

Central Political and Organisational Review 2020

Adopted by CC at CC 7th meeting in Jan 2021

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

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Foreword

MCCI and CPI (ML) [People's War] parties that represent two revolutionary streams with a long history in India merged and emerged as the CPI (Maoist) in 2004 September. Unity Congress-Ninth Congress was successfully held in the leadership of the Party in 2007 January. With the formation of the CPI (Maoist) Party there was not only a leap in the organization of the proletarian Party and the People's Army in our country but it also founded a basis for the formation of a strong revolutionary United Front. In 2014 CPI (Maoist) Party united with the Naxalbari Party and we can say that the unity of revolutionaries in the country has been completed. All these developments created apprehension in the Indian ruling classes. Immediately after the emergence of the CPI (Maoist) the ruling classes declared that it is 'the major danger to the internal security of India'. Since then the ruling classes indulged in severe fascist repression.

It is fourteen years since we successfully completed the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress. During this period our Party could not hold another Congress due to severe repression unleashed by the enemy. The situation shows that even in near future there are no chances to hold the Party Congress. Therefore our Central Committee planned to prepare a new Political and Organisational Review (POR). In this unfavorable time, in the condition where we cannot hold the Congress, we had to attempt to complete the work that the Congress has to do, through this review, abiding by the method of Democratic Centralism. We are not the first to make such an attempt. We see historic occasions in the history of World Revolutionary Movement, where, during severe repression in the respective countries, when a proletarian party could not hold Congress (the highest Conference) in time, it chose various kinds of methods and prepared reviews to guide the Revolutionary movements. We too planned to prepare this Central POR as a practical method in order to lead the entire Party in a united manner.

Marxist method states that review of revolutionary movement should base on reality but not subjectivity. As per the Marxist method in the condition of the objective process that takes place as the conflict between two opposite things such as People's war and counter-revolutionary war (class struggle), we must analyse the aspect that is temporarily in a strong state and the aspect that is weak, and also a real analysis of the two, the objective basis for the present weak aspect to become strong in future and the present strong aspect to become weak in future. Only thus the tactics and strategy formulated not only in view of the present, temporary situation but future, long term view shall be correct. The analyses and assessments on the contrary shall fall in unilateralism and a scant view and lead to politically wrong decisions with left or right assessments. MLM handed us this methodology. Our party has been following this methodology since the beginning. The temporary setback of Naxalbari and Srikakulam revolutionary movements then led to disappointment, despair, lack of confidence and splits in the revolutionary camp. In that situation our leadership segregated the successes and failures and formulated the plans to advance basing on successes. The spate of revolutionary movements in Andhra-Telangana, Bihar-Jharkhand and Dandakaranya is the result of the practical effort taken up as per the plan. In these four decades, when we faced new conditions in various spheres we developed tactics, methods of work and policies and practiced them. We thus gained successes and developed. In addition to these movements the revolutionary movements in other states also went through ups and downs, twists and turns, back-step and fore-step and ebb and flows. All through this process our Central Committee formulated plans to develop the respective movements to further higher level during favorable-up, turn-fore-step and success-flow. And when unfavorable-downs, twists-back-step and ebb came forth it realized the immediate and long term opportunities in the objective and subjective condition to overcome them

and formulated strategic plans so as to instill confidence in the entire party and led it. This is the correct, revolutionary method. Let us now follow the same method.

Until now the Central Committee held six meetings. In particular conditions the 6th meeting of the CC was held in 2018 September in the first phase and continued in 2020 December-2021 January in the second phase. Nearly each meeting made detail resolutions for the implementation of the tasks of the Congress, analysed the positive and negative aspects of the movement and formulated immediate tasks. The State Committees held plenums on the respective occasions and formulated new tasks along with the reviews of the movement. The CRB and the ERB held extended meetings, reviewed the movement in the areas in the purview of the respective RB, formulated tasks and implemented them. All these reviews helped to prepare the Central POR. However, the respective Regional Bureaus and SAC/SZC/SCs already took up review of the movement and realized that the movement in the respective areas weakened. Corresponding to the weakened situation they decided it to be in difficult, ebb and 'temporary setback'. The reviews mentioned the main reasons for the weakening of the respective movements to be the counter revolutionary offensive unleashed by the enemy, shortcomings and limitations in adopting and implementing tactics according to the changes in relations of production and the conditions in war, lack of enough bolshevisation of the organs of Party, PLGA and the masses.

As said above although the movement in the respective areas all over the country had become weak in varying degrees, the movement also registered a condition of advancement in the past 14 years. To put it in a concrete way, the Indian revolutionary movement has been in the state of advancement for 5 years from 2007 to 2011. Since 2012 it started to weaken and went into difficult situation; since 2018 it is facing temporary setback. This Political and Organisational Review deeply reviewed the reasons for this situation in the

countrywide revolutionary movement. Mainly it thoroughly discussed the weaknesses, shortcomings and limitations that manifested in the process of development of the three magic weapons such as the Party, People's Army and United Front that guarantee the success of revolution and drew concrete lessons. It made the necessary changes in the immediate, main and central tasks depending on the facts and by applying MLM.

Dear comrades!

We place this Political and Organisational Review before you so as to further enrich it. Taking up this work must be seen as a part of the theoretical and political effort. Therefore the CC requests the Party cadres and ranks to study the document deeply and send the necessary amendments. On the occasion let us reminisce a quotation of Marx so that the party cadres and ranks understand the need to make a deep study of the review and develop it—
'The brave warriors in the path of revolution will muster new strength from each defeat. Courage increases to the extent to which we swim in the stream of history'.

I. Political situation – Our practice

Unity Congress-Ninth Congress that took place in 2007 January is an incident of historic importance in the history of Indian Revolutionary movement. The Congress finalized the draft documents – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Party Program, Party Constitution, Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution, Political Resolution and Political and Organisational Reviews of MCCI and CPI (ML) [People's War] to generally and fundamentally direct the Indian Revolutionary movement. It reviewed the practice since the formation of the united CPI (Maoist) (from 2004 September to 2007 January, for a period of 27 months) and finalized the post- merger Political and Organisational Review.

It is 14 years since the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress took place. Depending on the political-military lines of the Indian Revolution that the Congress formulated, we need to review the political, military, organizational and cultural efforts to advance the Indian Revolutionary movement in the past 14 years in the light of MLM.

The Unity Congress reviewed and assessed the contemporary international and domestic situation and the situation of the Indian Revolutionary movement as a part of assessing the objective and subjective conditions. Basing on this assessment it directed the immediate, main and central task for the entire party. Let us review the political situation that the Unity Congress mentioned in the Political and Organisational Review and the assessment and tasks and resolutions on the political situation in the later respective meetings of the CC.

Since the first meeting of the CC took place on the occasion of the Unity Congress it did not prepare the circular on our assessment on the political situation and tasks. The Central Committee released political resolutions in the 2nd meeting (2007 November), 3rd meeting (2011 January), 4th meeting (2013 March), 5th meeting (2017 February), 6th meeting (2018 September) and the 6th meeting (contd.) (2020 December-2021 January). The PB released

a circular on the post-election situation in 2009. The Polit Bureau analyzed the change in the domestic political situation after the formation of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government in the leadership of Narendra Modi after the Parliament elections in 2014 April and directed the tasks of the Party. The CC released a document in 2017 July analyzing the process in which China came forth as a new Imperialist force (Social-Imperialism) as a part of international developments. The CC released a circular analyzing the post-election situation after the Modi government came to power for the second time in 2019 June about the tasks the party has to take up. The CC released a circular in 2007 November and a detail resolution in 2011 January on the counter-revolutionary offensive plans of the Central and the State governments for the elimination of the Indian Revolutionary movement. The Central Military Commission (CMC) released a circular in 2018 July. Also, after the 6th meeting and 6th meeting (contd.), along with the changes in the political conditions, the CC formulated and released circulars together with guidelines to face 'SAMADHAN', 'Prahar' and other such offensives that the central and the state governments took up as a part of intensifying offensive on the revolutionary movement. In addition to these our CC and the PB are releasing press statements whenever there are important changes in the international and domestic political conditions, stating the stand of our party on the respective incidents and developments and gave calls for necessary agitation programs.

On the whole certain important changes took place in the international and domestic conditions in the past 14 years. All these changes proved the analysis and the assessment of the political resolution of the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress and the circulars released by the PB and the CC to be fundamentally correct. Let us see it through the following quotations –

'On the whole if we see the situation the main contradiction in the world is – between imperialism and the oppressed nationalities and people and the

other contradictions of the world are intensifying day by day. As a result the world situation is more favorable. This created a situation where the presently weak subjective forces mature (become strong)'.

'All the major contradictions in the country are intensifying and sharpening and have created an utmost favorable situation to advance the revolutionary war in the country. This is creating an utmost favorable condition for the development of subjective forces all over India. If we properly utilize these opportunities and take up political mobilization of the people with complete initiative we can definitely take the guerilla war to a much higher stage. We can spread the revolutionary movement to all corners of the country'.

'Although there are such serious losses of leadership in many states and in the central level, on the whole our movement is advancing in various sectors. At the same time there are serious mistakes and weaknesses in building and strengthening the Party, PLGA and the United Front'.

'An immediate important reason for the most cruel war and fierce military offensive of the ruling classes on the revolutionaries in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh is to seize and indiscriminately loot the rich mineral resources of these states'.

The developments of these 14 years prove that the immediate tasks the Unity Congress formulated by mentioning the international and domestic situation, the situation of the movement and the reasons for the intensity of the enemy offensive as mentioned above are fundamentally correct.

If we see the political developments that took place in the country in the past 14 years, by the time of the Unity Congress, United Progressive Alliance (UPA) in the leadership of the Congress party was in power in the centre. The coalition government faced defeat in the Parliament elections in 2014 and National Democratic Alliance (NDA) in the leadership of BJP came to power. The present NDA government once again came to power in the 17th

Parliament elections in 2019. During this entire period imperialist Finance Capital intensified its offensive on the countries in the world, especially the backward countries. The Indian Comprador ruling classes are acting as the vehicles of this offensive, handing over the wealth of the country to the imperialists and have been filling its pockets. This process has been being implemented in the leadership of the UPA and the NDA governments that are politically representing the Indian comprador ruling classes. Another important development during this period is that, although almost all the parliamentary parties of the country that serve imperialism represent Brahmanic Hindutwa feudalism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, BJP known as the utmost 'right party' in this regard is in power since mid-2014. It has been implementing its agenda of establishing 'Hindu raj' in the utmost aggressive, bureaucratic ways and with its numerical strength in the parliament.

As a part of it the central and the state governments took up countrywide widespread and intense counter-revolutionary offensive on our party and the revolutionary movement under the dictates of the imperialists immediately after the formation of our united party. The revolutionary movement defeated the counter revolutionary offensive that UPA-1 unleashed in 2004-2009. Later UPA-2 adopted and implemented a comprehensive counter revolutionary strategy 'Operation Green hunt' from 2009. Later the BJP government also continued this. People and PLGA daringly resisted this offensive also in the leadership of our party. In this situation PLGA made the Burkapal ambush and other guerilla actions all over the country in the leadership of our party. Then, in view of the domestic and international conditions and the opportunities for the advancement of the revolutionary movement, the mass base of the revolutionary movement and other such things, the central government adopted and is unleashing a more

comprehensive counter revolutionary strategy 'SAMADHAN' in 2017 May in order to suppress the revolutionary movement with further force.

In this background the CC had been increasing its political intervention in various forms against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism and the imperialist neo-liberal policies that it has been serving. Especially it had been propagating in various forms (pamphlets, booklets, press statements) that Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism and the neo-liberal policies are the reason for the fundamental problems of the people and made efforts to enlighten the people. In addition to this political propaganda, it also formed broad people's forums against large scale displacement caused due to neo-liberal policies, Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism, its various manifestations and state fascist repression and took up political agitation and propaganda.

However the exploitive ruling classes in the world and in the country are bringing rapid changes against the people in order to solve their economic and financial crisis. They are taking up these changes in the name of 'development' and 'growth'. In view of the anti-people, reactionary nature and the rapidity of these changes, we must say that there is no enough effort from the party in taking up strong political movement against the exploitive ruling classes and political intervention to expose these changes and enlighten the people. In the present situation of temporary setback in the movement, the party has to enhance its political intervention to overcome the situation and bring a spate in the revolutionary movement.

II. PARTY

Party the first magic weapon out of the three magic weapons is not only the vital to make the Indian Revolution successful in the path of Protracted People's War but also leads the revolution by holding the other two the People's Army and the United Front. We have been persistently developing such a vital Party. We have been developing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party since Naxalbari and formed the united Party in 2004. Thus there was a leap in the Indian Revolution. We could build a countrywide strong Party. The Indian Revolution started to advance with great victories. The Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our party that took place in 2007 January adopted the central task of developing guerilla war into mobile war, PLGA into PLA in order to develop DK and BJ as liberated areas. Along with it, it also directed the task of defeating the enemy offensive, the political tasks, military tasks, United Front tasks, organisational tasks and urban tasks as immediate tasks that the respective Special Areas/Special Zones/States have to achieve basing on the balance of forces of the movement to the entire party. Party, PLGA and the organs of United Front took up political, military and organisational effort to achieve the central task and the other tasks that the Congress directed, in the past 14 years.

Since we constantly stuck to our party line in our practice, revolutionary movement achieved several successes in these 14 years. It gained new experiences. Thousands of martyrs sacrificed their lives for these successes. However our Party faced many difficulties due to the counter revolutionary offensive of the Indian comprador ruling classes in the dictates of the imperialists. We must see the Indian revolutionary movement that took place during this time by dividing it into two periods. In the first period of 5 years from 2007 to 2011 end it was advancing. It faced difficult situation for 7 years until 2018 of the second period from 2012 beginning to 2020 and from 2018 went into temporary setback. The party can turn anew and efficiently lead

the Indian revolution only when it deeply observes, reviews the reasons for this and by showing an efficient solution to the problems. Let us review our efforts in the sphere of the Party as a part of fulfilling this task.

“To lead the revolution to victory, a political Party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.” (Mao, ‘On Contradiction’).

“In line with the Leninist view point, the proletariat in any country, if it is to gain victory in the revolution, must have a genuinely Marxist-Leninist Party which is skilled integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country and which is able at different periods to correctly determine whom the revolution should be directed against and settle the question of organising the main force and allies and the question of whom it should rely on and unite with. The revolutionary proletarian Party must rely on the masses of its own class and on the semi-proletariat in the rural areas, namely the broad masses of poor peasants and establish the worker-peasant alliance lead by the proletariat. Only then it will be possible, on the basis of this alliance, to unite all the social forces that it is possible to unite with and to establish, in accordance with specific conditions in the different countries at different periods, the united front of the working people with all the non-working people that it is possible to unite with. If it fails to do so, the proletariat will not be able to achieve victory in the revolution at different stages.” (*Long live Leninism-CPC article, 49th pg.*).

Did we strengthen the Party organisation as a stronger united Party so as to achieve our central task? Did we understand the constant theoretical and political changes in the society and the revolutionary movement in time and adopt tactics accordingly? What are the shortcomings in our efforts in advancing the revolutionary movement? What is our effort in preserving Maoism by fighting against the feudal, bourgeois ideology in our country?

We have to examine our practice in these aspects.

According to the theory of dialectics one divides into two. The actual problem is whether we assessed our victories and defeats we achieved in the past 14 years properly and in time and whether we tried to observe, concentrate and rectify the negative aspects that have been coming forth along with the positive aspects in the movement and whether we studied and solved them in time. For this purpose let us review experiences and the positive and negative aspects in the practice of our Party. We can theoretically, politically, militarily and organizationally bolshevisize the Party only if we review these problems deeply.

- a. Theoretical and political efforts
- b. Shortcomings in adopting tactics
- c. The problem of oneness in the Party
- d. The work style of the Party
- e. On the losses of leadership
- f. Relations of production – Study
- g. Report on International work – Tasks
- h. Party education
- i. Central task and other main tasks
- j. Alien class tendencies

a. Theoretical and political work

Comrades Marx and Engels studied society and nature and realized class struggle as a vital aspect. Lenin, Stalin and Mao continued the legacy. As a result the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism came into existence. The great proletarian teachers studied the class contradictions of the earlier societies and the class contradictions of the society of their time. They investigated how the proletariat and the bourgeois class face each other and fight for power. They realized the proletariat as the utmost revolutionary advanced class. They understood its friends and foes. Thus Karl Marx and

Engels placed the proletarian theory before the world clearly through the 'Communist Manifesto'. Since then it became the light for practice for the Communists and the proletariat. So Comrade Lenin said 'theory is the guide for practice'. In this process of practice the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism developed and is flourishing. By continuing practice consistently in the light of theory and by realising the society as that in a concrete form and in motion it (the theory) constantly combines new truths and continues ever new.

We studied the economic, political, social, cultural and geographical conditions of our country, analysed the class contradictions in existence and decided during the Naxalbari period that the path of revolution in our country is Protracted People's War. We also decided that the revolution of the country accomplishes the phase of New Democratic Revolution and advances to the Socialist phase.

Comrade Mao said – 'Seizure of state power with armed strength, solving the problem through war is the central task and high form of revolution. Though this principle is the same (for all countries), its application by the proletarian party is expressed in various ways according to different conditions'.

We have been continuing revolution for the past fifty years by applying this principle to the concrete conditions of our country. In the light of the lessons from the revolutionary work we decided the immediate, main and the central task of revolution in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress and started to work. We concretely decided that 'the main and the central task shall be to advance guerilla war to a qualitatively higher form of mobile war and transforming PLGA to PLA to establish base areas in the strategic areas of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand'.

We must concentrate our theoretical and political efforts to achieve this objective. Only if we apply to the concrete conditions of our country, our theoretical and political effort will be tempered. There might be changes in

the immediate, main and the central task of the movement according to the ebb and flows that arise in the movement. But not only there will not be any changes in our persistent theoretical and political work to achieve our goal but we will have to continue it in a much more intense manner.

If we take up proper dialectical policy in our theoretical and political work we would have got an opportunity to rectify our shortcomings. It would have been possible – to reduce alien class tendencies like subjectivity, spontaneity and liberalism in us; to adopt tactics basing on the concrete condition; to reduce losses, arrests, encounters and degeneration of party leadership; to enhance the preparation of the entire Party to fight; and in remolding the entire Party to develop class struggle. Though the Party faced severe loss in the severe fascist offensive of the enemy on us and we faced severe problems of coordination, the theoretical, political effort of the entire Party would have helped to go forth. The Party did not give importance to theoretical and political efforts and was engrossed in the problems that came forth in the respective areas. In order to overcome this situation we must concentrate on the actual theoretical and political work.

The whole Party was educated on the basic documents and policy papers of the Party that the Unity Congress ratified. This education helped the Party cadres to develop an understanding on the new aspects in the documents. As a part of the decision of the Central Committee there was education on the circular and letter for rectification. This provided the guidelines to take up rectification. Education on the documents was not comprehensive in some RBs. But this education helped the Party. In CRB and ERB areas education was taken up through bolshevization and leadership training also. Theoretical and political understanding was provided on Party messages and letters released by the CC time to time. Especially the Party and the people were educated about the messages and articles released by the Party through the four anniversaries of international prominence.

Our party exposed the revisionists and reformists in the veil of slogans such as 'first rehabilitation, later displacement', 'we shall not lay our lives, we shall not leave our lands' in the land struggles and anti-displacement struggles and provided the correct revolutionary line to those peoples struggles. Through leading the Lalgah and Narayanapatna and other such struggles as a part of the New Democratic Revolution, it placed them as direct examples before the people of the country.

After the Congress our party enriched the earlier document on 'Women's perspective' and released it.

Our party exposed the betrayal of CPN in Nepal to the New Democratic Revolution and the People's War that it is leading and adopting the parliamentary path. It declared that the party in the leadership of Prachanda and Bhattarai turned modern revisionist.

It not only explained the party cadres and the people the understanding of the party by giving a call to boycott parliamentary elections but also brought forth the agenda of new democratic revolutionary government as an alternate to the state of the present exploitive classes on to the political framework of the country.

It showed the correct path to the people in the struggle for separate state of Telangana by giving the slogan of democratic Telangana.

It exposed the evil, interclass, revisionist arguments that the tribal people are suffocated in between the police and the Maoists and intensified active people's resistance.

It exposed time to time the forces that indirectly support the exploitive classes in the veil of Gandhism in the name of opposing 'violence'. It highlighted the reality of class struggle and the just role of oppressed people in it and exposed state terrorism among the broad masses.

It gave a good answer to the opportunist arguments that escapists and traitors such as Panda, Sriramulu, Lanka Papireddy, Jampanna and Sudhakar brought forth and fought them back theoretically and politically.

It recognized the Avakianism theory that RCP (USA) brought forth, as modern revisionist theory.

In spite of losses to the leadership the CC prepared new documents on the formation of International Organisation, 'the stand of our party on the formation of proletarian International organisation', and on identifying China as a Social-Imperialist country, 'China is a new Social-Imperialist force! It is integral to the world capitalist-imperialist system'. It enriched the old document on caste question, 'Caste question in India-Our stand' and released it. It prepared a document on nationality question, 'Our stand towards the Nationality Question in India'. Especially the document released on the formation of International brought forth the World Communist Movement the stand of our party about forming such an organisation. In the enriched document on Caste question we recognised feudalism as caste based feudalism and Brahmanism as its ideology. We recognised that the present form of Indian state is in the form of Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism.

b. Shortcomings in adopting tactics

We have to make changes in tactics depending on the changes in the balance of forces of the revolutionary forces and in the political conditions regarding ebb-flow of the movement, self-defense-offense in the military sphere and in advance-retreat. Ebb and flows in the movement mainly depend upon the political tactics, on the military tactics according to the political tactics and on the slogans and forms of struggle and organization according to these two. This understanding applies to self-defense-offense in the sphere of military and to advance-retreat too.

The development of the revolutionary movement in our country is unequal. Since there is no strong countrywide revolutionary movement the enemy is

able to concentrate and attack few areas with their strength. They are concentrating on few areas and are unleashing cruel repressive campaigns with animal force. There are opportunities for the development of the revolutionary movement in some other places. This too reflects the principle of unequal development. Revolutionary movement also advances in new areas. This truth has been proved in the history of our Party.

The struggle in the military field is main and decisive in People's War but the struggle in other sectors especially in the political and theoretical sectors too is important.

In the political sphere we gained certain experiences in people's movements in the past 14 years. We made efforts to develop people's movements with military support. We developed the Lalgah and Narayanapatna movements in this way. We made efforts to build organs of people's political power in these movements.

Party gained certain experience on the tactics to be adopted in the movement for separate state from the active participation in the movement for separate Telangana and in the struggle with people's mobilization with the slogan of democratic Telangana.

We participated actively in the anti-displacement agitations that came forth in the country and in the several legal and illegal struggles that rose from this movement. We mobilized the people with the slogan of Jal-Jungle-Zameen-Ijjath-Adhikar by utilizing the rights and duties in PESA and taking up agitations to implement the Fifth and the Sixth schedules.

We faced large scale losses of leadership in this period due to our weaknesses. We are also lagging behind in understanding the enemy offensive and taking up proper method of work and we also failed in adopting proper tactics. We mainly faced losses in the urban and the plain areas. Keeping these in view, we could not develop appropriate tactics in the

urban and the plain areas during this period. Though there are other reasons for these losses we must realize the importance of this aspect also.

Once the Party adopts the central task the work must be according to it. There are specific shortcomings in sending cadre steeled in class struggles to areas decided as liberated areas and to the mechanisms that help for this task, according to the level of the movement in the respective states.

Ours is a broad country with unequal development. There are many nationalities. Although the Party line is the same for the entire country, due to the multiplicity and diversity of our country, we are unable to understand this diversity, the specificity in the forms of struggle and organization to be taken up in the respective states and adopt appropriate tactics.

Comrade Lenin repeatedly said that there must be concrete analysis of concrete situation. Due to our subjectivity we are not able to make specific analyses. In addition to this there is spontaneity in functioning and failure in studying the concrete conditions and making changes in practice to the extent of study due to liberalism. Thus we are unable to understand and take up appropriate tactics in time in the ups and downs and ebbs and flows of the movement and advance and retreat and are lagging behind in the movement.

We lack proper preparations in adopting proper slogans to mobilise the people in the struggle in the respective areas, in choosing the forms of struggle, organization and agitation and to politically educate the people and so we are unable to develop enough political consciousness among the people. We are unable to take up higher forms of struggle and organization and are unable to develop the people's movements to a higher stage. The central and the state committees must develop an understanding towards the problem of tactics and all the lower committees must be educated.

c. Oneness

Regarding oneness we mentioned thus in the post-merger Political and Organizational Review – ‘Though the process of merger of the united Party has been completed successfully the problem of oneness exists in the Party. The PB realized the reasons for this in the 2006 April meeting. Briefly they are: in the past 18 months after the formation of the united Party the relations between the cadres of all levels of the erstwhile two parties have developed positively. On the whole the spirit of unity spread all over the Party starting from the lower level. But problems still exist in achieving oneness due to historic, ideological issues related to practice, behavior and other such reasons’.

