

The Present situation of the Indian Revolutionary movement – Our tasks

Foreword

The Central Committee of our Party reviewed the countrywide revolutionary movement in the period of 14 years after the 2007 Unity Congress and formulated the Political and Organisational Review (POR) in 2020. The POR made it clear that the countrywide revolutionary movement is in temporary setback and that our main objective is to overcome this situation and advance the revolutionary movement. In the situation of temporary setback in the revolutionary movement, the CC changed the immediate, main and central task formulated by the Unity Congress and also formulated political, organisational, military, United Front and urban tasks. Basing on the POR of the CC, we have been doing political, organisational and military work for the past three and a half years to overcome the temporary setback.

In this temporary setback in the Indian revolutionary movement since 2018, the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist BJP central government and the state governments unleashed the counter revolutionary SAMADHAN offensive until 2022 and the counter revolutionary Surajkund strategic offensive plan from the end of 2022. As a part of this strategic plan, a decisive war 'Kagaar' was launched and is being continued since 2024 January, to eliminate the countrywide movement. Since 2005 the central and the state governments have been deploying thousands of additional forces in the areas of the movement every year in the counter revolutionary war for the elimination of the countrywide revolutionary movement; widening and strengthening carpet security and intensifying multipronged offensive in all spheres. There is a fundamental change in this offensive of the Surajkund strategic plan. By the time, the central and the state governments assessed the results of its counter revolutionary war for nearly two decades and decided to eliminate the revolutionary movement that has weakened in all the spheres, without giving it a chance for recovery. In the Kagaar offensive in continuation to this, we see a change in the nature of the offensive. In a big scale, armed personnel of the Para-military and Commando forces are being deployed to eliminate the Party and PLGA forces that are centralised in Platoon, Company and Battalion numbers, especially to eliminate the CC and SZC leadership. This apart, there are large scale attacks on the people's movements and Mass Organisations in

the urban and plain areas through NIA and other intelligence agencies and other armed forces. This increased severe hurdles and dangers in the political, organisational and military work of the Party, PLGA and United Front in the areas of the movement all over the country. In this situation, our political, organisational and military work of the Party, PLGA and United Front to overcome the temporary setback and advance the revolutionary movement, was weak with several limitations. This is the reason the revolutionary movement is in a situation of temporary setback. Let us review our efforts for the past three and a half years keeping in view this objective and the subjective situation. In order to utilise the favourable objective situation for revolution at the international and domestic planes, it is utmost important that we do not limit our review to the revolutionary effort merely in the last three and a half years but review and rectify the shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations in the Party, PLGA and United Front. Therefore, basing on the earlier reviews, we also mentioned in this circular, certain important political, organisational and military questions being faced by the revolutionary movement for a long time. The revolutionary movement that is in temporary setback is being driven into severe unfavourable conditions due to the Kagaar offensive going on as a part of the counter revolutionary Surajkund strategic plan. In this situation the need came forth to formulate appropriate political tasks, political and military tactics to see that the Indian revolutionary movement is not affected and to save the Party, PLGA, United Front and the countrywide revolutionary movement. The PB issues this circular in this background.

[Note

In this circular wherever it is mentioned State Committee/State level Committee, it must be understood as Special Area Committee (SAC), Special Zonal Committee (SZC) and State Committee (SC). Wherever it is mentioned District Committee/District level Committee, it must be understood as Zonal Committee (ZC), Divisional Committee (DvC), District Committee (DC) and Company Party Committee (CyPC). Area level committees are the Area Committee (AC) and Platoon Party Committee (PPC).]

Dear Comrades,

According to the tasks formulated in the central POR (2020) the Party, PLGA and United Front made political, organisational and military efforts for the past three and a half years all over the country, to advance the

revolutionary movement from temporary setback. In the process, 683 comrades of various ranks starting from the CC to the revolutionary people became martyrs in the daring retaliation to the counter revolutionary war of the central and the state governments. 190 of them are women. Their endeavour with undeterred confidence in the advancement of the revolutionary movement always inspires us. The new experiences in their effort guide us. Let us work for the advancement of the revolutionary movement gaining inspiration from the ideals of the martyrs.

The positive aspects in our work during this period

The CC gave a call to the entire party in its message on the occasion of the Party Anniversary in 2019 to consolidate the party theoretically, politically and organisationally, it being vital to overcome the temporary setback in the revolutionary situation and advance it. Since the call could not be sent to all the states at a time, the CC directed to take up the campaign in the respective states for two years since receiving the call. Since then the campaign has been going on in various states of the country.

As a part of the campaign, there were efforts in the states to provide clarity towards the change in central task and other immediate tasks corresponding to the decreased strength of the movement mentioned in the CC POR and to assess the situation of the movement and formulate new tasks. Individual study, classes and discussions are being taken up regarding the CC document on 'Changes in the Relations of Production-Our Political Program', 'Caste Question in India-Our Perspective', 'Nationality Question in India-The stand of our Party' wherever they were obtained. Basing on these, efforts are going on to provide clarity to the entire party in taking up class struggle in the changed social conditions.

In this campaign the program to raise Party membership is being taken up. In view of the needs of the movement, new members were promoted to the Gram Party Committee, Area Committee and up to the CC.

We are making changes in the functioning of the local party cells and Gram Party Committee (GPC) in the situation where carpet security is being widened and consolidated all over the areas of the movement so as these provide leadership to the people at the local level in class struggle-guerrilla war. We are developing Professional Revolutionaries from among them. We are sending senior party members of the Local Organisational Squads (LOS) as PRs to work in the area. 1+1, 1+2 teams and civil teams are working in the

leadership of the Area Committee. Building Sub-Area Committees began with the PRs who came forth from the local party cell and GPC. Although most of these experiences are of DK, we have similar experiences in AOB, Telangana and other states.

Agitation and Propaganda activities are going on against the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, in all the places of Party units and Mass Organisations in the forest, plain and urban areas all over the country at varied levels. The efforts to mobilise the people in struggles utilising the open, legal forms of struggle and organisation for their daily and fundamental needs is going on at various levels. In the forest areas, there are efforts to mobilise thousands of people in the anti-imperialist, anti-CBB, anti-feudal, anti-Corporatisation-Militarisation struggles, depending on the mass base. There are Agitation-Propaganda programs against Brahmanic Hindutva RSS-BJP fascism. There are efforts to form various forums of United Front together with friendly forces.

In spite of the unceasing counter revolutionary offensive of the central and the state governments on our Party, PLGA and Mass Organisations in the forest, plain and urban areas; in spite of the constant attempts to isolate and give us a blow; the agitation-propaganda, struggle and United Front together with friendly forces stand as a strong base to fail the enemy offensive and to advance the revolutionary movement.

During this period, the PLGA forces made guerrilla war to the best of their strength in the areas of the movement through tactics such as deliberate ambushes, opportunity ambushes, sniper operations, booby trap-remote operations, sabotage, wiping off informers, wiping off people's enemies of the Hindutva and bourgeois political leaders, shelling on police camps through improvised artillery, setting up of spike holes and fighting back airstrike. There were 669 guerrilla actions during this period in which 261 policemen were eliminated and 516 were injured. 25 weapons were seized from the enemy.

Together with the active participation of the people and people's militia, guerrilla war is going on to the best of our strength in Dandakaranya (DK), Bihar-Jharkhand (BJ) and East Bihar-North East Jharkhand (EB-NEJ). There are random actions in Odisha (OS) and Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC).

