

people to the level of antagonism and make them kill each other.

d) Consolidating the state mechanism through administrative reforms: A weak state mechanism cannot implement the LIC strategy. To implement the reforms, to have a hold on the people, to face revolutionary propaganda and organization they need a mechanism. So consolidating the state mechanism before implementing LIC strategy is a must for the imperialists.

e) Enacting black laws, preparing the judiciary: Stopping revolutionary propaganda by enacting draconian repressive laws, controlling the sympathizers and the activists of mass organizations with these laws. Similarly the judges also take the side of the LIC and give severe punishments to the revolutionaries, they are molded to give judgments which are favorable to the exploiting classes. Forming fast track courts in contradiction to the normal judicial procedure and giving punishments quickly, carrying on secret trials instead of trials in open court rooms.

f) Trying for unity between the ruling classes: Though the ruling classes clash to the point of killing in other issues, they should speak and act the same in the matter of revolutionary movements. The imperialists try to bring such unity among the ruling classes in all ways possible. Whenever a big incident happens we know the political parties of the ruling classes give a statement to the effect 'we must react to this by rising above politics'.

g) In the cultural sphere: Abusing all resources to develop the bourgeois culture and to distract the revolutionary culture and values.

There are LIC tactics other than the ones mentioned above, in many matters. The ones mentioned here are implemented in almost all countries generally.

## **2. Organizational Tactics:**

For the implementation of any strategy we need necessary structures. Without structures the strategy remains on paper. Right from the highest policy making bodies at the top to the lower level, policies can only be implemented if there are particular structures for them. Usually the following organizational changes are made.

- a) The LIC policy making body
- b) The structure to implement LIC tactics
- c) Coordinating structures

**LIC is**  
**The latest Counter-Insurgency**  
**Doctrine of the Imperialists !**  
**Defeat LIC through**  
**Protracted People's War !!**

**December 2008**

**Central Committee**  
**CPI (Maoist)**

enter the war with all paraphernalia they are strong tactically. That is why Com. Mao taught us that the imperialists are paper tigers strategically but should be viewed as real tigers tactically. Since particular tactics are formulated according to the particular conditions we are mentioning only a few general tactics here. It would be easier to study if they are divided as follows:

1. Political Tactics
2. Organizational Tactics
3. Military Tactics

### **1. Political Tactics:**

There are many kinds of tactics in this starting from ideological attacks to erecting opposing political movements etc.

- a) Ideological attacks
- b) Bad propaganda
- c) Breaking the unity of the people
- d) Consolidating the administrative mechanism
- e) Enacting black laws, preparing the judiciary
- f) Bringing unity between various political parties (unity between the ruling classes)
- g) In the cultural sphere

a) Ideological attacks: Propagating that Marxism is outdated and capitalism is permanent, flattering the nationality movements for their unity etc are there in this.

b) Bad propaganda: Launching a huge mud slinging campaign against the revolutionaries using the electronic and print media in their control. They are given various names like anti to development, terrorists, distractive forces, violence forces, traitors, bandits etc. They exaggerate their own activities and development programmes and propagate them widely.

c) Breaking the unity of the people: The unity of the people is broken using various methods. They divide the people from the village level to the country level using matters of nationality, caste, class and religion. They make the persons who benefited from their 'reforms' to stand against the total interests of the people. They increase the contradictions between the

# Contents

When is this possible? We have to understand thoroughly the proletarian war strategy of people's war and implement it. For that we have to analyze the social system properly. We must be able to recognize the class nature of the enemy. We have to find out what strategy the enemy is developing to oppose the proletarian ideological, political and organizational line. We have to continuously study that strategy and deploy our forces accordingly. Only then can we implement the people's war strategy.

We cannot advance the class struggle even one step if we just know the general principles. We have to apply the principles to the real life conditions. Not just that. To realize these guiding principles we have to build some concrete methods and structures necessary. If the politics we have stood by and the aims we have proclaimed in our writings and speeches can be converted into practice through strong structures and proletarian will of steel we can get excellent results.

We have to monitor at the right time how the enemy is applying every point in the LIC strategy to the concrete conditions and analyze their impact deeply and then formulate the strategy in opposition to it to defeat them. The revolutionary movement would suffer serious losses if vigilance is lost here. It could be temporarily defeated too.

For e.g. let's take the matter of 'winning the hearts and minds' of the people. In fact, the exploiting classes can never win the hearts and minds of the whole or the majority of the population. It would be possible only if they give up exploitation and oppression. So whose hearts do they want to win? They want to serve the economic, political and social interests of a section of the population and use them as the social base to stabilize their exploitation and oppression. If this is not observed at the right time and dealt with, the imperialists can take the contradictions between people to a high degree and can even provoke a civil war. If we are alert we can make the people fight against the imperialists in a united manner. The imperialists and the exploiting classes are the donkeys in the story 'Donkey in a tiger's skin'. People would know that it is not a tiger only when it is beaten with a stick. If we do not beat it would continue masquerading as a tiger for a long time and create terror.

**iv) LIC tactics**

Since the imperialists and the comprador rulers who are their lackeys

<b>Foreword</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>I. LIC - Strategy &amp; Tactics</b>	<b>7</b>
i) What is meant by LIC?	9
ii) How do we understand LIC?	10
iii) LIC Strategy	12
iv) LIC Tactics	14
<b>II. Development of Counter-Revolutionary War in India</b>	<b>22</b>
A) Counter-Insurgency Warfare of British imperialists in India	22
B) Counter insurgency Warfare of Ruling classes post 1947	32
i) North East	32
ii) Kashmir	47
iii) Punjab	50
iv) The new methods followed in North East, Kashmir & Punjab	53
C) Counter Revolutionary Warfare by Indian Ruling Classes:	56
i) Great Telangana Struggle	56
ii) Counter insurgency strategy implemented to counter Naxalbari movement (1967-1972)	64
iii) The counter-insurgency strategy adopted by the enemy against the Maoist Movement	72
<b>III. Future Strategy and Tactics of Indian Ruling Classes - Counter Strategy and Tactics of Our Party</b>	<b>99</b>
<b>Reference Books</b>	<b>127</b>

run by CIA were built according to which principles of International law? Though millions people all over the world had opposed why did the US attack Iraq? If we go on writing the list would fill a whole volume.

So LIC strategy cannot be understood by the LIC manuals alone. We will understand it when we look at the exploitation and oppression of the world by the imperialists. We will understand it when we look at their aggressive wars, intrusion policies and counter-revolutionary wars. We will understand it when we look at the political, economic and military operations (steps?) it is following to implement the LPG policies. In essence we will be able to understand the LIC strategy clearly only by understanding imperialism.

The social, economic, political and military conditions of any two countries in the world are not the same. Every country has its own peculiarities. Similarly even in one country the conditions are different in different regions. So the exploiting classes in those countries decide how to implement the LIC strategy according to the total conditions in their countries under the guidance of the imperialists. They apply the general principles of LIC according to the concrete conditions there. So we need not discuss the strategy and tactics of LIC just in the order written in the American LIC manual. We have to examine the general principles of LIC with Marxist viewpoint. In opposition to it we have to formulate the revolutionary war strategy and tactics.

**Aim of LIC:** Defeating the just wars and winning the unjust wars of the imperialists. Stabilizing the political rule of the imperialists.

Since it is a strategy formulated in opposition to the people's war strategy the main features in it are as follows:

1. Conducting military, social, economic, political and psychological wars in co-ordination
2. Winning the hearts and minds of the people.
3. Using intelligence as a strategic weapon
4. Special Forces

In any war the victory is ultimately decided by the strategic strength in that war. That is why people's wars start with nothing and by gaining one thing after another, finally win the war. Imperialists start war with all paraphernalia. They lose everything one after another and finally lose the war.

# FOREWORD

liberation struggles, revolutionary struggles, resistance struggles – brutally by the imperialists is the aim of LIC strategy. So we can describe LIC as the cruelest counter-revolutionary war strategy of the imperialists.

## iii) LIC Strategy

LIC is the political, military war strategy formulated by the imperialists especially the American imperialists to suppress brutally all just wars in the world i.e the nationality liberation wars and the revolutionary wars. This is the strategy of an unjust war. This is the cruelest counter-revolutionary war strategy.

Since this is a strategy designed for the global hegemony of American imperialists it helps in protecting their interests. Similarly it ultimately helps in continuing the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists as its principles are used by other imperialist countries and the ruling classes of third world countries.

The American imperialists have written a LIC manual to give an understanding of LIC to its military and para military forces, administration and for the military and para military forces of the exploiting classes in other countries and their administrations and to conduct the operations properly. They are making additions to it with the experiences gained time and again. There is a lot of difference between the manuals of 1981 and 1996. Whatever may be the differences we can never understand the LIC strategy fully just by studying the manuals. Because the imperialists have not written their actual aims and real strategies in them. Some are written but they are either partial or misleading. For e.g. they wrote that the reason for the start of revolution in a country should be analyzed i.e. whether it is imperialism, aggression, exploitation or oppression and that it should be solved. Does this mean that the imperialists would end imperialism? Will the exploiters put an end to exploitation? Will the aggressor wage war on aggression? So it is clear that whatever analysis they make is to formulate plans as to what reforms are to be taken up to mislead the people according to the severity of the problems.

Even saying that they should follow the principles of International law is equally ridiculous! It is like the devils reciting Vedas. These principles were written to protect from the imperialists. But no other country else had violated them like the imperialists. According to which principle of International law was the Abu Ghraib jail built? The many secret jails and concentration camps

just a special kind of warfare. It is not just diverting all military sources of America to wipe out the revolutionary wars in the third world countries but deploying forces with more determination in this big war.

The basis for LIC is counter- revolutionary war strategy. After the experiences of Cuba revolution and South Vietnam in 1960s, the economic aid, psychological war and security operations formulated for South America were added to the counter-revolutionary war strategy and LIC was formulated.

“The reasons to emerge revolutions are not related to militarily” says the American military Secretary John Yarm. So, its meaning is waging ‘low level total war’ with unconventional, economic, diplomatic, psychological and coercion methods. It should be understood as a total war on the social base of a country. Though they had written in LIC that only the puppet government armies should be deployed primarily and the necessary military, technical help, training in new methods of warfare and co-operation should be given and team of war advisors should be formed, we should not forget it will directly resort to the severest attacks if necessary.

Implementing LIC strategy is like a juggler juggling with four balls. The military ball should be tossed first. Then immediately one after the other the social, economic and political balls should be tossed. Once the balls are in the air all of them will have the same significance. The performance is a success only when all four of them are tossed with the same concentration. One has to do the same in LIC.

The aim of the imperialists is not to occupy the land in the semi colonies through LIC. Suppressing the revolutionary movements there, gradually winning the hearts and minds of the people with reforms all the while hiding behind the backs of the local puppet regimes is their aim. If the imperialists are not to be in danger, then they have to suppress all the class and nationality wars – this is their aim. They are ready to go to any length to do this.

The bourgeois and landlord classes of the backward countries who kowtow to the imperialists make changes in the state machinery in accordance with the LIC strategy. Though the features in the LIC strategy are mainly for the sake of American imperialists, most of them are applied by the rulers of the countries where LIC is being implemented according to their circumstances. The imperialists guide them in conducting war.

Crushing all the just wars conducted all over the world – the nationality

2. Medium Intensity Conflicts

3. Low Intensity Conflicts

**1. High Intensity Conflicts:** When a war breaks out all over the world or many countries in an area get involved it is called High Intensity Conflict. The First and Second World Wars come under this. In the High Intensity Conflicts conventional warfare is followed and nuclear weapons are also used.

**2. Medium Intensity Conflicts:** When war breaks between two countries or between countries in a area and if it is conventional warfare without use of nuclear weapons then it is called Medium Intensity Conflict. E.g. the war between Iran and Iraq.

**3. Low Intensity Conflicts:** All kinds of non-conventional wars like guerilla war, revolutionary wars, nationality liberation struggles, counter-insurgency, war on terrorists, wars on drug mafia etc.

Pentagon did not make this division based just on the level of violence used. This division was made broadly to know in what environment the war is being fought and what different civil, military action processes should be used in that kind of environment.

Some people are arguing that counter-revolutionary wars should not be known as LIC. It may be LIC to the intruders but to those fighting resistance wars they are full scale wars. When all resources of the country are diverted to it and a huge population participates in it, how it can be low intensity conflict for them, they argue. Similarly the war which started as low intensity conflict can immediately transform into medium intensity or high intensity conflict. This is highly possible in the Persian Gulf region. The American analysts feel that since modern high tech conventional weapons are easily available LIC can turn into medium conflicts immediately.

But military analysts are saying that though LIC is claimed to be a war of all seasons, in essence it is counter-revolutionary theory.

## ii) How do we understand LIC?

LIC is a war strategy formulated as part of the American imperialist scheme for world hegemony. It starts with counter-revolutionary war and takes up various political and military actions. They can be either overt actions or covert actions. For the American rulers and other war planners, LIC is not

# I. LIC - Strategy and Tactics

This is a low intensive or low conflict war strategy. It is the most cruel counter-revolutionary war strategy formulated by the American imperialists for hegemony of the world. There is decades old blood soaked history of American imperialists behind the development of the strategy to this level. From Philippines at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to Nicaragua in the 1930s it conducted counter-revolutionary wars in the third world countries. In 1946, counter-revolutionary war strategy was implemented in the name of 'Truman theory' in Greece.

In the Second World War the war operations conducted in the rear area of the enemy in the name of 'Special Operations' were reorganized under the National Security Act in 1947 and brought under CIA supervision. In later years CIA conducted many para-military actions in Europe, Middle East, South Asia and Latin American countries. When Eisenhower was the president of United States he toppled National Governments in Iran and Guatemala. Though the American imperialists followed the strategy of 'massive retaliation' between 1952 and 1960 they could not prevent revolutions in Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba and other third world countries.

America which was mainly depending on the conventional war strategy to stop Soviet Union, decided to view the nationality struggles carried on in the form of politico-military struggles on par with the conventional wars. The then President of US Kennedy had put the seal on the National Security Action Memorandum No. 124. As a result the number of Special Forces in the army was increased hugely and trained in counter-revolutionary war.

A committee was formed to co-ordinate foreign ministry, defense ministry, CIA and political, economical and psychological operations departments of USIA. The American counter-revolutionary war strategy was first put to field test in Indo-China.

Keeping in view the negative results in Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor has written in a secret report to McNamara in 1964 that, "Our future in Vietnam and American potentiality to counter the people's war could seriously influence Barma, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan, Korea, Taiwan and Phipphines"

The Vietnam War posed a big challenge for the American imperialists. At



one stage they mobilized about 5 lakhs American soldiers to get results at any cost. But with body-bags returning to America every day the anti Vietnam War movement in America intensified. Finally the American troops had to return back after a crushing defeat in 1975. Due to anger of the people and anti-war movement, changes were made in the laws that the President cannot declare war on other countries without the permission of the Congress and that even CIA should be brought under the supervision of the Congress. The budget of the Special Operation Forces under Pentagon was reduced. The para-military actions of CIA were stopped. The discussion on the counter-revolutionary war strategy was stopped and concentration on conventional war strategy in Europe began.

From the 1980s again the discussion and study on counter-revolutionary wars began in a high pitch. Suggestions were given that if they wanted to win the third world war then they should completely change the strategy and tactics employed to suppress the revolutionary wars in the third world countries by America.

In the conference conducted by the National Defense University at Port Mc Nair in 1983 on 'Special Actions in American Strategy' they concluded that, 'It was to be followed totally different new ways that are obstacle to American economic and geopolitical interests'.

But still fears of Vietnam War were high among the Americans. There was immense hostility against old style intrusion methods. As part of winning the 'hearts and minds' of the American people first, LIC was formulated with the main plank of getting support from the lower echelons to the political campaign. They followed the principle that if 'you win in the war of ideas you can win anywhere'. After Reagan became the President they got lot of support to formulate LIC and the process accelerated.

In aid university review, the ideologue of LIC C. Cercatian said that, "American orientation related to counterrevolutionary war is not sufficient to the demands of the conditions and characteristics. To defeat the revolution follow the method that identify the leadership of the movement and kidnap, then give serious torture and kill. If you feel that the American participation in counterrevolutionary war is correct and necessary, these are understood by the political leaders and American people. LIC strategy and tactics not limited to democratic values. Either in revolutionary war or counterrevolutionary war values and principles is framed to achieve success

in the war. To defend the existence is the highest and important principle". From this we can gauge how the cruel the LIC is going to be.

In order to destroy the revolutionary wars in the third world countries America got ready to change the structure of National Security, to re-think and to arm it more. The first low intensity warfare conference was inaugurated by Defense minister Weinberger in 1986 in Port Leslie J. Mc Nair in Washington. In the same month Centre for Low Intensity Conflict belonging to army/air force was formed. The Joint Low Intensity Conflict Project formed in 1986 prepared a final report of thousand pages in two volumes within one year i.e. in 1986 with concepts, strategy, guiding principles and applications of LIC theory.

To implement the LIC strategy the Reagan administration immediately increased the Special Operation Forces one hundred percent – the Green Berets in the army, SEALs in the Navy and other Commando Forces. For covert operations 'Delta Force' led by Lieutenant colonel North under the National Security Council, 160<sup>th</sup> Army Aviation Task Force (Night Stakers) and the para military forces under CIA have been increased. Four special Light infantry divisions have been formed in 1984 itself to cater to the increasing demands of intrusion.

The LIC was institutionalized under Reagan's rule itself. In NSC, Special Operations Unified Command and Board for Low Intensity Conflicts were formed in 1987. Similarly a special officer was appointed to advise the American President on matters relating to LIC. In the same year Reagan signed on another secret National Security Decision Directive (NSDD). This contains guidelines for LIC unified national strategy. Thus the American imperialists developed the LIC theoretically and organizationally.

## **i) What is meant by LIC?**

In the final report of the Joint Low Intensity Conflict Project LIC was defined. In Physics when a ray of light is sent through a spectrum it splits into the colors VIBYOR and also into the invisible infra-red and ultra-violet rays. Similarly the Pentagon formulated a 'spectrum of conflicts' to analyze all wars. According to that, in lieu of the forces used and the violence there are three kinds of war.

### **1. High Intensity Conflicts**



They had introduced a poisonous imperialist culture of putting price on the heads of leadership and encouraging the people to sell themselves for money to act as informers and converts particularly the persons who had the confidence of the leadership into covert agents either by persuading or by force.

Using all these methods and also using ultra modern weapons, the special force of British government continued suitable counter guerilla warfare in forests, plains, hilly and urban areas. They had brutally suppressed the movements by putting pressure on the revolutionaries through continuous combing, chasing and hunting them. For suppressing these revolts they had also used Navy and Air force as and when required. They had destroyed some towns and villages by bombing.

In totality, primarily the feudal class leadership had betrayed the first war of independence (1857) and subsequently comprador bourgeoisie took the leadership of democratic revolution and betrayed it. The Russian October revolution (1917) had created great enthusiasm in the oppressed masses and also a same level of disturbance in the exploiting classes. As the people became more conscious and started militant struggles, the comprador bourgeoisie betraying the mass revolts had compromised with British imperialism and feudal classes. The world wide revolutionary upsurge following the second World War had its impact in India as well. All sections of masses (students, youth, workers, farmers and adivasis) entered into militant struggles against imperialism and feudalism. Threatened by the people's consciousness, the Congress Party (comprador bourgeoisie) had compromised with imperialism by directly betraying the national democratic revolution. As a result under condition that the economic exploitation to be continued as usual, the transfer of power had taken place on August 15, 1947. Communist Party of India, because of its rightist political line, in spite of being in mass struggles, it couldn't take the leadership of democratic revolution and convert it into new democratic revolution.

## **B. Counter-Insurgency Warfare of Ruling Classes Post-1947**

### **i) North East:**

Prior to the occupation of British imperialists the land of Naga people was extended for about 1 lakh square meters (from the present day Assam to

- d) Special budgets in the name of development and organization
- e) Secret budgets.

a) The LIC policy making body: In America this consists of the American President, defense minister (Secretary), foreign minister (Secretary) and a special officer allocated for LIC. It is part of the LIC strategy that the LIC policy making bodies should be under the state executive. In our country the Prime Minister at the central level and the state chief ministers at the state level lead these bodies.

b) The structure to implement LIC tactics: In implementing the LIC tactics the responsibility of the intelligence agencies remains primary. Instead of the general military intelligence, it is thought a special intelligence formed from the police department would be most effective for this and this is implemented in all countries. Special departments for LIC are formed in military and central intelligence.

Bureaucrats head these structures. They are given utmost freedom in taking decisions and implementing them. Officers from military, para military and Special Forces are its members.

c) Coordinating structures: Various structures for coordination are formed at all places like between various departments, between various levels of structures in one department, between various organizations in the country and imperialist organizations.

Most importantly the coordination committees formed for coordination between various intelligence agencies inside the country. Similarly coordination committees between the intelligence agencies of the country and the intelligence agencies of imperialist countries. Similarly coordination between intelligence and Special Forces. There are structures to coordinate between various departments like administration, judiciary, intelligence and operational forces etc which are participating in the LIC.

In countries having federal structure the coordination between the centre and state governments has great significance. When various governments are ruling the different states the problem becomes even more serious, so LIC is implemented effectively by forming coordinating committees.

d) Special budgets in the name of organization and development: Special budgets are allotted for organization and development. The budgets allotted

for social welfare are diverted for this. Transport and communications and other infra structures are built up with a long term plan on a large scale for LIC.

e) Secret budgets: For expenditure on covert actions necessary in LIC operations, buying weapons and for other expenditure not approved by the Law money is spent from this secret budget. Sometimes the secret budgets are many times larger than the budgets allocated legally. The main reason for this is absence of any kind of supervision of the executive (parliament) or the judiciary on it.

### **3. Military Tactics:**

Military tactics are mainly of two kinds

1. Overt operations
2. Covert operations

#### **1. Overt operations:**

The following are there in the overt military operations.

1. Formation of Special Forces and their training
2. Modern weapons
3. Fortification
4. Operations to isolate the guerillas from the people
5. Joint operations
6. Mop Up operations
7. Operations preventing re-entry (of guerillas)

1. Formation of Special Forces and their training: Selected persons from various departments of the police, para military and the army are given special training and formed into Special Forces. The training is given according to the terrain in which they would be fighting, i.e. forest area, mountain area, snow-clad area etc. Anti revolutionary ideology is inculcated as part of the training. The training is contrary to the conventional war methods. They are taught about guerilla war, guerilla tactics and the structures of guerilla forces and are given the understanding to 'fight a guerilla like a guerilla'.

2. Modern weapons: Many of the modern weapons used in conventional

day was passed without violence on people. State machinery behaved as if they wanted to make people habituated to daily violence.

### **Mopping up Actions:**

Mopping up actions like brutal violence and atrocities on women, seizure of properties, burning down the villages, massacres etc., went on unlimited manner. The cruel atrocities carried out by British imperialists are no way inferior to nazi atrocities. They had done every thing from military attacks to beating the people to cruel torture to imposing collective fines on villages to seizure of lands to punishing the children for singing national songs. In this way the brutal suppression by British police went unabated. Many revolutionary and rebel leaders were hanged in jails and killed in fake encounters. Indian soldiers refused to fire on fellow Indians were trialed in military courts and given death penalty. They killed lakhs of people, leaders of farmers and adivasi revolts, revolutionaries and rebel soldiers. In this way by eliminating the politically progressive forces the reactionary British imperialists and their agents had obstructed the social development in India.

### **Counter Guerilla Operations:**

1) Isolating the revolutionaries and rebels from the people and eliminating them. For this mopping up actions of complete destruction for terrorizing the people and forcing them to leave their villages so that the mass base for the rebels is destroyed, killing the militant youth even before they join the movement, putting the surrendered persons in concentration camps and forcing them to the side of state.

2) Using special force for eliminating the revolutionaries and rebels. They formed specially trained murderous gangs with modern weapons by British soldiers for suppressing the guerilla struggles, armed rebellions and military revolts by Indian sepoys. The special police forces like Assam rifles, Goorkha Battalions, East Coast special police, Sikh regiment, Malabar police were used to for suppressing the mass movements. They used methods like-isolating the struggle areas from the other areas and ensuring that they will not get any support from out side, taking severe actions against those who are supporting the rebels, using the pro-British forces (Landlords, zamindars, comprador bourgeoisie and their agents) in side the struggle areas, creating informer network with those who can be bought for collecting the information about the strengths and weaknesses of the movement and its leadership.

mentality of hired goons who can execute the orders of British government without questioning. With the same outlook they formed informer network country wide both in rural and urban areas through their Central Intelligence Bureau. They formulated suitable suppressive laws and repression methods based on the information regarding the strengths and weaknesses about the revolutionary mass struggles. They had appointed cruel police officers who are capable of creating informers, coverts and counter revolutionaries for recognizing and hunting down the rebel leadership and those who are leading the militant mass struggles. They strengthened police and administration (Tahasildars and Collectors) from villages to Delhi level. Courts and Judiciary became pro-British. British imperialists had solidly implemented their policy of 'Divide and Rule'. They created mistrust among different caste, religions, nationalities, states and Adivasi tribes and also between plain and Adivasi people. They tried every trick and created all types of rumors, used Gobbles propaganda for misleading and terrorizing people.

### **Repressive Laws:**

From the very beginning British imperialists had used different suppressive laws and acts to put the leaders in prison without any inquiry and send them to exile. They even hanged the revolutionaries without any trial. During the first World War (1914-18) repression was intensified and Defense of India Act was introduced. Under this Act many freedom fighters and revolutionaries were imprisoned. In March 1919 Rowlatt Act was introduced. The objective of this Act was to put the leaders in jails without any trial. Declaring "Marshal Law" and indiscriminately firing at militant mass struggles had become a regular feature. British government had used many brutal methods and anti-democratic and counter revolutionary acts like imposing military rule in the rebel areas, implicating the revolutionaries in false conspiracy cases, banning the revolutionary organization and Communist Party, banning revolutionary literature and magazines, imposing severe censorship on newspapers for suppressing the mass movements.

### **Repression Forms:**

Firing at unarmed masses became a regular feature. Lakhs of people were subjected to arrests and torture. With an objective to demoralize the people they declared prices for the heads of rebel leaders and resorted to violent brutal oppression. They set up police camps in villages. Not a single

war are not useful in LIC. Tanks, heavy machine guns, heavy artillery and war planes and many such are not useful in the war against the guerillas. For speed in movements, speed in firing, for making ambushes and short surprise raids light automatic weapons, area weapons, LMG, grenade launchers and rocket launchers are mainly used. For transporting troops they use armored vehicles (bullet proof and mine proof vehicles) where possible and air support in other places. In the war against guerillas air support is mainly for logistical support. Where there are camps and larger formations they try to destroy with air raids.

