

## **Revolutionary Greetings for the 9th Anniversary Celebrations of Our Glorious Party!**

Let us Bolshevize our party to efficiently wield the two basic weapons of People's Army and United Front to lead the revolution to victory !

Let us strengthen and expand our mass base by adhering firmly to class line and mass line !!

Let us grasp in depth the two Marxist principles 'No revolution without a revolutionary party' and 'People are the makers of history' !!!

Call of the CC, CPI (Maoist) to the entire rank and file to celebrate with revolutionary enthusiasm the 9th Anniversary of our party from September 21 to 27, 2013

### Dear comrades,

We are about to celebrate the 9th Anniversary of our glorious new Party on September 21st this year. This is all the more significant this year as our preparations to celebrate ten glorious years of our new party also start with this. September 21, 2004 is a significant day for the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) in India and also for the World Socialist Revolution (WSR) as this day launched a single center of guidance for the revolutionary movement in India after overcoming more than three decades of ups and downs in this process.

On this occasion let us pay humble homage with great respect to the builders of our glorious Party, great leaders of the Indian Revolution, martyrs and our beloved comrades CM and KC and the thousands of brave fighters who laid down their lives in the course of the NDR, carrying forward the glorious legacy of Naxalbari. After the 8th Anniversary of our Party, all through the past year the counter-revolutionary 'Operation Green Hunt- phase 2' (War on People) raged relentlessly wreaking havoc throughout our movement areas. In the course of fighting back this offensive by the Indian ruling classes and defending the people, nearly 150 of our beloved comrades have laid down their lives. They selflessly fought with great courage and bravery by putting their lives at stake to defend and advance the People's War. A majority of them had laid down their invaluable lives while fiercely resisting attacks by armed forces and the state-sponsored vigilante gangs. Among the martyrs, comrades Ganti Prasadam, Mahita, Juvvaji Venkata Subbaiah, Aluri Bhujanga Rao were veteran comrades of our party. Ganti Prasadam's was a state-sponsored murder and the other three comrades died due to old age and other problems. North Telangana Special Zone Committee member comrade Sudhakar was

killed in a fierce battle with the enemy's special forces. RCM comrade Prashant of BJ-North Chhattisgarh Special Area was murdered in a joint CoBRA-TPC attack. In Dandakaranya (DK) senior Divisional Committee level technical department comrade Aman died due to ill-health while another DVCM Indira died due to snake bite. DVC/ZC (Zonal Committee) level comrades Dharmendra Yadav, Prafulla Yadav and Mithilesh Yadav of Bihar, Sankar of DK and Pushpa of NT were martyred while resisting enemy attacks. Tens of revolutionary masses, members of revolutionary mass organizations, RPCs and people's militia were massacred by the armed forces in indiscriminate firings (like in Edesmetta in DK) and fake encounters in all our movement areas. Let us vow to carry forward the aims and fulfill the dreams of these selfless martyrs by defending, expanding and intensifying the people's war. Let us imbibe and spread the ideals of our great martyrs and inspire the masses to follow their path for the liberation of humankind.

In the past one year, several brave fighters were martyred while valiantly fighting the enemy forces during the course of New Democratic Revolutions in countries such as Philippines, Turkey and Bangladesh etc. Hundreds of agitators and people apart from the working class in the imperialist countries have laid down their invaluable lives in the struggles for liberation from class exploitation and oppression, for national liberation and for democracy in several countries all over the world. Our CC is humbly paying homage to all of them on the occasion of the 9th Anniversary of our Party. It pledges to fulfill the aspirations of the martyrs of WSR by fighting with determination till our goals are achieved.

On this occasion our CC is sending warmest revolutionary greetings to entire party ranks; PLGA commanders and fighters; comrades of Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) and mass organizations; to the thousands of comrades and revolutionary masses who have opened another battle-front in the prisons in the country; to revolutionary masses in our struggle areas and all over our country; to revolutionary well-wishers and the Marxist-Leninist/Maoist parties in various countries that stood in great support of the Indian revolutionary movement particularly in the past one year holding high the red banner of proletarian internationalism.

Let us now briefly look at some of the important changes in the objective conditions that have occurred in the world and our country and also in our subjective condition so that we can concretely formulate our immediate tasks till the next party anniversary in their backdrop.

#### **International situation**

The world financial crisis is still devastating the capitalist world with no signs of recovery. It is concentrated in Europe and no number of austerity measures or bailouts are able to save the EU countries from getting bogged down further in it. All kinds of exercises done by G-8, G-20, IMF, WB, WTO and several regional economic formations have failed to bail the imperialists out of their crisis this year too. Worker's struggles against job cuts and retrenchments are rocking several EU countries. Unemployment, ruthless cuts in subsidies and social spending are pushing millions upon millions of people further into miserable conditions which are leading to their agitations.

To overcome this crisis the imperialist world is taking up austerity measures, state spending to provide employment, increasing taxes, reducing significantly the expenditure of the government, increasing funding to the capitalists and increasing the loot of people and natural resources in backward countries.

The people in imperialist countries are increasingly facing unemployment and underemployment, lack of job guarantee, lack of safe drinking water, inflation, housing problem, reduction in government spending on education and health care, migration and lack of democratic rights. These conditions have worsened further since the financial crisis of 2008.

In backward countries too similar conditions are prevailing if not at an even worse rate. They are facing extreme poverty levels and hunger. The huge gap between the rich and the poor is rapidly increasing to an unprecedented level. They are facing migration both internal and external.

All remaining restrictions since 1991 are being lifted by the compradors of backward countries for finance capital and MNCs leading to extreme neo-colonial exploitation and control. The comprador ruling classes have shamelessly taken up the slogan that no development is possible without FDI. With no restrictions to stop the juggernaut of financial capital due to the collusion of the compradors, the third world people are getting crushed ruthlessly under its iron heels.

