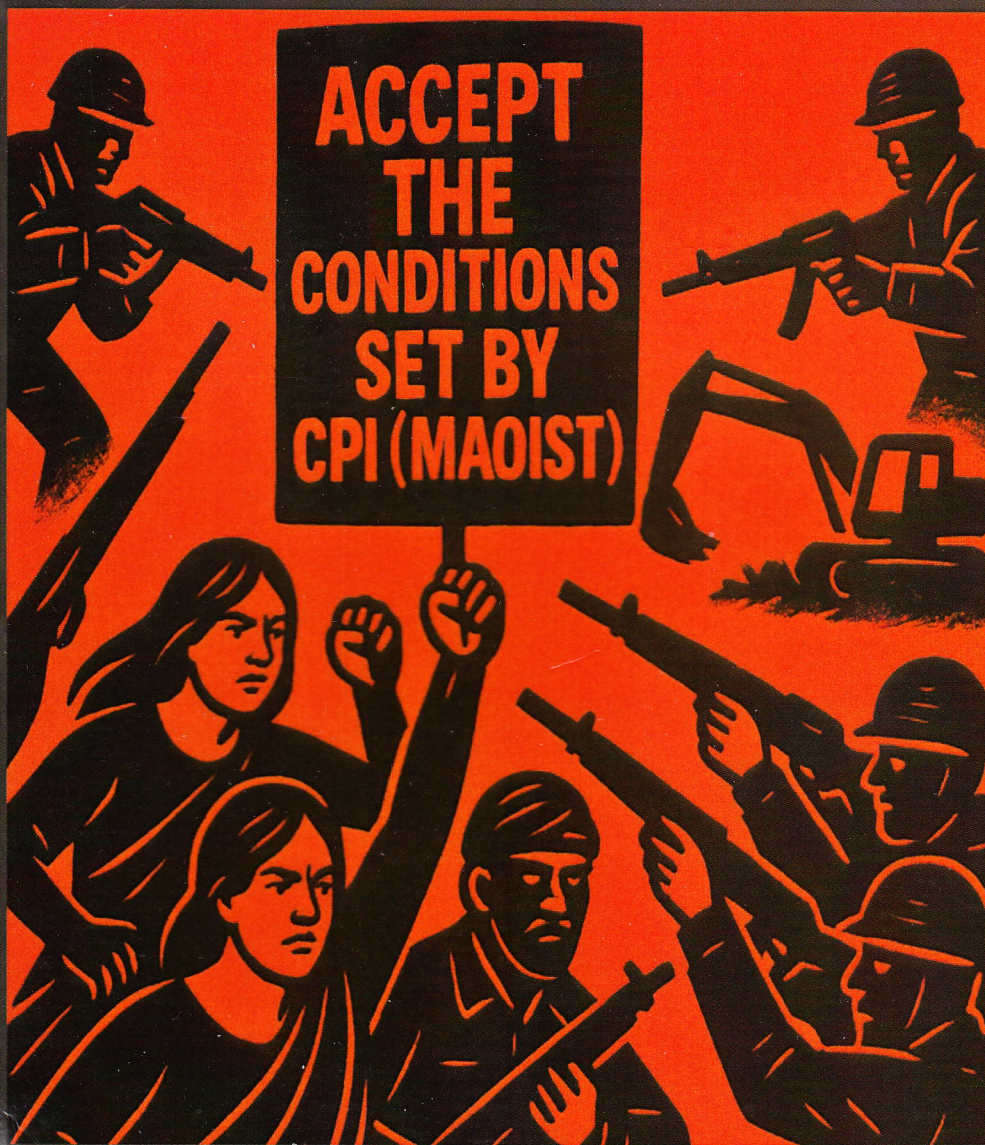


STATE OF DENIAL: ON THE PEACE TALKS

A BOOKLET PUBLISHED BY NAZARIYA MAGAZINE





"History shows that wars are divided into two kinds: just and unjust. All wars that are progressive, that are for liberation, are just, and all wars that are for aggression and enslavement are unjust. We Communists oppose all unjust wars but not just wars. Not only do we Communists not oppose just wars, we actively participate in them. We are not pacifists who oppose all war. War is the continuation of politics. When politics reaches a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way. War is the highest form of struggle to resolve contradictions. When the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism cannot be resolved by peaceful means, it must be resolved by war. The final goal of war is peace. When the enemy is wiped out, peace will come. We fight war to end war; we wage just war to achieve real peace."
— Mao Zedong, "On Protracted War" (1938)

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INTRODUCTION

On April 2, 2025, Comrade Abhay, spokesperson for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) (henceforth also “the Party”) issued a statement welcoming civil society's efforts to facilitate peace talks between the party and the Indian state. He emphasized that the party is prepared to engage in dialogues in the interests of the masses.

