jack-boots of the Indian state and state-sponsored terrorist organizations like the salwa judum, Maa Danteswari Swabhiman Manch, Sendra, nagarik suraksha samiti, shanti sena, harmad bahini, and so on. Those who sit in studios and insulated

rooms, and make their expert analyses about how Maoists want to buy time or utilize the respite to regroup themselves, can never understand the ABC of revolution or the ground situation. This is actually not an argument at all. If the Maoists try to utilize the situation, so would the police and the government. Wouldn't they? They created an extensive network of police informers during the six-month period of cease-fire in Andhra Pradesh in 2004. The intelligence hawks attended every open meeting and activity of the Maoists, took videos of people, and could easily target them after the clamp-down. Maoists had definitely increased their recruitment but so did the enemy. It doesn't need much of a common sense to understand that both sides will utilize a situation of cease-fire to strengthen their respective sides. Then could this be called an argument at all? These cynics, or, I would rather call them, war-hungry hawks, itch for a brutal suppression of the Maoists and the people they directly lead, even if it means genocide. They do not care if in the process thousands of police and paramilitary personnel too perish for they are nothing but cannon-fodder in the eyes of these gentlemen.

So let me make it crystal-clear: the proposal of talks is meant neither to buy time nor to regroup ourselves but to give some respite for the people at large who are living under constant state terror and immense suffering. How many of our countrymen know that three lakh adivasis were driven away from their homes, that half the adivasi population in our country is already living under conditions of chronic famine and even the rest of the population is now pushed into famine condition? And why? Because of the insatiable greed of the corporate sharks that is fuelling Chidambram-Raman Singh's war in Chhattisgarh, Chidambaram-Naveen Patnaik's war in Orissa, Chidambaram-Buddhadeb's war in West Bengal, Chidambaram-Shibu Soren's war in Jharkhand, and so on. Whoever has the minimum concern for the well-being of the masses, no matter what his/her ideology is, would naturally think of how to save them from being decimated. But those who have nothing but sheer contempt for the poor and helpless people and only think of how to maximize the profits of a tiny parasitic class, put forth weird and cynical arguments deliberately to confuse the people. They depict the Maoists as terrorists, create a fear psychosis in the middle and upper classes that the Maoists would soon come to your cities and disturb your

supposedly secure lives; that they would seize power by the middle of this century, and what not. By such hysteria whipped up by the rulers through the various means at their disposal, they justify the brutal war on the people and make the massive displacement, mayhem, massacres, rapes and atrocities appear like collateral damage in the larger noble objective of achieving peace, progress and prosperity for all.

Question of re-evaluation of political strategy of CPI(Maoist), demand for lifting of ban, and the issue of legitimacy of open, legal forms of struggle

There are a lot of questions related to the above and I feel this needs some detailed explanation keeping in mind several misconceptions doing the rounds. Firstly you are wrong in assuming that it is the forms of struggle (armed struggle) pursued by the CPI(Maoist) that had “led to the imposition of the ban in the first place.” On the contrary, it is the other way round. It is the imposition of the ban that had led the Party and mass organisations to take up arms in the first place. People are easily misled to believe that it is the violence of the Maoists that had compelled the government to impose the ban. This is a classic example of how a white lie can be dressed up and presented as the truth by endless repetition. If you have even a cursory glance at the history of the revolutionary movement in our country you will find that the forms of struggle adopted by the Maoist revolutionaries from time to time basically corresponded to the forms of suppression pursued by the rulers.

A stark example of the transformation of a peaceful mass movement into a violent armed struggle is right in front of our eyes. Lalgarh’s peaceful mass movement with simple demands for an apology from the police officials and an end to brutal police repression had transformed into a revolutionary armed struggle due to the brutal suppression campaign unleashed by the state and state-sponsored terrorists like the harmad bahini. So was the case of the movement in Kashmir and various states of North East. Even in Naxalbari in 1967, the first shots were fired on unarmed women and children by the police. The people retaliated in their own manner and the party took birth and evolved a correct political line for the Indian revolution. In Srikakulam, Koranna and Manganna were the first martyrs and these murders transformed the movement into an armed struggle. Even during

the first great armed mass uprising of Telangana during the late 1940s, the spark was first lit when the cruel feudal lords murdered Doddi Komaraiah.

If you take the case of the transformation of the movement led by the erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] or MCCI or the present CPI(Maoist), you will find the same pattern. The revolutionaries go to the oppressed, make them conscious of their inherent strength and the reasons for their misery, make them aware of their fundamental rights, organize and unite them, mobilise them into peaceful forms of protest and struggle. Then the state enters with its baton in defence of the class of big landlords, contractors, industrialists, land mafia and other powerful forces that control the state and economy. Everywhere, the peaceful struggles are crushed brutally, entire areas are declared disturbed, fake encounters, abductions, disappearances, rapes, burning down villages, and untold atrocities become the order of the day. The Indian Constitution is consigned to the dust-bin by the rulers and is not even worth the paper it is written on. At that point of time any revolutionary party has to quickly switch to non-peaceful and armed forms of struggle if it is really serious about transforming the lives of the people and the oppressive conditions in the country. The alternative is to surrender the revolutionary aims, make adjustments with the system and sail with other parliamentary parties albeit with some revolutionary rhetoric for a while. This, however, will not work for long as people cannot distinguish between the bourgeois-feudal parties and the ML party that had turned into a new parliamentary party. When people are fighting a do-or-die battle you cannot turn your tail but will have to provide them with new appropriate forms of struggle and forms of organization. And this is what our Party had done right from the days of Jagtyal Jaitra Yatra.

What shook the rulers at that time and compelled them to declare Jagtyala and Sircilla tauks in Karimnagar district of North Telangana as disturbed areas in 1978 was not the armed struggle of the Maoists (which had suffered a complete setback after the setback in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and elsewhere by 1972 itself) but the powerful anti-feudal militant mass struggle that upset the hitherto established feudal order in the countryside. And one of the main forms of struggle at that time was social boycott of the feudal lords and their henchmen which witnessed the unity of over 95 per cent of the people in most villages. Social boycott had disturbed the peace and tranquility

of the feudal barons who functioned like a state within a state. From then on, undeclared ban has been in vogue in parts of North Telangana until 1985 when it encompassed the entire state. CRPF was deployed for the first time to suppress the peaceful mass struggles that broke out against liquor. I remember how the mainstream media like the Indian Express published stories of policemen selling arrack at the police stations and forcing people to consume liquor in order to foil the anti-liquor agitation of the revolutionaries.

We find the same story in the urban areas too. The Singareni colliery workers organised themselves into a trade union called Singareni Workers' Federation (SIKASA) in 1981 but it was unofficially banned within three years. An undeclared ban was imposed on the students and youth organisations, women's organizations, workers' organizations, cultural organizations and every form of peaceful, democratic protest was brutally suppressed. One must see the development of armed struggle in the background of the strangulation of even the limited democratic space available in the present semi-colonial semi-feudal set up, and the brutal suppression of the movement by unleashing the lethal instruments of the state.

To cut a long story short, it is not the forms of struggle and forms of organization adopted by a party that had led to imposition of ban but the very ban (whether declared or undeclared) on every type of open, legal activity including peaceful public meetings that had compelled the revolutionaries to adopt non-peaceful and armed forms of struggle and underground forms of organization. Our Party appeals to all independent observers and unbiased media personnel to look at this phenomenon historically and analyse this with an open mind. You will realize that what I have said is hundred per cent correct. We are prepared to enter into a debate with anyone on the course of development of the revolutionary movement led by our Party in our country and how, why, and when, armed form of struggle had to be adopted by the party.

Revolutionaries never mince words. There is no need to. We believe that ultimately people have to take up armed struggle to seize power. But this does not mean we take up armed struggle at the cost of all other forms of struggle and thereby invite the state to unleash its brute force on the

people. On the contrary, it is only when all other forms of struggle fail to achieve the objective, when these are crushed under the iron heels of the state that we resort to non-peaceful and armed forms of struggle. It is very important to understand this as it has become a common practice for some so-called political analysts and representatives of the ruling classes to charge the Maoists as responsible for all the violence since their very ideology talks of armed struggle. Hence, they conclude, there is no use of talks with the Maoists. These simpletons resort to the method of simple reductionism: Maoists believe in violence and armed struggle to overthrow the state; hence they indulge in endless violence; there is no use of talking to people whose very ideology is rooted in violence; and hence there is no other way than to crush the Maoists with all the means at the disposal of the state. Such goes their argument. I will deal with this later on.

I didn't quite understand what you meant when you said referring to other open Maoist and revolutionary communist parties across India that are mobilizing workers and peasants through mass politics: "Why does the CPI (Maoist) not believe those are legitimate forms of struggle?", you ask. Who has said we do not believe these are legitimate forms of struggle? We consider all forms of struggle as legitimate, right from social boycott as we had practiced in Jagtyala, hunger-strikes as our comrades in various prisons are frequently taking up besides other places, and various militant demonstrations. Armed struggle is also a form of struggle and assumes importance depending on the tactical moves by the enemy. While all forms of struggle are legitimate in our eyes, some so-called revolutionaries, veterans of yesteryears, surprisingly exclude armed struggle from the forms of struggle and lay one-sided emphasis on peaceful forms of struggle. They can well join the Gandhian organisations and fight for some reforms instead of calling themselves as part of the ML stream or as Maoists aiming for the revolutionary transformation of society. For some of them, ML ideology or label is only a fashion. They do not wish to bring about the revolutionary transformation of the society and state but only a few cosmetic reforms.

The question of imposing or not imposing a ban on a certain party or organization depends on several factors. It would be too simplistic to conclude that just because a Party believes in armed struggle and indulges in acts of violence it is being banned while those who pursue open, legal forms of

struggle are allowed to function freely. During the Emergency, as we all know, both the revolutionary Left as well as the reactionary Right parties were banned. Even at the height of sectarian violence indulged in by the Hindu fascist gangs like the RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena, Hindu Suraksha Samiti, Sri Ram Sena, and a host of saffron terrorist organizations, they are allowed a field day. They carry arms, display them openly, threaten the religious minorities with genocide, indulge in violence against the Muslims and Christians, and yet are deemed as legitimate organizations since they are part of the ruling classes and their integral culture of violence. Likewise, CPI(M)'s harmads who murder, rape, abduct and torture people, burn people alive as in Chota Angaria, are legitimate organizations for they are doing these things on behalf of a section of the reactionary rulers. Why all this? Recently there was a rumour that Ambani was involved in the plane crash that had killed YSR Reddy. The acts of destruction in the violence that was organized in a planned manner by the Jaganmohan Reddy faction of the Congress in one day far surpassed the so-called violent acts carried out by Maoists in an entire year! Yet our Union Home Ministry issues advertisements against Maoist violence while keeping mum about the mayhem and arson by his own Congress party hooligans. Thus the question of how you look at violence is coloured with a class bias. The violence by the ruling class parties is considered legitimate while those by the oppressed masses and their organizations is dangerous and a threat to the security of the rulers. This has been true right from the time of Charvakas.

6. If the government believes the Maoists “misused” the Andhra talks, your party believes the dialogue there was abused by the authorities to identify and then target your leaders. How, then, do you hope to deal with the risks of once again entering into a dialogue with the Indian state?

Azad: The talks we held with the Congress regime in AP provided us with important lessons. And these lessons would guide us in any future talks with the governments of the exploiting classes. It would be too simplistic to conclude that the police could identify and target the leaders by utilizing the talks interregnum. They used it to some extent just as we used it to take our politics widely among the people in the state and outside. The setback we

had suffered in most parts of AP is not a fall-out of talks but due to several inherent weaknesses of our Party in AP and our failure to adopt appropriate tactics to confront enemy's tactics. This is an entirely different subject and can be dealt at some other time.

What is of relevance here is that the talks in AP have given us a rich experience and important lessons. If at all a situation for talks arises once again—which we do not foresee in the near future given the inexorable compulsions on the government from the corporate sharks for total control of the mineral-rich region—we can instruct our leadership in various prisons to take the responsibility. Our General Secretary had explained this in the course of his interview with Mr. Jan Myrdal and Mr. Gautam Navlakha. The mistakes committed in AP during talks with the government will not be repeated.

7. There is a contradiction between the recent offer for talks made by Kishenji and the spate of violence and killing by the Maoists which has followed that. The Home Ministry has compiled a list of such incidents and circulated it to the media (see Annex). No doubt there has been no letup in the government offensive during this period and you could produce your own counter-list but many of these attacks by the Maoists do not appear to be 'defensive' but 'offensive'. Can the offer of talks go hand in hand with the intensification of offensive Maoist military activities?

Azad: This is not as complicated as it is made out to be. The crux of the matter is: no cease-fire has been declared either by the Maoists or by the government. The Maoists had made an offer of talks which was immediately dismissed by the government as a joke and spurned by Chidambaram himself who wants nothing short of total surrender whatever be the language he uses. When the government is not serious about a cease-fire and dialogue, and is placing a condition that Maoists should abjure violence without spelling out whether it will reciprocate with a simultaneous declaration of cease-fire, then what is the use of grumbling about acts of violence by Maoists? The acts of violence by both sides will cease from the day a cease-fire is declared.

Now I am not going into the innumerable atrocities by the police forces and the paramilitary gangs sent by Chidambaram. There has been a wide coverage in magazines like Tehelka, Outlook and our own Maoist Information Bulletins. The statements and fact finding committee reports by various organizations and Gandhians like Himanshu kumar clearly show how savage the state has become under Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram's fascist regime.

Equally atrocious is the list compiled by the Union home Ministry regarding the violent acts by Maoists to justify its rejection of the Maoist offer. The annexure appended to your questionnaire speaks volumes about the duplicity and lies spread by the war-mongering hawks in the Home Ministry as part of their psy-war. This is meant to lend an element of legitimacy to their rejection of the cease-fire offer by Maoists and also to their war waged for nipping in the bud the alternative organs of people's power, the alternative development models, and for grabbing the resources in the mineral-rich region for the benefit of the class of tiny parasitic corporate elite they represent. I will not go into all the incidents listed therein. One incident would suffice to bring out the Goebbels lies propagated by Chidambaram and his coterie of war-mongers.

The very first "heinous act of violence" cited by the Union Home Ministry in its annexure circulated to the media to manufacture consent for its dirty war, goes like this: "In West Bengal (February 22, 2010) –attack on a State Police-CRPF Joint patrol party in PS Lalgarh, district West Midnapore. In the ensuing gun battle Lalmoham Tudu, President of the Police-e-Sangharsh Birodhi Janaganer Committee (PSBJC) was killed."

The above incident was said to have taken place within three hours of the offer of a 72-day cease-fire made by comrade Kishenji. Chidambaram himself had gone on record repeating several times this fabricated "heinous act" in a desperate bid to justify his rejection of the Maoist offer. This shameful white lie reveals the real ugly, fascist features of a supposedly democratic state and its heinous attempts to justify its all-out war on the people.

By this blatant lie Chidambaram had established himself as an Indian avatar of Joseph Goebbels. At this rate of manufacturing lies, he might soon replace Goebbels and people would soon start describing a white lie as

Chidambaran Lie rather than Goebbelsian Lie. So much trash is produced by Mr. Chidambaram and his team of war-mongering hawks in the Union Home Ministry on a daily basis that it would be more appropriate to give it a new name: CHIDAMBARUBBISH. Earlier too, Chidambaram had deliberately hurled an accusation against the CPI(Maoist) of massacring villagers in Khagaria district. He doesn't even have the minimum decency to apologise to the CPI(Maoist) for having hurled a baseless accusation, and to the people at large, for having misled them through such lies. One, of course, cannot expect decency from an inveterate liar like him.

Coming to the so-called attack by Maoists on the joint patrol party, it is a hundred per cent lie. There was no such attack at all. We have precise information that Mr. Chidambaram is directly involved in the decision to murder the popular mass leader and president of PCAPA, Lalmohan Tudu, on that fateful night, along with two other PCAPA members Suchitra Murmu and her husband Yubaraj Murmu. It is to cover up this dirty act by his paramilitary forces under Chidambaram's direction that the Home Ministry had come out with the lie that Maoists had carried out an attack on the joint patrol party. Ask anyone in Narcha village or Kanatapahari. Every villager, and not just the family members of Sri Tudu, will tell you how a hundred-odd CRPF men lay in waiting at his house on the night of 22nd, how they caught the three, and carried out the cold-blooded murder. That there had been no firing by the Maoists was corroborated even by the CRPF men guarding the camp as they were not aware of the lies spoken by the SP of West Midnapore, Chief Minister Buddhadeb, and Chidambaram.

But how long can Chidambaram, GK Pillai, Raman Singh, Buddhadeb, Naveen Patnaik and others get away with such outright lies? To establish the above lie, Chidambaram and his bunch of corrupt, lumpenised police officials had to change their versions repeatedly as piercing questions pushed them into the defensive. Initially, the SP of Paschim Mednipur asserted that Mr. Tudu died when the CRPF men "bravely" retaliated an attack by the Maoist guerrillas on the fortress-like CRPF camp in Kantapahari. Later, realizing the hollowness of his own story and fearing that it would evaporate like dew drops with the first rays of the sun, these Goebbels' disciples changed the version by uttering another lie that Tudu and other two were killed when a Maoist guerrilla squad, to which they were said to have

belonged (yet another lie!), attacked the CRPF's raiding party. This lie is being propagated consciously, with a clearly worked out strategy of justifying the gruesome offensive by our own brand of George Bushes and Donald Rumsfelds.

Tehelka Magazine, Star Ananda and other media sources, leaving out, of course, the channels of disinformation nurtured by the tiny corporate elite ruling our country, have graphically exposed this Chidambaran Lie. Has Chidambaram the guts to challenge any of the facts given in Tehelka and some other newspapers regarding his fairy tale of Maoist attack? Through this lie Chidambaram imagined he had killed two birds with one shot: one, that he could justify the elimination of a popular mass leader by enacting the story that he died during a Maoist attack on the joint police party in Kantapahari; two, he thinks he had successfully scuttled the proposal of a 72-day cease-fire made by a leader of the CPI(Maoist) by pointing to the fabricated attack.

One can understand the unenviable situation Mr. Chidambaram is in. He is now riding a tiger. He has to now search for excuses every day to justify his cruel offensive, justify the barbarity of the crimes committed by his uniformed troops, justify the rapes and murders of adivasis, growing abductions, and evacuation of entire villages due to the state terrorist offensive. So he has to go on weaving lies, spreading canards against Maoists, on and on, endlessly, just to keep a semblance of legitimacy to the cruelty and barbarism of his mercenary forces and to promote the war in the name of democracy and "rule of law".

As for your question regarding offensive and defensive actions, I wish to clarify to every well-meaning person who desires a reduction of violence on the part of the Maoists that there is nothing like defensive and offensive actions once the war has commenced. However, our revolutionary counter-violence is overall defensive in nature for a considerable period of time. This does not mean we will retaliate only when we are fired at and keep silent the rest of the time when the police, paramilitary and the vigilante gangs unleash terror and engage in all-round preparations for carrying out genocide. To make this clear, let us suppose the men sent by Chidambaram are combing an area. When we come to know of it we will carry out an

offensive, annihilate as many forces as possible in the given circumstances, and seize arms and ammunition. We will also take prisoners of war where that is possible. This will be part of our overall defensive strategy although it is a tactical counter-offensive.

In the war zone, if you do not take the initiative the enemy will seize the initiative. Likewise, we may have to attack ordnance depots, trucks carrying explosives, guards at installations such as NMDC, RPF personnel, and even outposts and stations far beyond our areas to seize arms, as in Nayagarh, for instance. To fight a well-equipped superior enemy force that has no dearth of arms supplies and logistical support, what other option we have but to equip ourselves with the arms seized from the enemy? Some of these men are killed when they offer resistance. We feel sorry for their lives but there is no other way. Chidambaram may yell that innocent CISF jawans were targeted even though they were in no way related to the state's offensive against Maoists. But that is how things would be in a war zone. The war would get dirtier and dirtier, engulf new areas and affect hitherto unaffected regions and sections of society. But this is precisely what Chidambaram and his coterie want. We will also destroy the informer network built by the enemy, his supplies, bunkers, communication network and infrastructure. We have to confiscate money from the banks and other sources for funding the revolution. There is no use of yelling about the indiscriminate destruction by Maoists. We have to paralyse the administration, immobilize the enemy troops, cut off his supplies and perhaps even target the policemen engaged in removing the dead bodies of the enemy. There was a hue and cry when our guerrillas placed mines under the dead bodies.

But why such a hue and cry? Where are the rules in this war? Who has defined the rules? If there were rules then why are the peace-chanting pigeons in the Home Ministry completely silent about the beasts in police uniform who had chopped off the breasts of 70-year-old Dude Muye before killing her, murdered in cold blood over 120 adivasis since August 2009 in Dantewada, Bijapur, Kanker and Narayanpur, and yet roam freely and continue their atrocities without hindrance? Chidambaram, Pillai, Raman Singh and their likes should first define the rules of engagement and then, and only then, they have a right to speak of violations of the rules. I am sure they would never dare to discipline their own forces while preaching

meaningless sermons about Maoist “atrocities”.

We appeal to all peace-loving, democratic-minded organizations and individuals to ponder over this question, pressurize the government to adhere to the Geneva Convention, punish those who are creating Gompads, Gachampallis, Singanamadugus, Palachelimas, Tetemadugus, Takilodus, Dogpadus, Palods, and several other massacres. If it is to be a war then let it be but the State should clearly state whether it would abide by its own Constitution and the International Conventions on the conduct of war. We are certain that, despite all his public rhetoric, Chidambaram would never follow either the Indian Constitution or International War Conventions to which India too is a signatory. The fact is, we have a Home Minister who derives his inspiration from George Bush’s Guantanamo Bays and Abu Ghraibs.

8. The Maoists are engaging in armed struggle but have not hesitated in use violence against non-combatants. The beheading of a policeman, Francis Induvar, while in Maoist captivity, shocked the country and was a blatant violation of civilized norms and of international humanitarian law, which the Maoists, like the Government, are obliged to adhere to. If civil society condemns the security forces for killing civilians in places like Gompad village in Chhattisgarh and elsewhere and demands that justice be done and the guilty punished, it has an equal right to condemn the Maoists whenever they commit such crimes. There have been some reports that the Maoist leadership has apologized for the killing of Induvar but what steps have you taken to punish those who were involved? What steps have you taken to ensure such crimes are not committed by your cadres? If your answer is that the state has also not punished those among its ranks who have committed crimes, are you then admitting that the political culture and moral universe the Maoists represent is the same as that of the state which you decry as illegitimate?

Azad: I had already covered part of your question in my answer to your earlier question. Our attempt will always be to target the enemy who is engaged in war against us. Non-combatants are generally avoided. But what about the intelligence officials and police informers who collect information

about the movements of Maoists and cause immense damage to the movement? It is true most of them do not carry arms openly or are unarmed. What to do with them? If we just leave them they would continue to cause damage to the Party and movement. If we punish them there is a furore from the media and civil society. Caught between the devil and the deep sea! Our general practice is to conduct a trial in a people's court wherever that is possible and proceed in accordance with the decision of the people. Where it is not possible to hold the people's court due to the intensity of repression we conduct investigation, take the opinion of the people and give appropriate punishment.

I agree there is no place for cruelty while giving out punishments. I had clarified this in one of my earlier interviews while referring to the case of Francis Induvar. But it is made into a big issue by the media when a thousand beheadings had taken place in the past five years by the police-paramilitary and salwa judum goons. You are saying the beheading of Francis Induvar was a blatant violation of civilized norms and of international humanitarian law which both sides in the war are obliged to adhere to. Do you really think the government is adhering to the law? And has the media ventured to ask Chidambaram why he hasn't been following the international law or at least the Indian Constitution when dealing with the people in the war zone or citizens elsewhere? Just ten days ago, two of our Party leaders—comrades Shakhmuri Appa rao and Kondal Reddy—were abducted from Chennai and Pune respectively by the APSIB and the Central Intelligence officials and were murdered in cold blood in the early hours of 12th after Chidambaram gave his nod. What cruel tortures these comrades were subjected to by the lawless goons of the Indian state no one will ever know. I can give a thousand such examples of killings of our comrades in cold blood while in police captivity in the past five years. Why is the media silent about these murders but becomes hysteric when one Police Inspector is beheaded? What is the civil society doing when such cold-blooded murders are taking place in police custody? Why single out a rare case of the beheading of one Induvar and play it up whenever you need an excuse to bash the Maoists? When our comrades hear of these cold-blooded murders committed by the APSIB or other officials of the state it is natural that their blood would boil and they will not bat an eye-lid to hack any of the perpetrators

of these inhuman crimes, say a man from APSIB or Grey Hounds, to pieces if he fell into their hands. In the war zone, the passions run with such intensity which one cannot even imagine in other areas or under normal circumstances. Could someone who has seen women being raped and murdered, children and old men being murdered after hacking them to pieces in the killing fields of Dantewada and Bijapur, ever give a thought to your so-called non-existent (I say non-existent as none of the combatants know what these are nor would follow these conventions as the history of fake encounters by the Indian state shows) international laws when the perpetrator of such crimes happens to fall into their hands? The pent-up anger of the masses is so intense that even the Party general secretary will perhaps fail to control the fury of the adivasi masses when they lay their hands on their tormentors.

Maoists are not for crude and raw justice as some are trying to make it appear. Maoist guerrillas are not thugs and mercenaries like the men sent by Chidambaram, Raman Singh, Buddhadeb, Naveen Patnaik and the likes who carry out their brutal heinous acts in the name of democracy and the “rule of law”. Maoists have great respect for human life. Democratic values and norms are an integral part of socialist and communist ideology. Yet at the same time we think it is necessary to destroy the few poisonous weeds to save the entire crop. I once again request you and all others to think by imagining yourselves what would you have done when your mothers, sisters and daughters are raped in front of your eyes, your father, brother and sons are murdered after being hacked to pieces. And worst of all, when there is no guardian of the “rule of law” to receive your complaints and the complainant himself/herself is abducted. When we do not understand the feelings of the affected people it is better to imagine ourselves in their place. This may help us in getting nearer to the truth.

9. The Supreme Court has ordered the Chhattisgarh government to implement a rehabilitation plan for those displaced by the violence perpetrated by Salwa Judum, the regular security forces and the Maoists. Is the CPI(Maoist) prepared to give an undertaking that it will allow the rebuilding of schools and the establishment of basic government services (primary health care, anganwadi, PDS etc.) in areas it controls and that

you will not attack government employees and officials who enter to provide services to the tribal masses?

Azad: Asking us to give an undertaking that we will allow the rebuilding of schools and establishment of basic government services in the areas we control and that we will not attack government employees and officials is quite bizarre to say the least. The welfare of the masses is the first priority for the Maoist revolutionaries. You should request Mr. Chidambaram to allow you to visit the areas in Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, Orissa, or the villages of Jangalmahal by controlling his paramilitary forces, the SPOs, the salwa judum goons, shanti sena goons, nagarik suraksha samiti and harmad gangs from obstructing you. Then you will see with your own eyes a hitherto hidden story of how the adivasis are prevented from pursuing their normal activity by the state and state-sponsored terrorists. You will find how the forces sent by Chidambaram had occupied school buildings for six months to a year thereby preventing the children from pursuing their studies. You will find how the adivasis are prevented from buying their daily necessities from the weekly bazaars most of which were forcibly closed through threats and intimidation by the so-called security forces. Who is blocking the development of the adivasis, who is preventing them from carrying on their normal activity like cultivating the fields, tending the animals, collecting minor forest produce, picking tendu leaves, obtaining their daily necessities, and so on will become as clear as day-light once you visit these remote villages. Hence the government, its “security” forces and vigilante gangs, are hell-bent on preventing independent observers and fact-finding teams from visiting these areas.

It is worthwhile to keep in mind that it is not the lack of development that has become the problem in the rural areas, particularly adivasi-inhabited areas. On the contrary, it is its imperialist-dictated anti-people development model that is driving them to displacement and deprivation, death and destitution, and extreme desperation. There need be hardly any doubt that the poor adivasis have been a happier lot before the civilized goons, the likes of Vedanta, Tata, Essar, Jindal, Mittal, POSCO, and others, set their foot on their soil. The development model pursued by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram had displaced them and made them aliens in their own land. The so-called development that you are referring to is the development that

India had seen under the British colonialists. The talk of roads in remote areas is not for the benefit of the people, who are without food and drinking water, but only for the speedier movement of the raw materials from the hinterland to the cities, to help the mining sharks to transport the mineral wealth and forest produce. And, of course, for rushing in the State's troops to quell any militant people's struggle against the rapacious plunder by the tiny parasitic class of blood-sucking leaches. The entire world knows that a George Bush invaded Iraq for oil even as the media dogs in the US barked about Saddam's non-existent Weapons of Mass Destruction. Entire India knows that Manmohan and Chidambaram and the vultures they represent are itching to lay their hands on the abundant reserves of iron ore, coal, tin, bauxite, dolomite, lime stone and other minerals of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and other states where their Operation Green Hunt is launched.

Lastly, banding together Maoists with the State and vigilante gangs, and equating their revolutionary counter-violence in defence of the rights of the people with the counter-revolutionary violence of the state and vigilante gangs like the salwa judum, is a despicable trick played by the rulers and those so-called democratic forces to obfuscate the stark reality of the brutal violence of the State and State-sponsored terrorists. I can say with full confidence that there was no displacement, whatsoever, of innocent people due to the revolutionary counter-violence by the Maoists. It is only a handful of anti-people exploiters, tribal heads and landed gentry who had fled the villages in the course of the class struggle. Many, however, had surrendered to the people, mended their behaviour and continue to live in the villages like others. The Supreme Court should know that the displacement of the adivasis was done in accordance with a pre-mediated plan to evacuate the villages and settle them in Vietnam-type strategic hamlets. And this policy is being continued by Raman Singh's BJP government in Chhattisgarh with the full assistance by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram's Congress-led government at the Centre. The Supreme Court, if at all it is serious about the displacement of the adivasis, should direct the central and state governments to immediately halt its brutal armed offensive on adivasi villages in the first place, which is resulting in the massive exodus of the people estimated at around three lakhs since the current brutal war began in the name of Operation Green Hunt.

10. Human rights groups have condemned the security forces and the Maoists for not respecting the sanctity of schools. If the security forces take them over and convert them into barracks, the Maoists have also been guilty of destroying school buildings and infrastructure. Even in the absence of a ceasefire or dialogue, don't you think both sides need to come to an understanding that schools and school children should not become targets of this war?

Azad: It has now become a fashionable thing for some human rights groups and the media personnel to play the role of referees in a sports event. By criticizing both sides equally they imagine they are being impartial or neutral in the war. If someone says that both Indians and the British were responsible for the violence in India during the two centuries of British rule would you accept it? Or that both Iraqis and the American occupiers are responsible for the violence in Iraq? Any freedom-loving person would unequivocally say it was the British colonialists that caused the blood-shed in India and it is the American aggressors that are the cause for the unending violence in Iraq.

By criticizing both the so-called security forces and the Maoists for not respecting the sanctity of schools these human rights groups imagine they are playing a neutral and impartial role. But they do not even see the cause and effect chain of events. They do not ask themselves the simple question: If the police and paramilitary do not occupy schools then where is the need for the Maoists to destroy them? Why were school children and their parents lathi-charged by Buddhadeb's men and Chidambaram's special forces in several villages in Lalgarh region for demonstrating against the occupation of the schools by the so-called security forces? Do you know the fact that in many villages it was not the Maoist squads but the people themselves who had demolished school buildings since they did not wish to see the security forces of Chidambaram create insecurity in their villages? How can you ask the Maoists and the people to assure you that they will respect the sanctity of schools occupied or likely to be occupied by their tormentors?

My request to media people like you is: please do not be misled by an act, by how it happened, but go deeper into why it happened. Only then you will reach the truth.

However, we also agree with your proposition that even in the absence of a cease-fire or dialogue, both sides should come to an understanding that schools and school children should not become targets of the war. We take this occasion to convey to the GOI that it should immediately withdraw all its forces from school buildings and stop recruiting school children as SPOs and as police informers. If they withdraw their forces and assure they would not reoccupy school buildings then our Party will desist from targeting schools. And if the government stops recruitment of school children as SPOs and police informers then the very basis for punishing these people disappears.

But the more important thing and the larger issue is: can schools function even if the buildings are intact when the parents of the school children are murdered, raped, abducted, tortured and are forced to flee? What do you have to say of the children of the three lakh people who had fled the villages due to Operation Green Hunt I and II unleashed by Chidambaram sahib? What use are the school buildings and the talk of sanctity of schools when the villages themselves are deserted? A more rational proposal would be to ensure that the inhabitants of the villages are resettled with the assurance that the police and paramilitary will not continue their atrocities and let them live in peace. This is the most important thing and should assume first and foremost priority in the war theatres all over India, particularly Dandakaranya.