The recent devaluation of currency in India, Turkey, Brazil, Bangladesh and several other backward countries is putting their economies in turmoil. The much hyped high growth rates in India went into recession. The

'decoupling' theory puffed up by the ruling elite tried to hoodwink the people of our country about the immunity of the Indian economy to the world financial crisis. Now all that stands busted with everybody in the government talking about the 'bad shape of the economy'.

The position of Brazil and South Africa in BRICS is no better. In India and these countries exports fell, inflation rose, currencies depreciated, growth rates fell and manufacturing sector is facing a lot of problems, not to mention the much talked about monster of crisis in current account deficit, particularly in India. Especially the rupee is having a free fall and inflation is skyrocketing. The imperialists are portraying the devaluation of currencies vis-à-vis the dollar as its recovery. They are saying that US economy has recovered in the past two quarters and are showing this as an indicator.

The other solution opted by the imperialists to overcome their crisis is to resort to curbing of democratic rights in their countries, encouragement of right-wing reactionary forces and waging wars of aggression. Wars of occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan, attack on Libya, French invasion of Mali, drone attacks in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Yemen etc, unending Israeli pounding of Palestine, threat to attack Iran and North Korea and the recent 'impatience' of Obama and Francois Hollande to attack Syria are some glaring examples. Imperialist interventions that led to civil wars and internecine wars in backward countries are numerous. Neo-colonial exploitation, control, oppression, intervention and aggression by imperialist countries of the backward countries have devastated their economies and the lives of the people in more ways than one. No sector is left untouched or unaffected in social, economic, political and cultural spheres.

Fundamental contradictions in the world have intensified in the past one year. The principal contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world intensified with various kinds of antiimperialist struggles waged by the people all over the world including those against the countless ill-effects of neo-liberal economic policies. These struggles cover various aspects in the economic, social, political, cultural and ecological spheres. With the working class and the middle classes increasingly taking to the streets the contradiction between the capitalists and the working class has intensified further. Economically, politically and strategically the inter-imperialist contradiction has come to the fore as never before since they started adopting the neo-liberal policies. This was clearly seen in the contention for domination of West Asia during the recent 'Syria crisis' with Russia supported by China firmly putting its foot down to oppose the US backed western imperialist aggression on Syria.

Brazil saw an unprecedented scale of people's upsurge in June 2013 against its hosting the 2014 football World Cup and 2016 Rio Olympic Games. The people reeling under the horrible effects of the pro-imperialist pro-rich neo-liberal economic policies of the government since decades poured into the streets.

In February, tens of thousands of Greeks took part in a general strike, as more than half the four-million workforce renewed their protest over austerity measures concerning pensions, emergency taxes, the high cost of life and to get rid of the bailout deal as international lenders were due in the capital to discuss the next installment of a bailout. There have been general strikes all over Europe and militant protests have become commonplace. Despite repressive measures such as invoking emergency law, strikes are picking up.

In Egypt Morsi, though a compromising force was unceremoniously ousted and was put in jail by the military backed by the US and Hosni Mubarak supporters. Massacres of people protesting this ouster and the military regime are taking place on a daily basis. In almost all the other Arab countries too where dictatorial rulers were toppled in democratic upsurges in the recent past, imperialist puppets or compromising forces took over and the democratic aspirations of the people remained unfulfilled. So the people are once again forced to take to the streets to fight for genuine democracy. These phenomena are serving as an eye-opener to the Arab people and more and more people are realizing that taking the support of imperialist countries in any manner would be ultimately detrimental to their interests.

Reformism has become the most dangerous ideological and political trend in the world and in our country. As financial crisis intensified, people's unrest amplified, struggles broke out and pseudo-democracy got increasingly exposed by the day, the imperialists and the compradors are bringing this forth on a huge scale. This is advocated and implemented both by the ruling classes, their funded organizations, social democratic and revisionist forces. In our country the countless schemes brought forth by the central and state governments are a glaring example of this trend. These are being implemented in all states all over the country while along with these Civic Action Program by the state armed forces is being vigorously pushed in states where our movement is strong. Similar programs are taken up in all countries where Maoist movements are present. Various acts enacted by the

parliament recently regarding food security, land acquisition, hawkers etc should be seen as part of this reformist trend. The various funded organizations – funded both by the governments and the MNCs have spread their network all over the world. Some of them are implementing the lopsided development model of the imperialists while some are participating in struggles and working to confine them to a reformist agenda. All kinds of reformist forces are shamelessly supporting all the neo-liberal economic policies the ruling parties are bringing. They are supporting the repressive measures of the governments when people are revolting against them. Where they are in power they are behaving like neo-fascists in suppressing the people.

We have to ideologically and politically expose the hollow and deceptive nature of the reforms sponsored by the imperialists, ruling class parties and the State. We should expose the futility of reformism in solving the basic problems of the people and place revolution as the alternative before the masses. Along with this we should expose and isolate a section of leaders in the reformist organizations who collaborate with the ruling classes and oppose people's movements. We should take a unity and struggle policy with the reformist organizations even while giving priority to rallying the masses in the broadest possible fronts to fight on their issues as part of NDR in our country. We should be careful in exposing such reformist organizations as people get rallied into those organizations for their genuine demands and those organizations fight to some extent (in reformist limits). We should take the same stand regarding rallying various reformist organizations into the broad anti-imperialist front in the world, particularly against US imperialism. Only when Maoist forces remain at the core of such broad fronts, they can advance towards achieving their goal.