3. It is a principle that you should not attack the guerilla bases without establishing your own bases. So they make fortification in the areas under their control and provide the necessary defense for themselves. They make the necessary arrangements to retaliate an attack by the guerillas. According to the condition of weapons with the guerillas and the intensity of the war, changes are made in this fortification. The fortification made when the guerillas have light weapons is not adequate when they have artillery. Likewise the fortification when they are attacking as small units is inadequate when they attack in the formation of a battalion in the manner of mobile war.

4. Operations isolating the guerillas from the people: The imperialists who realized that the strength of the guerillas lies in their ties with the people try to take up operations which drain the sea to catch the fish. In the name of strategic hamlets the stronghold villages and hamlets of the guerillas are vacated and big, big settlements are established and then they try to keep them under their control. They try to stop people from helping the guerillas by terrorizing them through massacres, severe repression and oppression. For this purpose they take up combing operations on a wide scale. This creates hurdles for the guerillas in keeping their connections live with the people and in continuing their activities.

5. Joint operations: Joint operations are conducted by the police, para military, Special Forces and military forces. The forces of various states also carry out joint operations. In the areas of international borders forces of various countries conduct joint operations.

6. Mop up operations: With proper intelligence they either destroy the guerilla forces in that area or make them retreat temporarily from that area and destroy the local party organizations. Though the guerillas retreat temporarily from an area or face losses, the guerilla war can again intensify

immediately if the local party organization, mass organizations and people's power organs are intact among the people. So these operations are taken up with the aim of totally wiping out.

7. Operations preventing re entry: When a strong guerilla area is damaged temporarily, the area is not only wiped out completely but operations are taken up so that the guerillas cannot re-enter the area in any manner. Such operations are part of this. Apart from turning a section of people towards them with intensifying reforms, establishing a strong intelligence structure among the people is the main feature in this.

## 2. Covert operations:

In LIC Covert operations are carried out from the beginning to the end. But there are differences in their forms and intensity. The general forms of covert operations are the following.

1. Forming killer gangs
2. Forming black gangs
3. Infiltration
4. Forming counter-revolutionary guerilla squads

**1. Forming killer gangs:** Generally these belong to the special intelligence department. Their main job is to catch the leadership and kill them after severe torture to get secrets from them. They arrest the leadership and cadres and make them disappear (turn them into missing cases). They kill ordinary people and even stoop to the level of conducting terrorist operations and putting the blame on revolutionaries. All their activities are conducted in utter secrecy. These squads do not have a geographical area of operation and conduct their murderous activities anywhere. The killer gangs of CIA and Mossad have resorted to political killings and assassinations in many countries.

**2. Black gangs:** Generally these are formed with ex guerillas, ex guerillas and police killers or with lumpen forces and criminals. They murder the revolutionary sympathizers, various persons who are outside the revolution and empathize with the revolutionary movement while working in various organizations, the leaders of civil and democratic rights organizations, party activists, leaders and cadres of revolutionary mass organizations and create terror among the revolutionary people and try to stop the open activities. Such is their main responsibility. All these gangs work under the strict control

revolt in the rural areas of Bengal, Kerala and Telagana were led by the farmers organizations affiliated to Communist Party. Poor and middle class farmers, land tenants, landless farm laborers and Adivasis had participated in these movements.

## Reasons for the Defeat of these Revolts:

1) There was no revolutionary political party with correct political and military line. Because of this there was no proper objective and independent strategy and tactics were developed to train the people in class struggle. They didn't form a secret party to face the strong enemy. As a result they couldn't coordinate the militant struggles in a planned manner.

2) As all the sections of masses who took part militantly in these struggles particularly, workers, peasantry, Adivasi masses, soldiers from Indian army and navy who were willing to rebel, students, youth and intellectuals were not armed to build a strong people's army, these struggles became victims of brutal suppression. Mao's teaching the people can't have any thing without the people's army was once again proved in these revolts.

3) There was no proper anti-imperialist united front action program to protect the people's unity and isolate the enemy and a joint leadership to lead such front. People wanted unity in the anti-imperialist struggle but there was no unity among leadership of Congress, Muslim league and Communist Party. The disunity, lack of preparedness and the weakness in leading a national struggle was proved.

4) In all these revolts Congress and Muslim League parties stood by the British imperialism and extended all the possible help.

## Counter Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics of British imperialists:

British had used severe repression on one side and provided some facilities (through reforms) on the other side for suppressing and eliminating the revolutionary struggles, mass struggles and farmers and Adivasi armed revolts against the exploitation, oppression of imperialism. British government had continuously used these twin weapons depending on the situation.

They had strengthened their military and police to brutally suppress the anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary struggles and revolts. They made these forces to acquire anti-people and counter revolutionary character and brutal enough to serve the British imperialism till the end and had imposed the

on the agitating masses in Peshawar. Similarly another important incident was the revolt of workers in Sholapur of Maharashtra. British government was taken a back temporarily by this strike and re-occupied the town after 49 days only by declaring Marshal law.

In Punapra- Vayalar of Kerala farmers, fishermen and workers revolted against feudal lords. This struggle was led by Communist party activists. Military and police goons attacked the people in October 1946 killing six workers. Army surrounded the Vayalar and killed many Communist party activists. The farmers of Kayyuru revolted under the leadership of Communist party against the increased land rent. Because of suppression campaign carried out by the state villages were deserted and people had to take shelters in the forest. Four Communist party activists were hanged. Thousands of workers in Bombay went on political strike against the second World War and repression by imperialists.

Quit India movement in the larger extent was primarily a farmers, revolt. The peasantry had fought against the British imperialism using guerilla tactics and establishing parallel government in many places. In this struggle about 1600 farmers were killed in the police firing.

The revolutionary upsurge followed after the defeat of fascism in second World War through out the world also had shaken India. Unity was visible among all sections against imperialism. Naval uprising took place in 1946. Bombay as center and with the support of town population, this revolt was extended to Madras Karachi and many other places. This uprising using slogans like 'Jai Hind', 'Inquilab Zindabad', 'Long live Hindu Muslim Unity', 'Down with the British Imperialism', 'Azad Hind Fauz Zindabad', 'Release all Political prisoners', 'Recall the Indian Army Immediately from Indonesia' had shaken the British imperialism. Government had brutally suppressed this revolt killing 250 and putting thousands of people in jail.

Worli Adivasi struggle in Maharashtra was organized in 1945 by Communist Party against outside landlords, forest contractors and moneylenders. Tebagha movement in North Bengal was also led by Communist party. The communist youth activists from Calcutta went on to organize the land tenants demanding the reduction of land rent from 60% to one third. During this struggles farmers seized the crops. About 20 Santhal Adivasis were killed in the police firing at Baluru Ghat during this movement.

There was a significant change in the struggles of 1946-47. The farmers

of special intelligence. The special intelligence expends funds from its secret funds for the upkeep of these gangs, for the weapons and training necessary for them.

**3. Infiltration:** There is no other thing as infiltration to get inside information from the enemy's ranks. That is why the enemy tries to infiltrate his agents into party, mass organizations, people's power organs and people's army. Sending agents from outside is one method, converting those already inside into traitors is another. While some of these are utilized to collect information and send, some others are used to develop a network of traitors while remaining in the party structures and to raise political crises inside the party. Even some more are converted in the most treacherous way to kill the party leadership. We have the habit of calling only these as covert. In fact covert operations are of many kinds. Killing is one of them.

**4. Formation of counter-revolutionary guerilla squads:** American imperialists formed a guerilla army called 'Contras' to topple the government in Guatemala. The American imperialists called this shameless act as support to the revolutionary wars. Such experiments were carried on in Vietnam and Malaya. In Algeria the French imperialists formed a counter-revolutionary army called F force and it inflicted serious losses to the revolutionary movement there.

The Salwa Judum formed in Chattisgarh is also one of this kind. If they have proper leadership and political support they are run as independent counter-guerilla armies. If that is not the case then its soldiers are taken into police and Special Forces.



## II. Development of Counter-Revolutionary War in India

### A) Counter-Insurgency Warfare of British imperialists in India

Prior to the occupation of British Imperialists, India was a feudal society. It had many princely states and many independent and semi-independent states. Between 1818 and 1857, British had completed the task of defeating entire India. They also defeated Sindh and Punjab. Awadh and many small princely states in Madhya radish became part of the British Empire and by 1857 British rule was completely established in India.

By 1857, the total armed forces of British India were 3,11,400. Of this 2,65,000 were Indians. All the officers were British and all the jawans were Indians. The highest position occupied by an Indian in the army was Subedar. In 1856 there were only three Indians who were getting salary of Rs 300 pm in the entire Indian army. It was impossible for the limited population of British to form strong army required to defeat a country like India. That is why they had to recruit Indians in their army. But they maintained special army with a definite number of British people for keeping Indian jawans under control. We have to correctly analyze the important political and military factors behind the few numbered foreigners defeating, occupying and maintaining their authority over a country like India with huge population and large geographical area.

1. At that time India was divided into many feudal fiefdoms and there was no national consciousness in the people, in Indian soldiers, in feudal kings, in Nawabs and in the rulers of princely states. Religion, regionalism, nationality, language and caste have divided the people. That is why the soldiers recruited from Bihar and Ayodhya never thought they were committing a treason or acting against people while helping British in defeating Maharashtrians or Punjabis.

2. British used the jackal tricks to split the Indian feudal kings using the internal contradictions. They had defeated Mughal, Maratha, Mysore Tipu Sultan who opposed to their supremacy. The British had taken maximum advantage of the narrow mindedness and selfish attitude of Indian feudal

rulers had encouraged the narrow out look based on nationality, religion, caste and regionalism.

### The Reforms Introduced by British:

1. *Modern education*: British imperialists had used modern education to consolidate their political foundation. For meeting the needs of clerks for their administration they had introduced slave education in India. With this education, Indian bureaucrats, collectors, Tahasildars, Judicial magistrates, factory managers, engineers, doctors and advocates were produced.

2. *Introducing the culture of Missionaries*: Christian missionaries were encouraged to serve the imperialist interests. In the name of egalitarian religion they introduced missionary culture in interior Adivasi villages. Hospitals, churches were constructed. Huge lands were allotted to these churches.

3. *Adult Franchise*: Proletariat class organized struggles demanding adult franchise. In this movement students and youth took active part. Succumbing to this demand British government had introduced adult franchise and every one above 21 years was given voting right.

4. *Limited Self-rule*: These reforms were brought in as part of buying the rightist section in the Congress party. They allowed very limited members elected indirectly into the central council and allowed more representatives in the legislative assemblies but they had very nominal powers.

### Peasant Revolts and other mass struggles:

Anti imperialist struggles were not confined cities and towns but extended to remote rural areas. Farmers, students, youth, employees and a section of Indian infantry, navy and police had also took part in the anti-imperialist revolts and carried out armed revolts.

Chittagong rebellion had special importance. Chittagong rebellion was planned to create model for the people by liberating a particular region from the British imperialism. Revolutionary group under the leadership of Surya Sen had conducted this rebellion. At 10 O' clock in the night of April 18, 1930, they had simultaneously attacked and occupied police armory and associated military armory. They completely destroyed the information network. British officials sped away and a revolutionary provincial government was established under the leadership of Surya Sen. Immediately after this in another incident sepoys belonging to Garwal regiment refused to open fire



estates.

The British pursued the policy of 'Divide and Rule' and pitted people against the heads of princely states, one state against other state, adivasi people against the people from plain areas, one adivasi tribe against the other tribe, one caste against the other caste and Hindus against the Muslims.

Seen militarily, the rebels had fought with inferior and traditional weapons. Not able to organize in a army form, not having a central leadership to give correct commanding, control and training, not able to organize with definite objective, unity and discipline required to fight against a strong enemy, not able to fight according to correct strategy and tactics were the important reasons for the defeat of these revolts. There was no common action plan and strategy. Though guerrilla tactics were used they were confined to very small regions. The British had deployed extensive army, modern weapons and unlimited money to suppress the revolts. They had created separate intelligence and various types spying mechanisms to suppress the movements. They had set up huge informer network pumping money and hunted down the important leaders of the movement.

### **Changes made by the British rulers following the revolts:**

**Administrative changes after the revolts:** Administration was transferred from the hands of East India company to British king. It means the power was handed over to a Secretary of Indian state and an advisory council attached to him. This had helped British industrialists, businessmen and bankers to raise their influence significantly on the Indian government. As a result of this the Indian administration had become more reactionary than the previous one.

**Changes in the Army:** British government had taken many steps to prevent Indian sepoys from revolting in future. Firstly they had raised the domination of British in the army. In Bengal army there were one British soldier for every two Indian soldiers. In Madras and Bombay regiments they decided maintain the ratio of two British soldiers to every five Indian soldiers. In strategic geographical and military bases they had posted only British soldiers. The key departments in the army like artillery, tanks were kept under the control of British soldiers. They removed all the opportunities for the Indians to become officers.

To prevent nationalist consciousness developing in the sepoys, British

kings who never hesitated to join hands with British against the compatriot feudal kings for short-term interests. British used the same tactics of using internal weaknesses to defeat Mughals and used Mughals in comprehensively defeating Marathas in Maratha wars that took place during the period 1803-05 and 1816-19. In the Anglo-Mysore war that took place between 1789 and 1799, British had isolated Tipu Sulatn using political the same tactics (by winning over Marathas, Nizam, Tirunankur and Coorg kings to their side) and defeated him. Tipu Sultan fought with unparalleled valor, courage, patriotism and died heroically on May 4, 1799.

3. Without any national consciousness and because of the tradition in him to faithfully serve the masters for wages, Indian soldier had become a true 'hired soldier'. For using this weakness of Indians to their advantage British rulers paid them regular wages without any fail. It had created a feeling in them that foreign British rulers are better than the local kings. It gave British an opportunity to build very strong army with Indian people. With this British were able to continue their exploitation and oppression without any obstacles pitting Indian against Indian.

4. The Indian infantry under British trained in European techniques and modern weapons and canons was able to defeat the traditional armies of Indian rulers.

### **Peasant and Adivasi Revolts:**

There were many peasant and adivasi revolts against the colonial exploitation through out the country. After 1857 these revolts had become a common phenomenon.

With the objective of occupying the lands in tribal areas, the British invaders had deployed the people from plains and encouraged them to grow commercial crops. They had created a new feudal class who can act as trusted British agents in the tribal areas. These landlords from plain area became instruments in the hands of British in bringing Adivasis into the ambit of colonial economy. The British acts relating to private property had destroyed Adivasi community ownership and commune living resulting in the destruction of Adivasi lives. Christian missionaries also occupied the lands in the hilly areas of Bihar, Orissa and Assam.

Adivasis tribes like Santhals, Kols, Hos, Oran Khonds, Mundas, had organized armed revolts against this exploitation, suppression and invasion.

The important among them were Kutch revolt (1816-32), Santhals revolt (1836) in Hazaribagh, Singbhum and Rajmahal hills, Kolis revolt (1845), Mundas and Santhals revolt under the leadership of Birsa Munda in Chotha Nagpur region (1874-1900), Santhals revolt (1855-57), Koya and Konda Reddys' revolt (1855-57) under the leadership of Dwara Bandala Ramachandraiah in the Rampachodavaram area of East Godavari district, Chenchu tribals revolt (1898) in Nallamala hills in Cuddappah, Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh, Thado Kukis revolt (1914) in Manipur, Orans revolt (1914) in Chotha Nagpur area, Daspalla Khonds revolt (1914) in Orissa, Manyam Guerrilla war (1922-24) under the leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju, Gonds and Kolams revolt (1940-41) under the leadership of Komaram Bhim, Mythili (Malkangiri district) struggle under the leadership of Laxman naik and many more.

### **The Significance of the defeat of 1857 R revolt:**

From the feudal kings of princely states to the Indian sepoys under British to artisans, to vast peasantry and to Adivasi people had participated in the 1857 revolutionary struggle to give it a character of mass revolution. Masses had attacked both old and new Zamindars and moneylenders to express their class hatred. They destroyed promissory notes and accounting books of moneylenders. Masses had attacked the courts, Tahasil (revenue) offices, police stations set up by British and destroyed the tax records. They looted the armories and treasuries. In all these attacks masses had participated in large numbers. Of the one lakh fifty thousand people killed in the 1857 revolution, one lakh people were ordinary masses. People had boycotted the sepoys who didn't participate in the revolt.

There was complete co-operation and co-ordination among the sepoys and the Hindu-Muslims in the ordinary masses. People had shown respect for the religious beliefs of other religions. They had participated in the revolt on equal terms.

The reactionary nature of the British imperialism, their cruel anti-people behavior and their counter-revolutionary character became clearly visible in the suppression of this revolt. The hired army gangs of British had set ablaze villages after villages and massacred large number of people. They conducted public hanging to terrorize people and killed people without any trial. The intensity of the revolt is reflected in the brutal suppressive massacre carried out by the British. Even then the sepoys and the masses participated in the

revolt fought heroically till the last drop of their blood.

Even though this revolt was extended to wider areas it couldn't mobilize all sections and classes of Indian society. There was no central leadership and there was no common action plan. There was no co-ordination between the struggles broke out at various places. The leadership of these struggles was united only because of their opposition to the foreign rule. They didn't think about the alternative administration after dethroning the British rule at any place. They didn't form a disciplined army against the British colonialism. India's first war of independence was lost because of the treachery of feudal classes. Many feudal kings (heads of princely states), big zamindars, big businessmen collaborated with British government for their selfish interests had sabotaged the revolt and extended active co-operation to British government in suppressing the movement. Notable among them were Scindias of Gwalior, Holkars of Indore, Nizam of Hyderabad, Jodhpur king, Nawab of Bhopal, Kashmiri kings, Ranas from Nepal and many small kings and Big zamindars. Some taluqdars who took part in the beginning had withdrawn from the movement after the British had assured them to return their estates. The big businessmen from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras had supported British as their profits were coming only from British trade and as they financial dealings with British businessmen. Many modern educated people because of their attraction towards British culture also didn't support the movement.

The heads of princely states who led the revolt like Jhansi Laxmi Bai, Maulvi Nana Saheb of Faizabad, Ayodhya Begam etc., had fought till the end showing their patriotism and sown the seeds for new national movement.

### **Reasons for the defeat of Peasants and Armed Adivasi Revolts:**

Seen politically, there was no conscious independent consistently anti-feudal anti-imperialist leadership for the peasant revolts, adivasi revolts and the 1857 first war of Indian independence. These revolts were confined to certain areas only and suffered defeats. They didn't develop into a nation wide shape and character. These revolts had fought only for re-establishing the old feudal system. Peasantry which is engaged in small scale production in backward economic system can't visualize a new society. The feudal classes who led these movements naturally didn't fulfill these tasks. The feudal lords, zamindars who led these movement had stopped the movements whenever the British had reinstated their traditional rights and returned their

the two countries in 1965 and 1971. In 1972, both countries signed Shimla agreement. Through this agreement both countries agreed to resolve their disputes bilaterally and without any international arbitration, to accept the 'Line of actual control (LOC)' at the time ceasefire agreement on December 17, 1971 as the defacto boundary line and to decide the future of Kashmir in future bilaterally between India and Pakistan. However this agreement was never implemented. During the years 1984-88, in non-inhabitant Siachen which is completely covered with snow India and Pakistan had long term conflict which is little short of full scale war.

As the fundamental aspect in the Kashmir problem, the independent Kashmir, has never featured in the agenda of expansionist Indian ruling classes, Kashmiri people had intensified their struggle. In 1965, Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) was formed and started armed guerilla struggle for independent Kashmir. But in 1989 this organization was split into three factions. In the same year Jamat –E –Islami, a political party started its military wing Hizb-ul-Mujahadeen (Hizb). JKLF and Hizb are the two largest organization waging armed struggle. Since 1947, Indian ruling classes for suppressing the justifiable struggles of Kashmiri people are using military to kill thousands of fighters and people. But Kashmiri people are fighting with this strong enemy using variety of methods. They formed into small squads and fighting in villages and towns. Sacrificing their lives one two members are forming suicide squads and attacking the enemy. In Kashmiri movement along with guerilla struggle general masses whether they are children or old people or women are coming on to roads and facing the Indian brutal army through street struggles and are exposing the conspiracies of Indian ruling classes.

### **The Low Intensity Conflict Strategy of Indian ruling classes in Kashmiri:**

The atrocities by Indian army had sharpened the fighting spirit of Kashmiri people and their determination to fight till the last drop of their blood. Mass struggles are further extending and intensifying. Finally in January 1990, Indian government brought Kashmir under central rule and converted entire government into a battlefield. It treated Kashmiri people particularly Muslims as enemies. Army was given the task of counter insurgency. It deployed large number of army, paramilitary and police forces and specially those who are specially trained in counter insurgency operations. By March 1990 about

Mynmar). British had occupied this land gradually and kept it under "Crown Colony Scheme". Even under British rule this region was kept separate from India. British had geographically divided the Naga people into two parts. One is presently in India and the other is now part of Myanmar. Even before entering into Nagaland British had brought the land belonging to Nagas in Assam and Manipur through the Treaty of Yandabo. British had used Maiti kings for bringing Naga villages under their control. In 1832, with the help of Manipur king Gambhir Singh 700 British soldiers and 800 laborers under the leadership Captains Jenkins and Pemberton had occupied Naga villages. Naga people particularly Angami Nagas had bitterly fought back this invasion. In 1833, a British official H Cordon with the help of 2000 hired 'Kuki' gangs attacked Naga villages. For the first time in 1852, some parts Naga region were formed into a sub division 'Nowgaon' and later in 1866 Naga hills district was formed. In 1938 the same district was renamed as 'Naga Hills Excluded Area'. North East people are historically, geographically and culturally separated from India. Even under British rule Naga people fought many struggles demanding a separate for and politically independent state. All the struggles of Naga people for their justifiable demand were brutally crushed by British government. The political demand of the people was crushed with military dictatorship.

On the occasion of transfer of power on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1947 British had handed over the North Eastern region to Indian exploiting ruling classes. Questioning this illegal transfer of power North Eastern people were protesting since then. They had many rounds of peace negotiations with Indian leadership of Nehru and Gandhi for political freedom. Gandhi and Nehru had given them many false assurances but nothing was happened to North East people. Since then North Eastern people took armed struggle for the development of their nationalities and for their right for self determination. In this way for the first time during the period 1947-56, Nagas had taken up the armed guerilla struggle for their political freedom and for their right to self-determination. Later armed struggles started in 1960s in Mizoram, 1970s in Manipur and in 1980s in Assam and still are still continuing.

With the objective of protecting the imperialists interests and in contrast to the aspirations of the people of North Eastern region Indian ruling classes occupied that region since August 15, 1947 proving their expansionist desire. Geographically this region is adjoining to Myanmar, China and small nations

like Bhutan and Sikkim occupation of this region has become a strategically important. China being liberated and strengthening of the aspirations of the people in this region had necessitated the Indian ruling classes to suppress the nationality movements at any cost. Rejecting the rightful demand of the people of this region, the Indian ruling classes led by Nehru, Gandhi had tried everything from wooing the leadership with money and power to brutal suppression of torturing and killing the people. The people of this region are continuing their armed struggle demanding political independence from India.

The people of Naga, Mizo, Tripura and Assam nationalities are continuing their struggle both legally and illegally, peacefully and militantly and with extensive mass base. For the liberation of their nationalities they had created secret party, army and parallel governments. With the mass support they were able to organize nationality liberation armies, intelligence, weapons and ammunition supplies and logistics. Army creation and its growth was based on the mass support. As a result nationality liberation armies were able to carry out militant and intensified war against the strong Indian army and its paramilitary forces. Instead of politically resolving the justifiable political demand of North Eastern people surpassing the British imperialists at every step, Indian ruling classes had deployed large number of army and paramilitary forces and tried to look the problem from military outlook. By intensifying the brutal repression level on one side and using the peace negotiations on the other side they hoped to put pressure on the vacillating section of the movement so that they can either become neutral or traitors and isolate the leadership committed to the nationality liberation and eliminate them. The counter insurgency operations of Indian Army, which started against Nagas in 1956 are still continuing in Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Assam.

In 1993, under the control of Union home ministry “North Eastern region security coordination cell” was formed. Chief Ministers, chief secretaries, DGPs and high ranking army officers are members of this cell. Coordinating the counter insurgency operations carrying out in all these states and implementing them is the objective this cell. This cell had particularly targeted the NSCN (IM) which has hold in the entire region and formed ‘multi-faced attack’ strategy and applied on it. The important aspects in this ‘multi-faced attack’ which is applied on all the North Eastern states are like this:

- 1) Coordinating all the intelligence agencies working in North Eastern region.

forces is trying to coordinate and succeed civil administration and military actions under one policy. Similarly they are forming unified command for better coordination between the security forces (Indian army, Paramilitary and police) and also forming comprehensive political administrative plan requiring for the coordination between state governments and central government in North Eastern states.

## **ii) Kashmir:**

From the date of transfer of power from British imperialists to Indian exploiting ruling classes until today Kashmiri people are fighting for their right for self determination and Indian army is continuing their suppression since then. From 1990s with Kashmiri people raising the level of their guerilla struggle both in quality and quantity Indian army has converted entire Kashmir into “low intensity battle field”.

As Kashmir has Pakistan on one side and China on other side, Indian exploitative ruling classes are trying to convince us that Kashmir is strategically important for India’s protection from external invasion. As part of their expansionist desires and by saying that if India loses its hold on Kashmir it would be occupied either by Pakistan or by China, Indian exploitative ruling classes are trying to maintain its firm grip over Kashmir by brutally crushing the aspirations of Kashmiri people.

Indian exploitative ruling classes are continuously carrying out false propaganda that ‘Kashmir problem’ is created at the instigation of Pakistan and China, that this is being continued as part of Hindu-Muslim religious conflict, that Muslim fundamentalists are leading this insurgency, that Kashmiri movement is nothing but a proxy war being waged by Pakistan using Kashmiri Muslims against India and that Kashmiri people who are fighting for Azad Kashmir are the disruptionist forces of Indian national integrity.

In fact Kashmiri people are continuing their struggle demanding ‘Azad Kashmir’ since 1947. Immediately after the formation of India and Pakistan, the people living in Poonch on the border to Pakistan revolted for independent Kashmir. Pakistan supported their demand. But India took that issue to United Nations in January, 1948. Security Council of United Nations passed a resolution on 21<sup>st</sup> April 1948 to conduct joint plebiscite after withdrawing Indian forces and Pakistani people from the disputed area. However both countries didn’t accept this resolution. After that there were two wars between



movement. Similarly security forces are using these gangs as a cover to save their image. SULFA is being used in Assam for the same purpose.

The method of using the surrendered people is known as “Cat System”. Those who are surrendered to the enemy and work under disguise for the enemy are called “Cats”. ‘Cats’ are used for different activities. They are infiltrated into the organization structures of guerillas, collect the information about their strengths, secret bases, modus operandi and transfer that to security forces. They are used as ‘Spotters’ for identifying the guerillas. New “revolutionary group” is formed with renegades with personal hatred towards movement and they function as independent ‘revolutionaries’. These ‘cats’ hunt down the revolutionaries. This ‘cat system’ was extensively used in the counter insurgency operations in Punjab after 1991.