The problem of oneness continued in the Party even after the successful Unity Congress. In the erstwhile parties PU-PW united and became PW Party and MCC, MLM Punjab and Second CC united to form MCCI. Before unity there were severe tensions and conflicts between PW and MCCI. In the process of unity the parties shed mutual conflicts so as to overcome the earlier tensions and conflicts and made a wholehearted self-criticism of the mistakes. Problems of oneness continued in ERB and NRB. Including the NRB, 2U and West Bung of ERB serious disunity and groupism came forth in the Party and created a big loss to the Party.

It was necessary in ERB to develop collective leadership in all the works – take up study and discussion of the basic documents, policy papers of the united Party and MLM in ERB. Only thus a common understanding about the changes in the documents of the united Party, the reasons for the changes and the newness as a synthesis added to those – i.e., on the line of the new Party would have been attained. But due to the limitations in the efforts of the ERB, old ideas and practice on contrary to the new ideas that the united part developed are going on in few cadres. So ‘ideological unity’ and ‘unity in work’ in ERB was not achieved to the necessary extent.

The problem of oneness is much more serious in all the states in NRB. After the dissolution of NRB this problem intensified. There was serious theoretical and political disunity in the erstwhile People's War Party before the united Party in these states, especially in Punjab. Several revolutionary parties were formed in nearly all states in NRB before the formation of the united Party. With the merger of these parties in the united party the problem of oneness became more complex in the united Party. The splits in Punjab, severe disunity and groupism in Delhi and Uttarakhand are causing severe harm to the Party. In addition to these the right and sectarian trends in few individuals (due to splits that they caused and divided into groups) are causing severe damage to the Party.

After the unity of CPI (Maoist) Party with the Naxalbari Party we completed theoretical, political and organisational unity basing on the documents in places where there are units of Naxalbari party. However shades of differences continue in functioning and a few policies. The differences of opinion in regard to few aspects are arising on the basis of the erstwhile parties. The leadership there decided to solve them.

We faced certain problems in the committees in CRB area also in enhancing theoretical and political level and working with a corresponding unity of thought. We see a weakness in many places in the implementation of the Maoist work style of the Party leadership uniting with the Party ranks and the entire Party uniting with the people. Especially in some places the bureaucratic bad trends coming forth in the leadership comrades are affecting the unity of the leadership and the comrades of the lower level in the Party. This is affecting the unity between the leadership and the comrades of lower level and is draining the democratic atmosphere in the Party. It is also damaging the struggle efficiency of the Party. There is no unity among the CCMs guiding the Party in one state. They are not able to reach to a common understanding regarding the assessment of the movement,

coordination, deployment of forces and concentration. These differences are showing a negative impact on the lower committees and are creating losses. Due to the variations in the movement of various states, the historic reasons of the respective movements and the difference in ideas, practice, experiences and behavior of the leadership there is no enough integrity among the leadership.

Thus the problem of oneness is continuing in the united Party in various levels.

What is our attitude regarding the policy on the problem of oneness in our Party that came forth with the formation of the united Party? The decision of the leadership to solve the differences after merger and achieve oneness in work style did not come into implementation due to the severe losses and severe repression to the leadership in the central and the state levels. 'Unity of opposites' applies to the party also. We must analyse every issue in the method of 'one divides into two' – there were severe weaknesses in making the party committees function as per this rule. Due to these weaknesses importance was given to unity in the united Party and at times unity was more emphasized when solving a problem. The wrong ideas and wrong methods are not being criticized in a proper and necessary manner. The objective situation or the reasons behind the weaknesses are – after the bloody conflicts between the erstwhile parties and after the formation of the united Party the wrong ideas and wrong methods were not much criticized in the initial period. Until there is a mutual understanding and until an atmosphere of speaking absolutely in a transparent manner is achieved there must not be criticism. This is correct in the initial period. But this attitude even after an atmosphere of united Party gained importance, is liberalism to an extent.

The differences of opinion coming forth in various levels and various ways in the Party and the disunity come forth in the process of class struggle in the

revolutionary movement. If we can concretely realize the origins we can solve those contradictions in a proper manner. If we are liberal towards them and see them with subjectivity they become complex. So we have to amend them.

We have seen in detail the reasons for the rise and continuation of the problem of oneness in the united Party. We must concretely examine the problems that led to the problem of oneness and the origin in order to achieve oneness. We must solve them basing on the political, military and organizational line of our Party. We must provide theoretical and political education in the Party on them. We must explain the great loss to the Party due to this problem. We will have to take disciplinary actions on comrades who are deeply in the mire of this problem and do not change. We have to work in a principled manner with patience to win the majority comrades. The comrades in the respective areas too must mold their thoughts themselves. Only then we can achieve oneness.

d. Work style of the Party

There must be political equality between the Party activists of all levels on the basis of revolutionary proletarian interests. The Party ranks must express constructive opinions on the resolutions and directives of the upper committee. They must point out the mistakes of the leadership. They must criticize the weaknesses. The leadership must provide help and cooperation to the Party cadres in practice and must rectify their mistakes and guide them. The leadership must patiently listen to the opinions and criticisms of the cadres. The leadership must have the same attitude of principle and flexibility that it has in the entire work in the party towards these also. It must examine its mistakes, make proper self-criticism and rectify their mistakes. Only then democratic relations will be strengthened in the Party internally and between the Party and the people. Centralism of leadership will be implemented depending on the basis of these democratic relations.

By implementing centralism of leadership the Party and the revolutionary people will become a single individual and force, destroy the state of the exploitive classes and make the revolution successful.

There are severe mistakes in the Party regarding the unity of the leadership with the ranks and with the people.

The resolutions of the upper committees are not explained to the lower committees along with the essence and analysis. So the resolutions are not being creatively implemented. The comrades are spontaneous and superficial in their method of work and are failing in fulfilling their task. In some areas it is supposed that the responsibility of implementing the resolutions of the upper committee lies not with the comrades of the respective committee but with the comrades of the lower committees. It is also supposed that the Party documents and policy papers are not related to the upper committee but only for the lower committees. The essence of this understanding is nothing but 'I know everything, so why do I need to study them again or implement them again?' Comrades of the upper committees have the dominating ideology that all those are only for the lower committees. Few mechanically explain the resolutions of the upper committee. Instead of explaining the resolutions in a detailed and analytical manner they do it briefly with one or two words. When the lower committee comrades are not satisfied with this method they get angry. Many comrades continue their work style basing on their experience. They are not ready to study theory and change their wrong work style. In some areas the resolutions are casually implemented without seeing the spirit of the resolution and the objective reality. In some areas attention is not paid to implement the resolutions in the lower level and so they function in the way they like.

We know that discipline and secret method of functioning are the life for a proletarian Party. Comrade Lenin taught that in the class struggle to seize power from the exploitive ruling classes possessing a strong state, it is an

important condition for the proletarian Party to have secret organization and to maintain secrecy. At present our Party, PLGA and the organized strength of the people is weak when compared with the strength of the state of the enemy. In such a condition our subjective strength must become strong and secret method of functioning, rules of guerilla war and People's War with a protracted nature have strategic importance. We do not understand these theoretical issues in a deep manner and are making casual mistakes.

"The most fundamental method of work which all communists must firmly bear in mind is to determine our working policies according to actual conditions. When we study the causes of the mistakes we have made, we find that they all arose because we departed from the actual situation at a given time and place and were subjective in working policies." (*Speech at conference of cadres in the Shansi-Suiyuan liberated area - Mao*).

We frequently fail in combining the universality with the specific situation. In everything, every issue, every incident objectively – whether it is related to the Party or struggle – in every issue we must see them in the form of unity between two opposites, we must apply the method of 'one divides into two' to everything, issue or incident, analyse deeply and realize the two opposite aspects in it and must be clear about which aspect is the main and which aspect is the secondary at a particular time. Depending on this concreteness we must concentrate on the tasks we take up. Mechanical method of work is one main problem for us. We must overcome this. The main thing in the work style is whether we are molding our method of work so as to fulfill the main and the central tasks. If we amend this it will be very useful for the movement.

e. On the losses of leadership

The development of the political, military and organizational line of the new Party, CPI (Maoist) that emerged with the merger of our two parties; the wide political mobilization of the people in a relatively wide area in the

country; the People's Liberation Guerilla Army in its leadership; the impact of the developed Party, its fighting power; its consistent military victories are terrorizing the exploitive ruling classes.

In this background the Indian ruling classes, mainly since the period of UPA-1 have been declaring our Party as a great danger to the internal security of India. With the experience of suppressing the AP movement the enemy targeted the leadership of our Party in several methods like forming special police commando forces in all the states of the movement, special commando forces in the centre with the names of COBRA and other such things, forming special intelligence departments in the states and the centre and mutual exchange of information. All this is going on as a part of LIC strategy in the close guidance of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists. We wrote these issues in the POR of the Unity Congress of our Party.

The CC is reviewing these losses time to time and has been issuing circulars and letters but there were a series of losses. Forty-three comrades of the CC and the state level were either arrested or martyred since the formation of CPI (Maoist) until 2007 December. In 2008 to 2011 scores of leaders of the CC and the state level were arrested and the Party faced severe loss. On the whole 16 CCMs were arrested in the past 14 years. Six comrades were martyred in fake encounters. SAC/SZC/SC comrades were arrested in large number. More than half of the members of SAC elected in the BJ conference were arrested.

With the loss of many subjective forces of various levels along with the higher level leadership in a large number the committees, commands and various departments in several states have been damaged or had a considerable impact. The North Regional Bureau and the South-West Regional Bureau were nearly totally damaged. With the loss of leadership forces the

movements in the primary level were much more weakened. Some areas had to be dropped.

Comrade Lenin very clearly said that there is no revolution without a revolutionary Party. He very clearly explained the importance of the leadership and the importance of its continuation. He also repeatedly explained the importance of secret Party and the importance of the militant struggle of the people in the leadership of the Party protecting themselves. There were many mistakes in implementing this. The enemy utilized these mistakes, selectively targeted our leadership forces and damaged us. Enemy intensified their multipronged offensive with the view that their objective shall be fulfilled only by damaging the Party, especially the leadership.

The leadership cadres that our party lost have distinct experience. They were steeled and stood firm in many ebb and flows that the revolutionary movement has been facing for a long time. However, as a leadership organisation the CC failed to understand the intensity of the offensive of the enemy on the revolutionary movement and his tactics and did not act accordingly with the available resources and so had to pay heavily. The Committees of all levels leading the revolutionary movement failed in realizing the importance of the methods of work of the secret revolutionary Party, the necessity to establish a secret mechanism in the respective spheres in the revolutionary movement and rectify the mistakes in their practice accordingly and provide leadership and our Central Committee failed in making the entire Party function according to this. Individual weaknesses added to this main political weakness, slack family relations and relations with known persons of areas where the movement was damaged continued, followed open/legal methods in the place of secret methods, guided the rural movement centered in the towns, the indiscriminate usage of modern technology, continuing relations with persons working openly in the revolutionary movement in a loose manner and not in secret methods,

having a single mechanism for legal and illegal works, spontaneous functioning, indiscipline and other such things are leading to several losses.

The main reasons for these losses

1. Severe mistakes and weaknesses of the CC in strengthening itself and the entire Party according to the development of People's war and intensifying enemy offensive, in building an appropriate mechanism, adopting and implementing proper functioning and in taking timely decisions and implementing the same continued.
2. The leadership committees and the members failed in implementing the tech circulars and rules they adopted and in changing their method of work according to the changes in the conditions due to subjectivity, liberalism, spontaneity and individualism that led to very serious loss. Individual weaknesses too led to many losses.
3. Due to lack of professionalism and revolutionary preparation few comrades while leading the People's War on one hand on the other gave importance to family relations. Due to this reason the enemy could catch hold of or kill comrades of all levels, mainly many comrades in the central and the state levels.
4. Many comrades were caught by the enemy since they utilized modern technology against the tech rules and indiscriminately. On many occasions the arrest of one comrade led to the arrest of some more. This mistake too led to the loss of considerable number of leaders.
5. The liberalism in the leadership committees too in implementing and making others implement discipline is one main reason for our losses.
6. There were many losses due to the failure in molding themselves according to the changing conditions and due to working in a casual manner and also due to carrying away towards open method of work.

f. Relations of production – study

Several changes took place in relations of production in the countries all over the world, especially in the backward countries since the launch of imperialist globalisation. There are similar changes in our country. As a part of studying this aspect, at the time of the Congress our Party took up the study of changes that took place in the relations of production in Punjab and assessed these changes. Later in these 14 years we studied the relations of production in AP. Later we took up study in other states too. The Polit Bureau of the CC prepared a draft document on 'Changes in Relations of production in India- Our Political Program' and sent it to all the CCMs in 2020 February. The CCMs studied the draft document and made an in depth discussion in the CC 6th meeting (contd.). The meeting confirmed what the document stated, that although there are considerable changes in the (semi-colonial, semi-feudal) social order of the country, there are no fundamental changes. However, it analysed that these considerable quantitative changes that took place in the economic order in the interests of the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes showed a strong impact on the social relations, that mainly semi-feudalism relatively became weak and that there is a relative rise in distorted capitalist relations. It emphasized that moreover these changes took place as per the nature of unequal development of the semi-colonial, semi-feudal social order of India. To put it more specifically, it said that, there is no industrial development in India like in other capitalist countries, that the whole 'development' and 'growth' taking place in India at present possesses a consumerist nature dependent upon imperialist imports. It gave a final shape to the document. The document adopted political program and slogans of political tactics. We must strengthen the movement in the broad plain and urban areas and also in the strategic areas basing on the respective concrete conditions adopting proper tactics.

g. Report-tasks of International work

In view of the tasks formulated by the Unity Congress the CC adopted concrete tasks related to international work and tried to implement the same. However the impact of the ebbs and flows of the revolutionary movement in the country in the past 14 years is also seen clearly in party fulfilling its international tasks. We formulated four important tasks related to international work as per the present situation with the objective of the international proletarian revolution to establish Socialism-Communism in the world by accomplishing the two streams of World Socialist Revolution, the National Democratic Revolutions in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries and proletarian revolutions in the capitalist/imperialist countries – 1. We must continue and widen relations with the Maoist parties and forces of various countries. We must hold bilateral and multilateral meetings. We must make efforts to develop strong unity between them. We must make efforts to bring the positive forces of the proletarian revolutionary camp on to the side of the Maoist line. We have to highlight MLM and propagate the same. We must fight against the various kinds of revisionist trends. We must release joint statements on various international issues and the bourgeois, revisionist theoretical trends. We have to exchange the experiences of the revolutionary movements and learn from their positive experiences. We have to participate in the polemical debates in the international level. We have to achieve coordination with the genuine Maoist parties and forces and try to build a forum in the international level; 2. We have to build and strengthen international people's movements and people's organisations against imperialism, must integrate with such movements, develop and coordinate them; 3. We have to organize people of Indian origin especially the working people and intellectuals in various countries in support of the Indian revolutionary movement; 4. We have to muster international support to

Indian Revolution. We have to stand in solidarity to the revolutionary movements and anti-imperialist movements of various countries.

In order to fulfill these tasks we formed an International Department to guide international work. We had close relations with the Maoist parties of 8-10 countries. We conducted four conventions of CCOMPOSA together with the member parties. CCOMPOSA held certain activities. We released joint statements together with various revolutionary parties and organisations on various international issues. Our delegates participated in a few international meetings. Few people's organisations in the leadership of our Party made united effort with few anti-imperialist organisations. Our Party held solidarity week in support of the Philippine revolution. We not only extended support to the North-East nationality struggles but also established strong relations with the RPF. The CC-2 meeting (2007 December) formed guidelines for international work. We released a document in 2017 March on our stand on the formation of international organization with genuine Maoist parties and forces. We sent a message to the Milan conference. Nearly 30 Maoist parties and proletarian organisations built protest movements against 'Operation Green Hunt' unleashed by the counter-revolutionary ruling classes with the support of the imperialists, especially the US imperialists on the Indian revolutionary movement. Those parties also formed an international organization in support of the People's War in India and are taking up various activities. This movement is one of the movements of utmost importance in the international working class movement in the recent times. This organization also opened a net blog to place the information, documents, statements and other things related to the Indian revolutionary movement on internet. The governments of few countries are unleashing repression on the organisations participating in this movement. The lackey of the imperialists Narendra Modi government is severely trying to stop this

movement. The Communist Party of Philippines held a month of solidarity to the Indian revolutionary movement.

The CPN (M) in the leadership of Prachanda-Bhattarai traitor clique took up revisionist line and so CCOMPOSA nearly came to a halt by 2008. Later until the beginning of 2011 though CCOMPOSA was in existence, due to the losses in our Central Committee and also the split of positive forces in CPN (M), it totally became defunct. Our CC released a theoretical, political document highlighting the international proletarian revolutionary line against the wrong line brought forth by the traitors of revolution and the modern revisionist diehard Prachanda-Bhattarai clique and fought in various forms. By 2009 due to internal differences and weaknesses RIM became inactive. While the RCP(US) brought forth an opportunist line in the name of 'new synthesis' most of the rest of the organisations in RIM are working for the building of revolutionary movements in their countries and are reorganizing for the formation of an international revolutionary organization. They are playing an important role in the movement of solidarity to the Indian revolutionary movement. Just as the state made severe damage to our Party leadership all over the country, it also created severe losses to the leadership of the struggle organisations of the North East liberation organisations, the RPF, MNLF and ULFA. Thus there was a severe jolt to our Party's plan to form a United Front with these organisations. Due to the arrest of comrades in our international department and since we could not reorganize this department soon we are unable to do international work in a planned way and with initiative from the end of 2009, especially from the beginning of 2011. In fact the necessity of our Party's prominent role in the international sphere increased during this period. But we could not do this because of the unfavorable factors that came forth in the Indian revolutionary movement. It is necessary that our Party makes effort with a firm will in the light of the valuable experiences we achieved in this field to successfully fulfill the

proletarian international tasks for accomplishing New Democratic Revolution in India going on as a part of the world socialist revolution. As the great teacher Lenin said the genuine international line depends upon the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks in their own country and in supporting the parties of various countries that are fulfilling such tasks. In view of this let us apply the international proletarian revolutionary line to the concrete conditions of our country and the world, learn from practice and rectify the mistakes and shortcomings. In the situation where the conditions are developing in a favorable manner to revolution all over the world, we have the immediate task to form a strong International Department with a strategic view to continue international work efficiently and to adopt appropriate secret methods of work that help to protect from the constant reactionary offensive of the enemy. Only thus we can successfully implement the four above-mentioned tasks. Let us go forth with a proletarian firm will to achieve this.

h. Party education

The CC realized that it has to enhance its theoretical, political level and organizational capabilities at the Congress. It is very much necessary for the strategic leadership to enhance its study and to expertise in creatively applying the theory in practice in the respective areas. The PB formulated a concrete scheme in 2008 to fulfill this need. It decided to form two Regional Political Schools basing on the main areas of movement (East and the Central regions). According to it teachers were allotted in the leadership of CCM/PBM for the two areas. But with the losses in the East Region the Regional school was affected in a short time. In the Central Region the school started with part-time teachers and is working with full-time teachers for the past decade. This team is teaching the leadership forces of mainly the DvC and above level.

In addition to the selected subjects political classes are being run on the basic and other documents of the Party and policy papers. However we could not conduct political classes to the DKSZ leadership in 2010-2016. In fact this was an important period. The movement reached a difficult situation, alien class tendencies were severe among the cadres and few higher level leadership forces became weak and degenerated. Their surrenders and immoral behavior showed a very adverse effect on the Party and the movement. The CC realized the mistake in educating the cadres and continued efforts to rectify the same. The CC realized the mistake in education in the East Region and formulated the necessary syllabus in 2016. CC adopted a syllabus for education in 2019 April for education of the respective levels of cadres according to the gradation mentioned in the cadre policy of the Party and released a circular. In the East Region too CC realized the mistake in education and adopted the necessary syllabus in 2016.

Since the movements in the states of South West Region did not overcome the level of primary red resistance areas, the bureau held a meeting of the leadership forces and discussed the problems of the movement and discussed the reasons and experiences in the light of the theory. This was named LTP. They decided to develop the movements of the states in the light of the assessment of that meeting. They took the aspects of the study until the lower levels in those states and discussed the problems of the movement. Basing on this classes were held in SCOPE notes and military aspects to develop the theoretical and political level of the party at all levels. Classes were also held separately later. LTP classes did not continue mainly with the arrests of the central and the state committee comrades. The bureau that is being re-organised will have to revive it.

On the whole we could develop the political level of the ranks in the party to some extent through programs such as theoretical study, classes, bolshevisation, LTP (Leadership Training Program) and field training. The

messages, articles and special issues of magazines that the party released in 2018 and 2019 on the occasion of 4 Anniversaries of international importance provided the understanding of history of revolutionary movements of the world and our country among the party ranks and the people and raised their consciousness.

However there is a strong need to enhance the theoretical and political level of the leadership forces in the entire Party and to rectify the alien class tendencies. Since it is lacking there is confusion about the Party line in a few persons in some states. Since the leadership forces became part of the united party from various revolutionary groups they lack clarity on the basic documents and practice of the Party and the problem of unity came forth in a strong way. In the present condition where the enemy is unprecedentedly intensifying all-out attacks with a heavy strategy to totally wiping out our Party, political training is very much essential for the leadership forces to prepare firm theoretically and politically on par with it without any vacillation.

i. Immediate, main and central tasks – the implementation

The CC and other committees concentrated to fulfill the immediate, main and central tasks that the Party took up in the Unity Congress. Party worked to take forth the favorable aspects achieved in the movement after the formation of the united Party. However there were not enough efforts to shed the unfavorable aspects that are continuing for a long time. So while after the Congress the movement was advancing for five years, in the later period it entered a difficult state and went into a situation of temporary setback.

After the formation of the united Party the Party has been working in 16 states and gained an all India character. Party relatively strengthened in quantity and quality. The CC, SAC/SZC/SC strengthened. It gained recognition among the international proletarian parties. It gained the confidence of the

people as an alternate political force to the ruling classes of the country. PLGA strengthened and helped to gain big victories in the military field. We did few actions that possessed the characteristics of mobile war in the guerilla war and wiped out the enemy in big number. We took a leap in the formation of the guerilla bases and organs of people's political power in the process of liberated areas. We gained experience in the functioning of organisations of people's political power in the division level. In addition to the development of this strategic United Front we also achieved development to an extent in the tactical United Fronts. With the work of the Party in the military field and mass field we stepped forward in the direction of fulfilling the tasks decided by the Congress. We went ahead with the central task of forming liberated areas in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand. The victories the Party achieved in the efforts for building liberated areas stand as a milestone. We can also say that we achieved a little development in the concrete application of the path of Protracted People's War in the concrete conditions of our country. The victories we achieved in the military field and strategic United Front stand as the examples for the same. It is beyond doubt that these experiences shall be useful to gain more great victories in future.

At the same time the revolutionary movement had been gradually being affected in various states. This process started from the first period (2007-2011) in some states. With the arrests of leadership the NRB and the South West RB became defunct. We could not continue international relations. Party was affected in the urban and the plain areas. The losses of our subjective forces increased in the 'all-out war', Operation Green Hunt fascist repression of the enemy that started in 2009. The people's movements were affected. Our mass organisations were affected and mass base started to weaken. Since the number in PLGA went on decreasing we could not bring a change in its quality. Enemy damaged our manufacturing and supply

departments. Our intelligence department and other departments were severely affected. The movement in Bihar-Jharkhand temporarily set back. The movement in DK first reached a difficult situation and now is in a situation of ebb.

For a period of five years from 2007 to 2011 successes were the main in our party and the revolutionary movement, favorable aspects were in the upper hand and the Indian revolutionary movement was in a state of advance. However due to the non-proletarian trends continuing in our party since the period of unity, since the other weaknesses were not rectified and due to the mistakes committed, the losses that have been occurring since 2007 rose and by 2012 favorable aspects lessened and unfavorable aspects became the main in the revolutionary movement. This is the reason for the difficult situation in the all India revolutionary movement by 2012. Although there are few positive results in the political, military and organisational efforts in the past nine years to overcome this difficult situation, we could not overcome the difficult situation due to the intensity of the enemy offensive and our subjective weaknesses. In this situation the counter revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' turned the situation more unfavorable and our Indian revolutionary movement now went into the situation of temporary setback.