#### **Domestic situation**

The domestic situation also underwent changes in consequence of the changes in the international situation. As never before in the history of Indian Parliament, a number of acts including those regarding food security, land acquisition, company bill etc were enacted without almost any objection from the opposition this year in a single session. Even bills that have been pending since decades through various governments were passed now without further ado. Majority of the restrictions regarding imperialist penetration into our country that remained even after accepting LPG policies in the 90s were lifted now with unprecedented speed. The rush with which these bills were passed with the full connivance of the so-called opposition parties only shows how desperate the imperialist masters and their agents ruling here are to come out of the financial crisis that is looming over them. All these acts have the single purpose of furthering the neo-liberal policies of the imperialists that would deprive the people of *Jal, Jungle, Zameen, Izzat aur Adhikar* (water, forest, land, self-respect and rights).

The LA act is a strategic offensive on our agrarian revolutionary program. The LA act is a complete sellout to the imperialists and the CBB as it will facilitate indiscriminate acquisition of lands by corporate houses. It concentrates all powers in the central government to hand over lands to MNCs disregarding all name sake restrictions like FRA, clearance from environment ministry, 5th and 6th schedules, PESA etc.

The new company law was passed as a complement to the other acts as it has allowed foreign investments in hitherto restricted sectors and permission to invest more capital than it was allowed in the past in some sectors. It has further opened the doors for acquisition of Indian companies by the MNCs. This would also threaten the existence of medium and small scale companies with their increasing acquisition foreign and domestic corporate houses. The food security act is ostensibly intended to feed the poor and reduce malnutrition but in reality it would not reach even a small percentage of the target. The juggling of figures done in an extremely callous manner to show that poverty decreased dramatically in our country has already paved the way for sabotaging food security of the poor. With lakhs of farmers committing suicide on the one hand and unemployment soaring among the working population, every opportunity for genuine food security is getting reduced rapidly. On the one hand the governments had been continuously and gradually sabotaging the PDS system since decades and now with this act the free market has been given a freer hand. This act is exactly brought to cover up this actual reality and as an election stunt. Opening doors to more FDI had seriously affected the livelihood of lakhs of hawkers. The parliament now passed the bill that ostensibly protects their livelihood but which is in fact a legal action to cover up the loss of livelihoods of hawkers by giving licenses to a few. Diversion of pension money into the stock market with the new pension act has now put in jeopardy even the meager guarantee that the senior citizens had enjoyed. Disinvestment, opening of more and more sectors and slices of the sectors to FDI are being carried on without even any need of a parliamentary session to approve it. Along with all these the changes in labor laws and making the laws more draconian for suppression of movements have brought a significant change in this past year.

Along with the fundamental contradictions in the world the major contradictions in our country are also intensifying. In fact, all the contradictions are intensifying and this is leading to all kinds of struggles in every sphere and by every oppressed class and section of the society.

While the MNCs are putting enormous pressure on the Indian ruling classes to implement the MoUs signed with them, the people are valiantly opposing their implementation braving all odds. The reactionary Jayalalitha government in Tamilnadu in collusion with the center trampled the movement opposing the Kudankulam nuclear plant and started work. The people are continuing their agitation. In Jaitapur in Maharashtra, some NGOs withdrew the agitation after getting a promise of increase in compensation. But the people are keeping the struggle flag aloft. One after another the gram sabhas are rejecting bauxite mining by Vedanta in Niyamgiri. Though the Indian state ruthlessly suppressed the anti-POSCO agitation in Odisha at gunpoint committing innumerable atrocities on the agitators, they refused to surrender and are continuing to fight. In DK, people of Bastar and Gadchiroli are still able to stop the mining process and building of dams but with lot of sacrifices. Several of the anti-mining and anti-dam activists were killed in fake encounters; several of them were arrested and incarcerated in jails with dozens of false cases foisted on them. Mining has started in Saranda after huge military operations by adopting 'clear, hold and build' policy 'to flush out the Maoists' which meant nothing but a series of all kinds of cruel atrocities on the people of Saranda.

Socio-economic, political measures like MNREGA, food for work, right to education and health, right to information, against atrocities on women, increase in minor forest produce rates, Forest Rights Act have all proved their hollowness under the UPA-1 & 2 leading to more and more people's struggles on these issues.

Our country witnessed a huge upsurge of mass protests deploring the Delhi gang rape case of December 16, 2012. It once again led to a wide-ranging discussion about the appalling conditions regarding women's safety in our country, the increasing violence on them in various forms including state violence and the causes and solutions.

The UPA coordination committee and the CWC announced in July end that separate Telangana state would be formed soon. This is a historic victory for the fighting people of Telangana who have been agitating for separate statehood since 60 years facing severe repression and several betrayals by bourgeois parties. Stating that Hyderabad would remain the common capital for ten years, delay tactics under various pretexts for the formation on the one hand and simultaneously inciting movements for united Andhra Pradesh in the Seemandhra region on the other, all indicate that the people of Telangana should brace up for another round of bitter struggle for the actual realization of their demand for separate statehood.

The granting of separate statehood for Telangana gave a fillip to the agitations for separate states in Asom and Gorkhaland in West Bengal. Though feebly demands for dividing UP into four states and a separate Vidarbha state have also been heard. A new upsurge in these agitations rocked those regions for months. The central and Asom governments are carrying on a carrot and stick policy regarding these agitations in Asom by conducting talks with some of the organizations demanding separate statehood and suppressing them on the other. Mamta Banerjee took a tough stand stating that West Bengal would not be divided and is taking all steps to suppress the agitation for separate Gorkhaland and Kamatapur. As long as regional inequalities, imbalances and suppression of nationalities continue, just agitations with national liberation aspirations including separate statehood are bound to rise and advance braving the severe repression of the Indian state. We should support, participate and lead such agitations by concretely analyzing each and every movement, as part of our NDR program.