While the central and the state governments are blocking civil, military supplies and financial resources and are eager to eliminate the revolutionary

movement in minimum possible time, we are able to drag on the war failing its ill objective. We are gathering civil, military supplies and financial resources depending on the people and making guerrilla war. We are developing tactics to take up guerrilla war amidst carpet security. These positive aspects act as the base to fail and defeat the 'Kagaar' offensive being unleashed by the central and the state governments.

Main negative aspects in our effort during this period

There were severe losses to the party leadership since 2021 January. Four members of the CC, Comrades Lakmu, Amber, Saketh and Anand became martyrs due to ill health and Comrade Deepak in enemy attack. Nine comrades – Comrades Kishan, Sheela, Kanchan, Krishnamurthy, Mangtu, Jaspal, Mohit, Janardhan and Kishore were arrested. We expelled CCMs Kobad Ghandy and Bacha Prasad Singh who made an attack on the party line, battered the party practice and turned disruptors. Presently there areleft in the East Region andin the Central Region. In this situation, the CC is not able to directly guide the North and South Regions. There is no coordination between the East and Central Regions and in the countrywide revolutionary movement.

In this period nine comrades of the State Committee rank were martyred due to ill health and enemy attacks – Comrades Pavan, Narmada, Rupesh, Gautam Paswan, Ajit Uraov, Chandi Sarkar, Sanjay Ganjhu, LSN Murthy and Dama. Eleven comrades – Comrades Mahender of AOB, Vengu of DK, Ajay Kanhu, Pradyumna Sharma, Sandeep, Suneel, Jaya and one more in BJ and EB-NEJ, Mukthi and one more in West Bengal and Santosh and Rafi in Kerala. Four – Krishna of AOB, Giridhar of DK and two from BJ and EB-NEJ surrendered to the enemy. Members of the district and area committees, GPC and local party cells became martyrs, arrested or surrendered in a large number. All these led to a relative weakness of party committees starting from the CC to the area level, GPC-Party cells in terms of quantity and strength and capacities.

The forces of the Party and PLGA did not bring a change in the methods of work so as to prevent losses in the counter offensive of the central and the state governments for the past three and a half years. Consequently, there were relatively big number of losses of the forces of the Party and PLGA in the enemy offensive. The correct method to conduct war is to protect subjective forces to the maximum possible extent and to wipe off the enemy forces in maximum possible numbers. On the contrary, during the past three and a half years, 439 comrades out of which one is a member of the CC, 3 of SAC/SZC, 1

RCM and 33 of ZC/DvC were martyred. We lost 215 arms. We could not gain enough results in utilising the countrywide open people's struggles as a good source to overcome the temporary setback. Members of the CC and SZC did not concentrate and work as a campaign to utilise the anti-imperialist, anti-CBB, anti-feudal, anti-Corporatisation-Militarisation struggle going on in DK for the past 4 years so as to consolidate the Party, PLGA and United Front. These two shortcomings and weaknesses continued all over the country at varied levels. These two are the main negative aspects of this period. These apart, let us see the weaknesses going on in the revolutionary movement for a long time. Although it takes a long time, we can utilise the objective condition growing favourable to revolution and overcome the temporary setback only through bringing a change in these.

Political, Organisational and Military problems in the Revolutionary Movement

The 2020 December CC POR assessed that it would take a relatively long time to overcome the temporary setback in the revolutionary movement. During this 3 ½ years period, our political, organisational and military work was faced severe hurdles and dangers and is going on in a limited and weak manner, due to the counter revolutionary war unleashed by the central and the state governments. This is the reason for the temporary setback. The shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations in our subjective effort and the counter revolutionary offensive unleashed by the ruling classes and are the reasons. These were also the reasons that the revolutionary movement went into a difficult condition by 2012 and into temporary setback by 2018.

The Party, PLGA and United Front considerably weakened in quantity and quality in the enemy offensive in the past three and a half years. The CC and the State Committees formulated the necessary policies and resolutions in this situation. These were sent to the party ranks in all parts of the country in time. In spite of it, leadership comrades of various levels were martyred or arrested, mass base weakened and there were shortcomings in formulating appropriate tactics as per the changing condition. In such a condition there is a limitation and weakness in applying these to the situation of the movement in the respective areas. In all spheres across the country, we are forced to work in a limited way. Few of the tasks given in the 2020 POR could not be fulfilled by the revolutionary movement in a weakened position. But we must understand that the shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations mentioned here are relative.

The 2020 December CC POR stated that in order to overcome the temporary setback in the revolutionary movement - "...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 guerrilla war to the possible extent. This shall be the direction of our present practice...". Our effort in this direction was weak in the past three and a half years.

The document on 'Changes in the Relations of Production in India – Our Political Program' mentioned that although there are considerable changes in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society in the past seven and half decades, there is no fundamental change. However, in view of the social, economic, political, cultural changes and changes in the terrain and due to the rising hold and expansion of the government machinery in the interior rural areas, we categorised our country into 7 areas. Work just began in every state of a party unit, to categorise the areas basing on the MOP document, formulate program for class struggle appropriate to the area and provide clarity to the party cadres and members of Mass Organisations, in order to make class struggle in the present changed social conditions. The oppressed social sections are making spontaneous struggles all over the country to fulfil their hopes and aspirations, as a part of the social changes. The demands being brought forth by these sections are democratic and justified. We decided to take up struggles on social questions as a part of class struggle. We also released documents on the program for struggle regarding caste question and nationality question. The central POR stated that our party must have the initiative to respond then and there at all levels to the spontaneous people's struggles on partial and political issues being made all over the country and develop those into organised movements. We decided to make class struggle coordinating the open, secret, legal-illegal struggles. There is limited effort in the study and discussion of CC POR, MOP, Caste question and Nationality question and raising class struggle basing on these and the situation/strength of the movement in the respective states. The reason being, the political and organisational work of the central, state and district committees in studying the social conditions of the respective states, in studying the Constitution and Laws to take up open-secret and legal-illegal struggles, in providing clarity and impart training to the activists of the party and Mass Organisations.

Since the onset of imperialist globalisation in the country, Dalit and tribal people and women have been making spontaneous struggles to solve their sectional problems. After the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist BJP came to power in the centre, religious minorities also joined these sections making struggles in various forms. All these struggles are part of class struggle. Since the countrywide party became weak, we are unable to utilise these struggles as a good source to overcome the temporary setback. Post modernism and Ambedkarism are the main theoretical guidance for these struggles. Most of these struggles are led by imperialist, CBB sponsored NGOs and in few places, social organisations and revisionist and bourgeois parties too. This is pushing these struggles into legalism, reformism and economism. In this situation, there is no enough theoretical, political work to theoretically expose Post modernism, to expose the limitation of Ambedkarism in a friendly and harmonious manner, to expose the conspiracies of NGOs that affect the militancy of the people in a premeditated manner and against legalism, reformism and economism arising in the people.

Apart from making constant class struggle against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism, we are unable to mobilise and prepare the Dalit and tribal people, women, religious minorities and the oppressed masses so as they resist the attacks on them and on the powers of the state governments. This is our limitation in political and struggle efforts.