On the whole apart from the objective conditions, weaknesses, shortcomings and limitations in our subjective efforts also led the countrywide revolutionary movement into temporary setback. However the situation is not the same in all the states. Along with the favorable and unfavorable conditions in the respective SAC/SZC/SC areas, we have to concretely assess the condition of the movement in the various states all over the country and only then we can adopt tactics to advance the revolutionary movement by overcoming the unfavorable aspects basing on the favorable aspects.

Objective condition

Since the formation of CPI (Maoist) in 2004 the consistent multipronged offensive of the central and the state governments on the revolutionary movement all over the country with the LIC strategy have been on the rise. By mid-2010 the enemy deployed three to three and a half lakh police, Para-military and Commando forces for wiping out the revolutionary movement and now this number reached above six lakhs. After the third phase of Green Hunt the government is taking up 'SAMADHAN' offensive in which the repression on the revolutionary movement intensified. The deployment of the police and Para-Military Commando forces of the state and the central governments increased to the extent of taking up simultaneous operations/attacks in all the areas of the movement. Carpet security also spread into guerilla bases, into the red resistance areas and into new expanded areas. In the areas of revolutionary movement the central and the state governments are pouring thousands and lakhs of crores of rupees for reforms which led to splits among the people and a small section is turning into a social basis for the exploitive ruling classes.

Subjective reasons

Shortcoming in understanding the inter-relationship of main, central task and other immediate tasks, weakness in taking up class struggle in the vast plain and rural areas

The leadership and the cadres of our party did not comprehensively grasp that the central task, main and immediate tasks are mutually dependent and mutually influential and so we could not make comprehensive efforts to implement these tasks in practice depending upon the balance of forces of the movement. Although there was firm effort to achieve the higher tasks adopted in DK and BJ to an extent, we could not develop legal-illegal, open-secret forms of struggle and organisation so as to mobilise all the oppressed classes and sections in class struggle in order to attain the necessary strength

to achieve the higher tasks. In BJ there were shortcomings and weaknesses in organizing the Party, PLGA, Mass Organisations-organs of United Front. In AOB and Telangana we took up class struggle, guerilla war to an extent and extended few kinds of support to DK, but we faced limitations and weaknesses in making efforts to strengthen the Party and the PLGA in these areas. We did not widen-intensify class struggle at least to the best of the strength in other areas of the country. With no development in political, organisational and military activities in those areas, we could not achieve strength in subjective forces, in numbers and quality. So the movements in those areas did not develop; we could not provide enough cadres or material support to DK and BJ. This weakness and failure is one of the important reasons for the temporary setback of the countrywide revolutionary movement.

We failed to take up class struggle in the broad plain and rural areas and to build a strong urban movement as directed by the Congress in the past 14 years. The severity of counter-revolutionary offensive is one main objective reason for this failure. Anyhow in view of conscious subjective effort we failed in this regard. As a result our revolutionary movement is now limited to strategic areas. Lack of understanding in realizing and taking up movement in plain, forest and urban areas as mutually dependent; lack of understanding in realizing and taking up the inter-relations of red resistance areas and guerilla zones-guerilla bases is the reason for this.

At least now, in order to defeat the counter revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' offensive intensely unleashed by the central and the state governments and advance the Indian revolutionary movement, it will not be enough if we intensify class struggles and guerilla war in DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand, AOB and Telangana areas but it is utmost important to take up anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggles in all other areas of struggle in the country including these areas. The development of class struggle going on in

these areas is a very big source and basis for the advancement of Indian revolutionary movement. They also stand as a strong support to DK, BJ, EB-NEJ. Therefore we have to properly understand the mutual relation between the central task and other tasks, attain development in all spheres in urban, plain and rural areas and build some more new centres of class struggle.

We could not formulate program and tactics of class struggle basing on Social Investigation

The CC completed the program of social investigation in 2021 January and released a document 'Changes in Relations of production in India-Our Political program'. Anyhow the delay in completing this utmost important theoretical task led to several ill effects. Especially there was a delay in proper assessment of the changes in relations of production and in class relations due to class struggle and globalisation, realization of labor exploitation in agricultural, industrial, service sectors and organized and unorganized sectors and adopting program of class struggle and legal-illegal, open-secret forms/tactics of struggle and organisation for its implementation. This is one main reason that led to the difficult situation in the revolutionary movement of India.

Weakness in rectifying non-proletarian trends

The Unity Congress realized that non-proletarian trends such as subjectivity, spontaneity, liberalism, sectarianism, individualism and bureaucracy are manifesting in the party committees including our Central Committee in various forms and directed the entire party to take up the task of rectification campaign all over the party. The Congress also made it clear that we can defeat the enemy offensive, protect the leadership and advance the movement to the next higher stage only if we rectify these weaknesses and wrong trends. As the Congress said we took up rectification movement all through the party in 2008 and 2009. But the leadership committees was casual and did not take it up with a firm will. So we failed to rectify these

non-proletarian trends. Thus we faced severe loss. This is one reason that led to temporary setback.

The Central Committee realized this failure and gave a call to take up bolshevisation campaign all over the party in the 4th CC meeting in 2013. Thus bolshevisation took place starting from 2013 until 2018 end. This is giving better results.

The losses of leadership added to the reasons for the situation of temporary setback. Due to these losses we faced hurdles in fulfilling the tasks decided by the Party. Degeneration of leadership also created loss to the movement. If we had lessened the losses the Party would have been in a better situation to fight with the enemy in a stronger manner. All the aspects discussed in detail in this review made an adverse impact on the movement and led to the situation of temporary setback.

In the present situation of temporary setback of the movement we made certain amendments and felt that instead of the task of building liberated areas in the guerilla zones in DK and BJ as the immediate, main and the central task, we must have the objective of building liberated areas in the two areas and make severe efforts for it. We decided that the SA/SZ/States that took up other main tasks shall take up tactics for the development of the movement in view of the conditions of the movement in the respective areas. On the whole we decided that we have to advance towards the objective of building liberated areas in DK and BJ, develop the movements in other Special Areas/Special Zones/States and reach the objective of the central task.

Functioning of the committees

In reviewing the functioning of the committees, that of the CC shall be the main one. Reviewing the functioning of the Party committees does not mean reviewing the methods and style of work. It is the review of the role those played in leading the revolutionary movement.

Functioning of the Central Committee

We successfully held the Unity Congress in the leadership of our united Party. On the occasion of the formation of the united Party in 2004 we covered all the states and formed five Regional Bureaus. By the time of Congress the in-charge PBM of a Bureau was arrested and it became defunct within a short time. Later it was dissolved. Four Bureaus continued for four years after the Congress. With the arrests and encounters of the CCMs the NRB and Southwest Bureau became dissolved. Only two bureaus were functioning during this period.

The RBs took political, organizational and military decisions regarding the states under their purview in between the two CC meetings. In addition to this they brought out various circulars to guide the Party.

In the Congress we elected the CC with a large number. The CC met six times in the past 14 years. We could not hold CC meetings in the specified time due to severe repression, we could not hold them with the total number and finally we had to hold the meetings as separate teams and come to a common understanding. On certain important occasions when there were problems in the movement, the General Secretary of the Party met the concerned CCMs and solved them, gave guidance through letters to the various committees, individuals for the strengthening of the international relations time to time. This too helped for the functioning of the CC. The decisions of these meetings were given the final form abiding democratic centralism and were sent all through the Party.

With the situation in the country turning favorable to revolution after the formation of the united party, the exploitive ruling classes in the dictates of the imperialists took up an offensive with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement all over the country that brought a large change in the situation. In view of the changed situation the CC gave a direction but since the CC failed to mold itself accordingly, there were very serious losses

to the CC in the past 14 years. Sixty-five per cent of the losses to the CC were due to martyrdom and arrests. 8 comrades were martyred due to ill-health, 6 were martyred due to fake encounters of the enemy. 16 comrades were arrested and were in prison for a long time. While 12 of them were released 4 comrades are presently in prison. Another 3 politically degenerated and surrendered to the enemy. We immediately coopted few alternate comrades elected in the Congress to fulfill the losses to the CC. We also coopted few efficient developing comrades into the CC. We strengthened the CC to an extent.

We formed a Standing Committee, PB and CMC in the CC, few Regional Bureaus, Sub-Committees and Departments. Until 2010 PB and CMC meetings were held. We could not hold meetings since 2011. During this period the ERB and the CRB held meetings and continued to work actively. The PBMs and CMCs tried to fulfill the tasks of those committees in these meetings. Standing Committee was formed with three comrades. This committee could meet only once. When repression intensified there was a problem of coordination and it was not possible to work from one centre and so the CC dissolved this committee in 2010. Though standing committee is necessary for the movement, the resolution of the CC to dissolve it in the conditions where we cannot make it function also must be understood as a correct decision.

Due to severe repression and losses to the leadership, meetings were not held in the specified time after CC-2. There were three meetings in nine years. CC-5 was held and completed in three phases amidst many dangers. The enemy is trying to control the movements of the leadership through severe repression and to affect the coordination of the CC and so there are a lot of obstacles in holding CC meetings. In the difficult situation the CC is working in the respective places, taking decisions as per the method of democratic centralism and implementing them and is able to provide

leadership. After the Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements were affected the Party leadership was affected and the ranks were scattered. When compared to that situation now the CC of our united Party is providing leadership in a united manner even in severe repression. This is a distinct aspect of our Party.

CC could not establish enough mechanism for coordination to work efficiently. Any committee needs a good and a strong technical coordinating mechanism to work properly. This is organizationally inevitable for the countrywide coordination of the CC. This mechanism of coordination needs to have the strength to work tactically amidst severe repression. The enemy targets the offensive on this mechanism to disturb the coordination of the Party. It has to protect itself constantly from this offensive and work. CC could not build its mechanism with this understanding. As a result CC faced many hurdles in conducting its work in severe repression. Along with the tech and courier system for coordination in a country like ours with multi-nationalities there is a strong need of comrades for translation and writing. Only if we have enough number of such comrades the decisions of the CC and the central level Bureaus and Sub-committees will reach all the areas in the respective languages and the CC can provide timely guidance and coordinate all over the country. The CC made certain attempts in this regard but was not much successful in practice.

However with the severe concentration of the enemy there were severe losses to the CC and there is delay in solving the challenges that the movement is facing. Along with the political, organizational, military, United Front, propaganda and study aspects there is severe deficiency in the CC fulfilling responsibility in international affairs. This is making an adverse impact on the movement. Keeping this in view the CC must search new ways to work with more initiative and go forward.

With the natural process of problems of ill-health due to age in the veteran leadership comrades of the CC and SAC/SZC/SC there are limitations physically and mentally and the Party faced the problem of veterans. These comrades include those in jail, those in the underground life, those in the committees and those continuing open activities. The CC took up the responsibility to solve this problem basing on the theoretical standards of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and made a resolution on the 'veteran comrades of the Party'. According to this it prepared certain guidelines and is implementing them.

Bureaus, Commissions, Sub-Committees and Departments related to the CC

The Constitution of the Party guides that like the CC as the highest leadership committee of the party formed the Political Bureau (PB) and the Central Military Commission (CMC) to efficiently lead the entire Party, PLGA, United Front and the people to achieve the objective of revolution, it must also form the necessary various central level Bureaus, Sub-Committees and departments. Accordingly the CC elected in the Unity Congress rebuilt the PB and the CMC that have been working for the past almost two and a half years. It re-constituted SuCoMO (Sub Committee of Mass Organisations), CMSC (Central Mahila Sub Committee), CPB (Central Propaganda Bureau), International Department and the CPS (Central Political School). It newly formed the USCO (Urban Sub Committee). SuCoMo, CPB, International Department and USCO constituted CCMs with PBMs as the in-charge. These work in the direct guidance of the PB relatively independently and its decisions will have to obtain the approval of the CC/PB.

CMSC was reorganized with a CCM and State Committee woman comrades with a PBM as its in-charge. CPS was reorganized with few SC and one RC level comrade with a PBM as its in-charge. These too worked in the direct guidance of the PB but since there were comrades of lower (State and Regional) level comrades in these committees those will have to mainly

obtain the approval of the CC/PB for its proposals and decisions and implement. Both these kinds of organs work with the cooperation and coordination of the Regional Bureaus and the State Committees. 7 CCMS concentrated work in these organs full time and another 3 partially.

In this POR we separately mentioned the functioning of PB and CMC. The rest of the Bureaus, Sub Committees and departments held meetings almost regularly until 2010, made proper decisions and made efforts to implement them. The results were almost positive in practice. These had a role in the successes achieved by our party and in the development of the movement during this period.

After the Unity Congress, while our party was mainly achieving positive results, was organizing the Party, PLGA and the United Front and was advancing the revolutionary movement, the ruling classes intensified counter-revolutionary offensive to stop and destroy this advancement in the process of which, there were severe losses to the leadership and the party by 2011. As a part of it our central level Bureaus, Sub Committees and departments were almost affected or became defunct. This showed a considerable adverse effect on the leadership role to have been fulfilled by the CC as a centralized leadership centre. As mentioned earlier in this document, the reasons for the in the entire party during this period apply to these also. However, due to our organisational strength in various spheres, the complexity of problems, weaknesses and differences in mistakes, there are also certain important differences in the results those achieved in practice.

Since these Bureaus, Sub Committees and Departments were affected, the CC/PB, Regional Bureaus and State Committees tried to an extent to fulfill the tasks of those. Although the CC/PB provided centralized guidance to an extent, it was the Regional Bureaus and the State Committees that mainly formulated the necessary action plans according to the concrete conditions

and took up work. The positive results achieved during this period are limited but of high importance. While we faced severe losses in all the spheres and became weak, these unitedly fought back the counter revolutionary offensive and achieved results in unfavorable conditions. These positive results shall contribute to our effort to overcome the temporary setback.

Ebbs and flows, twists and turns are inevitable in the Protracted People's War that we are making to accomplish New Democratic Revolution. We will have to advance in waves to develop as a strong invincible force in the process of beginning as a small, weak force fighting against a big, strong enemy and to spread all over the country from small, isolated areas to extended areas and achieve ultimate victory. In view of this it is our immediate task to work with strong will towards the direction of achieving coordination between the centralized-decentralised organisations, secret-open organisations, secret-open activities by gradually forming and consolidating the centralized organs in the leadership of the Central Committee through learning from the favorable and unfavorable experiences achieved during this period when, although the CC faced a situation where the above mentioned Bureaus, Sub Committees and departments did not exist for almost the past one decade, avoid the earlier mistakes and work in a planned manner.

Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees, other Party Committees

After the formation of the united Party we merged the two units of the two parties in the respective Special Areas/Special Zones/States and reorganized all these committees. Similarly the guerilla forces of the two parties in the leadership of the two parties were merged and PLGA military formations, Party military commissions and command systems were formed. We made efforts to reorganize and strengthen the Party organization in the mass organisations and the UF organisations. In the process of successfully completing the Unity Congress, Conferences were held in the states all over the country and Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees were elected.

The comrades of these committees have the experience of Revolutionary movement. In the first five months of the past 14 years the Party committees, cells and fractions relatively strengthened in many states. In the 'all-out war' in the name of Operation Green Hunt on the revolutionary movement in the leadership of the central and the state governments many of our organisations were gradually affected. Members of the Party committees starting from the state level to the AC and the village level were either killed in encounters or arrested. During this state of repression many dropped out.

There was severe loss to the party committees due to arrests, encounters and dropping out. The committees are furnished with the new comrades coming forth in the process of struggle and in all the Special Areas/Special Zones/States the Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees are functioning. Due to the above reasons there are many changes in the Zonal/Divisional/District, Sub-Zonal, AC committees. Anyhow amidst persistent repression plenums are being held and new leadership is being elected for the Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees, Zone/Division/District Committees and the Area Committees for the past 14 years. With this the committees are functioning as per the principle of democratic centralism to a large extent. Lack of oneness and groupism are coming in the way of certain committees in working in the Party methods of work. Some committees are unable to hold meetings in the specified time. In some committees few members are active and most of the others only follow them. Some do not have the necessary numbers. Especially the Area Committees that are the pillars for Party work among the masses are very weak.

Party membership was in thousands all over the country by the time of Congress. In these 14 years the Party membership fell by more than half due to repression. A certain part of the membership that the Congress ratified

was loose. Deciding eligible persons for Party membership and taking their acceptance was not done and the process of developing Party members from candidate membership did not take place in a proper manner. Due to these reasons the Party membership went down during repression.

j. Non-proletarian trends

Our post-merger POR mentioned thus – ‘Some non-proletarian trends in the two erstwhile parties before merger continued in the new Party too. The rectification campaigns taken up in the various states before merger made a positive impact to some extent but subjectivity, spontaneity, liberalism, sectarianism, individualism, bureaucracy reflect in different forms in all the Party committees including the highest committee of our united Party’.

‘We can defeat the enemy offensive and protect the leadership only if we rectify these weaknesses and wrong trends and advance the movement to the next higher phase. We have to take up rectification movement in the entire Party to shed these trends. Such trends may rise again and again in different forms and so we have to take up the process of rectification on a consistent basis’. Later we took up the rectification movement all over the Party. The CC released a circular and the PB released a letter with the objective of making this rectification movement successful. The circular and the letter explained the objectives and the sectors to concentrate in the rectification. Though we took up rectification movement the impact of non-proletarian trends in our committees did not decrease. The same understanding and mistakes in practice continued. The state plenums and the extended meetings of the Regional Bureaus discussed on these mistakes. Bolshevization campaign was taken up in the CRB and ERB. We took up rectification campaign also in the mass organisations of the two states. The CRB reviewed that this campaign was a success to an extent. On the whole the alien class trends were realized and the process of shedding them through the rectification campaign was taken up but we did not achieve the

expected result. So the various trends are reflected in our Party committees from the top to the bottom and are coming in the way of the movement.

Subjectivity – The enemy offensive intensified, we did not assess its objective and change our methods and style of work accordingly and so there was heavy loss to the various committees of our Party. We recognized this aspect in the reviews and made it part of rectification. Due to subjective trend there was lack of deep understanding of the objective situation and there are severe losses since a long time. We have to profoundly realize that this subjectivity makes a strong impact in the theoretical, political, military, mass line and other such sectors. Individual weaknesses were added to these. This subjectivity is in the form of problem of oneness and groupism in some states and causing disunity in the Party. When we were irresponsible in understanding the changes in the enemy offensive, following the rules of secret party and in implementing the principles of ordinary practice of guerilla war we faced severe losses in encounters. We lost a large number of Party cadres, guerilla forces, leadership and arms and ammunition in these encounters.

Thus the losses to the Party and the PLGA led to several unfavorable factors in the movement.

In the intense repressive conditions the central departments and the CC also is not able to function like earlier. Two RBs are functioning and there are hurdles in exchanging the experiences of the countrywide Party time to time. This is leading to subjectivity. There are inequalities in the movements too and in places where there are victories there is a dominant feeling and self-satisfaction among the committee members and in the other places the members are feeling inferior and are unable to express their ideas freely in the committee. This is coming in the way of democratic centralism and collective functioning.

Spontaneity – There is spontaneity in the functioning of the CC and the various Party committees, in the daily planning, in the methods and style of work, importance is not given to the central task and are shifting from one work to another and in coordinating the countrywide movement and concentrate in working for the immediate and main tasks in all the states. This is creating loss to the movement. Since the CC is unable to function and coordinate like earlier due to the enemy offensive this problem became more complex. The lack of proper mechanism for the committees too is leading to this spontaneous work style.

Liberalism – In order to achieve unity on our political and organisational line in the committee struggle-unity is necessary in the theoretical, political and organizational sectors in the Party. But the committee members are not giving much importance to the struggle based on this principle in the Party committees. There is liberalism in pointing out the reflections of the mistakes in theoretical and political sphere in some issues in practice in the members of the Party committees and putting up struggle against them. So there is artificial unity in the committees. In a period of time this will lead to find fault with the system of the Party committee. The committees must be prepared as the forums for healthy internal struggle. Only then we can clean the rot and make it ever fresh. This must be an important task.

Due to lack of study liberalism is coming in the way in taking proper decisions, in implementing them, in practicing them actively, in criticism and self-criticism, in urban work, in mass work and in consolidation in the military field, in our thoughts and methods of work, it means in molding the committees and the members according to the conditions and necessities. This is seen in recognizing and punishing informers and coverters too.

Bureaucracy – Bureaucracy is reflected in many forms like imposing their opinions on others, not listening to the opinions of others, not caring the cadres, keeping aside those who criticize them, while not dealing like

responsible communist leaders while telling the mistakes of the comrades of the lower levels and constantly criticizing them, passing orders instead of educating the cadres about the rules and disciplinary methods in the Party and rectifying the wrong trends and methods they follow.

Sectarianism – There is sectarianism in uniting with the people, in following mass line-class line. Disunity with those who oppose us, depending on those who agree with us and not on the people, taking an unfavorable attitude towards those who oppose us is sectarian attitude and it is disrupting collective unity and weakens our relations with the people. Thus it is distancing the leaders from the ranks and the Party from the people.

Individualism – Centering themselves always, trying to impose their opinions on the committee, snapping at them when it is not possible, boasting about themselves, taking a negative attitude towards those who do not agree with them, not implementing any committee or form, imposing discipline on others but taking themselves beyond discipline are examples for this tendency.

These trends are also seen in the Party inside the mass organisations working openly in the All India and state levels. Since the Party committee system is not strong in the mass organisations these trends are stronger. Especially individualism, craving for individual fame, sectarianism, bureaucracy and liberalism are prevalent.

If we examine these things we find clearly that in spite of the effort in Party rectification and bolshevization in the past 14 years alien class trends continue. If we take up criticism and self-criticism in a lively manner and rectification constantly we can lessen these wrong trends. So we have to take up rectification and bolshevization campaigns once again basing on our experiences and mold the Party to advance in the mass line.

Let us see the favorable and unfavorable factors in the past 14 years.

Favorable aspects

1. As per the direction of the Congress education was done in the entire party with the objective of enhancing the theoretical, political level on – the basic documents; policy papers; important documents such as ‘the stand of our party on the formation of proletarian international organisation’, ‘China is a new Social-Imperialist force! It is integral to world capitalist-imperialist system’; ‘Caste question in India-our perspective’; the messages, circulars and letters that the central and the state committees released. Regional Political Schools were formed to impart political training. Syllabus was prepared. Study of circulars and other literature that the central and the state committees released as a part of rectification taken up to rectify alien trends in the party and self-criticism and criticism. As per the call of the CC, programs to proletarianise/mold the party cadres in a regular manner took place in the states of CRB and ERB as a part of bolshevisation campaign. As a part of this leadership training classes and field training programs were held in some areas. Education was done on our movement, on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and international revolutions among the people and the party with the call of the CC to celebrate four revolutionary anniversaries. Our party provided a proper revolutionary line to the anti-displacement struggles going on with land as the centre. It constantly politically exposed the cross-class, revisionist arguments, Gandhism and reformism that argued that people are suffocated between the police and the Maoists. It firmly fought against the modern revisionist line that the CPN (M) of Nepal brought forth in the leadership of the Prachanda-Bhattarai traitor clique; it theoretically exposed the modern revisionist theory of ‘Avakianism’ that RCP (USA) brought forth in the leadership of Bob Avakian in the name of ‘new synthesis’. It fought back the

opportunistic arguments of traitors who left the party and surrendered to the enemy.

2. The united party gained international recognition through its efforts to strengthen the three magic weapons to efficiently lead the Indian New Democratic Revolution. Party relatively strengthened in quantity and quality. The central and the state committees strengthened. As a part of the perspective of expansion that the CC adopted, the movement expanded to a few areas of Odisha, to Trijunction in Western Ghats and to MMC. State level committees were formed and are functioning here. There was a little effort throughout the party with firm will to achieve the central task of developing DK and BJ into liberated areas.
3. Extended meetings of CRB and ERB and plenums of various states, districts and areas reviewed the movements, assessed the situation of the movement and adopted new tasks according to the changed conditions. We achieved a little improvement in consolidating the party committees from the top to the bottom in these plenums.
4. We strengthened Military Commissions and Commands and made efforts to intensify guerilla war in the strategic areas towards the direction of establishing liberated areas. We fought back the counter revolutionary strategic 'Operation Green hunt' and 'SAMADHAN-Prahar' offensive that the enemy took up as a part of the LIC strategy-tactics to eliminate our party and the revolutionary movement, we adopted new tactics according to the changing conditions depending on local resources and gained experience in making guerilla war. Where we destroyed the state power of the comprador exploitive ruling classes we established Revolutionary People's Committee (RPC), Guerilla Bases as the organs of state power representing the four oppressed classes. We gained little experience in leading them. We brought forth an agenda of alternate New Democratic Revolutionary government on to the political framework

of the country. We achieved a little improvement in the work in few urban areas due to the efforts of the Regional Bureaus, Special Area/Special Zone/State Committees. We thus made one step forward in the direction of achieving the central task. We attained certain experience in achieving positive results in applying the line of PPW to the concrete conditions of our country. These experiences shall be useful to achieve the objective in future.