The year 2024 and 2025 were two more years of the intensification of imperialist crisis and inter imperialist wars on oppressed countries and oppressed people of the world for the loot of land, natural resources and labour power. The global capitalist imperialist system continues to be marked by economic slowdowns, widespread unemployment, and growing threats of stagflation and recessions and is in major crisis. And it is very well aware that only and only the Maoist movement that has the power to rally the exploited and oppressed masses on the path of breaking the chains of imperialism and building a new democratic society, socialism and eventually communism, hence it has strengthened the war on Maoists parties across the globe. In India, the past year and a half has witnessed the brutality, unleashed by Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism with the imperialists and especially US imperialism, that counterrevolutionary offences have unleashed, on the revolutionary party and masses. The main objective of the offensive plan is to eliminate the Party, the PLGA and the organs of people's organisations, Revolutionary People's Committees and the entire revolutionary movement. The state apparatus of Central and State governments was made more impetuous “by deploying police, para-military, commando, military and Airforce on a big scale in the areas of revolutionary movement, extension and strengthening of carpet security”. There were aerial strikes on revolutionary masses and leadership of the Party. There is a massive war of negative propaganda with the help of corporate media against not only the revolutionary movement but on each and every voice of dissent. Intellectuals, Writers, Poets, Human Rights activists, Students, Tribal activists, Trade Union leaders, Farmer Leaders and all progressive forces are being targeted through this policy in the name of “pen-yielding” Maoists.

The most brutal monstrosity of the ruling class was unleashed in the Bastar, where it has killed over 400 revolutionaries and adivasis peasantry, arresting over thousands of adivasis and revolutionaries, terrorising resisting masses, destroying adivasis villages and lands. The land of Bastar today is stained with the blood of India's bravest proletarian warriors, and the Indravati River flows red with the blood of the Adivasi peasantry. The call of peace needs to be seen in the same light. The Party has been responding to the offense with unwavering Bolshevik spirit, making profound sacrifices and displaying courage that transcends fear, all in defense of people's jal, jungle, and zameen, embodying the true spirit of patriotism. While the Indian state is busy selling off our land, resources and labour power of our people to foreign corporations and imperialists.

Conditions for Peace Talks

On April 2, 2025, Comrade Abhay, spokesperson of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist), issued a statement. Comrade Abhay in his statement have also laid down a few conditions to create a conducive environment for peace talks.

1. Halt Operation Kagar and all military offensives in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra (specifically Gadchiroli), Odisha, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Telangana
2. No new military camps should be set up and existing forces must remain confined to their current camps for the duration of the cease fire.

In the statement, the party reiterated its longstanding position: that it supports dialogue with the Indian state to safeguard the interests of the people. Far from being an act of weakness, this step reflects the Maoists' commitment to the masses and their suffering. The Maoists are not afraid of death - in fact, the Maoists recognise that revolutionary struggle is a hard and relentless war, where blood may flow, and where those who die will live in the hearts of the people as martyrs. However, they are demanding a ceasefire as it is the people's intellectuals who have pursued the Party for the same and the Party has stood for the same.

The guerrilla war being waged by the CPI (Maoist) is not for self-interest—it is in the interests of the exploited and oppressed people to weaken the world imperialist forces, particularly US imperialism and the stopping of taking over of land, water and forests i.e. the people's resources by the imperialists. The Party is therefore the natural ally of all the oppressed people fighting against US imperialism, be it the Palestinian, Syrian or other people. Every decision, including proposals for peace talks, must be understood as aligned with that goal. Moreover, ceasefire and halting of counterinsurgency operations are not utopian or excessive demands—they are the bare minimum conditions for meaningful dialogue. How can there be peace talks when one side is bombing and massacring the other?

While the conditions put forward by the party are in no way unjust, these demands are minimal and in accordance with democratic principles and international laws itself. Moreover, the Indian state still evades accountability by not (more) officially, declaring a civil war—even as it wages one against its own people for over two decades now. The Deputy CM and UHM Amit Shah has gone to the extent of stating that the Maoists are supposed to lay down their arms for any peace talks to be considered. By rejecting these conditions and intensifying the war, the Indian state proves itself to be a loyal lapdog of imperialism and a true enemy of the people of India. The state's reluctance to engage in dialogue with the Maoists, coupled with continued investments and signing of MOUs in Bastar, underscores the ruling class's real intentions. The State is not a neutral party seeking to resolve class antagonisms, but an organ of class rule in the hands of the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and big feudal landlords, serving imperialist interests. As Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution*, *"The state is a product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class"*

by another". The Indian state, serving these interests, cannot tolerate revolutionary forces that challenge its economic model.

The history of peace negotiations in India, involving both nationality forces and revolutionaries, reveals a recurring pattern: while the others have often shown a genuine willingness, the Indian state has always betrayed the aspirations of the masses. The recent call of NSCN restarting armed struggle for self determination is a living example of this. Also within the history of Maoist movement, the Indian ruling class has betrayed the people, whether it was the peace talks during 2004, or the murder of comrades Azad and Hem Chandra during 2010 or even the cold blooded murder of comrade Kishenji in 2011.