### **Defense Measures:**

Counter-insurgency forces are taking up the necessary defense measures for protection (including police stations, camps, mobile patrolling parties) from guerilla raids and ambushes. As part of these defense actions, forces are provided with modern weapons, bullet proof jackets, bullet proof vehicles, mine proof vehicles, VHF and other communication equipments, Night vision, GPS equipment, etc.

**Defense Measures for Camps and Police Stations:** For protecting camps and police stations they are taking up the steps like restricting the vehicles from coming near, searching the visitors with metal detectors, setting up search lights, construction of bunkers, trenches, fortified constructions, providing two to three layers of fencing etc. In Manipur soldiers are provided with armored vehicles. In Nagaland ordinary Naga people are used as shield for the military camps. They are keeping the buses carrying people in front, back and in the middle of police convoy. Police are traveling in civil dress along with people to protect themselves from ambushes. Polices are given motorcycles to have faster movement and escape from ambushes.

And finally Indian Army, paramilitary and police forces are nothing but exploiting hired gangs with anti-people character a tradition left behind by British imperialism. Till today Indian Army, paramilitary and police forces are continuing British tradition and are trying to resolve all problems of political nature with militarily with brutal suppression. And hence they are facing the people’s hatred. Learning lesson from this experience counter insurgency

- 2) Creating a ‘Unified Command’ for all the security forces engaged in the counter insurgency operations in this area.
- 3) Establishing a common intelligence data bank in Shillong. Maintaining a hotline communication with all the capitals of North Eastern states and immediate exchange of communication and coordinating the low intensity counter insurgency operations.
- 4) Declaring the areas of intensified struggles as ‘disturbed areas’.
- 5) Declaring some fighting groups as ‘unlawful associations’.
- 6) Deploying additional army and paramilitary forces.
- 7) Providing financial assistance to the North Eastern states for modernizing and up gradation of their state police forces.
- 8) Creating Indian reserve battalions.

The responsibility for properly coordinating this multi-faced attack is with the Coordination cell mentioned above. However for its implementation and ensuring the proper usage fund provided to them and regulating them a “Special Standing Monitoring Mechanism” is also formed by the union government. The representatives from Home, Finance and Planning Commission shall be members of this committee.

### **Low Intensity Conflict (Counter Insurgency) Strategy implemented by Indian Ruling Classes:**

North Eastern fighters (revolutionaries) are very swift and capable of completing their task speedily and efficiently. They can move with lightening speed and fight till the end and they can very rarely fall in the enemy hands. They have very committed and dedicated woman activists. These fighters are highly disciplined and well trained. They are expert in making Improvising Explosive Devices (IED). They are also experienced in using high-tech explosives. They have natural expertise to creating traps for large animals like elephant. North Eastern fighters added surprise element also to all these characters for destroying the security forces.

Since the primary bases for the North Eastern fighters were located outside the Indian borders and inside Myanmar, China, Bangladesh and Bhutan low intensity war is their characteristic. These fighters penetrate with lightening speed, finish their actions and retreat immediately. 72% of their

ambushes are targeted against Indian army and paramilitary forces. They made foolproof plans and executed them with precision.

For countering the guerilla war of North East guerillas with the above features Indian army and paramilitary forces used the following tactics.

### **Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and other Black Laws:**

Instead of recognizing the nationality movements as the political movements, Indian ruling classes are behaving as if they can isolate the nationality fighters through military operations and either weaken them or eliminate them and through this they can completely suppress the movement. For achieving this objective and in the name of maintaining law and order Indian ruling classes had given special powers to security forces by introducing many black laws. Assam state government had introduced “Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous Districts) Act-1953” and “Assam Disturbed Areas Act –1955”. Indian central government had declared Naga Hills regions as “Disturbed Areas” in 1955 and kept this area under the army control since then. Later “Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation Act-1958” and “Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act-1958” were introduced. Another act specially for Nagaland “Nagaland Security Regulation Act-1962” is under implementation. In Nagaland and Manipur “Punjab Security of State Act-1953” is also under implementation. In 1972, “Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act-1958” “Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act-1958” was amended and made “Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act-1972. This draconian act is under implementation in all the North Eastern states (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalay, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura) which are known as ‘seven sisters’ and also in all the Union Territories in the North Eastern region. Along with these special acts, NSA, TADA and POTA are also implemented there. Brutally suppressing the civil rights using all these black laws enemy is terrorizing and discouraging the people from joining the movement.

Security forces are given the right to fire and kill the people under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act-1972. According to the provisions under this law security forces can never face any trial for any atrocity they commit. Civilians are prohibited from carrying any weapons, Foreigners and Journalists are prohibited from moving in this area. Searching and arresting without warrants, banning the political parties and mass organizations leading the nationality liberation struggles, punishing those who are joining the movement,

completely disturbed the economic conditions of Naga people. There are instances where the villages supporting guerilla fighters are burnt down more than twenty times. In this way they are dislocating the people after burning their villages and putting them in new villages. This type of dislocation is called by Indian government as “village grouping” and the area comprising such villages is called “village grouping area”. This method was first used by Japan invaders in Manchuria in 1930s. Later British army used the same method when they attacked communist guerillas in Malaya and the Indian exploiting classes are now using the same method.

The objective of this method is creating “strategic villages” it means setting up new villages as camps at a place favorable to central government and counter insurgency forces. Enemy had maintained complete control over these camps. Identity cards were issued to every villager, home guards were appointed to control the movements of villagers, only one entrance was kept for the camp and security was provided surrounding the camp. With all these they managed to disrupt the contact between the people and guerillas. Between 1966-70, about 230 villages were removed and kept the people in concentration camps. 35 percent of the Mizo people were living in camps. By forcibly converting the people ideologically, politically, economically and culturally to the government side they are describing this as “winning the people and their hearts”. The real objective is continuing the exploiting rule by turning people into slaves.

### **Counter Insurgency Gangs:**

As part of the counter insurgency operations, they are organizing the anti-revolutionary gangs and surrendered guerilla fighters into killer gangs or licensed gangs. During 1960s they had formed killer gangs in the name of “village guards” for attacking the guerilla fighters and for terrorizing the villagers and “village volunteer forces” for fighting NNC in Manipur. For fighting NSCN in 1980s same strategy was adopted. With the consent of Indian government pro-Shillong agreement NNC group had formed a local militia with the name “People’s Militia of Nagaland (PMN)”. This militia gang along with the security forces create terror among the Naga villagers. Indian army provided money, arms, shelter in the army camps and made them to attack NSCN. These gangs also counter insurgency forces. They are using these killer gangs for attacking the people, sympathizers, mass organization activists and terrorizing the people and for splitting and weakening the



The central government which never came forward for solving the basic problems of the people had taken up the economic reforms in North Eastern states for watering down the justifiable struggle organized with the support of the people. But it didn't give any relief to the people. Recently special economic package of Rs 13,29,891 crores is announced for implementation in North Eastern region for a period up to 2020. Though these economic activities are initially implemented by the civil administration gradually their implementation is going into the hands of army, paramilitary and police forces. The real objective of these economic reforms is to create favourable opinion about the armed forces in a section of the people, to create false impression in the middle class masses and to create a opinion that armed forces are working for the general good of the people.

For improving the image of army they had started "Operation Good Samaritan" program. This is part of the "Army Development Group (ADG)" set up in 1995. Construction of roads, school buildings and play grounds, water supply, medical camps, maintaining the fair price shops are some of the activities under this program.

Central government is wooing a vacillating section in the armed struggle fighters under the scheme of "surrender-rehabilitation". They are declaring the prices on the heads of leadership and offering that money either to the persons who help them in arresting the leadership or directly to the persons who surrender.

They are forming youth associations and organizing sports competitions, conducting anti-people durbars and cultural programs. Through all these they are trying to divert the peoples attention away from the justifiable mass struggles and attract them towards government's counter insurgency forces.

### **Concentration Camps:**

Completely eliminating the conditions favourable for the movement of guerilla and nationality struggle fighters is the only objective of this. It means applying counter revolutionary violence on the people and forcing them to leave their villages. For isolating the guerillas from the people counter insurgency forces are carrying out cleaning and mopping up actions by organizing large massacres, forcing the people to leave their villages, vacating wide areas, burning down villages and making people refugees. They bring down the schools and churches and destroyed the crops. In totality they

supporting the movement and their sympathizers are some of the many powers armed forces have under this Act. Using this Act, security forces had killed thousands of activists in and youth from Adivasi tribes in Naga, Mizo, Assam, Tripura, Manipur and other states, carried out brutal atrocities on women. The naked demonstrations of Manipur mothers protesting against the atrocities of security forces on Manipur women had disturbed the civil society across the globe. Public came onto roads to show their dissent. Civil rights activists strongly condemned this act and challenged the Act in Supreme Court. But Supreme Court stuck down the petition and supported the Act. This makes the Indian Army and Paramilitary forces a true invaders of North Eastern states.

### **Flush Out Operations:**

Indian security forces had primarily taken up "Flush Out Operations". Isolating the North East fighters (revolutionaries) from the people through patrolling, ambushing, raiding, cordon & searching and either eliminating or weakening them is the primary objective these flush out operations.

From 1956 in Nagaland and from 1960s in Mizoram Indian army and Paramilitary forces (CRPF, Assam Rifles) have taken up combined military actions. Naga and Mizo fighters with the support of the people replied them through guerilla war. Until 1967, Indian army and paramilitary forces had suffered losses. Taking lessons from it, for providing proper understanding about the geographical conditions and psychology of people and fighters and also to provide special training to the forces engaged in counter insurgency operations, Indian army opened Counter Insurgency & Jungle Warfare School (CIJWS) in 1970 in the Wairangtai in Mizoram. This village is near the border district Cachar of Assam. Since then this school is used for not only for the security forces of North Eastern states but also for selected forces from all the states are provided training every year in this school. Other countries including America are also sending forces for training. The participants in this training school are taught apart from the details of counter insurgency operations carried out in North East area, a basic course on comprehensive counter insurgency operation. The course material contains history of the insurgency area, theatre specific training, language, clothes and living style of the people of that area. Along with this field training suitable to firing in all types of geographical areas and conditions (for example quick response firing, urba shooting, pursuit, ambush, jungle lane shooting, chance encounter, mobile

firing etc.). They created eleven firing ranges in the vicinity of this school.

Indian ruling classes had opened this school for providing special training in counter insurgency for suppressing the justifiable struggles of North Eastern masses. But soon the forces specially trained in this school are also used to suppress the mass struggles broke in other parts of the country like Punjab and Kashmir. The Naga, Mizo battalions deployed in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand since 2004 for suppressing the Maoist movement are also trained in this school.

In this process there are some systemic changes are taking place in the forces deployed in counter insurgency operations. As every unit is required to fulfill a greater responsibility during the counter insurgency operation even a small section of 10 members shall be headed not by Naik or equivalent level but by an officer. In place of rifles they are carrying AK 47s or Machine Carbine (modernized sten sterlings or Kalashnekovs). For carrying out large scale destruction Mortars are also given to counter insurgency forces. They are introducing the additional facilities for detecting booby traps and mines. They are also using helicopters as and when required. For taking the photographs from the above of the targets, camps of the fighters, areas of their movement and to locate the safe landing places for their helicopters they are taking help from air force and space agencies. They are doing all these only to mercilessly eliminate the leadership and fighters of guerilla war. They are applying the principle of using a big stick even to beat a small snake.

Security forces have deployed their large forces for countering the hit and run tactics of guerilla war by small units. As they didn't get the expected result from camping for a long time in the killing ground they had learnt their lessons and started new tactics. They learned to attack with small teams. They studied the shape, nature and pattern of guerillas and identified the places they move frequently. Established intelligence work and based on this they started surprise attacks. Selecting suitable places after thoroughly studying the conditions in forest for waiting in counter ambushes, improvising their movements depending on the situation, following discipline regarding the start of firing, enemy forces had done all these for disrupting the ambushes by guerilla forces. They had used the multi-faced intensification of repression for destroying the organization structures of guerillas, their commitment to the goals and their solid decision to resist.

they are trying to raise the morale of counter insurgency forces.

One special branch (IB/SB) has been created in the army and paramilitary forces for conducting this psychological warfare. Negative propaganda about the leadership of the movement and guerilla forces, issuing paper statements through surrendered and betrayers, spreading rumours etc are some of the activities. They are carrying out most vicious propaganda saying that guerillas are killing innocent people, doing atrocities on women, joining hands with drug mafia for weapons etc.

Counter insurgency forces are continuously propagating that there are no problems in the North Eastern states and the armed struggles are created by our enemy countries and only misled youth are carrying weapons.

### **Reforms:**

For splitting, weakening and then eliminating the armed struggles in North Eastern states and for misleading a section of people who are politically backward Indian government has taken up some hollow political, economic and social developmental reforms through counter insurgency forces.

With the objective of splitting and weakening the armed struggle of Naga people and for pitting Nagas against Nagas by converting some Nagas into government agents Indian government had encouraged some Naga groups and provided them some political concessions. Declaration of Naga hills and Tuensang area as autonomous areas and creation of Nagaland state etc. Naga people were divided into four states (Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh). After the formation of Nagaland state serious difference rose in the Naga liberation activists.

The Bodo movement in Assam is being led by National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and its military wing Bodoland Army (earlier it is known as Bodo Security Force). Central government had propped up another organization Bodo Liberation Tigers Force (BLFT) against them. RAW had provided arms and training to BLFT. In Tripura with the support of central government some Bengali armed groups are formed and are attacking the local Adivasi movements.

In 1966, the state government in Nagaland had taken up "Peace Offensive". They had allocated 113 crores for this attack. This money was used by counter insurgency forces for splitting the justifiable armed struggle and for creating informer network against this struggle.

IB and SIBs are using every available resource and means for collecting the intelligence in counter insurgency. They are approaching those who are opposed to guerilla and those who were personally affected by guerillas offering them money and jobs and using them for intelligence. They are using all precautions for protecting their informers. Money is extensively used to tempt the people and using them for collecting information. Tempted by the money and job offers a section of the people are coming forward to help the intelligence agencies. They are even using the contradictions with in the people to collect the intelligence.

The role of intelligence agencies in counter insurgency operations is not confined to collect the information and passing it on to counter insurgency forces. Their important objective is to split the fighting organizations and destroying them. In this way IB was able to not only split the NSCN but also tried to kill the leadership of the group committed to the movement.

Military is of unanimous opinion that all the successful counter insurgency operations are successful only because of the definite information. Indian army recognized the key role of intelligence very early and started the activities of creating sources for collecting the information about the locals and fighters. It is proved from the experience that only those who are able to collect definite information on their own and carry out fake encounters based on that information are able to succeed.

At any time for restricting the guerilla activities and counter insurgency operations are carried out continuously, IB, SIB and other intelligence agencies are ensuring that counter insurgency forces are having general and definite information.

### **Psychological Warfare:**

Psychological warfare is an important aspect in counter insurgency. Psychological warfare is carried out with the objective of disrupting the guerilla war and suppressing and winning over the people supporting the guerilla war. Psychological warfare is being conducted with the objective of targeting a section of the people and winning their feelings towards counter insurgency forces by putting pressure on the people and the armed struggle of nationalities through propaganda mediums of TV, Radio, Cinema, Newspapers, leaflets and posters. By propagating that there is no benefit from the liberation of the nationalities and these struggles can never succeed

**Principle of Minimum Force:** In the North Eastern counter insurgency operations Aircraft, Artillery, armed vehicles like tanks were never effective. When Mizo National Front (MNF) occupied its state capital Aizawl in February 1966, Indian Army used aircraft for bombing the town. It used helicopters for the deployment of forces, transportation of ammunition and other supplies and shifting the injured persons. But the conditions in a guerilla war are not favourable for using these facilities and equipments which are useful in traditional warfare. Hence in counter guerilla warfare tactics they use the principle of “minimum forces and maximum fire power” which means using small number of specially trained forces armed with automatic weapons and mortars. According to this principle they are using large forces for defense and using small and efficient teams for attacking guerillas.

For this special commando forces they are recruiting active people with less than 25 years of age. In the struggle areas of Nagaland there will be one army or paramilitary person for every eight ordinary persons. It means they are deploying exceptionally large numbers of armed and paramilitary forces than guerillas for their offense and defense.

**Patrolling:** Patrolling is done continuously for finding out the areas of guerilla fighters, their bases, their targets and plans. Tracing the guerillas and eliminating and making a place unsafe for the guerillas is the primary objective of his patrolling. They are filling the guerilla areas without any gap with extensive patrolling. They are using this patrolling for taking control of important roads and key passages and for establishing and maintaining contact with their other forces.

Patrolling is also used for setting up ambushes for guerillas and closing their escape routes. Further they are chasing the guerillas forces and compelling them for confrontation and eliminating them.

Counter insurgency forces shall try to lower the intensity of guerilla war during the guerilla war phase using patrolling. Similarly they put severe pressure on guerilla forces and not allow them to have space for breathing. Patrolling is carried out in small numbers with lighter automatic weapons and move very fast. These patrollings are generally conducted in planned and coordinated areas. But they frequently change their routes to deceive guerilla forces.

**Ambushes:** Counter insurgency forces are compelling the guerilla forces

into war using night ambush and day ambush in a surprise manner and inflicting serious losses. It is also affecting the movement of guerillas and their supplies.

Counter insurgency forces by collecting concrete information about the movements and travel routes of guerilla forces are eliminating them in ambushes. In this way 20 KM inside Bhutan, on Bangladesh border and on Myanmar border security forces had laid ambushes and killed many guerilla forces. On getting concrete information of guerillas visiting the villages they are ambushing them enroute. Using the weaknesses of guerilla forces and identifying the suitable town and villages raiding them and destroying them.

**Raids:** Based on the intelligence information, Indian counter insurgency forces are locating the guerilla bases and raiding them. They are conducting commando raids on guerilla bases in Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Government of India is pressurizing the governments of Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh to cooperate with Indian counter insurgency forces and conducting combined operations and killing guerillas.

In September, 1980 after the formation of NSCN, Indian security forces, NNC group which accepted the Shillong agreement and Myanmar forces had conducted a combined attack on operational head quarters of NSCN and killed 70 guerillas. Even now joint operations are being conducted on the Myanmar border. In another joint operation in Bhutan more than 300 guerillas from ULFA, KLO and Bodo fighters were killed and hundreds were arrested.

**Cordon and Search Operations:** These operations are carried out after locating the guerillas. Either on getting concrete information or on suspicion counter insurgency forces swiftly cordon whether it is day or night, cover the entire escape routes and start searching. They search every place including houses, buildings and the bushes around. They will form into search teams, defense teams and reserve teams and conduct this operation in swift and alert manner. Suspecting every one and abusing them, hitting them, disappearing some of them, carrying out atrocities on women has become routine for the counter insurgency forces. When the operations are going on they set up check points and road blocks to seal the routes of escape for guerillas. They herd the people at one place and search the houses and buildings. Such operations are generally carried out for guerilla fighters, for their weapons and for their ammunition dumps. They use search teams, mine detectors and metal detectors. These operations are repeatedly carried out in an unexpected

and surprised manner. counter insurgency forces conduct these operations hoping that they might get their targets one time or other.

**Roadblocks and Check Points:** For controlling the movement of guerillas, their couriers and their supplies (weapons and ammunition) counter insurgency forces are setting up road blocks and check points both inside the guerilla areas and nearby towns. Check points are manned with army and paramilitary forces and regulate the movements. They check every citizen and vehicle. Either immediately after a guerilla action or for the security of VIPs moving in the area or with some concrete information about some guerilla action they carry out this operation and terrorize the people. In all the roads in North Eastern region particularly on national highways and state highways they had set up out post and check post at every step and are doing the continuous checking.

Generally roadblocks are set up in permanent manner but some times they are setting up them temporarily and in an unexpected manner. They are using the jeeps with armed jawans and other vehicles as removable roadblocks and check points. They are using the culverts, narrow roads and low lying regions which are difficult to escape for setting up roadblocks and check points. All these are creating inconvenience and fear in the people.

### **Intelligence:**

The Indian intelligence agencies collecting the information for helping the counter insurgency forces are Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), Intelligence Bureau (IB), Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau (SIB), Central Intelligence Department (CID), Military Intelligence (MI) etc. All these agencies were acting independently in the past.

For counter intelligence and for collecting the external intelligence from the border countries to North Eastern side Indian army had Liaison Units (LU) and Intelligence and Field Security Units (AFSU) in the past also. And now the Indian army had created Internal security Group (ISG). The task for this group is to ready the Indian army to face any type of situation. Additionally, other paramilitary forces BSF, CRPF and Assam Rifles had set up their own intelligence units and are continuing their intelligence operations.

Presently they are trying to coordinate all these agencies and integrate them into one common intelligence network applicable for the entire North Eastern area and bringing it under one unified command.



1951 after thousands of people had sacrificed their lives.

## **ii) Enemy's Counter-insurgency strategy against Maoist movement during Naxalbari uprising (1967-1972):**

While police action was adequate to crush the Naxalbari revolutionary armed peasant revolt in 1967, they had to resort to joint actions of para military forces along with police action to crush the revolutionary movements in Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur and Mushahari. In 1971 they used Indian military forces along with police action to crush the revolutionary movement of Birbhumi. The enemy resorted to the following counter insurgency methods in these operations.

### **1. Strengthening the police forces, deploying state special armed police forces, CRPF and military forces:**

The central and state governments had together taken up a big police action on July 12th in 1967 with the aim of completely wiping out the Naxalbari revolutionary peasant revolt. Top police officials were given all powers by the cabinet. As a result they implemented very harshly the 'attack and liquidate' on the Naxalbari revolutionary peasantry. Police camps were set up in every village. Nobody from other areas was allowed inside. Villages were rounded up and thousands of peasantry and revolutionary leaders were arrested. They were tortured severely. The Home Minister Hari Krishna Konar was personally present along with the police and had this policy implemented. CPI (M) goons also participated in this actively with the police.

While the Srikakulam revolutionary movement was taking root among the people they failed in crushing it with state police actions. So they had to deploy para military forces on a large scale. The central and state governments had jointly deployed 10,444 of CRPF and a large number of state special armed police (APSP) in May 1969 with the aim of completely wiping out the Srikakulam rebellion. In Srikakulam where the movement was at its peak 80 armed outposts were established. Some camps were established in Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar and Adilabad of Andhra Pradesh. Police stations were fortified. In the plains (Uddanam) in every village or for every mile a police camp was established.

The Eastern Frontier Rifles and para military forces were deployed in Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur in Midnapore district and the West Bengal United Front government had implemented the 'encircle and liquidate' policy from

2 lakhs of forces were deployed in Jammu & Kashmir. As it was happened in North Eastern states, "Armed forces (Special Powers) Act, 1990 (Jammu & Kashmir) was introduced giving unlimited powers to the armed forces for torturing the people.

Indian army had modernized its infantry to increase its firepower by 10 times for the Low Intensity Conflict in Kashmir. Particularly it is modernized to carry out its operations during the nights. Every soldier was provided with high firepower weapons and high-tech surveillance instruments. Infantry was provided with 84MM Carl Gustaph Mark-2 weapons which are capable of creating light on the target and Draganov Sniper rifles for firing in that light, Aguerilla squads-30 automatic rifles and 84 MM Rocket Launchers Mark-3. It had provided thousands of hand held thermal imagers, night vision glasses and Long Range Observation Systems (LOROS). With the Long Range Observation Systems one can see upto 16 Kms in the night. Along with them infantry used the battlefield surveillance radars which are used in traditional warfare. These radars are capable of detecting a person from 15 Kms, a group from 18Kms and a helicopter from 25 Kms. Indian army extensively used these equipments on Kashmiri guerillas.

In the mean time under the pretext of war threat from Pakistan, Indian ruling classes are spending thousands of crores for modernizing not only its infantry but every wing including air force and navy. This is an example for the expansionist desires of Indian ruling classes.

Counter insurgency forces have adopted all the counter insurgency operations which they had implemented in North Eastern region in Kashmir. However they were more brutal in Kashmir than north east and Punjab. The objective of counter insurgency operations is brutally suppressing the fighters and the people supporting them. Political, social and developmental activities have become secondary. Whether he is a guerilla fighters or whether sympathizer every one was branded as Pakistan agent and was hunted like an animal and brutally murdered. During the 10 years period between 1990-2000, counter insurgency forces had killed 60,000 Kashmiri people. Any one spotted at the border was killed and propagated as infiltrator. In this thousands of Kashmiri youth became victims of Indian brutal armies and there is no count for the atrocities of security forces on Kashmiri women. Atrocities on women is always used as weapon in counter insurgency operations. Because of the coverage media has given to Kashmir was more than the coverage

given North Eastern and Punjab, the atrocities of ISF, crushing the human rights have come out open to the world. It is natural for the Kashmiri people to treat Indian government as enemy for the brutal acts they had done to them.

For keeping the Kashmiri people and particularly Muslim people under continuous surveillance identity cards were given to every individual. Every one compulsorily carry this card always. They created very deep and strong intelligence network and machinery in every village, every town and every street. Tempting a section of unemployed youth and lumpen gangs with many lucrative offers, appointed them as “Special Police Officer (SPO)” and used counter insurgency operations. This type of experiment of SPOs was used for the first time in Kashmir.

Indian ruling classes used Divide and rule principle as part of their counter insurgency operations. They divided the secular Kashmiri people on the basis of religion. They provoked Kashmiri pandits saying that Kashmiri Muslims are tilting in favour of Pakistan. With this a section of Kashmiri pandits has stood against struggle for independent Kashmir. As part of the conspiracy by RAW, a section among them was trained, provided with arms and formed into armed killer gangs. With the encouragement given by Indian government, they are demanding for ‘home land’ for Kashmiri pandits. These are all part of counter insurgency operations of splitting and weakening the independent Kashmiri movement and the people.

In the past Indian ruling classes had provided special status to Kashmir under article 370. However a section of the Indian ruling classes are demanding the abolition of this article which was never implemented in totality. Indian ruling classes, by creating a controversy on this issue are trying their best divide the people in Kashmir and rest of India.

Protecting their trusted agent India, through it maintaining their hold on South Asia and getting their interests served is the real objective of imperialists. That is why imperialism is supporting the expansionism of Indian ruling classes. As part of this strategy, they are supporting the Indian ruling classes from the time of division of India, Pakistan to until now.

### **iii) Counter-insurgency Operations in Punjab:**

Central government decided to militarily crush this movement using counter insurgency plan. In 1983, state government was removed and central

newborn babies through out the day and cruelly killed infants in front of their mothers.

Burning alive, Burying alive and mass killings: Those who didn’t reveal any secrets even after severe torture were killed in most cruel forms. They were tied to the bullock cart and burnt alive. They were kept inside paddy fields and burnt alive, they were shot and buried alive. They were tied to truck and dragged till they are dead, they were tied to the wheels of bullock carts and rolled over till they are dead, their bodies were cut into pieces, they were thrown into bushes with thorns and crushed to death, they were asked lie down and crushed to death with stones, they were made to roll over sand under scorching heat, hot boiling water poured over them till they are dead, they were killed with bayonets. In police, military camps and force full resettlement camps hundreds of people were shot in groups.