5. Among the people, we mobilized the peasantry in a big way with the slogan of 'jal-jungle-zameen-ijjat-adhikar' along with daily life problems as a part of the program of agrarian revolution. We took up struggles for land and on displacement. We implemented revolutionary land reforms. We formed tactical United Fronts and gained certain experiences in developing broad people's movements such as in Lalgarh and Narayanapatna. We participated actively in the movement for separate state of Telangana and made efforts with an initiative to lead it, we formed tactical united forums against Hindutwa fascism and on various problems through which gained little experience on the tactics to be adopted in such movements.
6. Our CC formed an international department. It formulated guidelines for international work. It maintained close relations with the Maoist parties of few countries. Until CPN (M) betrayed CCOMPOSA, it made efforts to function it actively. It released joint statements together with revolutionary parties and organisations on various international issues. Our delegates participated in few international meetings. Our party observed solidarity week in support of the Philippine revolution. It formulated the guidelines for international work. It prepared a document in 2017 March on the formation of international organisation regarding the stand of our party. Our CC gave a call to international Maoist organisations to condemn the counter revolutionary offensive unleashed

by the ruling classes on the revolution of our country in the name of Operation Green hunt. Several Maoist parties and organisations took up protest movement. Those stood in support of People's War for almost a decade and a half. Those are building solidarity movements.

Unfavorable aspects

1. We could not make the Party firm according to the present war situation, according to the tasks and to fight back the enemy offensive. We are lagging behind in study of theory, in the study of concrete issues, in developing political and military tactics according to the changing conditions and in making the necessary changes in the methods of work.
2. The Party committees do not have enough orientation of people's war. Few leadership comrades are away from war affairs. They limit themselves to the fields they are responsible. Consequently they are falling in departmentalism. We could not give the orientation of people's war to the Party organisations among the various levels of mass organisations. The political effort of the central and the state committees is not to the extent necessary.
3. All the committees from the CC to the AC are not able to take up criticism and self-criticism in a lively manner. As a result it is unable to shed alien class tendencies such as subjectivity, liberalism, sectarianism, bureaucracy and patriarchy in the Party. Due to shortcomings in studying the successes and mistakes of the movement and in making concrete analyses and due to not adopting appropriate tactics according to the condition our movement temporarily setback. We are not able to attain development in achieving unity of thought in the committees, in implementing the decisions with strong will and to mold the party committees in this manner. Mainly since we are not able to enough enhance the initiative and independence of the DCs and the ACs and they are dependent on the upper committees they are unable to work

efficiently and with initiative in their status. There is lack of proletarian discipline and communist cultural values in the party. Due to individualist tendencies disunity and conflicts are rising in the committees. As the meetings are held, as the great Marxist teachers stated, in business type without proper preparations and in a casual attitude for a long time the danger of losses in enemy attacks is increasing.

4. In the process of increasing multipronged offensive of the enemy the number of the Party Primary Units fell down heavily. The consciousness and efficiency of the Party members are low. With this situation in addition to state repression one main reason is the lack of enough political and organizational effort from the upper level.
5. In the process of intensified enemy offensive, various levels of cadres theoretically and politically weak not prepared for the difficult conditions and sacrifices, did not mold themselves according to the needs of the movement, vacillated and either surrendered to the enemy or left the party in considerable number. They attacked the political line of the Party in opportunist methods and joined the enemy camp.
6. We are unable to bring out various magazines in time in order to enhance the theoretical and political level of the party cadres and ranks and to enlighten the people.
7. We are severely lagging behind in adopting appropriate tactics in the plain and urban areas and developing people's movements.
8. Since there is no enough importance to secret functioning of the committees the secrets of the Party are mostly revealing. There is negligence in maintaining code in writing resolutions that are to be kept secret, in securing the secret records and in maintaining them secretly in hard disks, pen drives and other such electronic equipment and when the enemy got hold of them there is severe loss to the party and the movement.

‘In revolutionary struggle at times difficulties are more than favorable conditions. So they become the main factors in contradiction and unfavorable conditions become secondary. But revolutionaries can overcome difficulties through their attempts and achieve favorable conditions. Thus unfavorable conditions vanish and favorable conditions come forth’ (*Mao, On Contradictions*).

What is the method to be adopted to improve subjective effort? ‘Any aspect that arises newly experiences difficulties and setbacks in the process of development’.

Hurdles and mistakes are natural in the process of growth. We welcome criticism of our mistakes. We expect to learn from it. We can thus rectify our practice and mold ourselves as good revolutionaries. Our objective is to mainly serve the people. We will not hesitate even for one second to strengthen ourselves as the warriors of people. We have to learn the communist value from the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory that we are prepared for anything.

We have to go into practice to test this method. We must be more active and dynamic in war. We must develop our initiative one hundred percent. Without these it is not possible to face the enemy. We have to work in a creative manner, properly, in the specified time to reach the specified goal. We have to fight against the non-proletarian trends, properly assess the present political situation, the situation of the enemy and our subjective strength and will have to work sincerely to fulfill the tasks of the Party. Only then we can bring the revolutionary movement from temporary setback to spate.

III. Military sphere

Let us review our effort in the military sphere in fulfilling the immediate, main and central tasks that the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of our Party in 2007 January formulated, as mentioned above by dividing the past 14 years of the revolutionary movement into two periods (the first phase from 2007 to 2011 and the second from the beginning of 2012 to 2020).

Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns (TCOC)

After the Congress, as a part of fulfilling the tasks dictated by the Congress, the CC/CMC, various Regional Bureaus, SAC/SZC/SC, SAMC/SMC, various levels of committees and commands took up several TCOCs in the past 14 years.

The CMC gave a call to take up TCOC all over the country in 2007. As per this call TCOC and retaliatory actions took place in the various guerilla zones and the red resistance areas in the country. In these incidents we wiped out 207 policemen. We seized more than 200 weapons from the enemy. We also seized a large amount of ammunition and explosive material. The TCOC was taken up in DK, BJ, AOB, AP, West Bengal, 3U, Odisha and Karnataka.

In this campaign there were Ranibodili short surprise attack, Urpalmetta opportunity ambush and Kuduru ambush in DK; Khasmahal raid in Bokaro district, Rajpura-Baghaila joint raids in Rohthas district, ambushes in Jamui, Lohardaga and Latehar districts in BJ, Mallampeta ambush, MV-79 attack, famine attacks in AOB, Reega, Avatarnagar attacks in 3U, ambush on the ex-Chief Minister Janardhan Reddy in AP and few guerilla actions in West Bengal and Odisha made a good impact on the people all over the country.

TCOC continued from April to July in the red resistance areas and the guerilla zones all over the country including many retaliatory actions and vital operations like the Nayagarh and Jhajha since the beginning of 2008 with the objective to resist and defeat the countrywide offensive of the central government as a part of the central task. In the retaliatory actions and TCOC

all over the country during this one year 246 policemen were wiped out, 237 were injured. We seized 450 arms and more than 42 thousand ammunition from the enemy forces.

We mobilized the forces (200-300) in guerilla battalion level and took up guerilla war actions and this achieved more development in 2008. In the Nayagarh operation, Jhajha raid, Gunikiralla, Muraligudem ambushes we mobilized two to three companies of forces and took up the war actions. We gained good experience in wiping out the Commando forces. We gave a blow to the Para-military forces and Commando forces of various states in ambushes and retaliatory actions such as Gosama in Odisha, Balimela and Thellarayi in AOB, Korepalli, Mardapal, Modugupal, Cheribeda and Banjarghati in DK, Dulvadih-Pipradih area ambush, Pundidhari, Raniganj bazar, Parasanadh and Rahe in BJ, Dahijodi, Buridibandh, Jhargram in West Bengal, Sameerpet in North Chhattisgarh.

As per the decisions of the CMC, Regional Bureaus, SAC/SZC/SCs we took up TCOC and retaliatory activities in 2009 and 2010. 361 policemen were wiped out, 184 were injured and 231 arms were seized in Mariana, Minapa-1, Asirguda, Mandagiri, Barsur, Tavvetola, Kokavada, Madanveda, Singanmadugu, Laheri, Mukram, Chingavaram, Pedakodepal, Kongera and other actions in DK. In BJ 145 policemen were wiped out, 160 were injured and 126 weapons were seized in Bokaro, Mahuliyatand, Hesla, Koelkera, Kodvadih Bidava, Sonobazaar, Vishnupur, Kajara-Lakhiserai, Tol Plaza, Mamail, Saranda, Manoharpur and other actions. In West Bengal 65 policemen were wiped out, 11 were injured, 82 weapons were seized from the police-Para-military forces, 47 weapons from the CPM goondas, 145 local made weapons and 2 In sass rifles from Harmad vahini and other such counter-revolutionary forces in Silda raid and other actions such as in Ramgarh. In AOB 45 police were wiped out, 53 were injured and 13 weapons seized in NALCO (Damanjodi) raid, Paluru, Potkal, Daiguda, Mantriyamba and

other actions. In Odisha 6 policemen were wiped out. In 3U, we wiped out 10 policemen and injured 4 in actions in Mohabbatpur, Syampur Bhatta and other such actions. In North Telangana we attacked the forest department and seized one weapon. In Gondia division one police was wiped out. In Karnataka two anti-Naxalite police were injured. On the whole 623 police, Para-military and Commando forces were wiped out, 405 were injured and 502 weapons were seized.

In 2011, 194 police and Para-military forces were wiped out, 243 were injured, 63 arms and 1736 ammunition were seized in the various TCOC and retaliatory actions of the PLGA in the leadership of the party such as Sanbayal, Gattam, Metlacheruvu in DK, Dhardhariya, Chipadohar, Gumla, Palamau, Kaathikund, Latehar Satnadiya, Marangburu, Jelanga in BJ, Onakadilli in AOB, Dainmari in West Bengal, Kalingbadi and Sonepur ghati in Odisha, Kalmanja in Karnataka and other such actions.

We need to specially mention the experiences of the guerilla war in these five years in various guerilla zones and red resistance areas as a part of achieving the immediate, main and the central task given by the Unity Congress.

As a part of achieving the central task given by the Unity Congress guerilla war continued intensely in these five years (2007-2011) and developed it to a higher stage in DK. Our PLGA defeated each and every tactic of the enemy in this process. We defeated Salwa Judum campaign by 2009. We gave a blow to the enemy tactics of attacking from fast riding motorcycles. Starting from the Urpalmetta encirclement attack we could contain the enemy tactics of combing and mopping up actions in the interior areas by foot and through other such encirclement ambushes we could contain the operations in the interior areas for a long time. We did many ambushes in the carpet security areas and defeated the attempts of the enemy to hold the areas through the tactics of carpet security, for a long time. We made serial big ambushes, expanded the war front and contained the offensive of the enemy for some

time. In the Mukaram encirclement ambush we wiped out the forces of the enemy in company numbers and gained a higher level experience. This offensive stood as a vital one in the protection of the guerilla bases. With the TCOC and retaliatory activities in the past five years in the leadership of the party it resisted and fought back the enemy offensive from time to time, protected the people, guerilla bases, Party leadership and the forces and developed the Dandakaranya movement.

In BJ we made efforts to fight back the multipronged offensive of the enemy and intensify guerilla war to a higher level in these 5 years. We defeated the counter revolutionary Sendra campaign. Since it was impossible to combat the enemy in platoon numbers, the PLGA forces engaged in Company and Battalion formations. We made many raids, ambushes (on the enemy forces coming by foot and by motorcycles, demolition ambushes on vehicles, night ambushes). Apart from these we successfully made train actions, actions on courts, jail breaks and even on helicopters one or two times. We started to use Improvised Explosives and gained a new and great experience. Through these we could also smash the MPVs of the enemy. We could thus give a blow to enemy's morale at least temporarily. We took up guerilla actions on counter revolutionary secret gangs such as TPC, SPM and JPC and wiped out important leaders and a few important anti-people political leaders oppressing the people. On the whole we could preserve the important party leadership, most of the PLGA forces and could contain the enemy attacks to an extent. We failed the enemy objective to wipe out the revolutionary movement.

We made surprise attack on the utmost cruel Greyhounds forces of AP near Balimela when they were going in the waters and gave a big blow in AOB. In Odisha we attacked the notorious SOG forces on their way in a MPV near Tellarai and wiped them. In Narayanapatna area, our PLGA forces stood in support of the oppressed people against the feudal forces who had the

support of the police and the Para-military forces in the land struggle and played an important role in seizure and distribution of land and in harvesting. In West Bengal the PLGA forces stood in support of the Lalgarth people's revolt and eliminated the social fascist CPM leaders and goonda forces such as the Harmadvahini that works in the leadership of this party. Para-military forces were eliminated in Silda raid and other such guerilla actions.

In 3U Special Area we made guerilla war actions such as in Reega and Avatarnagar and assassination of big landlords and made efforts to develop class struggle.

In Maharashtra (Balaghat-Gondia), Odisha, Telangana, North Chhattisgarh and Karnataka we took up small kind of guerilla actions resisting the attacks of Special police and Para-military forces in various encounters and decentralised the enemy forces.

Favorable aspects in these five years in military sphere

1. As per the decision of the CC/CMC to achieve the tasks given by the Congress, we formed Central and Eastern Regional Commands in 2007.
2. We formed three regional companies in the Central Region, two regional companies and one Special Platoon in the Eastern Region, one guerilla battalion in DK, two new companies in DK and two new companies in BJ from 2007 to 2010. We formed few new LGS, LOS and Platoons in DK, BJ and other guerilla zones.

By the beginning of 2011 there was a guerilla battalion as the main force, few companies, few platoons, few LGS as the secondary force in DK, few companies as the main force, few platoons as the secondary force and few LGS in BJ and in the rest of the states LGS and few platoons are the combat units.

3. Earlier there were Sub-Zonal commands, few divisional, commands, area commands and militia commands in DK to guide the PLGA forces in war operations. Few new Divisional Commands, Area Commands, Area Militia

Commands and panchayat Militia Commands were formed in the past five years. In BJ too new Regional, Zonal, Sub-zonal, Area commands were formed.

In the rest of the states, few Divisional Commands were reorganized and in a few places new Divisional Commands and Area Commands were formed.

In the past five years departments of PLGA were formed in DK and BJ (technical department, military training department, intelligence, supply, medicine and others). We formed few departments in AOB.

4. We developed the people's struggles that came forth in Lalgah (West Bengal) and Narayanapatna (AOB) against the state as that against the police and Para-military forces. Guerilla war was taken up with land problem and state violence as the centre, the power of the exploitive classes in these two areas was destroyed and we formed the revolutionary people's state power in the local level. In the whole process the PLGA stood in support of the peasant struggle and fought with the government armed forces and the counter-revolutionary armed forces.

5. In DK in the big attacks by mobilizing forces in the battalion level with the main force of the PLGA as the centre, it has become a normal form to hit platoon level forces of the Para-military forces. In the Mukaram ambush we wiped out a company of the Para-military forces and gained a higher level experience.

6. In BJ wiping out platoon level forces of the enemy in big actions started. The enemy took up attacks on our camps with thousands of police and Para-military forces with the objective to kill the leadership but our PLGA fought for hours, defeated the enemy offensive and protected the leadership. We successfully fought with the large number of police and the Para-military forces and gained a positive experience.

7. During this period high level of guerilla war continued in DK and BJ and there were a few mobile war actions that possessed the characteristics of mobile war.

8. Guerilla war took place in various degrees in the guerilla zones/affected guerilla zones and red resistance areas in AOB, West Bengal (BJO), 3U, Maharashtra (Balaghat-Gondia), Odisha, Telangana, North Chhattisgarh and Western Ghats.

9. Our PLGA forces in DK and BJ developed their combat skills and technical skills. There is a development in speed movements in war operations, maneuvers of advance-retreat as pairs and groups in fire and movement, aggressively and swiftly plunging on the enemy, attacking from flanks, making CQB attacks on the enemy, encircling the enemy and attacking them. In DK various kinds of booby traps and traditional traps were widely used.

10. We formed Siddhu-Kanu militia in West Bengal, Ghenua vahini militia in Narayanapatna struggle in AOB, Niyamagiri Suraksha Sena in Odisha and Manyam Pithuri Sena in AOB and widened them.

11. We took up intense guerilla war in this period and destroyed the authority of the enemy which gave way to the formation of organs of people's state power in various levels in DK, BJ, AOB, Lalgah (West Bengal), Gondia-Balaghat. These were expanded and organized.

Unfavorable aspects in the military sphere in the five years

1. Though militia exists in DK, BJ, West Bengal, AOB and Odisha there are shortcomings and weaknesses in doing political work among militia, in constantly expanding it according to the present level of war, training them, arming them and making them widely participate in the war operations.

2. Due to the formation and expansion of higher formations balance was affected in the secondary force and the leadership and the units weakened and so certain weaknesses came forth in fighting with the enemy with initiative and independently. There was no concentration in planned

development of leadership in secondary force and in recruiting new members.

3. There is no specified number in all kinds of combat units. There was no proper concentration on consolidation. Therefore there are some weaknesses and mistakes in implementing discipline politically, militarily and organizationally.

4. There are weaknesses in fighting daringly in one third of the PLGA including the main force. There are mistakes and weaknesses in utilizing combat skills and technical skills with presence of mind. There are mistakes in deploying various kinds of weapons properly and mistakes in using them. This led to the loss of few comrades in war operations.

5. We could not destroy the carpet security system and attain artillery.

In 2011 October the DK plenum reviewed that the movement in that Special Zone reached a difficult situation. Taking into consideration the setback situation in NT and AOB movements, the difficult situation of the DK movement, the CRB meeting in 2012 August made a detailed resolution about the struggle tactics to take up guerilla war in difficult situation in the Central Region. The CRB resolution guided that in the situation of decreased mass base, increased enemy informers, the information of the PLGA forces reaching the enemy, decreased resistance of the people's militia; the situation of lack of ammunition and explosive material and less recruitment; we must widely take up small, medium and decentralized actions in DK and big and centralized attacks whenever possible. It also guided that in AOB we must conduct small and medium kind of actions, small actions in NT, must take up secret movements without letting the enemy know information about our forces in the Central Region including DK, to make guerilla war with rapid movements; mobilise and enhance local resources; widely take up militia operations and make guerilla war. In addition to it, CRB also said that

we should not form higher level formations in DK, stop the expansion of combat units and pay importance to their consolidation.

The CC-4 of 2013 April reviewed that the countrywide movement entered a difficult situation by 2012. This meeting also reviewed that the BJ Special Area and movements in West Bengal temporarily setback. In order to overcome this difficult situation the meeting formulated the program and tactics to take up for a period of two years. In the light of this resolution CRB and ERB provided concrete guidance to their regions. Due to the intensity of the enemy offensive and shortcomings in subjective efforts, the countrywide movement suffered temporary setback. Guerilla war is going on for the past 2 years to overcome this situation as per the guidance of the CC. Thus depending upon the guidance of the CRB, ERB and the CC the PLGA is making guerilla war in the leadership of our Party for the past 9 years (2012-2020).

The guerilla war for the past 9 years (2012-2020) to overcome the difficult situation and temporary setback

The central and the state governments intensified counter-revolutionary war with the names of Operation Green Hunt, Mission 2016, Mission 2017, SAMADHAN and other such names for the past 9 years to wipe out the Indian revolutionary movement. Our heroic PLGA in the leadership of our party and the people daringly resisted it. They took up many tactical counter-offensive campaigns, guerilla war operations and retaliatory actions. Due to the people's war of our PLGA and the people the enemy could not fulfill their aim. The scheduled time limits of the enemy to wipe out the revolutionary movement time to time were crossed over by the people's war.

Central Region

Though the movement in DK entered a difficult situation by the end of 2011 we have been making wide and intense guerilla war for the past seven years. We have been making few big and centralized ambushes every year and hundreds of small and medium kind guerilla war actions. The participation of

the people and the militia in guerilla war is giving very valuable experiences. We prepared primary level improvised artillery basing on the local resources, took up war actions, formed sniper teams, efficiently used them in guerilla war action, intensified and widened mine warfare through various kinds of improvised explosive devices, made trap war through various kinds of thousands of traditional traps (spike holes) and made guerilla war. In 2013 May we made an ambush on the convoy of the Congress near Jeeramghati in which the murderer of people Mahendra Karma, few Congress leaders and few policemen were wiped out and a few weapons were seized. The secondary forces of the South Sub-zonal bureau and Telangana conducted a joint operation together with the PLGA battalion as the centre and successfully made the Burkapal ambush in 2017 April. This gave us a high level experience. We gained a new and higher experience in the Minapa centralized ambush on 21st March by fighting back the attack taken up as a part of Operation 'Prahar' by the central and the state governments in 2020 March by deploying a few units of the Indian Army, Greyhounds, COBRA, STF and DRG Commandos. We have been taking up guerilla war for the past 9 years, resisting the enemy offensive and could sustain few guerilla bases. Anyhow we could not contain the expansion and strengthening of carpet security due to our weaknesses and shortcomings in taking up guerilla war. Thus few guerilla bases were affected and a few of the rest are not able to function to achieve strategic tasks like earlier.

In AOB during this period (2013-2020) we wiped out 21 armed forces of the enemy (BSF, CRPF, SOG, Greyhounds, DVF) and 3 home guards and injured 73 in TCOC and retaliation programs. We took up big and medium kind guerilla actions in Janniguda, Rallagadda, Panagarevula and Sunki and few other small kind actions. We assassinated TDP leaders Kidari Sarveswararao (MLA) and Siveri Soma (ex-MLA) near Livitiput village in 2018 September and seized two weapons from their security guards. We did not let fulfill the ill scheme of the

enemy to make the Andhra pocket in AOB Maoist-free. We are making guerilla war and built 5 village (pocket) level organs of people's state power. In Telangana we have been making small kind of guerilla actions for the past four to five years. During this period (2015-2020) we took up TCOCs and few retaliatory actions 4 times in which we wiped out 6 policemen and injured 7. We wiped out 32 enemy forces in the joint TCOCs with DK forces. We retaliated the fierce attacks of the enemy to wipe out the leadership. Militia forces have been independently taking up harassment actions on the enemy and are also participating in the guerilla war actions together with the main and the secondary forces. In Odisha we made small ambushes in Dekunpani, Amamora, Konjalo and other such places. The limited war actions in Odisha in the past seven years helped to decentralize the enemy. In the beginning of 2016 we extended into the border area of Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) and formed a new committee at the state level. Since then the attacks of the police, Para-military and Commando forces intensified in the area. We are resisting these attacks strongly. We also made few small kind of guerilla war actions such as Bhawe 1, 2 ambushes and few single actions. As a part of affecting DK, the enemy is trying to encircle us from Balaghat-Rajnandgaon-Gondia districts. Expansion into this area helped to stop these attempts.

Eastern Region

ERB met in 2014 January for the implementation of the resolutions of CC-4. In this meeting the ERB implemented the resolutions of the CC to reorganise the area under BJSAC in view of the problems in coordination and guiding the movement because of the wide extent of the area. BJ Special Area was divided and reorganized into BJ Special Area, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand Special Area and 2U Special Area.

In BJ Special Area we made guerilla war fighting back the multipronged offensive of the enemy in 2012-2020. We took up heroic raids on the Para-

Military forces and state propped secret armed gangs such as TPC, JPC, JJMP and PLFI. We wiped out 91 policemen and injured 174 and seized 53 arms in the attacks in Gaya zone such as the ambush in Avaspit on MPV, the Rationgunj ambush, Tandwa ambush, Jajpur raid, Dumaria ambush, Kalapahad, Dumarinala ambush, the Amvatikar-Katiya, Chainpur in Koel-Sankh zone, the counter offensive campaign, Budha pahad counter-1, Budha pahad counter attack-2 in Latehar, the Chaibasa jail break-2, counter offensive campaign to fight back operation monsoon in D zone, the attack on the escort vehicle of Giridih prisoners, Pakud ambush and counter offensive campaign to fight back Operation Hill Vijay in U zone and in the several guerilla war actions all over the Special Area. We wiped out 16 TPC goondas in the Chot ki Kodiya attack and nearly 150 secret armed gang goondas, SPOs and police informers during this period. However PLGA became very weak during this period. The Commissions and Commands also were affected. We formed temporary Platoon, Company and Battalion formations with various levels of comrades of Party and PLGA and are taking up guerilla actions. We made certain guerilla actions such as the ambush with serial blasts in Rai Sindri hills, Dumka ambush, Tiridih ambush, Dokapeedhi ambush, Nukiyatand ambush, Keraikela ambush in 2019-2020 also.