The BJP has finally announced the mass murderer Modi as its PM candidate with RSS backing and prodding, overcoming the severe dog fight inside the party for power. BJP that tasted power in the past using the Hindutva agenda of building the Ram Temple in Ayodhya and Muslim bashing is trying to aggressively use the same card now with Modi in the lead. This would make the next general elections more communal with the Hindutva goons already trying to fan communal violence through various *Parikramas* and attacks on Muslims like in Muzaffarnagar of UP. They had already tried to incite communal violence in Hyderabad but were unsuccessful – as yet. Though BJP and the saffron terrorists may blatantly use the Hindu card, the people should not forget that Congress has the shameless record of inciting the anti-Sikh riots in 1984 and was behind several communal attacks on Muslims all over the country.

The Muzaffarnagar communal clashes between Jats and Muslims spread to some more districts in western UP. Poor Muslims became the obvious victims and these long drawn clashes once again blatantly revealed the Hindu bias in all the parliamentary parties. The SP that had posed as the champion of Muslims till now stands

exposed as it had not taken a tough stand on the Hindu rioters. With BJP, Congress, SP and BSP party MLAs and leaders indicted for rioting, the Muzaffarnagar clashes had left no parliamentary party unexposed. All the parliamentary parties blamed each other for these clashes but the actual fact is that all of them are responsible for this situation to arise as every one of them behaved opportunistically keeping an eye on the upcoming parliamentary elections in 2014.

#### War on people and resistance

The OGH – war on people continued brutally in the past one year with massacres of revolutionary masses and our comrades in our movement areas. Once again the state targeted our leadership in open activities with the intention of closing down any kind of mass activity and building of solidarity to the PW we are waging. The imperialists have increased tremendous pressure on the Indian ruling classes to implement the various MoUs they had signed to loot and plunder our natural resources. The compradors are resorting to 'more repression and more loot' bending to their pressure and to overcome the now openly acknowledged 'bad shape of the Indian economy'.

The Jeeramghati attack was shown as an excuse for higher level offensives on our movement but the actual reality is that preparations were on the anvil long before this attack for OGH third phase. Deployment of paramilitary personnel for forceful mining and infrastructure development has increased manifold. Increase in paramilitary battalions in Maoist areas, increase in spread of carpet security, further allotment of drones and helicopters, usage of field weapons like mortars and rockets, increase in communication towers, intensification of psychological warfare and release of thousands of crores of rupees for reforms including Civic Action Program and 'skill development', rapid building of roads and other infrastructure are being done on war-footing. All the above measures are concentrated especially in tri and quadric-junctions of bordering states which are strategic area of our movement. The strategic role of the Indian army is increasing in waging the war on people. Deployment of huge number of police, paramilitary forces and army is very likely during the parliamentary elections and immediately after their completion.

The government is supplying higher capacity drones to the CRPF that have till now been used only in the borders of our country by the army. Along with this, formation of CoBRA battalions is being made to turn it into the principal counter-insurgency force in the country. Preparations are going on at a rapid pace for drone attacks on movement areas. Extensive usage of helicopter gun ships had already begun in non-combat operations (for logistics, transporting troops) and also during attacks on villages. The new helicopter unit at Nagpur was established in the name of logistical support but they are to be used in offensives. Drones are to be used extensively for intelligence gathering and also for attacking.

Since the launch of OGH from mid-2009 until now, led by our party the PLGA and the revolutionary masses have fought it back bravely making huge sacrifices and so it gained recognition as 'war on people' in our country and abroad. The uncompromising anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles waged by our party with agrarian revolutionary program at the axis and anti-displacement struggles as an integral part of it have attracted the attention of the people of our country further towards Maoism as the solution and PPW as the path. Even though the armed resistance of the nationality struggles in Kashmir and north-east receded much, several mass agitations against state atrocities and political movements with national liberation aspirations are continuing.

The main successes we achieved since our 8th party anniversary are as follows:

In spite of intensification and expansion of the offensive of the ruling classes, on the whole we sustained our movement in our relatively stronger guerilla zones by keeping up our resistance basing on the strength of PLGA and mass base. We carried on various tactical counter-offensives and inflicted casualties to the enemy. Since end September of last year till August 2013, in various big, medium and small scale actions conducted by PLGA 110 policemen died, more than 185 were injured. We have seized arms (nearly 70 weapons) and ammunition from the state armed forces though not at previous levels. We conducted five big actions, nearly a dozen medium size actions and dozens of small actions in the past one year. The hollowness and bankruptcy of the parliamentary system on the one hand and the brave resistance of the PLGA and the fighting masses led by our party to the lopsided development model of the pro-imperialist comprador ruling classes on the other is increasingly attracting various sections of the people who are becoming victims of this model towards Maoism. This is a success we achieved both ideologically and politically. People are mobilizing under our party's leadership on several issues, particularly against mining, displacement and big dams that have long term ill-effects on the

future generations and ecology. Our efforts to expand to some new areas and internally within the existing zones and to keep the various guerilla zones connected are on. Various kinds of mass struggles though at a local level were led by our party at area, division/zonal and state levels.

Our comrades are putting determined and tireless efforts facing some of the toughest conditions that our movement had ever faced in new areas of extension in the strategic tri-junction area between Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The state has unleashed severe repressive measures in Malnad and in the tri-junction to nip our movement extension in the bud. Our party fought back and exposed ideologically and politically the right opportunist trends represented by Savyasachi Panda in Odisha and Sriramulu Srinivasulu in AOB. We educated our party about the reasons for such trends to arise and the need to fight them back. They had not been able to influence any considerable section of our cadres. Only a few cadres had left with Panda and our political efforts to make them understand the right opportunist danger are on. Division and state level plenums in AOB, divisional plenums and plenums of some higher level military formations were held that helped their political and organizational consolidation. Some more efforts for political and organizational consolidation were put and revolutionary propaganda continued in all our movement areas to some extent.