11. Is the Maoist party and leadership under pressure because of recent top-level arrests like that of Kobad Ghandy? Is there also a wider crisis of leadership with fewer activists from the intelligentsia getting attracted to Maoists?

Azad: I did not understand what pressure you are referring to. Is it the pressure for a cease-fire and talks? If so, then I would say you are completely off the mark. One cannot overcome pressure through such tactics. Actually the Party and leadership will grow rapidly in times of war. Several new leaders are emerging out of the struggle. War is giving birth to new generals and commanders which we had never anticipated in normal times. While it took several years to produce a leader of caliber in relatively peaceful times,

it is taking a fraction of that time in the midst of the war situation. Today we find even children acquiring high level of consciousness at an early age. War is transforming the world outlook of the illiterate people, their understanding about the class nature of the state and its various wings, and how they have to get rid of the anti-people state and establish their own organs of power. People have begun to understand from their own lives what com Lenin had taught in his State and Revolution. This transformation has contributed to the development of leadership at all levels. At the central level I agree there is some problem, though not very acute, after the losses in the past two years. Overall, it is not true to say that there is a wider crisis of leadership due to drop in recruitment from the intelligentsia. You will be surprised to know that contrary to the assessment of various analysts and media personnel the appeal of Maoist movement has actually grown stronger in the intelligentsia. And it is precisely this fact which is rattling Chidambaram and his trumpeters in the media. The threats and attacks on intellectuals have been increasing in tenor and there are growing attempts at isolating the intellectuals who seem to sympathise with the Maoists. The more the growth in popularity of the Maoists and their politics the more is the cacophony about the erosion of mass base of Maoists especially among the intellectuals.

You must also look at it from another angle instead of concluding that lack of intelligentsia has created a crisis of leadership. The mass base of the Maoists has actually grown stronger notwithstanding the attempts of the rulers to destroy it by brute force. The more you try to crush it the more it bounces back. Our leadership is drawn basically from the oppressed class of adivasis, dalits, agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It is precisely because of this circumstance that our movement has become invincible. Intellectuals are a good asset for the party but it is the basic classes that are the life-blood of the Party. And we have plenty from these sections.

12. In Ganapathi's interview to Jan Myrdal and Navlakha he said: "I reiterate that at present no one party or organization is capable enough to be a rallying center for all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic forces and people. Hence, at present juncture our Party can play a significant role in rallying all revolutionary, democratic, progressive

and patriotic forces and people". This suggests you see the Maoists as one part of a wider force of progressive, patriotic people. Who else do you consider part of these forces? Which organizations or parties do you regard as progressive and patriotic part of these forces? Does this not include the CPI and CPM? Why then have Maoists in Bengal been involved in assassinating cadres of other communist parties like CPM?

Azad: It is not only now, but all along we have been considering ourselves an indivisible part of the broader force of other revolutionary, democratic and patriotic sections of people. Firstly, we are one of the several revolutionary detachments in the international detachment of the world proletariat and we see ourselves as a part of the broad world-wide anti-imperialist front. Our mass organizations are a part of the International League of People's Struggles (ILPS) and are in the forefront of the struggle against American imperialism.

Within India, our party took birth in the midst of the revolutionary upsurge of the late 1960s, particularly with the glorious Naxalbari uprising, and hence we are an indivisible part of all that is revolutionary in the Indian political stream. We are also an heir to the great Telangana Armed Agrarian Uprising (1946-51), the Tebhaga uprising of 1946, and all the revolutionary struggles led by the Communist Party since its birth in 1921, notwithstanding the betrayals by its central leadership at every critical turning point in the revolutionary political history of our country.

Second, and the one more pertinent to your query, is the fact that the Communist revolutionaries are politically (i.e., in terms of its programme), a part of the wider democratic stream of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces in the country. This is the essence of our programme of new democratic revolution (NDR) which seeks to unite all those opposed to imperialism, feudalism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism into one broad front to overthrow these enemies and establish a government comprised of the four-class alliance of the working class, peasantry, urban petty-bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie. Once you grasp this political basis of our NDR it will not be difficult to understand why we are trying to form numerous tactical united fronts as part of forming a strategic united front in various states and at the All India level.

To identify the organizations or parties that can be called progressive (usage of the term ‘democratic’ would be more appropriate) and patriotic, one has to see not only whether they have any anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-State or anti-authoritarian aspect included in their political programmes, but also their actual practice. We consider most of the ML revolutionary forces as part of this front. We consider national liberation organizations like the NSCN, ULFA, PLA of Manipur, and the JKLF in Kashmir as part of the wider democratic forces fighting the Indian State. We consider the various non-parliamentary trade union organizations, various progressive organizations belonging to the religious minorities which are persecuted by state-backed Hindu fascist organizations; various organizations of dalits and other oppressed castes, adivasis and women; the non-Parliamentary organizations that are fighting for demands like separate Telangana, Gorkhaland, Vidarbha, Bundelkhand and so on; the organizations that are waging struggles against SEZs, mining and other so-called development projects leading to massive displacement of people; organizations fighting against the Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation (LPG) policies of the reactionary rulers; those which boldly confront the growing authoritarianism and unbridled state repression resulting in fake encounters, mass murders, and violation of all fundamental rights of the people; and so on, as part of this broad-based non-Parliamentary democratic people’s front.

There are also a large number of intellectuals and other democratic individuals who are concerned about the well-being of the people and the sovereignty of our country at large. We consider all these as genuine patriotic forces that are deeply concerned about the future of our country, about the well-being of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people rather than that of a tiny parasitical class that runs the country through the so-called mainstream parliamentary parties. I am obviously leaving out the names of the organizations and individuals who, in our opinion, could play a crucial role in the revolutionary transformation of our country into a self-reliant, genuinely democratic society. Today we are passing through a phase of Indian McCarthyism under Chidambaram & his War Cabinet that brands every form of dissent and anyone who questions the authoritarianism of the Indian state as Maoist in order to legitimize its witch-hunting and brutal repression.

Today immense possibilities have unfolded for the rapid advance of the revolutionary war in India and the task of the revolutionary Party lies in how effectively and ably it can utilize the present situation, rally all those who have become the victims of the anti-people, imperialist-dictated policies of the comprador-feudal forces ruling our country, and forge a broad-based united front of all these affected sections of our society and all revolutionary, democratic and patriotic forces in the country. This task should be achieved by defeating the brutal all-out country-wide coordinated war unleashed by the reactionary ruling classes of our country with the aid and assistance of the imperialists, particularly American imperialists. If we fail in achieving broader unity of all these forces, the fall-out would be disastrous for the Indian people at large since the aim of this cruel armed onslaught is not only to suppress the Maoist movement, but also to suppress every form of democratic dissent and struggle of the people against the authoritarian, feudal and autocratic structure of the Indian state and socio-political system. As put forth by our General Secretary comrade Ganapathi, in the same Interview given recently: “This war is principally against Maoist movement but not limited to this movement and aimed enough against all revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic movements and the movements of oppressed communities of our society including oppressed nationalities. At this juncture, all these forces have to think together how to face this mighty enemy and for this how to unite to go ahead.”

Now coming to your specific question regarding the CPI and CPI(M). Are they not a part of the wider democratic and patriotic forces? I would say YES and NO. As far as the rank and file cadre of these parties is concerned there is still some amount of sincerity and zeal among a section of them to work for the well-being of the people. But the leadership has completely capitulated to the exploiting ruling classes and pursues a reformist line that would only help sustain the status quo albeit with a few cosmetic changes. Here too, we have to differentiate the CPI from the CPI(M). We do not place both the CPI and the CPI(M) in the same category. The CPI leadership has been critical of the policies of the CPI(M), has consistently opposed counter-revolutionary vigilante gangs like salwa judum propped up by the state and central governments, and is opposing the Operation Green Hunt launched by the Centre.

One can witness the reactionary anti-people nature of the policies of the CPI(M) especially in states where it is in power. Singur, Nandigram, Lalgarh, and a host of other names have stripped the CPI(M) of its guise of anti-imperialism and anti-neoliberalism. The social fascist character of the CPI(M) and other constituents of the so-called Left Front government in West Bengal has been exposed for the umpteenth time after their joint offensive against the peaceful, democratic mass agitation of the people of Lalgarh region and the Maoist movement in Jangalmahal in particular. After surrendering to the Centre, Buddhadeb has been clamouring for greater number of central forces to step up his blood-bath in Jangalmahal. CPI(M) is not even a thorough-going democratic force let alone being Communist. However, we are prepared to join forces with even these revisionists if they come forth into non-Parliamentary struggles on the basic issues of the people, and to the extent they uphold democratic values.

It is wrong to say we are assassinating the cadres of the CPI(M). We are confronting the armed onslaught by the storm-troopers of these social fascists like the harmad bahini and other armed goons maintained by their party leaders by putting up courageous resistance. You might be aware of how thousands of adivasis and other people went to CPI(M) offices and destroyed them, how the palatial mansion of Anuj Pandey, supposedly a whole-timer of the CPI(M), was pulled down by huge angry crowds. The anger writ on their faces is a product of years of oppression practiced by the CPI(M) goons. Maoists could not have artificially instilled such natural flow of anger. The struggle against the CPI(M) is part of the class struggle of the people against exploitation and oppression. We challenge them to an open debate on any issue. Despite their diplomatic and opportunistic stand that their fight with the Maoists is mainly political (they seemed to have learnt a bit of this art of obfuscating reality from their new-found guru Mr. Chidambaram), they are in the forefront in the war waged by the Indian ruling classes against the Maoists. Unable to confront us ideologically and politically, their leaders and spokespersons have unleashed a vicious campaign of outright lies and slander against the Maoists. We call upon the cadres of the CPI(M) and other so-called left parties to come forward to unite with other forces to fight against the disastrous policies of the Central and state

governments, to unite with others to oppose the brutal war waged by the reactionary rulers guided by the US imperialists against the Maoist movement and all forms of democratic dissent. We are prepared to unite with all sincere and genuine forces in these parties who take the side of the broad masses of people.

13. Why has the CPI (Maoist) decided to reach out through the columns of The Hindu? To use a newspaper to clarify its views vis a vis the Government?

Azad: Among the daily newspapers, The Hindu has a reputation for giving out serious news and less of sensational stuff that has become the genre of the media these days. Our party leadership has given interviews to this paper earlier too such as my interview on the developments in Nepal which was covered in two parts. On a lighter vein, I think it will reach out to our direct Enemy no. 1 at the present juncture, Mr. Chidambaram, too.

I think the media can play a role in carrying the views of a banned party to the government and the people at large particularly at a time when facts regarding our Party are distorted, misinterpreted, and obfuscated in a meticulously planned manner. And when there is no scope for a dialogue given the determination of the rulers to carry out their pre-programmed war offensive that was worked out a year ago, we think it appropriate to reach out to the people at large through the media too.

I thank The Hindu for the thought-provoking and incisive questions it has placed before our Party. We look forward to more of such interaction with the media in future. On behalf of our Central Committee and our entire Party I welcome any questions related to our ideology, political programme, strategy, tactics and practice. I hope through regular and active interaction between organizations like ours that are proscribed by the government, and the media, an opportunity is provided to the people to arrive at a correct judgement and seek truth from facts. Or else, truth is certain to become a casualty in this world dominated by corporate sharks that control virtually every source of information that is fed to the people.

On my supposed arrest and the conditions that had led to such an apprehension

Lastly, I take this occasion to convey my revolutionary gratitude to all the democratic and civil rights organizations and individuals, and all the well-wishers of our Party and the Indian revolution who had come forward to promptly condemn the news of my possible arrest and demand my immediate production before a court of law. I convey my warm revolutionary greetings to my mother whom I had not seen for almost three decades and came to know that she is alive when I heard the news of that she had filed a petition regarding the disappearance of her son. With utmost humility I apologise to one and all for the confusion created due to the public statements issued by our Party committees about my arrest by the APSIB and the police of Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. I appeal to one and all to understand the gravity of the situation prevailing today due to the war imposed on the people by the Indian rulers, due to the imposition of the ban on our Party and mass organizations, and the extreme difficulties under which the coordination between the various committees in our party takes place. The 24x7 death hunt unleashed by the killer squads called the SIB, IB, Greyhounds, Cobras, Scorpions, Jaguars and so on, naturally gives rise to such concerns among my Party comrades.

Today the Indian State and the so-called security forces and intelligence agencies have absolutely lost their credibility in the eyes of the people. With almost every arrest being an illegal abduction, and every encounter a cold-blooded murder, there is every reason to be apprehensive about the safety of the life of anyone falling into the hands of these murderers who have scant regard for the Indian Constitution. And in this specific context, my comrades in the Central Regional Bureau and Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee became apprehensive when they heard the shocking news of the murder of comrades Shakhmuri Appa Rao and Kondal Reddy on March 12. They knew that I would be meeting comrade Appa Rao, who was then in Chennai, and send him to the guerrilla zone in the third week of March. In fact, I was in touch with him until a day before he was abducted by the APSIB. When the news of the cold-blooded murders trickled in I had to cancel a few contacts and remained immobilized for a few days. Since I could not send information to our comrades in the CRB, they became

anxious and, on the sixth day after the cold-blooded murder of our two comrades, they released the statement regarding my possible abduction and danger of being “encountered”, which is the most common practice of the APSIB. I once again apologise for the inconvenience and anguish caused due to this mistake while calling on them to appreciate the conditions under which this lapse had occurred.

25

Interview with Gopalji, Spokesperson, Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee, CPI(Maoist)

Maoist Information Bulletin, No.17, May 2010

Q. Communism in the rest of the world seems to have collapsed. What hope do you have of achieving a socialist state in India?

Gopalji: The claim that there is no hope for socialism and communism, that they are dead, is mere propaganda unleashed by the imperialists and the apologists of capitalism. The 20th century saw the first round of revolutions led by the working classes and the toiling masses of the communist parties in various parts of the world — the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Revolution in Vietnam and many more. The 21st century will see a new wave of revolutions led by communist parties such as ours in India. Massive socio-economic and political transformation takes time. The bourgeoisie took at least 400 years to achieve victory over feudalism and even then they entered into unholy alliances with the feudals in order to fight the working classes. These alliances are still prevalent today in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to stop the revolutions of the toiling masses led by the communist parties.

After the Great Depression II, the recent economic crisis, there are very few takers of the bourgeois philosophy TINA, ‘There is No Alternative,’ to capitalism. Many intellectuals, many people in the developed countries,

in the capitalist countries, have turned to Marx's *Das Kapital*. Recent developments in the world have proved the theory of Marx, the invincibility of Marxism and the inevitability of socialism and communism. Only socialism and communism can eradicate hunger, poverty and inequality and solve problems, such as that of climate change, which our planet is facing. In India we are trying to achieve a New Democratic Revolution as part of the world's socialist revolutions.

Q. What stage are you at in the Indian revolution?

Gopalji: In general we are in the phase of guerilla warfare. This means that the armed struggle against the state is the principal form of struggle and armed organization is the principal form of organization. In some places, such as in Dandakaranya and in some parts of Jharkhand, we have formed Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) which are the organs of alternative people's power. If this continues, we will be able to build base areas. Base areas are places where the enemy, the ruling classes (that is the Indian big-bourgeoisie and the landlords) do not have any organ of power — any military, any police force, or any administrative apparatus — and where people develop their own

organs of power, their own army and their own administrative apparatus to implement economic policies of the people by the people's government. Our immediate target is to build base areas in certain pockets of our country.

Q. What are the strategies you are using to achieve a base area?

Gopalji: Our guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Our strategy is 'protracted people's war'. Comrade Mao taught us that the poor nations, the nations where semi-colonial, semi-feudal systems are in existence, should take the path of protracted people's war — making bases in the countryside and then encircling the towns from the countryside. This is the strategy taken by the communist party here in India and it is the strategy taken by Maoists in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries all over the world. In India, there are certain changes; it is not exactly similar to pre-revolution China. So we have made certain changes in our tactics to suit the changes in our concrete conditions.

Q. What are the main differences between the conditions that existed at the time of the protracted people's war in China and the conditions in India now?

Gopalji: Internationally we are operating in a world where there is no socialist country or bases to seek help from. After the WWII, various national liberation struggles forced the imperialists to renounce the old form of direct colonial rule. So they resorted to neocolonial forms of exploitation. Internally, India now has a centralized and militarized state which has reached the remotest parts of the country. Transport and communications are far more developed. Chieftains who had their own armies dominated the Chinese countryside. In India we don't have such a situation. The loathsome caste hierarchy with a strict Brahminical order is the backbone of Indian feudalism and there is uneven development in every aspect of the socio-economic and cultural realms. The Indian ruling classes ruled this country for over 60 years in a so-called 'democratic' framework. India has a much bigger urban petty bourgeois class and a huge working class force. It is a county of numerous nationalities at varying degrees of development. India has a long history of revisionist practice that still has considerable influence over the toiling masses and these revisionists have proved themselves an apologist of this reactionary rule.

There are also big differences in the process of building the army and the base areas. In China they already had a base area and an army. Even before the formation of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang was leading a bourgeois democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. We had neither a base area nor an army when we began. We started with a small squad and have been able to form a People's Liberation Guerilla Army. So our struggle will be longer and different.

Additionally, we have vast plain areas which need a somewhat different treatment than hilly and forested regions. The importance of urban work and the need for organizing the working class is greater in our country. Apart from organizing a strategic united front of the four classes, we are also making a special effort to organize adivasis, dalits, women, minorities and various nationalities.

Q. The Indian bourgeoisie exists in some form even in remote parts of India. We see the effects of capitalism in all the nooks and crannies of remote villages here — people who want motorbikes, mobile phones, notions of private property, individualism. What hope do you have of creating an alternative set of values in the world?

Gopalji: The people know that our party is fighting for an India structured around principles of equality. We want an India where individuals cannot amass capital and private property while simultaneously driving large sections of the society into poverty. We are here to make a corruption-free India where corruption, dishonesty and lies have no place; and where honesty, labour and truth are rewarded.

They also know that we are fighting against discrimination based on gender, caste, religion and other sectarian identities. For instance we encourage inter-caste marriages. We want a society where no one is bigger or greater on the basis of his or her birth. While the effects of capitalism and its affiliated values are certainly in the rural countryside, a vast section of the society is against their corrupting and deteriorating effects. By and large the peasants and the workers support the values that we are fighting for. They participate in the struggles, based on these values, that our party organizes. They are fond of our cultural troops, read magazines and listen to the audio-cassettes and the CDs that we release. Our supporters also appreciate and promote the values that are perpetuated within the party. For instance, caste hierarchy has no place in our community. People from different castes eat from the same plate amongst our cadres: a concept that is generally unthinkable for many people outside our party. Women are treated equally to

men and there is no division of labour based on gender roles within the party. Our cadres are not paid a salary; they live a simple life which meets basic needs without unnecessary luxuries. They appreciate the values and visions of living that are being created within the party and are here to promote them beyond the party. There is much hope that these values will spread like fire across the Indian countryside, despite the efforts to trample them out by the Indian big bourgeoisie, because our supporters are increasing on a daily basis.

Q. Why are you boycotting elections in your strongholds?

Gopalji: The Indian parliament and constitution actually represent the big bourgeoisie class and the big landlord class — not the people, not the toiling masses or the middle classes of India. So for any basic change, if you want to bring any basic change in the lives of the ordinary masses, you must first bring a new constitution and a parliament based on that new constitution. So any action like participation in elections will actually strengthen the same reactionary parliament which is causing havoc, which is causing tragedy to the lives of the ordinary people. That is why we call upon people to boycott the elections. They must boycott the parliament itself which is reactionary and anti-people.

Q. India is often declared one of the world's largest democracies. Clearly you disagree?

Gopalji: India is not even a bourgeois democracy. It is actually a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state. The vast majority of people in India do not have any democratic rights. The transfer of power from the British in 1947 went into the hands of the comprador Indian bourgeoisie and the big landlords — the tested servants of the colonialists. In fact these two classes served the British imperialists in pre-independence British India. The vast majority of the people did not get any rights. The new government talked of land reform but in practice they did not give land to the actual cultivators. People did not acquire equal opportunities in the case of jobs, or in access to health and educational facilities.

Corruption has become a way of life in India. Now crores of people are dying of hunger and diseases. People are not allowed to speak openly and to organize, although they have written provision for so many things in their constitution. In fact the constitution carried majority of acts from colonial rule and has been prepared under their instructions. How can a bureaucracy, which was serving colonialism till yesterday, become democratic, pro-people and patriotic overnight? So this claim of independence of 1947 is actually not for large sections of the Indian people who achieved no democratic rights.

Moreover, today the Indian parliament obeys the dictates of the WTO and the World Bank. It is actually carrying out the instructions of US imperialism — the chieftain of world imperialism. The Indian ruling classes claim that India is a federal and secular republic. But how federal are they? The Kashmiri people are fighting for the implementation of the provision of the plebiscite for a separate Kashmir and the people of the Northeast are fighting for their cause, for their own nations. Observe how brutally the Indian government is treating them. Analyse the centre-state relations. They claim that the provincial governments have so many powers. But actually the power is centred in Delhi and centre-state relations are very feudal. The central government is least interested in decentralizing power to the state governments. When capital is concentrated in the hands of the comprador big bourgeoisie, backed by imperialists, how can you expect the decentralization of power? As far as the claim of being a secular country is concerned, you have seen the state initiated and promoted massacres of the minorities over the years. Their claims that India is a democratic, federal and a secular republic are a big farce.

Q. What does democracy mean for you?

Gopalji: Our immediate aim is to achieve a New Democratic Revolution. In a New Democratic India, power will be in the hands of a four-class alliance — a strategic united front where no one class is in power — the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This new state will liberate the peasants from the clutches of feudalism. It will liberate national capital from finance and comprador capital, confiscate finance and big capital and assets, and write off the foreign loans. It will seize the surplus land from the landowners and distribute it among the landless and poor peasants. It will eradicate each and every instance of imperialism and feudalism in the realm of economy, culture and politics. The New Democratic Revolution will thus bring a truly federal and secular democratic republic of India that will give the oppressed nationalities a right to self-determination and even to secede. That India will not favour any religion: religion will be a private affair. It will bring an India in which people have not only equal opportunities in jobs, medical and educational facilities but also the objective conditions for everyone to avail of them.

The united front of the four-class alliance will be organized under a decentralized organ of power of the people called Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs). RPCs will represent the majority of the people of India and will be elected by a truly representative body of the people. In fact in the countryside where our struggle is currently strong, particularly in Dandakaranya and Jharkhand, this united front, whatever classes we have in the villages, are already being organized under Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs). In Dandakaranya we have RPCs at a village level, at a block level, and in one or two places at the district level too. These are in rudimentary form at present, they are just emerging.

Q. In the last elections you blew up schools and hospitals in the areas where you have a strong presence. Why?

Gopalji: In our areas of struggle, the state's paramilitary forces are establishing police camps in the schools. You will find hundreds of schools in the struggling areas where the enemy forces have built up camps. We blow up only those schools where the police regularly establish military camps for their combing operations — not all the schools. The case of blowing up a hospital is rare. It is in fact very rare to have hospital buildings in the countryside and even in those cases where there may be hospital buildings, they are not functioning as hospitals: the doctors never visit them and there are no medicines. As far as schools are concerned, this government is least interested in educating the boys and girls of the toiling masses. You can see the conditions of the education system, the way in which they are privatizing the whole education system and how the boys and girls of the ordinary people of India are unable to have advanced studies. In some places where we have blown up schools, we talked to the villagers, to the supporters and sympathizers of the movement, before blowing them up.

And in some places we are rebuilding the schools. Please be clear that when we blow up schools we make sure there is no one in the school and that we are also running many of our own schools in the countryside. If the government stopped using the schools as military camps, there would be no need to blow up the schools. The High Court recently passed a verdict that schools should not be used as police camps. But even after this verdict the security forces have not vacated the schools. Many schools in the countryside

are actually being built for military purpose, and the police humiliate the students and hamper the studies there. That is why we are forced to blow up a few schools.

Q. India has made huge investments in developing the nation. Why are you so critical of the government's development programme agenda?

Gopalji: There are two things. First is the development programmes of the government and second is more broadly their concept of development. All these development programmes are actually a part of their strategy of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC). This is a reform and dole programme. The Indian government is least interested in the development of the common people. Even according to their own estimates, 77% of Indians do not have a daily earning of Rs20. This means more than 800 million people are living under dire conditions. They are people Below Poverty Line. This is the case after 62 years of so-called Independence! In 2000-2001, the average availability of food grains for an Indian was 157 kilograms, now it is hardly 140 kilograms. So this is the pathetic condition we have. On the other hand, a few Indians are becoming billionaires and the Indian state is boasting of that. What the Indian government is actually trying to do through these developmental works is to create their social base in the form of petty contractors and other middlemen — *becholia*, we call them. Their aim is to divert youth who are naturally coming towards the revolution. So many youths are being diverted to petty contracts. These are sugarcoated bullets. Just observe the development projects in the countryside. Even today, more than 65% of the Indian population is engaged in agriculture. But see the condition of agriculture. They have forgotten land reform — no one talks of that now. There is no programme for the implementation of land reform in the countryside. What are they doing in fact? They are making roads and they are making bridges in order to facilitate the mobility of their armed forces. Even this much-publicized NAREGA, National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, is a big flop because it has so many lacunae in it. Corruption is everywhere. People are not getting wages. The claim is to give employment for 100 days per person. But people are not getting employment even for 10 days. Moreover, NAREGA neither provides a permanent and stable form of employment nor does it challenge the power structure of inequality

in our countryside.

So what they are trying to claim as developmental projects are not developmental at all. They are part of their strategy of Low Intensity Conflict to fight the armed struggle, the struggle of the people of India. More broadly, there is much to criticize in their concept of development. The development of the country should not be related to Sensex and GDP growth rates. The government thinks that the development of the comprador big bourgeoisie, landlords, a few bureaucrats and multinationals is the development of the country. For us the development of the people is actually the development of the country. They are least interested in solving the fundamental problems of the people. Their development is dependent on imperialism which just prevents our country from becoming self-dependent.

Following the instructions of the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation, the government is promoting the policies of globalization, privatization and liberalization. They are trying to sell out our natural resources, our land, our forests, to the Indian big bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters. Coincidentally, the natural resources are mainly concentrated in the areas of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Orissa where the Maoists have a strong presence. More than 80% of India's natural resources are there. They know that unless and until they remove the Maoists, they suppress the Maoists there, they won't be able to sell out our land, sell out our natural resources, openly and nakedly to their imperialist masters. I will give you some examples. In Singur they sold

land with the help of the so-called left government to the Tatas. In Nandigram they sold it to an Indonesian bourgeoisie, the Salem group. And in Lalgarh they sold it to Jindals. And in all the three places, we organized movements against this naked selling of cultivable lands of the peasants and against the displacement of the peasants. And in all the three places they were forced to withdraw.

In Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh we are fighting against the plunder by the comprador big bourgeoisie of iron ore and coal. And in these areas, the adivasis, mainly the adivasis but also the nonadivasis, the moolvasis, will be forced to vacate their homes and villages. They will be displaced in great numbers as they have been in the past for the sake of so many

‘development’ projects. So now we are fighting against this plunder. We are fighting this implementation of liberalization and privatization. That is why they are saying that we are against this kind of development. Now it is for the people to see who is against the development of ordinary citizens.

Q. So are you against the development of mines altogether?

Gopalji: No, we are not against the development of mines or the installation of plants and factories. We are against the plunder of our natural resources, our motherland, by the Indian big bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters who are plundering them only for their own profit. The Indian government is not interested in opening plants and mines for the betterment of the people. The people in these areas — they will be forced to vacate their areas. The people will be thrown out. They will become wage earners in towns. They will be displaced in great numbers as they have been in many development projects earlier. In earlier cases where they built mega projects in Bokaro, Tata, and other places, people couldn’t get sufficient compensation — most people did not get land or homes or proper jobs in the plants which were built. Hundred and thousands of people, adivasis and moolvasis, were displaced. So what is the guarantee that this will not happen again? That is why we are organizing people against such plunder and such loot of our natural resources. We won’t allow the plunder of our land and our natural resources by the imperialists and their allies, the Indian big bourgeoisie.

Under a Maoist government a few things will be kept in mind before opening plants and mines in these areas. First, such plants and mines are nationalized and must be used for interest of the country. They must not be open for the profit of certain capitalists, bourgeoisie and multinational corporations. Second, in general the cultivable lands should not be taken for mining and other things. Third, if taking such land is unavoidable, then proper compensation must be given to the affected families. They should be given appropriate compensation for the land. They should be given jobs, they should be given homes, and some lands for cultivation. The New Democratic state will look after the welfare of the displaced people. Fourth, these mines and plants must be eco-friendly. You must consider the ecological factors while opening these plants and mega projects as this is becoming a vital thing in our lives, in the lives of the human civilization. And fifth,

people must be taken into confidence before you start such projects; they should be taken into the management of such plants and mines. In our state, when we will build a New Democratic India, we will take into account all these things.

Q. You say you are against the corruption. However, it is widely reported that you fund yourself through the black economy of development schemes coming in through the state.

Gopalji: How do you justify participation in the very systems of corruption that you are against? This is not corruption. This is taxation. In the areas of our struggle, we are the authority that is serving the people. We therefore tax those who are amassing wealth through major development programmes and their contractorship in order to use this wealth for the service of our masses. We are using the funds to accelerate our struggles and we are using them in radical reform programmes under the leadership of RPCs. We have rules and norms around how we tax people. For instance, large schemes and operations are taxed more than smaller ones. We don't tax the building of schools, hospitals, small tanks, tube wells etc. We also have rules and norms around how we use the fund collected. So we are not simply collecting money for private gain — that would be corruption. We are collecting money for the service of our toiling masses.

Q. Your struggles against corruption, against caste discrimination, against feudal values are also the struggles of human rights organizations and NGOs. How do you differentiate yourself from such organizations?

Gopalji: Social, political and cultural values are based on the economic structure. Unless you change the economic system any talk of reforming social-cultural and political values is just a farce. The NGOs and the government human rights organization fight cases on an individual basis and from within the system. Feudal and imperialist values are part of their system. These organisations are being nourished by the system itself. Unless you eradicate the system, you overthrow the system, you can't have another system that will promote an alternative set of values, the democratic values. Fighting individual cases of caste discrimination or discrimination against

women, or discrimination against dalits and adivasis, won't take us far; it won't eradicate the system. You must eradicate the whole system. And in order to eradicate the whole system of feudal and imperial values, you must seize power. The NGOs and the human rights organizations don't go for the seizure of power. They fight within the confines of India's pro-elite constitution. In most cases they work only as safety-valves for the state whose credibility is eroding fast. That is the limitations of their conception.

Q. In areas of Jharkhand where the party has been around for 20 odd years, what are the concrete achievements of the Maoists?

Gopalji: The first and foremost achievement is that the toiling masses, the landless labourer and the poor peasants, have emerged as a political and military force in India. In our struggling areas feudal authority has been demolished to a great extent. The struggling people have developed a guerilla army of their own in the form of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army. The second important achievement is the dignity and place in society which the dalits and adivasis have attained in the face of the historic discrimination they have endured. Wrong practices such as abuses against women, abuses against dalits and adivasis, and the dominance of the upper castes and outsiders in the forest areas are all changing now. The third is the emancipation of forests which were under the control of the forest department, the corrupt and repressive forest officials. Even the lower level staff were quite repressive and they were controlled by the forest mafias and landlords. The forests are now completely liberated and the people are free to use the forests according to their needs. We have been able to control deforestation. The fourth is the achievements of the anti-feudal struggle. People in our struggling areas are enjoying democratic rights. We have seized thousands of acres of the lands of landlords and in many places, most of the places, the landlords have been ousted from the villages. In many places we have implemented land ceilings — sometimes radical ceilings.

26

**“Nobody can Kill the Ideas of ‘Azad’!
Nobody can Stop the Advancement of the Revolution!”**

**Interview with Comrade Ganapathy,
General Secretary, CPI (Maoist)**

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 20, October-November 2010

(Recently some mediapersons sent some questions to Comrade Ganapathy, the General Secretary of CPI (Maoist). The martyrdom of Politburo member and party spokesperson Comrade Azad, the continuous losses to the Central leadership of the party, the issue of talks with the government, the deluge of militant mass movements in many areas, the situation of the revolutionary movement in the urban and plain areas, party stand on contemporary issues like Kashmir people’s movement, Commonwealth games, judgment on Babri Masjid are some of the issues on which Comrade Ganapathy concentrated and gave his replies. We hope this interview would be useful to know about party’s stand and understanding in the present situation – Editor, MIB)

1. Many people think that your party had suffered a severe backlash with Azad’s death. What are the circumstances which led to his death? How would you assess the role played by Azad in Indian Revolution? How do you plan to overcome his loss?