Loss of large number of important activists: With in few months of Indian army’s entry large number of important activists became martyrs. They had lost their as they solidly struck to their ideological position and protecting the people. About 2000 lost their lives of which 500 were party activists and 1500 were sympathizers.

In the Great Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle, which continued for 5 years, totally 4000 had lost their lives.

### **Reasons for the setback of the Telangana Armed agrarian Struggle:**

The Communist Party which was leading the revolutionary struggle did not have a correct revolutionary line. There was spontaneity in formulating the correct strategy-tactics. Reformism and economism were quite strong in the leadership. It considered the Indian comprador bourgeoisie as national in character. There was no revolutionary military line and the arming of the masses was based more on spontaneity than on guidance of revolutionary theory. Hence the armed formations that came into existence were disorganised, suffered from lack of adequate military training, professionalism and iron discipline, and did not proceed to form higher military formations even after thousands of guerrillas were recruited into the squads. There was no solidarity movement in support of the Telangana armed struggle. Hence the struggle had to be waged alone without any coordination or support of other sections of people. And finally, the CP leadership had shamelessly betrayed the glorious agrarian revolutionary struggle by withdrawing it in



and food grains. They hadn't left any thing in plain areas as well.

They mercilessly beat the people who refused to vacate. In some places they did mass firings and in some places people were burnt alive. They had killed 15 to 20 people in a small Banjara village with 15 houses.

The people in forced settlements had lived under severe torture. From the fact that the total tribal people of an entire taluq were made to live in three or forced settlement shows the condition of these settlements. Many people in these camps had died because of scarcity of food, water and other basic necessities. Epidemics like Cholera and other communicable diseases became a common feature in these camps. In one of the camps about 1500 Koyas had died because of Cholera with in two months. In the vicinity of this camp more than 10 thousand people were died. The cattle brought into these camps also died in large numbers due to lack of proper care.

Deshmukhs were allowed inside the camps to identify the people sympathetic to the movement. The persons identified by Deshmukhs were beaten till blood comes from their bodies and red chilli powder is applied on them. Many people died in the camps because of the torture. Some of the people were made to dig graves for themselves. They were shot at and buried in the very same graves. Some were buried alive. Some were hanged from the tree branches.

These forceful settlements created for carrying out inhuman atrocities had been described by Congress leaders as "Resettlement centers" and often named as 'Gandhi Nagar', 'Ashok Nagar', 'Jawahar Nagar', 'Bapu Nagar' etc.

Atrocities on Women: In raping and carrying out atrocities on women, Congress Razakars and Indian soldiers had exceeded Nizam Razakars. Parading the naked women and raping them became a routine. This happened more in the places near camps and forceful settlements. They didn't spared pregnant and newly delivered women. Women were raped right in front of their husbands and other family members. In the first year itself more than 1000 women were raped. During the entire period some thousands of women were reaped and more than 100 women died because of the gang rapes.

Women were herded to one place like cattle and then subjected to mass torture. They were made naked and beaten badly and red chilli powder was sprayed on their wounds. They restrained mothers from giving milk to their

government rule was imposed. Army officer. General R S Dayal was appointed as advisor to the Governor on security matters. Army, paramilitary and police forces were deployed in large numbers and entire state was kept in the hands of army. Indian army under the control of Lt. General R S Dayal started looking after all the internal matters of state government and established its complete control over the state government. Apart from the state police machinery, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had given even the right to restructure the civil administration also to Gen. Dayal. Governor rule was only for namesake in reality it was army rule in Punjab. This was the first time when a state was officially handed over to army. The black law which gave unlimited powers to the security forces in North Eastern area was extended to Punjab through "Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1983 (Punjab Chandigarh)". In addition to this in the name "Internal security in Punjab" another black law "Terrorist Activities Disruption (Prevention), Act -1985" (TADA) was also introduced

All the methods that are used in North Eastern counter insurgency operations were applied in Punjab with some degree of variance. With the objective of eliminating the fighters and their supporters, security forces (army, paramilitary and police) had murdered thousands of youth in fake encounters describing them as terrorists and militants. They were shot in front of the people. To make the villages without youth, they killed some, disappeared some and forced others to flee to different states and other countries. In this way ISF had tried to arrest the public support to the movement. Enemy had taken up 'Mopping up' actions in villages and towns. Police machinery gathered a section of rowdies, lumpens and organized them into hired killer gangs. These gangs were given A K 47 rifles and were allowed to roam freely in the name of patrolling.

In Punjab SF had applied some additional methods as part of their counter insurgency operations.

### **Operation Blue Star, Operation Black Thunder:**

The important leaders of Punjab movement Jarnailsingh Bhindranwale and his followers were staying inside the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Major General Shabegh Singh who was supporting them was also with them. He acted as operational commander and developed it into guerilla struggle.

Before the sunset on 5<sup>th</sup> June Golden Temple was surrounded with war

tanks and thus began the “Operation Blue Star”. The overconfident Indian army which thought of killing all the leadership and take control of the temple in few hours had taken some days for completing the operation. -

Indian army couldn't enter into temple for some days. They were not able to bring out the neither fighters nor the people. And finally it destroyed the Golden Temple from all sides with heavy firing using artillery shells, armored vehicles and tanks. Along with the fighters about two thousand people who were inside the temple at the time attack had lost their lives. Later central government had declared that 332 soldiers were also killed in this operation.

The Indian government's much-publicied objectives to flush our terrorists from the Temple, causing minimum damage, and avoid firing at the hostel side ended in a fiasco. On the whole in front of the resistance put up by the fighters who fought without fearing the death, the Operation Blue Star which is one of the major counter insurgency operations by Indian ruling classes had suffered a defeat militarily, politically and morally.

Punjab people, particularly Sikhs couldn't tolerate the destruction of Golden Temple and killing the people inside by Indian army in Operation Blue Star. It has its impact on Indian army. There was a revolt in the army. As a result some changes were made in the army. After Operation Blue Star the demand for self determination including the right to separate came into the people's agenda. Punjab people demanded for separate country and further sharpened their struggle.

For avenging the attack on Golden Temple, fascist Indira Gandhi was killed on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1984. Immediately after the death of the dictator, at the instance of her son Rajiv Gandhi who was not even in power Sikhs were massacred through out the country. The Hindu fundamentalists in all the ruling class parties had joined together and openly massacred about 3000 Sikhs in the country. Fearing a huge backlash by the Sikh people in Punjab because of this massacre in 1985, exploitative ruling classes had introduced TADA act and implemented it brutally in Punjab. Thousands of Sikh people were killed in fake encounters and disappeared using TADA.

Sikh people fought against Indian government more seriously. Between 1984-88 many guerilla organizations were formed for demanding separate Punjab and started working actively in rural and urban areas. Getting in the

People were hung upside down on trees and then they were kicked like football

Pins were pushed into their nails and body marks were created using heated iron rods and fire sticks. Some times electric shocks were also given.

They made people to run with trucks if they couldn't they were dragged on roads by tying them to trucks.

People were made to sleep under scorching sun and heavy stones were placed on their bodies. Soldiers danced on their bodies.

People were thrown into thorny bushes and made them crawl on knees and elbows.

In this way Indian army had excelled Razakars when it comes to torturing the people. People used to say “the person who ate sheep had gone and now we have a person who eat buffaloes”. This repression continued unabatedly and more violently.

There were 160 attacks on a village in a three months period. One militant was tortured 18 times making his whole body like wound. One squad had faced military attacks 12 times in a particular day they had to run continuously for 120 Kms on that day. 1000 to 1500 armed forces had attacked thirty to forty villages simultaneously. All these shows the intensity of oppression. On one or two occasions air bombing was also done on villages.

In this repression 3 lakhs people from 2000 villages belonging to Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar and Hyderabad districts were subjected to torture. About 50 thousands were arrested and more than 5000 from them had languished in jails for years.

8) Brigs Plan: government had concentrated only on the efforts to isolate squads and party from the people and forest area and eliminate them. They forced koya, chenchu, lambadi and other tribes to vacate their villages and made them to settle away from the camps and near their camps. They vacated the small villages and added them to big villages and kept their Military camps in such big villages. The forceful settlements around the military camps are nothing but repression camps.

Enemy forces adopted cruel methods for making the people vacate their villages. They burnt down village after village particularly they had not left a small hut in forest area. They burnt everything people had including clothes

have people's state. Handover land, property, food grain whatever you have taken from Deshmukhs. Pay your taxes, cess, levy etc. Congress government will introduce land reforms. Ask the squads to surrender with arms. We have modern weapons to fire a distance of 2 KMs and tanks to destroy any thing including an airplane. We came to protect you. If you don't listen to us we will punish you and you are digging your own grave". They tried scare the people and turn them to their side.

3) They arranged day and night surveillance on the routes used by squads for catching guerilla squads and party leadership. They searched every place and squads were managed to escape only because of the alertness shown by sentries.

4) They had strengthened CID branch, hired agents and home guard system. Many rich farmers and moneylenders had joined hands with the enemy and passed on information about squads and party members. Congress volunteers acted like special spies to the military and gave them details of the active members in the movement. The Congress goons also acted like Razakars and attacked the people.

5) The movements of the enemy were swift and sharp. They used to surround a place in no time whether it is day or night.

6) They subjected the activists fallen into their hands to brutal and unbearable torture for extracting the information and some times they were able to get some information.

7) Forms of oppression: Encircling: Every day army used to bring people from five to six villages to one place torture them all for two to three hours. They used to cane them severely asking them details about communist activists. After that they used to take some of them along with them in their search operations. With the people kept by their side they search every place in that area. This way they concentrate one center a day. This was continued in taluq after taluq. Some times they used to encircle twenty to thirty villages.

**Torture:** Attacks were primarily concentrated on the families of Party members and guerilla squad members and these family members were tortured in public.

People were tied with ropes taken to height and thrown down. People were tied inside gunny bags and thrown up and down like a ball.

information that Sikh militants are taking shelter inside Golden Temple, in May 1988 ruling classes once again prepared a counter insurgency plan for eliminating the Punjab guerillas. They named it "Operation Black Thunder". They devised "Operation Black Thunder" drawing lessons from the failures of "Operation Blue Star".

Even after Operation Black Thunder, the Punjab movement was not dead. guerilla fighters extended to rural areas and continued their struggles. After that for putting more pressure on guerillas counter insurgency forces had formed "Punjab Commando Force" and carried many counter insurgency operations like "Wood Rose", "Rakshak" etc. By conducting continuous patrolling and Cordon & Search operations they completely eliminated the leadership. Some of the surrendered people were rehabilitated under the surrender policy. Awards were declared on the heads of leadership. Commando Force operations were continued in Punjab, Chandigarh and Terai region of Uttar Pradesh. After some time due to lack of leadership Punjab movement was declined.

To sum up, overall, the Central government to achieve its exploitative interests, in counterinsurgency operations, it used intensive brutal force like army, para-military, police forces to massacre over 10,000 fighters and common people to resolve by militarily means rather than solve the Punjab, Sikh people's just political, economic, social basic problems. Hundreds of youth Abducted to terrorise the people.

For 10 years the armed upsurge in Punjab became a nightmare to the enemy. Militarily, the heroic guerilla war waged by the Punjab insurgents against a strong enemy is a milestone in the history of the Indian guerilla war.

## **iv) The new methods followed in North East, Kashmir and Punjab:**

### **i) Special Commando Forces:**

To suppress the Northeast insurgents and effectively implement the mopping up operations, exploit Indian ruling classes established a jungle warfare school in Mizoram at vierengte village in 1970 to specially train up and build special forces in counterinsurgency. According to the principle of "small forces and high fire power" this special commando forces are built. In Kashmir, to conduct counterinsurgency operations more intensively, the

fire power of the Indian army infantry was greatly improved to ten times.

### **ii) Unified Command:**

By developing intelligence coordination, Indian army, paramilitary (CRPF, Assam Rifles), police forces are drawn under a single command and established a unified command. In 1993, according to Indian home ministry ruling 'Northeast regional security coordination cell' was established. General Secretaries, DGPs, of the Northeast states, higher rank military officials are members of this cell. The objective of the cell is to totally coordinating the counterinsurgency operations in the Northeast states. Designing and implementing the 'multi pronged strategy' is done by this cell.

### **iii) Joint Operations in International borders:**

Utilising the areas within the neighbouring countries as bases by the North East insurgents had both a positive and negative aspect. As long as the relations between India and the concerned country remained strained guerrillas could utilise the contradictions to set up base camps, train their forces and carry out raids on Indian territory. But when the relations improved the governments of the neighbouring countries obliged the requests of the Indian government and either attacked the guerrilla camps by itself, or in joint operations along with the Indian armed forces. The destruction of camps in Bhutan led to severe losses to ULFA. By bringing intense pressure on the governments of Bhutan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan, the Indian government seeks to destroy all the base camps of the guerrillas of North East and Kashmir as well as to capture the leadership.

### **iv) Strategic Hamlets:**

In Naga and Mizo areas 'strategic village plan' was implemented. That means, concentration camps were built and programme of isolating the insurgents from the people was implemented. entire villages were razed to the ground, mass murders and rapes were resorted to in order to drive the people to the concentration camps. To impose surveillance on the Kashmir people, especially on the Muslim population, identity cards were issued to every individual.

### **v) Vigilante Gangs and SPOs:**

Village guards, Village voluntary force, People's militia of Nagaland, Assam SULFA, Anti people and reactionary vigilante gangs are built by

these methods they had killed about 2000 militant activists, fighters and leaders.

Nizam government used cavalry in some areas for terrorizing the people. In these forces there used to be 15-20 soldiers but they often came in small teams of two to three and attack the people. By 1948, the activities of Communist Party, Grama Rajya Committee, village militia and different types guerilla squads had reached their peak. Nizam military, police and Razakar gangs were pushed to defensive.

On September 13<sup>th</sup> 1948, Indian union government attacked Hyderabad state and within 5 days i.e. 18<sup>th</sup> September Nizam had surrendered. But Andhra Provincial Committee of Communist Party had decided to fight against Nehru armies. When Indian army was attacking Nizam army and Razakar camps, Communist Party had directed all its area committees and guerilla squads not to confront with Indian army and instead to carry out the attacks on camps and strengthen themselves by seizing the arms from Razakars and Nizam police. Party directed them to wait till the hopes and expectations of the people on Indian armies are completely exposed as they were any way going to attack the farmers along with goons of landlords.

Within a week of its deployment, the armies under the leadership of J N Choudhary had begun to enforce military rule letting loose brutal terror on the people of Telangana. By December 1948, this attack reached its peak.

### **Counter Insurgency Methods implemented by Nehru-Patel armies between September 1948 and October 1951: :**

1) Big military camps were set up with hundreds of soldiers and they were set up closely at a distance of 4 to 5 miles each for better coordination of counter insurgency operations. These operations were conducted with the objective of finishing the movement. Wireless sets were provided in these camps. They brought back the landlords who had run to cities and tried to restore their authority and rule. Congress Party offices were opened next to every camp. They carried out a campaign with the people in every village to ask the party leadership and guerilla squads to surrender.

2) Military Governor, General J N Choudhary issued an ultimatum to communists that he was going to eliminate them if they don't surrender in a week. Campaign was also carried out in the villages to this effect. Their campaign was "we are all Hindus, communists are Russian agents. They don't follow social customs. They kill old people. Don't trust them. Now we



for suppressing the Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle. Cavalry was also used in the suppression. Nizam had completely handed over Nalgonda, Warangal districts to military and set up military camps in many struggle villages.

### **Repression Forms:**

Encircling the villages, torturing the women and men who were caught, forcefully taking them to camps, arresting mass organization leaders and activists, torturing them and killing some and putting in jails others- these are some of the various forms of repression used by Nizam. According to an estimate about 60000 people were implicated in false cases and put in jails by Nizam.

Some of those who had left mass organizations, Communist party, Andhra Mahasabha were forced to turn into counter revolutionaries and were used as CIDs in recognizing the mass organizations and party leadership.

Nizam's son toured many villages and distributed clothes. He had taken up the propaganda campaign saying that Nawab is like father to the people and made serious efforts to keep people away from the movement and leadership.

Military attacks continued for weeks and months. Village patels-, patwaris, landlords and their goons with the support of military and police had caught many leaders and tortured them to death or permanent disability.

Police used to take people along with them when they were going for search operations and if they couldn't find any activists they used to beat up the people they took with them.

There was no press freedom, no democratic rights whatsoever. Mass organizations, Communist Party and Andhra Mahasabha were banned. Communist movement areas were declared as disturbed areas and implemented Martial law. CIDs were deployed in large number to collect information about leadership and squad movements. Awards were declared on the heads of communist cadre.

Nizam's forces pursued the policy of 'divide and rule', whipped up Muslim fundamentalism and provoked Muslims to attack Hindus.

They also used the methods of using small teams coming in disguised forms for killing leadership and activists on specific information. With all

counterinsurgency forces to terrorise the people. Lumpen youth are lured with money and are appointed as Special Police Officers (SPOs). In Punjab, in 1991, surrendered insurgents were used under cover as secret agents to police and army. Known as the 'Cat system', these agents or Cats were used for searching and murdering the leadership of the movement. Punjab police administration built several vigilante gangs by mobilizing the goondas and lumpens. By providing jeeps and AK-47 rifles to these gangs, and through intensive patrollings, people were terrorized in villages and towns.

### **vi) Large-scale deployment of troops and genocide:**

Never in the history of India was such a massive force deployed as in Kashmir and North East. In Kashmir, the strength of Indian Army troops deployed was over 2 lakhs, at times even reaching a peak of 5 lakhs besides the central and state's forces. In the North East too, it touched 2 lakhs at one time. Genocide of the Muslim population in Kashmir Valley resulted in over 80,000 deaths. An entire generation of youth was decimated. Abductions, cold-blooded murders, mass rapes, cruel tortures was a general method used by the state's armed forces in all the states of North East. The tactic was to overwhelm the armed fighters and terrorise the civilian population through such massive troop deployment.

### **vii) Enforcing the fraud of parliamentary elections to legitimise the rule of the Indian state:**

Besides brutally suppressing the national movements in these states, the reactionary Indian rulers sought to legitimise their rule by resorting to the fraud of elections in the name of so-called parliamentary democracy. Nagas boycotted the elections several times since 1957. In Punjab hardly 5 % voted in the sham election to the state assembly in 1989. In Kashmir people boycotted the polls several times. Yet, the rulers enforced the elections at gun-point, and governments were formed even though the none of the contesting parties obtained any mandate from the people even in the bogus elections.

By utiising the farce of elections, a small clique servile to the Indian state came to power and tried to divert the masses from the path of struggle by luring a small section through material incentives. Thus elections have become a new weapon in the hands of the oppressors to divide and rule the people and to suppress people's aspirations.

### **viii) Using peace talks as a weapon to divert and suppress the nationality struggles:**

Another method used by the exploiting classes as part of the LIC strategy and tactics is to bring the fighters to the negotiating table when they find that such a move can weaken the movements. The rulers resort to this method of talks and cease-fire even as they step up their military offensive to brutally crush the movements. The most important agreements were those reached with the insurgent leaderships in Mizoram in 1986 and Nagaland in 1975 and 1997. The former led to laying down of arms and buying over the leadership of the Mizo national movement while the latter led to virtual paralysis of the Naga movement between 1975 to 1980 and from 1997 onwards.

## **C. Counter Revolutionary Warfare by Indian Ruling Classes**

After the sham independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, Indian ruling classes under the leadership of Congress Party had conducted counter insurgency operations using the army for the first time from 13<sup>th</sup> September 1948 to 21<sup>st</sup> October 1951 in Telangana. For suppressing the Telangana armed struggle and restoring the reactionary feudal rule Indian army along with different types of armed police forces of 50000 were deployed in the area of 16000 Sq. Kms. In the years of 1947-48 Indian ruling classes had spent in this counter insurgency operations an amount equivalent to that spent in the war with Pakistan on Kashmir problem.

### **i) Great Telangana Struggle:**

From 1946, farmers in the entire Telangana under the leadership of Communist Party revolted against the exploitation and atrocities of feudal lords, against the autocratic rule of Nizam and demanding land to the tiller and emancipation from exploitation. Particularly the revolt of people of Jangaon in Nalgonda against Deshmukh Visnuru Ramachandra Reddy had changed entire course of the movement. This notorious landlord along with his goons had fired on peasants and their leaders in Kadivendi village on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1946. The martyrdom of Doddi Komuraiah in the firing had set farmers into flames. In hundreds of villages farmers militantly organized the protests and held demonstrations in front of the houses of landlords and in the presence of their goons. They bravely faced the Nizams police, which came for the

protection of zamindars. The hurricane of farmers' revolt which spread like wild fire after the martyrdom of Doddi Komuraiah had reached to 400 villages in Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam districts within weeks. By 1947, 5000 strong people's guerilla army was formed with farm laborers, middle class farmers and some rich peasants.

This struggle soon extended to major parts of Telangana which means 3000 villages in Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam district covering a land of 16,000 Sq. Km (one third in Telangana) with about 30 lakhs population. Village administrative committees (Grama Rajya Committees) were formed.

In the great Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle that continued between 1946 to 1951, communists and the heroic masses had made innumerable sacrifices. 4000 communists and farmers' activists had laid down their lives. First Nizam and later the Indian armed forces had put more than 60000 people in jails.

### **Strategy and Tactics of Counter Insurgency under Nizam's Rule:**

Under Nizam's rule the big jagirs, paigas, samsthanms had their own independent police, taxes and criminal justice systems. All the landlords had their own gangs. Jagirdars and Deshmukhs had licenced guns, rifles, cavalry and armed forces. They all stood in the forefront in suppressing the revolution from the beginning till the end. They also provided the required information and agents to Razakars, Nizam police and military forces for their counter revolutionary attacks. They had directly participated in the attacks. They were in forefront in carrying out anti-communist and anti-movement propaganda. They had imposed restrictions on the people for joining in peasant organization, village volunteer squads, guerilla squads, Andhra Mahasabha and in Communist Party. They threatened the people who joined the movement. In this way they made serious efforts to protect the feudal system.

Nizam created Razakar army with a demand of 'Azad Hyderabad', whipped up Muslim fundamentalism and unleashed a brutal reign of terror on the Communists. Razakars, Nizam's army and the goons of big landlords organized combined attacks on the people. Razakars with their base in towns attacked the people in villages, destroyed their property, tortured them and indulged in violence activities like burning down the houses and raping and murdering women.

Hardcore anti-communist police officials and British officials were used



in rivers of blood.

Disturbed areas act was introduced in Jagityal and Siricilla in 1978. Later it was extended to other areas. When TADA was in force between 1985 and 1995, the areas where movement is developing were declared disturbed areas. With the enactment of POTO in 2001, all the areas under the influence of Maoist parties came under the disturbed areas. Government rule came to a standstill in the Bastar region. So, Bijapur block in Dantewada is made a police district and the fascist attack of the police and para military is continuing on the people. Like wise, Narayanpur block is also announced as a police district and suppression of the movement is going on.

To maintain their exploitative rule, the ruling classes are enacting newer and newer repressive black laws and suppressing the revolutionary movement with iron boots by drowning it in rivers of blood. These black acts aimed at repressing the revolutionary movements are ruining the whole civilian lives. By carrying out fake encounters and murders they are trampling the civil rights, trade union rights and the right to speech.

### **3) Banning the Party, revolutionary mass organizations, magazines and literature:**

The central and state governments have realized that they can not suppress the Maoist parties only militarily and therefore banned the Maoist parties and mass organizations. The exploitative ruling classes are utilizing ban as a weapon to distance these parties and mass organizations from the people, to terrorize those who maintain relations with and support the Maoist parties, to prevent the Party from using the legal opportunities, to cut off relations with the other revolutionary parties within the country and out side and to prevent all the legal activities like magazines, public meetings, literature etc. Ban is continuing on the new party and various mass organizations even after the formation of CPI (Maoist) on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004. Peoples March was banned in 2007 and the editor was arrested. Central government is continuously watching and attacking when necessary to prevent Maoist literature from being propogated and to prevent new literature from being published. The enemy is trying to picture us as terrorists and is propogating falsehoods that we have relations with ISI and LTTE and thus wean a section of the people away from us.

1969 December. 1200 EFR para military forces were deployed in Gopi Vallabhpur. In Debra 700 were deployed. 400 Bihar military police was deployed in Bhagoda. Along with these para military forces the police of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa used to conduct raids jointly.

Mushahari is an area in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. It is a plain area. Police camps were set up within short distances. Thousands of police were deployed. In 7 police station areas 'encircle and liquidate' was implemented from June 1969. In order to crush the peasant struggle in the Lakhimpur Kheri-Palia area in Uttar Pradesh the local district administration had set up camps in 11 villages with the help of Uttar Pradesh Provincial Armed Police.

The Punjab government had taken up police actions to crush the revolutionary guerilla struggle which developed in Punjab. Guns were given to feudal agents and anti-naxalite squads were formed. Six battalions of Punjab state police were deployed to deal with the situation in Bhatinda-Sangrur.

Since guerilla operations increased in Birbhum, the central government deployed Indian military there. The decision to deploy Indian military was taken at a conference of higher police officials and government secretaries in Kolkata on July 4th in 1971. The police station officers were mutually transferred. Local police and the Indian military started joint operations. Smaller camps were not set up in villages. In Bolpur, encircle and liquidate campaign was started with 97 vans and 7,500 Indian military.

### **2. Repressive laws, declaration of disturbed areas**

The aim of the Indian ruling classes and the revisionists is to isolate the revolutionaries from the people and wipe them out through military action. To achieve this aim the Indian exploitative ruling classes are implementing black laws which give enormous powers to the military, para military forces and the police in the name of protecting law and order and announcing as disturbing areas, a legacy of the British.

In 1950 the Preventive Detention Act was brought with the aim of crushing the Great Telangana Revolutionary Armed Struggle and the communist revolutionaries. This was implemented from 1968 to crush the armed peasant revolutionary struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahiri, Lakhimpur, Birbhum and Kangsa. Likewise MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act) was implemented from 1971 with the

aim of suppression of naxalites.

In some areas government civil administration was paralyzed; landlords, big usurers and ruling class political party leaders came under red terror and escaped from their areas; the areas where armed guerilla squads operated were announced as disturbed areas by the ruling classes.

The Nehru government implemented this law in 1948 with the aim of annihilating the Great Telangana revolutionary armed peasant struggle. In 1969 June the areas of Parvathipuram Pathapatnam and Palakonda and on August 20th, 1969 Tekkali, Ichchapuram and Sompeta areas in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh were declared as disturbed areas. On 7-11-1969 Nugur, Burgampad, Bhadrachalam, Ilendu and Kothagudem areas of Khammam district were brought under the Disturbed Areas Act.