As part of our proletarian international tasks we took up a solidarity campaign for the Philippines new democratic revolution and propagated their glorious people's war through several programs for one week from April 22 to 28, 2013. With the Hamburg conference held in November 2012 and the various international campaigns taken up in support of our PW and against the OGH in several countries (both imperialist and backward countries) international efforts to build solidarity to our movement have consolidated further. The selfless sacrifices of our beloved martyrs, our brave resistance and leading of people's struggles even amid unprecedented enemy offensive and achieving some successes played a crucial role in the further coming together of majority of the revolutionary and democratic forces world to build this kind of a broad solidarity and support for our NDR, in India and all over the world.

#### **Immediate Tasks**

Our CC had assessed in the beginning of 2013 that from the point of view of the subjective condition, the situation of our countrywide movement is critical. It stated that at present all the major contradictions inside the country and in the world are intensifying and the objective conditions are turning more favorable to the revolution but in terms of subjective condition the movement is facing critical situation. In this backdrop let us take up the following tasks on the 9th anniversary of our party. We must take up these tasks to prepare our party to overcome the present critical situation that the Indian revolutionary movement is facing and to successfully advance the movement.

#### 1. Give foremost prominence to Bolshevize the party

Keeping in view the overall assessment of the objective and subjective conditions and needs of the movement, our CC has decided to take up a campaign for the Bolshevization of the party. The Bolshevization of our party means – 1. Understanding deeply and adhering firmly to MLM and the general political line of our party; creatively applying MLM to our concrete practice and firmly implementing our line; being unwavering regarding our ideological and political line, establishing its correctness and enriching it further by fighting against various bourgeois ideologies 2. Developing our party into a strong organization that is well equipped with the correct ideological, political, organizational and military line, that correctly practices democratic centralism, that strictly implements discipline, that has mass character, that steels itself in protracted people's war, that is firm in strategy and flexible in tactics. 3. Fighting against all kinds of right and left opportunist trends inside and outside the party 4. Honestly accepting our mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses, correcting and avoiding those by learning from our practice 5. Following class line and mass line and realizing in practice the Marxist principle 'People are the makers of history' by closely integrating with them and leading them.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is our party's ideology. Our party is molding itself ideologically and educating the rank and file and the people with the same ideology, our general political line and path of the revolution to successfully complete the NDR as its immediate goal and achieving communism through socialism as its ultimate goal. It has built a people's army (in the present level of the movement it is PLGA), built united front in an embryonic form and is advancing the people's war to liberate the country with a strategic view. It is trying to give efficient leadership to the revolution by coordinating the work of people's army and united front. But in the course of advancement of the movement our party is suffering from various non-proletarian trends and facing problems in sufficiently preparing the party, people's army and the masses according to the changing objective and subjective conditions. These are hampering its advancement. So we are not able to - preserve our subjective forces and consolidate them further; protect our mass base and further expand and consolidate it; consolidate PLGA and further expand and intensify the guerrilla war; and fully utilize the increasingly favorable conditions developing in our country and the world for revolution.

So it is our foremost task to further equip our party with the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to raise our ideological and political level in order to get rid of the non-proletarian trends and overcome these weaknesses inside the party. This would help our party in correctly understanding and analyzing the objective conditions in our country and the world and the subjective condition of our movement by using the theory of dialectical historical materialism and applying it as a method. We should apply the theory of MLM to the concrete objective conditions of our country and to concrete revolutionary practice. Only in this light we would understand anything correctly, take correct decisions, implement them properly, integrate the party with the people, mobilize people and build class struggle, improve our leadership work methods and style of work, analyze and synthesize our practice scientifically, learn lessons from our own experiences while correcting the mistakes and errors that had occurred in practice, strengthen the party and further advance the movement.

The key to achieving this would be the Bolshevization of our party. The class composition of our party rank and file is predominantly from peasantry and petty-bourgeois social class background, the influence of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal outlook, notions, culture, work methods and style of work are negatively impacting our rank and file. So this Bolshevization should be a continuous process.

To successfully fulfill the multi-pronged tasks of the revolution we should rally and organize the people politically and militantly into the people's war on a wide scale. The foremost ideological task that we would have to fulfill to achieve this is to categorically convince the people that the root cause for all their problems lie in the social conditions prevalent under this semi-colonial and semi-feudal exploitative system, and the reactionary pro-imperialist, pro-CBB and pro-landlord policies implemented by the ruling classes; that they will not be liberated unless this system is smashed by uniting all democratic classes and social sections under the leadership of the proletarian vanguard party - the CPI (Maoist). Then the people would get mobilized into socio, economic and political movements. The party would have to build its ranks among the organized masses and expand the movement all over the country step by step and thus advance the people's war towards victory. For this -

Proletarian discipline ensures the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party that is the precondition to firmly implement our general political line, policies and decisions that come from above at every level. So we must see to it that disciplinary principles and standing orders are implemented to enhance the level of proletarian discipline in our party, PLGA and party fractions. The leadership should lead from the front in bringing significant change in their daily life in matters of discipline. To encourage implementation of discipline with revolutionary spirit we must give special attention to education about communist ideals, values and culture.

Concrete rectification campaigns where and when necessary, review of our practice and of decisions in every meeting and deep criticism – self-criticism should be taken up as the means to get rid of non-proletarian trends like subjectivism, spontaneity, liberalism, sectarianism, bureaucracy, patriarchy etc that are prevalent at various levels, at various degrees and in various forms in our party. To succeed in these campaigns we should pay special attention to ideological, political, military and organizational education/training and to review of concrete practice at every level including at individual level.