A considerable number of the Dalit, tribal and backward sections believe Ambedkarism is the theory that guides to solve their problems and that Constitution is in their interests. Few intellectuals of these sections are bringing and brought forth the theory of Lal-Neel banner blending CPM's Marxism and Ambedkarism. Our theoretical and political effort is not in the manner such as to elucidate the shortcomings in this through a rational theoretical, political criticism.

We supported and participated in the movement countrywide, especially of the Northern region peasantry against the three anti-farmer Acts brought forth by the central government in 2020. But we fell behind the mobilisation of new forces into the party in the region. We participated in the anti-NRC and anti-CAA agitations in Asom, Bengal and the North but mobilisation of new forces into the party is limited. Although thousands of people are mobilising in the struggles in DK for the past 4 years, we very limitedly consolidated the party basing on this. The consolidation of party basing on the northern peasant struggle also was limited. The consolidation of

the party during the last phase of movement for separate Telangana is very less.

To put it in one word, the political and organisational work in the direction of consolidating the Party, PLGA and United Front from the people mobilising in legal struggles is weak.

The political and organisational work to widely propagate the limitations of the legal and open struggles among the people, prepare them for militant struggles, recruit into PLGA and make preparations for People's War, is weak. The political work to bring forth slogans targeting the CBB that is looting the natural resources from the forest areas and developing these struggles into anti-CBB, anti-imperialist and anti-central and state governments is weak.

Presently, the class struggle at the local level all over the country is weak. The class struggle against the old and new feudal exploitive forces, bad gentry and anti-people tribal gentry and other such exploitive forces is weak. Struggles for daily needs of the people is less. On the other hand, the class base of a section of the leadership of the local organs of people that benefited out of the 40 years of class struggle in DK has changed. They continue to be the leaders of the local organs working in class collaborative methods towards the local exploitive forces. This is the main reason for the weakening of mass base.

The open Mass Organisations and Party members of Telangana and AP are limited to mainly agitation and propaganda activities for a long time. They are deviated from our political line of making political and organisational effort so as the open and legal Mass Organisations and people's struggles contribute to advance People's War. Party could not consolidate these organisations and the activists as per the cadre policy that was a serious mistake. So, there is no enough political and organisational work in the urban and plain areas to help develop open people's movement and secret movement, to interlink these with the armed struggle and develop it as the main form of struggle. Thus we are unable to build a strong and broad people's movement in opposition to the counter revolutionary war unleashed by the central and the state governments on the ongoing People's War.

This political weakness gave rise to legalism, economism and reformism in the Mass Organisations and people's struggles. Post-modernist ideas are prevalent in some. Organisationally there arose individualism, careerism, bureaucracy, disunity and groups. Some are indulging in financial misappropriation. This weakness is going on all over the country at varied

levels. The effort of the party to rectify this political weakness is limited and weak.

There is no coordination between and attention towards the illegal and secret forms of struggle and organisation and the legal, open forms of struggle and organisation in the urban, plain and red resistance areas and guerrilla zones all over the country that indicate sectarianism. There is a strong trend of negligence, liberalism and sectarianism in mobilising the vast friendly forces into people's struggles in the anti-imperialist, anti-CBB, anti-feudal United Fronts from the local to the district level. This made People's War in the strategic areas prone to be isolated.

Leadership to the urban, plain and forest movements with mutual help and the mobilisation and consolidation of the farmer, non-farmer and the tribal, non-tribal people did not develop to the necessary extent.

The political work to mobilise the broad masses into the revolutionary movement in the urban, plain and forest areas basing on our political, military line/our general line was affected several years ago and in the rest of the areas, especially in the forest areas, it is weak. As per our political line, we must mobilise, consolidate and arm the worker, peasant, petty bourgeois, national capitalist classes against our targets, the imperialism, CBB and feudal classes, right from the beginning until the end of the revolutionary movement. Due to the deficiency in secret methods of the party and in the organisational work, we are unable to determinedly mobilise and consolidate the working class, peasantry, middle class and the national bourgeoisie by selecting appropriate forms of struggle and organisation according to the balance of forces in the movement and rectifying the mistakes with a conscious and protracted view. As a result, our movement is confined to the forest areas and tribal peasantry and we are not able to mobilise the working class, the farmers of the plain area and the urban middle class and national bourgeois classes into the revolutionary movement. Although the national bourgeoisie will not enter until the revolutionary movement develops into a strong force, we could not make efforts to mobilise at least the rest three classes through appropriate tactics and methods of work. There is no necessary change in the class composition of the Party and PLGA. Persons from the worker, student and intellectual sections did not join the party to the extent to provide theoretical leadership to PLGA. People's War is not receiving the needed resources of war and technology. This is our political weakness.

During this period, our effort to achieve the task of ‘enhancing the mass base, building a strong and secret party invincible to the enemy, strengthening the PLGA, Mass Organisations-United Front and widening-intensifying people’s struggles and guerrilla war’ has been deficient and weak at many places. Our political line has been clearly stating the fundamental principle for the past decades that since the initial days of revolution up to achieving success, the proletarian party that destroys the authority of the exploitive classes and seizes the state power must be secret and invincible to the enemy. It is being written in our party literature. However, there is a serious failure in building the party invincible and secret to the enemy and through lively relations with the people. For a long time, our practice is on contrary to the understanding of secret party. The weakness arose from the petty bourgeois understanding and practice prevailing for a long time that does not suit the understanding of a proletariat/Communist party, in making people’s struggles/class struggles such as to strengthen the Party, PLGA and United Front. This apart, we are not able to establish a mechanism for legal-illegal coordination, the couriering system and liaison posts with a far fetched view. In fact we could not formulate appropriate methods to build a secret party in practice. We had been working in ad hoc methods. This liberal method of functioning led to severe loss of members of the central and the state committees and cadres in the enemy offensive from 2007 to 2024. Since we did not make persistent, determined effort to build a secret party invincible to the enemy, the party is weak in the urban, plain and forest areas, being between the people, in having lively relations with the people and leading them in class struggle-guerrilla war at the local level where carpet security is strong.

We planned to organise the broad masses of farmers and non-farmers in DK and BJ (including EB-NEJ formed in 2014) with the task of establishing liberated area but did not work determinedly to achieve it. Therefore we could not bring a change in the class composition of the Party and PLGA so as to contribute to achieve higher tasks given to those areas. This strategic political weakness is the main reason for the temporary setback in the movement in these areas.

Although there is a relative rise in the Party membership and a few have been promoted at various levels, the strength and capacity of the party to solve the problems in the movement are relatively low, since the

qualifications for membership and promotion are not being properly followed for quite some time.

There are relatively strong bourgeois, petty bourgeois, peasant class ideas, opinions and habits in our party. These ideas are leading to wrong practice, wrong ideas and trends in politics. Due to this, at times attention is not paid to know the opinions of the entire revolutionary camp, of the entire party ranks, to analyse and synthesise the good and bad of it and thus distancing from mass line. Consequently, the collective knowledge and opinions of the entire revolutionary camp are not being centralised in solving the problems in the movement. This is leading to centralism lacking democracy and to bureaucracy. On few occasions it is leading to ultra-democracy. The meetings of the Party, PLGA, committees and commands and units at various levels discuss the agenda for days without proper preparations, the resolutions are made mostly unanimously or with a majority after a wide discussion in the plenums and special meetings. But we see ultra-democracy in the implementation of the resolutions in a casual manner, without initiative and decisiveness, in an individualistic manner and without taking the responsibility of the good and bad of the implementation. The failure of combining the theory, the fundamental line and policies in practice arises from empiricism. The participation of party leadership cadres lessened in making class struggle-guerrilla war, in the political, organisational and military work to build-consolidate the Party, PLGA and United Front. There are no appropriate tactics to solve the political, organisational and military problems arising in them and the theory, line and policies are uttered in a simple manner, all these indicating dogmatism.