On September 10, 1970, the West Bengal government declared that the provisions of the Bengal suppression of terrorist outrages Act of 1936- a notorious law used against the Indian revolutionaries during the days of British colonial rule - would be applicable with immediate effect.

In November 1970, the second in the series of draconian laws, was produced. President VV Giri gave assent to a new bill - the West Bengal Prevention of Violent Activities Bill - which gave wide powers, including arrest with warrant, to the police, to curb the CPI(M-L) movement, and proving the police with the legal sanction to what they had been doing for the last few months.

### **3. Arrests, sedition cases:**

By 1973, 32,000 CPI (ML) leaders, activists and supporters were incarcerated in various jails all over India. In West Bengal jails there were 17,787 prisoners. Of them 12,016 were youngsters and 1,399 of them were below 18 years of age. In the name of Parvathipuram sedition case, 15 of the central and state leaders of CPI (ML) were booked. They were tried in a special court in Visakha Central Jail and were sentenced to life. In the name of Hyderabad sedition case state and regional leaders of CPI (ML) and RWA leaders were tried. The case was discharged on some of them later.

As the Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahari, Birbhum, Punjab and Kangsa armed peasant revolutionary struggles were intensifying, within a short period the main central committee leadership was arrested and many were martyred. This seriously affected the development

The exploitative ruling classes have appointed nearly 10,000 police as security guards for the protection of people's enemies, notorious political leaders (From the Chief Minister to the block level leaders), police officers and bureaucrats in the states where the Maoist movement is strong.

On the whole, special commando forces and a section of the para military forces are being used for offensive actions on guerillas, while state special armed forces, local police and some para-military forces are used for defensive purposes.

### **2) Black Laws, Disturbed areas and police districts:**

Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) and Indian Penal Code (IPC) are there for the protection of the ruling classes. Various other laws like Arms Act, Explosives Act, Preventive Detention Act (PD Act), NASA, MISA, ESMA, Unlawful Activities Preventive Act (UAPA), Disturbed Areas Act, Special Powers of Armed Forces Act in J&K and the North-Eastern states, Peoples Defense Act in J&K and acts with some other names in Punjab, Tamil Nadu and other states are used whenever the need arises to suppress the revolutionary movement, nationality movements and democratic movements.

76,030 people across India had to face the brunt of TADA during the decade of 1985-95. TADA was implemented to arrest, cruelly torture, inhumanly harass people, destroy their property and thus terrorize them. TADA was hated by the people as a very cruel act and had to be repealed on 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1995. The exploitative ruling classes tried intensively to make another crueler and more repressive law in the place of TADA. With the result, BJP government at the centre introduced another cruel black law POTO (Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance). Maharashtra, AP, West Bengal, Karnataka, Rajasthan and UP governments made ordinances and Acts in the name of Control of Organised Crime (COCO/COCA) to curb the revolutionary and democratic movements. Maoist Parties and various mass organizations were proscribed throughout the country under the black act, POTO. Human rights have been trampled upon in a heinous way. An offensive is carried upon the people with bans, arrests, tortures, confiscation and/or destruction of property and imposition of cruel punishments. Lakhs of people of different sections throughout the country had to bear the brunt of this cruel law. UPA government scrapped this law after coming to power at the centre. But all black laws continue to be implemented. BJP government in Chattisgarh is implementing Chattisgarh Special Security Act and drowning the revolutionary movement

### **Awards and Promotions:**

The police of various states, para-military forces, special commando forces and the SIB personnel who achieve success in anti-Maoist guerilla operations are rewarded with awards, and promotions. These forces compete with each other for promotions. Enemy is encouraging these forces to eat and booze to their satisfaction and compete with each other to outsmart one another to get promotions by any means. He is promoting an anarchic mentality of striving for luxurious life throughout their lives by adopting any means. The state is protecting them even when they resort to any number of cruel acts or any number of rapes and thus developing a cruel mentality among them. Even the injured are being given lakhs of rupees. These forces are competing with each other to participating in operations.

### **Establishment of Joint Operational Command:**

A Nodal cell was formed at the central level in 1991 so that the central and state governments can suppress the Maoist movement in a co-ordinated manner. JCC was formed in 1998. In April 2000, this was changed into JOC. This JOC is meeting frequently and intensifying the suppression and eradication plan. Special Director of central intelligence, DGPs and Intelligence officers of AP, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharastra and Odisha participate in this JOC. JOC establishes intelligence network at the central level and gathers accurate intelligence, prepares fool-proof planning and conducts military operations efficiently. It acts as an intelligence and operational command with the aim of striking at the open and secret mechanism and activities in both the urban and rural areas. They are concentrating on the central and state leadership of the Maoist party and arresting and killing them in fake encounters or incarcerating them in jails by fabricating hundreds of false cases and conspiracy cases. The JOC is establishing regional joint operational commands in the state borders and conducting joint operations and military actions with a suppression and eradication plan. They are enhancing intelligence network in border areas. A Unified Command is formed to co-ordinate local police forces, para-military forces and special commando forces in a better manner. Frequent joint operations (campaigns) are being carried out in AP-Chattisgarh-Odisha; AP-Chattisgarh-Maharastra; Bihar-Jharkhand-UP-Chattisgarh and Bengal-Jharkhand-Odisha border areas. A Special Task Force is formed at the All-India level especially to suppress the Maoist movement.

of the revolutionary movement.

### **4. Ban on Party, mass organizations and literature:**

With the aim of wiping out the proletariat party which gives leadership to the revolution, the central and state governments had banned the CPI (ML) party and erstwhile MCC party. Mass organizations, party literature and magazines were banned. Thus with severe repression the exploitative ruling classes tried to stop revolution for some time. The CPI (ML) organ 'Liberation' was banned. In Andhra Pradesh literature produced by RWA was banned. Cases were booked on articles which appeared in Srujana and Pilupu- the organ of the state party. Maoist literature was banned from getting printed.

### **5. Combing Operations of the police, patrolling, Ambushes and Raids:**

On May 25th, 1967 police fired indiscriminately on the villagers in Naxalbari and killed 9 persons. Of them 6 were women and two children were also killed. The central and state governments together took up a big police action in Naxalbari on July 12th, 1967. Villages were surrounded and Naxalbari leaders and activists were arrested.

In May, 1969 encircle and liquidate policy was implemented in Srikakulam by the police and para military forces. Surrounding the villages, searching the houses, arresting the people, burning villages and terrorizing the peasantry became very common. Catching CPI (ML) leaders and activists with the information provided by police agents, murdering them in cold blood and concocting false encounter stories became very common. Likewise power to kill any suspicious person was given to police, para military and military personnel in the struggle areas of Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahari, Punjab, Birbhum and West Bengal (Kolkata). Thus combing, patrolling, ambush and raids were implemented by the enemy to flush out the CPI (ML) party and guerilla squads.

During the Srikakulam peasant armed struggle in the whole state of Andhra Pradesh 340 party leaders, activists and sympathizers were killed in fake encounters by the police and para military forces.

The central government had deployed para military and military forces from the end of 1970 with the aim of crushing the Kolkata urban guerilla struggle. Many CPI (ML) party activists and supporters were caught and brutally murdered. Many young men and women and students were targeted and killed. The CPI(M) goons, lumpen gangs and Congress Party goons

were used as CIDs and agents to catch the activists and kill them.

In many cases, after beating senseless some political suspects, the police would take them outside the lockup, pump bullets into their bodies and throw the bodies out in the streets. The enemy propagated concocted stories of fake encounters and perpetuated such horrible atrocities with the aim of creating white terror among the people.

With the aim of defeating the communist revolution Robert Thompson wrote a manual on counter insurgency manual. He was a British advisor. Kolkata police commissioner Ranjit Gupta had him train para military and military forces.

In the name of combing operations, one area was chosen in towns or in rural areas and the para military or military cordoned off the area and searched for CPI (ML) activists, guerillas and sympathizers. While this operation was going on nobody was allowed to go out. Sometimes these operations lasted for 24 hours. If they got hold of CPI (ML) activists, in most of the cases they were killed. In 1971 February in Beliaghata, East Kolkata, five children were caught in their homes and were killed in front of their parents.

The lumpen-proletariat was put to use in two ways. Some were used as agent-provocateurs, who participated in some violent action and exposed the unwarned CPI(ML) cadres in a locality to an unanticipated police raid. it was a sort of 'crops delicti' which provided the police with an opportunity to pickup whom they wanted. Some other members of the lumpen-proletariat were bought over, formed into an unofficial band of home guards, paid Rs. 105 per head per month, and set upon the CPI (ML) leaders and cadres. In official parlance their actions came to be known as people's resistance' to naxalite depredations. Being local, they could spot the hideouts of the CPI (ML) in their respective localities and identify the real political elements among the student youth cadres of the party.

Supporters, overt and alleged, of the CPI (ML) were massacred. The youths and students were the main targets of the repression. Police sources themselves admitted that between March 1970 and August 1971, in Kolkata and its suburbs 1,783 CPI (ML) supporters or members were killed. An unofficial source claimed that the figure was at least double. The number of dead mentioned here did not include those killed inside jails between May and December 1971, the police opened fire on unarmed prisoners in at least six jails of West Bengal.

the enemy and seizure of weapons, smaller police stations and camps from the interior areas have been folded up and all the stations and police camps in the key locations for his repressive actions are fortified as attack proof stations. Local police, state special armed police, para military police, local home guards or SPOs are all stationed in these stations and camps. Thus they are staying there in large numbers of up to 100-250. At district head quarters, up to 500 forces are stationed. In the camps set up as part of carpet security nearly 150-200 forces of all types are staying. These are being called base camps. One camp is set up for every 5-10 km. All these camps are being fortified in military methods with heavy expenditure. Special positions needed to deploy weapons, fortified bunkers, observation posts and many bunkers on the buildings and on the floor are formed. Number of the sentries is also increased.

Many security measures are being adopted like not allowing any vehicle to come near the camps and police stations; checking persons with metal detectors, arranging search lights and generators and barbed wire fencing in two, three circles and forming bunkers, trenches etc. Police are given bullet proof jackets, bullet proof vehicles and mine proof vehicles. They are trying to seek protection by travelling in civilian clothes along with people in buses and civil vehicles. They are setting up tall watch towers in camps and key places. On certain special occasions they are forcing people and erstwhile activists to sleep in police camps.

#### **Training:**

Higher police officers are imparted training in Israel and other imperialist countries to train up in LIC as part of the Counter insurgency. Para military forces are being given training in the Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School in Wairangte in Mizoram. They are also being given training in Silchar in Assam and in Hazaribagh in Jharkhand. Grey Hounds in Hyderabad, AP state police forces and the special forces of other states are being given training in counter-insurgency methods. Chattisgarh police forces, STF, forces of other states and the CRPF are also being given training in modern methods of Jungle Warfare and Counter Insurgency in Kanker in Chattisgarh. In this training, along with the anti-guerilla tactics, they are being given training in firing techniques in various geographical conditions and situations and in Fire Movement so that they can attack with secrecy, speed and violently to destroy. They are instigated with anti-Maoist politics. They are also given training to protect themselves from land mines.



Forces are there in Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, UP, TN and Karnataka by the same name. There used to be a special cell in Odisha in 1990 on the models of Grey Hounds to curb the Naxalite activities. In the year 2000, the name was changed to Elite Grey Hounds and then further renamed as Special Operations Group, at present. A special force called Special Auxiliary Police (SAP) is formed comprising of ex-service men in Bihar and Jharkhand as an anti-naxalite and anti-Maoist force. Odisha government also has decided to form such a force.

The number of Home guards has been increased in a big way to assist the police and the special commando forces locally. Anti-Maoists, anarchists and anti-people elements, who can be bought for money, are being recruited into this. These forces are there in all the states. A counter revolutionary force is formed in Chattisgarh by recruiting anti-Maoists as special police officers (SPOs) and are using in anti-Maoist operations. Thus they are unleashing these thousands of home guards and SPOs against revolutionary movement and terrorizing the people.

#### **Modern Weapons:**

The enemy is using semi-automatic weapons, light machine guns, area weapons (Grenade launchers, mortars, hand grenades, automatic grenade launchers) on a big scale. The usage of SLRs, AK47s, INSAS, Sten machine Carbines, 9 mm pistols in operations and by the forces in police stations and camps has become quite common.

The enemy is using modern communication equipment like VHF and UHF sets, Cell phones, GPS, night vision equipment etc. for the collection of information, deployment of the forces and the coordination of the operation. They are using vehicles on a large scale. They are using RTC and public transport buses, civil lorries, other government department vehicles and private vehicles. They are also using motor cycles. They are using helicopters for the transport of the forces, aerial survey, transporting of goods, air lifting of the injured police men and to co-ordinate ground forces. They have started surveying using satellites and unmanned aerial vehicles. BRO is laying cement or bitumen roads with the help of CRPF. World Bank has sanctioned long term loans of thousands of crores of rupees for this purpose.

#### **Security Measures for Police Stations and Camp:**

As the ambushes and raids increased with the aim of the annihilation of

In Punjab the houses of CPI (ML) activists were confiscated by the government and the families were led to economic ruin. The borders of Punjab with other states were sealed. Patrolling and combing was intensified. With the help of police agents leaders and cadres were caught and killed in fake encounters. Some were arrested. Between 1971 and 1972 in winter police killed guerillas in the guerilla zone (Bhatinda-Sangrur) with the help of superior armed forces, caught them and cleared the area.

When movement was at its peak in Debra and Gopi Vallabhpur some persons belonging to the middle and rich peasantry who had supported the guerilla squads, party and the people had surrendered to the police and helped them to attack the guerilla squads.

Shooting people dead without trial was quite common. Com. Saroj Dutt was caught by the West Bengal police on the night of August 4th/5th in 1971 and on the same night he was killed and the body was thrown in Kolkata Maidan corner. To keep up with the genocide in East Bengal, the Indian police carried out a wholesale slaughter of more than 1000 young people in a single locality in one sweeping stroke on August 12, 1971. The area was Baranagar near Kolkata. With the help of hired hoodlums, the police rampaged over an area of two square miles raiding every house, dragging out every young man suspected of CPI (ML) leanings to be butchered. The escape-routes were blocked with the police guarding every lane. The bodies of the slaughtered were later thrown into the near by canal.

#### **6. Counter Guerilla operations:**

The local police and para military forces targeted the leaders, guerillas, peasant organization leadership, leaders of revolutionary committees and village defence squads (Gram Raksha Dal) and raided the villages after surrounding them. They set ambushes on the pathways, conducted surprise raids after coming to know about meeting places and conducted continuous raids on target villages.

Some party cadres surrendered as they could not tolerate the tortures. With the information obtained from them, police raided the dens of guerillas, on shelters and dumps in villages. Such surrendered naxalites were turned into approvers. They were made into witnesses in courts and thus they managed to convict many leaders and cadres.

The forest department officers, revenue officers, village officials and



ruling party leaders were used in counter insurgency operations directly and indirectly. The counter insurgency forces i.e. the police, state special armed police forces, para military and military forces had effectively used the superior training and resource of fire power in comparison with the guerillas. Even then the number instances where there were no losses were more in real encounters.

Police resorted to severe tortures. People were maimed and blinded. The number of people who died due to unbearable mental and physical torture increased every year.

In villages counter-revolutionaries were trained and the intelligence network which collects information on revolutionaries, the mercenary agents and home guard system were strengthened. Rich peasants and usurers were hand in glove with the enemy and had given the information about the whereabouts of guerillas and party leaders in many instances.

#### **7. Strengthening the jails:**

In West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar (Jharkhand), Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Tamilnadu and Kerala in the process of the widening of revolutionary guerilla activities, 'Naxalophobia' spread among the police forces. Their cowardice and panic led to the killing of unarmed prisoners in jails. When the police opened fire in Midnapore Central Jail where the Gopi Vallabhpur revolutionaries were lodged on December 17th in 1970, eight prisoners died and 60 of them were injured. When the police opened fire again in the same jail a year later on February 4th another two of them died and 60 were injured. On the same day they opened fire in Presidency Jail in Kolkata and injured 24 of the inmates. On February 21st police opened fire in Behrampur jail 10 inmates died and 62 of them were injured. It was very common for the police to open fire in jails. Between 1970-72 police opened fire in 20 incidents in jails all over the country. More than a hundred revolutionaries were killed and hundreds of them were injured. The Indian exploitative ruling classes surpassed the British imperialists and massacred the revolutionaries very cruelly. These atrocities were condemned by people of all sections. As an answer to these massacres the revolutionaries formed guerilla squads inside jails for self defence.

There was not a single crime which the jail authorities have not committed by being hand in gloves with the civil police officials outside. The main leaders' hands and legs were bound in chains 24 hours a day and they were

The central government is training up 10,000 CRPF police as anti-Maoist guerilla special commandos in the name of COBRA with an expenditure of Rs.1390 crores to deploy them in Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh, Maharastra and other states by 2010.

#### **Formation of Grey Hounds as a special commando force:**

Taking the help of the imperialists to root out the Maoist revolutionary movement with a counter insurgency strategy, the TDP government of NTR formed a Special Intelligence Bureau and the murderous Grey Hounds force, with more than 3,000 police as an anti-naxalite force in AP during 1985-89. This was formed under the leadership of DIG Vyas. After he was annihilated by us, Aravind Rao is heading these forces. Those police from APSP, district special police and the civil police who are opposed to the Naxalites and renegades from the families of informers and police killed by us who are between 18 and 25 years of age are recruited into this force. Cruel and anti-naxalite officers are appointed from SI to the DGP level. All the police machinery from the DGP to the SIs is mainly involved in anti-naxalite activities. There is an Officer on Special Duty (OSD) in every district where the movement is strong. He will be mainly responsible for intelligence and operations. SIB supervises this. He leads anti-naxalite operations with special district teams and hunts down guerilla squads. Each team comprises of 40 members. In the Grey Hounds, section commander is of the rank of SI, platoon commander of the rank of CI and the company is lead by a DSP rank officer. SP and IG level officers guide and coordinate the operations. Counter insurgency plan was formulated and implemented as a model in AP and when they had positive results they started these special commando forces and SIBs under various names in all the states from the year 2000. Taking cue from the AP experience, Maharastra government formed Gadchiroli district special force by the name of C-60 Commando force and intelligence agencies - Intelligence Bureau, ANO and district intelligence agencies in 1991-92. These are participating in field operations from 1992. A 600 strong trained commando force is formed, selecting them from among the Gondia, Bhandara and Chandrapur district police forces. Nagpur is their Head Quarter. Commando force by the name of Hawk force was formed in MP which is participating in the repression of the revolutionary movement in Balaghat.

The special task force formed in TN and Karnataka against Veerappan is being used against us after Veerappan was killed. At present Special Task

comprehensively to completely wipe out the revolutionary movement. In the beginning, while the attack was carried out by the state police and the state special armed police, later it assumed the form of fascist attack by the para-military and special commando forces, in addition to the state police. Besides military offensive enemy is stepping up his offensive on all fronts as part of this LIC policy as described below:

### **1) Modernization of the police, para-military and the Commando forces:**

With the help of the imperialists, the Central and the state governments are forming various types of police forces and intelligence mechanisms, acquiring and adopting various security and communication systems, modern weapons and training mechanisms with a long term perspective in order to crush the guerilla movement that is developing and extending to wider areas under the leadership of the Maoist party.

They have increased the number of police and modern weapons in all the police stations in the areas of Maoists in AP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Odisha, UP, MP and other states. All the police personnel from the level of constables to the police officers are being taught about anti-Maoist theory, anti-Maoist strategy and tactics, government policies and the change in its attitude etc. during the training in addition to the military training. They are raising thousands of police along with special armed police forces in all the states where the revolutionary movement is strong. The police force in AP is raised to one lakh police now while it was only 30,000 when the movement started. State special armed police forces have also been increased in various states. Battalions and battalions of APSP, CAF, BMP, JAF and OSAP are being raised. For ex. there are 13 APSP battalions. This APSP is utilized as an anti-naxalite force from the beginning. Thousands of para-military forces (CRPF, BSF, SSB, ITBP, CISF, Naga, Mizo special battalions) are also deployed in addition to the state police forces. At present, 40,000 para military forces are deployed in Maoist areas in the name of CRPF, BSF, SSB, Naga and Mizo special forces. There are Indian Reserve Battalions also. Tribal battalion in AP, Sengel force in Jharkhand and other such para-military forces are also deployed against the Naxalites. They are pitting tribal against tribal. One battalion comprising exclusively of tribal youth is formed after the formation of Chattisgarh.

kept in single cells. Many revolutionaries died as they could not get proper medical treatment inside the jails. In Andhra Pradesh 13 of them died between 1970 and 1972. Police officers used to come into jails whenever they wished and picked up whomever they liked and tortured them in the name of interrogation.

The CPI (ML) women stripped naked and their bodies were burnt with cigarette butts Later their unconscious bodies were brought back to the jails in police vans. After the girls had recovered they would again be taken back to Lal Bazar (Kolkata police headquarters) and tortured similarly.

It became very common to resort to lathi charge on revolutionaries inside jails and injure them severely.

From the middle of 1970, various levels of leadership and cadres of communist revolutionaries were arrested on a big scale. Revolutionaries breaking the jails with valor and joining back the revolutionary movement also became common between 1969-70-71. From the Visakha Central Jail in Andhra Pradesh 11 revolutionaries escaped. There were jail breaks in many jails like Darjeeling, Siliguri and Dumdum jails etc. As a result the central and state governments were horrified and tried to strengthen the jails to prevent jail breaks of revolutionaries.

### **8. Mopping up campaigns – formation of strategic hamlets:**

The aim of the policy of mopping up campaigns and formation of strategic hamlets was to eliminate the conditions which would be favorable to revolutionary war. Since the interests of the people are the interests of the revolutionary movement, if the revolutionary struggle which is waged with the strong support of the people has to be crushed, then the people should be isolated from the revolutionary movement through deceit. Razing to the ground all villages and houses involved in the revolutionary movement, destroying completely the properties of the people (including small property) so that they incur economic losses, creating white terror through tortures, massacres, loot and rape are part of this policy.

Thus isolating the people from revolution, the villages have been totally relocated to new areas as per the 'Vietnam Model' in adivasi areas such as Srikalulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur and Birbhum etc. Thus they followed the method of denying human resources to the revolutionary movement. These collective tribal settlements were turned into constant torture chambers without

freedom and independence, without proper medical facilities and food and without their lands and harvest.

### **9. Sham reforms:**

For the implementation of sham reforms the government chose areas of revolutionary upsurge like West Bengal, Srikakulam, Ganjam, Debra Gopi Vallabhpur, Birbhum, Lakhimpur and Kangsa. The real motive of these policies was to corrupt a section of people who had participated in the revolutionary movement and breaking the unity of the people. A section from the middle class and the rich peasantry benefited from them and became anti-revolution. These policies were used for surrendered naxalites and they were turned into police agents. Many more anarchic elements were turned into police agents and government middlemen.

Indira Gandhi had nationalized the banks and had sanctioned loans to peasantry by reducing interest. In all the districts where naxalite movement had influence, 1,000 persons were to be given job opportunities in construction of roads, irrigation projects and drainage schemes in each district. Comprehensive Area Development Programme (CADP) was implemented in Naxalbari and Debra areas. The local government officials should see to that the loans of poor tribals are annulled. They should be given loans from banks for development of agriculture. According to the 1/70 Act the plains people do not have any land rights in adivasi areas. Schools have to be established in tribal villages and illiteracy is to be eradicated. Girijan (tribal) Corporations have to be established without the involvement of middlemen. The roads and communication network in remote areas should be improved. More police stations are to be opened there. The Girijan welfare and social welfare departments should implement appropriate policies for tribal welfare.

### **iii) The counter-insurgency strategy adopted by the enemy against the Maoist Movement in post-Naxalbari period:**

The aim of the army, paramilitary and the police machinery is to protect the semi-feudal and semi colonial system that is perpetrating the oppression and exploitation by the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal classes opposed to the interests of the 90 percent exploited people. The aim of the Maoist party is to destroy imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal classes in India and establish new democratic state in order to solve the basic problems of the 90 per cent oppressed people

of the country. After the Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahari, Birbhum, Dihi-Sonarpur and Kangsa revolutionary struggles faced set-back while fighting to achieve the above aim, these armed struggles and the Telangana armed struggle developed in waves. These waves have spread from small to extensive areas. Class struggle intensified and guerilla zones are formed with the aim of forming base areas. The struggle between the para-military and the police forces of the exploitative government and the revolutionary guerilla forces has become the principal form of struggle. Guerilla war is raging in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Maharastra, West Bengal and Odisha and it is raging intensively in DK (Chattisgarh, Maharastra), Bihar and Jharkhand.

The exploitative ruling classes (Central and state governments) are naturally according prime importance to crush the revolutionary movement going on to change the order. Hence the revolutionary movement is facing counter-revolution from the beginning. The central and the state governments are striving very hard to wipe out the revolutionary movement by using modern police, para-military and commando forces. They are trying to root out the party and the people's liberation army by the actions of police and paramilitary commando forces i.e. by adopting counter-insurgency strategy and tactics. An intensive counter-revolutionary attack is going on the masses which are extending either direct or indirect support to the revolution.

We carried forward the revolutionary movement by heroically fighting, making innumerable bloody sacrifices and defeating the two repressive campaigns launched by the central and the state governments to crush the Maoist movement in Andhra Pradesh in 1985 and 1991. The enemy is always making long term plans to curb our movement. As part of this, the NTR government in Andhra Pradesh formed SIB and Grey Hounds and started preparations for an all-round offensive. Congress government later continued these. TDP government began to implement the LIC policy in toto from 1996 onwards. Central government speeded up its preparations to implement LIC policy from April 2000 onwards and began to implement it in a comprehensive manner from 2004 onwards in DK, Bihar, Jharkhand, AP, West Bengal, Odisha, UP, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka with the most serious concentration in DK, Bihar, Jharkhand and AP.

The enemy is closely studying the revolutionary movement, evaluating its strengths and weaknesses concretely and formulating plan after plan more

land reforms, schools, hospitals, roads, electricity, wells, agricultural implements, writing off of loans, check dams, repair of the village drains and tanks, forest protection (VSS), allotment of 10,000 rupees to the interior villages to win over the confidence of the people, loan sanctions, reservations in jobs etc. For ex. Central government expended Rs.1200 crores between 1996 and 1999 in AP to implement such reforms. Enemy could achieve success to some extent by following this policy of throwing crumbs. This is being implemented in other states as well with a few modifications. Now, these reform programmes are being extensively implemented in Bijapur, Dantewada, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Chatra, Palamu, Hazaribagh and Gaya districts as part of the pilot programme. Central government has allocated hundreds of crores of rupees as special budget to all the states where the Maoist movement is strong.

They are implementing various reforms with smart names like Janmabhoomi, Vana Sanrakshan Samiti, Astha Sibir, Pan Load, Yuva Sakti, Gaonbandi, Three Tent Programme etc. to divert the people from the revolutionary movement and protect their crumbling social base. In the name of these reforms, the whole state machinery and the ruling class party leadership is pushed forward to spit venom against the revolutionary movement. Chief Ministers and ministers are personally inaugurating these programmes and touring the movement area and spit venom on the revolutionary movement. All the police officers from SI to DGP are indulging in anti-Maoist propaganda for 24 hours a day.