Comrades should strive to bring a revolutionary transformation in their style of functioning and life style. This means that we should work or fulfill every revolutionary task with Bolshevik spirit and efficiency amidst the countless odds that we face in practice. Achieving this kind of work style should become the aim of every comrade.

Right opportunist and post-modernist trends are cropping up in our party in some places. The danger of such trends arising would be present particularly at this juncture when the offensive of the ruling classes on our movement is increasing and our movement is facing a critical situation. The entire party from the highest to the lowest levels must be extremely alert towards these trends and fight them back. Simultaneously, where sectarian and bureaucratic trends are prevalent in our mass work, in party relations with masses and in internal relations in our party our mass base is weakening and party unity is getting damaged at various degrees. We must also struggle against sectarian and bureaucratic trends and rectify them. The experiences of our party in internal struggles/two-line struggles and rectification campaigns should be studied by all for this purpose.

The leadership should plan to stay with the lower level cadres in the field to guide them in understanding and solving the concrete problems faced in the course of our movement. This means understanding the changing concrete social, economic, political and cultural conditions, the changing concrete conditions of the movement, changes in the enemy strategy and tactics in the multi-pronged offensive as part of implementing the counter-revolutionary LIC policy of the imperialists and all reactionaries world over, etc. The leadership should pay special attention to concretely applying the Bolshevization process during this field training period.

We should avoid unnecessary losses of leadership and subjective forces at all levels. Preserving our subjective forces, particularly the leadership, is one of the foremost tasks before us. We must review our past mistakes and the weaknesses prevailing at present which has led to such a large number of severe losses of our forces from top to bottom. One major reason for the present condition of the movement is the failure in preserving our subjective forces, particularly the leadership. It is not only very difficult to successfully Bolshevize our party or fulfill any other task without preserving the present forces. We should put all efforts to develop secondary leadership at all levels in a planned manner. Simultaneously we should expand the party with new members.

In our country the casteist, religious and imperialist cultures are damaging the fighting spirit of the people. They are not only negatively impacting the people but are also penetrating into our subjective forces in various degrees and numbing their revolutionary consciousness. One of the reasons for the decadence of new democratic and communist values in the party and the PLGA is this. We should develop new democratic culture and values and socialist culture and values particularly inside the party, the PLGA and in all revolutionary mass organizations and RPCs and in general in people to counter this danger. The revolutionary cultural sphere should be strengthened to fight back the degenerate feudal and imperialist cultures. Our cultural organizations should take up appropriate forms and play a crucial role in developing revolutionary culture. Study, political classes and lectures relating to cultural matters should be taken up vigorously as a part of Bolshevizing our party. Committees should pay attention to distributing the available revolutionary literature among the cadres. These cultural and literary efforts should become an integral part of the ideological, political and cultural work that every committee takes up.

The leadership comrades should deliver short and inspiring speeches to motivate whenever our troops meet or disperse and during various training camps and meetings. They should ensure that our ranks in all spheres are always filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and spirit.

We should Bolshevize the party increase the confidence on the leadership from the ranks and the people and on the entire party from the people. This should boost up confidence in the entire party and the people to boldly face the current critical situation of the movement, to rectify non-proletarian trends, to resolve problems and to overcome any number of odds to march towards victory.

When the entire party gets Bolshevized it would also develop confidence among the people that by correcting the mistakes that had occurred in our understanding and in practice and by learning from our own invaluable experience gained by spilling a lot of blood - our party and the PLGA would expand and strengthen and provide capable leadership; our movement would expand countrywide; we would be able to establish base areas and lead our revolution to victory.

#### 2. Let us strengthen and expand our mass base by adhering firmly to class line and mass line

Weakening of the mass base is one of the main reasons for the critical situation that our countrywide revolutionary movement is presently facing. The movement is continuing at different levels in different parts of the country and consequently there is difference in the extent of the mass base.

The enemy offensive is intensifying on RPCs and various mass organizations all over the country. It has been more than three decades since several organizations have been banned by the central and state governments. Tens of thousands of revolutionary and democratic mass organization leaders and members have been assassinated, tortured and put in jails. Booked under false cases many of them are facing harsh punishments. Massacres, gang rapes, loot and destruction by armed forces have become the order of the day.

The aim of the ruling classes behind such severe repressive measures is to isolate us from the people and dent our mass base. So our tactics should be aimed at uniting the vast masses against the enemy, isolating the main enemy and using the contradictions between the enemies. These tactics should help us in mobilizing the people politically on a wider scale and consolidating them. We should strive to preserve our leadership forces in the central, state and local MOs and RPCs.

Following our general political line we should give priority to politically mobilize the working class, landless and poor peasants. We should put all efforts to rally the middle peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie. The worldwide financial crisis is negatively impacting the rich peasantry and the national bourgeoisie who are a part of the four-class alliance. So the time is more favorable to bring to the fore their demands too. According to their attitude towards the people and PW, we must take up tactics that would win over a section of these classes, make a section at least neutral and isolate the other. We should pay particular attention to forming appropriate united front forums on various issues that would bring together revolutionary and democratic organizations, forces and individuals. When the ruling classes are resorting to all kinds of conspiracies and fascist offensives to isolate us from the people, friendly organizations and forces, our practice should be centered on integrating with them further.

In all our strategic areas we should widen our mass base and build, consolidate and expand the RPCs with the aim of establishing base areas. We should overcome our shortcomings in uniting the vast masses against the decadent ruling system, in forming appropriate united front forums, establishing party leadership in them and in expanding them. The various kinds of mistakes we are making in integrating with the people and in implementing mass line and class line should be corrected. We should get rid of sectarian and bureaucratic attitudes while working among the people. These trends are not only isolating us from them but also hampering their initiative. We should strictly avoid any wrong political and military actions that would harm the interests of the people. We should carry on criticism and self-criticism sessions and education and rectification campaigns not only inside the party but also in MOs to correct sectarian, bureaucratic and other wrong trends.