Since the formation of EB-NEJ Special Area our forces have stood steadfast amidst severe enemy offensive and are fighting back the enemy taking constant actions on the informer-SPO network. Our forces took up certain guerilla actions. They protected the movement and the party leadership.

The process of overcoming the setback situation has begun in Bihar-Jharkhand, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand Special Areas. Self-defense squads and Jan-militia squads are formed and are functioning.

We lost the in-charge CCM/PBM comrade Kishanji in the intense counter-revolutionary offensive in West Bengal by the central and the state governments. The Party, PLGA leadership and forces were severely damaged

and our movement temporarily setback. With this guerilla war actions almost came to an end. There were very few guerilla actions in 2U in the past 9 years. The problem of groups-disunity here became more complex and the situation of the movement turned further difficult. In North Chhattisgarh there was occasional sabotage of the properties of CBB and imperialists, wiping out of the counter-revolutionaries and small guerilla actions on the police and thus the guerilla war is going on. In Asom our movement was in primary level and weakened. Our activities are going on but are very weak.

South West Region

After the extension into the selected Perspective Area (PA) in Dindigal, Andipatti area after the Unity Congress one squad was arrested and there was a police attack on the second squad and the squad commander was martyred. So the State Committee withdrew from the PA.

In the Western Ghats preparatory work started from 2010 to start a new front in the Trijunction area of the states of Karnataka-Tamilnadu-Kerala. LTP was conducted for training the leadership to develop the movement that was continuing in the primary stage for a long time and to give the orientation of people's war. In 2010 February organizing committee was formed for taking up theoretical, political, organizational and military preparatory week. Later we formed the Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee (WGSZC) in 2011 June to specially lead the movement in the area. Our squads entered the area in the leadership of the committee in 2013 May 1st amidst many unfavorable factors and facing enemy attacks. This created an enthusiastic atmosphere in the revolutionary ranks and the people. It became a point of wide discussion politically in Kerala and Tamilnadu.

Politico Military Campaign (PMC) was taken up from 2014 November to 2015 January with the coordination of the urban and rural areas. There were attacks on the properties of the forest department, granite mafia, Multinational Company Mc Donald Hotels, Restaurants and CBB, there were

demonstrations in protest to the visit of the main enemy of the world people, the President of America. This showed a good impact among the people and worried the ruling classes. However we did not attack the armed police.

We have to impart military training to the guerilla squads, increase the number in the formations and enhance their struggle capacity. We have to organize the people of the rural areas in the mass organisations and militia and intensify class struggle.

On the whole the movement (class struggle) is in a very primary phase in the Western Ghats Special Zone. The subjective forces are limited. There are certain shortcomings in the decision of the SZC in advancing the movement. Due to our weaknesses in taking up actions to contain the initiative of the enemy as a part of developing the movement, the revolutionary movement further weakened. Urban movement was affected and is weak. In the process of developing into a red resistance area the leadership was arrested or martyred and so there were temporary hurdles in bringing a leap from the primary stage of the movement. But there are great opportunities for the Party to stand steadfast amidst these temporary twists and turns and ups and downs basing on MLM, face the conspiracies and challenges of the enemy, take lessons and educate the entire Party, utilize the revolutionary situation rising day by day in the country, protect and develop the subjective forces and advance. We have the task of developing the movement in the Western Ghats towards building guerilla zone in the Western Ghats.

The favorable aspects in guerilla war to overcome the difficult situation and temporary setback in the past 9 years

1. In the situation during 2012-2020 where the central and the state governments were stopping all civil and military supplies to the revolutionary movement, we attacked the police, Para-military and Commando forces as per the rule of 'enemy is the main source for our weapons', wiped out 974 Para-Military, Special police and Commando police forces and injured 1,983.

We seized 597 arms and 27,758 rounds of ammunition and other such material. We made guerilla war with the help of those.

2. We prepared improvised explosive depending upon local resources, made IED with this, widened and intensified mine warfare depending on these and widened and intensified the trap warfare through various kinds of traditional traps. We developed primary level improvised artillery.

3. We developed combat skills and technical skills. We developed sniper teams and made guerilla war actions with limited number of cartridges. We are developing remote technology in mine warfare.

4. When the police, Para-military and Commando forces enter the guerilla bases in thousands and in many batches we are dividing one part of it and wiping it out.

5. During the TCOC and vital war actions when we mobilise the forces of two or three Special Zones/States or the Regional and Special zonal forces we are forming joint commands on temporary basis to take them up with coordination. We formed joint commands on permanent basis in AOB to coordinate the forces of the zone and the Regional forces when we took up actions. We formed Unified Commands constituting the members of the Regional Committee and Divisional Committee in the leadership of the CCMs in the South and the North Regions and in the leadership of the SZCMs in the West Region in Dandakaranya to coordinate all the sectors of Party, People's Army and United Front and they worked from 2013 to 2015.

6. As a part of People's Militia we are forming few platoons and companies in DK.

7. We extended to Odisha, worked to form red resistance area and guerilla zone in the Western Ghats and extended to Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC) area thus forcing the enemy forces to decentralize. We are working to expand guerilla war to new areas.

8. We took up wide and intense guerilla war and people's struggles and are protecting the organs of people's state power from the enemy attacks, reorganized the affected ones in the village and area levels. We are forming few newly and are sustaining the guerilla bases. Along with the guerilla bases we are utilizing certain strategic areas and interior areas for strategic necessities of guerilla war.

Unfavorable aspects during this period

1. Fleeing and surrenders

We faced this problem in the Central Region and the Eastern Region with variations. Due to subjective view in assessing the strength of the enemy, the inability to deeply understand the protracted character of the revolutionary war and the ups and downs, advance and retreat of this protracted character, the process of passing through defeat and victory, the lack of confidence that we can overcome the difficult situation of the revolutionary movement, the disciplinary actions on those with indiscipline and anarchy, few politically and morally degenerated persons are influenced with the psychological war of the enemy and are fleeing. Most of them are surrendering to the enemy and some of them are turning traitors and counter-revolutionaries, joining the police and Commando forces and are creating severe losses to the revolutionary movement.

We could overcome this problem to some extent through bolshevization campaign and political and military training programs. We could instill confidence by giving a clarity about the tactics of guerilla war to be followed in a difficult time and in the situation of temporary setback and thus change the balance of forces with the enemy and by providing clarity on our path. We must solve this problem in future too by consistently taking up political and military work in PLGA.

The problem of coverts has come forth in different levels in the Central and the Eastern Region. We could avoid losses where we recognized and solved

the problem in time. We faced losses where we did not recognize the coverts. Mainly this problem was severe in BJ and DK. We must be alert towards this problem.

2. We lost the opportunities of making war actions successful and faced losses since we did not follow the rules of secret functioning and guerilla war

Since we did not properly follow the rules of secret functioning and guerilla war in the daily life, in mass work, military work, in war operations and campaigns we considerably lost opportunities to make war operations successful. Our forces did not follow secrecy and camouflage in journeys and in ambush places, did not camouflage the mines and claymore properly and lacked in fighting with a firm will, initiative and daring and courage due to all of which we lost opportunities to make war operations successful.

Due to lack of maintaining the rules of secret functioning and guerilla war the enemy knew about our units of mass work and military work and were attacked. Our journeys are open, we camp in places where it is not favorable for offense-self-defense and advance-retreat, do not practice drills so as to be always prepared for war, mistakes in sentry, patrolling, scouting, observation systems, we do not consciously inculcate the guerilla lifestyle and are casual in functioning and so we faced severe losses in the enemy attacks in the recent time.

There is serious subjectivity, liberalism, individualism in the Party committees and commands in understanding the change in the enemy offensive, in creatively implementing the normal principles of guerilla war resolutions and circulars of the Party committees to the concrete conditions and so where the Party committees and commands were irresponsible we faced severe losses.

We lost a big number of Party and guerilla forces and leadership and arms and ammunition in Kasanur-Halbi Thumirigunda, Aypeta, Thimmem of DK,

Bottem and Pujarikanker of Telangana, Ramaguda, Dokrighat of AOB, Bakoria, Ghaghra, Karandih, Magadh covert operation, Japla, Budapahad, Badgaon of BJ and other such incidents. These losses led to the rise of many more unfavorable factors in war.

3. The loss of arms manufacturing, supply departments, channels and dumps

We did not understand the changed scheme of the enemy offensive and the character of the offensive taken up depending on it deeply and properly, we did not totally change our methods of work according to the changed conditions and so the arms manufacturing departments (Rourkela and Bhopal units) were damaged in the beginning of 2007 and with the arrest of the secretary of this department in 2012 February the outside department was absolutely affected. The arms and ammunition supply department was totally affected in 2009. The reorganized units too were damaged due to the above mentioned mistakes in 2011. With the loss of these two units we faced severe unfavorable situation in war.

We indiscriminately used the supply channels of the respective states and thus few channels were affected.

Though the central departments were affected the states had war material accumulated in various ways but they were not dumped secretly and properly. So the enemy seized arms, ammunition and explosive material. Some material was spoilt. Due to the above mentioned mistakes we lost initiative in war even in the guerilla zones.

Participation of militia in People's War

The participation of people's militia increased all over the areas of the revolutionary movement in the past 14 years. People's militia is working as the eyes and ears of the main and the secondary forces. It is widely participating in the retaliatory actions and TCOCs taken up on the enemy forces. However there are a few ups and downs in the work of the people's

militia according to its tasks, in the past 14 years. Where the militia worked actively it took up harassment actions on the enemy, seized few arms from the police in the weekly markets, put up booby traps, traditional traps, spike holes and is creating loss to the enemy forces. The militia is conducting sentries and patrolling to protect the villages, people and people's organisations from the enemy attacks. The militia is participating in agricultural production work of the Revolutionary People's Committees. Militia is a source to recruit into the main and the secondary forces of PLGA.

Participation of women in People's War

Women comrades are in considerable numbers in the main, secondary and base forces. Women comrades are part of all the war operations of the PLGA on the enemy forces. Few woman comrades were either injured or martyred making daring attacks on the enemy. When caught in encounters with the enemy forces they did not fear the bullets and bombs and surrender. They fought heroically and laid their lives. Comrade Urmila in BJ, comrade Ranitha in DK and other such heroic women in AOB, West Bung, Odisha, Telangana, MMC and Western Ghats made great sacrifices and wrote a new chapter in people's war. Their sacrifices always inspire the revolutionary woman's movement in the country.

The role of women in the class struggles in the villages, in the people's movements and in resisting the enemy attacks in the areas of the movement is highly inspiring. Especially when the enemy forces are coming to attack, they are informing the Party and the PLGA and are protecting them carefully. They are getting the leadership of the local organisation released when the enemy arrests them. They are bringing the dead bodies when the comrades of the Party, PLGA and the local organisations become martyrs in enemy attacks from the police stations and police camps and are performing the last rites with revolutionary traditions. They are holding aloft the heroism of the martyrs.

The PLGA made 127 big, 233 medium kind and 3512 small kind of guerilla actions, total 3,872 on the enemy in the various guerilla zones and red resistance areas fighting back the enemy tactics that tried to give a blow to the revolutionary guerilla war by encircling the areas of revolutionary movement and closing the supply ways totally so that no war material is available in the past 14 years. 2,346 policemen were wiped out and 3,133 were injured in these actions. 1,957 exploitive political leaders and anti-people elements were punished. As per the war policy of 'arming ourselves with the arms of the enemy', our PLGA forces conducted attacks on the enemy and seized 1,748 modern arms, 1,04,816 ammunition, explosives and artillery material in a large scale. 266 comrades became martyrs in the attacks, raids, ambushes and encounters of the enemy on our forces in the past 14 years. People dug thousands of spike holes and pitched rods and bamboo sticks in it to hit the enemy entering the guerilla bases. This not only created big loss to the enemy but also made them hesitant to come as they wish into our areas. The PLGA, people's militia and revolutionary people created this situation.

During this time the leadership, commanders, fighters of our Party, PLGA and people's organisations and ordinary people put together, a total of 3,330 comrades were martyred in people's war. Majority of the comrades were martyred in the armed conflicts with the mercenary police forces and secret murderous gangs of the exploitive government. The enemy forces seized hundreds of arms along with modern weapons from our forces. They even seized and destructed arms, ammunition and other military equipment. Thus we faced severe problems in continuing guerilla war and intensifying and expanding it. This factor too was a vital one in the movement entering a difficult situation in 2011-2013.

Military Commissions, Commands and ancillary departments

Central Military Commission, Special Area/Special Zone/State Military Commissions

CMC – Central Military Commission was formed with 10 comrades in the first meeting of the CC that took place after the Unity Congress. In the CC meeting in 2007 November we coopted an alternate member into the CC and gave the responsibility as a member of the CMC. With this the number of members in the CMC rose to 11. Comrade Sunirmal who was arrested in 2007 September came out of jail in a daring guerilla action in 2009 June. Comrade Sumit was arrested in 2009 August and Comrade Asuthosh in the end of 2009. One member was demoted in 2012. Comrade Arvind was martyred in 2018 March. Jinugu Narasimhareddy and Sudhakar who turned to be traitors of revolution surrendered to the enemy. Comrade Janardhanji arrested in 2009 was released recently. After these changes the CMC is presently with 5 comrades.

Four meetings of the CMC were conducted from 2007 to 2011. Due to the intensity of counter-revolutionary offensive and since the Indian revolutionary movement entered a difficult situation since 2012 the CMC could not arrange a mechanism for coordination and so there were no meetings of the CMC. The CMC members are guiding the military field in the respective areas with a work division in the CC and RB meetings.

The CMC needs to presently concentrate on developing the tactics of people's war basing on the study of changing socio economic conditions, must develop the tactics of people's war so as to overcome the situation of temporary setback, and study the changes in the character of the strategic areas and creatively develop the tactics of people's war accordingly.

Special Area/Special Zone/State Military Commissions – State level Military Commissions were formed in DK, BJ, AOB and West Bengal after the Unity Congress. After 2011 the SMC of West Bengal was dissolved. Presently

Military Commissions are working in the rest of the three areas. Until now they are having regular meetings and are providing the guidelines to people's war. They are preparing plans for TCOC and war operations, commanding them and imparting political and military training to the PLGA forces.

These Commissions must concentrate on studying LIC, studying the counter-guerilla war tactics of the enemy in the respective Special Areas/Special Zones/States and work to overcome the political, military and organizational problems of people's war and in providing direct leadership to the TCOCs and vital guerilla war operations, obtaining arms, ammunition and explosive material and preserving the dumps.

Regional Bureau level Commands – Following the resolution of the first meeting of the CC, Central and Eastern Regional Commands were formed by mid-2007.

ERC – The ERC command worked regularly until 2009 providing guidance to people's war in the Eastern Region. The Commander in-Chief was arrested in 2007 September and he was brought out in 2009 June by our PLGA forces. Two CMC members who were part of this command were arrested in 2009, the SMC of West Bengal became defunct from 2013 and there was no representative from this state in ERC, the counter-revolutionary offensive intensified and problems arose in coordination between the BRC and the JRC. Due to all these this command is not functioning regularly since 2012.

One Regional Company is still working under this Command.

CRC – CRC has been meeting regularly and working since 2007. It is studying the tactics of the enemy in the Central Region, formulating counter tactics, planning retaliatory actions, campaigns and special operations on the enemy forces in the region, coordinating the forces of the Regional Bureau and the Special Zones for its implementation, commanding them, imparting political-military training to the PLGA forces and fulfilling mobilization work for war supplies.

There are three Regional companies under this command earlier and now there is one regional company and one regional platoon.

Along with the CMC, the CRC and the ERC jointly lead the Nayagarh operation.

Various levels of Commands in Special Area/Special Zone/State – In DK and BJ we formed Sub-Zonal bureau (only in DK)/Regional, Zonal/Divisional, Sub-zonal (only in BJ) and Area Commands. In DK commands of all levels are relatively working better but in BJ these commands are not functioning regularly and are weak. In DK among the various levels of the Commands some are working well, some are medium and some are weak. In DK and BJ there are constant changes in the members of these commands and there is no continuity.

Presently two districts were brought together under one command (East Command), two divisional commands in Telangana, there is a Special Zonal command and two divisional commands in MMC and two area commands and two divisional commands in Odisha. In AOB there are two area commands.

Central departments

Supply department – This department worked from 2007 to 2011. It supplied ammunition and explosive material to mainly the Eastern and the Central regions and also to the South West Region few times. It also supplied few arms. No changes were made in the mechanism and the method of working according to the change in the nature of enemy offensive and so the in-charge CCM and others were arrested in 2009 August. For the same reasons the rest of the mechanism was arrested in 2010 and came to a close. After the 2009 arrests a unit was reorganized and as it was making supplies to DK there were arrests and that unit too was affected in 2011.

Arms manufacture department – This department manufactured certain weapons necessary to the Central and the Eastern Regions. It mainly

concentrated on manufacturing the bodies of the weapons, turning pipes and manufacturing spare parts. It was nearly successful in the attempt to put grooves in rifle barrels. It took up works related to the development of the artillery and developed primary level mortar and rocket launchers. It started attempts for the development of RPG. The failure in properly understanding the intensity of the enemy offensive and not changing the methods of work led to the arrest of the comrades in Rourkela and Bhopal units in 2007 January. After these arrests the CMC made a mistake in not deciding to bring the in-charge of this unit inside and so he along with the comrades of the rest of the units were arrested by 2012. With this the whole department was affected. Presently there is one unit in the Central Region and one in the Eastern Region working with the local units.

Political Intelligence – We formed the People’s Security Service (PSS) in the leadership of our Central Committee in 2003. This department played an important role in making the entire party realise the importance of political intelligence. Comrade Patel Sudhakar in charge of this unit was caught by the enemy in 2009 May and was martyred, another comrade was arrested and the unit was affected.

Military Intelligence – We formed this department in the central level in 2007. This unit played an important role in the formation of the regional level MI department in the Central and the Eastern Regions. Comrade Sakhamuri Apparao the in-charge of this unit was arrested and martyred in 2010 and the unit was affected.

Central Instructor Team – We formed this unit in 2005 immediately after the formation of the united Party. Until the end of 2007 CMC held the meetings of this unit, sent them to various states and imparted military training to the PLGA forces. Due to the intensified offensive we could not hold the meeting of this unit in the central level since the end of 2007. This department is working as Central and Eastern regions in the guidance of the CMC members.

Presently there are three in the Eastern region and five in the Central Region in these units. The CMC prepared a centralized syllabus coordinating the Central and the Eastern Bureaus. It has been imparting military training to the PLGA forces through these instructor teams. The efficiency and skill of the two teams are weak. It is necessary to strengthen their quantity and efficiency.

Communication team – This team worked until 2007. This unit concentrated on preparing communication sets independently and on developing and assembling. It conducted certain training classes in communication in the field. The in-charge of this unit (DC level comrade) lacked preparedness to face the enemy offensive and surrendered to the enemy in 2009. Another comrade of SAC level was working in BJ and became a martyr in 2016.

Presently we do not have any departments in the central level. We need to reorganize the central departments region-wise in the process of developing the movement.

Regional, Special Area/Special Zonal/State departments

There are a few departments in the regional level in the Central and the Eastern Regions and in the Special Area/Special Zone/States. After the Unity Congress we formed regional level Military Intelligence department in the Central and the Eastern Regions in 2008. This department worked well in both the regions until 2010-11. But since the functioning was not changed according to the nature of the enemy offensive the state and the district level leadership comrades were arrested and became martyrs. Disciplinary action was taken on some for alien class trends. Few comrades were shifted to another field owing to necessity. Thus this department weakened by 2012 and later could not work. The communication team of the Central region has been working for the past 13 years and achieved relative development in the communication field. The chief of this unit and a woman comrade surrendered to the enemy in 2020 March and the unit was affected. There

are few units in the arms manufacturing department (Technical Department) in DK, BJ and AOB. In DK and BJ the central units are working together with the respective state level units. These units provided certain necessary weapons for the war front in the past 14 years. They repaired weapons. Recently they developed few improvised weapons and primary level artillery. In DK Special Zonal Mobile Military School (MOMIS) is functioning regularly and is imparting military training to the PLGA forces.

All the units are quantitatively weak. They have to develop on par with the scale of our People's war and the necessities.

Formation of Battalions – Our experiences

Formation of battalions is a high level experience in the history of Indian Revolutionary movement. So we need to discuss this specially.

As a part of achieving the task given by the Congress we achieved development regarding the PLGA formations and in developing the guerilla war to a higher level. Basing on these favorable factors we formed the first guerilla battalion of PLGA in 2009 August 10th with 182 comrades in DK.

The work of this battalion for the past 11 years gave favorable results. It is making one or two big actions, few medium kind and small kind of actions every year. These big actions with battalion as the centre like Mukaram, Kothacheruvu, Burkapal and Minapa gave a good answer to the enemy offensive. The guerilla war operations of the battalion stood vital in protecting the organs of people's state power and the guerilla bases. The success of big and medium kind of actions and the seizure of weapons from the enemy contributed to enhance the arms strength of our PLGA. The guerilla war operations it made successful filled enthusiasm not only in the people and the local people's organisations but the revolutionary camp all over the country. It helped for a rise in recruitment in the South Bureau in DK. This battalion achieved good coordination with the local forces (secondary and base force) and in arranging all the resources and necessities

for conducting war actions. The people and the militia have an active part in all guerilla war actions.

Basing on the favorable experiences of the first battalion the third meeting of the CC in 2011 January resolved to form two battalions in BJ, one in DK and where companies were formed and where battalion cannot be formed temporary battalion commands must be formed, the PLGA forces must be guided through the tactics of centralization-decentralisation and the guerilla war must be developed to mobile war in order to achieve development in fulfilling the task given by the Congress, 'develop companies as the primary units of PLGA on a wide basis with the objective of forming battalions in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand', in the next two years.

Following this resolution we formed the second guerilla battalion in DK in 2012 June. However organizational problems arose within a short time. Ultimately we had to dissolve it by 2014 August and reorganize it into two companies. This is an unfavorable experience for us. Though the formation of forming battalion in a difficult situation to protect the central guerilla base of Maad from the enemy attacks is correct, the CRB and DKSZC reviewed that it is a mistake to form it without selecting proper forces to lead it politically, militarily and organizationally and without imparting proper political-military-organisational training to them and this formation could not sustain due to this mistake.

The 3rd meeting of the CC (2011 January) saw only the favorable aspects in the BJ movement but not the unfavorable ones and decided to form two guerilla battalions. This decision is subjective.

Let us take the lesson from the experience of the second battalion in DK and from the unfavorable experience of the inability to form battalions in BJ that on the occasion of higher level military formations we have to deeply and comprehensively think about the mass base, the level of recruitment, the

situation of the political and military leadership forces that guide these formations, resources, the condition of weapons.

Forming temporary battalion command according to the necessity before forming the guerilla battalion too gave an unfavorable experience for us.

The present theoretical, political, military and organizational problems of our people's war

1. Failure to take up class struggle in the broad plain and rural areas, failure in taking up urban movement according to the urban policy

The Unity Congress directed the entire Party that all the guerilla zones must take up guerilla war and class struggle to the best of their strength and all the red resistance areas must intensify struggles against imperialism, Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeois and feudalism in order to achieve the central task of developing DK and BJ as liberated areas. Similarly the Congress also directed to build a strong urban movement depending on the 'work in urban areas' policy. But in the past 14 years we failed to build class struggle in the broad plain and rural areas and a strong urban movement. The failure to properly understand this task is the main reason for this. Objectively speaking the main reason for this failure is the intense counter-revolutionary offensive. As a result our revolutionary movement is presently confined to a few strategic areas. Though there is class struggle in a few places in the plain and urban areas we could not organize the elements that are active in it and develop subjective forces which is another big weakness that we are facing. Another weakness is that we are not constantly sending the forces that are coming forth in the people's war for the advancement of people's war to few strategic areas.

In the first 5 years of the past 14 years we took up guerilla war in a high level and later guerilla war to an extent in DK and BJ, we took up class struggle. In AOB we made guerilla war through small and medium kind of actions and class struggle. In West Bengal we made class struggle and guerilla war until

2011. In Telangana we mainly made class struggle for democratic Telangana until 2018. For the past four to five years we have been making guerilla war through small kind of actions. We failed to make class struggle at least to the extent of our strength in the other areas. We failed to build urban movement.

Consistent class struggle is the main source to build, expand or develop the three magic weapons necessary for the success of the revolutionary movement in our country, the Party, People's Army and United Front. For this purpose we have to realize that the movements in the plain, forest and the urban areas are mutually fulfilling and build them. We have to realize the internal relations between the red resistance areas and the guerilla zones and guerilla bases. If we do not do so the advancement of the revolutionary movement is difficult. The failure of the leadership committees (CC, SAC/SZC/SC) in understanding this matter clearly and comprehensively, formulating the program of class struggle as per the respective areas, in practicing it firmly, studying the changing socio economic conditions concretely, adopting the program of class struggle according to the changed conditions and continuing work to develop subjective forces basing on Maoist work style, is the reason for this.