With these reforms, some in the villages are subdued and they are organised as Gram Rakshak Dals, Home guards, SPOs, Chowkidars, agents of the exploitative ruling class parties, Maitree Sanghs, informers and spies. They enter local organizational structures (various mass organizations, militia, party cell, KKC, RPC) and destroy them. They are starting these reforms in interior villages with much fanfare and are setting up the administrative machinery of the exploitative government within a very short period of time. In this process they are also preparing a section of the people against the revolution and to function as a social base for their exploitation.

During the rule of NTR, Mandal (an administrative unit smaller than block and bigger than a panchayat) system of administration was brought in as part of the counter-insurgency policy, and it was consolidated in such a way that the revenue and police officers jointly implement the exploitative

#### **4) Repression on the people:**

Exploitative ruling classes are implementing repression on the people ever since all sections of the people have started struggles under the leadership of our party. The intensity of repression has increased along with the increase in the role of the people in the class struggle. After the class struggle intensified and it turned into class war, the class suppression has turned akin to civil war.

Repression is taking many forms like arresting of thousands of people who go on strike for the fulfillment of their just demands, third degree torture, collective torture, atrocities on women, lock-up murders, fake encounters etc. Enemy has hunted down and arrested and then killed in fake encounters many leaders of SIKASA, workers, students and their leaders, leaders and members of peasant-agricultural workers associations, KKC, DAKMS, the revolutionary women's organization (KAMS) and RPC. False cases are foisted on thousands of masses. It has become quite common to arrest the party leadership, general activists and general public by unleashing unrestrained violence and then kill them cold bloodedly and fabricate the story of encounter. Central and state governments have killed 3,700 revolutionaries so far since 1980 by unleashing state violence. The number of those who were killed in fake encounters after brutal torture is much more than of those who were killed in actual war.

It has become quite common to foist false cases and conspiracy cases and make people do rounds of courts and police stations and extract huge amounts of money from them and thus harass them. Many party leaders, activists, mass organization leaders have been disappeared in a heinous way. To terrorize the people, revolutionaries were killed and the bodies were hung to electrical transformer in the midst of town. Bodies were thrown on railway tracks. Like wise the bodies of the revolutionaries were thrown in the open. With these heinous methods, exploitative ruling classes have resorted to brutal fascization of the police. Its ultimate form by far is the Salwa Judum military campaign which has resulted in a huge pile up of the dead bodies of the exploited people. Scores of people had to face tortures, harassments and threatenings in the earlier Jan Jagaran Abhiyan. Many women were raped, houses were burnt and property was destroyed. Mass organization leadership was inhumanly tortured. Police threatened the Chenchus that they would burn down their hamlets if they don't vacate the Nallamala forest and thus



forcibly sent to far off places.

Thousands of masses, who participated in land struggles, were arrested, tortured and false cases were foisted on them. 144 Section was imposed on villages and they were fired upon. Some farmers were killed openly by firing upon mass meetings at Narmetta and Gajwel. In Bihar and Jharkhand also police fired upon farmers' gatherings and killed some.

When people raided the houses of landlords and Sahukars and the godowns of the government in famine raids police arrested hundreds of people unjustly and sent them to jail. They terrorized the people saying that they would be killed by branding them as thieves. When people punished landlords, goondas and informers in people's courts, they were arrested and tortured and false cases were foisted on them. People activists going to public meetings were also arrested, tortured and implicated in false cases. When revolutionary guerillas annihilated the police in ambushes and raids along with the people for the defense of the people, the police would later raid the villages and torture the people and implicate them in false cases. When thousands of people rallied to protest the fake encounters and the police stations were gheraoed, they were lathi charged and implicated in false cases. False cases were also foisted when there were struggles demanding that the dead bodies of the revolutionaries should be handed over to the parents. People who participate in bandhs demanding solution to issues and opposing the repression of the police are also implicated in false cases. Police is raiding the meetings conducted to commemorate the martyrs' week and arresting people and implicating them in false cases.

Thousands of revolutionary leaders of various levels; activists and leaders of various mass organizations, democratic rights organizations and revolutionary writers association; democrats and common people are rotting in jails, implicated in false cases under various black laws like TADA and POTA. Some of them are undergoing life imprisonment.

### **5) Intelligence Network of the Enemy:**

Special Intelligence Bureaus have been formed with the plan of 'suppression and eradication', in the states where the Maoist movement is strong. They are given directions for comprehensive gathering of information, to achieve co-ordination and to adopt repressive policies. These are mercenary armed counter revolutionary organizations of the state, which are answerable

was created among the people. Enemy spread many rumours and created a quite confusing atmosphere for the people and forcibly herded them into rehabilitation camps (Relief camps). These camps are nothing but hell holes. Hundreds of people died due to tortures, murders on the name of the naxalites, Rapes on women, repressive labor, lack of medical facility and food.

Enemy is keeping all these camps under his control. He is controlling the movements of the people by appointing the SPOs under the guise of the protection of camps. These camps are fenced by 2,3 layers of barbed wire and only one side is left open which is guarded. 50,000 people are removed from the villages in Dantewada district and herded into 23 forcible camps. Special houses are being constructed in these camps. Central and state governments, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and land lords are extending financial help to these camps and they are adopting these camps. This is to stop the party, PLGA and the revolutionary government from developing by depriving them of human resources and cut off all help. They are trying to turn the people politically, economically and culturally favourable towards the exploitative government. They are describing this as 'Winning the Hearts and Minds' of the people. Their real aim is to make the exploitation and suppression permanent. In Jharkhand, the enemy tried to implement some aspects of the mopping up operations in the name of Sendra and Nagarik Surakhsha Samiti. The enemy will implement this 'strategic hamlet' policy with various modifications in the states where the movement is developing.

### **11) Reforms:**

In counter insurgency operations, eradication measures and reforms (Fake economic and reform programs) are mainly taken up. So, the wicked policy of the ruling classes is - 'repression and reforms'! The politically backward people who are severely terrorized by the state violence will feel the reforms to be a relief and will be tricked to believe that some thing is being done. They will also nurse illusions that their basic problems also will be slowly solved. By this, the revolutionary surge can be stopped. Ruling class and revisionist party leaders, some reformists, NGOs and petty-bourgeoisie organizations who act as the agents of the state propagate very gladly that this is the solution to long pending problems of the people.

To 'Win the Hearts and Minds' of the people thus, the state and the central governments are implementing various plans by which the people can fulfill certain of their basic needs through the state. Such programmes are –



of the arrested persons, killing and burning the bodies of the villagers etc. have become quite common in the tribal areas. Salwa Judum is a far crueler mopping up operation. The villages which are actively participating in the revolutionary movement are being repeatedly burnt down. In AP, by catching and killing many active leaders, PRs and full timers of various revolutionary mass organizations and the sympathizers in fake encounters and severely terrorizing the people, many open and secret mass organizations were destroyed by the enemy. On the other hand, many party leaders, activists, PLGA commanders and fighters became martyrs in the flush out operations that the commando forces launched on the guerillas, weakening the PLGA. Thus the authority of the enemy and his control on the area increased. He increased the spy network in the rural areas. The exploitative rule is reorganized with fake reforms and the hegemony of the landlords is reestablished. Police machinery is striving by all means to make the exploitative ruling class parties participate actively in anti-Maoist activities. Anti-people chief ministers and ministers, who are trampling the revolutionary movement with iron foot, are pretending and propagating that they are solving the people's issues and thus trying to create illusions among the middle class people that their problems would be solved under the rule of this government only. As the people are thus weaned away from the party and the PLGA, guerillas would be deprived of all the resources including the human resources and the development of the revolutionary movement will be hampered. This will make it easy for the enemy to wipe out the guerillas. On the other hand, the enemy is trying to regain control on the villages and reestablish the rule of the exploitative government by carrying out mopping up operations like Jan Jagaran Abhiyan and Shanti Sena.

The aim of the military campaign going on in the name of Salwa Judum from June 2005 is also to distance the party and the PLGA from the people and wipe them out. When the enemy got isolated from the people and the revolutionary movement is progressing in Dandakaranya, central and state governments have started implementing the 'strategic hamlet' policy used in Vietnam and Malaya to suppress the communist guerillas, with the help of police and para-military forces and under the guidance of the military officers. They started organizing 'Salwa Judum' for this purpose and police and the para military forces have unleashed counter revolutionary violence in an entirely unrestrained way. Hundreds of villages have been burnt down. Some villages were burnt even up to ten times. All the property was destroyed. White terror

to none and bound by no laws. They are supra-constitutional. They select concrete targets from village level to the central committee leadership and hunt down with a concrete plan and strike. Central government has given authority to the SIB to operate anywhere in the country. SIB has deployed its murderous gang of officers in cities like Chennai, Mumbai, Delhi, Raipur and Nagpur.

To describe them in brief, they are anti-Maoist murderous gangs. These Special Intelligence Bureaus gather information by maintaining close touch with the Central Intelligence Bureau and the local police forces. Individual police officers have intelligence network. SIB does the coordination job at the state level. Para-military forces have their own intelligence network. SIB has network in the villages of the plains and forests as well as towns and cities. As soon as they get information that the leadership or squads are there in a particular area or town or city, the hunting of the special commando forces starts.

**Network:** Police officers and cadre of various levels are allotted for this. Special branch police and home guards of the local police stations are part of this network. They stay in regular touch with the leaders of local ruling class parties and revisionist parties and gather information directly and indirectly about the party structure, activities, movements of the squads, whereabouts of the local leadership and other necessary information. SI of every police station and other police officers of the district gather information from contractors, big businessmen, landlords and political leaders of block and district level by being in regular touch with them. They keep a watch on the activities of open mass organization leaders. Unexposed local informers stay in the network of the exposed informers of other places. Those who are opposed to the revolutionary movement for various reasons and visit the police stations for their needs and lumpen male and female youth who are ready to do any thing for money and luxuries take the cover of doctors, nurses, teachers, members of one or the other NGO and forest department employees etc. and gather information secretly and send it immediately through cell phones, land line phones, wireless sets etc.

There are limitations for the enemy movements in the struggle areas and the informer network is weak among the local population. So, the enemy is sending CIDs under various garbs for collecting information. He is sending them with the promise that their families will be given compensation in case of their death. They are coming to the villages as lunatics, astrologers, traders

of goats-sheep, businessmen, teachers, RMP doctors, shop keepers, insurance agents, unemployed youth on the look out for jobs, general public who are looking for party contacts to get their problems solved or policemen who have lost jobs or have been suspended etc. Some are staying in the villages and building informer network also.

Enemy has prepared some of those surrendered after leading a guerilla life to pretend that they are leading normal lives in the villages and gather information for him. He is terrorizing the mass organization leadership into submission and gathering information from them and then carrying out attacks. Enemy is spending hundreds of crores of rupees on informers. Some are taking salary secretly while leading normal lives in the villages and giving information to the police. It is very difficult to identify the informers unless the people observe very keenly and conscientiously. There is of course the problem of anti-Maoist renegades and betrayal of the counter revolutionaries. Thus the enemy has done many losses to the movement and we have lost much leadership.

#### **6) Counter Action Teams:**

Ruling classes are deeply perturbed at the heroic actions of the special action teams formed to annihilate people's enemies, hardcore political leaders and brutal police officers who are standing as a stumbling block of revolution. So they have formed Counter Action Teams. Renegade Naxalites who have turned into counter revolutionaries and specially trained local police are there in these CATs. These teams, comprising of 5 to 7 members, are using civilian vehicles and autos and attacking with AKs as soon as the special action team or its members are seen. Thus we faced certain losses in block, district and state capitals. These CATs specifically attacked our special action teams. CATs are put into action as soon as information is obtained from the intelligence wing, informer network and Naxalite degenerates. Some CATs in Hyderabad are on this job for 24 hours.

They are keeping a close watch on doubtful persons, using Naxalite degenerates and setting up moving cameras in front of police stations to detect the attempts of the PLGA at the recce stage itself and foil the ambushes and raids. Special commando forces are regularly conducting patrols to detect the movements of the PLGA participating in recce and striking at them. Thus they are trying to gather information about the preparations of raids and ambushes. Enemy attacked us on some occasions at the time of

members, after they eat the poisoned food given by the covert and fall unconscious; PLGA is attacked and killed with the regular information supplied by these betrayers while continuing in the party and the PLGA; covert are told to supplying information regularly about the leadership of the party and the PLGA and the plans and the resolutions to SIB; etc. We have lost many valuable comrades from the central leadership to the party members and PLGA commanders and fighters due to the betrayal by these renegades from within.

SIB converted mass organization leadership at many places into covert by threatening or luring and trained them to mix poison in the food while living like one among the people. They have tried this method in Srikakulam, Telangana districts, Nallamala area and Dandakaranya. SIB thus sent one tailor, on whom we had a lot faith, to our military camp to mix poison in the food.

#### **10) Mopping-Up Measures, establishment of strategic villages:**

If conditions that favour the party and the guerillas have to be eliminated by destroying the organised fighting power of the masses and their unity, then their organizing capacity, fighting spirit and the morale have to be destroyed. Party and guerillas have to be deprived of the human resources. Relations between the people and the party and the PLGA have to be cut off. They have to be completely destroyed. Terror has to be created among the people so that they do not participate actively in the revolution. A situation has to be created forcing the people to think that they better live some way or the other than die unnecessarily. So, the aim of these mopping up actions is to destroy everything so that the revolutionary movement does not develop and it does not get any organised support from the people. Enemy is resorting to very cruel counter revolutionary violence in these mopping up actions.

Enemy is implementing these mopping up actions from 1985 onwards. Enemy is implementing these operations seriously in one or other form in all the states where the Maoist movement is strong. Burning the whole villages and all the property of the people including the immovable property and thereby shattering their economic condition, destroying the houses of the party leaders and cadres and confiscating the property of their families, torturing the people en-masse, killing party activists, leaders, guerillas, leaders of various mass organizations and common people in fake encounters, disappearing them, carrying out atrocities on women, third degree torturing

revolutionary murderous SIB is running these black gangs in the name of Green Tigers, Black Tigers, Red Tigers, Kranti Sena, Tirumala Tigers, Cobras, Vishakha Tigers etc. under the leadership of counter revolutionary degenerates like Jadala Nagaraju, Nayeemuddin and Haribhushan. They are forming such black gangs in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Chattisgarh, AP and Maharastra where the Maoist movement is strong.

Police is directly running organizations like Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Gram Rakshak Dal, Maitree Sangh, Gopaneey Sainik, TPC, JPC, Shanti Sena, Sendra and Salwa Judum in order to break the unity of the people and impede the class struggle going on in the villages. These organizations are resorting to direct armed attacks on the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary masses. These are nothing but the counter revolutionary militia of the exploitative ruling classes. They work under the direction of the police to maintain the exploitation and suppression and the counter revolutionary rule of the landlords. State governments are providing weapons, money training and all the other requirements. SPs of the respective districts are supervising them. They have regular relations with the police stations. They regularly inform the police about the whereabouts of the party and PLGA. They come to attack the PLGA along with the police, para military and commando forces. They hold meetings and Panchayats in support of the landlords and attack in a conspiratorial way to wipe out the guerilla squads. They even poisoned our squads to kill them. With this method, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti implemented the plan of the SP and wiped out two of our squads. In some states, lumpens, anti-people elements and those who are instigated by the anti-Maoist propaganda are lured by the money offered by the government to carry out attacks on guerilla squads and the party activists. Enemy is using these murderous gangs to terrorise the people and to split and weaken the movement.

#### **Betrayers of revolution (Coverts):**

Wiping out the Leadership is the key to the wiping out of the Maoist movement. It is very difficult for the ruling classes to eliminate the leadership during actual battles. More over it is a protracted task. So, they are using the betrayers of revolution, who have secretly surrendered to the enemy but continue to don the garb of the revolution according to the conspiratorial plan of the enemy, to secretly eliminate the leadership. SIB is doing this in a planned manner. It is adopting many methods – coverts directly kill by using fire arms; Grey Hounds attack and kill the party leadership and the PLGA

preparations itself with the information gathered from degenerates. Some times he used the coverts in the PLGA to counter attack and caused losses to the PLGA. After the PLGA forces attacked Eturu-Nagaaram police station in AP with mines on a tractor, enemy is taking precautionary measures like setting up police stations far away from traffic roads, setting up gates at a distance so that vehicles can not come nearby, making police stations mine-proof and piling up sand bags like a wall etc to protect the police stations from attacks.

#### **7) ‘Suppression and Eradication’ actions of the enemy:**

It is the aim of the enemy to eradicate the Maoist Party and PLGA by adopting anti-Maoist guerilla tactics in the actions of police, para-military and special commando forces. He is taking up patrolling, combing, ambushes, raids and cordon and search operations to achieve this aim.

#### **Patrolling:**

Special commando forces and para military forces are striving to reduce the intensity of the guerilla war and destroy it by carrying out intensive coordinated patrolling in platoon or company formation. In this, there use many batches comprising of a small number of members with light weapons (mostly AK47s) and move very secretly and with speed. Patrolling is taking place only in coordinated routes in the areas and districts planned by the SIB officers. They change their route very frequently (coming by one way and going by another etc) so that the PLGA can not detect and thus escape from the ambushes of the PLGA. They create a suffocating situation for the PLGA and create intensive pressure on them. They are also trying to prevent the PLGA from carrying out revolutionary activities among the people and make them thwart the PLGA from carrying out attacks on the enemy.

The enemy forces first identify the areas and limits in which party organizers, guerilla squads, platoons, company and various party committees function. They are continuously doing patrolling to identify the locations and camps that PLGA frequently uses and to know the plans and tasks of the party and PLGA. The main aim of these patrollings is to prevent the PLGA from utilizing any area.

The enemy is doing intensive patrolling in guerilla areas without leaving any gaps between the patrolling batches. The patrolling is done so that he can dominate the key roads, routes and villages and control them. To achieve

these aims, he is doing area domination patrolling, long range patrolling, short range patrolling, road clearance patrolling and road domination patrolling. It has become quite common to conduct all these patrollings on foot. Batches of 15 to 30 conduct patrolling to find and remove landmines, booby traps and any other obstructions during and before bandhs and after big ambushes and raids by the PLGA. In the strategic areas and in areas where there is a danger from the PLGA, patrolling is done with company formation. Two or three special teams per every police station area are being used to hunt down our guerilla squads and to lay ambush.

The number of batches or force is decided based on the task at hand. In general, these patrollings are done for 3-7 days. Some times 500 to 1000 forces are concentrated and engaged in 10-15 batches to annihilate or drive out LGSs, LOSs, platoons and companies. This is called screening. These patrollings are done in the movement areas of AP, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. For ex. led by five district SPs and coordinated from the Head Quarters in Hyderabad, hundreds of Grey hounds, CRPF, APSP, local police and home guards jointly conducted patrolling simultaneously in five district areas of Nallamala. Patrolling is conducted by concentrating 200-400 police in a single area after famine raids or other big actions are carried out. During summer, patrolling is done with hundreds of forces with many batches looking for the guerillas at many water points simultaneously. Some times patrolling is done to find out land mines or dumps. If they come to know of a squad in a particular area, then all the old camp places or shelters or all the doubtful places are searched. Some times, 200 to 1500 police encircle and comb one to five villages in a district in the plain areas concentrating on two or more squad areas.

Forces are concentrated in big numbers (200-1500) under the leadership of a higher officer and special patrolling operations like Wild Bison, Godavari, Manthani, Janmabhumi, Indravati, Vajra, Danteswari-I and Danteswari-II are taken up. In Tamil Nadu, they conducted attacks on the movement in Dharmapuri and Madhurai districts with 3000 police. STF is regularly conducting patrols in Malnadu in Karnataka. Now, even in Tamil Nadu, STF forces are conducting patrols targeting our squads.

In the borders of two or three states, state special police, para-military and local police are concentrated in a big way (500-1500) and joint patrollings are conducted for 3-7 days under the coordination of higher officers. Such

Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal. For ex. in Chattisgarh, they have announced rewards of Rs. 50,000 for one who surrenders along with a 0.303 rifle, Rs.1,00,000 for SLR, Rs.2,00,000 for AK and INSAS and Rs. 3,00,000 for LMG.

Surrender policies are being made much broader in range. Police is threatening the revolutionaries working in the movement that they will kill family members if they don't surrender. They are also destroying the property. If those who surrender do not act like their pet dogs, then they are even being killed brutally by the black gangs. AP government has again recently announced crores of rupees as rewards on the heads of our party leaders of various levels so as to encourage the betrayers of revolution, people's enemies, police and para military forces.

### **9) Covert Operations:**

As the class struggle is intensifying and the guerilla war is achieving victories, counter revolutionary exploitative ruling classes are using all kinds of open and secret conspiratorial methods to wipe out the revolutionary movement and the leadership of the party and the revolutionary mass organizations to safe guard their power. Covert operations are one of such spiteful tactics of the ruling classes aimed towards this end.

There was a lot of opposition to the police in AP and throughout the country after the Warangal police killed people's Doctors Com. Ramanatham and Narayana and Narra Prabhakar Reddy in the name of unidentified people. To save the police from this ignominy, SIB introduced counter revolutionary black gangs. These gangs are formed with cruel SIB police and people's enemies, keeping renegades of revolution in the forefront. These gangs are attacking the leaders of mass organizations, families of the revolutionaries and the sympathizers and killing them or making them surrender after kidnapping and threatening. They have thus brutally killed com. Belli Lalita, Kanakachari, Ajam Ali, Purushottam, Prasad and many other such revolutionary people's leaders. They face no arrests because of the support of the counter revolutionary exploitative government. They seek protection in the headquarters of SIB. SIB gives statements on their names against the Maoist party and the people. SIB decides the weapons with which the attack has to be carried out and make them available to these gangs. If they have to be produced in courts under compulsion, then the civil police felicitate them with garlands. Thus they exhibit their counter revolutionary nature. Counter



check posts and outposts on national highways, state highways and on all pucca roads in the interior areas and carrying out checking very regularly. Some times all the vehicles and people are being checked. These measures are taken up when the guerillas do some action or during the tours of the VVIPs, Chief Ministers and ministers or for the protection of the police officers or when they get some suspicion or on getting some concrete information.

Some times the police temporarily use their jeeps, vans or other vehicles as moving road blocks and check points creating surprise road blocks. Road blocks or check posts are set up at culverts, bridges or narrow points sharp curves on the roads thus completely blocking any chance of escaping. Metal detectors and mine detectors are used on such occasions. All these measures are causing inconvenience and terror among the people.

### **8) Surrender Policy:**

Some persons, who have worked in the party or PLGA but could not dedicate themselves politically and ideologically to the worker-peasant exploited class, are lured by the crumbs thrown by the ruling classes, sell of their individuality and the ideology they have hitherto believed in and turn into betrayers of revolution and faithful servants of the ruling classes. Huge amounts of funds are allotted to encourage surrenders and implement the surrender policy in the states of strong Maoist movement. Surrender policy is also one of the many offensives to suppress the movement. This policy is in implementation in AP for quite a long period. Enemy could attract underground revolutionaries in quite significant numbers by luring them with jobs and money, in the name of rehabilitation plan. Crores of rupees are spent on such schemes. Rewards are announced on the heads of all the underground persons and their reward money is given to them when they surrender.

Family members are subjected to cruel repression and then in the name of 'Counselling' the police are trying to make the revolutionaries surrender through the family members. The police are repeatedly announcing that one can surrender before Mandal presidents, POs or collectors through Sarpanches and that there would not be any threat to their lives. They are taking up campaign on a big scale in the name of 'Underground Life versus Liberty' and are lifting cases on those who surrender and give a statement against the party. Their names are even removed from the police records. These sly tactics being implemented in AP are also being followed in Chattisgarh, Bihar,

patrolling campaigns are taking place in the borders areas of Bihar-Jharkhand-West Bengal-Orissa; AP-Chattisgarh; AP-Maharastra; Maharastra-Chattisgarh-MP and UP-Bihar. Commando forces are going to any places in the neighbouring states and conducting operations. Patrolling batches are going after our squads and trying to force them into battles and thus wipe them out. However, our squads did not face many losses in general patrollings.

### **Ambushes:**

Commando and para military forces are mainly taking up these wiping out actions targeting the leaders of the party, PLGA, various mass organizations, KPCs and RPCs. These operations are conducted based on the concrete information obtained through the enemy intelligence network and the local informers. Special forces are conducting night and day ambushes, surprising our guerillas and causing serious damage and thus control their movements.

There are incidents where the ambush sites of the guerillas got exposed and enemy counter ambushed with a plan. We had to face heavy losses and lost weapons. Two or three special police in civilian disguise attacked many comrades with pistols and killed them with the help of informers. Some times they were caught and killed. Hundreds of comrades were killed in this fashion.

Enemy is laying ambush at many places for the guerillas who manage to escape after the enemy attacks their house shelters in plain areas. Some comrades became martyrs in such ambushes. It has become quite common to wait in ambush for the guerillas who escape after the enemy makes surprise attacks on the guerilla camps or routine shelters in forest and semi-forest areas. Enemy is laying area ambushes leaving no room for the guerillas to escape so as to completely wipe them out. Based on concrete information, enemy is also laying ambush for the guerillas when they are going to a village or going from the village.

### **Raids:**

Special commandos, para military and local police jointly conducted many surprise attacks on the house shelters of the guerillas with the concrete information obtained from police spies and informers and killed many comrades. They then laid ambushes for the guerillas who escaped the attack. We lost many of the whole squads in such combined attacks of raids and



ambushes. We lost 8 to 10 comrades in each of such attacks.

Hundreds of police and para-military forces carried out attacks on villages, tortured people collectively and terrorized them by killing the mass organization leadership right in front of them. Two or three police came in civilian disguise on motorcycles and killed mass organization leaders, PRs and full timers with pistols.

Based on the concrete information given by the informers, enemy entered inside the camps secretly by evading the sentries and attacked with rapid fire by auto-weapons, concentrating on the leadership. We have lost 10-18 comrades in each of such incidents when they violently attacked the surprised guerillas.

Enemy strengthened his informer network and struck blows to the squads which had military weaknesses. We also lost the whole LGSs and LOSs in the attacks of the special forces on smaller squads. If they get to know that a squad is staying near a village, then special batches comb the nearby forests secretly and speedily and pursue the squad and attack with coordination.

They are strengthening the detective branch to capture our leadership and cadre and are striking at our mechanism in urban areas. Based on the information provided by the surrendered renegades and the technical mistakes of the revolutionaries they are trying to strike severe blows clutching on to even the smallest of the clues. Special Intelligence Bureaus and police officers have concentrated on our mechanism in many urban centres and attacked it and destroyed.