The mainstay of our propaganda at this juncture should be against the unjust nature of the OGH and the just nature of our PW. This should be based on the premise that this enemy offensive is against democracy, progress, peace and the interests of all the oppressed classes and social sections and that the OGH is being waged to serve the interests of the imperialists, CBB and the landlords.

The main direction of our agitations should be towards mobilizing people on land and displacement issues. We must put efforts to carry on our propaganda and agitations around the countless issues that are thrown up due to the intensifying worldwide financial crisis. Where people are agitating on these issues we should try to support, intervene and lead them.

We should take up agitations and propaganda on various political, social, cultural and ecological issues. Maoist political prisoners alone number more than ten thousand while the number of political prisoners from north-east, Kashmir and other democratic movements would be several thousands more. More than ninety percent of these prisoners are common people. They are languishing in various prisons of our country and facing severe inhuman conditions and lack of any kind of rights. So we have to give utmost priority to build movements for their unconditional release and solidarity movements for their struggles inside prisons. Simultaneously, all efforts should be put to provide legal aid for their early release. Agitations for civil liberties, against state repression on mass movements and against draconian laws should be taken up on a wide scale. We should put extra efforts to strengthen the civil liberties movement. Wide propaganda about genuine democracy and NDR that alone can ensure civil liberties should be carried on hand in hand.

We should continuously expose the fake reform programs that are aimed to isolate us from the people. We should mobilize the people in class struggles, take up revolutionary land reforms, consistently carry on political work among the masses and consolidate them. Without this process it would be difficult for the people to realize the sham nature of these reforms. Ideologically and politically we must counter-point the fake development model of the ruling classes and the people oriented genuine development model that we are advocating. We should convince them that repression and fake reforms are the two aspects of the same carrot and stick policy. Practically we should deal with the people in a democratic manner and convince them that we are the firm supporters and fighters for their welfare and liberation and are not against their welfare. Simultaneously as an integral part of class struggle we should deal without any lenience with the class enemies and those elements that act as ruling class agents and consciously try to divert the people towards these fake reforms.

Regarding government reforms our tactics may vary depending on the consciousness of the people and strength of our movement in a particular area but our policy and direction would not change. Our counter-tactics should be aimed at uniting the people, preventing a social base from being formed for the ruling class parties and raising the revolutionary consciousness of the people and mobilizing them into the PW that alone can achieve genuine reforms.

We should fight back strongly the psychological operations of the enemy that are aimed at spreading ideological and political confusions among the people and weaning them away from our movement. Revolutionary propaganda to counter the enemy false propaganda should be wide, creative and in various forms.

We should utilize every opportunity to expose the sham of the parliamentary system. We should never suggest the election path as a solution at any level or under any pretext. We should firmly oppose any attempts at lobbying instead of mobilizing people and depending on their strength for resolution of any kind of problem.

As part of mass work we should activate all the mass organizations at all levels and guide them to function regularly. Mass work and armed resistance should go hand in hand. All the political, organizational and military tasks should be fulfilled in coordination with the sole aim of defeating the OGH and advancing the movement.

In areas of carpet security we must give utmost priority to adopting suitable forms of party and guerilla formations and suitable forms of struggle. We should give special attention to the selection of cadre and their politico-military training. We should correct the shortcomings occurring in our methods of functioning in these carpet security areas by implementing strict secret methods of functioning. Even while giving priority to secret mass organizations we should build various broad based united front forums according to the concrete conditions of that area and movement to mobilize the vast masses.

In all the movement areas we must intensify anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles based on the agrarian revolutionary program. Though we are taking up struggles there are severe shortcomings since a long time in continuing them consistently. Other important shortcomings are - not consolidating the forces that emerge from these struggles, not establishing our leadership in UF forums and not developing proper methods for legal-illegal coordination. These shortcomings should be rectified. In this class struggle we should not confine ourselves to secret and illegal activities. We should carry on broad-based UF activities that would rally the various oppressed classes and social sections. In UF activities there is lot of significance to establishing our leadership, preserving our independence and advancing by basing on our own strength. We should utilize both open and secret forms of organization and struggle. In UF forums we should always adhere to democratic methods and avoid any kind of sectarianism and bureaucracy. We should expose and fight with such tendencies that may arise from other organizations and forces in these forums. We should pay attention to mobilizing the support and solidarity of vast masses particularly that of intellectuals and democratic elements as it is very crucial for the fighting people and organizations.

We should strive to turn struggles into political struggles against the state. The advanced elements that come to the fore in mass movements should be consolidated and developed as its leadership to expand and strengthen our mass base. Selected capable elements should be prepared and sent to work in rural areas and in the people's army. The leadership of revolutionary mass organizations and our party fractions in MOs should work with this understanding.

# **3**. Advance the armed agrarian revolutionary war by consolidating the PLGA and fighting back the enemy offensive

As a part of Bolshevizing the entire party, the Bolshevization of the party inside PLGA should be done with the aim of enhancing its ideological, political, organizational and military levels. Thus we would be able to improve the understanding and fighting ability of the PLGA. We should help the PLGA forces to increase their fighting ability and the commissions and commands to improve their commanding ability by helping them to constantly study the changes occurring in counter-insurgency and counter-guerilla warfare, in identifying the weaknesses of the enemy and in fighting back the enemy offensive basing on this.

The ideological and political levels of the party committees from top to bottom in the PLGA should be enhanced. They should be given special education on political and military tactics that are to be followed during ebbs and flows.

The fighting ability of the PLGA should be enhanced by implementing the consolidation program in the regional, state and lower level forces. The party committees inside the PLGA should rise to the level of independently running their units and fighting back the military tactics of the enemy forces on their own by studying the changing conditions in social, economic, political, cultural and military spheres and modifying the present tactics or formulating new ones.