Due to empiricist, dogmatic subjectivity, the application of theory, fundamental line and policies to practice are deficient. This apart, in spite of the positive and negative experiences in the practice of class struggle-guerrilla war, weakness continues in synthesising and generalising the positive experiences.

A section of party members in Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Kerala and the states of North region have wrong opinions that we cannot mobilise the broad masses in class struggle if the party is secret. So, they are not prepared for secret life. They are not able to build and mould the party invincible to the enemy. The party is not trained in the effort to mobilise the broad masses in class struggle in secrecy. Secret party is not being built in these areas. Class struggle is not strengthening. In Chhattisgarh, due to lack of proper

understanding of building secret party, the cadres stay secret without paying importance to mobilise the broad masses in class struggle. So class struggle is not developing and there are no new forces into the party. All these are manifestations of wrong trends in party building in urban and plain movements.

Apart from the middle class, peasant ideas in our party, there is failure in understanding the favourable and unfavourable conditions in the revolutionary movement and the advance-retreat, success and defeat in a dialectical manner. This is leading to over or lack of confidence, discontent and despair in a section of cadres. Due to lack of critical/analytical attitude either there is total confidence in persons or a total denial. They are carried away to an end in studying the developments and in forming opinion and in assessment. So, they lack the courage and determination in transforming the unfavourable factors and setback into favourable factors and advancement and flee, surrender or turn traitors out of fear of enemy offensive.

Due to subjectivity in the CC, the 2020 POR formulated tasks beyond the strength of the movements in AOB, Telangana, Western Ghats, 2U, West Bengal and North Chhattisgarh. This was the result of over assessment of the strength of the respective areas. In 2020 when there was a relative rise in the party membership in Telangana, the CC assessed it as a guerrilla zone being consolidated in new methods. This was subjectivity of over assessing the strength of the movement in the area.

The life style in the Party and PLGA does not suit proletarian party and guerrilla life. This is seen in the form of waste in expenditure, in buying costly goods and electronic gadgets and more than needed. The exemption in food for veterans and patients is followed by a considerable number of cadres of party and PLGA, irrespective of health problems. There is relative increase in dependency on the market instead of on the people for food. In few places, food material is collected without considering the amount of production and the economic situation in the villages. All these led to a considerable rise in convenience in the cadres. This leads to relaxation of implementation of rigorous guerrilla life style and in the decrease of struggle capacity. This is mainly the weakness of members of the central and the state committees.

The party is not leading the PLGA in a manner that it participates in class struggle-mass work in daily life. The role of the party committees in moulding the active guerrilla forces in self-defence from the enemy offensive is deficient. Due to this, PLGA is not active in making guerrilla war. The combat

units starting from the LGS to Company are mostly involved in protection, coordination, supplies and other such works related to the CC and DK SZC, instead of preparations for war and combat. In conditions where mass base is being affected, we are losing resources and unfavourable factors are increasing. The CC and DK SZC are not making plans for alternate ways. So these units are not functioning in a centralised manner. Due to lack of practice of drills and rehearsals to develop combat skills and technical skills in daily life, its struggle capacity is less.

The life style of PLGA is contrary to take up effective guerrilla war. There are weaknesses and shortcomings in PLGA in playing the vital role as one instrument in revolution, in being humble, dedicated, sacrificing, in taking up struggle and propaganda and in mobilising the people. Enemy is either over or under assessed. Rigorous guerrilla life style is not practiced in a conscious manner. There are weaknesses and shortcomings in creative application of rules of guerrilla war to the conditions and place. The main leadership is not doing enough political work and there is a rise in enemy offensive. So alien trends, fleeing, surrenders, betrayals and moral problems are on the rise. These problems exist all over the areas of the movement at varied levels. We could not rectify these weaknesses and shortcomings in making active guerrilla war during this period.

The reasons for our losses in the counter revolutionary offensive of the enemy

1. Lack of proper assessment of the counter revolutionary preparations of the central and the state governments and the intensity of war, lack of tactics appropriate to the changed condition.

Failing the two decades of counter revolutionary multipronged offensive campaign unleashed by the central and the state governments to eliminate the revolutionary movement under different names through severe resistance is a positive aspect. However, the higher level leadership committees have a subjective understanding of the counter revolutionary war going on for the past decade, especially the present decisive war Kagaar. So, these committees are not able to mould the Party and PLGA according to the changed conditions and are either over or under assessing the enemy. The party committees and PLGA commands are taking up political, organisational and military work not with

the assessment that the Indian revolutionary movement is presently in temporary setback, but with the over assessment of the temporary favourable factors in the respective areas. This indicates its partial outlook. This is resulting in subjective mistakes inviting enemy attacks and severe loss of the party cadres and forces. This is pragmatic subjectivity. This is a theoretical, political and military wrong trend.

2. The lack of understanding and proper implementation of secret methods of functioning, the rules of guerrilla war and basic tactics.
3. Lack of strategic political, organisational and military work so as to control the enemy intelligence network comprised of informers, coverts and double agents.

We are not making political, organisational and military effort with a strategic view so as to control the enemy intelligence network. We are not doing constant political work to enhance people's consciousness to not turn informers to the enemy. Weaknesses are continuing for a long time in exposing doubtful informers among the people; wiping off vital informers; making critical observation of the developments in local organs of the people and in the organs of the Party and PLGA; training the local organs of people so that these play an active role; correctly identifying the informers and coverts. Thus we are not able to control the enemy intelligence network. This apart, we did not rebuild our intelligence network at least with limited forces, thus giving way to the enemy to know information about our Party and PLGA. Basing on this information enemy is making attacks and causing severe losses to the Party, PLGA and local organs.

Informer and covert network became a severe problem due to lack of constant political effort to enhance the consciousness of the people of their responsibility to protect the Party, PLGA and the revolutionary movement; that they criticise the mistakes in the local organs, Party and PLGA; and identify the informers and coverts and alert the party.

4. Lack of preparation to follow rigorous guerrilla life style, lack of preparations for war.
5. There are shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations in making class struggle-guerrilla war since the local organs of people were

affected, weakened and became inactive in the areas of carpet security, in the changed social conditions and in the temporary setback. As a result, mass base did not increase and the authority of the enemy is being consolidated in the areas of the movement. This is making the enemy classes dominant and creating favourable conditions to make attacks on our Party, PLGA and local organs.

6. Errors in usage of cell phones, internet and walkie-talkie.

The enemy forces rose very high in numbers in the counter revolutionary Surajkund-Kagaar decisive war and there is a fundamental change in the nature of the enemy offensive. Since our Party and PLGA forces did not realise the rise in number of enemy forces and the change in the nature of enemy offensive, we lost a total of 199 comrades since 2024 January in the country out of which 170 are from DK. We continued to think in the old methods and did not implement the self-defence tactics according to the changed condition.