Com. Ganapathy (GP): True, our party has suffered a severe backlash with the death of Comrade Azad. Azad was one of the topmost leaders in

our party. He has been leading the Indian revolution since a long time. In our country, People's War is intensifying with each passing day. With the aid and support of imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, the Indian exploiting ruling classes are trying to suppress the revolutionary movement and are carrying on ruthless atrocities in an unprecedented severe manner. In this war between the people and the ruling classes, the enemy had particularly concentrated on comrades like Azad who are leading the revolution and schemed to murder them. It is as part of that conspiracy that comrade Azad was caught and killed in the most brutal and cowardly manner. The Home minister Chidambaram, who is leading from the forefront the 'War on People' launched by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang, central intelligence agencies and Andhra Pradesh SIB are directly responsible for this gruesome murder.

Comrade Azad was leading the entire urban movement on behalf of our Central Committee and was also looking after political propaganda, party periodicals, party education and other such crucial responsibilities. He was a most reliable mass leader. He maintained close relations with many comrades at various levels and with the revolutionary masses. In the midst of severe repression, he worked selflessly and unflinchingly in spite of the many risks involved. It is under such circumstances that the enemy came to know about his whereabouts somewhere and could catch him by laying in wait.

In July, Azad was to go to Dandakaranya. He was to participate in the political education training program planned for the party leadership cadres there. He had a contact with the Dandakaranya comrades in Nagpur city on July 1. But he and a journalist named Hemchand who was traveling with him were caught even before they reached the contact place. Both of them were taken to Adilabad forests and were killed the same night. Those who have seen his dead body said that they seemed have given him some sedative injection as soon as they caught him. This means that the enemy had caught him in a planned manner with the clear aim of killing him. They killed Hemchand Pandey too so that the truth about his murder doesn't come out. Both their bodies were thrown in the Jogapur forests in the Wankidi mandal of Adilabad district and a fake encounter story was concocted as always.

Entire people along with our Party condemned in one voice this fake encounter and comrade Azad's murder. Many revolutionary parties, democratic and civil rights organizations had demanded judicial enquiry on this fake encounter. Intellectuals, journalists, writers and students from many states along with those in Andhra Pradesh had accused that the Central and state governments were responsible for Azad's murder. Many wrote articles and gave statements. Thousands attended the funeral procession of comrade Azad which was held in Hyderabad on July 4th. Many Maoist parties from all over the world had condemned the murder of comrade Azad and written letters to our CC hailing his services to the Indian revolution. On this occasion, I send my revolutionary greetings and gratitude to all these organizations and individuals on behalf of our CC. It is such democratic and revolutionary consciousness which would help sustain people's movements.

Azad was attracted to the revolutionary movement while he was studying in the Warangal Regional Engineering College in 1972. Azad who was exceptionally brilliant in his studies had played a dynamic role in the revolutionary movement too. He played a role in the formation of the Radical Students Union (RSU) in 1974. He was elected as the state president of RSU in 1978. He was one of the founders of the All India revolutionary student's movement and guided it from its inception in 1985. He played a key role in conducting a seminar on Nationality Question in the then Madras city in 1981. Later he took up the responsibility of building the revolutionary movement in Karnataka and build up the Maoist party in Karnataka for the first time. He attracted many comrades like Saketh Rajan into the party. When opportunistic elements tried to split the party in 1985 and in 1991, comrade Azad had played a crucial role in keeping the party united and strong and in defeating their opportunist politics with a proletarian outlook. He worked tirelessly for twenty years as a CC member and Politburo member from 1990 till now. We cannot separate Azad's life from the revolutionary movement's history of the past forty years. Particularly, he played a key role in the ideological, political spheres, party education and running of periodicals and such. He fulfilled the responsibility of the party spokesperson since three years as 'Azad' in the most excellent and exemplary manner. He used his intellect and sharp pen outstandingly in fighting back the 'War on

People' led by the Chidambaram gang. He stood as the voice of the people against the rulers and exploiters. In the development of the party's political line, in the development of the party, people's army and mass organizations, in extending the movement, in the emergence of new democratic power organs and in all the victories won, Azad's ideological, political work and practice played a key role. Unflinching commitment in face of any odds and during the ebb and flow of the movement, great sacrificing nature, selflessness, simple living, indefatigable work for the revolution and for the interests of the people, astounding study, study of changing phenomena in the society from time to time, being with the people always are some of the great proletariat ideals established by Comrade Azad. Though he is no more, it is undeniable that he would serve as a revolutionary role model to every revolutionary and particularly to the youth, students and intellectuals.

It is true that it would be very difficult to fulfill the loss because comrade Azad's life has been completely intertwined with the advancement of the revolutionary movement. He was a great revolutionary who was steeled in the ups and downs of the movement. Revolutionary movements give birth to leaders in this manner. In turn, these leaders lead the revolutionary movements down the path of victory. The sacrifice of many leaders is also inevitable in the revolutionary movement. **The very conditions which give birth to the revolutionary movements and help its advancement would give birth to its leadership too. This has been proven repeatedly in the world revolutionary history. So the material conditions which are favorable for the rapid advancement of the revolutionary movement in our country today would give birth to thousands of leaders like comrade Azad.** The ideological-political and practical work done by comrade Azad and the communist ideals he established have created the base for such an eventuality. The martyrdom of a Surapaneni Janardhan had placed an ideal in front of many comrades like Azad. Likewise many more revolutionaries would be born by taking the sacrifice of Azad as an ideal. They would lead the Indian revolution. The enemy could eliminate the physical presence of Azad but it would be impossible to stop the ideas he had spread in the party and among the people from turning into a material force.

In our history though we had lost important leaders many times and had faced many ups and downs, we had always stood up again and could advance the movement. We are still attracting educated cadres into our party from various parts of our country. We are confident that we would be able to fill the void created by Azad's death by training them up well in practice. The ruling classes are ecstatic that they had broken the jar of knowledge by killing Azad. But those fools do not understand that thousands of Azads would be born from the land where that knowledge had been spilled. Azad had haunted the ruling classes with his political attacks when he was alive. Now even after his death he is haunting them. The ruling classes startle at the very mention of his name.

Before the death of Azad too, we had lost important leadership comrades in fake encounters and many more had been arrested. These losses are heavy too. But we would definitely overcome these losses and would definitely advance the revolutionary movement firmly.

2. In the interview you gave to Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha you said that your party was ready for talks with the government. In the letter written by your spokesperson Azad to Agnivesh, he said your party was ready for simultaneous ceasefire from both sides. Now that the government had killed Azad in a conspiratorial manner, do you think it is possible to hold talks? Are you still reiterating the stand taken before the death of Azad?

GP: In fact, you should put this question to Chidambaram and Manmohan Singh. For the past one and half year, comrades Azad, Kishenji and I have been stating our party's stand regarding talks a number of times. The government has been hiding the endless brutal violence it had been perpetuating on the people and has been announcing each time that talks would be held only if Maoists abjure violence. Chidambaram has been repeatedly shouting these words from the roof top. Keeping in view the war declared on the people and the difficulties they are facing due to it, Azad had continued declaring till the end that our party would be ready for simultaneous cease fire if the government is ready for it. His intention was to lessen the travails of the people to any possible extent. He mentioned the

same demand in the letter written to Swami Agnivesh. Chidambaram and Manmohan Singh had not only killed him in a conspiratorial manner but are shamelessly performing the same charade once again. The fact is that the government doesn't feel any actual need for holding talks. If the peace wished by intellectuals, democrats and the people is to be established, then the most meaningless thing would be to demand that the counter-violence by people should be stopped while the government continues with its killing spree. When Chidambaram announced that Maoists should stop violence for 72 hours and Kishenji responded by giving a time of 72 days, Chidambaram's answer was to target Kishenji and to intensify the attacks in order to kill him. Azad who had written the letter to Agnivesh was targeted and killed. As part of Operation Green Hunt nearly one lakh paramilitary forces and three lakh state forces have been deployed. Of these the major forces are Special Forces. Every day, every hour and every minute these forces are perpetuating countless atrocities on the people. They are targeting the people and democrats who are opposing this and putting them in jails under UAPA and other draconian laws of the states. Except for the reactionaries and their stooges in the media, nobody else is supporting this war on people in our country. Even if there are a few individuals who support it, it is not because they know the facts but because they innocently believe the false propaganda of the government. We feel that there is absolutely no conducive situation for holding talks now.

People like Agnivesh are asking us not to retreat from the dialogue process and to come forward for talks even after the cold-blooded murder of comrade Azad. We want to ask them if they would be able to stop such conspiracies and plots the government is hatching to kill our party leaders. Doubtless, comrade Azad was killed by the government in a conspiracy. The post-mortem and forensic reports too prove this beyond doubt. So we request all democrats, peace-loving intellectuals and human rights' organizations to come forward with the firm demand that judicial enquiry should be conducted on Azad's murder.

It is crystal clear that there is no conducive atmosphere for talks. In spite of this we request the people and democrats to demand the government to prove its commitment towards the process of talks by coming forward to implement the following steps.

1) Stop Operation Green Hunt. Withdraw the paramilitary forces. If the government stops its offensive on the people, then the counter-offensive of the people would also stop. As many intellectuals are saying, if the offensive of the government doesn't take place then there would be no need for the people to resist.

2) Ours is a political party like many other parties in this country and the world. Our party has an ideological, political and military line and aim and correct, clear-cut policies on matters relating to culture, caste, gender, nationality, ecology etc. Even according to the laws formulated by these ruling classes, democratic rights would apply to our party. So the ban on our party should be lifted. Ban on our mass organizations should be lifted. Absolute democratic opportunities should be created for mass mobilization. Only in conditions where we could work democratically, we can come forward for talks.

3) In Andhra Pradesh, comrade Riyaz who had participated in talks with the government in 2004 was caught and murdered after torturing him brutally. Others who participated in talks were targeted and attempts were made to assassinate them. Now comrade Azad who was working to facilitate the process of talks was murdered. So, it is not possible to believe the government and send underground comrades for talks. Therefore if the government releases our leadership comrades from jails, then they would directly represent our party in the talks.

So, you people should think about these three demands and place them before the government. We want to make it clear once again that any questions regarding talks should be put to the government first and not to us.

GK Pillai, Prakash Singh, Chidambaram and such likes are saying that we would come into line only if pressure is built up on us through intensification of fascist military offensive on our party and massacring the people. They are living in a fools' paradise. Building pressure, creating illusions in the name of talks, deceiving and destroying the party - this is the strategy of the government. In fact, our party is fighting for peace too. They believe only in suppression and they are incompetent in facing us politically and ideologically. People are fighting under the leadership of our

party with the lofty aim of establishing permanent peace by ending the exploitation, oppression, brutal suppression and violence in our country and in the whole human society. **We see the issue of ‘talks’ and ‘peace’ as part of class struggle too. When class struggle intensifies, it would be in an armed form. In other circumstances it would be conducted in peaceful methods too.** So it is completely false that our party would come for talks if pressure is built up.

And then, a false propaganda is being conducted through the media that there are differences in our party regarding talks and that they are mainly on the lines of erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile People’s War. This is hundred percent false. This is nothing but false propaganda by the enemy to create doubts in peoples’ minds about our party to carry on their aims. Our Unity Congress has taken a clear stand on the matter of talks. The struggle between correct ideas and wrong ideas is a continuous process in the party. We would solve our differences of opinion by abiding the principle of democratic centralism and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This would only lead to the development of the party. We achieved great unity with the merger of the two parties. Now any discussions or conflict of ideas which takes place in the party would be in the form of ideological and political discussions in a united party and not in the form of differences between erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile CPI (ML) (People’s War). We categorically state that the differences would never ever take the form of conflicts before the merger.

3. You are saying that the government has declared a war on the people. The government is saying that there is no war and that Operation Green Hunt is a figment of imagination of the media. It is very clear that coordinated attacks are carried on your party in all states. How is this offensive going on? How are you facing it and plan to face it?

GP : It is not just us who are saying that the government had declared a war on the people. All the people are saying so in one voice. All the people of the areas where this war is going on are saying so. All the democratic organizations, progressive forces and democrats of our country are saying very clearly that government is carrying a war on the people and are condemning it. The government is carrying on war on people and is blatantly

lying that it is not the case. While Longkumer, Kalluri and Viswaranjan announce that the Operation Green Hunt is going on, on the other hand Chidambaram shamelessly declares that there is no such thing. It is increasingly getting exposed how terrible, how cruel fascist act this Green Hunt is and how dreadfully it is being carried on. In fact, in the various states where Maoist movement is present, nearly one lakh paramilitary forces are deployed. If we look at the number of police forces deployed in 9, 10 states against our movement it would be nearly three to four lakhs. What is the reason for deploying such a huge contingent of forces? What are these forces doing on a daily basis? Why are they increasing carpet security and construction of base camps, special training schools and jungle warfare schools? Why is the police budget of each state increased to such huge amounts and so rapidly? Why did the government release a package of thirteen and a half thousands of crores of rupees at once? Why huge sum of over one trillion rupees was allotted for internal security? Why are the central and state governments spending thousands of crores of rupees annually with the evil design of eliminating our movement? Why is the government carrying on mopping up campaigns in our strong areas like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Maharashtra, North Andhra and North Telangana? Mopping up means destroying everything. Anybody can be killed, arrested, missed, raped and property, houses, harvest and everything can be destroyed. All this is nothing but fascist rule.

It is as part of this war that the enemy is concentrating on our leadership and killing them in the most brutal manner and putting them in jails by arresting them in an undemocratic and illegal manner. The government has chosen armed repression as the main form and carrying on this war. However, in support of this it is carrying on the offensive in all other spheres, i.e., political, ideological, psychological, cultural spheres in a multi-pronged attack.

That is why the people are consolidating themselves under our party leadership with a clear strategy, intensifying the people's war and establishing a new political power, new economy and new culture as an alternative to the present rule of the exploiting classes. Under our party's leadership our PLGA, our new power organs and people are fighting a life and death struggle against MoUs worth billions of rupees which the central and state governments had signed with MNCs and big comprador corporate houses

in many states such as Odisha, Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh etc. That is why, people are saying that this callous government is lying when it says that this is not a war. People, democrats and revolutionary forces are strongly and unitedly opposing and equally strongly fighting back the war on people which the government is intensifying day by day. Democratic forces, anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary proletariat all over the world are also strongly opposing and protesting this war on the people waged by the ruling classes of our country.

I want to clearly state one thing here. This war on the people is a brutal war launched by the government to suppress our just movement. This is an unjust war politically. This war by the ruling classes is carried on with a clear political aim. This would permanently continue the exploitation and oppression of the people. The self-defence war waged by the people also has a clear political aim. We are fighting with the aim of establishing a new society by destroying the exploitive and oppressive system. These two aims are completely at the opposite poles. At present revolutionary war is being waged in our country. The rulers are waging counter-revolutionary war against this revolutionary war. Both of these are seriously confronting each other. They represent the interests of two completely opposite classes.

Firstly, we want to fight back this war politically. The political aim of our resistance war is very clear. Depending on how deeply the vast masses understand this, how much they consolidate themselves, how much they arm themselves, we will be able to end this war as soon as possible. We are striving hard for the same. That is why we are fighting the enemy in a multi-pronged manner in all spheres.

4. Chidambaram and Manmohan Singh are repeatedly asking you to 'abjure violence'. But the attacks of your people's liberation guerilla army are continuing. Don't you think this is making it difficult to arrive at a solution? In the background of your recent attacks at Tadimetla (Dantewada), Kongera (Narayanpur), Silda (West Bengal) and Lakhisarai (Jharkhand), some people are expressing their anxiety that you are responding only with military means. They are saying that this would facilitate the deployment of army and that it would lead to more violence and greater loss of lives of ordinary citizens and adivasis. What do you say?

GP : Our central leadership has clearly stated our stand many times on this issue. I will do so one more time. It is nothing but a big deception and charade by the government to ask the people to abjure violence while the state continues its violence. It is violating its own laws and is massacring the people. So it is very necessary that every democrat and any politically conscious person questions the government on this and demands that it stop the violence and war on the people. They should demand that it is the government which should abjure violence. When the government says that we are practicing violence, it is just like a thief shouting ‘thief, thief’. It is trying to divert attention from the real issue by doing so.

People whose consciousness has risen would not sit quiet and suffer these attacks carried on with the aim of looting their resources and to turn them into permanent slaves using the government mercenary armed forces. They would resist them by arming themselves. **All the members of our people’s guerilla army are none other than masses who have armed themselves voluntarily. These masses who had been exploited and oppressed like slaves since generations have understood the laws of historical development of society and are fighting by arming themselves. Our party is repeatedly making this clear – there is only one way for the people to achieve their liberation and that is the armed way. It means arming themselves, forming themselves into an army and waging an armed struggle.** When crores of people of our country increase their political consciousness and build up a vast, strong army and when this army fights effectively, it would be possible to put an end to this exploitative rule. The soon this happens, the better for the people. That is why our party gives a call to the youngsters of this country every year on the occasion of the anniversary of the formation of our PLGA to arm themselves. This call is increasingly spreading widely among the people. The attacks carried on recently by our people’s army under the leadership of the party and with the active support of the people at Tadimetla (Mukaram), Silda, Lakhisarai, Kongera etc., are all military attacks. Who is anxious about these attacks? Is it the ruling classes and its mercenaries or the people? People are celebrating each occasion of a successful raid like a festival. Each such attack is giving a political message in a practical manner and showing them the path of liberation. The people understand this exactly

in this manner. On the contrary seeing all these, the ruling classes are trembling with fear.

However, people who do not understand our movement and those who are not clear about it are anguished about the losses on both sides. We can understand their anguish. But the people cannot stop their war and resistance just because they are anguished. What they should understand is why is such an intense war going on? Why are hundreds of people participating in each attack? Where are we getting the active support of the people? Why are we getting it? If they try to understand this it would become clear. Then they would realize the need for such big attacks, more such big attacks and the need for more such attacks to take place more frequently. Then even they would celebrate whenever such attacks take place. They would also wish whole heartedly that such attacks should take place. But enemies of the people would always oppose them and they would resort to bigger attacks on the people in a more reactionary manner. They would foolishly choose suppression as the only way and would be hated by the people. As a result, they would again become victims of bigger attacks by the people.

As to the question if our attacks are facilitating the deployment of army - if people do not fight back, if they silently bow their heads and suffer exploitation and oppression which are going on since centuries, then there is no need even for police and paramilitary, leave alone the army. Then there would be no need for the ruling classes to carry on attacks too. As people have gained consciousness and have understood the real story behind exploitation and oppression, the fraud of parliamentary system and fake democracy, as they are fighting for land to the genuine peasants and for genuine democracy for the people, the rulers are resorting to serious suppression fearing that their foundations are being shaken. These fools who do not realize that their policies would only lead to an intensification of the people's resistance, are making all preparations to deploy the army. In fact, the army had planned for counter-revolutionary Salwa Judum military campaign during Vajpayee's rule when Advani was the home minister. The home ministry approved it. The Congress which came to power after Vajpayee's government was toppled at the centre and the BJP which came to power in place of Congress in Chhattisgarh implemented this decision. From then onwards, the army has been very actively using all its commands

(Northern, Central, Southern, Western and Eastern), has formed special structures in all of them and has been giving all kinds of advices to the state police departments through them. It formulated the strategy for the war on people and is providing all kinds of training, intelligence, technology and deployment plans to the central home ministry. It applied LIC policy formulated by the imperialists to suppress the Maoist movement in the concrete conditions of India and is implementing it with its own characteristic features and with increasing intensity. At present the army is not directly participating in attacks carrying guns. But army officers, some specialists and intelligence officers are directly giving guidance to the counter-guerilla operations in our strong areas. This has been happening since three, four years. So it is not true that they would be deploying the army because of us doing some attacks. They would deploy the army as part of their evil design to suppress the peoples' struggles. Counter-insurgency forces are built inside the army for this purpose. They are building new cantonments, air-bases and helipads, as if on the borders, on a war footing. They are restructuring the whole state system in accordance with their counter-insurgency policies. This means that the rulers had made all kinds of preparations to perpetuate unprecedented level of atrocities, massacres and destruction on the people of our country. Our party feels that all revolutionary parties, democratic organizations and intellectuals, nationality liberation organizations, anti-imperialist patriotic organizations and the entire Indian people should realize this and resist this actively and intensely without any delay. The people of our movement areas are also thinking in similar terms and are hoping for it.

It is true that the deployment of the army would lead to more violence on the poor and the adivasis and would lead to greater loss of lives. When people are fighting in self-defence it is the exploiters and their stooges who constitute just five percent of the population that are suffering casualties. **But in the violence perpetuated by the state, it is vast masses of oppressed people who are facing losses. People who are in the form of PLGA, the Maoist party, mass organizations and Janathana Sarkars are losing their lives.** So one should understand this. When ordinary citizens and adivasis are suffering losses on such a large scale, one should firstly question as to why this is happening? It doesn't serve any purpose to make confused arguments, either innocently or deceptively, that innocent

people are dying. In this background of loss of lives, the oppressed people and the vast masses are putting a straight question to everybody – are you on our side or on the side of the rulers? It means there is no neutral ground left in between. So we request all those who express anguish about loss of lives to rethink in the background of this question.

On this occasion I want to bring some things to your notice. On June 12th, 2,000 state police and central paramilitary forces had attacked a political camp being held by our party's Eastern Regional Bureau in Korhat forest of Jharkhand. Cobra forces, BSF and Jharkhand STF were involved in this attack. Three Air Force helicopters were used. Though the government said that 2,000 forces were involved, in fact more forces were involved. There were only two guerilla companies of our PLGA in that area. Our weapons were inferior. What was the reason for thousands of government forces to carry on this massive attack on our party and PLGA which are in that position? Is this war or not? Why are they hiding the glaring fact that this is a war? Why did they have to wage this war? Since the attack was done by mercenary forces, since it was done for the interests of a few exploiters, whether it was the commandos or Special Forces that had attacked, could not withstand the heroic resistance of our guerillas. Our comrades who have high political consciousness and sacrificing nature have fought back this attack bravely. In our counter-attack some Cobras have died and more were injured too. But the officers who led this attack do not even have the guts to announce how many of them were injured and how many had died. They are afraid that if the facts are announced, the morale of their forces would come down.

Between 25th and 27th of September, again in Jharkhand, the government forces attacked on a huge scale, a political camp being conducted by our Eastern Regional Bureau in Saranda forest with information. The police and paramilitary higher officials had themselves announced that five thousand (equivalent to a regiment) troops were deployed and helicopters were pressed into service. In fact, the number of troops which attacked would be much more. So one can understand how big a war the government is waging. What would you call this if not war? Once again, why are they hiding the fact that it is a war even after attacking at a regiment level? Would they perhaps agree when they attack with a division level force? On

whom are they waging this war? Here too, like in Korhat, our comrades bravely retaliated this enemy attack. In Korhat comrade David lay down his life. In Saranda too a comrade was martyred. The enemy forces faced more losses. But to hide this fact, they resorted to false propaganda that three of their men were killed and ten to twelve Maoists were killed, huge quantities of weapons and other material were seized and training camps were destroyed by them.

Under the guidance of US imperialists, the number one enemy of the world people and taking the help of Israel, one of the cruelest governments of the world and a stooge of US, the Indian government is waging this war. Whatever the government may say, how much ever Sonia, Manmohan and Chidambaram gang and their boot-licking intellectuals may lie, the massive attacks in Korhat and Saranda were nothing but war. We are also candidly and clearly announcing that all our attacks have been carried out as part of our war of self-defence. Ordinary people are facing huge losses in the unjust war waged by the government. So we are once again appealing to all people to oppose and resist this unjust war.

5. The ruling classes of our country are saying that Maoists are not sincere about people's issues and they are not bothered about people's welfare and that their only aim is to 'overthrow the democratically elected government using armed force and establish communist rule.' What is your explanation for this?

GP: The ruling classes are not at all morally qualified to hurl accusations against Maoists, who are sacrificing their lives for the people or to comment on their concern and commitment regarding people's interests, people's welfare and people's development. Our aim is to overthrow this 'democracy' and 'parliamentary rule' which are nothing but means for the dictatorship of the feudals and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and which stand in complete opposition to 95% of the population's interests, using armed force and to establish new people's power. We feel it is wonder of the wonders to say that these elections and parliament are sacred and that the present rule is the highest form of democratic rule!

We are telling the people to overthrow this dictatorial government and build a government of their own which is genuine democracy of the four

classes, i.e., workers, peasants, urban middle class and national bourgeoisie. People are consolidating themselves and fighting for it. Anybody who knows the ABC of politics would know this. But the rulers are saying that the constitution and parliament are sacred and above class interests. **This dictatorial and bourgeois parliament and state machinery which they had established by colluding with the imperialists would serve none else than those classes. They may be sacred for those classes but they are a big menace for the people. So it is their birth right to pull them down. It is their democratic right. They should establish a genuine democratic political system which constitutes new legislative bodies and a new constitution.**

And, we are not the ones who are obstructing development. It is the ruling classes who are doing so. People are performing agricultural tasks while fighting back the horrible violence and destruction perpetuated by fascist gangs like the Salwa Judum, police and paramilitary in Dandakaranya. The militia is doing sentry in defence near the fields and reaping the harvests. The People's Liberation Guerilla Army is safeguarding the harvest of the people. The mercenary forces of the government are attacking such units and killing them. The government forces are wreaking havoc in the adivasi areas by destroying their property, burning homes and whole villages, seizing hens, pigs, cattle and what not from the hapless poor people, destroying the fields and burning the harvest. This enormous destruction is the development policy of the rulers. Here, it is crystal clear that who are the bitter enemies of the people's welfare.

Of course, we are calling upon the people to overthrow this unholy state. We are calling upon the people to destroy this menace of the people and to liberate themselves. Only through this liberation struggle the people would be able to establish new power and be able to achieve all-round development with an alternative line in all spheres. The development we are talking of is definitely not the one dictated by the IMF and the World Bank and also not the development policy proposed by Ahluwalias, Rangarajans, Manmohan Sings, Chidambarams and Pillais. The development policy we are proposing would change the relations of production qualitatively and thus would lead to the qualitative development of the productive forces. It is a real

development policy which says that one should oppose placing the sovereignty of our country at the feet of foreign firms, that it should also be an independent and a self-reliant one, that the resources in our country should be used not for the imperialists but for the people.

Many intellectuals and researchers who have visited our areas had already written that an alternative political power is being established in our areas. Many are realizing that we are having an alternative line in all spheres like in ideological, political, organizational, military, economical, cultural, and ecological spheres. Observers have written clearly about the increasing development in all these spheres, though at a primary level.

6. Many democrats had raised their voices against Operation Green Hunt. But don't you think that your party would lose sympathy with incidents such as beheading of Francis Induvar, Jamui massacre, blasting of bus in Dantewada and Gnaneshwari Express accident? What is your explanation about these incidents?

GP: Firstly, I am sending my revolutionary greetings to all the democratic forces which are opposing and protesting this cruel and unjust war on the people waged by the government. Now coming to bad propaganda and the accusations on us, we do not have any hand in the incident which led to the accident of Gnaneshwari Express. Already our West Bengal party has clearly issued statements in this matter. This incident occurred due to the conspiracy hatched by CPI (M) and the central intelligence agencies. Though judicial enquiry in this matter has been handed over to the CBI, Umakant Mahato who was portrayed as the main accused was caught and killed in a fake encounter. This is also a part of that whole conspiracy. **Our party which is fighting with the aim of liberation of the people had never conducted any raids or attacks targeting the people or with the aim of killing them and would never do so in future too.**

Our party had already clearly given a statement stating the facts which led to the bus blasting near Chingavaram in Dantewada district. Our party had issued an apology too for the mistake. In the case of Induvar's beheading Com. Azad had already answered clearly. Our party's stand on such issues is very clear. When exceptions occurred our party had given explanations. But the ruling classes are intentionally doing bad propaganda to defame the revolutionary movement and the people's resistance. The Gnaneshwari

Express case is an evident example of this.

There is a lot of difference between the Induvar issue, Dantewada bus blast and the Gnaneshwari incident. Near Chingavaram, our targets were clearly the Koya Commandos and SPOs. These blood thirsty forces had raided a village named Kutrem, killed three adivasis, raped women and were returning. But we did not know that there were people inside the bus. The information we had was that SPOs had got into the bus after forcing the people to get down. On the roof top of the bus too it was these armed killer gangs who were traveling. So we considered it a military target and attacked it. **We do not have any hand in the Gnaneshwari accident. In Induvar's case, our party had given a clear explanation. While resisting the killer gangs and the endless cruel violence perpetuated on them, people may in some places, very rarely as an exception, resort to such acts as part of taking revenge. Unless we understand the uneven social conditions in our country, we will not understand this problem.** The conditions in urban areas are different in one sense. In the remote rural areas, where there is the cruelest feudal and upper caste oppression, where people are suffering from the inhuman violence perpetrated by Salwa Judum, Sendra, Harmad Bahini and such killer gangs, where they are victims of the huge destructive campaigns of the state, the resistance of the people may sometimes take such forms too. Even in the urban areas, in the bastis where people are victims of the notorious usurers, slum lords, politicians, mafia gangs and police officers hand in glove with the gangsters and politicians, the resistance of the people may take such forms too. The killing of the notorious rapist and goon in Nagpur by the basti women is just one instance out of many such incidents. This is just an explanation as to why such things happen and it is very clear that our party doesn't carry on such incidents as a policy. Our attitude is that we should educate our people and ranks in this matter. Some intellectuals who lick the boots of the corporations are doing such bad propaganda on us by making a mountain out of a molehill.

In the Jamui incident, a reactionary gang sponsored by the government had caught eight of our comrades in Phulwaria-Kodasi village and killed them in the most heinous, brutal manner by chopping off their limbs. When such incidents happen, we will never be able to safeguard our movement or

our people if we keep quiet and do not act. That was why we were compelled to counter attack. In this attack, nine people died including three main *goonda* leaders. It is extremely sad that a woman and a child were caught in flames and had died accidentally. All the other seven were hard-core criminals, killers and lumpen elements. Our Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee had issued a clear statement on this. It was published in the Bihar papers and in the Maoist Information Bulletin-17.

On the whole, the governments and some paid intellectuals in their service who blow their trumpet are falsely implicating us and trying to defame us. In some incidents where we committed mistakes, they are not even bothering to listen to our explanation and are continuing the bad propaganda on us. So our request to the people and pro-people intellectuals is not to get deceived by the government's psy-war. **Our people's army which had been formed to defend the interests of the people would lay down lives for the people but would never try to harm the people.** So try to know the facts behind each incident. We are always prepared to accept any proper criticism and are always ready to correct our mistakes, if any.

7. The police and paramilitary forces which are losing their lives in your attacks belong to the poor and middle class families. On the one hand you say that you have taken up arms for their liberation and on the other hand you annihilate persons from these classes who join the police and paramilitary forces. Does this not send the wrong message to poor and middle class families? How do you look at this problem?

GP: Any politically thinking person should understand that the state and state machinery are the means of the ruling classes for carrying on exploitation and oppression. The crucial components in these are the police, paramilitary and military. The number of the exploiters is always very limited. They would not even constitute five percent of our population. But they hold the means of production under their control and have built up the police and military to exploit and suppress the vast masses who constitute the majority. The rulers are recruiting them from among the people. That is why, the majority of these forces belong to the poor and middle classes. These forces are waging war on the people on behalf of the exploiting

classes. As these are the forces that stand in the forefront in the war, it is inevitable that they would die in the self-defensive war of the people. But if exploitation and oppression are to be ended, if oppressed people are to be liberated and this agonizing situation is to end, then this war of self-defence is inevitable.

In our areas some individuals from the police and paramilitary forces meet us. They help us and we help them too in various forms. Only when the government forces come to attack us carrying guns, we are attacking them in self-defence. **Our repeated appeal to the lower level personnel in the police and paramilitary forces is – please do not betray your own class, don't serve the exploiting classes, don't attack the people and revolutionaries on your own consciously in a revengeful manner, join hands with the masses and turn your guns against the real enemies and not on your class brothers and sisters. What you are doing is not service to the people but service to the exploiting classes. So stop serving the exploiting classes like slaves. Don't just think of your livelihood, please think about the people, think about the country.**

Our appeal to their families is that they should see to it that their family members do not serve this exploiting system for temporary interests; encourage them to be on the people's side. When these families reside in our areas, our people's governments will ensure that they get proper livelihood and necessary help as part of whatever the oppressed people get. We want to make this clear on this occasion to those families one more time.

8. Your party had immense support of the people in the initial days in areas like Lalgadh and Narayanapatna. But these movements are facing severe state repression at present. What is your party's strategy to advance these movements and to build such movements in other areas?