Based on the concrete information provided by the informers, special police and the para military forces have concentrated on arms, ammunition and explosives dumps in the guerilla areas and seized them so that guerillas are deprived of them. Thus we have lost many weapons, ammunition, mines, rocket launchers, explosives and grenades.

It has become quite common to concentrate battalion size forces including commandos, para military forces, special armed police of various states and local police in important operations of eradicating and mopping up the party and the PLGA. While the commando forces participate in assault in 2 to 3 batches, the rest of the forces stand as protection forces by laying ambushes. Based on concrete information, special commandos conduct the operation in one day and leave. If not, they stay for one more day. They come with large

amounts of A&A. When we see it on the whole, we have faced severe losses when the enemy attacked with the concrete information provided by the enemy intelligence network.

### **Cordon and Search Operations:**

The enemy is taking up these operations after identifying the houses in the villages, workers wards and houses in towns where our party organizers, activists and squads take shelter. They are cordoning off the villages with 200-500 forces either on getting concrete information or on suspicion, covering all the possible escape routes and searching every household. They are conducting these operations by forming search teams, defense teams and reserve teams and moving actively and alertly. They treat all the people with suspicion and scolding, beating, arresting some, molesting women and disappearing or killing in fake encounters the party activists, who are caught, has become quite common. In towns they are setting up road blockades and check points to prevent escaping. They assemble all the people at one place in the villages or workers wards, slums and college hostels in towns and search houses and the nearby bushes. These operations are conducted for the dumps of arms and ammunition. They take up these operations quite frequently in the villages and certain wards in the towns where the movement is strong. They are taking up these operations after our guerillas carry out actions on the chief ministers, ministers, MLAs, police officers in small towns or big cities and striving seriously to catch the guerillas who have escaped. In the areas where the movement has faced a set back also they are taking up these operations with the suspicion that the guerillas would again try to revive the movement there.

These operations are also being taken up in rural and urban areas after the raids and ambushes of the PLGA on the enemy, to nab the guerillas injured in the police attacks. They are checking the hospitals and medical shops in the urban areas. Some times they are conducting these operations with the suspicion that special action teams are roaming a particular area or town.

### **Road Blocks and Check Points:**

Police and para-military are regularly taking up these measures in the movement areas and in urban areas to nab party leaders, activists, couriers and the PLGA commanders and guerillas who go for doing recce or for treatment. They also do this to obstruct the supplies. They are setting up

Along with this by taking up intensive combing operations regularly, enemy is increasing the pressure on party activists and guerillas and creating serious problems in having live contacts with the people. In Dandakaranya using the Strategic Hamlets scheme, they had shifted about 50 thousand people to Salwa Judum camps. Another 50 thousand people had sped to other areas due to Salwa Judum attacks. They increased the repression on Chenchu people in Nallamala forests and forced them to relocate to the fringes of plain areas. By taking in to consideration of aspects like social, economic conditions, population, the level of peoples' mobilization and the pressure of the civil liberties movement of respective areas, enemy is adopting different forms of actions for separating the party activists from people. Through Salwa Judum enemy not only hitting at our recruitment resource and was able to recruit 4500 SPOs in one instance. They are being used extensively in counter guerilla warfare. Because of their grip on the local terrain and the local language they are very helpful to the police, paramilitary and commando forces in their counter insurgency operations.

#### **e. Joint Operations:**

The state police and paramilitary forces deployed in the movement areas are conducting joint operations and some times on the border regions the police and commando forces of respective states are carrying out joint operations. These joint operations are being taken up in Andhra-Chattisgarh, Andhra-Orissa, Maharashtra-Chattisgarh, Chattisgarh-Jharkhand, Jharkhand-Bihar, Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal, Bihar-Jharkhand-Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand-Orissa state borders. Through them they are preventing us from using the border areas as the base.

#### **f. Wipe out Actions:**

Enemy succeeded in wiping out most of our guerilla forces in Andhra (AP and NT) and forced the remaining to retreat from there. In Dandakaranya by stepping up mopping up actions they caused mass killings and massacres. In other areas they are killing the people in fake encounters.

#### **g. Actions for preventing re-penetration:**

This is the tactic adopted by the enemy when the movement suffered a setback and is in a state of defeat. Enemy is currently using this tactic throughout the state in Andhra. As part of this attack apart from winning a section of people to their side using the intensified economical and political

policies of the central and state governments with the aim of repression of the Maoist movement. With the same aim, all departments are now directly or indirectly supporting the measures to curb the Maoist movement.

### **12) Psychological Warfare:**

Enemy has been conducting psychological warfare on the Maoist movement from the beginning as part of counter-insurgency. Prime minister, union home minister, chief ministers, state home ministers and the ruling class parties are all participating in this. Though some are specifically allotted from the IB and SIB to carry out psychological warfare regularly, all the police officers are directly participating in this. The aim of this psychological warfare is to suppress the people who stand in support of the Maoist movement and disrupt the guerilla warfare and wiping it out. This tries to make the exploitation and suppression of the exploited permanent. It tries to mould the public opinion according to the ideology of the exploitative government. Malicious propaganda is being carried out through TV, Radio, Cinema, newspapers, pamphlets and posters. People's minds are sought to be corrupted through continuous propagation of feudal, self-serving, reactionary and counter-revolutionary ideas and values.

Enemy is carrying out malicious campaigns propagating the ideology of the bourgeois intellectuals that socialism and communism are outdated, outlived and defeated ideologies and that the revolution can never be successful. Thus the enemy is confusing the people and the sympathizers of the revolution. Enemy is picturing Maoists as terrorists, violence mongers, separatists and opponents of peace and development and boasting that he would root them out. He is carrying out vicious campaign that the guerillas are killing innocents in the name of informers, carrying out atrocities on women and that the party leaders are leading luxurious lives. They are using methods like making the degenerates and the betrayers give statements about the above lies and spreading rumours.

After killing guerillas in large numbers, state governments and the chief ministers are giving statements that the Naxalite problem can not be solved by the military means alone and that political, economic and social solutions should be found out so as to confuse the people and the democrats. The ruling classes are propagating that it is necessary to use violence to save the people from the perils of communism and to eradicate the Maoist menace. Thus they are conducting psychological warfare to prepare the people to get

habituated to violence.

They are parroting that India is the biggest democracy and that there is no authoritarianism, exploitation, suppression and tyranny and that there is equal justice to all and hence there is no need for revolution here. They are also shouting at the top of their voices that the people here are participating in elections in a very democratic way and that the naxalites are opponents of democracy and are conspiring to destroy the democracy.

The exploitative ruling class parties and the revisionist parties are also heavily propagating that wisdom has dawned upon the Nepali Maoists and hence have joined the main stream with the new theory of multi-party democracy and participated in the elections and even have become rulers. So, Indian Maoists have to realize at least now that they should emulate the Nepali Maoists. Police conducted propaganda war with pamphlets and posters quoting Prachanda and using his photos.

Enemy is mainly propagating that the Indian state is very powerful and that it is not possible for the Maoists guerillas to continuously carry out their struggle and that they can never win. The central and state governments are unleashing unrestrained counter revolutionary violence on the people while carrying out the propaganda that it is necessary to use violence against the Maoists to defend democracy from the attacks of the Maoists.

are providing automatic weapons, LMGs and area weapons like grenades and mortars of light artillery to the commando forces. In the coming days they are going to provide rocket launchers. With the help of these weapons the commando forces are able to fire indiscriminately, use the firing as cover and come onto our guerilla forces and inflict losses. They are providing the commando forces, paramilitary forces participating in the suppression of our movement are provided with bullet proof jackets, night vision goggles, MPVs, UAVs and helicopters. In view of this there is a need to bring changes in our training, weapons and war actions to counter all these.

#### **c. Fortification-Carpet Security:**

For protecting the security their forces from our raids and to counter our raids they had extensively constructed fortified police stations. It was started in 2000 in Andhra and later constructions of such fortified stations picked up in other states. Wherever there is no rectification they have constructed many protective structures for countering our attacks. With the fortified police stations the opportunities for our surprise attacks were considerably declined and the morale of the police forces is boosted. Because of our failure in adopting appropriate tactics for attacking these fortified stations, enemy based in these stations is succeeded in carrying out intensive combing operations and in restricting our efforts in political, organizational and movements

#### ***Carpet Security:***

In some LIC manuals it is described as deployment of forces in grid form. In regions where the revolutionary movement is strong and peoples' power organs are consolidated, enemy is using this carpet security as the primary tactic. This is going to become a major problem for us in our movement areas. As per this tactic, they are setting up camps of 2-3 companies of paramilitary forces with strong protective arrangements at every 3-5 Kms distance.

#### **d. Isolating the Party and Guerillas from the masses:**

Recognizing that the real strength of our party and guerillas is masses, enemy is taking up many tactics for isolating the party activists and guerillas from the people. In areas like Andhra, they are using methods like severe repression, fake encounters and murdering the people using vigilant gangs for terrorizing the people so that they are scared to support party and guerillas.

### **3. Military :**

#### **1. Open Activities:**

Let us look into the different aspects in the military tactics as per the open activities

#### **a. Creation and training the Special forces:**

For the first time a special force was formed against the Maoist movement in 1988 in Andhra with its name Greyhound forces. They had set up Greyhound (Commando) training center and provided training in counter guerilla warfare and counter insurgency. Later in 1991, State Commando Force (SCF) was formed in Maharashtra for suppressing our party in Gadchiroli-Gondia-Chandrapur districts. In late 1990s, a special force was formed in Madhya Pradesh with the name Huck Force. In line with the growth of the movement commando forces were formed from the police forces in other states as well. By 2004 a special commando force was formed with the name of Elite Greyhound in Orissa which was later made to SOG. Appreciating the role of counter guerilla operations carried out by Andhra Greyhound forces along with the counter insurgency operations in hitting our movement in Andhra Pradesh, in 2006 center had directed all the state governments to create special forces of Greyhound type. In the past two years special forces, under different names are formed in all the Naxal affected states. For suppressing the guerilla war going on intensively and extensively in different parts of the country after unity Congress, the central government has decided in 2008 to create central level commando forces. The Cobra battalion in CRPF is an out come of this decision. After the Mumbai incident (26/11) it was decided to create SOG units in every state. They are going to set up 20 training centers for providing training in counter insurgency and counter guerilla warfare. With the expansion of our movement to many states and also because of the growing terrorist attacks, special training is being given to the civil administrative officials and police forces in almost all states.

We are going to have serious problems with the creation of Cobra battalions. We need to bring changes in our training, weapons, formations and other tactics for countering them.

#### **b. Modern Weapons and Vehicles:**

For facilitating the counter guerilla warfare which means fast movement forces, enhancing the firing speed and for carrying out surprise attacks they

## **III. Future Strategy and Tactics of Indian Ruling Classes - Counter-Strategy and Tactics of Our Party**

LIC is the theory developed by imperialists particularly American imperialists for defeating all the justified wars (class wars, nationality liberation struggles, freedom struggles) that can block and become obstruction to their world domination. We can call this either a policy or a theory. Around the basic principles of this LIC theory, imperialists had formulated strategy and tactics for suppressing, eliminating and defeating all forms of insurgencies/ revolutions (class, nationality and independence). They have compiled manuals analyzing their positive and negative experiences in suppressing revolutionary struggles, nationality liberation struggles and independence wars through out the world in different countries. They called them counter insurgency manuals. As per these manuals 'counter insurgency operations are the military, paramilitary, political, economical, psychological and civil actions taken up for defeating a revolt'. It means imperialists are not just confining to military methods but they are deploying multi-prong attacking methods.

After the Second World War, because of the world wide revolts with the people demanding revolution, nationalities demanding liberation and countries demanding freedom has compelled the imperialism to change its methods of exploitation. The out come of this is the neo colonialism. In this neocolonialist policy the exploitative local ruling classes (feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie of respective countries) are continuing their rule on oppressed masses and oppressed nationalities by collaborating with imperialists. As a result revolts are continuously going on through out the world and for suppressing these revolts the exploitative local ruling classes have taken up counter insurgency operations under the guidance and with the support from imperialists. For this they studied the revolts and their particularities in their respective countries, formulated their own manuals and counter insurgency plans. With these plans they had either already suppressed movements or continuing with the suppression. That is why LIC means the multi-prong attack on revolts by the imperialists and their agents (feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie).

In our country also Indian ruling classes have been implementing counter



insurgency plans since 1947 in Kashmir, Telangana, North Eastern region and Punjab. They had also carried out counter insurgency attacks and suppressed the movements under Maoists in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and other areas. Later they have continued counter insurgency attacks on the peasant struggles in Adilabad, Karimnagar and Bihar struggles developed by drawing lessons from Naxalbar, Srikakulam and other struggles. Repulsing these attacks the peasant struggles have extended to North Telangana, Coastal Andhra, Rayalaseema, South Telangana regions in Andhra Pradesh, to Dandakaranya, to Bihar-Jharkhand, to West Bengal, to Orissa and to other regions in the country. The growth and expansion of these movements displays the positive aspects of our strategy tactics in repulsing the counter insurgency attacks of exploitative ruling classes. In this process the Chandrababu government which came into power in 1995 in AP, had brought in Vision 2020 plans, which were formulated under the guidance of American imperialists, World Bank. This treacherous plan was introduced as part of the LIC. With the primary objective of hitting at the revolutionary movement and other democratic movements in the state, they had combined all the three attacking, reforms and propaganda. After returning to power in 1999, Chandrababu had improvised these LIC plans and implemented them in more aggressive manner. In the meanwhile because of our failure in repulsing these attacks NT movement suffered temporary setback by 2002 and by the end of 2006, entire AP movement including Andhra, AOB areas had suffered the setback.

From the year 2000, all the state governments have been implementing LIC plans under the guidance of central government in all the areas where the revolutionary movement is strong and extended. After the formation of CPI (Maoist) in September 2004, central government is directly leading and coordinating the implementation of LIC plans. This has created serious obstacles in our movement. Even while trying to overcome these obstacles there is a need to counter and defeat these LIC strategy and tactics for advancing the revolutionary movement. For this it is required to understand how these LIC strategy tactics are concretely implemented in AP and other movement areas, what are problems and obstacles faced by our movement and what are our weaknesses in countering them? Along with this we need to formulate comprehensive basic tactics for countering the LIC strategy and tactics in the light of our protracted peoples' war. Based on this we have to formulate and implement our counter tactics creatively to suit the continuously

struggles. By accepting the funds from the governments and imperialists and by implementing the government schemes they are making efforts to re-establish the government authority.

## **2. Organizational :**

Currently there are different organizational structures at central, state and district level for implementing the LIC strategy. Keeping in view of specificities of India, Army had formulated the sub-conventional warfare policy at central level. It was prepared by army head quarters and accepted by the defense ministry. Similarly apart from the central task force there are 4-5 structures are functioning at central level for implementing LIC strategy. They include committee of cabinet ministers, committee of Chief Ministers, committee of DGPs from Naxal affected states and the committee with leaders of ruling and opposition parties. An organization structure has been set up under the leadership of National Security Adviser, M K Narayan so that Prime Minister Office (PMO) directly supervises the operations of suppressing the Naxal movement. After the Mumbai attack (26/11) National Investigative Agency (NIA) is formed. At state level there are both open and secret structures under the leadership of Chief Minister and at district level there are committees for coordinating the activities of SPs and district Collectors. There are different intelligence agencies at central and state level and there are separate intelligence agencies for different security forces. Depending on the growth of movement initially some states and later some more states have established such organizational structures and deputed their IAS, IPS officials to England, America, Israel, Russia, Vietnam and other countries for training and studying LIC policies. K S Vyas an IPS officer from Andhra had taken training with Scotland Yard in 80s and he immediately formed Greyhound forces and SIB. Many states are implementing the LIC policies with the improvised coordination Collectors, SPs at district level. They are forming district level action plans. The latest example for this is the Salwa Judum in Dandakaranya. This was formulated jointly by the army and home department officials at central level and Dantewada district Collector Pisda prepared a district level action plan and implemented it with better coordination of police, paramilitary and district civil administration. As recognition to his efforts he was given President's award in 2007. He had the full support of Dantewada SP Ratanlal Dangi.



also given in number of cases. As part of their plan to attack the revolutionary movement and party leadership they are refusing the bail applications and keeping the party leadership and party activists in prison for long time. They are brutally torturing the party leadership and party activists even in prison. They are not even sparing the women activists and subjecting them to severe mental and physical torture.

#### **i. Cultural Attack:**

This attack is being organized for destroying the democratic and revolutionary culture and to promote bourgeoisie culture. The growth in the democratic culture and revolutionary culture is a serious obstacle for counter insurgency operations. Hence they are targeting the revolutionary culture and values and patronizing the imperialist, bourgeoisie and feudal culture as part of their counter insurgency operations. They are extensively using the electronic media, study syllabus in schools, movies and literature for encouraging the craze for materialistic things, individualism, luxurious living style, careerism, selfishness, deceit, corruption, violence and unrestricted sexual relations. For keeping students away from politics they banned elections in colleges and universities. And with all these ruling classes have succeeded to some extent in reducing the social consciousness, attitude of responding to the problems of the fellow human beings, helping the people in need, collectivism, hard working nature and rebelling to the injustice and oppression. After the globalization and with the bourgeoisie individualistic culture students are considering career as their ultimate goal and are distancing from the social movements. A section of students became have become lumpens. The craze for materialistic things (consumerism) is increased even in working class and they started looking for other means for earning extra money. As result of all these there became a situation of shortage of students, youth and working class who considered to be the biggest resource for the revolutionary movement has arisen.

#### **j. Non Government Organizations:**

Central and state governments are extensively using Non Government Organizations against the revolutionary movement. In the name of addressing the peoples' problems, NGOs are establishing themselves in the people and making them to distance from the revolutionary movement. They are blunting the fighting spirit of the people and confining them to legalist methods and

changing conditions.

The primary aspects of LIC will take shape through the tactics adopted for their implementation. The four primary aspects in LIC are: 1) Conducting the military, social, economical and psychological warfare in a coordinated manner, 2) Winning the hearts and minds of the people, 3) Using intelligence as a strategic weapon, and 4) Using the special forces in political, organizational and military tactics.

### **Tactics adopted by enemy as per LIC Strategy:**

#### **1. Political Tactics:**

##### **a. Ideological and theoretical attack :**

After the collapse of Soviet Union, this attack was carried out through out the world. It was particularly very serious in Andhra. They carried out large scale ideological and theoretical attack stating that Marxism is an outdated ideology and Socialism is a failed state. As a result of this attack one section of progressive and revolutionary intellectuals went into confusion and another section had left Marxism and adopted liberal bourgeoisie ideology. In the meantime imperialists introduced and widely promoted Post- Modernism as an alternative to Marxism. As part of this they have encouraged Dalit ideology, feminism, primitive communism, Bahujan ideology (unity of SC and BCs) and Religious Minorityism in a large scale. As a result a section of Dalits, a section of women, a section of adivasi people and a section of BCs from the revolutionary camp had left the movement and joined their respective sectional movements and many people outside the revolutionary movement followed them. They argued and propagated that class/classes are not single entity and each class is comprised of many identities and sections and the problems of each section can be resolved only through the independent struggles of these sections. Universities started sponsoring the research projects in the name of 'Subaltern Studies' and NGOs and organizations of different sections receiving funds from imperialists also started subaltern studies. Through these studies they have conducted micro level studies on political, social and economical problems of Dalits and different castes in Dalits and BCs, Women, religious minorities and Adivasis and concluded that these sections are not only facing class exploitation but they are facing their own type non class political, economical, social and cultural problems. Based on these conclusions they have aggressively advanced Dalitism, Feminism and Minorityism. In this

way they not only split the classes ideologically and theoretically into sections, they formed Dalit organizations, Religious Minority organizations, BC caste organizations and Adivasi organizations. Imperialists and imperialist organizations have provided huge funds for them. As a result many progressive forces from these sections came under this influence and went into their grip.

As a result of Post Modernist ideological attack and the formation sectional organizations a section of the revolutionary camp was split and the revolutionary movement is weakened to that extent. As Communists we see class issue as a primary problem and wage class struggle as our primary struggle. Along with this we mobilize the oppressed castes, communities, gender and also the people from the discriminated areas and organize struggles against the exploitation, oppression and suppression. We conduct all these struggles around class struggle and as part of class struggle. However because of our failure in taking up these struggles in proper time and with proper tactics we have created a situation giving scope for these sections to split away from the revolutionary movement.

As part of Post Modernist ideological attack, they have also propagated Bourgeoisie Peace, Bourgeoisie Parliamentary democracy and Bourgeoisie Reformism. Along with this there was always revisionism as an ideological opponent. We failed in countering this Postmodernism in effective manner. We had published one book in the name of “Ideological Confusion of Balagopal”. Some intellectuals from VIRASAM (RWA) have written some articles. We failed to explain how promoting sections against classes was splitting the oppressed classes and hitting the unity of oppressed classes and their fight against exploiting classes. We failed to explain continuously and effectively that Post modernism is nothing but an ideology to serve the interests of exploiting classes. We couldn't succeed in exposing the tactics of sectional struggles as the struggles within the frame work of exploiting system and they will ultimately give legitimacy to the exploitative rule. We couldn't strongly explain that political, economical, social and cultural problems of different sections can't be solved through Postmodernist methods. As a result we couldn't mobilize the sectional movements politically into class struggle. We couldn't form the united front structures comprising of activists from sectional movements. It means we failed to build united front organizations of sectional movements along with our mass organizations like Ryotu Coolie Sangham, Radical Youth League, Radical Students Union etc. However we succeeded

is weak and in the urban areas. The enemy succeeded to some extent in these efforts.

#### **f . Developing intelligence as a strategic weapon:**

Intelligence is strategically important in multi-prong attack of LIC. After the success of SIB intelligence in Andhra Pradesh in getting definite information about the movement of guerilla forces now they are establishing similar intelligence systems in all the states where the revolutionary movement is expanding. We had lost many leadership comrades because of AP SIB intelligence. Greyhound police forces had carried out many attacks on our guerilla forces based on the intelligence information provided by SIB. Presently SIB type intelligence agencies are created in every state. These agencies are exchanging information on day to day basis for conducting coordinated joint operations in an improvised manner.

#### **g. Strengthening of administrative machinery:**

Exploitative ruling classes have recognized the compulsory necessity of consolidating administrative machinery for the effective implementation of LIC and are taking steps in this direction. As part of this effort Chandrababu had introduced schemes like “taking the administration to the people”. They are strengthening Panchayatraj institutions in entire movement areas. They are making severe efforts for strengthening Panchayatraj, Revenue, Social welfare and Police machinery up to village level. While on one side we are destroying the enemy's power in guerilla zones, on the other side ruling classes are trying either to reorganize or to strengthen the administration using the social base created through various political, economical reforms and with the support of police, paramilitary forces. This explains the intense fight between the two classes competing for domination in guerilla zones. We are succeeding in some places and failing in some other places.

#### **h. Introduction of Black laws and preparation of Judiciary:**

In Naxal affected states, central government and the state governments have introduced many black laws for suppressing the revolutionary movement. Centre has introduced a new law in place of POTA in the name of controlling terrorism and has included our party in the list of terrorist organizations. Courts are giving very harsh judgments to revolutionaries. Life imprisonment was given to many revolutionaries in Andhra, Maharashtra, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand and many other states. In Bihar and Jharkhand death penalty was

the sub-conventional warfare manual of Indian army it has been termed as 'Perception Management' and in American manuals as 'information operations'. They were also called as Psychological warfare and Psychological operations in the past. But they are more popular as Psychological operations. The negative propaganda on the revolutionary movements and insurgencies is being called under different names.

The objective of this Psychological war is to weaken the confidence of the activists on their leadership and to weaken the confidence of general masses about the victory of revolutionary movement.

This was implemented in large scale though out Andhra state and now it is being implemented through out the country.

By saying that Communism is an outdated theory and nothing is going to come out from the violence enemy is trying to create an atmosphere of confusion in the movement areas through out the country arguing that it is impossible for Naxalism to succeed.

When we are exposing the hollowness of the government reforms and bringing forward alternative revolutionary reforms they are accusing us the people against development. When we are destroying the government properties to show our protest against the fake encounters and killed policemen in our resistance actions they are carrying out their evil propaganda calling us terrorists.

In Andhra, North Telangana they are trying to weaken the morale of our Party and PLGA activists by asking the family members of our cadre to make an appeal to us to surrender and giving wide publicity to their difficulties and poor health conditions. They are also using many other methods like counseling, conducting brain storming sessions, reforming sessions, freedom sessions and adopting the families of some revolutionaries etc.

Using such psychological war methods they are trying to create a depressive atmosphere and mistrust in the people and revolutionaries. Andhra government succeeded in influencing some vacillating individuals in the revolutionary movement and making them to surrender. With the experience of Andhra Pradesh government all the other states where the revolutionary movement is going on have also adopted such surrendering schemes.

Using this negative propaganda they are trying to create opposition to us in the middle class masses and the people in the areas where our movement

in creating women organizations.

Currently this ideological attack is going on both in our movement areas and outside the movement areas. While Dalitism and Dalit organizations were encouraged in AP, they are strengthening the Gondwana Ganatantra Party which has nominal existence in DK by providing huge funds. This party is gradually strengthening and is able to rally a section in our movement areas behind it. As our movement is primarily based in Adivasi regions, exploitative ruling classes as part of their LIC plan are now trying to organize different tribes of Adivasi community in the name of Adivasi self respect and splitting them from the revolutionary movement. These efforts are expected to intensify further in the coming days.

#### **b. Introduction of Various Political and Economical reforms:**

LIC talks about combining offensive, defensive and stability operations during the counter insurgency operations. Taking steps for the maintenance of civil security, control and emergency operations and improvement of administration, economical and basic amenities are part of stability operations. Counter Insurgency theory says 'the proportion of efforts required for offensive, defensive and stability operations shall vary according to the conditions. It changes with the regions and the level of revolt'. It further notes 'the primary objective of any counter insurgency operation is encouraging the development through reliable and efficient government and for succeeding in any counter insurgency operations it is essential to win over the large number of neutral people.'

In line with this, Chandrababu government had introduced large scale reforms in Andhra Pradesh particularly in North Telangana since 1999. They have flooded the areas where the revolutionary movement is strong with various plans. With the introduction of these political and economical reforms a new exploiting section has emerged in the struggle areas. A section of SC/ST and BCs who acquired positions because of the reservations provided in Parliament, Assembly and Panchayat elections became part of the ruling classes.

The other state governments in DK, Bihar and Jharkhand are also taking up large scale reforms. By co-opting a section of SC/ST and BCs through the reserved constituencies in Parliament, Assembly and Panchayats they are creating a social base for themselves. Because of the various economic reforms

of central and state governments a new exploiting section is emerging from the poor, middle and rich peasants, which is standing on the side of governments and opposing the revolutionary movement for their political interests.