Due to these reasons, mass base was lessened and PLGA forces in the past two years, we could not take up guerrilla war actions in Telangana, AOB and Bihar. In MMC there were few actions to fight back the enemy attacks as a part of self-defence. There were few guerrilla war actions in Odisha. There were very few guerrilla actions in BJ and EB-NEJ. In DK also there are very few actions. Seizure of weapons is very low in DK, BJ and EB-NEJ. Shortage of arms, ammunition and explosive material is severely limiting guerrilla war. On the whole there is a decrease in the guerrilla war actions in the guerrilla zones and red resistance areas all over the country. The area of guerrilla war became less. The red resistance and guerrilla zone areas shrunk. We could not contain the expansion and fortification of carpet security in the areas of the movement. All these reasons affected the guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases. The red resistance areas weakened.

In the changed social conditions, our party needs to develop theoretically, politically, organisationally and militarily such as to efficiently make class struggle; to lead movements in the urban, plain and forest area in a mutually helpful manner; to coordinate open-secret, legal-illegal struggles; to efficiently lead class struggle-guerrilla war so as to overcome the temporary setback; and to efficiently lead class struggle-guerrilla war in areas of carpet security.

We reviewed the countrywide political, organisational and military work or the efforts in class struggle-guerrilla war of the Party, PLGA and United Front in the past three and a half years. We also mentioned the mistakes, weaknesses and the limitations for the past some time. The central and the state governments have been unleashing a decisive war Kagaar for the past 7 months with the evil aim to eliminate the countrywide revolutionary movement in the coming two years. The forces of Party, PLGA, local organs and revolutionary people are being eliminated in big numbers. In this situation we must take up the main task to protect the organs of Party, PLGA and United Front and make class struggle-guerrilla war. Let us mould the Party, PLGA and United Front so as to contribute to achieve this objective.

Let us mould the Party such as to efficiently lead class struggle and People's War in the changed conditions and protect the revolutionary movement and subjective forces in the decisive war unleashed by the enemy

After the setback of Naxalbari and Srikakulam struggles we have been building secret party among the revolutionary classes through political effort. We built a secret, militant party comprising of wide range of part-timers and Professional Revolutionaries (PR) utilising the spate of peasant, student-youth, intellectual and workers' struggles since 1978. Later, we formulated proper tactics basing on the political developments and the balance of forces in the movement, firmly put those in practice and advanced the Indian revolutionary movement in spite of the temporary setback. There is a relative rise in the mistakes, weaknesses and limitations in building secret party and in practicing secret method of functioning since 2012. Although we achieved several political and military successes, we could not utilise those. As a result the party weakened and all spheres weakened. We need to rectify this situation. Let us build and develop a broad, strong, secret and militant party comprising of part-timers and Professional Revolutionaries (PR), with lively relations with the people and invincible to the enemy, through political effort and class struggle in the urban, plain and forest areas.

We must build secret party cells and local party committees with party members from among the people mobilising in struggles in the urban, plain and forest areas. We must establish a mechanism for coordinating legal-illegal works. We must build courier network and liaison posts. Basing on the people mobilising in class struggles, we must continuously recruit new forces into the party, increase subjective forces and strengthen the party.

Let us rectify the pragmatic, dogmatic subjective tendencies arising in the political, organisational and military spheres of the party, with the effect of the ideas and opinions of the bourgeois, petty bourgeois and peasant classes and mould it as a genuine proletarian party. Let us develop the party such as to formulate proper political and military tactics basing on the political developments and the balance of forces in the movement. Let us pay importance to mould the party such as to take lessons from the severe losses to the party since the formation of CPI (Maoist) and to protect and constantly increase the subjective forces; to have continuity of leadership to the revolutionary movement; and to have the composition of three-in-one (of seniors, middle aged and juniors) in the party committees.

There is none from the proletariat and a nominal number from the petty bourgeois sections in the party, PLGA and United Fronts resulting in relatively low theoretical and political level of the leadership committees, lower committees and party ranks. We must change this condition. Let us rectify recklessness, casualness and shallowness in the study of the theory of MLM, in the study of our fundamental line and policies. Let us apply the theory of MLM, our line and policies according to the changed social conditions and the balance of forces in the movement, formulate and strengthen proper political and military tactics and practice those with proletarian determination and Maoist style of work.

Due to lack of organisers in many Mass Organisations in the country, we are not able to lead them according to our political line and the political effort in it is weak. This is the main reason for the political and organisational problems arising in the Mass Organisations and the failure of building the urban movement. Let us take this lesson and develop party organisers to lead every Mass Organisation and intensify political work in those. Let us efficiently lead the open Mass Organisations and legal democratic organisations in the urban, plain and forest areas such as to overcome the temporary setback. Let us shed wrong methods of work that lead the legal and open Mass Organisations to lose legality. Let us classify the open Mass Organisations into two kinds and continue few of those legally for a long time. Let us lead few others with the consciousness to overcome the limitations imposed by the Acts. The enemy will not allow the open MOs that came into existence in the country including DK to continue for a long time. Therefore, let us form new open organisations time to time and mobilise the broad masses in class struggle.

The presence of tribal and non-tribal peasantry in a large number in the Party and PLGA is a positive aspect. However, very limited number of workers and urban petty bourgeoisie is the weakness of the revolutionary movement. Let us rebuild urban and plain movements, mobilise and consolidate the working class, urban middle class and the peasantry in the plain areas and overcome this weakness.

Let us change the method of functioning of the central and the state committees such as to train to enhance the theoretical, political, organisational and military level of the district and area committees in order to contribute to solving the political, organisational and military problems arising in the movement. Let us change the style of study and committee methods of work such as to make concrete analysis of concrete problems, to properly assess the changes in the balance of forces in the movement of the respective areas and to formulate political tasks and tactics corresponding to the strength of the movement.

Revolutions correspond to present conditions. Therefore we must lead the revolutionary movement with appropriate political and military tactics (forms of struggle and organisation) corresponding to the present conditions. It is a historic fact that if we do not do so, revolutionary movements will suffer setback, defeat and come to an end. The great Marxist teacher Lenin said, "Marxists do not simply utter the hypothesis. They do not hang upon the theory of yesterday. They must realise the real life and the truth in and reality. They must step forth not with the possible, but with the truth". Therefore we decided to make social investigation and class analyses in the specified time to understand the objective changes in the urban, plain and forest areas. Basing on this, we need to make surveys into the conditions of the workers and employees in the organised and unorganised sector in the urban areas; into the exploitation and suppression in the industrial and service sectors; into the changes in social life in plain areas; into the social condition, terrain and penetration of government machinery in the forest area; concrete surveys; surveys on the conditions of the various sections of people; into the affect of imperialist, feudal culture on the youth; and into the changes in the social life of the tribal people due to the penetration of Hindu-Christian religious organisations into the forest areas. Let us formulate concrete guidelines in the fundamental guidance of the document on urban work to solve the problems arising in the party organisation in the urban and plain areas, in the condition where the state is fascist more than ever in the process of imperialist

globalisation; counter revolutionary trend took and is consolidating into an institutional form in all spheres and all places.

Let us rectify wrong trends in the urban and plain movements.

Let us take up Education-Rectification campaign to rectify the political, organisational problems and weaknesses in the Mass Organisations and people's struggles. Let us efficiently take up Education-Rectification campaign going on in the MOs in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Let us rectify the political weakness of class collaborative methods of dealing of a section of the local organs with the local exploitive and hierarchical forces in DK. Let us remove them from the responsibility of leadership, bring the advanced, active and militant forces of the poor and lower middle classes and intensify class struggle and strengthen the mass base.