GP: In Lalgadh and Narayanapatna, our party gained the vast support of the masses. When mass struggles erupted and spread like a prairie fire in these areas, they not only got the support of the people of those states but also attracted the democrats and people of our country. It is no exaggeration to say that our country had not seen struggles with such huge and vast support of the masses in the past 20 to 25 years. Our party is working in Lalgadh area since three and half decades. As the revisionists who were in

power since three decades had been carrying on social fascist repression on the people, severe discontent and hatred simmered and finally erupted like a volcano. Most of the land lords, bad gentry, goons, contractors, traders and police officers who were exploiting the people at local level are the revisionist CPI (M) hoodlums. They had oppressed the people in all spheres. In the background of such a situation, the anti-people CPI (M) government had allowed the steel plant of Jindal in Salboni and this led to the Lalgadh movement. Later the atrocities of the police on the people of that area added fuel to the fire. The distinctive feature there is that people had been under the social fascist oppression of CPI (M) since decades.

The ruling class parties of Congress, Trinamool and CPI (M) have been clashing with each other in West Bengal. In some places clashes took place between CPI (M) and Trinamool and in some places between CPI (M) and Congress. During the Nandigram struggle, this contradiction between the ruling classes intensified more seriously. Its impact could be seen in Lalgadh too. The Lalgadh struggle started mainly as an anti-state movement and spread to all spheres of life. As it consolidated and spread vastly, it brought to a standstill the state machinery and by arming itself had established new political power though at a primary level. It established itself as a political power system in all spheres such as education, health, sanitation, irrigation facilities, transport, trade, economy, culture etc. This is one of the characteristic features of that struggle

And in the Narayanapatna struggle - from a class point of view, land lords, usurers and bad gentry drank the blood of the people there. The Narayanapatna peasantry consolidated and armed itself against their exploitation and oppression. They occupied thousands of acres of *patta* land. They fought most militantly on a vast scale and politically broke down the feudal-bad gentry, usurer system and started new democratic political power organs. As the right opportunism of fake revolutionaries like Kanu Sanyal and Ramachandran became a hindrance in this anti-feudal struggle and in getting the peasantry organized, it became inevitable for them to fight against it. So, when seen from an ideological point of view, this became possible as the peasantry raised its political consciousness and revolted against revisionism by rejecting their leadership.

These two struggles were waged with a clear political stand and with

the aim of establishing new political power. They were very just struggles. They had mobilized huge majority of the people in those areas. They had established new leadership. They were struggles with immediate aims which were waged in coordination with the higher aim. The people rose like a hurricane and these struggles had challenged the state, exploiting classes and the imperialists. So the state launched a massive attack on them. In these two areas, many changes occurred in struggle forms and organizational forms. In Narayanapatna right opportunist forces had also joined hands in the most reactionary fashion with the feudal forces and bad gentry and jointly carried on attacks on the people.

Seeing these growing struggles, the central and state governments schemed against them and deployed paramilitary forces on a large scale. In Bengal, Harnad Bahini, the neo-fascist force under the leadership of CPI (M) is conducting attacks along with the central paramilitary forces and the state police. As the central and state governments had jointly undertaken a massive attack on the Lalgadh movement, we had to make changes in the struggle forms and organizational forms which were in vogue till then. When continuous attacks are taking place without any respite, changes should necessarily be made in the mass struggle forms and organizational forms. Then sustaining the movement in the face of attacks becomes primary and the changes made would also be in accordance with this. It is not correct to assess that mass support for these struggle organizations has become less, by looking at this phenomena. If these movements sustain themselves, become more consolidated, more armed, gain more active support of the masses and extend to more new areas and strengthen the party and army, then they would be able to develop further. This process is underway under our leadership.

We would definitely strive to advance these movements and to build such movements in other areas. These struggles have given us great lessons. Taking them as a model we are trying to build movements in other parts of our country. The conditions which led to the eruption of these movements are exactly prevailing all over the country. Wherever the big corporate companies and MNCs are rushing forward to loot our resources, wherever feudal exploitation is severe there is every chance for struggles on the lines of Kalinganagar, Nandigram, Lalgadh and Narayanapatna to break out. We

will lead these struggles.

9. *At present it looks as if your movement is confined to the remote forest areas and adivasis. You are not getting large scale recruits from urban areas and universities as you used to get in the past. Some people are also thinking that you can never extend to urban areas. Isn't this worrying you?*

GP: After merger, we have emerged stronger in some areas and become weaker in some areas. Among the areas where we have become weaker, there are some plain areas and some urban areas. Among the areas where we strengthened ourselves, there are some remote areas and some plain areas. Such ups and downs may be inevitable in a protracted war. It is not true that we have been completely eliminated from the urban areas and plains as some people are propagating or as some others believe. As I had mentioned before, India is one of the countries where Maoist movements are on going in the world. Imperialists and the ruling classes of our country are together intensifying the offensive to suppress our movement. When they so concentrate and carry on attacks, we may suffer losses. And we have suffered losses. This is just one aspect of the problem.

We have gained many experiences in the urban areas. We have enriched our policy on urban work. We have studied the changes in the economic and political conditions of our country and the world and had formulated a program accordingly. Communists never work according to their wills and wishes. They work by studying objective conditions in the society. Basing on the positive and negative lessons we have learnt, we are trying to overcome the losses.

The second aspect of this problem is that we may suffer losses due to enemy attacks, but on the other hand due to their suppression campaigns, their pro-imperialist policies and anti-people acts they are getting more and more isolated from the people. This means that they themselves are creating the conditions for the people to turn against them. It is true that at present we are not able to mobilize workers, students and intellectuals as we had done in the 70s and 80s. There have been some considerable changes and phenomena in those conditions. It has become very complex to work in areas where the enemy is strong and in the trade union movement where

the revisionists have entrenched themselves. This is not just the case in India. This condition is prevailing in the whole world. But revolutionaries would definitely overcome this. In order to liberate this country we have to concentrate on organizing the peasantry. At present we would strengthen our movement among the peasantry and definitely extend to the urban areas. On the other hand, this peasant movement is inspiring the urban and people and is having a great impact on them. So, the days when we would vastly organize peasantry of plain areas, the suburban people and urban people are not that far off.

Today, the workers in our country are once again facing the conditions which the workers had faced in 19th century Europe. Most of the workers are turning into contract and casual labourers. They are forced to work for 12 to 16 hours in horrible conditions. Government is changing all labor laws to facilitate the imperialist exploitation. Workers' families are forced to live like slaves in the barracks built for them. Everything is being restructured. The enemy may be happy about the losses he has inflicted on us. But since people are suffering, they are fighting against them in various forms. Our party would definitely lead these struggles bravely and firmly. All the conditions required for the proletariat and the urban masses to rise like a storm and destroy the exploiting system are gradually ripening.

The Indian government has finished implementing the LPG policy of second generation reforms and is going to take up third generation reforms. Under these circumstances, it is bringing many kinds of changes in the education policy according to the needs of the imperialist capital. In the background of the imperialist-dictated changes taken up by the ruling classes in the education policy, education opportunities are diminishing for the poor children and for women belonging to working class, peasantry, adivasi, dalit and religious minority families. Privatization of education is decreasing the opportunities with each passing day. At present, education mainly means corporate-dominated education. This education system mainly caters to the interests of the domestic and foreign corporations. This is creating a big chasm with the students, teachers, parents on one side and the ruling classes on the other. Within a short period this would erupt. Our party is recognizing the need to study and lead this. We will do everything possible in this matter.

Allowing imperialist capital into retail market and the increasing grip of the imperialist and corporate companies over our country's economy in order to overcome the economic crises have led to the bankruptcy of the small traders and small and medium bourgeoisie in the urban areas. In the name of beautification of cities slums are evacuated and middle class people are chased away to the suburban areas. The life of the working class and slum population is in turmoil. Among these people, there are many people who had migrated to the cities from our movement areas. All this is speeding up the process of these cities and towns turning into gun powder centres. We are studying all these phenomena and trying to work among them with proper tactics.

All the riches between villages and mega cities have been produced by people from poor rural areas. It is the poor, dalit and adivasi labourers who are spilling their sweat and blood for the construction of huge mansions and infrastructure by Indian and foreign corporate lords. The majority of the workers and employees who work in the shopping malls and companies are from rural areas. **Either in terms of social, economic and cultural ties or in terms of movement relations villages and cities are not two unconnected islands as such. They both are influencing each other. This is creating a strong base for our extension. So it is ridiculous and unreal to say that we would never be able to extend to urban areas. If rural areas are liberated first, then basing on its strength and on the struggles of the working class in urban areas, cities would be liberated later. Along with the liberation of cities the comprador rule and imperialist control would also be forced to end in our country.**

10. In the urban areas, the middle classes have many doubts and apprehensions about the Maoist movement. They fear that if the Maoists come to power, they would be annihilated and that their properties would be confiscated. Would you like to say anything to allay these fears?

GP: Our very revolution is concerned with the proletariat, peasantry, middle class and the national bourgeoisie. Among these classes we consider the middle class to be a reliable ally of the proletariat. They are completely affected by the pro-imperialist policies of the government. They are in fact facing great insecurity. **The lives and livelihood of middle classes are**

seriously threatened by the pro-imperialist policies of the ruling class and by the economic crises shaking the world and not at all due to us. The properties which we would confiscate as part of the new democratic revolution belong to the land lords, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialist corporations and none other.

Only a very small percent of the upper crust in the middle classes join the upper classes and turn anti-people. But the entire middle class, the majority of the intellectuals and democrats who belong to the middle class would either join the movement or would stand in support of the movement. Not only during the revolution but in a post-revolutionary society too, the role of the intellectuals in building a new society would be excellent. When they join their hands with the working people, we will be able to complete the revolution sooner and also build the new society at a rapid pace. Due to the prejudices propagated by the ruling classes and some of their stooges who lick their boots, a negligible number of them may have some fears but we want to clearly say that it is not at all the truth.

11. The central government had recently cancelled the permission given to the Vedanta company for mining in Niyamgiri hills. Even in other states the government has itself cancelled some leases where rules were ignored. Some are commenting that there is no need for violent movements like the Maoists and problems can be solved by bringing pressure through peaceful and legal movements.

GP: This is a result of the determined, united struggle of the adivasis of Niyamgiri hills and a result of the impact of the struggles at Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram etc. People's movements are carried on in various forms. The determined struggle of the people is the main factor. In fact, the very permission given to Vedanta is against their so called laws and regulations, you know. The central government had to cancel the permission in an inevitable situation and now they are falling heads over heels to portray Jairam Ramesh, Rahul Gandhi and the likes as the saviors of the people. In fact, they should have arrested and punished the Vedanta management for gross violation of rules and regulations and the political leaders and government officials for their patronage. On the other hand, this same government had given permission to the massive Polavaram project at the

same time when this permission was cancelled. This is one of the biggest multi-purpose projects in the whole world. This would lead to the biggest displacement in the whole of India. After permission was cancelled to Vedanta, the very next day Rahul Gandhi went to Kalahandi and said that he was on the side of the adivasis. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Just a few days before this, it was his very same Congress government which had fired upon and killed some people and injured a large number of people of Sompeta who were opposing the construction of a thermal power project. The people revolted because this project is being built by displacing people from their fertile agricultural lands. The ruling class gang of Jairam Ramesh, Sonia, Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram et al had signed MoUs worth billions of rupees with MNCs and big bourgeoisie. Movements are ongoing in several parts of our country against projects which are displacing millions of people. Movements have erupted and are still continuing in Kalinganagar, Singur, Bodhghat, Lohandiguda, Dumka, Kakinada, Polepalli, Rayagadha and other places against the various projects brought forward by the big comprador bourgeoisie and the MNCs. Among these, except in Nandigram, none took the armed form. Even where we are leading them, the resistance is not yet in the armed form in all the places. Struggle forms come to the fore according to demand of the movement and the level of consciousness of the people. **There is no doubt that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in people's war. But people's war doesn't mean fighting using guns alone. This is a form which would come to the fore depending on the level of consciousness of the people and the response of the state. We consider our people's war to be the consolidated and integrated whole of the entire stage of revolution which consists of many peaceful/violent, unarmed/armed forms of struggles and open/secret, legal/illegal forms of organization.**

If the adivasis of Niyamgiri hills think that they have won complete victory with this, it would be a mistake. They have to stand on their own feet and prepare themselves for a protracted armed struggle in a united and consolidated form. Instead of that, if they place their hopes and trust on Rahul or on the NGOs and have illusions about them, then another company may replace Vedanta, or we need not be surprised if Vedanta itself is given permission in some other form. In Odisha, in spite of serious violations of

rules and regulations by the POSCO company, granting permission is a clear proof of its pro-corporate policy. Even Kalinganagar struggle has not been completely successful till now. Repression is being carried on again on a large scale there. Some people were murdered. There is no chance at all for the issue to be solved in a peaceful manner. If our country is to be protected from the imperialist exploitation and oppression or if Niyamgiri hills are to be protected, people need a people's army. It is a must. Even if some intellectuals or voluntary organizations take up these issues and fight, this won't be solved permanently. The world capitalist system is completely bogged down in economic crisis at present. If it has to come out of it, then it has to frantically seek cheap raw materials. So the problem would return to square one. Whether in Niyamgiri, Visakha, Sompeta, Lohandiguda or in all such places, people have to fight in a united, consolidated, militant and armed manner to solve the problems of displacement and loot of resources.

12. What is your party's response to the recent deluge of people's movement in Kashmir and the repression carried on by the government armed forces on it? What is your solution to the Kashmir issue?

GP: Kashmir people have been fighting for their independence and right to self-determination for the past sixty years. Countless atrocities, massacres and violence are being perpetuated by the Indian government to suppress this struggle. More than 80,000 Kashmiris have been murdered. Though Indian rulers claim that they have eliminated militancy, the Kashmiri people have been rising in waves during various instances. Recently, in the protest marches held from June 11th, more than a hundred Kashmiri youth were killed in firings by police, paramilitary and military. With a deployment of 7 lakh military and paramilitary forces, Kashmir valley has been turned into the most militarized zone in the whole world.

Our Party strongly supports the just movement of the Kashmiri people. Their demand for 'Azadi' (independence) and right to self-determination is fully justified. Kashmir belongs to Kashmiris. It has never been an integral part of India. Neither India nor Pakistan has any right on it.

Our party condemns this horrible repression on the Kashmiri people in the most serious terms. Indian people should condemn in one voice the

government massacres continuing in Kashmir. Our party is making it clear that without doing this, it is not possible to effectively fight back or defeat the ruthless offensive of the ruling classes on the fighting people of India. Our party is concretely putting forth the following demands to resolve the Kashmir issue.

1. The massacres by the Indian government's armed forces in Kashmir should be immediately stopped!
2. Withdraw paramilitary and military forces from Kashmir immediately!
3. Immediately annul the AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) which authorizes the military to indiscriminately kill people!
4. Conduct plebiscite in Kashmir and let the Kashmiris decide their future on their own!
5. Release all political prisoners unconditionally!

13. Commonwealth games are creating a furor all over the country. What is your party's stand on these?

GP: The ruling classes conducted a big farce in the name of Commonwealth games by spending 70,000 crores of rupees in a callous manner with least bother or concern about the poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, homelessness, displacement, floods and other such unbearable problems of the majority of our population. While 77 percent of the people are living on less than 20 rupees per day they amassed crores of rupees under the pretense of games. The crores of rupees supposed to be spent on stadiums, roads, buildings that are built for the games and in buying various equipments found their way into the pockets of corrupt officials, ministers and contractors. The labourers worked in these construction works were exploited by giving them appalling wages.

On the other hand, the lives of working class and middle class people were in turmoil due to these games. In the name of beautification of Delhi, hundreds of thousands of slum people, roadside vendors and beggars were chased away. Daily movements of the people were restricted in the name of security. All this was nothing but an exercise carried out for profits of corporations and commissions of ministers and officials. Particularly, to

divert the youth from their basic problems, to make them live in an illusory beautiful world and to douse their growing discontent too, these games were held. The people gained nothing from these games except heavy tax burden.

Moreover, these Commonwealth games are themselves a remnant of the colonial past which reeks of slavery. The past colonies of Britain join it. Except the comprador rulers who serve the neo-colonialists (imperialists) none of the citizens who aspire for the country's independence and none of the patriots could ever digest the fact that our country is a member of it. Any country with self-respect would reject membership of such an association. We appreciate the participation of players from various countries in games as part of some forums. But this could be supported only when they are held on an equal basis, without all this extravaganza and when it does not compromise the sovereignty of those respective countries.

14. The Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court gave a judgment dividing the disputed site into three parts. What is your say on this? What is the solution you suggest for this dispute?

GP: Our party has stated very clearly our stand on the demolition of Babri Masjid many times in the past 18 years. Recently comrade Abhay, spokesperson of our CC has in a statement clearly stated our party's stand on this. It is really very sad that the Lucknow bench of Allahabad High Court distributed the disputed site into three parts. There is no scientific basis for this at all. Nor is there any historical evidence to support this. Our party has been consistently and clearly saying from the beginning that Babri Masjid should be rebuilt on the same place where it stood. It is a crime of Himalayan proportions to demolish it. Our party's stand is that the whole site should belong to the Muslim community. Through this judgment, injustice was done to the Muslim community.

On the question of arguments about the birth place of Rama which is supposed to be the spot where Babri Masjid was erected, when we look at the history of India, there were no Masjids at all at one time, you know! Just as Hinduism and Buddhism spread from the countries of India and Nepal to the entire Indian sub-continent and to some East Asian countries, all religions including Islam have spread to various parts of the world from

their place of birth. So, by showing this reason and by making this judgment a model every Masjid can be turned into a disputed site, conflicts can be given birth to. Every minority community's praying site can be demolished. Now this danger has come to the fore more clearly. After this judgment there is every chance for the insecurity among the minority people to increase further. As our party spokesperson Abhay has stated, the people should stay alert with the fundamentalists, particularly, the Hindu fundamentalists. In Bhiwandi, Mumbai, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Gujarat and Odisha all the incidents which took place in the name of religious riots were plotted and perpetrated by the ruling classes, particularly the Hindu religious chauvinists. This judgment has given legitimacy to the demolition of Babri Masjid. Now this court judgment has created conditions for the aggressiveness of Hindu religious chauvinists to increase in various forms on the religious minorities. So we are opposing this court judgment. Our party opines that only when people of all religious minorities including Muslim minority, secular forces, democratic forces and oppressed people of our country fight unitedly and isolate the fundamentalist forces, particularly Hindu religious chauvinist forces, a proper solution could be found for this issue or other such issues.

15. Mamata Banerjee had demanded judicial probe into Azad's murder. The CPI (M) party has been repeatedly hurling accusations about the close relations between Trinamool Congress and the Maoists? Are you having some undercover relations with Trinamool even while describing it as a bourgeois party? How do you justify this?

GP: We are not at all surprised that Mamata Banerjee had demanded judicial probe into Azad's murder. Anybody who is familiar with the political situation of Bengal would not be surprised with this. Democratic organizations and renowned personalities and mass organizations are demanding judicial probe and that the murderers of Azad should be held in trial for murder and punished. This demand represents the people's aspirations. She demanded judicial probe by taking this into consideration. Why would she have any respect or affection for Azad? Who would feel that Azad had been murdered in the most unjust manner? People only who think that the political aim for which Azad had fought is justified, only those who support it and only those who are committed to genuine democracy would sincerely condemn

his murder. Others may condemn it for various reasons. Mamata is also one of them. They would do so for their own interests. Though she had made this demand taking into consideration her clashes with CPI (M), and the upcoming elections, it is a welcome demand. Her demand would to some extent help the struggle of the people.

Moreover, for the past fifteen years or more, severe clashes are going on between Trinamool and CPI (M). Sometimes in some places this is taking the form of armed clashes too. The CPI (M) formed armed social fascist gangs like Harmad Bahini and is attacking Trinamool, Maoists, democrats and people to suppress them. Trinamool took up arms to fight CPI (M). So, in order to fight back these attacks and to come to power in the next elections it is natural for Mamata to speak some words to attract the people. In our country, nearly for the past 30 to 35 years the characteristic feature which is continuing in the Bengal politics is that the ruling classes have set up armed clashes with each other. We don't find this in most of the other states. Though this contradiction between the ruling classes is very severe in various forms in other states, it is not at the level of armed clashes. This contradiction got reflected in Nandigram and it was useful for the people. In the parliament and municipal elections held later, Trinamool won more seats. Now in the upcoming assembly elections the competition would be even more tough. If she has to come to power now, she is compelled to talk as if she is on the people's side. People who hate and abhor CPI (M) would definitely teach it a lesson. **Now the entire people and democrats of Bengal want to escape from the tiger they are facing on the front side. Now for them the tiger in the front is more dangerous than the bear which is at their back. But after they chase away the tiger they cannot escape the bear's hug. Our party would continue to caution the people about this danger too. We would ask them to chase away the bear too in the future. They would have to certainly fight against the bear too. Unless people get rid of these two menaces, any one of them would continue riding on the back of the people.**

Tomorrow, even if Mamata Banerjee comes to power, she would not seize the lands of land lords and distribute them to the poor peasantry nor would she seize the industries of the imperialists and big bourgeoisie. People would not have a chance to participate freely in the elections too. This

means that even if she comes to power there won't be any fundamental change. However, if Trinamool comes to power after a long rule of social fascists, it would definitely try hard to gain a tight grip over the administration. During this period keeping in view the election promises she had made, she may temporarily stop attacks on the people. But this would be only temporary. Later, people would have to fight against her government too.

And our party doesn't have any open or undercover relations with Trinamool. But on some occasions even ruling classes may talk in the interest of the people. They would take up some pro-people demands on some occasions for mobilizing the support of the people and for votes. They would even conduct some struggles. Such struggles also exist though their scope is very limited. When such people talk in the interests of the people, we would examine them concretely. As the contradictions among the enemies are indirect reserves for the proletariat, depending on the concrete situation our party would clearly state its stand. Our party would never support or oppose such things blindly. But people should seriously try to understand their class nature and their political and economic policies and should not entertain any illusions about them. If such illusions exist, it would be a task of our party to bring them out of it.

When our stand is so clear, it is not at all proper to say as if we have relations with her party and as if we are justifying it.

16. There is a criticism on you that your party has mainly only leadership from Andhra Pradesh and that there is no adivasi leadership. How factual is this assessment?

GP: This criticism is farther from the truth. Among the comrades who were elected into the CC in our Unity Congress-9th Congress there were comrades from various states. Majority of our leadership was elected from the states where our movement was strong and it is not true that they were elected from Andhra Pradesh alone. On the whole comrades from nine states who represent our party in 18 states were elected into the CC. It is very natural for more comrades to be elected where our movement is strong and from those who have led these movements since a long time. So, more comrades from Bihar, Jharkhand, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya were elected to the CC.

When we look at the Indian Communist Movement from 1925, for the first time three comrades from adivasi background were elected to the CC in our Unity Congress. Before the Congress, our CC member Comrade Shobha from adivasi background was arrested. When we take into consideration the class, caste and social conditions of our country, more of the comrades who were elected were from the background of basic classes and castes. There are comrades with long experience and efficient young comrades too among them. Our CC was formed with the three-in-one combination taught by Mao (belonging to the three generations). Some intellectuals who are not much associated with our movement or who do not know about us repeatedly question us as to why there are no women, dalits and adivasis in your leadership. This very revolutionary movement in India is carried out for the liberation of the oppressed people. The working class, peasantry and the middle class who are crushed under the exploiting classes and imperialists are the ones who are participating in the revolutionary movement. Our party has taken roots among the oppressed people and is extending among them. But from the days of Naxalbari till date, more than 12,000 comrades were killed by the state. Many of them were marvelous comrades. The vast majority of them, i.e., more than 80 percent belonged to the oppressed classes and castes. Comrades from rich peasants and upper middle class are less in number. Though we are striving to have more leadership from the oppressed classes, we had lost a majority of them in the enemy offensive and we want to clearly say that it is becoming a hindrance in achieving this goal. For example, in Andhra Pradesh more than four hundred women comrades were killed by the fascist governments. Most of them were from the background of oppressed classes and castes. Many educated women comrades who came from a middle class background were killed too. Many martyred women comrades were quiet capable of developing and were supposed to come into state committees and central committee of the party.

Not just in the CC, but in the state committees too we have comrades from a background of oppressed class, caste, gender and tribe. As we go further down, the vast majority of the leaders are from a background of oppressed classes. It is obvious that it is these comrades who would be elected to the higher committees in the future. **We also have a goal of breaking down the monopoly which the exploiting classes and upper**

castes have over knowledge in a bourgeois society and handing it over to the people. After the completion of revolution, we would achieve this by generating working class intellectuals and experts in countless numbers. Today, with this understanding, we are striving very hard to educate and develop all our comrades.

At present it is a known fact to all that the enemy is targeting the comrades from higher committees and killing them, but in the past 30 years, great, outstanding comrades and comrades who could develop were killed is a fact that you also should acknowledge.

And one more thing, when movements develop strongly in other states too, more number of oppressed people from all states would join the party and raise to the leadership ranks. This is a certainty.

Our Unity Congress has concluded that the caste-based feudalism entrenched and riding over the Indian society since centuries is built on the ideological basis of Brahmanism. Nothing can be more ridiculous than this state which has an upper caste, patriarchal, Hindu religious bias and which represents such a decadent system making false allegations against us in this matter. Some people innocently believe this false propaganda. The stooges of the ruling classes in the media are parroting the same and creating a uproar. However, our people do not have any doubts on us revolutionaries.

17. There are even allegations that women activists are exploited sexually in your party. Recently a woman commander gave an interview in the Times of India that many senior Maoist leaders had sexually exploited her. Do you think these are rare occurrences?

GP: In the psychological war of the enemy on us, such allegations are an important part. The woman commander you mentioned was in fact kept in illegal custody by the West Bengal police for almost one year and later was asked to make this statement. The police bring lot of pressure and threaten in many ways the surrendered and arrested women comrades belonging to various states and make them issue such accusing statements and allegations on revolutionaries. This has been developed as a method by them after the 80s. So in this background one can assess how credible such allegations can be.

But we never said there are no shades of patriarchy in the party or that the men and women comrades haven't become its victims. We are fighting against the manifestations of patriarchy by increasing the political consciousness of our comrades and people, by taking up anti-patriarchal rectification campaigns and more than anything, increasing the consciousness, self-confidence and individuality of the women comrades and implementing pro-women policies firmly. It is a part of our practice to take disciplinary actions which include severe warning to expulsion from the party according to the severity of the mistake, on comrades who commit mistakes, however high they may be placed in the party.

In fact, in the ongoing revolutionary movement and people's war under our party's leadership women are participating on a large scale. The participation of women in the struggles against various forms of patriarchy, under our party's leadership is very inspiring to us. It is an undeniable fact that no where else in our country and under no other party is there such a huge mobilization of women as in our party. Women warriors in our PLGA are fighting the enemy very bravely. If the accusations made against us are true, then this would have been impossible. In fact, it is an irrefutable fact that women are finding only in our movement the security, respect and equal rights denied to them in the society or elsewhere.

On the other hand, the police and paramilitary forces, reactionary militias like Salwa Judum, Harmad Bahini, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and SPOs are resorting to countless atrocities and violence on women as part of suppressing the revolutionary movement. Hundreds of village women were insulted, gang-raped, killed and tortured. They are languishing in jails under the burden of false cases. They are getting convicted. It is really surprising and sad that some organizations and individuals belonging to the civil society are making these allegations against us without bothering to speak or condemn this violence and atrocity on the women.

18. The Home ministry has recently hurled accusations at you that you are getting weapons and money from foreign countries, especially from China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. They are also alleging that you are getting help from the separatist organizations in North-East. What is your explanation?

GP: This allegation is part of the psy-war against us by the ruling gangs to portray our Party as a terrorist and traitorous organization and isolate us from the people. Our weapons are mainly country-made. All the modern weapons we have are mainly seized from the government armed forces when we attack them. The enemy himself knows that seizure of arms is our main source for getting weapons. Our party supports the various nationality struggles waged for the liberation of their nationalities and their right to self-determination. We have political memoranda of understanding with some of the organizations which are leading the struggles there. We have published open statements about these in our magazines too. **As a revolutionary political party which represents the vast masses and as a party which would lead the government that would be completely responsible for this country after we come to power, we would establish relations with countries having different political systems in the world on the basis of Panchsheel policy. Now and later too we would decide about maintaining these relations with various organizations and parties in the world in the interests of the world revolution. This is one of our candid basic policies. We have announced this policy through our party programme long back.** We would also buy weapons to fulfill the needs of our people's war from domestic and international market. This is the third and last source for our weapons. And the allegations made by Chidambaram-GK Pillai about getting weapons and money from those countries are nothing but baseless rubbish.

In fact, it is the Indian government which is buying weapons, war material and modern technology from US, Russia, France and other imperialist countries, from Israel and other countries to suppress the people's democratic movements, nationality liberation struggles and revolutionary movements. With this huge arsenal the Indian expansionists are becoming a peril for the South Asian countries and this is also increasing the arms race with Pakistan. It is sending officers from here to notorious intelligence agencies like the Mossad and CIA for training in order to target the comrades leading the revolutionary movements and kill them. It is the ruling classes and their military higher officials who are wasting the people's money, filling their pockets with billions of rupees in the name of commissions in these transactions and betraying the country as traitors downright. Everybody should condemn this, question this.

19. *Recently there have been allegations that the Maoist leadership is getting funds on a large scale from mining industries and other corporate companies. What is your answer to these allegations?*

GP: This is also part of the foul propaganda of the government on us. They are even alleging that we are collecting five thousand crores of rupees annually. GK, PC and Prakash Singh never tire of harping on our 'extortion'. This is the falsest allegation that has been made on us. We out rightly reject this. Perhaps their eyes are used to seeing commissions worth thousands of crores of rupees and out of habit they see our collections too in those terms. If we could have collected even one percent of that amount, we could have done so much for our people! In fact, our party mainly collects donations from the people and funds from the traders in our guerilla zones. We have a clear people's financial policy. And our party also collects rational levy from contractors who take up various works in our areas. A considerable part of these funds is spent for welfare of the people through our people's power organs. As for mining organizations, our people are fighting their best not to allow them into our strong areas. Our party is leading these struggles, it is supporting them. So the issue of collecting funds from them does not arise, you know. The police officers, government officials and ruling class parties who illegally collect crores of rupees from various organizations, pocket commissions and stack away their money in Swiss banks do not have any moral right to point a finger at us.

20. *What is your assessment about Obama's policies regarding withdrawal of US army from Iraq and Afghanistan, Indo-US nuclear deal and nuclear liability bill which was passed recently? How do you see Obama's visit to India who'll be coming next month?*

GP: The economy of US broke down as US had to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to continue the war in Iraq and with thousands of US soldiers dying by getting bogged down in this war and Bush losing his face as he waged the war with the arrogance that he would be able to take hold of it within a few months and could not do so. Due to these reasons, leave alone Obama, even Bush had to talk about withdrawal of forces long back. The very attack on Iraq by US is a heinous crime against humanity. In fact, the US had not fought any heroic war there. US has superior force. But

what it did was to rain lakhs of tonnes of bombs on Iraqi cities and towns, kill millions of Iraqis, create havoc and destroy one of the oldest civilizations of the world and its rich heritage, culture and society. So from the day it occupied Iraq, US has been continuously facing the resistance of the rebels, patriots and freedom-loving people of Iraq.

The US imperialist completely destroyed the state, army, judiciary, legislative bodies and administration machinery built by Saddam and is building a neo-colonial state by keeping their puppets in the front. It formed a new state with the puppet forces. It could destroy Saddam and his followers but it could not solve the new contradiction which had cropped up between the people and its puppets. They are unable to suppress the people's resistance. The army withdrawn by Obama is less and that which he is continuing is more. Recently when Iraqi national forces conducted a huge raid, the US army in Iraq barracks immediately stepped out.

After Obama came to power, more than 30,000 additional troops were sent to Afghanistan by him. A fake election farce was conducted amidst severe opposition of the Afghan people and he had his puppet Hamid Karzai elected. Ninety percent of the persons dying in US bombing are ordinary citizens. NATO troops under US leadership are indiscriminately killing Afghan citizens. The atrocities committed by US are so horrible that even their puppet Karzai was forced to open his mouth. In West Pakistan, they are killing hundreds of ordinary citizens in drone attacks. Till date, Karzai's power is confined to the cities. Afghan people have never bowed to the rule of any intruder in their whole history. They chased away the imperialists and occupiers from their land enduring all kinds of travails. Exactly as in the case of Russian imperialists, Afghan land would prove to be the graveyard of the US imperialists too. Obama is implementing the same diplomatic policies followed by Bush in Middle and South Asia, if not more callously. The US strategy for world hegemony to gain control of Caspian sea gas and establish permanent bases in Afghanistan to surround China is bound to fail.