As part of the globalization and restructuring political, economical and social reforms are being taken up in all the countries for the past two decades. By making this as part of the LIC strategy in the struggle areas, ruling classes had further improvised their multi-prong attack. Chandrababu was able to implement this more effectively and used the already available reservations for his multi-prong attack. However whatever be type of reforms introduced by exploiting ruling classes the basic exploiting relations can't be changed. Hence even if a section of the oppressed masses is co opted, the majority of the vast oppressed masses shall remain as exploited class. As a result, revolts and class struggles continue to erupt.

Due to our failure in understanding the government reforms as part of LIC strategy we couldn't take clear and comprehensive attitude against them in the beginning. Though we had taken steps for obstructing the reforms and tried to introduce alternative reforms in the later period, we couldn't properly implement these tactics.

#### **c. Development of Roads and Communication System:**

Extensive rural areas, lack of adequate transportation and communication system and isolation of rural areas from the military centers are favourable aspects for the peoples' war from a strategical point of view. That is why we had talked about strategical areas and developing them into red resistance areas, guerilla zones and liberated areas using the favourable terrain in large rural areas. But as part of LIC plan, enemy is strategically extending the roads and communication system to these areas. These roads and communication on one side are facilitating the markets of imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie classes in their exploitation and on the other side they are being used by the police, paramilitary forces for their movement in suppressing the revolutionary movement. With the extension of roads to rural and forest areas, the regions which used to be in accessible and isolated to the police, paramilitary forces in the past have become approachable and they are able to reach these places very fast. Added to these roads, with the extension communication systems (telephone, cell phone) they are able to find out the movements of the guerilla forces in the rural

areas by providing cell phones to informers, coverts and police forces and are able to reach the guerilla areas very fast and attack them. There is a need to expose that these roads, communication system are anti-people, people destructive system and means to protect the economic interests of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie causing damage to the revolutionary movement and call upon the people to repulse them.

#### **d. Winning the hearts and minds of the people:**

LIC manually talks about 'winning the hearts and minds of the people' by taking up the issues on their own, which are generally raised by revolutionary movement and creating an illusion in the people as if the governments are resolving these issues.

While Chandrababu government had introduced schemes like 'taking the administration to the people', 'Sramadanam' (voluntary labor), Vana Samrakshana Samithis (Forest Protection Councils), Janma Bhoomi (Mother Land), Water Organizations, Self employment schemes and DWAKRA etc., the Rajashekhar Reddy government has introduced schemes like Jala Yagnam (irrigation projects), Haritandhra Pradesh (green Andhra Pradesh), Indiramma Scheme (housing scheme for rural poor), cheaper loans at interest of 25 paise and Rojgar scheme (NREG). In Jharkhand they have formed small groups with Adivasi villagers and helping them in getting the contract works of small roads, culverts, wells and community buildings.

On one side governments are introducing these schemes, on the other side police, paramilitary forces are taking up the activities like conducting the medical camps, distribution of cricket kits and other sports material, clothes, sewing machines and cycles etc. All these activities are aimed at moving closer to the people and there by collecting intelligence.

Governments and security forces are encouraging self employment schemes like contracts and businesses and making efforts to win women on their side in the name of women empowerment and thrift societies.

Because of all these schemes an active section from the people and some women from our local organizations are being attracted to them. Through them enemy succeeded in pulling a section into the trap of economism.

#### **e. Psychological War:**

They have named it different in different counter insurgency manuals. In



24. LIC –Maroof Raza
25. Low Intensity Operations in Subversion, Insurgency & Peacekeeping – Frank Kittson
26. Low-Intensity Conflict: A guide for Tactics, Techniques, and Procedure – CSM James J. Gallagher
27. Nagaland the Night of the Guerillas – Nirmal Nibodon
28. National Security Military Aspects
29. NDR Class notes
30. Psychological warfare : CIA
31. Secrets of the Vietnam War -Lt. Gen. Phillip B. Davidson, USA
32. Sixth Sense
33. Shadow Warriors :Inside the special forces -Tom Clancy
34. Shivaji -The Great Guerilla - Col. R. D. Palsokar
35. Strategy and Tactics- CPI Maoist
36. Terrorism, Insurgencies and Counterinsurgency Operations - N.C. Asthana and Anjali Nirmal
37. The Art of Counter-Revolutionary War: The strategy of counter-insurgency - John J. Mc CUEN
38. The Art Of War –Sun Tzu
39. The Illustrated Directory of Special Forces –David Miller
40. The role of India’s Intelligence Agencies-Rohan Gunaratna
41. The Wars in Vietnam - Ebgar O’balance

\*\*\*

reforms, enemy had set up a strong intelligence network in the people.

## 2. Covert Actions:

As part of its covert tactics, AP SIB had become expert in the formation of killing squads and black gangs, in infiltrating into Party, PLGA and mass organizations. Enemy was able to inflict serious losses to us with these tactics. Beginning with the arrests and disappearance of Comrades Ilanna and Rajamallu and until the recent arrest of Politburo member Com Sattenna in Kerala AP SIB has done many actions and was able to hit our leadership to the maximum extent. In the foot steps of AP SIB, similar agencies are formed in all states and they are all engaged in the arrests of party leadership, organizing black gangs, organizing infiltration and causing losses to us.

They had formed counter revolutionary militias like Salwa Judum in Dandakaranya, NASUS, SENDRA and TPC in Jharkhand. They are extensively using Cobras in Andhra, Harmud Vahini in Bengal, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti in Jharkhand and Ranbir Sena in Bihar in their counter revolutionary activities.

This attack being carried out by central and state governments as per the LIC strategy-tactics for suppressing the Indian revolutionary movement is a multi-prong attack. This is being waged in all fields –ideological, economical, cultural, Psychological and propaganda fields. We have discussed this treacherous war in all fields –ideological field, economical, cultural, Psychological and propaganda fields as part of the political tactics of LIC and discussed separately the organizational and military tactics. Now let us discuss the problems encountered by the revolutionary movement because of them.

1. Due to the ideological attack on the revolutionary movement and formation of sectional organization as part of LIC strategy a section in the revolutionary camp is split away.
2. As a result of various political, social and economical reforms implemented by central, state governments, the exploitative ruling classes have co-opted a section of SC, ST, BC and women and made them as their social base. Due to this a section of poor, middle and rich peasants is converted into a new exploiting class, which is taking the side of government and opposing the revolutionary movement for their own economic interests.
3. With the schemes being implemented for winning the hearts and minds

of people, they are able to pull a section from the revolutionary camp into economism.

4. Through their Psychological war they were able to create mistrust and opposition to us in a section of middle class and urban masses. They have also prevented a section of middle and rich peasants in the movement areas from taking active role on revolutionary side and also made a section of Party and PLGA, which is weak to surrender before the government.
5. Because of the development of Roads, Communication system police and paramilitary forces are able to enter the strategic areas speedily and easily. Enemy is able to get the information about the movement of our forces and restrict the movement of our guerilla forces.
6. Because of the development of intelligence as a strategic weapon most of the information about our party, PLGA and mass organizations is reached enemy. Based on this information enemy is taking up operations with improved planning and causing serious losses.
7. In the struggle for power in the guerilla zones while the enemy was succeeded in consolidating the administrative machinery in many places we were able to build peoples' power organs only in DK and Bihar-Jharkhand.
8. Due to the continued attack in the cultural field, a section of students, youth, workers, poor and middle class people got distanced from the struggle.
9. Our guerilla forces suffered losses in the military field in the counter guerilla operations carried out by the enemy with his commando forces. The process of countering the commando forces has just begun. Because of the fortification the scope for surprise raids was reduced. On the other hand enemy is carrying out intensive combing operations in the surrounding areas from these fortified stations/camps and is able to restrict the movement of guerilla forces and obstruct the mass work.
10. We had lost many central, state and district level leadership comrades in the covert operations and many others are arrested and killed. Because of the counter revolutionary black killer gangs and counter revolutionary militia, the economic and social life of the revolutionary

## Reference Books

1. A History of Warfare - John Keegan
2. Air Power in Modern warfare - Jasjit Singh
3. An Economic Hit Man - John Perkins
4. Collected articles on LIC
5. Counter insurgency –TQW
6. Defeating Communist Insurgency: Experiences from Malaya and Vietnam -Robert Thomson
7. Engaging or withdrawing, winning or loosing –Andrea Mlops
8. Fidelity and Honour-The Indian Army from the seventeenth to the twenty first century -Lt.Gen S.L Menezes
9. Fifty years of the Chinese People's Liberation Army - PRC, Beijing
10. Fire Power in limited wars –Robert H Scales
11. FM 90-8 Counter Guerilla operations
12. FM 3-24; MCWP 3-33.5 Counter Insurgency Operations
13. Global Intelligence  
Paul Todd and Jonathan
14. In the Wake of Naxalbari -Sumantha Banarjee
15. Indian Intervention in Srilanka
16. Intel in our Doc
17. Invisible Emy Vol 1,2,3,4.
18. Killing Hope
19. Know UR Emy
20. Let Freedom Ring –Story of Naga Nationalism -A.S.Atai Shimrang
21. LIC FM 100/20
22. LIC booklet TKPML
23. LIC FM 551

periodical crises are turned into general crisis and the principle contradictions in the world are sharpening day by day. In our country economical, political crises are intensifying because of the outdated semi-feudal, semi-colonial relations of production. Because of these crises all sections of oppressed masses, oppressed nationalities are fighting for the liberation from the exploitation of class and nationality. If we are able to lead these struggles in the light of MLM and with correct strategy-tactics we can defeat exploitative ruling classes and their LIC theories. In China and Vietnam, Peoples' War managed victory smashing the counter insurgency plans implemented by their exploitative ruling classes. From these victories only, Maoist People's War has come forward as a scientific and invincible theory. Hence let us make further deep study of Maoist People's War theory for countering and defeating LIC and apply it creatively to local conditions of our country. Let us defeat LIC with Maoist People's War theory and in the light of our basic document on Strategy-Tactics. By advancing people's war, let us make Indian new democratic revolution a success.

\*\*\*

masses is completely destroyed. In Dandakaranya large number of people were dislocated.

Owing to the unequal economic growth and also because of the variation in the period of the beginning of class struggle and also to the historical reasons of different regions the level of class struggles and the peoples' war across the country is bound to be unequal. It means some areas are red resistance areas, some are guerilla zones, some guerilla zones as guerilla bases and some areas are with temporary set back at the same time. Exploitative governments are also taking into consideration of the variation in intensity of class struggles and peoples' war while framing and implementing the counter insurgency plans. They had recognized the AP movement as the first danger to the rule of exploiting ruling classes and concentrated their LIC plans and implemented. In this central government and imperialists played an important role. World Bank itself mobilized thousands of cores, proposed the LIC schemes and waged the counter insurgency war. While in other areas respective state governments and the center have taken up the LIC schemes and suppression actions in line with the level movement. With the temporary set back in AP movement the central and state governments are now concentrating their LIC attack with higher intensity in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand.

As a result of the LIC being implemented by central and state governments with greater concentration, Andhra movement had suffered temporary setback beginning with NT in 2002 and entire state by 2006. Added to the enemy attack and because of our subjective weaknesses and mistakes north Chattisgarh movement also suffered some temporary setback by 2006. We had significant losses in other areas and lost leadership.

In the context of formulating protracted peoples' war strategy-tactics for countering and defeating LIC, it is appropriate for us to mention the factors responsible for the temporary setback of the movement in AP. The aspects reviewed by Unity Congress in this regard are:

1. We failed to formulate appropriate tactics in countering the enemy's multi-prong attack as part of LIC
2. We failed to creatively apply the guerilla war tactics in countering the suppression and wiping out attack of the enemy which is the primary aspect of the multi-prong attack of the enemy.
3. In second category of strategic areas, we missed the long term

perspective in conducting the guerilla war. As a result we couldn't implement the tactics like expansion, retreat at appropriate time.

4. Even though we formulated the plain area tactics to some extent, we failed in applying them and developing them solidly.
5. We didn't give the required importance to build political movements with wider mass base in the urban and plain areas in support of the class war in rural areas.
6. Primarily we couldn't overcome the obstacles created by enemy in making the people active participants in the peoples' war.

Though AP movement failing to formulate appropriate plans for countering the multi-prong attack of enemy as part of his LIC strategy had suffered temporary setback, the DK, BJ movements are advancing by countering the enemy attack. While the temporary setback in the AP movement is an example for our tactical failure, the advancement of DK, BJ movements are an example for the positive aspects in our tactics. There are many reasons for the DK, BJ movements for withstanding the enemy attack like: there was no change in the social, economic and political conditions in these regions because of the LIC as it was seen in AP, favourable terrain of these regions, the lessons drawn from the experiences of AP and the different historical background of these movements. However as part of the pilot project in the nation wide attack which began in the later part of 2007 by the central government, the DK and BJ movements are also undergoing serious changes and severe repression. There is a need to recognize this and defeat the enemy's plan with appropriate plans.

In totality for coming out of the serious losses in the leadership, for retaining the initiative in our hands and advance the peoples' war to higher level in DK and BJ, for protecting them and other guerilla zones and red resistance areas, for intensifying the guerilla war in guerilla zones and for developing red resistance areas into guerilla zone it is essential to defeat this multi-prong attack on us waged on us as part of LIC. This LIC strategy is prepared only to counter the protracted peoples' war. Hence for defeating this we need to implement protracted peoples' war line more strongly. As protracted peoples' war is the befitting reply for LIC, we have to follow protracted peoples' war line and develop counter multi-prong attack for defeating the multi-prong attack going on with the objective of obstructing the advancement of Indian revolution. In this context there is no need to

urban movement. For this we must take our policy document on urban movement as guidance and build our urban movement strong enough to defeat the LIC multi-prong attack.

### **Develop the vast plain areas into red resistance areas and guerilla zones:**

For defeating LIC multi-prong attack, we must develop vast rural and plain areas into red resistance areas and guerilla zones. For this we must develop our plain area tactics based on positive and negative experiences in NT, Magadh and other areas. We must mobilize the peasantry and other sections of plain areas into class struggle. When the guerilla war becomes an expression of the aspirations of people and when it continues with the people's support it becomes invincible. Our tactics (forms of struggle and organization) should be able to mobilize the all the sections- progressive, middle class and backward section in the people into class struggle. For this we have to build legal, semi-legal and cover organizations along with our class organizations. Create united front structures and our party activists should be one among the masses.

### ***Comrades!***

In India revolutionary forces and counter revolutionary forces are fighting each other for the last three and half decades. Enemy has been implementing counter insurgency plans from the very beginning and revolutionary movement has advanced to the present level by repulsing them. As a result of the implementation of LIC plans, though revolutionary movement in AP suffered temporary set back and we faced some adversities in other areas all these are only temporary and tactical victories for the enemy. As the LIC is meant for protecting the exploiting rule of imperialists and their local agents big land lords, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, it represents the unjustified wars. The way all the unjustified wars were defeated in the past, LIC will also be defeated in the hands of people. The way fall of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal classes which are obstacles for the social transformation is inevitable, similarly the defeat of theories, policies, strategies and tactics working for the interests of these classes is also inevitable. According to the laws of social transformation, class struggles and class wars shall continue till the classes exist. Capitalist relations are the cause for economic crises. Since the capitalism was turned into imperialism, these



3. We must penetrate into enemy's intelligence machinery and destroy it.
4. Expand the peoples' participation in peoples' intelligence. Only through the wider participation of the people peoples' intelligence is strengthened and we can beat the enemy's intelligence.
5. Because of our political, military mistakes (due to non implementation of mass line and class line) a section is becoming anti to us and becoming a resource for enemy's intelligence. Hence we must ensure that our actions and practice is as per our political and military policies. Through this we must ensure the maximum possible people are on our side and they don't become pro enemy.

### **Defeating the Covert Actions:**

Through our peoples' intelligence we must identify and eliminate officials of killer gangs and intelligence officials. Eliminate the black gangs, counter revolutionary militia through our counter mopping up actions. Raise the class consciousness and revolutionary alertness in the people, party activists and PLGA members to foil the enemy's infiltration. We must follow our party, military discipline and recruitment principles without any relaxation. Identify the coverts and eliminate them in different methods.

### **Protecting the Leadership:**

Enemy gives highest priority for elimination of our leadership in the LIC multi-prong attack. We had already lost many leadership comrades. Hence we must give importance to the protection of our leadership. Wherever the leadership, whether it is in rural area or it is in urban areas or it is in movement, we must create suitable machinery, methods for their safety. Apart from the leadership, party cadres and PLGA members must strictly follow the methods framed by us for the protection of leadership and develop these methods creatively to suit the changing conditions.

### **Building the Urban movement:**

Since LIC multi-prong attack is being implemented in all the fields in urban and rural (plains and forest), we have to advance the urban movement for defeating this enemy's attack. Without urban movement and without its growth, our counter attack becomes incomplete. Hence as part of our comprehensive counter attack, we must make efforts for advancing our

change the political, military strategy framed by our party. The political, military strategies based on the objective analysis of Indian classes, on the character of Indian state, on the fundamental contradictions and primary contradiction and on the natural characteristics of Indian revolutionary war will remain unchanged till there is no change in the class relations, in the character of the Indian state and the fundamental contradictions. We have to formulate comprehensive counter attack plan with in this political, military strategy and under its guidance.

## **Our strategy and multi-prong counter attack plan for defeating LIC multi-prong attack :**

Our strategy for defeating LIC multi-prong attack is to follow the protracted peoples' war line. Enemy's LIC attack will continue till our war reaches to the phases of strategic attack. After our entered into strategic attack phase, though this war will primarily become a conventional war, enemy will continue to use LIC tactics in some aspects. In this way defeating this multi-prong attack waged as part of LIC strategy is a strategic task. We have to counter this multi-prong attack continued as per LIC strategy through our multi-prong counter attack. The most important task in defeating this multi-prong attack is to politically mobilize the people. By mobilizing the vast Indian oppressed masses against the enemy, we must fight in political, military, economical, social and cultural fields and continuously educate the people with revolutionary politics. Continuously raise the people's unity and their organized strength to higher level and arm the people in large scale. Conduct the rural-urban struggles in a coordinated manner. Coordinate legal-illegal and political-military struggles. We must use everything starting from the propaganda to the contradictions within the ruling classes.

We must use all the strategical, tactical weaknesses of the enemy in our multi-prong counter attack and defeat the enemy. We must overcome all our weaknesses (subjective forces) and take up the tactics according to the conditions. We must advance by rectifying our mistakes and learning from our experiences. In all the fields we must follow the method of attacking the enemy and consolidating our strength.

### **Politically:**

1. Mao says "for dethroning a political power, working in the ideological

field and creating public opinion becomes the first and regular task”. According to this we must continuously attack the enemy’s ideology and theories.

We must expose the failure of bourgeoisie Parliamentary democracy in solving any one of the basic problems of the people in spite it is being implemented in many countries for the past two and half centuries. We must explain with examples how the bourgeoisie Parliamentary democracy, free market, Keynesian theories, government monopoly capitalist policies, liberal economic policies instead of solving any single problem of people are becoming responsible for the worldwide economic crises, food grain crisis, oil crisis, water crisis and destruction of environment. We must emphatically say that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the correct solution for all type of problems faced by the world people and carry out extensive propaganda of this.

While continuing our ideological and theoretical attack on the enemy, we must show the solution to the problems of world people through our alternative programs. We must propagate efforts made by the socialist camp and its victories in the political, economical and cultural development of oppressed masses and oppressed nationalities when it was in existence. We must also propagate the present victories of our movement and peoples’ war.

2. We must militantly mobilize the people in large scale against the anti-people economical and political policies implemented by central, state governments.
3. For extending and consolidating our mass base and for preventing the enemy to concentrate all his forces on us, we must unite with all sections of people, form tactical united front platforms and intensify the peoples’ struggles. Based on the victories of peoples’ war, we must make efforts for building united front of four classes.
4. We must exploit the contradictions with in the ruling classes.
5. We must wage ideological battle against the ideological trends of Dalitism, Feminism, identity politics of Adivasi communities, religious minoritism and other post-modernist theories. We must expose that these ideological trends are only for protecting the

constitution is indulging in fake encounters, killing the people in lockups and prisons and how the enemy is creating white terror in revolutionary movement areas using organizations like Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nasus and through his campaigns. We must continuously expose how the ruling classes had become the traitors by swallowing crores of rupees in innumerable scams and by mortgaging the nation’s wealth.

4. By raising the level of understanding in people about class-struggle theory, we must raise the class-consciousness in the people. Through this we have to ensure that our party activists, PLGA members do not become influenced by the Psychological Warfare initiated by enemy.
5. We must raise the morale of our Party and PLGA members so that they can understand the difficulties, ups and downs in the protracted peoples’ war and make them to stand firmly during the difficult times.

#### **Cultural Field:**

1. We must continuously propagate democratic, scientific, progressive and revolutionary culture opposing the imperialist and feudal culture being propagated and patronized by enemy as part of LIC. We must continuously propagate and encourage the values equality, self-respect, secularism, collectivity, respecting the labour and helping the people in need. Through this we must ensure that oppressed masses stand firmly in the revolutionary camp and take active part in the revolutionary activities.

#### **Intelligence:**

1. We must set up peoples’ intelligence (political and military) for facilitating the advancement of Peoples’ War and hitting the enemy and we must continuously strengthen and expand them. We must identify the weaknesses of enemy through our intelligence and give strong blows to the enemy and protect people, peoples’ power organs, Party and PLGA from his attack.
2. We must identify the enemy’s intelligence net work (informers, covert) from top to bottom and attack them immediately.

PLGA army by expanding our mass base and for expanding our peoples' war, we must expand in to these sections.

3. By conducting surveys at district/zonal/divisional level on socio-economic conditions for once in five years and by correctly analyzing the changes, we must refine our tactics and make them comprehensive.

### **Countering the Psychological Warfare:**

1. If we have to defeat the Psychological War continued by the enemy, first we must develop clarity about our political program in all our party cadres, PLGA members, mass organizations' members, peoples' militia, members of peoples' power organs and to the total masses in our revolutionary camp.
2. We must immediately condemn the negative propaganda by enemy on our party, PLGA and revolutionary movement for this we have to bring out pamphlets, booklets and paper statements on regular basis. Give interviews whenever required. In some occasions we must write open letters, articles in bourgeoisie news papers, raise debates and should make serious efforts to make use of media in more effective manner. For all these a separate machinery is required to be formed fro the top to bottom in the party and all other fields. One or two state committee members should make special focus on this.
3. We must take up active propaganda clearly explaining the people the manner in which the future of the oppressed people is becoming doubtful because of new economic policies, SEZs and other policies of exploitative ruling classes. By telling them how the peoples' economic system is being destroyed and emphasize the need to obstruct them. Through this we must expose the hollowness in enemy's propaganda that we are against development. Similarly by increasing the participation and acceptance of the people in our resistance activities we must defeat the government's accusations and its efforts to brand us as terrorists. More than this we must take up large scale propaganda saying that enemy is the number one terrorist, explaining how the enemy by ignoring the very

interests of imperialists, feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie classes.

### **Militarily:**

1. In LIC/counter insurgency all the military actions are based on counter guerilla warfare tactics and will be carried out by commando forces. Hence we must train our PLGA forces and party with Maoist peoples' war theory. Using the peoples' war theory every one starting from state committees to district committees and to command level should creatively implement and develop guerilla war tactics according to local situation and conditions of our forces.
2. In the coming years with central, state commando forces enemy is going to intensify attacks on us. Hence we must provide political, military training to our combat units to hit the enemy commando forces. We must raise their fire power and develop their combat skills, technical skills and change their formation to higher level. While raising the quality of our forces we must significantly raise their numbers.
3. 'Fight guerilla like guerilla', similarly for countering and defeating the counter guerilla war and commando attacks, we have to strengthen our mass base and build extensive militia and organize it well. If we are able to arm our militia, extend our mine war plans and make them work actively, the secret movements of commando forces shall be restricted, their speed will become limited because of obstructions created by us, they will loose their surprise element and they become tired very easily. We must make the enemy to become tire through our harassment militia actions, select appropriate place and time and then eliminate the commando forces using our primary and secondary forces.
4. Depending on the level of movement and our ability to mobilize the forces we must conduct small, medium and large scale actions in a coordinated manner.
5. By eliminating the enemy commando forces penetrated into guerilla

bases for attacking us and by seizing their ammunition we must multiply the striking power of our guerilla forces. We must acquire artillery for attacking the base camps, fortified stations and carpet security camps built by the enemy and we must use all our resources for this purpose.

6. We must protect our forces from the enemy attacks. Eliminate the enemy in maximum possible numbers. Take up expansion with a strategic outlook and expand the guerilla zones.

### **Against the Economical, Political Reforms taken up by the enemy:**

1. We must propagate that the economic, political reforms taken up by the enemy can't solve the basic problems of the majority oppressed people and are only meant for watering down the movements, isolating the revolutionary forces from the people and suppress them. We must explain with examples how a section of oppressed masses is isolated from them because of the reforms and how that section is being used by the enemy as his social base. We must use our tactics to make people understand that enemy is implementing these reforms only for serving the economical, political interests of imperialists, big land lords and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and that they are against the interests of oppressed masses. We must make people to stand on our side.
2. Even while we declare our political stand on political, economical reforms implemented by exploitative ruling classes and carrying out propaganda, we must have an action plan based on the strengths of our movement. If there is any thing pro-people in these reforms, we must fight for their implementation in our newly extended regions and the places where our movement is in the elementary stage. In guerilla zones we must explain the anti-people and pro-exploitative ruling classes aspects in these reforms to the people and educate them to obstruct these reforms on their own. In the areas where our movement is in the primary level we must fight against the corruption in these programs. We must ban them where our political power organs are functioning. There we must take up revolutionary reforms as an alternative and strengthen the peoples' economy by

taking cooperative movement. We must project them as models opposite to the reforms of exploitative ruling classes.

3. We must mobilize resources on a large scale and take up the welfare activities like education and medical facilities to the people in guerilla zones and particularly where we have peoples' political power organs. We must distribute food grains and clothes to the people under enemy repression and the famine affected people and seeds to the farmers.
4. We must address all the daily problems of the people so that enemy will not get an opportunity to win the minds and hearts of the people and resolve them as per the standards of the movement.

### **Economically:**

1. For defeating the enemy attack, we must put enemy into financial problems. By coordinating with peoples' war political and military tactics, we must destroy the enemy's supplies, transportation, communication, electrical supply lines, oil depots through sabotage actions. In this context our selection of targets should be such that it causes least inconvenience to the people. Our political effort and sabotage actions should ensure that no opposition comes from people, get peoples' support and ensures peoples' participation.
2. We must seize the enemy supplies and distribute them to the people.
3. We must target the properties of comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and MNCs.

### **Mass Work:**

1. In mass organizations, peoples' militia, peoples' power organs and local party organizations we must have people in large numbers. We must enroll the people in large numbers into our local organizational structures, organize them and bring them into regular functioning.
2. Not just confining to Adivasi and non-Adivasi peasantry, we must organize the sections of students, youth, employees and traders. We must also organize middle class and rich peasantry and take up struggles on the problems faced by middle class and rich peasantry. For qualitatively developing our revolutionary united front, party,