Let us work in a planned and determined manner to establish a mechanism for legal-illegal coordination, courier network and liaison posts, as a part of building a secret party invincible to the enemy.

Let us raise theoretical, political understanding among the Party and PLGA forces regarding changing the unfavourable factors in the revolutionary movement into favourable ones, retreat into advance and defeat into success and avoid the increasing surrender and betrayal among the ranks of the Party and PLGA.

Let us immediately change the life style that does not suit a proletarian party and guerrilla life. Let us formulate and firmly practice rules to control waste in expenditure.

Our political strategy states the contradictions among the ruling classes as a major contradiction. Let us formulate political tactics to utilise the contradictions among the ruling classes to contribute to the advancement of the revolutionary movement. We must isolate the main enemy, neutralise a section of the enemy classes and form tactical United Front with the forces of the enemy classes that work against the main enemy, basing on the changing political developments in the village, area, division/district level and the balance of forces in the movement. Rise in our own strength is an important factor for forming tactical or strategic front. However it should not become inevitable. When the political situation arises for the people to fight together with a section of the enemy classes in the political developments in the country, state or district, we must take up the formation of and participate in United Front. Thus we can raise the strength of the movement.

Most of the political, organisational and military problems in the revolutionary movement are the manifestations of the mistakes, weaknesses and trends of subjectivity that is prevalent in our party. Let us take up Education-Rectification campaign in the Party, PLGA and United Front to rectify these trends. Let us mould the party such as to efficiently lead class struggle in the changed social conditions and to protect the subjective forces from the decisive war being unleashed by the enemy. Let us build and consolidate the party among the four revolutionary classes, oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities. Let us rebuild the urban and plain movements in support to the isolated forest movement. Let us spread the party to vast areas of the country. Let us make changes in the deployment of party forces such as to contribute to achieve these tasks and protect the party. Let us rectify, overcome the mistakes, weaknesses and limitations in the party and mould it into a genuine proletarian, militant and Bolshevik party.

Let us mould PLGA such as it efficiently takes up Guerrilla war-People's war in the changed social conditions, in the temporary setback and amidst carpet security and protect the revolutionary movement, the Party and PLGA from the decisive war unleashed by the enemy

PLGA is making guerrilla war for the past three and a half years to advance the revolutionary movement that is in setback. On the other hand, the central and the state governments are unleashing counter revolutionary decisive war under the name of Kagaar since 2024 January. In this war PLGA is suffering severe losses in the areas of the movement. The enemy is expanding and fortifying carpet security all over the areas of the movement including the guerrilla bases. The Central Home Ministry informed it set up 199 carpet security camps/Forward Operational Bases in the areas of Maoist movement from 2019 to 2023 December. 60,000-1,00,000 additional armed forces were deployed for the operation with 300-500 armed personnel in each camp. 50 new camps were set up in the country since 2024 January. The central and the state governments declared they would set up 29 additional camps in Bastar in the coming days. Presently enemy is mainly making an attack through encirclement. Around 1500-3000 Commando, Para-military and Military forces are engaged in an operation that covers around 10 kms or 20-25 villages. The operation is done in cordon-search-kill method.

PLGA does not have the strength and capacity to contain the expansion and fortification of carpet security. Let us mould PLGA by solving its

political, military and organisational problems; such as to efficiently leads guerrilla war in the changed social conditions and in the temporary setback amidst carpet security; and protects the Party, PLGA, United Front and revolutionary movement from the decisive war of the enemy.

since the counter revolutionary SAMADHAN strategic offensive.

PLGA is an army that fights against the armed forces of the exploitive classes to achieve state power for the oppressed classes. Let us mould the methods of work of PLGA so that it maintains lively, hearty relations with the people; does political work among the people; participates in production and welfare of the people; helps people build their organs of state power; supports the forces of mass work to organise the people; and suppresses people's enemies, in order to achieve its main task.

Recruitment into PLGA is mainly from the tribal peasantry and that from the working class and urban middle class such as student-youth-intellectuals is lacking. This is in one way a positive aspect and in another, a weakness. The wrong ideas and practice arising from peasant backwardness add to this. Let us take up class struggle so as to overcome this problem.

Indiscipline, moral problems, fleeing, surrender, betrayal are the chief problem. Let us solve this problem by protecting our forces from losses in enemy offensive, giving a blow to the enemy through our retaliation and educating our forces on making People's War.

Our war manoeuvres must be such as to take up guerrilla war mainly through small and decentralised actions. And when there is an opportunity and we centralise the forces, these must be decentralised soon after.

We are making war not based on the initiative of the local commanders/commands but on the higher commanders/commands and not on the local supplies but on the supplies from the higher committees/commands. This does not help raise the initiative of the local guerrilla forces and commanders. We must develop dependence on the people for supplies. Let us make efforts to make guerrilla war basing on the initiative of the local commanders and local supplies.

People's War is made to achieve the political tasks directed by the Party. People's War, Guerrilla war, mobile war and positional war are made according to the strength of the movement. Therefore People's War is firstly related to political task. It is not a military aspect alone. If People's War is to widen and intensify, first class struggle must be widened and intensified and mass base enhanced. People's War continues basing on the mass base and also

supports class struggle. Thus class struggle and people's war are mutually dependent. Therefore, in the changed social conditions and in the temporary setback, it would be primary for the party to mould itself and to mould PLGA and United Front such as to efficiently make class struggle in areas of carpet security. We must establish the necessary organs and methods in daily life or retaliation activities for coordination of units of mass work and units of combat. Mass work and military work must be taken up in mutual support.

Recruitment decreased in all the areas of the movement including DK and, in some states, (and also in few divisions of DK) there is no recruitment. We are retreating forces from DK. In this background we must re-structuralise the PLGA formations. As a part of it, as per our earlier resolution, we must classify a unit of 2 groups of 4 each as a squad/section and a unit of 2 sections as a platoon and a unit of 2 platoons and 1 section headquarters as a Company. We must dissolve the units that cannot maintain this number and re-structuralise the other. Let us impart political, military and organisational training to these re-structuralised forces and mould them as well trained people's guerrilla forces.

In the present situation where carpet security spread and strengthened, regional commands and regional forces are unable to work in coordination all over the region. Therefore, we must dissolve CRC and ERC. We must hand over the regional forces of Telangana, AOB and BJ to the concerned State Committees. They must work as the forces of the state. The Company in Odisha must be handed over to the State Committee. One of the members of the State Committees must take up the responsibility of military affairs in the states of PLGA units, to guide the problems in people's war, to study the enemy offensive and formulate self-defence-offence tactics. The in-charge comrades of military affairs of the states must work to solve the problems of PLGA-People's War in coordination with the CMC members.

State Military Commissions must continue in DK, BJ, EB-NEJ. The Sub-Zonal, Divisional, Area and Militia Commands of these areas must continue.

In view of the lowered mass base and increased carpet security, units of mass work and combat must be constantly in mobile. We must immediately shed the mistakes in the secret method of functioning and in the implementation of rules of guerrilla war. Tactics such as secrecy, speed, constant alertness and change of place must be followed with firm determination. We must practice Maoist guerrilla tactics of 'retreat when enemy advances; harass when enemy stops; attack when tired; chase in

retreat'. In order to prevent loss in the present encirclement attack of the enemy, forces of mass work and combat must immediately retreat out of the purview of encirclement. Later, we must retaliate on enemy's retreat at a weak point. Or else, we must take up appropriate tactics basing on mass base, fighting capacity of PLGA forces and terrain.