During UPA-I, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh ignoring stiff opposition from the people, had civilian nuclear deal with the US passed proving himself a trustworthy servant of the US imperialists. The Nuclear Liability Bill which has been passed by the Parliament recently is nothing but a

continuation of this servility. Regarding the Bhopal gas leak accident which led to gruesome death of thousands of people and disaster for hundreds of thousands of people in Bhopal, the wounds in the hearts and minds of the people of India continue to pain till this day. And now the UPA government has in a most shameless manner dared to prepare this Bill enabling many more 'Bhopals' to make their way and ensuring even if such holocausts take place, the foreign capitalists responsible for those would be set free with far less 'liability' (just like Warren Anderson and Dow Chemicals were set free). While BJP has helped UPA government in passing this Bill, the parliamentary Left parties who call themselves Communists, have once again proved their compromising nature by not opposing this traitorous Bill firmly and not initiating people's movement against this. Manmohan Singh worked hard to ensure this Bill passed before the arrival of Obama.

US imperialism, which has been plundering the poor countries across the world, suppressing the oppressed nationalities, pushing the notorious thugs and dictators into the power, bullying those countries who wouldn't cooperate, going to any extent to loot oil, minerals and all other natural wealth and sources, is the no. 1 enemy of world people. Its leader Barack Obama is such a person whom the entire humanity must hate. As his predecessor George Bush had accumulated the hate across the globe, US imperialist masters brought Barack Obama in a plan that people could be deceived with his skin color. Though Obama was so much rhetorical opposing the policies of Bush, after entering into the White House, all the policies and decisions taken by him till this day are nothing but continuation of the Bush administration. In fact the difference between George Bush and Barack Obama lies just in their color and in the name of their representing parties. There is no difference between them in exploiting and suppressing the world people, oppressed nationalities, countries and working class of the US. It's an irrefutable fact that this black color President was selected by the most notorious white vultures of US monopolistic corporations.

The comprador ruling classes of India are busy laying red carpet to welcome Obama. Welcoming Obama means nothing but a betrayal to the values of sovereignty, freedom, independence, self-reliance, peace, justice and democracy. Inviting Obama to our beloved country means showing servility to its warmongering, invasive, exploitative and hegemonic policies.

Therefore, on behalf of the Central Committee of Communist Party of India (Maoist), I call upon entire people, revolutionary and democratic organizations and all patriotic forces of India to register your protest in various forms and to raise the slogan ‘OBAMA! GO BACK!!’ loudly in one voice.

21. How do you assess the revolutionary situation in the whole of South Asia? What do you think would be the impact of the recent changes in Nepal on it?

GP: According to our party’s assessment, the revolutionary situation in the whole of South Asia is excellent. The assessment of the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) is also the same. In all the countries of South Asia the condition is more or less the same. Though the chauvinist Sinhala government may be arrogant that they had completely suppressed the Tamil Eelam movement under LTTE’s leadership, it is impossible for them to permanently suppress the Tamil national aspirations. The conditions for it to raise its head within a short period in another form exist there. The struggle forms and organizational forms may vary. Tamil people have made immense sacrifices and have a long experience of struggle. Freedom-loving Tamil people would never rest. It would be an illusion of the chauvinist Sinhala government if it thinks that it had established permanent social peace by eliminating LTTE.

Severe revolutionary crisis is still continuing in Nepal. The state machinery has become paralyzed. All class forces are intensely clashing with each other. But the unfortunate thing is that, the Maoist party there let go the opportunity to seize political power using this excellent crisis situation. At a time when it should continue the people’s war and seize political power, it wants to come to power through the parliamentary system instead. Our party’s Central Committee wrote an open letter to that party in this matter and had issued statements too.

Though such excellent revolutionary situation exists, the Maoist party is not giving primary importance to the movement in rural areas, is not mobilizing peasantry, working class and middle class masses militantly against feudalism, imperialism and Indian expansionism and just whiling away its

time. It adopted a right opportunist line. It won't be much long before it becomes clear if the Nepal Maoist party would utilize the present excellent revolutionary situation, train its people in struggle and plunge into the decisive battle for final victory or if it would get bogged down permanently in the parliamentary mire. Anyway, it would depend on whether they are ready to abandon their wrong line and adopt the correct line or not. It is a fact that internal struggle is going on in the Maoist party there.

Our party's analyzes the situation in our country to be excellent. All the social contradictions in our country are sharpening too. The people of India are fighting a bitter struggle against feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism under our party's leadership. We would be able to influence the situation in South Asia by defending ourselves against the enemy offensive and intensifying our People's War.

The situation in Bhutan is excellent. Though a so-called parliament was formed in Bhutan, it is a peculiar form of constitutional monarchy masquerading as parliamentary democracy. Even in the new government the members of the king's family are the main players. Bhutan is still under the grip of feudalism and Indian expansionists. But revolutionary party has already been formed there. The peasants there have to fight too.

The Pakistan society is facing the most severe crisis in its history. It has become a playground for the US super power's strategy for world hegemony. The phenomena in Afghanistan are intensifying the crisis too. Pakistan has become the centre point in the US plan to surround China. Oppression of nationalities is continuing severely there. Its contradictions with the Indian expansionists on the one hand and the horrible exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism on the other hand are continuing and intensifying further. So there is severe discontent among the people. But as there is no Maoist party there, it is not in a position to utilize it. This is a very unfavourable aspect.

Bangladesh is one of the most poor and backward countries in the world. The peasantry is living under the yoke of feudalism, comprador capitalists and imperialists and is the victim of their terrible exploitation. Along with this, the pressure and threats of the Indian expansionist ruling classes are also continuing severely there. The Maoist party there is facing many losses but it is trying hard to overcome them and strengthen itself. On

the whole, South Asia is facing severe social crisis in the present world conditions and is having favourable conditions for the revolution.

The Maoist communist party in another Asian country, the Philippines is developing day by day and is having a strong mass base. It is strengthening its New People's Army and is fighting back the biggest ever military offensive campaign of the enemy. The government's army there is taking along the US military advisers with it and is making large scale attacks on the Maoists with the support of military helicopters. But it is the government's troops that are suffering more casualties. The New People's Army is winning victories by bravely fighting back the attacks of the Special Forces.

In such circumstances, it is impossible for the Indian expansionists, the ruling classes of the respective countries or the imperialists to permanently suppress the Maoist, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and national liberation struggles in South Asia. The more they try to suppress it, the more they will rise up. Moreover, the world revolutionary situation is also excellent. The situation for the flaring up of revolutionary movements all over the world is developing further.

22. Finally, how do you assess the main successes and failures after you held your Unity Congress in 2007? What do you feel about the future of Indian revolution on the whole?

GP: Our Unity Congress held in January, 2007, took up the main, immediate and central task of intensifying the people's war all over the country, developing guerilla war into mobile war and developing the People's Liberation Guerilla Army into People's Liberation Army (regular army) with the aim of establishing Base Areas. As part of it, our Congress gave us many tasks such as intensifying mass struggles, extending the movement, building and strengthening the United Front. For the past three and half years, our entire party fought by keeping everything at stake to fulfill these tasks basing itself firmly among the people. In this process, we achieved some significant successes. We faced some serious failures. We gained many valuable experiences. We learnt some important lessons. On the whole, when we look at our successes, we can surely say that the necessary foundation for advancing the Indian revolution down the path of victory by gaining more successes in future has been strengthened further.

If we look at the successes....

1. In the past three and half years, in many areas of our country a deluge of mass struggles erupted under our party's leadership. Especially in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, people participated on a large scale in struggles against the loot of their resources by the Indian and foreign corporations and particularly against the displacement of adivasis. Though the Indian ruling classes formed *goonda* gangs like Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and Harmad Bahini and perpetrated terrible violence and atrocities on the people, they fought bravely under our party's leadership and with the support of our PLGA. In Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram, Lalgadh, Narayanapatna, Dumka, Polavaram, Lohandiguda, Raoghat, Pallamad and many other places people mobilized on a large scale and participated in struggles. Nandigram, Lalgadh and Narayanapatna came to the fore as new models of mass struggles. In the various programmes we took up on political issues, we mobilized lakhs of people. People responded greatly to our political programme of boycotting the elections to various state assemblies and the parliament. In our movement areas, people boycotted elections on a huge scale and brought to the fore very strongly the need for people's political power. As part of Operation Green Hunt carried on with coordination between the central and state governments since mid-2009, people were massacred. In spite of it, thousands of oppressed people, especially the adivasis and women participated in several programmes against state repression and on various political issues in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha and Andhra Pradesh.

2. Another important victory is the emergence of people's democratic political power at a primary level and its strengthening and extension as an alternative to the state system of the feudal, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, run with the support of the imperialists. In our main guerilla zones of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) have been formed and are functioning. They are strengthening and extending. In Lalgadh and Narayanapatna which have newly emerged on the political scene of our country, the people's power organizations which were formed at a primary level by having people's development at the core even amidst severe enemy offensive have attracted

the attention of the people of our country. They overthrew the rule of the local exploiting classes and are running people's rule at a primary level. These new political power organs are working in the spheres of education, health, sanitation, water facilities and agriculture development etc having people's real development as their aim. They are a great inspiration to the oppressed people, the democratic organizations and intellectuals all over the country. They are coming to the fore as the genuine people's alternative system. As an answer to the fake development model of the exploiters, these new political power organs are bringing forth a genuine development model of the people.

3. In the past three and half years, the guerilla warfare intensified and is continuing at a higher level. Our people's guerillas conducted valiant attacks on the police, paramilitary and commando forces that are resorting to endless atrocities and violence and massacring people to accomplish the interests of the exploiting classes. Our guerillas eliminated hundreds of mercenary troops and seized hundreds of modern weapons and ammunition and improved our armoury. The guerilla war going on under our leadership is giving inspiration and self-confidence to the people. Defending the people's political power which is developing at a primary level and defending the lives and properties of the people, our people's army had emerged as the real saviour of the people. Though the enemy is carrying on many suppression campaigns, implementing carpet security by deploying lakhs of police and paramilitary forces and carrying on attacks continuously, with the active support of the people our PLGA is growing ever more.

4. Particularly, when we observe from our Unity Congress onwards, the emergence of our party on the political scene of the country as a major alternative political force is another significant success. People increasingly understand that our political line is correct. Now, citizens of our country are showing more interest in knowing about our stands and solutions regarding many problems faced by our country. For the past 63 years people are frustrated with the bankrupt politics of the various exploiting ruling class parties, revisionists who call themselves left parties and the Hindu religious chauvinists. It is now clearly seen that they are getting increasingly influenced by the politics of Maoists and moving nearer to it than in the past. We believe that this would serve as an assurance for the formation of a strong,

broad and countrywide united front in the future.

Along with these main successes, we had faced some serious failures and losses too. The main ones are...

1. As we had lost leadership forces in the enemy attack we faced serious losses. After completion of our party Congress, a considerable number of our CC members were caught by the enemy and were either killed in fake encounters or put in jails. This is the very big hindrance we are facing in achieving our goals. No doubt, this would have a grave impact on the Indian revolution.

2. Due to the severe offensive of the enemy and our failure in understanding it properly, formulating proper counter tactics and implementing them, we were weakened in some areas and we retreated from some areas.

These are our main successes and failures. Meanwhile, the living conditions of the working class in our country are increasingly becoming worse. The peasantry is increasingly becoming penniless due to the policies imposed by the feudal and imperialist exploiters and are resorting to suicides in lakhs. In the name of new policies, the penetration of foreign capital into the fields of education, health, industry, defence, transport, media, trade etc has intensified. The exploitation, oppression and control of the imperialists increased to an unprecedented level since 1947. Severe repression is continuing on the Kashmir and North-East people who are fighting for their national liberation and right to self-determination including the right to secession. Due to the policies followed by the Indian expansionists by colluding with the US imperialists, they are bitterly hated by the people of South Asia. The socially most oppressed sections of dalits, adivasis, women and religious minorities that constitute are suffering from several problems. The state is unleashing terror on those forces which are fighting against these problems. Civil rights are becoming completely absent. None of the basic problems of the people are in a position to be solved in this present setup. **The announcement by the Prime Minister that we would become a strong economic force in the 21st century and would achieve a two-digit economic growth is a big sham. While corporations belonging to the likes of Ambani, Tata, Mittal, Jindal and Essar are amassing enormous wealth and increasing their 'development' rate at a rapid**

pace, they are throwing the vast masses into the whirlpool of insufferable poverty, hunger, unemployment etc.

When we examine all these problems, it would become increasingly clear that the fundamental contradictions in our country, i.e., the contradiction between feudalism and the vast masses, between imperialism and Indian people, between capital and labour and the contradiction among the ruling classes are intensifying further. Our party is advancing forward with an attitude of taking up the problems of the people. Our political line lays emphasis on the solution to these problems. We believe that the Indian revolutionary movement would advance down the victory path only through the People's War waged under our party leadership while strengthening our people's army with the aim of establishing Base Areas and the United Front formed by uniting all these forces under the leadership of the proletariat. We also believe that its future would depend on how this process advances. On the whole we are looking at the future of the Indian revolutionary movement with great optimism.

Our party is serving as a beacon of hope for the oppressed masses of our country. In the midst of this decadent, corrupt and loathed system our party shines like a bright star. We are not at all saying that we have ready made solutions to all the complexities existing in the world revolution and the Indian revolution. But we have a correct political line. We are confident that we can solve all these problems in a process of making the new democratic revolution a success as the first step towards socialism and communism. We believe that all the problems faced by the society can be solved in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Likewise we will learn from international experiences too. We will apply Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology to the concrete practice of Indian revolution. We will fight dogmatism and empiricism which raise their head in practice. We will firmly adhere to mass line and dedicate ourselves to fulfill the aspirations and hopes of our people. We will determinedly fight the left and right opportunist trends and revisionism which may crop up in our party and in the international communist movement. However, there are chances for mistakes and accidents to happen in the process of revolution. So, we would accept our mistakes with a genuine self-critical attitude and humility. We will correct our mistakes. We will advance in the path of revolution till the final victory

in this great war waged to establish a society where there is no scope for hunger, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, price rise, displacement, untouchability, discrimination, social evils etc by liberating our beloved country from the exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Our party has emerged out of the innumerable sacrifices of our cadres and leaders. They lay down their lives unflinchingly for people's democracy and communism. These selfless, exemplary martyrs are the ray of hope in our society. We will definitely hold high their esteemed revolutionary tradition. We will establish their lofty human values in this society. We will steer clear of avoidable losses and display communist consciousness, courage, determination and sacrifice to fight back the cruel enemy. In this process, our party would steel itself in the flames of class struggle.

Many areas have already developed into guerilla zones in our country. In many areas people's state power came into existence in an embryonic form. The PLGA is growing in strength and capacity. Guerilla war is intensifying. This new power is developing as the primary form of a new democratic state. But in comparison with the more than 110 crores of our population and the vastness of our country, our party is very small. We have to travel very far. True, the path is thorny. But if we continue in the revolutionary path, the future would brighten a lot.

Contrary to the parliamentary parties and all kinds of reformist organizations, the CPI (Maoist) which is based on a cadre that has unflinching faith in their aim, a sacrificing nature and dedication is shining like a bright sun, lighting up all the darkness surrounding our country. Indian people want revolution. They are advancing in the path of People's War for building a new society. The dawn of New Democratic revolution is unfolding. Let us march into the bright sunlight of the new society which is unfolding on the horizon. Lal Salaam !

27

Interview with Comrade Basavaraj, In-Charge, Central Military Commission (CMC)

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 26, August-December 2012

(First published in 'Pahat', the organ of the Maharashtra State Committee, CPI(Maoist), 13 August, 2012)

Q 1 : Manmohan is saying that Maoists are the biggest internal security threat to the country. Maoists are saying that they are waging People's War (PW). How would you define People's War?

BR : Several democrats have already answered this question many times. We must try to find an answer to this by questioning what the reason is behind PM Manmohan Singh stating that Maoists are the biggest threat to the country. How can Maoists fighting for the interests of oppressed masses like workers and peasants of our country, for solving basic problems of the people, for a democratic economic system that promises political power and self-reliance for 90% of the population, for sovereignty of our country and for preserving the resources of our country be termed as biggest threat to the security of the country?

He announced for the first time in 2006 that Left Wing Extremism (LWE) is the biggest internal security threat to the country. Just some time earlier on September 21, 2004 two revolutionary parties CPI (ML) [PW] and MCCI that carried on their practice in the Indian revolutionary movement

for a long time as two different streams merged into a single stream and CPI (Maoist) emerged. The People's Guerilla Army and the People's Liberation Guerilla Army that had been formed under their leadership merged and the new 'People's Liberation Guerilla Army' (PLGA) was formed. Already by then, the Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and other state governments had signed MoUs with several corporate companies belonging to the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and the imperialists to loot the mineral deposits and the natural resources in the Adivasi areas. Corporate companies like Tata, Essar, Jindal, Mittal, Vedanta, Jaiswals, NECO are swiftly penetrating into these areas. The comprador ruling class parties like the ruling UPA led by Congress, NDA led by BJP, CPI, CPI (M) and other regional parties are kowtowing before them. In exchange for kickbacks worth crores of rupees, they are not hesitating to mortgage not only the riches of the country but even its sovereignty. In the background of the severe economic crisis that burst out all over the world since 2008, severe contention for the exploitation of natural resources in the backward countries began. Bourgeois economists are themselves claiming that this crisis is very deep and surpasses the economic crisis of the 1930s. As a result, the imperialist and corporate companies are trying to loot the natural resources of our country more aggressively. But the Indian people are opposing this because allowing this complete exploitation would result in the destruction of Jal-Jungle-Zameen and displacement of millions of people and would in no way result in 'development' as claimed by the country's rulers. We are demanding that Jal-Jungle-Zameen must belong to the Adivasis. CPI (Maoist) is standing in the forefront in the people's resistance struggle. As a result, MoUs worth lakhs of crores of rupees are not getting implemented. In several places mining came to a standstill. People are chasing away the mining mafias. The works of several heavy industries have stopped. The construction of several big dams stopped. Due to this, corporate companies and their imperialist masters, particularly the US imperialists are getting mad.

Thus on the one hand the people, who are opposing the sham development of the exploiting ruling classes and the revolutionary masses led by our party in various areas of our country including Dandakaranya (DK) and Bihar-Jharkhand where revolutionary movement is stronger, are

forming revolutionary democratic political power organs at a primary level. The alternative development model brought forth by the 'Revolutionary People's Committee' (RPC) or the 'Krantikari Janatana Sarkar' built by the oppressed masses by destroying the power of feudal lords and other reactionary forces is posing a serious challenge to the present political power of the feudal lords and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB).

Exactly due to this reason, the Indian comprador ruling classes tried severely to wipe out the revolutionary movement from 2004 to 2008 through counter-revolutionary campaigns, organizations and private armies like Sendra, Nagrik Suraksha Samiti in Jharkhand, various kinds of feudal private armies and reactionary organizations in Bihar, Salwa Judum in DK, social fascist Harnad Bahini and Bhairav Bahini belonging to Trinamool Congress in West Bengal and Santi Committee in Narayanapatna (Odisha) area. They launched Operation Green Hunt (OGH) since 2009. It reached the second stage at present. This is getting intensified with each passing day and is taking a most cruel fascist form. 13 revolutionary activists were massacred in Longo village in East Singhbhum district in Jharkhand in 2003; nearly thousand common Adivasi people were massacred, 664 villages were razed down and 60,000 Adivasi people were displaced in Dantewada, Bijapur and Bastar districts during the white terror of Salwa Judum from 2005 to 2008; several covert murders including the murder of ten revolutionary activists in Manala covert operation in Nizamabad district in North Telangana in February 2005 and murder of nine revolutionary activists in Badwel covert operation in Andhra Pradesh (AP) in November 2006; massacre of nine revolutionary activists in Bhitara Amda covert operation in East Singhbhum district of Jharkhand in February 2008; massacre of 18 revolutionary activists in Kanchal (Bijapur district, DK) covert operation in March 2008; as part of OGH launched in 2009 - massacre of nearly 130 Adivasis in Lalgah area; massacre of more than 250 Adivasis in DK; massacre of eight revolutionary activists in Phulwaria Kodasi (Jamui district, Bihar) in January 2010; poisoning and murdering of ten revolutionary activists on the banks of Ganga in September in the same district; the recent massacre of 20 people in the 'Basaguda-Sarkinguda' in Bijapur district (DK) in Chhattisgarh on June 28, 2012 – all these dozens of massacres are all indisputable proof of the War on People waged by the Indian ruling classes

in the name of wiping out the ‘internal threat’.

The thing to be noticed by everyone is that this OGH is not just limited to the Maoist movement areas. This considers every person, every organization that proves to be a hurdle to corporate loot as its enemy. Turning the vast area consisting of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, AP and Maharashtra, the so-called ‘red corridor’ into ‘corporate corridor’ and ‘mopping up’ everybody that proves to be a hurdle to this is its aim. That is why several democrats in our country are describing OGH as ‘War on People’. Clearly, the reply to this OGH or the ‘War on People’ is People’s War. This means that we must give a reply by coordinating mass struggles and the armed struggle waged for political power of the people, by making the people understand that People’s War is waged exclusively for the interests of the people and by bringing out their creativity, bravery and valor. It is possible to stop and defeat OGH only through People’s War and there is no other way.

That is why we are defining People’s War as a war where all classes and sections of people targeted by the OGH unify and fight under the leadership of the proletarian party against imperialists, their corporate companies and this country’s feudal and CBB ruling classes that kowtow to them. If the PW is to achieve its aim, the Maoist principle says that ‘armed struggle is the principal form of struggle and People’s Army is the principal form of organization’. So, the guerilla war waged by the PLGA under the leadership of the party in the guerilla zones and red resistance areas in the strategic areas plays the prominent role in PW. It is not possible to wage guerilla war without a strong mass base. For this, we are arousing the oppressed masses that are getting crushed under the heels of the imperialist, CBB and big land lords and putting efforts to build a united front of the four classes on the basis of the worker-peasant unity and consisting of petty bourgeois and national bourgeois classes. We are taking up legal-illegal, armed-unarmed mass struggles, struggles on day to day issues, and on political and rights issues in both open and secret methods. Oppressed masses are carrying on their struggle in several forms. Our party is putting efforts to ensure that all these struggles are waged against the common enemy and get coordinated with the armed struggle waged for the seizure of political power by overthrowing the rule of the exploiting ruling classes.

Q 2 : The government is using the LIC policy to fight the revolt of the Maoists. What is your answer to this strategy of the government?

BR : It is a fact that the Indian exploiting ruling classes are using the US imperialist dictated LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) strategy and are concentrating the entire state machinery to wipe out the revolutionary movement led by our party. All democrats who are fighting against state violence know this fact. LIC is nothing but an imperialist neo-colonial form of the feudal political principle that states that the enemy must be destroyed by using all kinds of methods – deliberation, carrot, divide and stick. There is no scope for justice in this. Its aim is to wipe out the enemy (for the ruling classes enemy means Maoists who represent the four classes consisting of workers-peasants, middle class and national bourgeoisie). The LIC strategy formulated by the US imperialists is the present-day theory of counter-insurgency.

LIC is the counter-revolutionary theory formulated and used by the imperialists, particularly US imperialists after Second World War against the just struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in the world. After Second World War the imperialists learnt lessons from the defeats suffered in fighting back the revolutions – the French imperialists in Indo-China and Algeria; British imperialists in Palestine, Cyprus and Malaysia, US imperialists in Indo-China, particularly in Vietnam – and formulated the counter-revolutionary warfare i.e., the LIC strategy against Protracted People’s Wars and national liberation movements. This diverts the people from getting politically mobilized and consolidated under the leadership of revolutionary organizations and from waging armed struggle. In other words, devastating just revolutionary wars, suppressing and surrendering the people who are the base and support for these revolutionary wars is the aim of LIC. This strategy is being implemented in a deceitful manner in political, ideological, organizational, military, economic and cultural spheres, with immediate and long-term schemes; openly and secretly; directly and indirectly and in armed and unarmed methods. There is no end to the scheming and conspiracies of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes who are their reliable lackeys. That is why we call this the most deceitful, reactionary, cruel and destructive policy.

Imperialism considerably weakened during the Second World War. Indirect rule in place of imperialist direct rule on colonies and neo-colonialism in place of colonialism became a common feature. Even before the completion of anti-feudal democratic revolutions and anti-imperialist national democratic revolutions in semi-colonial countries, the local big land lords and comprador bourgeoisie who have colluded with the imperialists and are their loyal dogs seized power in the garb of independence and are carrying on dictatorial rules and serving as the base for neo-colonial exploitation. Simultaneously, Maoism and PPW gained recognition of the world proletariat and the oppressed masses as the higher stage of Marxism-Leninism and the path of liberation for colonial and semi-colonial countries respectively. With the disintegration of Soviet Union and its fall as a Super Power, US came to the fore as the world gendarme and the no.1 enemy of the oppressed nations, people and the revolutionary movements. As the world capitalist system went on facing crises, all the measures taken by it including neo-liberal economic policies failed and it is bogged down in a world-wide severe crisis. The sham of independence, sovereignty and democracy in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries is getting exposed and the rulers of these countries are getting exposed as compradors and puppets of imperialists, as oppressors of people and as arch enemies to democracy, progress, freedom, sovereignty and self-reliance and as the main hurdle to all mass movements. In several countries, Maoist parties took up the path of PPW, built People's Armies and are waging guerilla warfare since a long time. It was in such a backdrop that LIC was formulated as the multi-pronged strategy of the imperialists to continue their neo-colonial exploitation and to suppress and surrender any kind of anti-imperialist movements, revolutionary movements and national liberation revolts.

US economy is based on wars. It is still able to survive only by selling weapons, war-related technology, war planes, UAVs and war related material. It would collapse as soon as wars stop. In all the countries where LIC strategy is being implemented, the imperialists are rapidly turning the economic, political, cultural, civic, administrative, legal and military departments and machinery into fascist institutions. As part of this, the ruling classes in our country are forming special police, paramilitary and military forces on a huge scale very rapidly with the evil design of

disintegrating the People's War in our country and the just national liberation movements of Kashmir and North-East and surrendering the people. They are building special intelligence departments at centre and in the states. The entire civic-military departments are being centralized. They are carrying on psychological warfare on a huge scale to divert the people from basic problems and the fundamental revolutionary path of solving them and to push them towards sham development and fake peace. They are using special forces and are carrying on inhuman massacres and destruction in the name of counter-insurgency operations on a severe scale. Psychological warfare is also being carried on as severely. While these are being carried on vastly and severely, internal dictatorship and the control of imperialists are also increasing on the same scale. Due to this the exploitation and oppression of the oppressed nations and masses are also increasing on the same scale. On the other hand, the intensifying world capitalist economic and political crisis is jolting all the spheres in our country. Our country is increasingly going into the hands of the imperialists and degenerating more than ever. Due to the billions of dollars of debts borrowed by the Indian rulers since 1991 from imperialist institutions like IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank, the economy of our country is nearing collapse. Exactly due to this, the economies of countries like Indonesia, Argentina, Uruguay, Mexico and Peru got bogged down in debt crisis and collapsed due to bankruptcy of small and medium industries, unemployment, fall in purchasing power and price rises.

This experience is going to be repeated in our country too. In spite of knowing this, the think tanks of imperialists and the comprador rulers of our country are propagating that India is going to become a Super Power by 2030. They are trying to include our country as a junior partner in contention with China. The imperialists are pouring in billions of dollars for the creation of mind control manuals through psychologists to carry on psychological warfare on the people to turn their minds in accordance i.e., to make them believe that a country getting bogged down in crisis would develop into a Super Power. In fact, excepting billionaires and millionaires, common people are all getting severely affected due to severe economic crisis. As a result, all social contradictions along with the major, fundamental and principal contradictions are intensifying. Contrary to the expectations

of imperialists and the comprador rulers from the LIC strategy, the People's War led by our party CPI (Maoist) is developing through ups and downs in a manner that proves that this strategy is bound to be ultimately defeated and that victory of people is inevitable. Though nationality movements are also facing ups and downs, they are also continuously flaring. All this is proving that it is possible to defeat LIC through PPW.

Our party Central Committee discussed in detail about the imperialist LIC strategy and formulated a policy in December 2008 to fight it back and defeat it. We believe that we would be able to defeat it by concentrating and working on ideological, political, economic, cultural and military affairs as mentioned in that policy.

For this sake, we are firm on the matter of our party's political line and the military strategy that would advance the revolutionary movement in the path of PPW. We are being flexible in the matter of tactics. We are putting efforts to vastly mobilize the oppressed masses in class struggle apart from imparting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to increase the active role of millions of oppressed masses in People's War. We are intensifying our fight against reformism, economism, revisionism, Gandhian peace, post-modernism, sham democracy and fake independence that are proving a hurdle to this and taking our understanding into the people.

We are putting efforts to increase and strengthen our mass base. We are adhering firmly to class line and mass line and are putting efforts to politically mobilize the masses and make them participate in PW. We are trying to build a vast anti-imperialist, anti-feudal united front by mobilizing masses of oppressed classes and sections. We are working with the viewpoint of extending PW all over the country by expanding and intensifying guerilla warfare. Our party is trying to fight back through revolutionary propaganda the psychological warfare and foul propaganda carried on a huge scale by the exploiting ruling classes as part of LIC to damage the Maoist People's War. It is placing before the people the facts about the revolutionary movement from time to time.

Q 3 : The government possesses modern technology. It has satellites, UAVs, GPS, modern telecommunications and communication control war room. It would be using robots too in near future. How would you

fight back this high-tech enemy?

BR : On July 14, 1956 comrade Mao in his conversation with two Latin American public figures said,

“Now U.S. imperialism is quite powerful, but in reality it isn’t. It is very weak politically because it is divorced from the masses of the people and is disliked by everybody and by the American people too. In appearance it is very powerful but in reality it is nothing to be afraid of, it is a paper tiger. Outwardly a tiger, it is made of paper, unable to withstand the wind and the rain. I believe the United States is nothing but a paper tiger.

... When we say U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, we are speaking in terms of strategy. Regarding it as a whole, we must despise it. But regarding each part, we must take it seriously. It has claws and fangs. We have to destroy it piecemeal. For instance, if it has ten fangs, knock off one the first time, and there will be nine left, knock off another, and there will be eight left. When all the fangs are gone, it will still have claws.

... today the United States still has strength, turning out more than 100 million tons of steel a year and hitting out everywhere. That is why we must continue to wage struggles against it, fight it with all our might and wrest one position after another from it. And that takes time.” [‘US imperialism is a paper tiger’, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung: Vol. V]

What do we understand from the above words uttered by the great teacher Mao? We understand that it is not modern weapons or technology that decides the outcome in a war but that the conscious role of humans is the decisive factor. However strong the enemy may be, as long as they are reactionaries and anti-people, when they impose an unjust war on the people and face the wrath of the people, they become politically very weak. Ninety percent of the people who are against the enemy would unite and defeat the enemy by turning into a united force. It is clear that the Indian government possesses very mighty state machinery and that it is increasing several fangs more than ever with each passing day. They have got the abundant support and help of imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. We also know that it is not an easy job to overthrow the Indian government. On this occasion, we must think as to why the US imperialists possessing high technology in

those days too had to face defeats in several wars of aggression. It was given a death blow in Vietnam during 1965-75. However, the revolutionary and national liberation struggles of those days got the support and help of the socialist camp till mid-50s and later that of socialist China till 1976. Though there is no socialist country in the world at present, the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America countries, the Arab people's surges against dictatorial rulers, the working class struggles developing on a huge scale in imperialist countries, the revolutionary movements in some countries and armed struggles of Islamic guerilla organizations in some countries against imperialist countries such as US and UK are making the imperialists sleepless. As a result, in the past one decade, the NATO troops led by US had to retreat from Iraq. They are going to retreat from Afghanistan in the coming two years. The reason for this is nothing but their resorting to aggressive wars against the will of the people, perpetrating massacres and pushing the people into streets through exploitation and oppression. So, though there is no one socialist country at present, an excellent revolutionary situation is developing all over the world. If we can utilize this skillfully, the opportunities for revolutionary forces to advance victoriously are abundant.

As long as the Indian ruling classes continue their War on People and carry on their exploitation and oppression and perpetrate massacres of innocent people, they would not be able to emerge victorious in war how much ever powerful and modern the weapons they possess may be. They can never win over the people to their side. However, we must not forget on this occasion that the enemy is powerful in terms of tactics in a war. Keeping this and other such facts in view, our party took up the path of PPW to make success the revolution in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India. We are following the PPW path that would ultimately overthrow the enemy by damaging one part after another and surrounding the cities after liberating the villages. The GPS systems, UAV/drones, helicopters, powerful scanners and other such modern technology are in fact not as mighty as the enemy is propagating. Another thing that we wish to point out on this occasion is that every weapon has an antidote. This is a fundamental thing taught by Marxism to us. In swordplay, shield was created to defend from the sword. In boxing, blocking tactic was developed to defend from the punch. Defensive

operations were formulated to defend from the enemy's offensive operations. Torpedoes were created to destroy battleships. Anti-aircraft guns were brought into the field to hit war planes/helicopters. US military experts themselves had announced recently that it is possible to divert the drones that are claimed to be very mighty at present through 'spoofing technique'. Recently Iran intelligence made an US surveillance UAV to land in their country and seized it using this technique. Anybody who has studied military science would not be afraid of weapons. Particularly our party that is armed with the Maoist People's War theory that is renowned as the proletarian military science in 20th century would never be afraid. History has proven several times that people are capable of using counter-tactics for every tactic used by the reactionaries. When fascist Hitler occupied Soviet Russia in the Second World War, the Soviet people stood united and chased Hitler's armies through the sacrifices of revolutionary masses and communists. US imperialists who were arrogant that they possessed the most modern atom bomb could not play a decisive role in defeating Hitler. That is why we state – in a People's War the decisive force is not technology but people. The modern technology of the enemy would either be destroyed in the deluge of the people or would be defused. When people participate in PW with revolutionary spirit, workers-peasants and other oppressed masses would utilize modern technology under the leadership of party, would formulate new tactics creatively and face the enemy formidably. They would be able to fight back the reactionary tactics used by the enemy, defend the revolutionary movement and defeat the enemy.