2. We could not destroy carpet security, we could not arrange artillery

The carpet security system started in the revolutionary areas since 2005. Until 2008 we made raids and short surprise attacks to destroy this. In BJ until 2014 we made raids basing on short surprise on the police stations and camps outside the carpet security system. In both the Central Region and the Eastern Region we could not make raids to destroy carpet security from 2009. This is our military failure. Presently it is difficult to develop our revolutionary movement further without destroying the carpet security. This is a challenge for us in the military sphere.

3. The Party in PLGA is relatively weak and the efficiency of commanding of the commands and the efficiency of the combat forces to fight are relatively weak

Strong Party in the main, secondary and base forces of the PLGA guarantees efficient and proper conducting of the people's war. Presently Party is relatively weak in the various formations in PLGA. There are not enough forces in the Party from the working class and petty bourgeois sections, the Party with only the peasant forces is leading the PLGA and among those forces too there are limitations in enhancing their theoretical and political level constantly and so we are facing this problem. This resulted in the problem of alien class tendencies in our People's Army.

The commands from the top to the bottom level are providing leadership to people's war. But our commands are relatively weak in studying the counter insurgency theory LIC, in studying the counter guerilla war tactics followed by the enemy, in formulating guerilla tactics corresponding to the level of people's war, making plans for TCOC and retaliatory actions basing on those tactics, motivating our forces to make them successful and in efficiently commanding our guerilla war actions and campaigns (C4).

It is necessary to get armed with MLM, the proletarian theory and fight with courage and dare and achieve successes in people's war with limited resources and overcoming the shortage of war supplies, so that the weak People's Army develops into a strong Army. We need to consistently develop combat skills and technical skills and practice them always so as to develop skill and thus fight back the enemy tactics. Only then the combat efficiency of our forces will be better. The efficiency of our forces is relatively weak in this regard.

4. The problem of consolidation of PLGA

The movement in the areas that temporarily set back in the past 14 years did not strengthen and so the formation, expansion and the higher formations of

PLGA units, in order to achieve the central task given by the Congress, in the Central and the Eastern Regions was mainly dependent on the recruitment from DK and BJ. During the time of advancement of the revolutionary movement, in order to expand the PLGA formations, for building higher formations; for the expansion of movement in either favorable conditions or unfavorable conditions in the revolutionary movement; for the protection of leadership; few forces were allotted from these areas. So there were constant changes in the secondary forces. This is causing changes in the composition of the leadership and the members. There are no enough arms and members and so we are unable to compose enough members in the secondary forces. With the decrease in recruitment we dissolved few LGS and few platoons in some areas in BJ in the beginning of 2013 and in DK in the beginning of 2017. By 2020 we decreased the level of Companies and Platoons. We could not reorganize the LGS and platoons. Though we reorganized in a few places there are limitations in consolidating them. So the combat efficiency of the LGS and the platoons came down and there are less number of small and medium kind of actions by them. Presently there is a shortage of specified number and arms in the main and the secondary forces all over the areas of revolutionary movement.

IV. Mass Organisations – United Front

Reviewing the efforts of our party in the sphere of United Front in the past 14 years after the Unity Congress in 2007 is nothing but to review the implementation of the political line of the party that the Congress adopted, that is the New Democratic Revolutionary strategy. As a part of it we have to review the effort of the party in separating the enemy classes from the enemy, organizing the friendly classes in the various strategic, tactical United Fronts on the basis of worker-peasant alliance in the leadership of the proletariat, to unite the people of worker, peasant, middle class, small and medium trade/capitalist and other such vast oppressed classes, oppressed sections, oppressed social communities and build and develop struggles on social, economic, political, cultural and other such problems; mainly the effort to unite the vast oppressed peasantry in the broad rural areas, bring down feudal power, establish and develop revolutionary people's state power, as the axle of agrarian revolution. Especially we have to review our effort in strengthening the strategic United front by gradually establishing proletarian leadership on the friendly classes that our revolutionary side won in the process of people's struggles; our effort in molding the United Front in the hands of the party as a real magic weapon so that it can lead people's war in the leadership of the party. We have to review the effort and the favorable and unfavorable aspects in it to establish and develop proletarian leadership in the tactical United Front; to build and develop broad people's struggles in those leadership, possess an independent program in such United Fronts and to get the program approved in the United Forums and implement it –

Let us first see the tasks of United Front that the Unity Congress formulated. We can divide the nine tasks of the Congress into two kinds. Those of the first kind are to form and strengthen the revolutionary United Front with a strategic view; those of the second kind are to unite with the worker,

peasant, student, intellectual, progressive, democratic, patriotic, secular forces against the anti-people, anti-country policies of the imperialists and their compradors to form United Front of tactical nature. The tasks of the Congress also include those with strategic importance such as the coordination with the armed struggles of the nationalities for liberation, a broad front with secular minority forces, especially with the Muslim minorities against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism, mobilizing the women against patriarchy and forming a front. The Party in the leadership of the CC took up the implementation of almost all the tasks of the United Front in the past 14 years. Let us review it.

In the past 14 years the successes of the movement were great until 2011. We achieved several successes by giving serious blows to the enemy and mobilizing the people actively in the people's war. In the strategic areas, wherever the enemy is weak we destroyed their power and established the organs of revolutionary people's state power (RPC) and guerilla bases. In this period all the class organisations and all the forums of United Front were very active in all the areas of the movement. Few All India revolutionary mass organisations and forums of United Front worked relatively actively during this period. To put it in one word, those contributed to intensify and spread the people's war. But in the later period there was a decrease in its activity and in the intensity-spread of guerilla war and led to the difficult situation of the movement. These activities are going on amidst the rising unfavorable conditions for the past 9 years. Those are making efforts to overcome the situation of the present temporary setback.

Revolutionary organs of People's State power – Guerilla Bases

As a part of implementing the tasks of the Congress immediately after the Congress the process of forming organs of people's state power speeded up in DK and BJ and also AOB as per the central task. In BJ and AOB area level RPCs were formed and in DK division level RPCs were formed. In

Dandakaranya the Special Zone RPC Coordination Committee was also formed.

In Dandakaranya, by the time of the Congress the Janathana Sarkars came into existence in the area level (ARPC) and in the later period the division level Janatana Sarkars were formed. In 2008 the Zone Janathana Sarkar preparatory committee was formed. In DK the representative meetings-elections of the village (panchayat), area and the division level RPCs are taking place regularly once in three years wherever they are formed and new committees are elected. They are working actively and gaining the confidence of the people. Until 2011 the Krantikari Janatana Sarkars had an inseparable role in the successes in the military sphere in DK. The Krantikari Janatana Sarkars played an active role in the success of every guerilla battle that gave a big blow to the enemy. They worked actively in solving the people's problems as a part of the effort to mobilise the people actively to consolidate and spread as organisations of political power and to enhance the living standard of the people politically, militarily, organizationally, in view of the welfare of the people and culturally. They encouraged the youth in the revolutionary people's organs to recruit into the People's Liberation Guerilla Army almost everywhere. Later in the difficult conditions they were gradually affected in a few places and in few others they became inactive. One third of them are yet working actively with the participation of the people. In some places they seized the lands of the anti-people bureaucratic gentry and distributed them among the landless and poor peasantry. On the other hand in Dandakaranya the Krantikari Janathana Sarkars gave a call to the campaign to 'level the land, dig canals and build irrigation system' in order to bring important changes in people's agriculture. On an average nearly one and a half lakh people (women-men) daily participate enthusiastically and in a cooperative method every year for two to three weeks. This is mainly taken up according to the importance of class basis. The

people are arranging their own means of labor and food material and the Janathana Sarkars are allotting the necessary funds. Since then the enemy is indulging in heavy attacks during the 'land levelling' campaign to give a blow to it. They are unleashing in arrests and massacres. But the people are changing the methods and forms according to the changed conditions and are making this campaign successful in a relatively large scale every year in various degrees.

But, we are not able to enough utilize the available opportunities to activate the defunct RPCs, to reorganize the affected ones and to enhance further confidence among the people in them. There are shortcomings in timely review of the land leveling campaign in the local Krantikari Janathana Sarkars and the concerned Party committees.

In BJ before the revolutionary movement developed to guerilla zone level, before the formation of RPCs, we have been building Krantikari Kisan Committee (KKC). The main objective of these was to bring down the feudal power in the rural areas and establish people's political power. KKC units have been formed and worked not only in the village and area levels but also in sub-zone/block, zone/district levels for decades. As a part of the decision of the CC/ERB to build RPCs in a planned manner as a part of achieving the central task given by our Congress, there were efforts in BJ and EB-NEJ SAC. As a part of it several village level RPCs and 3 area level RPCs were formed and worked. They seized lands from the landlord and distributed to the landless and poor farmers. They provided seeds and fertilisers to the people. They laid small ponds, wells and canals, check dams and medium kind dams and provided irrigation. They repaired few wells in the majority of the villages to provide drinking water. They built few new wells. They ran many schools for the education of the children. They provided medical services for the people through medical camps and medical squads. They planted trees in few villages. They made efforts to enhance the living standards of the people.

People's militia and several Self-defense squads are working actively for the protection of the RPCs in the village level.

Through establishing the RPCs we made true the dreams of the people as a part of building the power of revolutionary people in the process of protracted revolutionary movement in BJ. Presently they need to be restructured, strengthened, developed and spread all over our areas of struggle. There is a severe weakness in making organisational preparations and building RPCs in a planned manner, in making them work, in reviewing their work, in developing and spreading them. There is weakness in strengthening people's militia (sections, platoons and companies) for the protection of RPCs and in building and strengthening the main and secondary forces of PLGA. However they have been mostly affected in the severe enemy offensive.

In West Bung, the process of giving the shape of area RPC to the people's government that emerged as a part of the Lalgah movement and forming village level RPCs did not come to practice due to enemy repression.

In AOB there were efforts to build and spread Revolutionary People's Committees. We see the increase and decrease of RPCs during this period. They could not work stably. RPCs were initially formed in several villages of Galikonda area in the East Division and the functioning of these provided a good experience. By 2013, thirteen (13) RPCs were formed and in Kalimela we formed the Area level preparatory RPC. Improvement programs were taken up in cultivation in the leadership of the RPCs in all the areas. However, there was severe repression from the enemy and there was not enough concentration from the party owing to which all those organisations were affected in a short time. As a part of the decision of the SZC to pay importance to the formation of GBs once again in 2014, leadership was concentrated in selected area, social investigation and field training were taken up, agrarian revolutionary program was taken up, consolidation was

concentrated in the form of campaigns and mass organisations, party, militia and 5 pocket level RPCs were built and necessary preparations were made to build RPCs in few more pockets. In the cut off and Pedabayalu areas revolutionary land reforms were taken up and in a few villages there is collective work and in 23 villages they formed into cooperative teams and are taking up agriculture and land leveling program. In some places check dams were built for irrigation. Agriculture implements, cows and seeds were distributed. In hilly lands not suitable for cultivation cashew was planted. With the spread of cultivable land through cooperative and collective agriculture there is a rise in production of crops. There was propaganda discouraging opium cultivation and there is a little decrease in it. Crop transfer, cultivation of vegetables and plantation of fruits were encouraged. In the cut off area thousands of people volunteered to work for months and built a road at a length of nearly 50 kilometers.

In Maharashtra few RPC were built in the North Gadchiroli-Gondia division. Necessary preparations were made to form ARPC. But due to the increased enemy attacks they were affected later.

In Odisha they took up the process of forming RPC. They worked to provide guidance to the anti-displacement movement that was going on in a militant manner in Niyamgiri. They played a role in organizing the people in the agrarian revolutionary activities. As they were strengthening they faced severe repression on one hand and on the other we lost our local leadership forces and so the formation of RPC temporarily setback. The consolidation of those is going on.

In Telangana there were 3 RPCs in the rural tribal area until 2019. Due to severe enemy offensives 2 RPCs became defunct and are working as one RPC. However as a part of implementing the agrarian revolutionary program people are collectively taking up land leveling program in the leadership of Mass Organisations. They are laying partitions, ponds for cultivation and

drinking. Minimum agrarian reform programs such as fish culture and vegetable growing are implemented and efforts are going on to increase the living standard of the people in the leadership of the party.

We are making efforts to function the RPC secretly in some places for the past 3 to 4 years. We are gaining a little extent of good experiences in the efforts to continue power amidst carpet security and people's power creatively. Anyhow the various kinds of problems coming forth in this process can be properly solved only if the Special Area/Special zonal leadership has to guide closely. But this work is not going on to the extent needed.

Mass Organisations – Forums of United Front

The All India Mass Organisations are of two kinds. The first kind is the revolutionary people's organisations and the second kind are the various forums of United Front/Mass organisations formed on a broad basis. The revolutionary mass organisations made efforts to mobilise the people into the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles and also made efforts to bring further wide sections, progressive organisations, forces and other democratic organisations into the revolutionary camp.

In our areas of movement where RPCs were formed they are mobilizing the peasant masses into agrarian revolutionary guerilla war, organizing the people in the mass organisations and mobilizing them in class struggles and people's struggles. They are taking up political propaganda. Where there are no RPCs, the revolutionary mass organisations are taking up this work to an extent.

In DK the process of strengthening and reorganizing the weakened farmer, women, cultural and children's organisations is going on in the difficult situation. Conferences of these mass organisations are being held in the village, panchayat, area and in the level of a few divisions almost in all the places and executive committees are being elected. The division and area level mass organisations are functioning to an extent but the village,

panchayat level committees are not working properly. As a part of consolidation (of Party, PLGA, Mass organisations and RPCs) campaign taken up in 2020 the program to consolidate these organisations is going on. In strong areas these are active in various people's struggles and people's activities and are mobilizing the people.

In BJ revolutionary mass organisations worked until 2010. Later they were affected to a large extent in the brutal Green Hunt offensive of the enemy and since then the organisational and agitation activities are going on spontaneously. They are making efforts to activate them and are mobilizing the people in various degrees. The other democratic mass organisations are also working within certain limitations.

In AOB revolutionary mass organisations worked in the village, pocket and area levels until 2013. Later they were affected in the enemy offensive and the process of reorganizing them continued. We are mainly able to make them work regularly in areas where we are strong.

Similarly mass organisations are gradually being formed in Odisha, Telangana, MMC and other areas. However the functioning of these amidst enemy repression is in the primary level. Our party committees are concentrating to an extent to rise the activity of the organisations.

Our party formed various tactical mass organisations and forums of united front to the best of its strength not only in areas of the revolutionary movement but also on problems of daily life of people such as land, displacement, employment, on the fundamental problems of the farmers and workers, on the problems of the students, intellectuals, women, people of tribal, Dalit and religious minorities, against state violence, for the release of political prisoners, regarding Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism, fake reforms of the government and civic action programs of the government and the police forces. It mobilized the people of the respective oppressed classes, oppressed sections and communities into people's struggles. With such

people's movements that took place in a big way all over the country and in various states, there is a rise in the unity of oppressed classes, sections and nationalities. A new section leading the people is coming forth.

We are forming united forums in the village level in some areas of the movement for the implementation of various PESA, 5th and 6th Schedule Acts composed at least nominally in the Indian Constitution and are mobilizing the broad masses. The people are fighting militantly for their legal right to jal-jungle-zameen. These governments are bringing forth certain counter development organisations and conspired to give a blow to these united forums but the people continue to fight. In the later process this people's movement spread as a spate into the areas of tribal people with the slogan of 'our village-our government' and in the name of 'Pathalgarhi'. Many progressive, democratic organisations and individuals of the urban areas came forth in support of these.

In the similar manner, although there is constant severe state repression in Special Area/Special Zone/States several democratic mass organisations are formed and are working to organize the people of various oppressed classes, oppressed sections and communities. They are taking up political movements on several issues on a broad basis.

With the increasing ill deeds of the Hindutwa forces, the spread of their reactionary student organisations and commercialization of education there is severe unrest among the students. We see that this is leading them to many militant strikes on many issues for the past 5-6 years. Revolutionary, democratic student organisations are very weak in the country. However these are taking part in these agitations to the best of its strength. It is essential to give proper direction to these agitations and strengthen these student organisations so as to take the lead.

'SuCoMo' that was formed in the leadership of the CC to coordinate and guide the all India Mass Organisations gave positive results until it worked up

to 2011. The all India mass organisations gave good results in their effort. Later due to the heavy losses to our CC many mass organisations were affected and this made a very unfavorable impact on our effort in the sphere of United Front. They suffered from many limitations due to the severe enemy offensives and losses to the party. By the end of 2014 itself, there was a situation in the country where the enemy did not at all allow the activities of United Front taken up by the revolutionary, democratic forces.

On the whole, except for the peasantry we are very much lagging behind in mobilizing and organising the rest of the four democratic classes in the United Front. Since the mobilization and organisation of various revolutionary, democratic forces is limited, it is a severe hurdle to the advancement of the revolutionary movement.

People's struggles

Amidst the daily intensifying repression on the revolutionary movement, there were wide people's struggles in the leadership of our party and various forums of united front on various social, economic, political and cultural issues all over the country and the areas of the movement. These struggles took up the problems of the workers, farmers, Dalits, tribal people, students, women, displacement problems, environment, corruption, exploitation through money lending and other related problems.

Anti-displacement problems – People are coming forward consciously not only where the revolutionary people's organisations and mass base is strong but also all over the country against the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and big landlords. These struggles are mainly going on for their survival centering the land problem. These people's struggles stand as a big challenge to the imperialists and the ruling classes of the country that are suffocated with economic crisis.

If we analyse the militant people's struggles that took place in the country in the past 14 years we can undoubtedly say that this period has been 'the time

of people's struggles against displacement' or that this as the main trend in our areas of movement. During this time the people achieved several victories that stand in the history against Multi-National Corporations, domestic comprador corporate classes and the state.

In Jharkhand the BJP government tried to amend the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, the Santal Paragana Tenancy Act (CNT, SPT) in the interests of the corporate classes. But the people of the state courageously faced all the repressive policies of the government and stopped it with their militant struggles. There were struggles in this state demanding the annulment of Land Acquisition Act-2017. The Pathalgarhi people's struggle with the slogan of 'our village-our government' spread from this state to many states where there are a large number of tribal people. There were extensive people's movements of the thousands of tribal and non-tribal people who shall be displaced due to the Adani power plant in Godda district, wildlife sanctuary in Salkot in Gumla district, against Greater Ranchi, Eco-sensitive zone.

In West Bengal the peasantry stood united against the TATA plant in Singur that planned to build in fertile agricultural lands. The Salem group had to withdraw from Nandigram as a result of the militant people's resistance in a high level. There was a great people's struggle against the atrocities of the police who went to protect the comprador capitalist Jindal in Lalgarh by forming People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA).

In Odisha the anti-displacement struggle in Kalinganagar, the struggles demanding a halt to expansion of Vedanta bauxite and many such mining activities and refinery gained prominence not only in the country but also internationally. Thousands of people in the leadership of the party united with several forces and organisations against the formation of National Parks and are taking up struggles.

In Dandakaranya (Chhattisgarh) there were united struggles of the people that led to the withdrawal of TATA Company from Lohandiguda. The people

stopped the expansion of mining in Dhurli (West Bastar). They are making struggles against mining in Amdai, Raoghat, Pittodmetta, Surjagarh, Agra Maseli, Damkodi, Jhandepar (here iron factory also had to be stopped) and opposing Bodhghat dam.

In AOB the tribal people fought against the mining of Bauxite in Visakha for a long time and achieved victory. They stopped the bauxite mining taken up by Multi-National Corporations in Mali, Devamali, Dangadevula and Serubanda hills, the establishment of the thermal power plant of Nagarjuna Construction Company in Sompeta and the plant in Kakrapalli. The people under the threat of drowning in Balimela reservoir are fighting for rehabilitation.

In Telangana the people of many villages on the border of the states of Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Odisha are fighting against the Polavaram project, there were many militant struggles against the Kanthanpalli (Warangal) project, Tiger Zone and Mallannasagar projects, against the opencast in Erraguntapalle (Manchirial district) and other places and the Nallamala Uranium exploration. The struggles of tribal and non-tribal people against their displacement from their lands by seizing them in the name of haritaharam are going on in spite of deployment of thousands of police forces and attacks.

In Tamilnadu there were anti-displacement struggles in varying degrees against the Vedanta Sterlite company in Tuticorin, Neduvasal Hydrocarbon project, Katiramangalam methane project, Teni Pottipuram neutrino projects, Chennai-Selam 8 line green ways road project, west belt Selam-Erode-Koyambattore GAIL pipeline project, coastal Sagarmala project, Bharatmala road project, Kavuti VEDIYAPPAN Malai bauxite project and defense corridor. There was struggle for preservation of the Western Ghats with the aim of protecting environment.

In MMC there were people's struggles in the leadership of united forums against the proposed mining in Bhaji Dongri, Dutagarh and Basantpur of JRB Division and the buffer zone of National Park in KB division.

Persons with progressive, democratic ideas, those with revolutionary ideas, well-wishers of the tribal people and patriots are coming forth in anti-imperialist and anti-CBB struggles stating that the natural resources of the country must be protected and that it must be utilised only for the needs of the people of the country. The tribal people are in the forefront in struggle for the implementation of PESA, Scheduled Tribes and other forest dwellers (Recognition of forest rights) Act-2006 (referred to as the New Forest Act-2006) and for the annulment of the proposed 'New Forest Draft Amendment Bill-2019'. With this the governments that do not implement those laws intensified state violence on the tribal people's movements going on in the name of Gram Sabhas and Pathalgarhi that Maoists are leading those. However since the beginning of 2018 all of them are mustering the support of several forces and are unitedly, militantly and firmly fighting against the exploitation of resources. With the strong struggle of the people PESA came into implementation and Gram Sabhas were formed. In terms of law Gram Sabhas had the right to forest. But the police and the government officers are coming in the way of its implementation in several ways as a part of the various kinds of attempts of the ruling classes. The tribal peasantry also made militant struggle against the judgment of the Supreme Court displacing the tribal peasants without land certificates.

The land acquisition ordinance that the centre brought forth in 2014 for the sake of the industrial classes could not take the form of an act due to the firm struggle of the people, especially farmers and tribal people all over the country. This is a great victory of the people.

People are making demonstrations for days together demanding withdrawal of hundreds of camps of the police and Para-military forces, against the

police massacres and atrocities on the people and against the laying of roads and bridges that were set up for the protection of mining in the areas of the movement. Through these struggles there are rising contacts for our Party with new forces and areas. Especially the 'migrant' labor and the students who stayed in the villages since there was no work and the educational institutions were closed due to Corona lockdown are participating in these struggles.

These people's struggles and the victories they achieved made a good impact all over the country, especially among the displaced people. People achieved success by bringing down the central and the state rulers and the comprador corporate organisations. The impact of the attacks on the Multi-National Corporation Mc Donald in the new area of movement the Western Ghats, created a new trend in the rule of revisionists for decades. All these provided the Party with good experience in building and functioning of tactical United Front, in organizing and in developing the people in political struggles. These helped to strengthen and expand the strategic United Front.

These struggles showed great impact on the people also where our party is not strong. All this is coming in the way of the thousands of crores of rupees of industrial capital of the multinational organisations and the domestic comprador corporate classes as expected by the ruling classes. The areas of people's movements stood as a strong challenge to the policies of 'Make in India' adopted by Prime Minister Modi. Mainly although thousands of armed forces are being deployed in the areas of revolutionary movement even now mining is not going on appropriately without the protest and sabotage from the people. In spite of lathis and bullets (for example, in Tuticorin) and arrests on the struggling people they are struggling militantly for their lands, survival and self-respect. It has become a normal issue for the exploitive rulers to utilise the compradors to split the people and form organisations favorable to displacement in counter to the organizations struggling against

displacement. But the people are easily realizing the facts through anti-displacement struggles. The demands for rehabilitation, for payment of more compensation of the revisionists, reformists, Gandhians and many kinds of voluntary organisations are being exposed among the people.

These struggles since 2005 stand as the symbol of a militant wave of struggles that the peasantry, tribal, poor and middle class people created with the intensified implementation of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation (LPG) policies of the Indian ruling classes. These handed over utmost valuable experiences in the anti-imperialist, anti-state struggle. These show the direction towards the intensification of revolutionary movement against imperialists, their comprador rulers and the bureaucratic state that protects them.