In the present situation of lowered mass base and strength of PLGA and further expansion of carpet security, we must make guerrilla war in small-decentralised actions to the best of the strength. As a part of tactics of self-defence, the forces of mass work and combat must be always ready to resist the enemy offensive. These must make active self-defensive war in small-decentralised actions.

The guerrilla Battalion must be decentralised into Companies, Platoons and Sections to make guerrilla war in small-decentralised manner. Companies must be decentralised into Platoons, Sections, Groups/Teams and make guerrilla war. All the preparations such as reccy, procurement of war material must be completed in time. Forces must be centralised according to the concrete conditions when there is a guarantee for success. The centralised actions must be completed soon and forces decentralised immediately. In times when there are no actions, preparation must be made in the same methods as decentralised units.

Although the decentralisation of PLGA into small and decentralised units to move in a speedy and secret manner amidst carpet security, its fire power and combat capacity will be less and this would be relatively favourable for the enemy forces to harm it. Therefore we must see the favourable and unfavourable factors of the small and decentralised units and work accordingly. We must review the reasons why small units were affected in the areas of carpet security for the past few years and formulate our methods of work so as to prevent those.

In war, an action, campaign or the entire war has the process of self-defence-offense, retreat-advance and defeat-victory. But when the situation arises where we cannot advance the war basing on the developments, we will take up tactics of retreat. Then the objective would be to avoid defeat, protect the forces and once again advance war. Until we achieve final victory in People's War, we make war paying importance to protect our forces and arms. Mao said that the correct way of making war will be to protect our forces to the possible extent and eliminate the enemy to the maximum possible extent.

If we retreat the main forces and the main leadership of the Party and Military and most of the forces from a war front in People's War, it is strategic retreat. Also, if we retreat our forces for a long time from a war front it is strategic retreat.

If we retreat forces other than the main forces, few of the other leadership forces of the Party and PLGA and a few forces from a war front, it would be tactical retreat. If we retreat from war front seasonally or for some time, it also would be tactical retreat.

Keeping these theoretical rules in view, we must tactically retreat few forces to other areas in the situation of the present spread of carpet security to guerrilla bases in DK that turned into an affected guerrilla zone. In view of the strategic plan (2020) formulated by the Central Committee and the interrelations of DK and neighbouring zones in the Central Region, we must retreat the forces from DK to,,areas. Limited forces from BJ, EB-NEJ must be retreated to

If we retreat forces from DK, it might weaken the movement. However, in view of the importance of protection of forces, we must be prepared for this in leading the movement in DK. We must make necessary changes in the deployment of forces (in party committees, Divisions and formations).

As a part of making guerrilla war in areas of carpet security, we must build people's militia, arm it with traditional weapons and make them function better through constant political effort. Few of the main and secondary forces must be deployed in people's militia to make guerrilla war. We must make guerrilla war coordinating the people's militia with the support of the main and secondary forces and the main and secondary forces basing on the people's militia.

Let us intensify people's struggles and strengthen the Mass Organisations and United Front so as to contribute to fail the decisive war of the enemy, in the changed social conditions

We need to strengthen the Party, People's Army and United Front and go forth in the process of accomplishing revolution, since the beginning up to the final victory. At present, the Party, People's Army and United Front are weak in the temporary setback in the revolutionary movement. The enemy is unleashing Kagaar offensive to eliminate the revolutionary movement by eliminating the Party, People's Army and United Front. So, let us strengthen the Mass Organisations and United Front in the urban, plain and forest areas

such as to fail and defeat the offensive. We must intensify people's struggles and class struggle to strengthen the Mass Organisations and United Front. We must organise the youth mobilising in the people's struggles in activist groups. We must develop Party members from among them and widen party cells. We must develop PRs from among these cells and the PRs into ACMs. Some of them must be developed into leaders of United Front. We must recruit a considerable number of people mobilising in people's struggles into PLGA. We must raise the membership of Mass Organisations and form and expand more open democratic organisations. We must develop party activists from among the people mobilising in these struggles and organise the urban and plain areas.

Let us rectify the political and organisational wrong trends arising in the countrywide people's movements, Mass Organisations and United Fronts in open, legal forms of struggle and organisation. Let us widen-consolidate the open, legal Mass Organisations and people's movements into a militant force. Let us consolidate the advanced, active, militant forces of these struggles and organisation in the Party, PLGA and United Front. In order to overcome the weaknesses and limitation in utilising the people's struggles of the open mass organisations as a good source for the consolidation of the Party, PLGA and United Front, let us learn the lesson that apart from the few comrades allotted to such struggles, majority comrades of the party committees at all levels become part of the consolidation campaign. Let us build open organisations amidst carpet security and work secretly for active functioning of secret mass organisations such as to lead the people in class struggle at the local level. Let us work for active functioning of secret mass organisations together with open organisations in urban and plain areas.

In the situation of strengthened carpet security where we have problem of coordination, the committees of the Mass Organisations in the Special Zone/Special Area must be dissolved and mainly those at the village, area and wherever possible, the divisional committees must be active.

The RPCs that came into existence as strategic United Front are working nowhere except in DK. In DK too, these became weak due to the expansion of carpet security into the guerrilla bases. So, we have to consolidate and make the Janathana Sarkar work secretly. Although the divisional level RPCs will not be able to implement people's state power like earlier, we need to continue these to unite and lead the revolutionary people against the enemy classes, to mobilise the people against the massacres of the

enemy and to place the political program before the people time to time. We can fail the counter revolutionary program of 'neeyad nellatha naar' (yours is a good village) of the ruling classes only through raising the consciousness and organising the people to build the affected organs of people's state power.

As per the guidance of the central POR (2020), let us rebuild the being affected and affected Mass Organisations and strengthen the affected mass base.

Let us organise the people mobilising in people's struggles of economic, social and political issues all over the country in class and sectional organisations. Let us enlighten them with the politics of anti-imperialist, anti-CBB and anti-feudal class struggles, develop those into militant struggles and to the level of armed struggle. Let us develop the party in broad plain and urban areas basing on these struggles.

Let us have the medium sections from the local to the all India level on our side. Let us isolate the main enemies, utilise the contradictions between the enemies such as to contribute to the advancement of the revolutionary movement and sustain the friendly forces. Let us build forums of tactical United Front in various forms on various issues with this understanding.

Let us build broad people's movements in the tribal areas all over the country for democratic autonomy of the tribal people. As a part of it, let us take up struggles for the implementation of the 5th and the 6th schedules depending on the balance of forces of the movement. The State Committees must immediately formulate political programs and appropriate organisations on this issue in the guidance of the document on 'Nationality Question-The stand of our party'.

Let us mobilise the people in class struggle by concentrating on political issues as a part of intensifying class struggle in all states of party units.

We must build party fractions for active functioning of Mass Organisations. We must form activist groups with those mobilising in people's struggles. We must develop them into party members and build party cells, PRs and party committees from among them. We must definitely build a party system to properly lead people's struggles and Mass Organisations. We need to impart education to the people's struggles and Mass Organisations to distance those from the wrong theoretical, political and organisational trends arising time to time. We see that in the history of our revolutionary movement, these helped for the advancement of the revolutionary movement wherever it was taken up in time and in a proper manner. There were negative results

where we did not. Let us rectify the influence of Post-modernist, Ambedkarist theoretical and political trends and that of wrong theory regarding gender relations in the mass organisations.