PLGA would have to firmly implement the Maoist guerilla war principles (secrecy, speed and determination) to fight back the modern technology possessed by the imperialists and their lackeys. The PLGA forces must always be mobile and carry on their movement in the most unimaginable manner to the enemy and fail his modern technology. Recently, imperialists and their lackeys increased the usage of UAV/drones. Though they are claiming that US President Barack Obama is himself supervising their operations in Afghanistan, one can understand on whom this war is being waged by the fact that hundreds of common people are dying in these attacks. They are making preparations to use them in Maoist areas in India. People are agitating against the usage of drones in several parts of the

world. There is a need to take up mass movements against the usage of drones in our country too. We have the confidence that we would be able to defeat the mighty enemy through politically consolidating the people.

Q 4 : PLGA completed ten years last year. Explain the successes achieved by PLGA in this decade.

BR : By December 2, 2010 PLGA completed one decade of its formation. It has been proven in this one decade that the formation of PLGA is a historic event. Never before has such a People's Army been built in India's history. This is the period when PLGA advanced with a mass base led by the proletarian party and based on worker-peasant unity and uniting with the petty bourgeois and national bourgeois classes. As a detachment of the international communist red army, the PLGA led by CPI (Maoist) is putting efforts with the aim of making success the World Socialist Revolution and to make success the New Democratic Revolution that is being carried on as part of it. It had been achieving several successes in this decade and was gradually developing its abilities so as to fulfill its historical role. The successes achieved by PLGA are as follows:

- Formation of Central, State/Special Area/Special Zone Military Commissions; Regional, Zonal/Divisional/District, Area level Military Commands; Panchayat and Area level People's Militia Commands.
- The formation of PLGA as a structure consisting of three forces that work in an interdependent manner – Main, Secondary and Base forces.
- The development of People's Militia structures as a perennial source of recruitment into PLGA
- Coordination of PW with mass struggles. PLGA stood in support of mass struggles and mass movements. For example, it stood in support of Singur, Nandigram, Lalgarh in West Bengal; Narayanapatna, Kalinganagar and other struggles in Odisha; anti-bauxite struggle in Visakha of Andhra Pradesh; anti-mining struggle in Surjagarh of Maharashtra; various anti-mining struggles in Jharkhand; anti-displacement struggles in Lohandiguda, Raoghat, Pallemadi, Bodhghat etc in Chhattisgarh.
- PLGA that was formed in an embryonic form on December 2, 1999

gradually expanded and developed to company and battalion level. It expanded with education, medical, technical, communications, supply, intelligence, and instructor teams and guards units and is advancing towards the formation of PLA (regular army).

- In dozens of campaigns conducted as part of hundreds of tactical counter-offensives like Kalimela, Srisailam-Sundipenta, Garhwa, Jagpura, Balagunj, Yellamanda, Uppalada, Barah, Ladipur-Sahugunj, Chandrapura, Saranda-1, Japla, Koraput, Saranda-2, Giridih, Jehanabad, R. Udayagiri, NMDC, Ranibodili, Bokaro, Kiriburu, Goelkera, Nayagarh, Jhajha, Lakhisarai, Urpalmetta, Tadimetla-1, Tonguda, Battiguda, Markanar, Tavvetola, Madanveda, Laheri, Mukaram-Tadimetla-2, Kongera, Kajara, Mamayil, Saranda resistance (2010) – several offensive campaigns of the enemy were defeated. Moreover, 2,000 enemy soldiers were wiped out, 2,500 weapons and more than one lakh rounds of ammunition were seized. Hundreds of land lords, people’s enemies, reactionaries, enemy agents, informers, covert, various counter-revolutionary private armies like Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagrik Suraksha Samiti, Bhumi Sena, social fascist Harnad Vahihi, Santi Sena goons, goonda leaders and cruel political leaders belonging to various bourgeois and revisionist parties were annihilated.

- PLGA served as a magic weapon in the building of Panchayat, Area and District level Revolutionary People’s Committees where political power of the enemy has been destroyed in the strategic areas.

- PLGA served as the principal instrument for fulfilling political, organizational, propaganda, defence and production tasks.

- The Red Army detachment of India – the PLGA stood as a ray of hope for the oppressed and suppressed masses and oppressed nations of our country and the world.

- Arousing the women who are half the sky and developing them in political, organizational, military, cultural and other spheres so that they can lay claim to their share in struggle and helping the working class women gain self-reliance.

Q 5 : The government is making preparations to deploy Army if the police and paramilitary forces fail to fight back the Maoists. How would

you fight back the Army?

BR : How we would fight back the Army depends on the aim with which the Indian Army is being deployed in our areas. In fact, it is the state machinery consisting of armed forces (Army, paramilitary, special and police forces), judicial system, jails, bureaucracy etc that conducts the affairs of the state. The primary components of this state machinery are its military armed forces. So, an army belongs to the state. There is not a single army in this world that does not belong to a state. But what kind of a state is that? The present Indian state machinery serves as an instrument for the exploiting class rule of CBB and big land lords that serve the imperialists, for class oppression and class exploitation. Thus the Indian Army that came as a legacy of the British imperialists to the Indian comprador government is counter-revolutionary too.

According to the Indian Constitution, the primary task of the Indian armed forces is to defend the borders of the country from the aggression of other countries and to serve the people during natural disasters. But the Indian governments goaded its army on its own people several times. An army official stated the fact that the Indian Army participated in battles on the borders of our country for mere 143 days. In the name of so-called internal security it first waged war on Telangana people for the interests of the exploiting classes on the pretext of 'liberation from Nizam' (from September 1948 to October 1951). Later it occupied North-East states and Kashmir. In July 1971, it carried on suppressive offensive on the struggle of Birbhum revolutionary masses. Similarly in 1990, they completely used the Indian Army on the pretext of 'training' against the will of the Punjab people. In these cruel suppressive campaigns – 30,000 people in North-East, 80,000 in Kashmir, 10,000 in Punjab, 5,000 in Telangana armed struggle (1946-51) and 200 people and activists in Birbhum were massacred. If we add the 13,000 women and men who lost their lives in the Maoist movement and in massacres carried on from Naxalbari and Srikakulam to the present by the paramilitary, police and special commando forces, lakhs of people were slaughtered by the government armed forces. Lakhs of people were tortured and put in jails. People's property worth crores of rupees was looted, razed down. Thousands of young women and men

went missing. What do all these atrocities indicate? Is it not getting proved that the Army, paramilitary and police forces do not hesitate to massacre the people for the interests of these exploiting country-selling ruling classes (CBB, big land lords) for the super profits of imperialists? Are they not proving on their own that they are the running dogs of the imperialists? Did they not implement the government-dictated cruel, violent and murderous policies? These forces would never abandon these policies.

Recently, with the aim of wiping out the Maoist movement, Indian Army is advancing in phases towards areas in DK where the movement is strong since the end of May 2011 in the name of training. We can imagine what the results would be. Handing over the Maad hills that abound natural riches to imperialists and corporate companies, particularly occupying 750 sq.k.m. area in the Maad hills where the most ancient Adivasi community in the world – the Mariya Adivasis live and displacing them is its aim. Apart from this, wiping out our party and the party leadership that is advancing the various Adivasi communities in DK along the revolutionary path is the other important aim behind this. Thus, this is not only anti-people but also reactionary. Maoism clarifies to us that even such a reactionary Indian Army can be defeated through PPW. The history of China and Vietnam People's Wars is an indisputable example for this.

The enemy is conducting the offensive with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement within 3 to 7 years period. Our aim would be to extend this as far as possible thus bogging down the Indian Army in a protracted war that cannot be solved in any manner. Indian Armies have not yet been relieved from the suppressive operations being conducted on North-East nationality struggles and Kashmir nationality struggle. In a way, these got bogged down in a war since a long time there. We must push the Indian Armies to a situation where they cannot concentrate anywhere by intensifying the guerilla warfare in several guerilla zones and by creating newer guerilla zones. We must develop guerilla warfare as an invincible warfare that can never be wiped out by the enemy by linking the struggles on people's day to day issues, political, economic and rights movements with guerilla warfare and conducting them in a militant manner both in armed and unarmed methods.

Displacement is an important life and death issue at present for the people. People are fighting against the displacement policies of the Indian exploiting ruling classes. Our party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations, revolutionary Janatana Sarkars and People's Militia must integrate further with those people. They must integrate with them like fish in water. These must be transformed into militant struggles from the beginning so that they can strongly fight back the military and police forces that come to suppress these struggles.

The Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) coming into force along with the deployment of the Army and increase in mopping up measures like massacres of common people, missing of people, arrests, atrocities on women, razing down of villages, loot of people's properties, destruction, fake encounter deaths as a result can be seen all along the history of the Army. So, we must mobilize people on a huge scale against AFSPA. We must mobilize all the forces that would come together with the slogan 'Indian Army Go Back' and form a broad united front thus isolating the enemy. People must be mobilized vastly against fake encounters and for handing over of dead bodies to the families. People's resistance struggles must be taken up. People's movements must be conducted for civil rights. Only when we develop people's movements as militant resistance struggles can we bring a sea change in PW.

The enemy is implementing 'Integrated Action Plan' as part of 'Development activities-Police actions' policy by following the tactic of 'Winning Hearts and Minds' as part of LIC policy. They are giving importance to building roads, electricity, communications etc than for providing basic necessities like irrigation. The paramilitary officers and even military officials who came recently to DK are conducting Civic Action Programs in villages. They are conducting meetings with people. Military is doing voluntary labor as never before to deceive the people. In the name of teaching partriotic lessons to students in schools, they are spitting venom against Maoist revolutionaries. The aim of these reforms is to divide a section from the people, turn them into a stratum in the villages and use them as the main vehicles in the suppression of movements. We must expose the sham of these reforms among the people. We must make the people understand that their basic issues would not be solved through these

and that establishment of New Democratic power by overthrow of this exploitative system is the solution.

Comrade Mao repeatedly taught us that only 'People's War that is conducted with a mass base would achieve victory'. People who can no longer bear the exploitation, oppression and suppression of the ruling classes and their mercenary armed forces joining the resistance wars on a huge scale with the inspiration of revolutionary party and People's Army can be seen in Russia, China, Vietnam revolutionary movements and in several national liberation struggles. This people's resistance is the perennial source of strength for the People's Army. If the People's Army is to expand with thousands and lakhs of members, then such people's resistance struggles must be developed on a massive scale. Struggles like Lalgarh and Narayanapatna had already placed before us an ideal model.

Studying the political weaknesses of the Indian Army would be primary in defeating it.

It is clear that all the wars fought by the Indian Army were nothing but wars for the exploitation, suppression and oppression interests of the Indian exploiting classes. Its anti-people nature has already been exposed through this. So it would not have people's support. This is its principal political weakness.

Though all the soldiers in the Indian Army were recruited from among the people, their working for the interests of the exploiting classes instead of for their class interests is a big contradiction. This means that they are serving a class that is not their own. Due to this contradiction, their nature would be mercenary instead of working with dedication. This is the reason for suicides and running away in these forces. Similarly, the impact of various progressive, revolutionary and national liberation struggles would be continuously hitting them. There is always the possibility of revolts in Army like in revolutionary movements such as Russia and China and their joining the revolutionary people's armies and national liberation armies when they realize about the exploitation, suppression and oppression of their oppressed classes. This is the biggest weakness of the Indian Army which the Indian ruling classes claim as mighty. Due to its mercenary nature, strategically it would not have the will to fight bravely. It would not be able

face the People's Army that fights for the interests of the people and achieve strategic victory.

Indian Army does not have much experience in guerilla warfare and in fighting back guerilla warfare. The experience it gained in guerilla warfare and in fighting back guerilla warfare as part of suppressing nationality struggles, Punjab people's struggle and as part of war of aggression on LTTE is very limited. It suffered a death blow in the war on LTTE.

The Indian Army itself had reviewed that it faced defeat in the war on LTTE as it did not have strong intelligence. In fact, it is difficult for an army that resorts to offensives on the people, i.e., an anti-people army to form a strong human intelligence too.

We must explain to the police, paramilitary and military forces the actual reasons for the contradictions between the lower level jawans and the officers in the Indian Army; between various armed forces and between the Army and the police. We must explain to them at every possible opportunity that they must not work like mercenary killers for the exploiting classes. We must give a call to the young women and men that they must not join the exploiting government armed forces, that they must boycott the enemy recruitment campaigns and agitate for a life to be lived with dignity. This call must be propagated widely.

As the enemy is trying hard to conduct information based offensives to annihilate the leadership forces from the top to the village level in the movement areas after achieving successes in inflicting losses to the party leadership forces outside the zones and is waiting for an opportunity by even deploying UAVs, the task of protecting the leadership becomes a very important one. For this, the party and the PLGA must pay attention to apply all kinds of counter-tactics continuously in practice. People's intelligence must be strengthened from people's resistance struggles. We must see to it that the information about the revolutionary movement's leadership does not reach the enemy but that of the enemy reaches the party, PLGA, various mass organizations and the people. Some or the other kind of misinformation must be given to the enemy and rumors must be spread on a daily basis. We must increase the active participation of the people in this. We must face the issue of informer network of the enemy by

putting continuous political efforts such that the understanding about class line and mass line develops among the people. The victory of New Democratic Revolution is linked with the defeat of the Indian Army. We must chase away the Indian Army and defeat it by taking up the basic and day to day issues of the people and by building a strong people's resistance war for the right to live of the people.

Q 6 : What is the meaning of the slogan 'Let us develop PLGA into PLA' given by the party?

BR : We need three magic weapons to make the revolution successful – Party, Army and United Front. The weapons of People's Army and United Front in the hands of the warrior named Party are very much needed for the victory of the revolution. Our Unity Congress-9th Congress gave the central, principal and immediate task - "Develop guerilla warfare into mobile warfare and PLGA into PLA to transform Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand into liberated areas" to the entire party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations, RPCs/Krantikari Janatana Sarkars. It is inevitable to develop PLGA into PLA if we are to build liberated areas. PLA means regular army. Only a regular army can develop guerilla warfare into mobile warfare. Due to the efforts put by PLGA under the leadership of our party in the past five years, the guerilla warfare is intensifying in various guerilla zones. PLGA conducted some actions that had mobile warfare nature. For example, the Mukaram-Tadimetla ambush, 'Operation Ropeway' – Nayagarh operation, Kajara, Lohardagga (Dhardharia) etc. It conducted several more operations too. This means that the PLGA is steeling itself gradually while waging war. Similarly, we must develop battalions and regiments by expanding the PLGA formations through increasing the political consciousness of the people through mass struggles, arming them and making them part of PW and by developing the process of recruitment step by step. It must gain grip over terrain, observe the weaknesses of the enemy, apply guerilla tactics according to time and space creatively and always keep initiative in its hands. It must gain the active support of the people, wipe out the enemy as far as possible, gain weapons, arm the new recruits and people and advance. We must put efforts in a planned manner to increase the fighting capacity of PLGA forces, to establish higher level discipline in them, to increase its

weapon power by mainly depending on attacks on enemy forces and to gradually develop the auxiliary departments that are necessary for conducting war. It is only in this manner that we can develop PLGA into PLA. Only thus can we fulfill the central, principal and immediate task given by our party's Unity Congress-9th Congress. This is the meaning of the slogan 'Develop PLGA into PLA'.

28

Interview of Comrades Sushil Roy, Veteran Leader of CPI (Maoist)

October 2012

(The following is the full version of an interview Shushil Roy gave to Indian Express, an English language daily)

Indian Express (IE): *What relations do the CPI(Maoist) have with the Nepal Maoists? Is it still going strong?*

Sushil Roy (SR): The CPI (Maoist) seeks, as part of its international responsibilities, to have fraternal relations with Maoists and all progressive forces struggling for the working classes all over the world. Nepal is one of them.

Specifically today in Nepal there are three Maoist parties to my knowledge. One called UCPN(Maoist) led by Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai, the other called CPN(Maoist) led by Matrika Yadav who was the first to part with the UCPN(Maoist), and the third, also called CPN(Maoist) led by Kiran, which was formed very recently. Earlier, all the three were within a single party CPN(Maoist). The splits have taken place because Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai's policies of late amounted to a betrayal of the Nepalese new democratic revolution. To my knowledge, the CPI (Maoist) has had a fraternal ideological and political relationship with the

Maoists of Nepal, which entails both unity and struggle on common issues. Whether the Nepal Maoists are still leading the revolution there or have betrayed it, we have common aims and objectives, common enemies in the present phase, and common friends as well. That is the essence of our unity on ideological and political issues. Where we differed on questions related to the strategy and tactics of revolution in our respective countries, we had been having internal or mutual debates, but we do not interfere in each other's actual work, other than politically supporting mutual revolutionary causes.

Now, with the formation of three Maoist parties in Nepal, and one of them generally perceived as having betrayed their new democratic revolution, and the two others yet to emerge with effective strategy and tactics to take ahead that revolution, I would think that the CPI(Maoist) would be in the process of reshaping the forms of its ideological and political relationship with the three parties.

IE: What has been the West Bengal government's stand towards the Maoists after Mamata Banerjee came to power?

SR: The government of West Bengal has been antagonistic and inimical towards the Maoists, both before and after Mamata came to power. While she was in the Opposition, Mamata, to begin with, tried to feign as if the Maoists had no significant presence at all. Then, as the elections drew closer, and Singur, Nandigram and then the Lalgurh peoples' resistance movements emerged as a big force, she realized that with the support-base of the Maoists widening and deepening, it would be beneficial to pose as a supporter and sympathiser of them. Then again, when she came to power, when she had the props of the state with its repressive apparatus of police, paramilitary and armed forces, and draconian laws, as well as the court, colonial bureaucracy etc. to hold her in power, she had no need any more to elicit the support of the masses rallying around the Maoists, or the support of the radicalised intelligentsia of Bengal. She, therefore, did a quick somersault on occupying the chief minister's chair and began to show her true colours as regards the Maoists. The brutal murder of Kishenji, the beloved leader of the Indian revolutionary masses, left no doubt about her real political and military character.

IE: Is the government sympathetic towards them? Is any government sympathetic towards the Maoists?

SR: No question of that. There is not a single government in the country which could be sympathetic towards the Maoists. That is reflective of the strength of the Maoists. Only the masses are sympathetic.

IE: Something about Mamata Banerjee's policies?

SR: Mamata's policies are as anti-people as that of any other party of the exploiting and ruling classes. Today if she feigns opposition to the UPA's thrust towards foreign direct investment in retail, broadcasting and civil aviation, it is only because she wants to save face in the run up to the 2014 Lok Sabha elections, after using the UPA prop to acquire a larger political stature. She is an opportunist par excellence. There should be no difficulty in seeing through her dramatics and histrionics. She has learnt a lot from her predecessors who ruled West Bengal for so many decades.

IE: During the panchayat elections will you set up dummy candidates?

SR: Why would any Maoist party set up any dummy candidates? As far as panchayats are concerned, we Maoists believe that they are first an extension of the corrupt, exploitative, oppressive and repressive state. Panchayats generally serve to preserve feudal power in the villages, and imperialist, feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeois rule as a whole, down to the grass-roots. The only way is to launch and intensify the revolutionary class struggle at the grass-roots, and in this way build revolutionary peoples' committees at the local levels. That is how the Maoists believe in letting the toiling masses take over power from those who exploit and oppress them, right from the panchayat to the parliament.

IE: What is the biggest hurdle for the Maoists in the present day?

SR: Especially in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and some areas of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh etc., the state, with its heavily armed forces, and now with the direct involvement of the Army and the Air Force, has been encircling and suppressing the people

in its efforts to wipe out the Maoists and their supporters by the thousands. This encirclement and suppression entails extremely brutal and inhuman attacks on the poorest of the poor and on their most devoted leaders and soldiers. Such cold-blooded, pre-meditated attacks are accompanied with devious means to wean away the weaker cadres to different rival formations, and with draconian laws to arrest at will and detain for long periods, also for life, and inhuman torture in custody, etc. Intelligence agencies are proactively managing the media to plant and spread false stories. These are all the major hurdles today. In addition, the Maoists have to consistently wage an internal struggle against whatever non-proletarian trends may remain and emerge within their ranks. Overcoming all the internal shortcomings and weaknesses is also a major challenge before the Maoists as they gear up to take on these biggest ever onslaughts in the history of the Indian new democratic revolution.

IE: Is there a setback for the Maoists in Bengal and Jharkhand?

SR: I am not in a position to make any such assessment. Inside jail, I only had newspapers and some magazines as my sources. I had no proper information. Even now, when I am under medical treatment at the AIIMS, Delhi, I have hardly any information. But what I can safely say on the basis of whatever I have been able to gather until now is that the Maoists in Bengal and Jharkhand are faced with a full-scale war, whose intensity and viciousness are increasing constantly. It is a terrorist attack by the state against the downtrodden people, the adivasis, poor peasants and their beloved leaders. The Maoists are at the forefront of this war against the Indian people, whether in Bengal, Jharkhand or anywhere else. The circumstances of this war are tough and adverse. But I am hopeful that the Maoists, armed as they are with the ideology of the working class, the proletariat, they will have behind them the tremendous moral strength of history and the love and support of the masses. On this basis, they will develop the appropriate political and military tactics, in order to gain victories and turn any defeat into victory, and failure into success in their overall strategy of this current phase of new democratic revolution in our country.

IE: Do the Maoists take active help from the North-Eastern groups?

SR: The Maoists support the struggles for self-determination, including the demand for secession, which are being waged by different nationality movements in the North East. Some of these nationalities, and their organisations may support the Maoists politically, just as the Maoists support them.

If you are talking about active military help, as of date, I don't think there is anything like that actually taking place. But the Maoists would welcome whatever political support these democratic, progressive and radical movements may offer. They would also look forward to broadening the sphere of mutual help and co-operation in the future, not only with the North-East, but also with the Kashmiris, and also with various persecuted minorities, such as the Muslims.

IE: Since you are a political prisoner, did the government extend any help to you?

SR: The government did not extend any help to me while in jail. In our country, there is no official recognition to political prisoners like us. Unless we fight for our rights, we are treated like animals, like dogs. Whatever treatment I am getting here at AIIMS is just the human right of any prisoner. But with me there was also an attempt to let me die out of utter neglect and lack of medical care, first in Chaibasa jail, then in Giridih jail and worse still, at the government hospital RIMS in Ranchi where I spent 15 days in excruciating pain and squalor. I would have died there if my dear ones would not have taken up cudgels for me, and if various democratic rights organisations had not lent their support in Jharkhand, from West Bengal, Delhi and other parts of the country. Without struggle from within and support from outside, a political prisoner has no hope, no entity.

IE: Are the Maoists willing to reciprocate P Chidambaram's offer to surrender arms and then come to talking terms?

SR: Why should the Maoists surrender the arms which actually belong to the people of India? Chidambaram's talk about surrender of arms was just empty rhetoric. He did not want any talks with the Maoists. Surrendering arms would mean entirely giving up the struggle. For talks, we can at the

most talk in terms of putting one's arms on hold. That is, a mutual ceasefire or a cessation of hostilities to some extent. Asking the Maoists to give up arms while the state actually stepping up its Operation Greenhunt – that was nothing but double standards. What the Maoists were asking for was putting the military operations of the state against the people on hold, and working at the modalities of a mutual ceasefire and such things. In West Bengal the Maoists even carried out a unilateral ceasefire for a whole month to pave the way for talks. But all governments have been betraying anyone who hopes for talks by unilaterally continuing attacks while the Maoists put their arms on hold. This is the real obstacle to talks – the governments in power and not the Maoists.

IE: *What do you think about the Bijapur massacre?*

SB: In Bijapur in Chhattisgarh, it is now well known that 20 unarmed adivasis from three neighbouring villages were massacred by the paramilitary forces. Such a massacre speaks volumes about the training that the paramilitary forces are getting from Israeli and US imperialist agencies and to what extent the Indian state, at the behest of its imperialist masters, considers the people of India as its enemies.

The unarmed adivasi peasants had gathered in their own village to discuss the modalities of the forthcoming sowing season for their paddy. In an area of influence of the Maoists if the toiling masses get together to take their own decisions collectively and democratically, it is not tolerated by the state. This is because the state today does not tolerate the practice of democracy by the toiling masses. The state does not want the toiling masses to take their own decisions regarding their agriculture-based economy. This shows that the rulers can go to any extent to demonstrate that they can only allow their imperialist masters to control and direct the country's economy, not the people of India backed by the Maoists.

IE: *Anything else you would like to share with the readers?*

SR: Yes, a lot. First thing is about how to read newspapers, how to view TV channels. Most newspapers and TV channels are so run that the realities get distorted. The ideas, which the ruling elite ascribe to, are propagated

vehemently, even unethically. Therefore, one has to perceive the news and the news analyses that we see in the newspapers and TV channels very intelligently. Conscientious reporters and editors in today's dominant media have become an endangered species.

Secondly, what I wish to say is that if your readers wish to know what is the actual situation on the ground as regards the struggle between the Maoist-led peoples' war and peoples' movements on the one hand and the repressive forces of the state on the other, one will have to actually go and see for oneself, and see with an open mind.

Thirdly, it is important to understand that whether you are a Maoist or not, what our country needs is freedom from the shackles of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. All the woes of the Indian people are rooted in these three evil "isms", which pervade every nook and corner of our subcontinent. The only answer is a new democratic revolution based on an agrarian revolution carried out by armed peasant masses, motivated and led by the ideology of the working class.

Last but not the least, readers must learn to distinguish between the truth and the stories fed or simply planted by the police and their intelligence wings and not get influenced by the police's lies and distortion of the reality.

29

Comrade Abhay, Spokesperson , CPI (Maoist) on General Elections 2014

Maoist Information Bulletin, No. 29, January-June 2014

(Some media persons asked for an interview with Comrade Abhay, Spokesperson of CPI (Maoist) on some recent phenomena concerning our movement and our country. We are enclosing here the written answers of Comrade Abhay that were also given keeping in view the announcement of the schedule of 16th Loksabha elections by the Election Commission. This interview was released to the media on 24-03-2014 - MIB)

Q: The Election Commission has announced the schedule for the 16th Loksabha elections and doing all preparations on war footing to conduct these elections and every electoral party and alliance is completely engaged in deciding on whom to send into the ring. What is your party's stand on various parties and alliances contesting in these elections? Do you welcome the NOTA option?

A: As five years have been completed since the 15th Loksabha has been formed, these elections are being conducted as a routine exercise to form the 16th Loksabha. The schedule for these elections is the longest in the parliamentary history of India. This is the first time that the general elections are being conducted in nine phases too. These general elections are also seeing the largest deployment of polling personnel and the largest deployment of state forces to conduct 'free and fair' elections.

In the history of the Indian Parliament the clashes between the various parties on various issues in the 15th Lok Sabha broke the previous records. Though ostensibly they clashed repeatedly on various issues, in fact, a large number of bills were passed in the least amount of time, without any discussion and without an opportunity for the people to ponder on them and with the collusion of the ruling and the opposition parties. The UPA never had a majority in the parliament and it did not even get the majority share of votes during previous elections. The bills passed in the 15th Lok Sabha would have a long lasting grave effect on the society, economy and polity of our country. The 16th Lok Sabha would be formed by continuing the legacy of the previous Lok Sabha. The previous policies would be implemented to serve the interests of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes subservient to them. Those who can hoodwink the people about this would be sitting in the next parliament on the excuse of getting the 'mandate' of the people. The UPA led by the Congress and the NDA led by the BJP, the Third Front and the newly formed AAP have entered the elections arena to capture power by gaining a majority in the 16th Lok Sabha.

Our party's political assessment regarding these alliances and the parties is as follows.

The Congress that was in power continuously for ten years followed pro-imperialist, pro-comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and pro landlord policies and was responsible for the agonizing living conditions of the people, the disastrous economy of our country, the massacres of thousands of activists of various democratic and revolutionary movements and people and for persecution of religious minorities in the name of 'terrorists.' It won the dubious distinction of being the originator of the biggest and highest number of corruption scams in the parliamentary history of our country. As a result it won the severe hatred of the people. To escape this and hoodwink the people the Congress is bringing to the fore its main slogan of '*Bharat Nirman*' pointing towards the 'development' it achieved in its ten-year rule and towards the anti-corruption, land acquisition, food security and Nirbhaya acts etc and the welfare schemes that it formulated. The Congress has been in power at the centre and in most of the states for the maximum number of years after 1947. By being in power for such a long period of time it was mainly responsible for the anti-people

policies that were formulated and implemented in this period. The massacres of religious minorities, particularly the massacre of Sikhs in 1984 and the highest number of pogroms and persecutions of the religious minorities happened under Congress rule. Though Sangh Parivar was directly responsible for the destruction of Babri Masjid, it was the Congress that was behind the high drama from the centre. It was mainly responsible for suppressing the just national liberation struggles of the Kashmir and North East by massacring tens of thousand of youth through its military brute force. It implemented all these anti-people policies by taking the help of other parliamentary parties when in power and also by colluding with other ruling alliances when not in power. Who else would be mainly responsible than the Congress for the insufferable conditions of the workers, peasants, petty bourgeois sections, oppressed nationalities, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, women and the small and medium capitalists in our country? The people are not so gullible as to believe its '*Bharat Nirman*', its so-called welfare schemes and its deceptive anti-corruption pose.

BJP's main attack is on the corrupt rule of the Congress. It is clear that it does not have any basically different policies than Congress on any of the main issues confronting the people and the country and has the same corrupt, treacherous and dictatorial policies in any sphere. With the directive of the RSS, BJP announced the Hindu bigot and mass murderer Narendra Modi as its prime ministerial candidate. It is hiding its Hindu chauvinist agenda behind the 'Gujarat Vikas' model and is concentrating its entire machinery around Modi to capture power at the centre one more time. 'Gujarat Vikas' model means terrorizing the Muslim and Christian minorities, seizing their properties, chasing them away from their abodes or making them servile through massacres of Muslim religious minorities and subjecting them to innumerable atrocities along with atrocities on Christian religious minorities; making the entire state as the hub for the investments of MNCs, big bourgeoisie and opening doors to their endless exploitation and oppression. The Sangh Parivar and the BJP are aiming to establish this Hitlerite model in the guise of 'Vikas' in the entire country by coming to power in these elections. Congress came to power the previous two terms and won the severe wrath of the people. So the ruling classes and the US imperialists are openly supporting the candidature of Modi for the PM post as he would

implement their agenda ruthlessly. Accordingly the corporate media is propagating Modi on a huge scale. Its attempt to win in the Delhi elections by bringing a religious divide through religious riots in Muzaffarnagar indicates only its fascist face. Rajnath Singh's statement a few days before the election dates were announced that he was apologizing to the Muslims 'if at any place any wrong was done to them' is nothing but a ploy to hide the massacre of Muslims carried on by Modi in Gujarat and gain their votes. But how would the Muslim and Christian religious minorities forget the massacres, discrimination, suppression and chauvinism that they suffered in the hands of the Sangh Parivar right from 1947 to the recent Muzaffarnagar killings? The pogrom and persecution of religious minorities in Gujarat under Modi met with unprecedented opposition and protest not only in Gujarat but all over our country. Even if they come to power, the Hindu fascists will have to face the countrywide active resistance of the Muslim and Christian minorities, revolutionary and democratic forces. This would be the foremost task of these forces then.

The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) entered the electoral arena with the aim of benefiting from submerging the people in illusions about parliamentary democracy one more time. It is trying to catch the attention of the people with revolutionary rhetoric sheltered in ideological eclecticism consisting of Gandhian 'Ahimsa' and 'Swaraj', 'Socialist' politics of Jayaprakash Narain and 'direct participatory democracy' of the NGOs. The AAP that was born and brought up with a NGO background and on imperialist and NRI funds and support, is not going into the roots of this system and into the basic problems of the people and is resorting to Gandhian feats for solving people's problems. It does not have any solution for the basic problems of the oppressed classes, people and social sections. It is serving as a safety valve to divert the erupting people's anger into peaceful and parliamentary solutions and trying to cash in on it.