Struggles against the utmost brutal state violence trampling civil rights - The Indian government declared our united Party as the single major danger to internal security. Central and the state governments together formulated new strategies to wipe out our Party and intensified military offensive. In 2005-2009 the local reactionary forces were brought to the forefront in the areas of the movement in various states and intensified white repressive attacks with the name of Salwa Judum, Sendra, Santhiyatra, Harmad vahini and so on. As per the call of our Party the revolutionary people, the People's Liberation Guerilla Army and democrats strongly resisted and defeated them in the respective areas.

Immediately after this, in 2009-2017 they unleashed undeclared counter revolutionary 'all-out war' 'Operation Green Hunt'. As per the call of the Party hundreds of revolutionary, progressive organisations and forces united and declared Operation Green Hunt as 'war on people' formed 'forum against war on people' and resisted it. Our party fought against it with a multipronged counter strategy.

Several Maoist Revolutionary organisations and forces abroad took up solidarity movements against Operation Green Hunt. They took up campaigns for the release of political prisoners. They supported people's movements such as Lalgarh.

There was people's resistance in various forms in several states of the country against the killing of revolutionaries and ordinary people in encounters violating the minimum civil, democratic rights, for their dead bodies and against the foisting of several draconian cases such as 'UAPA' in the name of 'urban Maoist' on leaders of revolutionary, democratic, progressive Mass Organisations and social activists and imprisoning for a long time. United forums were formed and movements took place for democratic rights against the NIA amendment act, UAPA amendment act, RTI amendment act and other such draconian amendment acts, against the amendment of many labor laws and against the ban on mass organisations in various states together with hundreds of democratic organisations and political parties all over the country and in various states.

As a result of the constant protest in the country and all over the world continuously from the people and democrats against Operation green hunt, the central and the state governments changed its strategy in 2017 May. They brought forth the most aggressive 'SAMADHAN' strategy.

The CC reviewed the period of relentless counter revolutionary war of the Indian exploitive ruling classes for the past 14 years as the period that the revolutionary forces faced counter-revolutionary war through revolutionary war and through various forums of United Front.

Land struggles – After the Party Congress land struggles came forth in Narayanapatna in AOB in the leadership of class organisations as a part of agrarian revolutionary activities. In Narayanapatna the tribal peasantry made an armed rebellion and seized more than 2500 acres of cultivable land from the landlords. This struggle made a good impact on the Koraput district and

also all over the state of Odisha. In the Manyam area of Visakha the government planted coffee in ten thousand acres of forest lands and is looting crores of rupees of wealth. In the leadership of united forum with the slogan of 'right to forest belongs to the tribal and the oppressed people' the people seized 2000 acres of coffee plantations and are enjoying the crop. This struggle of occupation of coffee plantations is spreading to new areas. In the cut off, Pedabayalu, Narayanapatna and Nandapur areas thousands of peasants mobilized and brought down the non-tribal landlords and the gentry and occupied hundreds of acres of land and distributed it to landless, agriculture labor and poor peasants. In Baiperguda the people occupied 1,500 acres of forest land. The peasantry of Kalimela area mobilized in a big way and made militant struggles for irrigation and remunerative prices for crops.

In Telangana hundreds of peasants of several villages of various districts formed land struggle committees and seized 3,280 acres of the government and waste lands in the leadership of the revolutionary mass organisations. The peasantry is daily rising on land problem. There are also struggles on farmers' problems, on the problems of workers including those of Singareni, unorganized workers, unemployed, students, employees, teachers and other such problems through various forms of organisation and struggle. In this background we need to prepare the peasantry to re-seize the lands that they seized from the landlords in the decades of the 80s and the 90s.

In Dandakaranya poor peasantry seized the land from the bad tribal gentry and landlords. But the main form of seizure of land is cultivating the forest lands. The farmers of few divisions in Dandakaranya took up struggles together with various farmer organisations demanding remunerative prices, payment of bonus and unconditional procurement of paddy. They demanded the Chhattisgarh government payment of bonus for tendu in cash and achieved it.

In BJ the oppressed peasantry seized lakhs of acres of cultivable land from the landlords in the leadership of the KKC. With the temporary setback in the movement the landlords re-seized the lands with the support of the armed secret gangs and are selling them to the Multi-National Companies and middle class farmers. Thus the land problem came forth once again. The ERB decided to collect the details of such lands and take up land struggles in the respective areas basing on the details of survey.

Movement for separate state of Telangana - After the Congress the movement for separate Telangana took the form of a great people's movement. Right from the beginning our Party participated in the movement mainly with the slogan of 'democratic Telangana'. It has been placing its stand with concrete slogans and demands from time to time. The Party led it to the best of its strength and worked to develop the Telangana revolutionary movement that temporarily setback. It played an important role in the political movement for separate Telangana. As a result of this movement separate Telangana was formed in 2014. This is a political victory of the people. This political movement helped for the efforts of revival of the revolutionary movement of Telangana. Our party highlighted the aspirations of the people for separate state of Telangana and gave the slogan of democratic Telangana. Through the political effort in the field it could relatively enhance the revolutionary mass base. This experience helped to adopt a document of understanding in 2020 March with the aim of building struggle with the demand of a separate state of Kosala in Odisha that has been their aspiration for a long time.

Struggles against Brahmanic Hindutwa Fascism – Since the Brahmanic Hindutwa Fascist BJP in the leadership of Modi came to power in the centre it created a terrified atmosphere in the country. Especially it created a severe insecure feeling among the left, democratic, secular forces, Dalits, tribal and people of the religious minorities. However these forces courageously came

forward against these fascist policies and actions to form various united forums and are taking up struggles countrywide and in the various states. They are fighting against the fascist Hindutwa state terrorism in various forms. They are stating their severe protest. They are taking a militant form. The recent utmost united, militant Shaheenbagh struggle in Delhi stands as a model for the country. Our party forces also participated in these struggles to the best of the strength and made efforts to organize the people. The people of various urban and rural areas of various states also took up several agitations in the leadership of our party. Youth came forward in many ways and took up struggles for self-respect. Several tribal organizations stated that they were not Hindus and that to oppose writing in that way in the 2021 census. The revolutionary people and mass organisations of the areas of the movement, the plain and urban areas actively participated in the spurt of people's struggles all over the country, especially in Asom also severely opposing the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), National Population Register (NPR), National Register of Citizenship (NRC) that the Modi government formulated on the basis of religion, in the leadership of our party.

Struggles of students and intellectuals – As a part of corporatization and saffronisation of education in the country, the Modi government brought forth the utmost anti-people, seditious National Education Policy-2020 basing on the report of Kasturi Rangan Committee. Revolutionary students, intellectuals and left, democratic, secular forces raised their voice against this all over the country. Democratic, patriotic academicians, intellectuals, teachers and students are agitating with the demand to bring a common school system for right to education against the conspiracies of the Hindutwa forces and commercialization of education. It has become a normal scenario in many universities of the country for the state and the reactionary Hindutwa student organisations with the support of the state to harass the students opposing the government policies with left and democratic ideas, to

beat them, to kidnap the students they feel are dangerous, murdering them, forcing them to suicides, stopping freedom of expression. The Hindutwa forces are also targeting the lecturers and professors. Many students of left and democratic ideas; the Dalit, backward and tribal students with Ambedkarist ideas are severely opposing and organizing against these. The attack of the Hindutwa forces on the students-teachers of JNU in Delhi and the spurt of united struggles of the students, teachers and democrats of various colleges and Universities across the country against it are an example for this. The government is branding the students actively participating in these struggles as urban Maoists and is harassing them. The present degrading social conditions are pushing forward the students as a wave of democratic wave in the social conflict.

Struggles for the release of political prisoners – Our party is working for the release of political prisoners in the all India level and various states since 2009. It is taking up various programs of struggle. It is bringing together the families of political prisoners and those under trail, democrats, lawyers and rights activists. Thousands of tribal people in Dandakaranya are making anti-government demonstrations demanding the implementation of the promise to release political prisoners (tribal people) of the congress party before the Assembly elections in Chhattisgarh for the past two years. A united forum was formed and people's struggle taken up against the hanging proclaimed to five tribal and peasant comrades by the Munger district court in Bihar (EB-NEJ) and against the hanging given to Com. Praveer, member of EB-NEJ SAC by the Dumka district court in Jharkhand.

Since 2017 our party has been observing March 23rd as anti-imperialist day and September 13th and December 10th as the political prisoner's rights' days in various states and various jails.

Due to the pro-imperialist policies of the ruling classes against the vast peasant masses, agrarian crisis intensified and the broad peasantry across

the country are increasingly taking up long rallies, peace rallies, farmers' parliament and new kind of demonstrations in the capital city of the country in thousands and lakhs. Hundreds of farmers' organisations encircled Delhi and are fighting in a unique manner non-compromisingly demanding the total withdrawal of the three agrarian acts that the Modi government brought forth in 2020 September to give away agriculture to the domestic and foreign corporate classes and implement the contract agricultural policies. The farmer's organisations and the farmers of the areas of our movement are taking part in the broad united forums formed as a part of the movement and are in struggle. Our Party is working centered in the rural areas leading the New Democratic Revolution with agrarian revolutionary activities but it is lagging behind in organizing the peasants. Right from the beginning we have been forming Krantikari Kisan Committees and peasant labor organisations but we are not able to mobilise them actively on the problems of the vast peasantry. There was a little effort in the recent time to overcome this weakness. Our CC released a booklet on agrarian crisis and placed the stand of our party before the people of the country. The entire party needs to take it up in practice.

Work among women

After the Congress there is a high rise in the participation of women in the revolutionary, democratic movements in all the states of our movement in the country. Women played a very militant role in the people's outbreak in Lalgarh in the land struggle in Narayanapatna, in all the anti-displacement struggles and in all agrarian revolutionary struggles. Women actively participated in the entire democratic struggles and demonstrations that the broad UF forums took up in various states. Thousands of organized women in the areas of the revolutionary movement are participating very militantly in all the struggles facing severe state violence. They are fighting militantly against the atrocities of the government mercenary armed forces on women.

They are participating in the Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC). They are fighting for remunerative prices for forest products, on economic problems such as payment of bonus in cash, for right to forest, against state violence, to get released the villagers illegally arrested by the police, against the setting up of police camps, for the release of political prisoners, on farmers' problems, against displacement and other such political struggles and for the dead bodies of comrades and people martyred in brutal enemy massacres. Their mobilization in thousands against carpet security reveal their increasing revolutionary consciousness. Women are participating actively in the military actions of PLGA.

Many progressive, democratic, revolutionary women's organisations and individuals, civil/human rights organisations are going on field study condemning the brutal police attacks, atrocities and murders of the women in all the areas of movement and in support of their just struggles. The state is coming in their way and harassing them but they are courageously supporting the victimized women. From the Salwa Judum and Sendra in 2005 to the strategic 'SAMADHAN-Prahar' offensive in 2020, hundreds of women were raped and murdered by the armed forces. Few left women's organisations, few leaders of bourgeois opposition parties stood in support to such oppressed women and are expressing various kinds of protest to the brutal, inhuman deeds of the armed forces. They questioned the government women's commissions and other government organisations legally.

As a part of heavy losses to the CC our Central Mahila Sub Committee was affected. Our effort to form all India woman's organisation came to a standstill. The Mahila Sub-committees formed in various states were also affected to a large extent. Campaign against patriarchy is being taken up, special programs such as special meetings with concrete objectives to develop woman comrades in all spheres are being taken up and woman's magazines are being published in some states at least irregularly. But we

could not achieve the expected progress. As per the tasks adopted in the various Special Area/Special Zone plenums held recently, Mahila Sub-committees were formed once again in BJ and DK and are working.

Literary and Cultural sphere

The sphere of Literature, Culture and Art is an inseparable part of revolutionary moment. It has great importance in revolution. Revolutionary, democratic, literary cultural organisations/association, writers and artists propagate revolutionary ideology, politics of revolution through their writings, art forms, magazines, meetings and exhibitions among the people. The effort of the Revolutionary writer's organisations that declared MLM as their guiding theory and the literary, cultural organisations that uphold the politics of New Democratic Revolution amidst many kinds of repression and attacks is contributing to revolutionary propaganda even in the present conditions of temporary setback of our movement. Armed cultural organisations in areas of revolutionary movement are propagating revolutionary ideology and politics among the people. These literary-cultural organisations firmly expose the outdated, ruining feudal and imperialist culture among the people and are raising the consciousness of rational, scientific and socialist people's culture among the people. They are playing a vital role in bringing the people into people's struggles.

The literary-cultural organisations working legally in various states are not as interested in consolidating their organisations as they are in propaganda activities. If we see their recognition among the people we understand that their activities are going on with very limited membership and branches. In fact they have a fantastic condition to take up organizational efforts among the oppressed people through their sharp writings and popular art forms. If they do so they can bring many thinkers, intellectuals and activists of literary-cultural organisations among workers, peasants, students, youth, intellectuals and oppressed sections towards the revolutionary movement.

Alien trends are a hurdle to this effort. In the organisations where the state committees of the Party took up 'education-rectification' campaign in the fraction committees, there is a little favorable change. The Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist forces in power and all the political parties are not at all tolerating revolutionary ideology and are unleashing attacks on revolutionary writers and artists trampling the primary rights of the citizens. In such testing times writers must courageously face them abiding by the Manifesto and Constitution of their organisations. It is their duty to see that the prestige of their organisation is not affected. But some are failing in this regard.

The armed cultural organisations formed and working in the areas of the movement gained a people's character. They have thousands of membership. In DK Chetana Natya Manch is working under the leadership of the Cultural Sub-Committee. CNM is holding conferences from the panchayat level to the division level and elections to the Executive Committees. One central team and several division and area teams are working armed. There are also many panchayat level teams. In BJ armed cultural teams are working in various zones and sub-zones. Armed teams are formed and working as per the needs of other Special Area/Special Zone/States. These teams are enlightening the people of the areas of the movement and widely mobilizing the people on various occasions and are performing cultural programs. They widely propagate the politics of people's war, the victories of people's guerilla war and the activities of the organisations of revolutionary people's state power. The revolutionary performances of these organisations attract the people very much. They are encouraging the youth to join the guerilla Army. However, there are limitations in our armed revolutionary cultural organisations in explaining the changing social, economic, political relations, the fundamental problems of the oppressed people and the people's struggles with the politics of class struggle and the politics of seizure of state power and creatively developing art forms to enlighten the people. So they

are unable to develop revolutionary people's cultural, art and struggle forms to strongly fight back the imperialist vicious culture to the necessary extent. The revolutionary, democratic, cultural, art organisations and teams of various states all over the country are widely mobilizing the people on the respective occasions, exposing the imperialist, Brahmanic Hindutwa, feudal vicious culture and are propagating and encouraging democratic culture. They are enlightening the people. They are holding workshops of artists on problems such as displacement and Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism and are preparing new art forms and performing among the people. They are utilising audio, video and books of songs. The people's cultural organisations are bringing out magazines. They are utilising the social media and internet for propaganda.

As per the call of our CC and various revolutionary people's organisations the entire revolutionary camp of the country held the four revolutionary days of importance in the country and the world, in 2017-2018. First we celebrated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, later the Fiftieth Anniversary of Naxalbari, the centenary of Russian Socialist Revolution and the bicentenary of Karl Marx. Through the celebrations that highlighted the prominence of these historic revolutionary days the CC sent revolutionary messages (except the bicentenary of Karl Marx) to the Party and revolutionary people. There was wide revolutionary propaganda through the activities in the cities and the areas of the movement. Revolutionary literature was released in many languages on this occasion. The revolutionary mass organisations and the revolutionary people's committees participated with initiative and enthusiasm in these celebrations. But we could not enough educate the Party ranks on these occasions.

There is a strong need to develop our work in the sphere of United Front in the direction of sustaining and strengthening the revolutionary movement in the situation of temporary setback all over the country. We must form

revolutionary, democratic mass organisations and strengthen the mass base in order to advance and spread the People's war. Our effort must enhance in all spheres so as to fight back the neo-liberal policies and the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist policies that instigate religious antagonisms and turned utmost dangerous to the people of the country. We must concentrate on important problems (related to workers, peasantry, students, women, displacement, Brahmanic Hindutwa Fascism). We must form appropriate forms of struggle and organisation and make effort for wide propaganda against the imperialists and their agents the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal classes and to build a strong political movement. For this purpose we must mobilise forces that unite on the basis of issues/spheres. We must form, consolidate and strengthen forums of United Front. We must pay attention to take up planned political and organisational effort. Only thus the mass base of our party and organisational strength shall increase and a new wave of revolutionary movement shall come forth with militant movements. The way to develop and strengthen revolutionary people's political power will be facilitated.

Favorable aspects

1. Along with the organs of alternate people's state power in division level in Dandakaranya, we must establish the state power of the oppressed masses in the village and area levels in the several areas of the movement such as BJ and AOB and opened up a way to make true their dreams. These are leading the people's war in the leadership of the party. They are working as recruitment centres encouraging youth to recruit in PLGA.
2. Although the central government declared our new party as the only major threat to the internal security of the country, we militantly mobilized the oppressed people in various legal, illegal mass organisations and on the daily life, fundamental, social, economic, political, cultural problems, in agrarian revolutionary programs and various people's struggles even amidst ceaseless

repression. All through the areas of the movement we enhanced the organized strength and role of women in people's struggles and people's war.

3. We defeated white militia such as the counter revolutionary Salwa Judum and Sendra that the state formed in several strategic areas especially in the guerilla zones. We made efforts to build the people's movements such as the people's surge in Lalgarh in West Bung and the Narayanapatna struggle in Odisha in various states. We are arming the people mobilizing in the people's movements in various organs of people's militia. We are providing the understanding to the revolutionary people's organisations that they must develop as a strong weapon in the hands of the party.

4. We became part of the 'forum against war on people' against Operation Green Hunt (OGH) that the counter revolutionary government launched on the revolutionary movement and the people, formed with various revolutionary, democratic organisations and forces and played an important role in leading the resistance movement. We formed several such united forums, built people's movements and gained new experience.

5. The successes achieved by the people in many anti-displacement struggles in the leadership of our party and United Front for many years against the imperialists, their lackeys the comprador rulers stood as a support to the people struggling against displacement. The movement for separate state of Telangana is showing the proper direction to the people fighting with the demand of separate state.

6. We brought certain new forms of people's art developing revolutionary, democratic literature and culture against the rising feudal, imperialist vicious culture. We inspired the people's movements.

Unfavorable aspects

1. Since our practice was wrong with subjective assessments of the enemy there were continuous heavy losses to the Central Committee in 2005-2012 and so we could not utilize the favorable atmosphere for revolution

that developed all over the country. The mistakes in leading legal and non-legal organisations and in taking up struggles led to many losses.

2. We did not concentrate enough to take up active agrarian revolutionary program with the slogan of 'land to the tiller-all powers to Revolutionary peasant committees/Revolutionary People's Committees' in the areas of movement. There are mistakes in distribution of land in land struggles on the basis of class. There is a shortcoming in concentrating on landless and poor peasants to bring them into the leadership in the revolutionary mass organisations and RPC.
3. There is weakness in developing/molding the strategic and tactical united fronts and peoples struggles in the direction to achieve the central task and according to the tasks given to the guerilla bases, guerilla zones, red resistance areas, areas of primary movement and plain and urban areas, towards people's war.
4. Political intervention of our party was not enough among the people mobilizing on many problems and their struggle organisations, especially on the occasions of anti-Hindutwa protest that rose in the country after 2014. We lagged behind in taking up agitation and propaganda on many problems. There is shortcoming in adopting and implementing a concrete policy to utilize all the media of propaganda including the social media.
5. We did not concentrate on those participating actively in the people's problems in the leadership of tactical united forums and so we are not able to consolidate them on the basis of our political line. Thus we are either sectarian or tailing the friendly forces of the forum. We are not able to expose the reactionary forces. We are not developing the consciousness of seizure of state power in the people's struggles in a planned manner so that they do not fall under the interests of the bourgeois, feudal, opportunist, revisionist forces and the NGOs for elections, in economism and reformism. We are unable to take up

political and organisational work so that the people struggle in a more militant manner. We are unable to develop leadership forces in united forums that can take up such work with efficiency, actively and consciously. We are unable to bring the majority people on to our side and consolidate them in our class organisations.

6. There are limitations in concentrating on people's struggles, in maintaining relations with the other movements, in spreading and taking the struggles to a higher level, in expressing solidarity to other struggles and in gathering the support of the broad masses to revolutionary movement. We are building united forums and are developing them but our practice is not in the direction of sustaining them with a long term view.

V. Party work in urban areas

By the time of the Congress our Party worked in many towns mainly among the students, intellectuals, women and working class. The CC comprehensively discussed the role of the urban areas and the proletarian leadership in New Democratic Revolutionary movement in building the movement and tactics and formulated a policy paper 'our work in urban areas'. After the 2007 Congress it recognised few industrial corridors in the country and decided to work in the order of priority. It formed Urban Sub-Committee (USCO) with CCMs to take up the Party work in the urban areas in a planned manner.

Immediately after the Congress the Delhi in-charge CCM left the party in the most irresponsible manner even without informing the Party. Within one year of the Congress Lanka Papireddy a member of the North Regional Bureau degenerated politically and morally and surrendered to the enemy. He told all the information he knew about the movement and the urban movement. The computers, hard disks and other electronic gadgets the enemy got hold of from the martyred and arrested CC and several State level leadership comrades between 2005-2015 gave very important, very vital and secret information about the urban movement to the enemy. This helped the enemy to further concentrate on urban areas and make severe losses to us. In this background the CC reviewed the urban movement.

The CC realized that on one hand there were arrests and martyrdoms and on the other there were many mistakes in the urban work. Moreover the CC realized the fact that we clearly realized that the towns are the forts of the enemy but to the same extent we were weak in implementing the tactics and functioning in the urban areas with a strategic view and that this has been a severe weakness. The state took our united Party in a very serious manner but we have been under estimating the enemy in practice regarding urban work. Legalism and casualness are in a dangerous level. Then the Sub-

Committee decided to improve and speed up the work in the urban areas. It began the necessary organizational measures for this purpose. It planned its work depending on it. But due to organizational weaknesses and in some places since the enemy had already entered our organisations, the cadres of various levels including the central leadership were caught by the enemy and were put in jail. Some were martyred. With this the Party faced loss that was not immediately recoverable in many towns of the country within a short time. In some places the CC had to send few comrades from the urban areas to the strategic areas in view of temporary protection or into other spheres. These losses showed a negative impact on the advancing revolutionary movement in the country to achieve the central task.

The Party is not yet able to overcome totally from the losses in many towns in the country. The Party cadres including the CC comrades are being released one after the other after a long prison life. Few of them left the Party. In the background of these developments the CC and the State level Committees must formulate the future plan and functioning for the urban movement without haste.

Efforts are going on to revive the affected urban relations in view of the importance of the towns and the working class in the towns. Most of the old contacts in the urban areas are exposed to the enemy. They are in the vigil of the enemy. So such relations are dangerous. We must not go into their contact and must start work with new contacts. We must concentrate on organizing the workers, students, youth, employees, women and Dalits. We must do work in the urban areas with a long term view, patiently and without any haste. There is a rise in civil policing too in the urban areas. There is a wide mechanism to inform each and every thing that happens in the towns to the enemy. There is an information control system that records the movements of every individual at each and every step. The state is recording

all the details of everyone. So only if we are very precautions we can work in the urban areas escaping from the enemy.

There is massive concentration of the enemy in the urban areas. The state is unleashing all kinds of repressive measures so that the people's war does not obtain support from the urban areas, that no facts are known about the people's war and to control propaganda about it in the urban areas. The enemy is not tolerating democratic forces that stand on the side of the people. They are branded as urban Maoists. They are detained and harassed in various ways. The reactionary Sangh gang leaders are making vicious propaganda about the revolutionary and democratic forces. In such conditions staying and working in the towns is a tough job. In these conditions it is very important to keep the middle class intellectuals, revolutionary and democratic forces on the side of the oppressed people and muster people's support for them. We have to see that they can deny the bureaucracy of the exploitive ruling classes and so that we can keep them firm on the side of the oppressed people and on the side of the revolution in spite of any number of difficulties. We must provide the necessary guidance to them time to time.

Guidelines

1. We must thoroughly study the policy paper on 'our work in urban areas' that our Party formulated and implement it.
2. The State Committees must decide and guide in which field to concentrate work first and in which town to start work in their areas concretely basing on the contacts. It is necessary to work among the students, youth, women, employees and many other intellectuals. We must unite with the forces organizing as 'new media' outside the corporate media. We must deal tactically with the forces that the ruling classes bring forth as a part of perception management.