Dear Comrades,

We reviewed the political, organisational and military efforts of the Party, PLGA and United Front for the past three and a half years to achieve the immediate tasks formulated in the 2020 central POR. Due to the decisive war unleashed by the enemy and since we did not rectify the wrong/alien class trends in the Party, PLGA and United Front, the revolutionary movement is continuing in setback. DK, BJ, EB-NEJ guerrilla zones are affected. There is no development in the rest of the areas of movement and are continuing as red resistance areas. 2U and North Chhattisgarh turned white areas. In this situation, let us change the immediate, main and central task thus – “Let us save the Party, PLGA, United Front and the revolutionary movement. Let us rebuild the affected guerrilla zones DK, BJ, EB-NEJ. Let us constantly develop mass base to the best of our strength in the urban, plain and forest areas all over the country, develop the subjective forces and develop class struggle, red resistance areas and guerrilla war. Let us consolidate the countrywide spontaneous people’s struggles on partial and political issues”. The efforts to fulfil this task must contribute to the objective of liberated areas.

In addition to the central task, let us make necessary changes in the immediate, political, organisational, military, United Front and urban tasks directed in the 2020 CC POR and strive to achieve those.

Let us rectify the alien class tendencies in the Party, PLGA and United Front for proper and efficient implementation of these tasks. We mentioned the theoretical, political, military and organisational problems in the revolutionary movement since a long time. The main responsibility for these trends lies with the central and the state strategic leadership committees. Subjectivity is continuing in our Party, PLGA and United Front in the forms of pragmatic subjectivity and dogmatic subjectivity. This apart, there are mistakes, weaknesses and trends in our practice. There is a constant struggle between the proletariat revolutionary ideas and bourgeois, petty bourgeois, peasant ideas in the party. This is seen in the discussions in the meetings and in practice. These gradually develop into trends. If these strengthen further, they become paths. At present there are wrong trends in our revolutionary movement and the party. But there are no wrong lines. Therefore our party took up a campaign to rectify the alien trends that are standing in the way of

achieving the tasks directed by the Unity Congress. Since we failed to realise its importance and rectify the alien trends, the countrywide revolutionary movement suffered severe losses and entered into a difficult situation by 2012. The CC reviewed it in 2013 and took up the campaign for bolshevising the party. We achieved few results in few areas. We did not continue the campaign that led to wrong trends once again in the countrywide revolutionary movement, Party, PLGA and United Front. Therefore, if we do not rectify the non-proletarian wrong ideas, trends and practice that happen to be one of the main reasons for the difficult situation and temporary setback, we cannot utilise the objective situation developing favourable for revolution. We cannot prevent losses in enemy offensive. Let us take up rectification campaign against these wrong trends in order to save the Party, PLGA, United Front and the revolutionary movement. Rectifying alien class trends means to change the method of thinking that caused these. However, since we did not concentrate on rectifying the wrong method of thinking and the wrong style of work, we could not achieve the expected results. Let us take the lesson and make success the rectification campaign. Let us rebuild the Party, PLGA and United Front all over the country. Let us rebuild the movement in urban and plain areas. Let us develop a strong mass base. Let us intensify class struggle and strengthen the Party, PLGA and United Front basing on the advanced, active and militant forces. It might take relatively more time to achieve proper results in this work amidst the counter revolutionary enemy offensive. In the situation where further unfavourable factors are arising in the temporary setback of the countrywide revolutionary movement, we need to mainly take up political work among the people to overcome the situation and lead the revolutionary movement for a relatively long time utilising the open, legal forms of struggle and organisation. Party must gain command in secrecy in this effort. The Party, PLGA, United Front and the revolutionary movement will become an invincible force only through this work.

We decided to protect the Party, PLGA, United Front and the revolutionary movement so that the movement in temporary setback does not fall into further unfavourable conditions. Let us briefly once again see how our political, organisational and military effort, the direction of our practice and method of work must be in the present condition.

When movements temporarily setback, middle and backward sections of the people hesitate to take part in illegal activities. Their militant participation in class struggle and guerrilla war relatively decreases. People's

enemies and exploiters indulge in severe exploitation and oppression on the people. There will be relatively more informers for the police with the support of the state (presently of carpet security) and their role in counter guerrilla operations will rise. Thus there will be relatively more chances of loss to the Party, PLGA forces in the counter guerrilla operations of the enemy armed forces. With lowered mass base, economic resources and war resources will become less. Recruitment into the Party and PLGA will be low. All these lead to relatively lessened intensity in guerrilla war. Keeping these in view, we must pay importance to the protection of subjective forces and leadership forces so as to change this situation. Party must be secret and pay importance to open-legal forms of struggle and organisation. We must make guerrilla war to the best of the strength through small and decentralised actions. All through, the units of mass work and combat must be in small formations (in teams and sections) as operational units. We must pay importance to theoretical, political, organisational and military consolidation of the Party, PLGA and United Front. We must not go for higher level formations. We cannot do many things at a time like in the favourable period. Therefore, every unit of the party and PLGA and every leadership comrade must do only important work. All the Party and PLGA units including the leadership must be in mobile every day. We must shed staying at one place and must change places. We must follow secrecy and shed open methods of work in all our work. We must explain the people of the need to intensify class struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists, CBB and feudal classes and intensify the political work to politically enlighten the people. We must take up political offensive against the exploitive classes.

We appeal to all the party units to assess the situation of the movement in all the states, district and areas, assess the favourable and unfavourable factors in the objective and subjective situation, formulate appropriate tactics to achieve these tasks and work in the Maoist style, basing on this circular being released by the PB/CC. We can bring a change in this situation by learning from our experiences and failures and persevering political, organisational work among the people.

Let us keep in view the changed social conditions, the changes in the nature of strategic areas, the consolidation of counter revolution in the urban, plain and forest areas and urbanisation and work to achieve the tasks to protect and develop the revolutionary movement with a strategic outlook.

In the situation where the revolution is in temporary setback since 2018 and is turning much unfavourable, a section of the cadres might be despaired to see the changes in the immediate tasks. They might lose confidence in the work to overcome the situation. However, as Marxists, whenever we examine an entity or a process, we see the contradictions, favourable and unfavourable factors, the immediate situation and future developments. Then we gain clarity towards the objective reality and confidence in the change and the process of change. In the process of leading revolution, we analyse both the favourable and unfavourable factors in the objective and subjective situation, overcome unfavourable factors and plan to advance basing on the favourable factors. Only thus we will not fall in partial and limited view. Let us see the present objective and subjective situation with this outlook.

As the fundamental contradictions at the domestic and international level are intensifying, people of the world and the country are fighting against the exploitive classes. This situation favourable for revolution shall be the basis and the source to overcome the temporary setback and advance. A section of the subjective forces at various levels has been tempered in the class struggle-guerrilla war to overcome the difficult situation and the temporary setback in the past one decade. There are yet thousands of party cadres, PLGA fighters and activists of Mass Organisations in the country. This subjective factor will be the basis and source to overcome the present situation. Let us develop secondary rank leadership in all spheres and at all levels basing on this basis and source. Let us protect the revolutionary movement from the enemy offensive basing on these favourable objective and subjective factors and advance it.

2024 August

**Polit Bureau
CPI (Maoist)**