Despite Left Front's humiliating defeat in West Bengal and the failure of its experiments in alliance with the Congress in the name of supporting the so-called secular and anti-communal forces and the failure of the previous attempts to form a Third Front, the left parties led by CPI (M) are retaining ridiculous hopes of winning and took the main initiative for the formation of the Third Front once again. Thus the Third Front consisting of eleven

parties that came together on the basis of being anti-Congress and anti-BJP came to the fore with much fanfare. As expected, it is still immersed in fist fights regarding sharing of seats. The agreement between the CPI (M) and the AIADMK in the Third Front became invalid even before the ink had dried on alliance signatures due to differences in seat-sharing. The left parties including CPI (M) had not yet recovered from the humiliating defeat they had suffered in the West Bengal elections. Parties like the SP, BSP, DMK, AIADMK, Biju Janata Dal, Janata Dal (U), Trinamool, AGP, TDP, TRS, YSRCP etc are fearing defeat to join either the UPA or the NDA and so have either joined the Third Front or going it alone with so-called slogans of social justice, emancipation of Dalits and Bahujans, regional development etc. The Third Front parties are mostly regional parties but all of them belong to the ruling classes. They had all implemented pro-imperialist, pro-ruling class and anti-people policies. Whenever in state power either in alliance with the UPA or the NDA or independently they played a reactionary role in suppressing people's movements. Both the Third Front parties and those parties contesting on their own are following a 'wait and see' policy to join whichever alliance comes to power. While the Lok Jansakti Dal joined the NDA as it felt defeat was certain if it remains in UPA, the RJD is continuing in the UPA to somehow keep its lantern lit. The politicians belonging to various parties who came to the fore overnight with new flags and new agendas after leaving their parties fearing defeat due to people's wrath or because they did not get a seat in their parties are flinging as much mud as possible over each other in the fight for seats. They are breaking all the previous records during these elections. They had come to power throwing to winds all electoral norms with the sole aim of coming to power and amassing wealth. Once in power they violated all their election promises and had exploited and oppressed the people without respite and lost the confidence of the people. So now they are resorting to such blatant opportunist methods having lost any hope of winning in these elections.

The actual issues of the people never come up for discussion in the parliament and the assemblies. They are under the control of the CBB and the landlords who are subservient to imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. Where is the place for genuine democracy in this system where votes could be bought with money, liquor, religious and casteist sentiments

or rigging? It is ridiculous to call this a democracy when criminals, bandits and notoriously corrupt politicians win in elections. In fact, when we look into history we find that people's problems have always been solved basically and real transformation of the society was possible only through people's struggles and protracted people's war (PPW) and not through parliamentary forums.

As elections are being conducted like a farce each time, the Election Commission of India vowed to 'strengthen democracy' during these elections and is trying to bring in several reforms along with including guidelines according to the Supreme Court order. At an unprecedented scale it involved several persons, right from school children to NGOs and celebrities to propagate about the inviolability of the vote. The SC had issued orders to give the voters the right to 'reject.' As a result, the NOTA button was introduced in the EVMs for the first time during the assembly elections in five states in 2013. Now during these Lok Sabha elections this is being introduced all over the country. In fact, this NOTA option distracts the 'right to recall' the elected representatives that the people should rightfully possess. If they really intend to give the 'right to reject', why are they deploying lakhs of state armed forces in the name of conducting 'free and fair' elections in areas where our party had given the call to boycott the polls and carrying on attacks, search operations, arrests, fake encounters and massacres?

Q: Is there any change in your boycott policy during these general elections? How do you justify your policy?

A: There is basically no change in our boycott policy. However, depending on the concrete conditions, our tactics may vary to some extent according to the changing political formations at the all-India level and in the states, according to our strength and people's preparedness. Though tactics may vary, the main aim of our boycott policy is to expose the pseudo-parliamentary system and increase the consciousness of the people on building a real alternative of people's democracy in its place.

In these general and assembly elections the main focus of our political exposure in the boycott call would be against the retrogressive, treacherous

and fascist Congress and the BJP all over the country. One of the main aspects in the exposure of BJP would be exposing the Hindu fascist danger coming to the fore in the guise of 'Gujarat Vikas' model. Our main ideological exposure would be against the revisionist CPI (M) and CPI. In the states, along with the Congress and the BJP the main focus of our political exposure would be against the various regional ruling class parties that have been/are in power like the CPI (M) and Trinamool in West Bengal; the Biju Janata Dal in Odisha; TDP, YSRCP and TRS in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana; Samajwadi Party and the BSP in Uttar Pradesh; DMK and AIADMK in Tamil Nadu etc. We would ideologically and politically expose the Aam Aadmi Party all over country on its futile Gandhian program. Regarding all other parties, we would politically expose them locally. As part of our boycott call we would mobilize the people to question these parties on their stand and past practice regarding major issues such as state repression on our movement and all other democratic movements and deployment of state forces in our movement areas; land reforms; treachery and servility to the imperialists in all matters relating to our country's sovereignty; selling our country's riches to the MNCs; disinvestment and privatization of public sector units; Hindu chauvinism; education, health and drinking water; displacement and civil rights and send them back. Where the state forces use brute force to make the people vote, our PLGA would resist.

Regarding your second question, firstly our policy towards the bourgeois parliamentary elections is not just boycott. That is just one aspect of it. It has two aspects – one is boycott of the present bourgeois parliamentary elections and another is the call to build a new people's parliament. There is no change in this two-prong policy of ours during the 16th Loksabha polls.

The reason we are asking the people to boycott these elections is – the present parliament is in fact a dictatorship of the CBB and landlords who are subservient to imperialism. The parliamentary democracy is just a mask to deceive the people about the true nature of this dictatorship. In our opinion, the so-called democracies functioning in all the capitalist countries in the present day world, including the US, are nothing but such dictatorships of the monopoly capitalists; and in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries it is the joint dictatorship of the CBB and the landlord classes. So, though 65 years have passed since so-called independence, the overwhelming

majority of the people are still poor in our country. None of their basic issues have been solved. None of the parliamentary parties have an independent path for the development of the country. All of these parties are saying that they would develop our country through neo-liberal policies and by bringing in more FDI into our country. The economy, polity and culture of our country have been restructured according to the needs of the world financial capital and formal independence and formal sovereignty have also been sold out by UPA, NDA, Left Front and other parliamentary parties to the imperialists. On the other hand, they are blatantly violating all the rights won by countless struggles waged by the people of our country by flouting their own laws and several universally acknowledged international laws and statutes. They are depending only on their armed forces, sham propaganda and eyewash reforms.

The nature of the parties and the politicians who are contesting in this elections need not be explained in detail by us. We are not alone in making accusations against them. Any citizen who follows the media and the accusations they themselves make against each other would know how corrupt, criminal, casteist, jingoist, religious chauvinistic, comprador and culturally degenerated they are and how nepotism reached its peak in these parties. The huge amounts of election expenses of all major all-India and regional parties beg a query as to where they are getting such gigantic amounts of funds. How could every candidate for a parliament seat spend 10 crores of rupees and every candidate for an assembly seat spend 2 crores of rupees on an average? Will an *aam aadmi* who wants to serve the people genuinely be able to spend that much of amount for getting elected? Don't you think it is atrocious that one has to spend so much of money to 'serve the people?' How many of these candidates are free of corruption and criminal records? How much is the role played by caste, religion, region, money and muscle power in candidates getting elected? Is there a single party that is beyond all these? Why are the ruling classes trying to satisfy the electorate with Nota button without giving the people the right to recall? Why are they deploying state forces ranging from a few thousands to more than one lakh for every district and why are they not able to conduct elections without such huge deployments even in areas where there are no Maoists?

In our opinion and in the opinion of every common citizen of our country, achieving genuine land reforms, independent & self-reliant economic development, democracy and sovereignty is the foremost issue before us and these four points are a must for solving the basic problems of the ninety percent of our population and for the all-round development of our people and our country. The parliamentary parties are quite contrary to this and the present pseudo-democracy is exactly suitable for such a rule.

Hence the second aspect of our call – **No** to the continuation of this semi-colonial, semi-feudal pseudo-parliamentary dictatorial system, **Yes** to genuine parliamentary system of the People's Democratic Federal Republic which serves the people and the country. It would be elected and run by the vast masses of the people for their interests.

There is no remedy, no solution, no shortcut method to resolve the present day basic problems of the people and the country. The system has become a great hindrance to their progress. Yes, there is a great solution outside this system, i.e., wage PPW by rallying the vast masses led by the vanguard party of the proletariat, the CPI (Maoist) to smash the rotten system and make success the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) with agrarian revolution as its axis.

Briefly, our party's basic program states - India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country; the targets of our revolution are imperialism, the comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism exploiting and oppressing the people of our country and are to be overthrown through the NDR to establish a People's Democratic Federal Republic. Contradiction between feudalism and broad masses is the principal contradiction at present. During the process of resolving this contradiction through the armed agrarian revolution, which is the axis of the NDR, through PPW, the resolution of other contradictions will be facilitated. The semi-colonial semi-feudal character of Indian society 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 through the resolution of the two fundamental contradictions of the present Indian society, i.e. the contradiction of the Indian people with imperialism and the contradiction of the broad masses with feudalism. Again, in its continuity, the task of second

stage is to establish the socialist system and continuing the revolution advancing towards communism on the world scale. 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 bourgeoisie 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. This NDR will bring national independence uprooting the imperialist exploitation, oppression and control, and will establish the people's democracy uprooting the feudal autocracy.

Workers, peasants and urban poor who form the overwhelming majority of the population in our country are living in utter poverty as victims of hunger, disease, inhuman imperialist, feudal exploitation and oppression and they would be liberated from all these through NDR. It uproots the Brahminical feudal hierarchical inhuman caste system that kept crores of Dalits and other oppressed castes in suppression since centuries and the imperialist and feudal, patriarchal social system that had been exploiting and oppressing half of the population i.e., women. It destroys the Hindu chauvinist domination that had been oppressing the religious minorities in our country, particularly Muslims and Christians. Vast majority of the Adivasis have long been deprived of their land and other traditional means of livelihood without providing any alternative and have been the major victims of 'development' and displacement. They would live a life of dignity, freedom and self-reliance in a new democratic society. Present day India is a prison-house of nationalities. The New Democratic state would unequivocally recognize the right to self-determination of the nationalities including the right to secession and the New Democratic India would be formed only with those states that voluntarily stay within it. The rotten, decaying, anti-democratic, anti-people, obnoxious, reactionary semi-colonial and semi-feudal culture that is dominating all the spheres of our life would be destroyed. Hatred for labor, patriarchy, superstition, autocracy, imperialist slavery, national chauvinism, communalism, casteism, blind greed, self-centredness, consumerist culture, and perverted sex-centered ideology and culture would be ended. Feudal culture which is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority would be extinguished.

This state will try its best to peacefully and fairly settle border, water and other disputes with neighboring countries and will develop friendly relations with them. This state will never exert any expansionist behavior with the neighboring countries. This People's Democratic State will establish unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world; opposes imperialist war and aggression, bullying, subversion and interference etc. It will support and help by all means the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary war, especially the ongoing struggles under the leadership of various Maoist revolutionary forces against capitalism, imperialism and reaction the world over. s

Thus a new people's electoral system, a new people's parliament of the four class alliance, a new people's constitution, a new people's state and a new people's administration and a new people's judicial system will replace the present ones. Thus the present system would be replaced by a new system and the present rulers will become the ruled.

I reiterate the appeal of our party to the great masses of our country to boycott the pseudo-parliamentary elections and unite to advance the NDR to build a genuine people's federal democratic republic of India.

Q: With the approach of General Elections the UPA-2 intensified its propaganda of 'Bharat Nirman' as its model for development. What is your take on it?

A: The NDA had on a huge scale all over the country propagated about *India Shining* during the 2004 general elections and similarly now UPA had taken up this propaganda about *Bharat Nirman*. *Bharat Nirman* is not concerned with the Indian people but with the development of the Indian ruling classes i.e., of CBB, landlords and the MNCs to which both are subservient. The then propaganda by NDA was also not about the Indian people's shining but about the shining of corporate sharks - both domestic and foreign and landlords. The condition of the Indian economy and subsequently of the people is actually very pathetic. The Indian economy is not self-reliant and is completely dependent on imperialism. It is useful only to them. The model for development of India advocated by Manmohan-Chidambaram-Ahluwalia-Rangarajan-Raghuram Rajan was not given shape

in our country. This was prepared by the imperialists and they have adopted it. This is not our accusation. They themselves had claimed so. This model was implemented by the NDA too previously. The Bills passed in the parliament by considering foreign investments as the panacea for the development of our country are living example of this approach. Depending on the entry of FII and FDI into stock markets and into all sectors of our economy, they are juggling with the growth rate numbers. The ruling classes are bringing in foreign investments into defense, banking, insurance, railway, ports, power sector, mining, education, health, transport, trade and commerce, agriculture, retail sector, oil and natural gas and what not, even into small and medium industries and service sector and are making our economy completely dependent on imperialist capital. This is what is being shown as 'development.' The financial crisis that started in the US from end 2008 and that went on to shake the world had shaken our economy too. Manmohan and Chidambarm blatantly lied that Indian economy was sound and announced about the ill-effects of the world economic crisis on Indian economy only when they could no longer hide behind this falsehood.

The Indian big corporations collaborated with the MNCs to attract foreign investments. To ensure guarantee to their investments and profits, the central and state governments went out of their way to facilitate infrastructure and other basic facilities (land, electricity, water, market etc), gave them tax holidays and tax cuts. Tax cuts and tax holidays to Indian big bourgeoisie amounts to almost 6 to 8 lakh crores of rupees per annum in recent years. And this is the direct package, the indirect packages given in various forms are countless. Countless and large amounts of financial exemptions were given to the MNCs by the consecutive governments. On the contrary, the indirect taxes on innumerable daily goods consumed by the poor and the middle classes are ever increasing. The money squeezed through taxes from the common people is directly turned into tax holidays and tax cuts for the foreign and domestic corporate sharks. That is why the profits of the tiny minority are increasing in leaps and bounds. Billions of dollars are plundered by the MNCs every year in the form of profits from our country. Whatever maybe their gimmicks regarding GDP growth, the gap between the rich and the poor in our country has widened to an unprecedented level in the history of our 'glorious independence' and it is

increasing by the day. This is the reason for basic necessities like food, clothing, shelter, water, education, health, transport etc becoming scarce for the common people.

The ruling classes are shouting from rooftops that they are developing all sectors, implementing various welfare schemes and so the number of poor people has decreased due to plans implemented by them to eliminate poverty. Though they are talking tall about these, they are not able to hide the fact that the condition of the people is becoming unbearable day by day.

If the economy is sound and the country is on the development path as the ruling elite is claiming, then why did the exchange value of rupee plunge to such depths? Why did exercises to stop inflation with their monetary measures fail? How can they develop the country through cuts in welfare schemes and subsidies for the people? How can they fill budget deficits by cuts in planned expenditure and increase in unplanned expenditure? How could *Jala Yagnams*, linking of rivers and other major irrigation projects prevent suicides and bankruptcy of millions of farmers? Will they decrease or increase the migration of farmers from the unprofitable agricultural sector? How would they solve the ever increasing unemployment problem in our country through dependence on foreign investments, through mainly concentrating on building infrastructure and by neglecting the manufacturing and agricultural sectors? How can corruption be controlled when MoUs guaranteeing monopoly profits are being signed as part of implementing LPG policies?

After ruining the employment opportunities of millions of our workforce and consequently their income and their purchasing power, how will economic development be possible? Without measures to increasing the employment generating capacity and purchasing power of the masses, if further liberalization is carried on and foreign capital is brought in further, how will economic development be possible? According to the WTO trade facilitation agreement signed in Bali the customs process would be liberalized and made transparent and this is being flouted as a favorable measure to India by the central government. In fact, this would be profitable to the MNCs and detrimental to India's interests. The entire exports and import policy of the Indian government is geared towards fulfilling the needs of the

imperialist capital and a handful of the rich and has nothing to do with the needs of the poor and the middle classes.

The prices of daily commodities are skyrocketing – the previous year the prices of food items increased by 157 percent. The price of onions increased five times over, price of vegetables increased from three to five times, price of pulses increased by 123 percent, rice by 137 percent, wheat by 117 percent, milk by 119 percent, sugar by 106 percent and salt by 85 percent. While millions are becoming pauperized and increasingly being denied food and drinking water, the super-rich are enjoying criminally disproportionate share of these apart from an immoral, superfluous level of luxuries. The increase in population living on pavements is directly proportional to the increase in the number of mansions of the super-rich. Water and electricity have become the private property of the comprador capitalists and the MNCs while agriculture is thrown into further crisis for the lack of the same and the migration of millions of farmers from this sector is leading to further crisis in the society. Some communities like the fishing community, Adivasis, peasantry and the urban slum population are specifically targeted for displacement/evictions and the super-rich are occupying their rightful places. Our country has become a horrific place where 77 percent of the people live on less than 20 rupees a day and 100 people have wealth equivalent to 25 per cent of the GDP.

Now the time has come for repayment of loans to the imperialists. How will they repay without putting more burden on the people in the form of taxes? What is the magic potion available with the ruling and opposition parties for solving the current account deficit problem? The only solution available with them is further liberalization, deregulation, privatization and restructuring; further bending down to the dictates of IMF, WB and the MNCs; further sell-out of natural resources; further destruction of ecology; further internal and other displacement of huge number of people; further liquidation of labor laws, implementation of colonial and draconian laws and formulating new fascist laws – further fascization of state machinery and judicial system; further spurt in a series of popular welfare schemes to divert the people who are increasingly becoming frustrated with the various governments to partially satisfy their demands and increasing further the role of corporate media in distorting facts. Last but not least, a deluge of

psychological operations on the people to keep them from knowing the actual reality about our economy.

As long as the Congress, BJP, Third Front or other parliamentary parties follow or want to follow economic policies that are favorable to imperialists and their compradors, our economy is bound to be further ruined and our country is bound to become more and more dependent. Our nominal sovereignty also is bound to get more compromised. These parties and their policies are bound to become a heavy burden for the people of our country. The home ministry has recently stated in an affidavit filed in the Supreme Court that the Maoists are a threat to '*rastra nirman*' (nation-building process). We declare that it is the Congress, BJP, Third Front and other parliamentary parties that are really pernicious to '*rastra nirman*'. We are stating very clearly that economic policies that help imperialists and (their) compradors should not be tolerated. So, our party is giving a call to the people that these policies should not be allowed. The various treacherous parties that have become harmful to the people and our country should be overthrown from political power structures. The only way to follow self-reliant, progressive, independent, sovereign policies is to win the NDR in our country.

Q: What is your comment on the reform schemes for people's welfare brought forth during the rule of UPA-1 and UPA-2 in the past ten years?

A: First of all, even in the past, right from Nehru to Vajpayee, different governments had been bringing forth various schemes relating to people's welfare. Out of all these, the slogan '*Garibi Hatao*' and the 20-point program brought forth by Indira Gandhi were the most popular. The ruling class parties always formulate popular welfare programs when people come into streets or take up guns and also when elections are due. This increased as never before during the past fifteen years. In different states freebies like TVs, fans, cookers, saris, grinders, bicycles, computers, rice for one or two rupees per kilo etc are being promised and inferior quality goods are even distributed to some extent. When there is no genuine agenda for the development of the people the ruling classes bring forth such welfare schemes. On the one hand the ruling classes are carrying on policies that intensify exploitation of the laboring masses, squeezing their incomes through

ever increasing number of taxes and looting through skyrocketing prices. This is leading to severe discontent among the people and they are getting organized and fighting against this. So we can say that such reforms and schemes are a direct result of the struggles of the people. So such welfare measures are also brought forth by the ruling classes to meet their demands partially just enough to diffuse their anger, to prevent the fighting people from advancing their struggles or even getting organized with a higher aim of ending exploitation altogether. This can be seen in all the countries including the imperialist countries. All these are a part of the 'globalization with a human face' policy brought forth by IMF. This policy of IMF is being implemented all over the world.

Bills regarding right to information, right to work (MNREGA), food security, forest rights, land acquisition and rehabilitation, company bill, hawkers rights etc were brought by the UPA during its ten years of rule.

After the Second World War, several changes occurred in the world imperialist market according to neo-colonial economic and political policies and in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries too changes occurred accordingly. All the bills passed during the UPA rule should also be seen and understood in this background.

After 1947 land reforms were brought forth by the ruling classes for the first time due to the impact of long-drawn struggles of tenants and poor peasants against feudal lords and due to the Telangana armed agrarian revolution against the Nizam feudal state and the so-called independent Nehru government. Later land reforms were brought forth due to the Naxalbari and Srikakulam peasant armed revolutionary movements and the NDR led by the Maoist party with agrarian revolution as its axis since the past thirty five years. The land reforms and the Forest Rights Act (FRA) brought forth by the ruling classes could not in fact damage the feudal base in our country. One of the main aims of the land reforms and the forest rights act is to prevent the vast peasantry and the Adivasis from joining the agrarian revolutionary war, to divert them from the land issue and hand over their lands to the MNCs and big bourgeoisie in accordance with the liberalization process. Both of these are a strategic offensive over the agrarian revolution. Jairam Ramesh and Manmohan Singh are trying to deceive the

people by saying that these two are for the interests of the peasantry and the Adivasis. But actually they are aimed at displacing millions of peasantry and Adivasis, rendering them homeless and helpless. With Land Acquisition Act, all Adivasi rights such as 5th schedule, PESA, 1/70 etc will be destroyed.

Even after 65 years of so-called independence poverty alleviation being the main election slogan of all ruling class parties is in itself a shameless thing. On the one hand the livelihood of millions of our population is being snatched away due to the pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-landlord economic policies of subsequent governments at the centre and the states and on the other they are promising a semblance of employment through MNREGA which was never intended to give decent employment. With thousands of crores of rupees of funds allotted for MNREGA, worst forms of corruption came to the fore. Moreover machines are being brought in place of human labor which in turn snatch away the employment opportunities of the people. The rural development minister and other politicians themselves have been shedding crocodile tears about the corruption in MNREGA in the states. Rahul Gandhi, Ahluwalia and Jairam Ramesh are whipping up hype about how millions were lifted out of poverty due to MNREGA and other reforms while the facts point out to the opposite.

Rahul Gandhi was seen describing the RTI act brought by the UPA as the biggest weapon in the hands of the people to fight corruption. None of the big scams were exposed due to this act. Leave aside his hype, is there a single instance where the higher ups had been convicted for corruption in spite of clear evidence? What about Manmohan, Chidambaram and Robert Vadra? Were they being spared just because of lack of information?

Whatever may be the merits of these reforms, one should realize that all these are a result of the struggles of the masses. Even partial implementation of these reforms is possible only through a united struggle of the masses. On the occasion of the 16th Loksabha elections, all political parties would come forth with several popular slogans and promises. The people should never believe their lies and rely only on their unity and struggle. If they believe their lies, poverty would not be alleviated in our country even after another century. Only a united struggle of the people and the People's War are the real way for poverty alleviation in our country.

Q: During the rule of UPA-2 corruption scams got exposed as never before. What do you think is the reason for this? How do you think these scams which are worrying the people of our country be prevented?

A: Just like British colonialists had domesticated the feudal kings and *zamindars* in India to establish their rule all over our country, the MNCs of today are also bribing the comprador rulers of our country and carrying on their neo-colonial exploitation, oppression and control of our people and resources. After LPG policies were adopted, the MoUs signed with the MNCs and their investments increased beyond imagination and consequently corruption also increased in an unparalleled manner. Black money getting deposited in Swiss bank accounts increased from tens of crores to hundreds of crores of rupees after LPG policies. True to political parties' accusations on each other, lakhs of crores of rupees of black money is now deposited in Swiss and other banks. Global Financial Integrity declared that in just in one year – in 2011 – 4 lakh crores of rupees of black money crossed our borders and that India ranks among the most corrupt nations in the world.

The yesteryear scams like Bofors and fodder scam pale in the face of recent scams pertaining to Commonwealth games, 2G spectrum, Adarsh housing society, coal block allotments, VVIP choppers, Tetra truck scam, illegal mining of Gali brothers, YSR-Jagan Reddy, Sarada Chit Fund scam in West Bengal etc. The list is actually endless as these are a tip of only those scams that got exposed due to contradictions between the ruling classes. Just as Marcos and his wife Imelda had amassed huge wealth when they were in state power by sucking the blood of the Filipino people, in our country too politicians such as Jayalalita, Chandrababu Naidu, YSR, Madhu Koda, Mayavathi, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Raman Singh, Naveen Patnaik, Yedyurappa, Prithviraj Chauhan, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Jagannath Misra etc vied with each other in amassing huge wealth. All of them either belong to all-India political parties or are regional political party leaders. Only when political rivalry became serious, some among these like Jayalalita, Koda, Yedyurappa, Mayavathi, Mulayam Singh Yadav etc were booked under cases. Bangaru Laxman and Nitin Gadkari had to resign their president posts in BJP due to corruption charges. Rajiv Gandhi was the main accused in Bofors scam, Suresh Kalmadi in Commonwealth Games scam, A. Raja

in 2G scam, Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram in coal gate scam – several names of the leaders of ruling and opposition parties can be reeled off. That is why our party says that our country is ruled by scamsters and gangsters.

The economic, political and social system of our country is rife with corruption and scams. This disease is rampant everywhere - right from getting a driving license to getting a job in military or a visa. This has become an integral part of our system and culture. The people of our country are rising against this. In order to prevent this opposition from taking an organized form and to divert it Anna Hazare and Arvind Kejriwal had taken up the *satyagraha* form of protest. Kejriwal had even formed the Aam Aadmi Party to 'reform' this corrupt system. He could cash upon this in the recently held Delhi assembly polls. The Lokpal Bill was passed by the parliament as the ruling classes feared the increasing discontent among the people and their agitations against corruption in our political system. The joke is it has been prepared and passed by the very scamsters who are the gods of corruption. This bill would never touch these sharks but would be used in a draconian manner on the smaller fish. This was described as being toothless by Kejriwal and Hazare and they are proposing the Janlok Bill which vests powers in some individuals. The very idea that corruption which is endemic to the parliamentary democracy, particularly in the LPG era could be fought by honest individuals is being naive at best and deceptive at worst.

As long as means of production and thousands of crores of rupees of wealth are concentrated in the hands of a few, as long as political power rests in their hands, as long as the state machinery and the judiciary that protects them is in their hands and as long as their collaboration with the imperialists and their dependence on them continues, it is impossible to wipe out corruption from our society. There is a need for a countrywide organized militant people's movement against corruption, a need to fight in a united manner against it. In order to overthrow the system that is the root cause for corruption, it is necessary to wage NDR in India. Millions of people should get rallied into the PPW for this revolution to be successful. Only then could a radical change occur regarding corruption. Even in the new society there would be a need for the people to fight against corruption.

Q: A separate Telangana is being formed. What is your party's program for the Telangana and the Seemandhra states?

A: Ultimately the Telangana state has been formed after a prolonged struggle by the Telangana people. It is a victory of the Telangana people. It is a good thing. The struggle for statehood for Telangana started when the Andhra Pradesh state was formed constituting Telangana and Seemandhra areas. It gradually consolidated and finally culminated in the formation of the Telangana state.

From the very beginning two kinds of forces fought for a separate statehood for Telangana. One was represented by the democratic and Maoist forces that truly represented the aspirations of the Telangana people. But the petty bourgeois forces particularly the students, employees and youth that participated in the first phase soon got influenced by the Congress party leadership and most of the leaders joined it. Some more joined the then Jan Sangh. However, a section of ranks that participated in the movement gradually consolidated into Maoist parties and their mass organizations and into various democratic organizations. In the second phase different democratic forces and our party played the leadership role. These forces further consolidated to develop this movement. In the third phase, they were the backbone of the movement. And different sections of the petty bourgeoisie – students, lawyers, employees, teachers, youth, intellectuals; different social sections like women, Dalits, Adivasis and Muslims rallied on a wide scale and played a crucial role. Workers and peasantry played an important role in this phase unlike in the previous two phases. In spite of the Maoist movement suffering a setback and getting weakened, it strove hard to work with limited forces in the third phase of the movement for statehood. It is necessary that the Maoist forces strive to develop their strength and be in the forefront in the rebuilding of Telangana. On the other hand, most of the democratic forces who came forward were from the new generation. Later in the course of the movement many of these became part of the various political streams. On the whole, these democratic forces belonged to the various political streams. Due to the petty-bourgeoisie class nature of these forces they could not lead the movement more militantly and in a more united manner. Consequently,

they were subjected to several limitations in achieving their democratic demands. Only through putting serious efforts to overcome these limitations, it is possible to play a better role in transforming the present Telangana into a democratic Telangana and advance further.

The other was represented by the ruling class cliques belonging to different political parties which strove for a Separate Telangana and simultaneously fought with each other internally. These forces had fought with the Seemandhra rulers but had also compromised with them frequently. When we look at the history of the movements for bifurcation of states, none of them was as long-drawn as the movement for a Telangana state.

There are six main reasons for it getting so prolonged and ultimately for the formation of the Telangana state with many limitations. 1. The political forces represented by the Telangana bourgeois and landlord classes were not consolidated enough during the first phase. In the second and third phases they gradually consolidated and strengthened and it got politically manifested in their role during these phases. 2. As most of these forces were related to the Congress, the BJP and the TDP, at different phases of the movement, it got manifested in their indecisive role, almost till the end. The TRS that was formed with the aim of formation of the Telangana state never led the movement by mobilizing the people militantly. It always gave importance to lobbying, parliamentary gimmicks, compromises and peaceful forms of protest. The role of the Congress and the BJP is more weaker and they played pressure tactics on their high commands only when the formation of the Telangana state was on the threshold. However they never dared to mobilize the people. TDP from the beginning till the end talked with a forked tongue and weakened to a large extent in Telangana, turning into a party that is limited mainly to Seemandhra. As YSRCP opposed the bifurcation of the state it got wiped out in Telangana. The CPI (M) worked completely against the aspirations of the Telangana people due to its wrong policies. Though CPI supported the statehood movement in the last phase in unavoidable conditions, it never rallied the people actively. 3. The ruling classes representing Telangana feared the role of the CPI (Maoist) and the democratic forces, the militant mobilization of the masses, an increase in their role and the movement having a significant influence with its democratic demands. 4. The Seemandhra and Telangana regional and all-India ruling

classes realized with the prominent role of the CPI (Maoist) and the democratic forces that the movement would turn more militant with clear-cut democratic programme and not remain in their hands and the political instability in the state would turn dangerous if they do not agree for a separate state of Telangana. 5. For electoral gains the Congress at the centre was forced to agree for the formation of the Telangana state. 6. From the beginning, the regional ruling classes representing Seemandhra were relatively consolidated and stronger. So, they could influence the centre for a long period in delaying the formation. When they could no longer stall its formation they could influence the centre in taking pro-Seemandhra decisions regarding Hyderabad and the Polavaram project.

Telangana state came into existence. But what kind of a Telangana is it? This is a Telangana with Hyderabad as the common capital for the next ten years. Congress did not solve several issues and left lot of scope for further disputes to divide the people of the two states. The people of Telangana had aspired for a Telangana with their exclusive capital city and with several of the disputed issues regarding jobs, water and other resources, reimbursement of state loans, employees, etc resolved in a just manner. They did not get it. Now they have to fight for these just demands. Deciding Hyderabad as the common capital for ten years, construction of Polavaram dam and keeping in pending other major issues unresolved is part of the *Chanakya Neeti* of the Congress to stoke the fires in both the states and tighten its grip on them. This is even against the formal federal spirit of the constitution.

The ruling classes succeeded in creating a contentment among the Telangana people that somehow a state has been formed, whatever maybe its limitations. Now the Telangana parties are all engaged in electoral parleys and compromises. The CBB and imperialist corporations are making their moves behind curtains since a long time as to whom to bring to power to fulfill their agenda and interests in the two new states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. KCR talked of inviting financial capital from MNCs and CBB for development of Telangana and building satellite cities etc. He doesn't have any qualms in inviting investments from Seemandhra bourgeoisie. So also Seemandhra politicians are falling heads over heels to invite foreign and CBB capital for bigger projects than these.

Since the centre's announcement about the formation of Telangana state, our party's Central Regional Bureau and North Telangana Special Zonal Committee had been stating our stand consistently. During the first phase of the Separate Telangana movement in 1969, our party had formulated a clear political stand on this issue and worked for it. In the second and third phases our party played a major role in it. Right from the beginning, our party worked for the formation of a Telangana state by representing the interests of the vast masses - working class, peasantry, middle class, small and medium capitalists and the various oppressed social sections like Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities and women by mobilizing them. Our party united with all the forces working for statehood for Telangana and at the same time has exposed the compromising forces and strove to lead the movement in a militant manner. Those in power in the centre and the states to whatever parties or region they may have belonged, unleashed repression in a fascist manner this movement waged under the leadership of various democratic forces and our party. In the course of this struggle hundreds of students and youth have laid down their lives. In this entire period the state and the central governments launched offensives on us to suppress the armed agrarian revolution. Through this they also wanted to render the statehood movement for Telangana leaderless and prevent the development of this as a mighty mass movement with democratic demands. This caused severe loss to the statehood movement for Telangana.