3. Those who are active, have organisational efficiency and have a sacrificing nature in the revolutionary mass organisations and the advanced forces that come into contact with the Party through various ways must be the main source to work in the urban areas. The people of the rural areas are developing inseparable relations with urban areas due to the speedily rising urbanization. Their lives are entwined with the towns in education, job, business, health and other such things. They have relations with the revolutionary movement for a long time. We must have a concrete study of their changing conditions of life, select reliable forces from among them and spread to the urban areas.

4. Comrades working in the urban areas must follow secret functioning invincible to the enemy. The state should not know a single thing about the secrets of the revolutionary movement. Except if the upper committees ask, the reports of the movement must be oral. In writing they must be very brief. We must definitely use codes to keep the enemy away from knowing our information. We must not write resolutions in a detailed way regarding the works to be done. When weak forces are fighting with a strong enemy the tactics (forms of struggle and organisation), secret methods and style of work to preserve its strength must be without defects.

5. Technology has developed in a big way and we should not use electronic gadgets indiscriminately. If we do so the enemy will be able to know our location. There shall be many opportunities for the enemy to know our whereabouts every second. We must consider them in a serious manner. Comrades working in the urban areas must be natural in their behavior. They must be able to mingle anywhere and must not give way to any kind of doubt. We must work with a firm will to develop the urban movement by adopting proper tactics keeping in view the strategic importance of urban areas in New Democratic Revolution and the present situation. We must learn the methods in working under constant surveillance of the enemy and gain expertise.

VI. Assessment of the Present situation of the Indian Revolutionary Movement – Our tasks

We worked in the theoretical, political, military and organizational spheres to achieve the main, central task and the other immediate tasks formulated by the Unity Congress, for the past 14 years. We reviewed all this effort as that in the Party, People's Army and United Front and recognized the favorable and unfavorable aspects. Now let us assess the present situation of the Indian Revolutionary movement basing on this review. Let us formulate immediate tasks basing on this assessment.

The successes our Party and the revolutionary movement achieved in the past 14 years

We (CPI (ML) and MCC) applied MLM to the concrete conditions of our country and decided fundamentally correct political and military lines in 1969. The central and the state level conferences and plenums have been reviewing all the work that we did in practice, synthesized in a higher level and enriched our political-military lines. Later starting with the formation of the United Party/Maoist Party in the process until the completion of the Unity Congress, we have been enriching our political-military lines.

We formulated the central task of developing DK and BJ as liberated areas with the theoretical clarity that we can develop the guerilla zones into liberated areas only through developing the guerilla Army into a regular Army and guerilla war into a mobile war. This is a concrete experience in the application of MLM and in the application of Maoist people's war.

Our party basically depended on the political-military line enriched and the central task adopted in the Unity Congress and implemented it imparting theoretical, political training to the entire ranks of the party in implementing them, sustaining fierce enemy offensives amidst severe losses, with firm will and sacrifice. Thus in the past 14 years it attained many valuable experiences

theoretically, politically, militarily and organizationally. It made efforts to bolshevise the party ranks to overcome alien class tendencies. It firmly fought against the modern revisionist lines of Bob Avakian and Prachanda-Bhattarai. It exposed the cross-class, revisionism, Gandhism and reformism. It took agrarian revolution as the axle and led the people's war and made efforts to intensify-widen it. It worked to strengthen the three magic weapons of revolution and attained international recognition.

We took the line of our party into practice, took up the formation of few guerilla battalions to develop the guerilla Army into a regular Army. We are training the PLGA formations theoretically, politically, militarily and organizationally, and tried to arm it by seizing weapons in a big way from the enemy in guerilla war. We formed commands of various levels along with building Party committees in the PLGA to lead it. Depending on the balance of forces in the various guerilla zones we gained experience in making guerilla war in small, medium and big kind of actions and in the form of campaigns and synthesized it. From 2007 to mid-2011 we took up guerilla war in a higher level and conducted few guerilla actions with the primary characteristics related to mobile war. Through these we developed primary clarity with the experience about the process of developing the guerilla army into a regular army and guerilla war into mobile war.

We made wide and intense guerilla war and formed organs of people's state power in the village level in DK, BJ, AOB, West Bengal, Odisha, Maharashtra (Balaghat-Gondia) by giving a blow and destroying the power of the enemy. We formed the organs of people's state power in the area level in DK, BJ and AOB. In DK we formed the much higher divisional level and on its basis we formed the zone level coordination committee of the RPC. We gained experience in forming new democratic economic, political and cultural systems in the primary level. These areas are working as guerilla bases to achieve strategic tasks of people's war. Basing on these guerilla bases DK

stood as the support to the movements in the Central Region and BJ stood as support to the movements in the Eastern Region.

As a part of applying the rules of Maoist people's war along with the formation of the people's Army, we gained experience in formulating tactics to be followed in situations of self-defense-offense, retreat-advance, and defeat-victory as a part of making people's war. We have been analyzing the changes in the scale and nature of the enemy offensive time to time and have been formulating tactics of offense-self-defense that the Party and the People's Army have to follow to fight back and defeat them. When the movement in Andhra Pradesh (including the present state of Telangana) suffered from temporary setback we shifted few of the forces of our Party and PLGA to other places. Anyhow since we did not retreat in time our forces in retreat faced losses in the enemy offensive and became scattered. We utilized DK as the support and are taking up seasonal advance-retreat of the forces of Party and PLGA.

In order to create new spate in the movements of Telangana, AOB and Andhra Pradesh that temporarily setback the tactics we followed for political and organizational work help for the development of tactics to change the situation of temporary setback to advancement.

All through this period the strategic, tactical United Fronts we built as a part of the class struggle against imperialism, against the CBB and against feudalism gave us valuable experiences in the sphere of United Front. These experiences help in building the movement in the urban and the plain areas.

During this period we made the Lalgarh movement basing on the problem of state repression, land problem and against displacement and the Narayanapatna movement on land problem and gained new experiences in anti-imperialist, anti-CBB, anti-feudal struggle. We adopted political program for democratic Telangana and led the movement for separate Telangana which is an important experience that we attained in the political sphere.

The movements in Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala that were in the primary level for a long time due to severe enemy offensive, losses and the lack and mistakes of subjective forces are very weak. We mobilized the party forces in the states of Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala and opened a new front of people's war and started the effort for class struggle with a strategic plan in the borders of the three states (Western Ghats) providing the orientation of people's war and this is a new and favorable experience. The extension into Odisha and MMC as a part of strategic plan is another positive experience.

Including continuous campaigns to rectify alien class trends, bolshevization and the various kinds of ideological, political, military training activities that we took up and the meetings we are conducting in various levels gave a little clarity to the advanced section in Party, PLGA and the people's organisations (United Front) about the tactics to make class struggle and guerilla war to overcome the difficult situation and temporary setback. The middle section followed the advanced section and is developing learning from practice. Strong will, sacrifice and discipline to overcome the difficult situation and temporary setback are relatively rising in the advanced and the middle sections. This shall be one of the strong resources and bases to overcome the difficult situation and temporary setback in view of subjective force.

Main reasons that led to the difficult situation and temporary setback

One of the main reasons for the difficult situation in the Indian revolutionary movement by 2012 and the present temporary setback is the intensity of counter-revolutionary offensive. Another important reason is related to the subjective efforts.

Severe loss of leadership forces and subjective forces of the Party in enemy offensive

In the past 14 years from 2007 to 2020 scores of members of the Central Committee, State Committee and Area Committee and leadership comrades of various levels were caught by the enemy and became martyrs. Scores of

them are in prison. A considerable number left the party and the movement or surrendered to the enemy.

These losses showed a severe unfavorable impact on utilising the fantastic subjective favorable condition formed due to the unity of the party and the Unity Congress and in achieving the objectives set by the Congress. There was a shortcoming in understanding the inter relationship between the central task and other immediate tasks. There was delay in developing the program and tactics of class struggle basing on social investigation. We could complete it only in 2021 January. So the weakness in developing class struggle in the broad plain and rural areas of the country and the urban movement continued. We could not enough rectify non-proletarian trends in the party.

For five years from 2007 to 2011, favorable aspects were the main in our party and the revolutionary movement, the movement was in the upper hand and the Indian revolutionary movement was advancing. However due to the above mentioned reasons in our party since the unity, losses went on increasing and by 2012, favorable aspects decreased and unfavorable aspects became the main aspects in the revolutionary movement. This resulted in the difficult situation in the all India revolutionary movement by 2012. Although there are few favorable results out of our political, military and organisational efforts to overcome the difficult situation for the past nine years, we could not overcome it due to the intensity of enemy offensive. In this situation the condition turned further unfavorable with the counter revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' offensive and by 2018 our revolutionary movement went into temporary setback.

Characteristics of this situation of temporary setback

In order to understand the characteristics of the situation of temporary setback a synthesis of the present economic, political and military condition of the enemy (exploitive ruling classes); the situation of our Party, PLGA and

guerilla war; the situation of Mass Organisations and United Front; and that of the organs of revolutionary people's state power shows that –

1. The counter-revolution of the central and the state governments with the name of 'SAMADHAN'. While above six lakhs of police, Para-military and Commando forces were deployed in the areas of the revolutionary movement, Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism intensified fascist attacks on the people over the country including the areas of the movement with the support of the state.
2. Carpet security expanded into the guerilla bases, red resistance areas and into newly expanded areas. Due to the relentless attacks on the guerilla bases basing on carpet security the organs of revolutionary people's state power became weak and the guerilla bases started to become weak.
3. Our PLGA is yet a guerilla army mainly in squad/section and platoon formations, few limited companies and one guerilla battalion. In DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand and AOB small, medium and big kind of actions are taking place. In the other areas there are medium and small kind of actions and thus the guerilla war is going on. There is a drop in the guerilla actions in all the guerilla zones and there is less seizure of arms and ammunition from the enemy forces.
4. The counter-revolutionary offensive went into the 'develop' phase in the guerilla zones all over the country. Increased deployment of police, Para-military and Commando forces of the central and the state governments in the scale to take up simultaneous operations/attacks in all the areas of the movement – red resistance areas, guerilla zones, guerilla bases.
5. Due to the fascist counter-revolutionary offensive the mass organisations in the towns, plain areas, red resistance areas and guerilla zones are being affected.
6. Though the ruling classes are facing economic and political crisis we are not strong enough to create splits among them so as to prepare for

United Front in the central and the state levels. The activists, leaders, forces and organisations of the bourgeois parties in the local and district levels are prepared for United Front with us in their political interests. The revisionist parties and petty bourgeois organisations are working in UF in the state level in varying degrees. The vacillating forces – the rich peasantry, national bourgeoisie and suffering from the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists, CBB and feudalism and so they are prepared to struggle and are ready to come together in UF with us where we are strong.

7. Though an extensive rise in militant anti-legal struggles on economic, social (sectional) and political problems in the urban and the plain areas has begun, the Party in those areas that can develop the level of armed struggle is weak to work for the liberation of their class.
8. The condition is weak with no mechanism of coordination for the Central and the State Committees to coordinate the revolutionary movement in the all India level and state level in time.
9. The strength of the revolutionary movement is weak when compared with the strength of the enemy and so the enemy is consolidating the results out of their attacks and is advancing to damage the strength of the movement. The revolutionary movement went into temporary setback.

Our main objective at present is to overcome the temporary setback in the revolutionary movement and to advance it

The situation of temporary setback arose due to the weakness objectively in realising the intensity of the counter revolutionary offensive and molding the party according to it and as per the strategic and tactical directions and the weakness in the subjective condition. The present countrywide temporary setback situation of the revolutionary movement is an ordinary situation. As per the rule of unequal development our revolutionary movement is in the

temporary setback and ebb in the main guerilla zones, affected guerilla zones and red resistance areas, as areas where the movement is weak and as areas where the class struggle is in the primary level. There is a considerable decrease in the purview of our areas of the movement and population. There are maximum number of villages, urban areas and population without our party and movement. Keeping in view these specificities we have to formulate the plan to develop this situation of temporary setback to advancement.

The present situation of temporary setback decides the present tactics and direction of normal practice. According to it –

1. We have to reorganize the affected mass organisations and strengthen the weakening mass base.
2. We have to organise the people coming forth in people's struggles on economic, social and political issues all over the country in the class and sectional organisations, enlighten them with the politics of anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-feudal class struggle, develop it into militant struggle, develop them to the level of armed struggle and develop the Party in the broad plain and urban areas.
3. We have to sustain the medium sections from the local level to the central level on our side, isolate the main enemy, utilize the contradictions among the sections of the ruling classes for advancing the revolutionary movement and sustain friendly forces on our side.
4. We have to increase the purview of the red resistance and guerilla zone areas, reorganize and spread the areas of the movement.
5. We have to spread and intensify the guerilla war and give a blow to carpet security to the extent needed and make efforts to sustain the organs of people's state power and guerilla bases.

6. We have to consolidate PLGA politically, militarily and organisationally and mainly make small and medium kind of guerilla actions to the best of our strength and enhance arms and other such instruments.

7. We have to severely try to develop the mechanism of coordination between the central and the state committees. Until then the leadership comrades in various states must be in teams according to our policies basing on our political-military line and guide the movement with initiative.

On the whole we have to deepen the theoretical and political foundation of the Party, consolidate it organizationally, intensify class struggle to develop the mass base, consolidate the Party, PLGA and United Front, protect the leaders, cadres and the forces of PLGA and make guerilla war to the extent we can. This shall be the direction of our present practice.

We have to formulate a strategic scheme to overcome the situation of temporary setback starting from the above mentioned concrete political situation with the objective to develop the revolutionary movement into the state of advancement. Let us see the immediate and long term opportunities in the objective and subjective conditions to develop the revolutionary movement from the situation of temporary setback to advancement.

1. As a part of the general crisis of capitalism that is going on in the form of stagflation since 1970, US imperialism has been gradually weakening economically and with the home loan crisis in 2008 it weakened much more. Since then the imperialist-capitalist countries including the US fell in the mire of deep and extensive crisis. All the policies that it followed until now to overcome this crisis have failed. It lost its status of the superpower in the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century and thus multipolar world came forth.
2. Although the US lost its status as the super power and multipolar world came into existence it is yet the number one enemy to the oppressed people and oppressed nationalities of the world. It is aggressively trying

to sustain its hegemony and is challenging the multipolar world. Contention is on the rise between the US and China for a re-division of the world. Russian imperialism is trying to sustain its influence. In Europe Germany and France are increasingly contending for hegemony. In this situation the geographical and political realignments are changing according to the changes in the balance of forces of the imperialist countries.

3. Protectionism in the economic sphere and racism and fascism in the political sphere are on the rise in the imperialist countries and in capitalist countries.
4. Competition between the imperialist countries is on the rise to loot the resources and markets of the backward countries. This is intensifying the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nationalities and oppressed masses.
5. Due to the intensification of the fundamental contradictions internationally people of the oppressed classes, oppressed nationalities and oppressed sections are extensively mobilizing in struggles against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalist class and feudal class. It is in such conditions that Maoist parties are taking birth and strengthening in many countries. This process shall increase in the coming days.

Domestically, the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist policies of the central government in the leadership of Narendra Modi in the name of 'new India' to establish Brahmanic Hindutwa state are against the oppressed classes, oppressed nationalities and the oppressed social communities. Therefore the workers, peasants, middle classes, national (small and medium kind) capitalists, oppressed nationalities, religious minorities, Dalits, tribal people, women – are all extensively fighting against Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism. Opportunities for these struggles to widen and become militant and

consolidate in the coming days are rising. This is a new development in the domestic political changes.

While the above mentioned objective situation creates immediate and protracted opportunities for the advancement of the revolutionary movement, subjectively the positive experiences achieved from the political, military and organizational efforts to overcome the difficult situation for the past nine years, especially the lessons that the experiences of people's war are handing over are creating immediate opportunities. Our party and PLGA forces are relatively clear about the consolidating the party, work among the masses and the tactics to make guerilla war in the leadership of the party in difficult situation and temporary setback. Even now our Party has cadres and leadership forces leading revolutionary movement in 16 states in varying degrees.

On the whole we assessed that the Indian Revolutionary movement is in the situation of temporary setback, that the enemy could not wipe out our party and the PLGA forces in all these areas and that revolutionary activities are going on at various levels.

Although the Indian revolutionary movement is generally in the situation of temporary setback, due to the unequal development in our country there are inequalities in class struggle and people's war. Let us adopt immediate tasks to bring the revolutionary movement from temporary setback to the situation of advance in view of the unequal development in our revolutionary movement.

Our strategic plan

In order to bring the movement in the country from temporary setback to the situation of advance we have to develop DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand movements that are yet working as guerilla zones with the objective of liberated areas. We have to attain clarity about the interrelation

between this objective and the objectives of the movements going on in other areas all over the country and strive to achieve the central task.

In achieving the central task, the main aspects of our strategic plan will be to consolidate the Party, PLGA and United Front, to protect the leadership, cadres and PLGA forces and to enhance mass base and subjective strength by continuing guerilla war until the situation of temporary setback changes into advance. We have to make severe effort to develop the above mentioned three guerilla zones with the objective of liberated areas with this understanding.

Another important aspect to be taken up in the strategic plan is to develop the strategic, broad areas in the Eastern and the Central Regions as a contiguous revolutionary war area. Therefore the ERB and the CRB must pay special importance subjectively and materially in a planned manner so as to help achieve this strategic task. In addition to this we have to work to coordinate the movements in other areas (AOB, Telangana, Odisha, Western Ghats and MMC) of the country with the central task, to develop them towards the direction of achieving the immediate and the main tasks and to develop urban movements.

Immediate tasks

Main, Central task

The CC must work as a united, single strong force in accomplishing the central task of the entire party. We must develop DK, BJ, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand movements with the objective of making them liberated areas. In accordance we must expand and strengthen the revolutionary mass base in these areas, develop our subjective force and expand and intensify the class struggle and guerilla war with the objective of achieving state power. We must strengthen the Party, PLGA and United Front such as to achieve this objective. We must make special efforts to overcome ebb in the DK movement and to overcome the condition of temporary setback in BJ, EB-NEJ movements and to advance them. CC must pay attention to develop class struggle and guerilla war in the guerilla zones, red resistance areas contiguous to these areas and also the red resistance areas developing in the country and to enhance the mass base and subjective strength. We must also take into consideration the conditions turning favorable for revolution all over the country, adopt appropriate tactics and work to build revolutionary movement in the urban and plain areas. Our Party must respond with initiative at all levels in all the places and make efforts to develop the people's struggles that are breaking spontaneously on partial issues and political issues into organized movements. In addition to concentrating on the above mentioned three guerilla zones that are the central points for our present People's War with a strategic view, in a planned manner and strong will, we have to work in various areas and sectors in the country. Thus the Indian revolutionary movement will gradually overcome the present temporary setback condition and advance towards the objective of developing liberated areas according to the rule of unequal development.

Political tasks

1. Let us develop the theoretical and political level of the party such as it becomes efficient in developing the Indian Revolutionary movement from temporary setback to advanced condition. Let us rectify alien trends and bolshevisise the party.
2. Let us widen-intensify the people's struggles and guerilla war increasing the mass base and strengthening and developing a strong, secret Party invincible to the enemy, PLGA, Mass Organisations-United Front. Let us defeat the counter-revolutionary 'SAMADHAN' strategic offensive of the central and the state governments for wiping out the Indian revolutionary movement.
3. Let us intensify anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, anti-feudal class struggles all over the areas of movement basing on the program and tactics of class struggle mentioned in the document on 'Changes in Relations of Production in India-Our Political Program'. Let us intensify agrarian revolutionary movement.
4. Let us bring together all the friendly forces and concentrate to form anti-Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist United Front on a wide basis.
5. In AOB let us intensify class struggle and make guerilla war through small and medium kind of actions. Strengthen the Party and PLGA. Let us build-consolidate-widen the organs of people's political power. Let us advance from the situation of temporary setback and advance to develop guerilla zone.

In Telangana let us intensify anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle, strengthen the mass base and make guerilla war through small kind of guerilla actions. Let us advance from the condition of temporary setback and develop guerilla zone.

In Odisha, MMC and Western Ghats let us intensify anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle, strengthen the mass base and strengthen the Party

and the PLGA. Let us build guerilla zones by accomplishing the tasks of red resistance area and taking up guerilla war to the best of the strength. In 2U, West Bengal and North Chhattisgarh let us intensify class struggle to overcome the temporary setback and strengthen the mass base, make guerilla war through small kind of actions and work to reorganize the guerilla zones in these areas.

Let us develop red resistance areas by intensifying class struggle all over the states in the North Region and in Asom.

6. Basing on the consolidation of the states in the revolutionary movement let us extend to new areas and new spheres.

Organizational tasks

1. Develop the Party committees such as to work with initiative and as efficient self-reliant committees to provide successful leadership to the movement in the respective areas. Let us develop the quality of the party so that it can fight back the enemy offensive strongly.
2. Let us build a strong secret Party with Professional Revolutionaries as the center and a wide mechanism of Part-Timer units. Let us build a secret mechanism invincible to enemy offensive. Let us concentrate on recruitment drive to increase the number of Party members and PRs to enhance the strength of the Party. Let us pay special attention to recruit Party cadres from the fundamental revolutionary classes and social sections and to develop their role in all the spheres in the party and promote them.
3. Let us take the initiative so that all the committees abide by democratic centralism but depend not on the directions of the upper committees and so as they utilize their own initiative and try to develop political and military tactics in a creative and lively manner.
4. Let us shed casual and spontaneous work style and strive to achieve expertise in Maoist work style, let us develop the party committees.
5. Let us develop second rank leadership at all levels.

Military tasks

1. Let us study the Maoist theory of People's War, the experiences of the international revolutionary movement, the experiences of the nationality struggles and the experiences of our people's war. Let us improve our people's war through the study of the experiences of this theory.
2. Let us develop lively relations with the people, enlighten them politically and organise them. Let us make efforts of all kinds for arming them, to protect themselves, to build organs of power, to develop their living standards and for their active role in people's war.
3. Let us develop guerilla war tactics so as to defeat carpet security in DK and BJ. Let us mobilise all kinds of resources and make preparations to destroy carpet security.
4. Let us improve the commanding efficiency of the PLGA Commands and combat efficiency of our forces so as to defeat the tactics of LIC based counter-communist insurgency and counter guerilla war tactics of the enemy.
5. Let us develop all kinds of combat skills and technical skills.
6. Let us strictly follow the rules of self-defense and guerilla war to avoid losses of our forces in enemy attacks and immediately rectify the mistakes in implementation.
7. Let us widely form the people's militia in the guerilla zones and red resistance areas. Let us increase recruitment with special attention in all the areas of the movement.
8. Let us reorganise and consolidate the affected and weakened departments step by step.

United Front tasks

1. Let us study our experiences in the spheres of strategic and tactical United Front. Let us learn from lessons and improve the work in UF. Let us organize strategic and tactical United Fronts. Let us develop efficient leadership at all levels in organs of people's political power, Mass Organisations and in the

organs of United Front. Let us develop and widen their understanding towards tactics.

2. Let us build and develop to higher level the organs of people's state power in the local level basing on the victories in people's war in all the guerilla zones.

3. Let us mobilise the broad masses against all the policies of imperialist globalization including displacement and form United Front.

4. Let us organise the Dalits against caste oppression and build militant struggles.

5. Let us strengthen the women's movement against patriarchy and against the exploitation and oppression by imperialism and feudalism.

6. Let us organise all the religious minorities facing the Brahmanic Hindutwa fascist offensives and develop militant resistance.

7. Let us mobilise the broad masses against the fascist policies and political repression unleashed by the Indian ruling classes. Let us widen and strengthen the democratic rights movement.

8. Let us make efforts to establish United Front of the Protracted People's War going on in the leadership of our party and the organisations of the various nationality struggles such as Kashmir, in the North East such as Asom, Nagaland, Manipur and the other areas against Indian expansionism.

Urban tasks

1. Let us study the experiences of the urban movement. Let us learn proper lessons from them and build the urban movement in new methods corresponding to the present situation.

2. Let us not fall into sectarian mistakes but practice proper tactics.

3. Let us concentrate on the working class and build movement among the workers of vital sectors with a protracted view.

4. Let us build a wide student and youth movement and women's movement and recruit the new generation from workers, students, youth and women's

movements into the Party and build a strong and broad urban movement and leadership.

5. Let us develop mechanism for coordination and secret mechanism between legal and illegal organisations and activities in the urban areas.

6. Let us build a strong urban movement towards the direction of People's War.

Comrades!

We formulated immediate tasks with the objective of developing the Indian revolutionary movement from the present situation of temporary setback to the situation of advancement. These generally apply for a period of five years. There are also a few protracted tasks among these. The Central Committee, the Regional Bureaus and the SAC/SZC/SCs must make the necessary changes basing on the constant changes in the international and domestic political developments even in these five years and on the changes in class struggle and the balance of forces in the movement and provide efficient leadership. We can thus have the initiative and achieve the expected results.