We should carry on guerilla warfare in all areas where guerilla forces are present depending on our strength and needs of the movement.

We should strive to bring improvement in our TCOCs and counter-offensives. We should study deeply the weaknesses of the enemy. The leadership should lead the forces in TCOCs and resistance actions. The role of the people's militia and the people should be increased in military actions. We should prevent our losses during armed confrontations. Guerilla principles and discipline should be strictly adhered to in all PLGA activities.

We should train up the people's militia to increase its role in resisting the enemy. We should strive to increase the number of people's militia units. The people's militia should be armed with the weapons available. As the numbers in almost all combat units in PLGA have come down, we should try to fill the vacant places by gradually increasing recruitment.

Our guerilla warfare should be aimed at defeating the enemy offensive concentrated on our strategic areas. Guerilla warfare should be carried on by seizing arms and ammunition from the enemy and fully utilizing other sources. Mine warfare should be intensified and extended by involving the people's militia and the people in large numbers.

The enemy forces are conducting information-based attacks basing on their informer network. We should bring changes in our work methods to avoid losses in such attacks and also in the backdrop of carpet security.

We should not get trapped in the offensives and campaigns of the enemy conducted with brigade, battalion or somewhat lesser forces and try to move away from that area. From there we should identify the weak position of the enemy and try to inflict damages as far as possible. Every unit should put up resistance according to its strength and level. If any one of our units gets encircled/trapped in such campaigns, it should put up a united fight as a single unit and try to get out by breaching the enemy lines.

Campaigns should be taken up to expose the counseling and surrender policies of the enemy. We should consistently carry on the propaganda that surrender is not only harmful to the interests of the people and the party but is also treachery. We should meet the families of all party activists and PLGA fighters working in different spheres in the same state or in other states, enquire about their problems and extend the possible moral, economic and material support to them by involving the people. They should be educated about the deceptive nature of enemy counseling and surrender policy. We should conduct meetings in villages to expose the dangers posed by the surrendered counter-revolutionaries and the ill-effects of counseling programs of the enemy. In these meetings we should make them realize the importance of people's vigilance on such betrayers. The police/state informer networks should be checked.

Alertness, mobility, swiftness and secrecy are very crucial in guerilla warfare. Without alertness, mobility and swiftness it is not possible to maintain secrecy for any guerilla unit. Guerilla forces should always stay alert, be mobile, move swiftly and maintain secrecy. Secrecy is paramount both for defense and offense.

#### 4. Prepare for the 10th Anniversary celebrations of Party Formation

It would be ten years since the formation of CPI (Maoist) by September 21, 2014. Our CC has decided to celebrate this occasion on a grand scale all over the country. On this occasion, we should publish special issues of party, military and other organs. A year long new enrolment campaign should be taken up to expand the party. Our preparations to fulfill these tasks should begin now.

We should fully utilize this occasion to place before the party, PLGA, mass organizations, RPCs and the masses the successes and the positive and negative experiences achieved by the new party in various spheres; the tasks before us to advance the movement and educate them.

#### Comrades,

Though our countrywide revolutionary movement is facing a critical situation, there are several differences in the social conditions in various states and in our subjective conditions therein. So our tasks in various states should be formulated keeping these conditions in view. Our tactics, methods of work and style of work should also be formulated accordingly. They should be creatively implemented. Keeping in view the changes occurring in the course of the movement and in the situation in the world and in our country, we must make the necessary and timely changes in them. We would be able to utilize the favorable objective conditions well by working with Bolshevik spirit and political initiative. These are very much necessary for the preservation of subjective forces, to fight back the enemy forces and to build guerilla bases with the aim of establishing base areas. Lack of Bolshevik spirit and political initiative would lead to deterioration of the movement and petty bourgeois impetuosity would lead to losses. So in all the states and areas our party committees should come to a correct assessment

about the actual objective and subjective conditions and formulate the tasks. Appropriate methods of work should be formulated and applied creatively to rally the party, PLGA, mass organizations and the people actively in a planned manner to fulfill these tasks. Every task should be implemented from the beginning till the end with determination and initiative. Only thus can we overcome the critical situation in all states, areas and all over the country and create the conditions for achieving higher and newer successes.

On the occasion of the 9th anniversary celebrations of our party formation, our CC calls upon the entire party, PLGA, mass organizations and RPCs to work with determination to complete the above tasks to fulfill the dreams of our beloved martyrs.

Let us Bolshevize our party so that it can efficiently wield the two basic weapons of People's Army and United Front and lead the revolution to victory. Let us expand and strengthen our mass base adhering firmly to class line and mass line. Let us grasp in depth the two Marxist principles – 'No revolution without a revolutionary party' and 'People are the makers of history'. Grasping the true meaning of these guiding principles and implementing them in practice would help us tide over the critical situation we are facing at present. Let us thus raise the levels of ideological and political consciousness of the vast masses, build and consolidate wide ranging movements and fight with determination to bring about a notable turn in our revolutionary movement. Let us thus advance towards the fulfillment of our share of the tasks of proletarian internationalism.

#### Comrades,

Celebrate the 9th anniversary of our party with revolutionary enthusiasm in all our guerilla zones and in all areas where our party units are present. Utilize this occasion to fill the cadres and the people with the determination to participate with spirit in the Bolshevization campaign we are taking up as the foremost task. Let us march forward for fulfilling all our other tasks by learning from the masses. Let us remember the selfless sacrifices of our great martyrs one more time to imbibe their ideals that would guide us in overcoming the critical situation we are facing.

With Revolutionary Greetings Central Committee CPI (Maoist)

Date: September 1, 2013