The ruling classes are ignoring the demands brought forth by the democratic forces now with the formation of the state and are completely immersed in electoral politics. Even the Seemandhra leaders are concentrating on special packages, projects like Polavaram and on Hyderabad and are not putting forward any demands or program for the backward regions in that state. Central government announced a special package for five years for Seemandhra. BJP demanded that it be given for ten years for electoral gains and promised to approve the package if it is voted to power. The Congress and the BJP that are vying with each other for giving special packages for Seemandhra are not recognizing the need for such packages for the backward Telangana state. In Telangana too there is a need for special packages for the most backward Adivasi areas, drought hit areas like the backward Mahboobnagar district and specific measures to fulfill

the socio-economic and political demands of the religious minorities and Dalits.

When we look at the nature of the Separate Telangana movement and the composition of leading political forces in it, the formation of Telangana state would be mainly useful to the ruling classes in Telangana. When we keep in view the history and class interests of the parliamentary parties that would be coming to power in Telangana, their development models are nothing but obsolete. In these models, there is no basic difference from the previous regimes in not representing the interests of the vast masses. Though the future governments may bring in some eyewash reforms, people should not be satisfied. They should prepare themselves for a long drawn struggle with a clear program and strategy. Depending on the extent to which the people would go in fighting for their demands, they would be able to utilize the favorable conditions that would prevail with the formation of Telangana.

Regarding Seemandhra, our party opines that the democratic forces and organizations and the people there should agitate on clear democratic demands on socio-economic issues according to the democratic aspirations of the people.

The actual danger faced by the people of these two states now is – further opening of doors for the corporations – both domestic and foreign – for the loot of the resources and market in these two states. This danger is present due to the pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-landlord policies of the ruling classes in the two states. So unless the people of both the states realize this danger and fight against the state and central governments on socio, economic and political demands they would not be able to fulfill even their minimum demands. And it would even be difficult to turn these struggles into a movement to establish a genuine democratic, self-reliant, independent economic and political system.

Our party is giving a general call to the people of the two states to boycott the sham assembly and parliamentary elections as one of the steps towards realization of a democratic Telangana and a democratic Andhra Pradesh (Seemandhra). At the same time the people should put forward and agitate on their specific socio-economic, political demands including lifting ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary, democratic mass

organizations in both the states. Our party is calling upon the people of both states to support each other and unitedly fight for a new democratic state in our country that would guarantee the fulfillment of their interests in the true sense.

The Telangana people should not lose their alert in achieving their goals by losing themselves in the celebrations over winning the demand for a state. However, even in this state the political power would not lie with the people and would lie in the hands of parties like Congress, TDP, TRS and BJP that are the parties of the CBB and the landlords. With the formation of a separate Telangana state, there would be benefit to some extent regarding demands like end to discrimination, water and jobs. However the basic problems of the people would remain unsolved. These problems could be solved only when political power lies with the people. That is why, the people of Telangana should fight for their democratic demands. Some of the important among these demands should be:

1. Bitter struggle should be put up against making Hyderabad as the common capital, against construction of Polavaram project and against giving all the areas that would be submerged due to Polavaram project construction to Coastal Andhra. Both these are a Great Conspiracy of the central and the Seemandhra bourgeoisie that should be fought back by all the agitating forces of Telangana in a united manner.

2. Withdrawal of all cases on Telangana agitators; support to Telangana Martyrs' families; lifting of ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary and democratic mass organization, restoration of democratic rights and putting a stop to fake encounters; unconditional release of all political prisoners; withdrawal of all false cases on religious minorities; withdrawal of police camps in educational institutions; punishing the killers who murdered Telangana agitators and annulling of APSIB and greyhounds.

3. Implementation of genuine land reforms; the rights over lands occupied by the people as part of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggles should be handed over to the people; the government and assigned lands that were forcibly occupied by the bourgeoisie, landlords and political leaders should be seized and distributed to the urban poor.

4. The entry to imperialist and MNCs should be stopped. Polavaram, Pulichintala, open cast mines, Bayyaram mines, Kavval Tiger Project and SEZs that are displacing the people should be scrapped. All the MoUs signed with the CBB and MNCs regarding these projects should be scrapped. Along with public sector, small and medium scale industries should be encouraged. The rights of workers should be protected. Plans should be taken up for the self-development of the state.

5. The just share of water belonging to Telangana should be allotted and irrigation to peasantry and drinking water to the people should be provided.

6. Allotments for agricultural sector should be increased in the budget. Seeds, fertilizers and pesticides should be distributed free of cost to the peasants. Minimum support prices should be ensured. Electricity cuts should be done away with. Loans should be annulled. Loans without interest should be provided.

7. Lands should be distributed to all the landless Dalits. Dalits should be given protection from all kinds of attacks on them.

8. Religious minorities should be provided with reservations. Land should be distributed to the landless. Urdu should be given the status of second official language.

9. The 5th schedule of the constitution, PESA and 1/70 Act should be strictly implemented and Adivasis should be given rights to their *Jal, Jungle and Zameen*. The autonomy rights of Adivasis should be given recognition.

10. 50 percent reservation should be given to women in legislatives, education and employment. Women should be provided protection.

The Telangana people should continue the spirit of unity and determination that they displayed in the agitation for a separate state and should carry on the movement for the democratic aspirations of the people to be fulfilled in the rebuilding of the state of Telangana. They should coordinate this movement with the movements for solving their basic issues. Thus they should march forward determinedly in fulfilling the aims of the NDR. With agrarian revolution as the axis and the slogan of 'Land to the tiller', they should march forward in the liberation movement. The entire

people should come forward to make the NDR successful. This is a great opportunity for us. The bourgeois parties and their lackeys would attempt to take the people along the bourgeois parliamentary path, destroy their unity and continue their power and exploitation. Our party is giving a call to the entire people that they should march forward with their unity as the basis, fight back the conspiracies of Congress, TDP, BJP, TRS, YSR Congress party and also of the revisionist parties CPI and CPI (M) and advance the NDR. The Telangana agitators and organizations should preserve the successes of the people and carry on struggles on democratic demands in the new state of Telangana in a united manner. They should unite with the people of Andhra Pradesh and fight against their common enemies – imperialists, CBB and the landlord classes.

Q: The central government and some of the state governments had in the past proposed to conduct talks with your party. In the recent past too some Congress party leaders were seen proposing about Peace Talks on various forums either directly or indirectly. What is your party's stand regarding Peace Talks with the government?

A: We are not against Peace Talks with the government. The aim of Peace Talks should be genuine peace, and it should be a fruitful one. Peace Talks are an integral part of the political struggle between two conflicting camps. It is another form of political struggle, i.e., a peaceful one. But in reality, the ruling classes and their central and state governments are not for it. They are completely against it. They are playing a ploy as before. Their words do not match with their deeds in practice. They do not have any belief regarding political talks or political dialogues. The only thing they believe in is their military, paramilitary and police forces. The only thing they believe in is using their brute force and establishing graveyard peace in the society. But due to their erroneous policy in dealing with the civil war, the situation is becoming much more complex against their wishes. Whenever the people fight for their just rights and liberation and whenever the people intensify their struggle the ruling classes bring to the fore Peace Talks so that they can utilize it as a means to suppress the movement. In the name of Peace Talks they try to create confusions and illusions within the ranks and the people and make us lose our vigil or if we avoid talks then they try

to put a stamp on us that we are against peace. They try to isolate us from the people or utilize the talks to try to bring us “to our senses” by hook or crook. Our party is absolutely against such deceptive, insincere, aggressive Peace Talks proposals.

On the contrary, our party wishes to achieve genuine peace. Our party and the people ever since the Naxalbari peasant armed agrarian revolutionary movement to this day, for decades together had fought for the resolution of fundamental issues of the people and the country, i.e., genuine land reforms, democracy, self-reliant development model of economy-agriculture-industry and services, sovereignty and long-lasting peace for the progress and prosperity of our country. So, to conduct Peace Talks with a political movement successfully and with positive results, the governments should firstly recognize our movement as a political movement. It is necessary that they recognize this movement as a movement by the people of our country, as an internal movement and as a civil war. Then only there would be a possibility to at least conduct talks to solve issues that would help in resolving the fundamental issues in order to resolve this civil war. Any mention of Peace Talks in any other manner amounts only to wrong intentions and nothing else.

If one has to take a correct stand on the present proposal for talks from the ruling elite, we have to examine similar proposals put by the ruling classes to the communists in our country in the past. We have to see historically with what agenda they came forward with the proposal for talks and how they dealt with any political movement in the past led by the communist revolutionaries or national liberation organizations of Kashmir and the North East. What happened as a result of Talks with nationality movements? The experience of most of the nationality movements is negative due to the expansionist and fascist approach of the Indian ruling classes and the capitulation of the leadership who that led those movements. The talks did not resolve any issues raised by these movements. To this date these movements are still continuing in one form or the other.

What was the stand taken by the communist revolutionaries when the proposals for talks were put before them?

The first such instance was during the glorious Telangana armed peasant

revolutionary movement. The CBB and the landlord classes came to power in place of the British colonialists, and a fascist suppression campaign was being carried on by the Nehru-Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel army and thousands of peasants and peasant guerilla fighters were being butchered brutally when talks were held between the revolutionaries and the government. The aim of the government in these talks was to destroy the Telangana armed revolutionary movement by bending the revolutionaries. However as basic issues like genuine land reforms, people's democracy and issues brought forth by the Telangana armed struggle remained unsolved, the glorious Naxalbari peasantry took up arms and fought to resolve the same. A glorious armed peasant rebellion erupted and it spread like prairie fire to all the corners of our country with a correct perspective, program and strategy etc in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM).

After Indira's fascist rule ended, leaders of various rightist ML groups milled around the Janata Party that came to power with the slogan of restitution of democratic rights, for talks. The Talks of those days paved the way for these groups to enter electoral politics and were used to get some of their leaders and cadres released but only after they gave shameful undertakings. Our party had openly opposed and criticized such capitulationist policy and getting bogged down in electoral politics. At that time, the functioning of Bhargava Commission that was formed by the Janata party government for enquiring into false encounter killings was stopped midway by the ruling classes, putting into the dustbin the slogans on which it came to power. And it was on such a government that these groups had such illusions. They did not understand the class nature of the ruling classes and also failed in assessing the concrete political condition at that time. Such groups gradually disappeared from the scene of revolution. Again the revolutionary movement erupted in an upsurge in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar with its basic program, all the while fighting back state repression. The movement extended to some more areas in our country.

In AP, once in 1990 immediately after Chenna Reddy came to power, once in 1996 during Chandrababu Naidu's rule when repression was intensified to unprecedented levels and later on certain occasions proposals for Talks came to the fore either from the governments intellectuals or other quarters. However, the then state governments intensified repression

and did not show any inclination for talks. Rajasekhar Reddy came to power in 2004 with the agenda of conducting Talks with the Maoists. He came forth for Talks after making all preparations for launching an offensive campaign on us in fascist methods and with a plan for an unprecedented intensification of repression. After one round of talks the government shamelessly stopped the Talks process midway. It did not even let its delegation to officially sign on behalf of the state government on the agenda decided between the delegations of both sides. The YSR government feared the interest shown by the vast masses towards our party and ideology and the rallying of people towards the agenda brought forth by our party and immediately resorted to an offensive on our party. Along with fake encounters severe repression was unleashed all over the state. Thus it sabotaged the Talks process. Seeing the positive response among the various sections of people towards the Talks the government brought forth the demand midway that Maoists should abandon arms and it did not implement the ceasefire even for a single day in the period decided by both sides. The government did not have the aim of discussing on the agenda put forward by our party. Its aim was to disarm the party and make it surrender. Soon after the crooked ploy ended, the AP police brutally killed comrade Riaz, a member of the Maoist parties' delegation. This was the first bitter experience for our party in conducting Peace Talks. This is an example of the real intentions of the ruling classes and their imperialist masters in Peace Talks.

The UPA led by the Congress came to power for the second time and launched the first phase of the War on People – the Operation Green Hunt. Simultaneously it brought forth the proposal for Peace Talks at central level through its Home Ministry and Congress senior leaders directly and indirectly. People like Swami Agnivesh directly entered the arena for facilitating Talks. On the one hand, the central government brought forth the proposal for Talks with Maoist leadership and on the other hand it either killed the top leadership of our party in fake encounters or arrested them and put them in jails. Our CC was to discuss and reach a final decision on Talks but before that comrade Azad, our Politburo member was caught and killed in a fake encounter in July 2010. This murder exposed the conspiracy of the ruling classes behind the proposal for Peace Talks. It became clear as daylight that Manmohan Singh government was not ready for Talks except to deceive.

Even while the OGH was being further intensified, some ministers like the home minister and some Congress top leaders parroted about Peace Talks some times. Apart from brutally killing another PBM of our party comrade Kishenji, several of our top leaders were arrested and put in jails. In Bengal too, Mamta Banerji talked about peace before she came to power. Once in power, it did not take many days for her real face to get exposed. Massacres of common people, fake encounters, loot, destruction and all kinds of atrocities on women became the daily routine of the state forces in Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Maharashtra. When Chidambaram was the home minister and after Shinde took over, both of them and the home secretaries had been declaring openly that there was no question for Peace Talks unless Maoists abandon arms and that the Maoists would not come for talks unless their backbone is broken that is, unless their top leadership is wiped out. They declared that only the government forces have the right to carry arms and even said that the law does not allow conduct of Talks with a banned organization.

From the beginning, the aim of the ruling classes in conducting Peace Talks is either disarming Maoists as a precondition for talks or disarming the Maoists as a result of Talks. The government has been asking the Maoists to come into mainstream and that it would rehabilitate them. It declared that if the Maoists put forward the grievances of the people, it would consider and solve those that are possible to be solved. To be precise, all proposals for Peace Talks from the ruling classes are nothing but humbug.

Now once again direct and indirect proposals for Peace Talks are coming from the Congress leaders. On the other hand, every kind of preparation for another big offensive-OGH-3rd phase is being concluded that includes further involvement of army and Air Force apart from deployment of paramilitary and Special Forces numbering around 4 lakhs all over the country at present (they have already built up carpet security like in Kashmir in every stronghold of our movement and at every strategic point of movement of our forces). Consolidation and expansion of carpet security and construction of hundreds of attack-proof police stations/camps and dozens of aerodromes and helipads is being done at a rapid pace all over the country in our movement areas. Expanding intelligence network in rural areas, expanding communication network, setting up several dozens of training

centres for Special Forces, importing most advanced weaponry and weapon systems, intensifying psychological operations utilizing corporate media and increase in the strategic role of paramilitary, Air Force and Army is being done at an unprecedented level. Vast tracts of rural areas have been transformed into big concentration camps. In all of these areas, there is no civil administration on ground. It is only a police/paramilitary dictated administration. Repression on mass organizations and mass movements including murders of its leaders is on. Large number of our central leaders and several hundreds of party cadres up to the lower levels were put in jails. They are languishing since several years in prisons without any justice. The government forces are intensifying and expanding cordon and search operations in our movement areas on a daily basis. Their model for dealing with Maoists is the Saranda model. This is a model that follows in the footsteps of Hitler's Nazi Germany.

The central and state governments had been making all the above preparations on the one hand and on the other hand, some Congress leaders and some chief ministers have been putting forward proposals for Peace Talks even while doing all this at the ground level. In such a backdrop, at present our stand towards Peace Talks would be as follows:

1. The government should accept that ours is a political movement of this country. Its program concerns our people and our country. Our party is the vanguard of this just movement. We are leading a national democratic revolution to resolve the fundamental problems before the people and the country which are the reason for the origin and continuation of our movement. Hence, our main agenda is genuine land reforms, democracy, self-reliant development model of economy-agriculture-industry and services and sovereignty and long-lasting peace to develop the country. So they have to understand and recognize the root cause for this movement and if they wish to fulfill the interests of the people they would have to accept that our movement is an internal conflict and a civil war according to international laws also. Only then can Peace Talks be conducted in a genuine manner and be productive. Democratic organizations, progressive intellectuals and the people should understand this clearly and strive for peace.

2. Ban on the CPI (Maoist) and revolutionary, democratic mass

organizations in our country should be lifted and attacks on their leaders and activists should stop.

3. Judicial enquiry should be conducted on Comrade Riaz's murder and the culprits should be punished. The killers who murdered comrade Azad who was involved in the Talks process should be arrested and punished.

4. Government forces that are carrying on loot, destruction, mayhem, atrocities on women and massacres in rural areas and killing of mass organization leaders in urban areas flouting international, national laws and agreements should be stopped from doing so. Judicial enquiry should be conducted on all these incidents.

5. In order to preserve our leadership from the conspiracies of the ruling classes to decimate our party leadership one more time in the name of Talks, all veteran comrades in prisons should be released by lifting all false cases on them or on bails. They should be allowed to meet our CC to facilitate deciding on a team to participate in the dialogue with the government.

I appeal to all the democratic organizations and individuals to understand our party's stand regarding Talks for establishment of genuine peace. If a conducive atmosphere as we propose for conduct of Peace Talks is established from the government, we would participate in it.

On this occasion, I appeal to the democratic organizations and individuals to build a movement to force the government to stop the unjust state offensive on revolutionary and democratic organizations, to demand that they be allowed to function and to demand a stop to all extra-judicial killings, fake encounters, destruction, loot, sexual atrocities on women etc in the rural areas and killings of mass organization leaders in urban areas.

Q: Your party comrades had recently killed two journalists Nemichand Jain and Sai Reddy in Bastar. This is in contradiction with your party's stand on journalists. Similarly, in Jharkhand your party comrades planted an IED as a booby trap in the body of a CRPF jawan who died in your PLGA attack. Do these not deserve a clear explanation from your Central Committee?

A: The incident of Nemichand Jain (a stringer of *Haribhoomi*, *Nayi Duniya* and *Dainik Bhaskar*) on 12 February, 2013 is worrying. Our CC also expresses its sincere regret on this. Our party's South Regional Committee (SRC) of Dandakaranya had given a statement explaining the reasons behind it and expressing its regret. DKSZC secretary comrade Ramanna had responded on this once again in an interview he gave on October 10, 2013 and expressed his regret. He stated, "This was a result of wrong assessment and sectarian approach of the concerned Area Committee of our party. I express my deep regrets regarding this. On behalf of our SZC I send my deep condolences to Nemichand Jain's family and his friends. Our party had already openly apologized for this."

On December 6, 2013 correspondent Sai Reddy of Hindi daily *Deshbandhu* and a resident of Bijapur was killed by our comrades. Our party's South Regional Committee (SRC) of Dandakaranya had given a statement on December 10 defending the killing. Immediately after this, local media and the media in Raipur condemned this killing and had decided to impose a ban on publishing any statements from our party. National and international journalists and media organizations also condemned the killing. On December 27, PUDR condemned this incident citing Article 79 of Protocol I of Geneva Convention (1949). A 16-member team of journalists took protest rally in our movement areas of Bastar from 26th to 31st January, 2014 and on the last day held a press meet in Bijapur.

Recently our Dandakaranya SZC had reviewed the Sai Reddy incident and all these developments. For about two decades Sai Reddy had been taking up anti-people and anti-movement activities even while being a journalist. So the party's South Bastar Divisional Committee (DVC) decided to punish him and accordingly a PLGA unit attacked his house once. But he escaped in that attack. In 2008 he was arrested by the Chhattisgarh police under Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act on a false accusation that he was a Maoist supporter and put him in jail for one year. However there were other reasons for his arrest. But with this arrest his image turned into one who opposed the government. In this backdrop the DVC stalled the decision to punish him. However this decision was not passed on to the lower ranks properly. As a result, this happened. The DKSZC reviewed that the SRC should have responded without delay in the Nemichand Jain

incident and that the SRC defending the killing of Sai Reddy is not correct.

Regarding military actions and particularly regarding journalists, employees and professionals etc when any of them gets involved in anti-people activities or turns into an enemy of the movement and the people, the policy and guidelines formulated by the CC dictate that every unit of our party and the PLGA must adhere to them and follow class line and mass line in such instances. The DKSZC decided to release a letter to the PUDR and the media giving explanation on the Sai Reddy incident. In the past, when our South Bastar DVC decided to punish him, we should have informed the media organizations, journalists and the media houses he worked for, about his anti-people activities.

Even though our policy is correct, rarely some errors are occurring in practice. However, our CC feels that the local media and the media in Raipur deciding to impose a ban on publishing any statements from our party is not correct. We feel that democratic organizations should give attention to this undemocratic attitude of the media too.

The incident on January 8, 2013 in Latehar where an IED was placed in the body of a slain CRPF jawan is also worrying. After the launch of OGH the ruling classes have resorted to every kind of brutality against the people in the most heinous manner. When the state forces use their superior strength and inflict serious damages to the revolutionary movement, the people and the people's guerillas are forced to function under intense conditions. Every opportunity to resist the state forces should be utilized by them. In this course, due to lack of experience, due to lack of knowledge about the norms, rules and regulations regarding war/s that are prevalent in the world, our people and our fighters are taking up some actions which are not acceptable even to our supporters. Such instances are paining the well-wishers of the revolution and pro-people forces and they are asking that such incidents be avoided. On the other hand, such mistakes are not only being used by the state to intensify its psychological war but also by its apologists to make mountains out of mole hills and to attack the Maoist movement as a whole.

Whatever maybe the arguments of the ruling classes, the ongoing war in our country is nothing but a civil war. The party which is leading it for

building a new society and the people's army, how much ever maybe the pressure under which we are working in the midst of war, should choose the appropriate forms of struggle to fight against the enemy. When seen from such a point of view, though such mistakes are occurring rarely, it is very much necessary to avoid them. When weapons like IEDs are planted with the aim of inflicting damages to the enemy forces, any methods that have the possibility of causing damage to the people and those who are not directly participating in the war like employees in civil administration, medical personnel and civilians should be avoided.

In general, according to our party's policy, we should not behave in an abusive manner with the enemy forces who surrender to us or are arrested by us. The Latehar instance did not happen as part of treating the dead bodies of enemy soldiers in a disrespectful manner. However we should not let such incidents repeat. The enemy forces are behaving in the most inhuman, callous and disrespectful manner towards the dead bodies of our comrades and the people as their general norm. In all societies all over world dead bodies are treated with certain respect. So we instruct our cadres that they should treat the bodies of slain enemy soldiers keeping this in view. On behalf of our CC, I appeal to our party and our PLGA comrades that this incident should be taken as a lesson and our party policy should be implemented.

Q: The spokesperson of your party's Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee GVK Prasad (Gudsa Usendi) surrendered to the police recently. How would you explain this?

A: DKSZC member GVK Prasad along with a DVC level cadre Santoshi Markam @ Jaini left DK and surrendered before the AP police on January 8, 2014. He is familiar as Gudsa Usendi, the spokesperson of the DKSZC not only to our party but also to all supporters of our movement and to several others who follow in the media about our party. The AP, DK cadre and people and the cadre and people of our various movement areas of the country know why such degenerated elements surrender. Their surrender was strictly condemned and severely hated by them. Even though it is a loss to our movement, this would not last long. The number of those who worked in our party central and state committees and later surrendered to

the enemy is limited. However, there is no doubt that his surrender has done damage to the party as he was in the state level leadership position. After they surrendered to the enemy, our party's DKSZC Secretary Comrade Ramanna gave a statement condemning it and explaining the reasons for his surrender. This was covered extensively in the media. The politically degenerated Prasad responded to this statement with utter lies. All his arguments are completely wrong. The reasons he showed for their surrender are unpardonable not only in their case but in case of any leadership of that rank.

Since 2010 the countrywide counter-revolutionary offensive of the enemy and armed suppression campaign intensified on our movement. In this offensive, the party leadership and the movement suffered serious losses. Particularly, the DK movement which was advancing became the focal point of the enemy offensive and it was facing a tough situation. Under such circumstances, he was directly responsible for guiding the Manpur Division movement that was facing a more complex situation. Due to this, his old weakness of political vacillation arose again. He over-estimated the enemy's supremacy, felt fear and lost his self-confidence. In fact, though he surrendered before the enemy in January, his political degeneration took a shape since the end of 2012. The recognition he got as the spokesperson of DKSZC was due to the significance of DK movement but he thought it was due to his own talent and became arrogant and egoistic. Due to this, he was scathing while criticizing others and was liberal towards his own mistakes and weaknesses.

He failed to look at phenomena in a dialectical manner. So he looked only at the intensity of the enemy offensive and the temporary upper hand of the enemy and ignored the laws of social development and the revolutionary role of the oppressed people in this. He refused to look at the present favorable revolutionary situation in our country and the world and the strong points of the revolutionary movement, lost self-confidence and ultimately lost confidence on the movement itself. He degenerated ideologically and politically, was not ready for sacrifice, left the party and bent his knees before the enemy. This is treachery towards the revolution.

Our party examines every aspect in the society, in the party and inside

every member in the party and likewise it also examines those individuals who had worked in the party and degenerated – all from a Marxist point of view. In every comrade working in the party, including the leaders, there is always present some positive and negative aspects - revolutionary ones, strengths and good qualities and non-revolutionary ones, along with weaknesses, shortcomings and limitations. Nobody is exception to these. The positive aspects serve the revolution and the negative ones harm it. However, these maybe present relatively in varying degrees in different comrades. As long as the good-strong aspects are principal inside an individual he/she continue to work in the party. If in an individual negative aspects become principal he/she does not last for long in the party. In every person, a continuous internal struggle goes on between the positive and negative aspects. Every person should fight consciously to get rid of the negative aspects and thus strengthen the positive aspects. Only then they would be able to serve the revolution and the people further. This struggle should be carried on inside every individual, in every party unit and in the entire party continuously. Failure, neglect, delay and lack of vigilance in this internal struggle would weaken the party, the party units and the individuals in the party. According to the level and degree of this weakness the party and the movement would be negatively affected in proportion.

To be precise, every party member, particularly every member of all leading committees inside the party should fight against their non-proletarian ideological and political trends, weaknesses, mistakes and shortcomings. When they are not able to overcome these when they are present at a lesser degree, there is every possibility for these to aggravate. If anyone fails to rectify serious shortcomings, there is always a danger of political degeneration. Then they will either run away or be thrown away. Our party opines that this is an integral part of the ongoing class struggle inside the society.

Though Prasad worked in the movement as a professional revolutionary since 1985, he had two main weaknesses in his long revolutionary life. First, he vacillated politically during some critical junctures when the enemy repression intensified on the movement and it faced new dangers and challenges; second, he had petty-bourgeois anarchic notions regarding man-woman relations. The party helped him in overcoming these two weaknesses

inside him and he too accepted and had tried to overcome them. In that course he could serve the revolution too. However, he failed in correcting the past weaknesses continuing in him. In the new conditions too he failed in continuing more severe internal struggle on himself to overcome his weaknesses and ultimately degenerated and surrendered before the enemy.

Q: Recently the central government filed an affidavit in the Supreme Court that Maoist ideologues are more dangerous than Maoist guerillas and that those intellectuals who support them and build support for them are more dangerous. How do you respond to this?

A: This was done with the sole aim of suppressing every just dissent and movement against the ruling class policies. This is to suppress the aspirations and demands of vast masses, to damage all opportunities to express them, to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic ideas by curtailing fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, freedom of association, freedom of movement and freedom to agitate. This is done to isolate the people's struggles in rural areas to crush them. This is to prevent the protest that is increasing against their evil rule in society from taking a consolidated form. This is to prevent the spread of revolutionary and democratic ideas in the name of suppressing Maoist ideology. On the other hand they want to spread imperialist and feudal ideas such as autocracy, selfishness, deception, consumerism, sexism/patriarchy, Brahminical casteism, religious jingoism and treachery. All these serve retrogressive class interests. This is an excuse for implementing the existing draconian laws and to formulate new ones. This is part of the psy-war carried on by the ruling classes on the revolutionary and democratic movements. This is also to dent the solidarity and support movement of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist and democratic organizations and individuals all over the world for the PPW led by our party. The ruling classes are terrified by the great support we are getting from the parties, organizations and the oppressed people and intellectuals of our country and other countries. So the ruling classes have done this to prevent the revolutionary movement from getting such support from the world people. This was done to isolate the Maoist movement from other democratic and progressive movements and elements in our country and world over.

Our party condemns this strongly and appeals to one and all to condemn this fascist attitude of the government. We appeal to all democratic organizations, intellectuals, journalists, media persons, lawyers and judges to condemn this in no uncertain terms and unite to fight this back. This is a question of fundamental rights and not just something concerned with Maoist guerillas or their ideologues. Our party opines that this is a question of whether we should agitate for a genuine democracy in our country or accept autocracy.

Q: The UPA-2 government led by Manmohan Singh as soon as it came to power launched the Operation Green Hunt by labeling your movement as the gravest threat to internal security of our country. It has been five years since. What do you think is the reason for this offensive? How do you plan to fight this back?

A: Firstly, Manmohan labeling us as ‘the gravest threat’ is rubbish. In fact, neither we nor our PLGA have descended from the skies. This is a people’s war waged by millions of people of our country and their army- the PLGA, under the leadership of the CPI(Maoist) against the ruling classes and their state to build a new democratic society. We reiterate that ours is a national democratic revolution. The unjust war imposed on us, on our people is the war which is being waged for the interests of a few. We are not at all a threat to our people. In fact, the ruling classes are the ‘gravest threat’ to the people of our country. That is why, all the democratic, civil rights organizations in our country and the world are describing OGH as a ‘War on People’ and demanding its immediate withdrawal.

Though there are several reasons for the Indian ruling classes to impose this war on us, we feel there are two main reasons for this. The national democratic revolutionary program proposed by us to the people is gaining countrywide recognition as the alternative to their pro-imperialist, pro-CBB, pro-big landlord policies. That is why, our party, our PLGA and our Revolutionary People’s Committees (RPCs) are gaining recognition among revolutionary and democratic forces and the oppressed masses. The vast masses who are fed up with the anti-people, regressive policies of the governments are severely opposing them. Their anger and discontent are developing to the extent of submerging the ruling classes. In such

circumstances, they are afraid that our revolutionary movement is developing and that it would shake their very foundations. That is why, the ruling classes have shamelessly violated all domestic and international laws and intensified fascist repression. The second reason is - the Indian ruling classes collaborated with the imperialists and are selling out our country to them. Joining hands with them, they are looting the natural riches and labor power of our people. After the economy of our country has been completely transformed to the needs of the world market in the name of so-called development, the economy of our country is retrogressing. Along with the needs of the imperialist capital, its crisis is also increasing. As the pressure of the MNCs is increasing on the comprador rulers to implement the MoUs they signed to loot our natural resources and markets of our country, the repressive offensives are also intensifying.

When the Indian ruling classes launched OGH, they carried on the offensive saying that they would wipe out our movement within five to seven years. It is true that they could inflict serious losses on our movement. But they had to face the bitter resistance of our people and our PLGA in this period. It has been exposed as never before that the government is deploying on its own people even the Army that should be on the borders, that it is carrying on an unjust war and that this is a war being carried on for the interests of the comprador and imperialist bandits. In a people's war, it is very crucial that it becomes clear as to which side represents which classes and whose interests. How many ever maybe our difficulties in this war, as far as this war is concerned, we give utmost importance to this aspect becoming clear, i.e., the class interests represented by our people's war and those represented by the counter-revolutionary war. The fact that they could not wipe out the movement in the past five years in itself is a proof that the nature of this war does not allow them to conclude it as they wish.

Since the days of the Telangana armed peasant rebellion where PPW began to take a shape, we learnt many lessons and later developed our strategy and tactics. Depending on it we made our PPW wider and deeper. Along with losses and setbacks we have also witnessed the movement learning several lessons and developing. Brute force, unjust war and fascist rule can never win forever. Our party is not only learning from our own

mistakes, failures and defeats but also from the revolutionary experiences of the oppressed masses of the world, particularly of the successful and failed revolutions of the world and is trying to make the NDR in our country successful. By utilizing favorable conditions for the revolution to mobilize the vast masses into the revolutionary war and by carrying on active resistance against the enemy forces by creatively applying our general political line and the strategy and tactics of PPW, we can march forward successfully. That is why, we, meaning the party, PLGA and the vast oppressed masses would face the enemy in spite of having to face immense difficulties and having to make huge sacrifices, would fight resolutely and emerge victorious in this war. However long drawn it may be, how many ever may be the twists and turns it goes through and how many ever maybe the thorns in its path, the PPW is invincible. We are very confident that our glorious people are ready for this long drawn battle to crush the treacherous Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters on this very soil of our great country.