The Indian state cannot hide behind claims of so-called nationalism and sovereignty when it systematically violates its own constitutional laws, kills its own "Citizens", and makes its own people kill each other in the name of "development", religion, caste, gender, nationality. In fact, the only nationalism that the Indian state knows is that of comprador nationalism- a facade built to serve their masters through which India remains a colony of a new type- neo colony. The refusal to consider even basic dialogue is not about national security—it is about protecting those exploitative interests. This exposes the limits of having faith in the Indian state as a potential agent of justice.

If peace is truly the aim of the Indian state, then the onus lies on the state. Peace without justice is betrayal. Real justice is the justice of the people. Justice without the recognition and giving permission (legal recognition) for the operation people's power and organs like Janathana Sarkar units, Jan Mukti Chapamaar Sena and Jan sangathans like Moolwasi Bachao Manch, Majdoor Sangharsh Samitis etc are not people's power, but the dictatorship of the big landlords and big bourgeois. Intellectuals like Noam Chomsky in his book *The Reasons of the State* has established that when a state violates its constitution and does unconstitutional things against the people then it is the right of the people to stage armed resistance against it. This logic was even upheld by the Supreme Court of the USA. Is the Maoist movement not demanding the same out of the state through its armed revolutionary movement - for it to at least follow the Constitution of India? In fact, one of the central questions (as well as its slogan of "land to the tiller!") of the Maoist movement began on the issue of the non-implementation of the 5th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Real peace can only come through the victory of the exploited and oppressed masses.

As far as the Maoists are concerned, it is necessary to understand that in any guerrilla war, the two sides are asymmetrical. The state controls enormous firepower, wealth, and infrastructure, while the revolutionary movement draws its strength from the people's will. It is this very ruling class that has also defined the "naxalite issue has its roots in socio-economic conditions and is not a law and order issue". Even official state committees like the B.D. Bandyopadhyay Committee, constituted by the Planning Commission, acknowledged that the so-called Naxalite problem is not a law-and-order issue—it is a socio-economic one. Displacement, land alienation, exploitation, and state violence lie at its root.

Therefore, the Indian state must know that with the deepening crisis of imperialism, its days are counted and the masses will, and have always, fought against exploitation and oppression. It is also important that the Indian state is reminded of the history of the people's movement, which has always risen like a phoenix from the ashes. The Indian state came up with Operation Steeplechase to crush the Naxalbari movement, but we see that the revolutionary movement has spread across India and is continuing under the banner of CPI (Maoist) today. Not so long ago, Salwa Judum and Operation Green Hunt was launched in Bastar and these operations were too defeated by the revolutionary party and masses, as the Party together with the masses will continue to do.

As Chairman Mao said, *"It is right to rebel against reaction!"* The revolutionary movement is not an exception, but a historical necessity born out of exploitation and oppression. The struggle for dignity, land, and justice will continue regardless of whatever the state does to stop it. It may take up different forms in different situations including the form of armed struggle, but it will continue nevertheless.

We are releasing this booklet to provide political clarity. It is divided into four chapters. Our aim is to historicise peace talks in the Indian context and provide Marxist-Leninist-Maoist analysis of the CPI (Maoist)'s current proposal and the Indian state's reaction to it. We also aim to expose the liquidationist and opportunist position of those who are using this occasion to advocate for the Party to surrender and deviate from the armed guerilla revolutionary movement.

We urge democratic and peace-loving people, especially civil rights, Adivasi, Dalit, and youth organisations, to take up Comrade Abhay's call and conduct a country-wide campaign to pressure the Indian state to hold talks based on the Maoists' just and reasonable demands. If peace is truly the aim, then the onus lies on the state. Peace without justice is betrayal. Real peace can only come through the victory of the exploited and oppressed masses. The task before us is clear: stand with the people, expose the lies of the state, and demand a ceasefire and peace talks based on the Maoists' conditions.

COMPILATION OF STATEMENTS

Communist Party Of India (Maoist) Central Committee Press Statement

March 28, 2025

The Peace Talks Committee held a round table meeting in Hyderabad on March 24 on the topic *'The war in Central India should be stopped immediately, the Indian government and the CPI (Maoist) should declare an unconditional ceasefire and hold peace talks.'* We welcome the formation of the Peace Talks Committee in the current situation and its holding of a round table meeting for peace. On this occasion, we express our party's stance towards peace talks.

In January 2024, the Brahmanical Hindutva fascist BJP central government and the revolutionary movement-affected state governments jointly launched a counter-war on the people of the revolutionary movement-affected states under the name of 'Kagaar'. At that time, to deceive the people, Chhattisgarh State Deputy Chief Minister/Home Minister Vijay Sharma repeatedly made statements that *'Our government is ready to hold talks with the Maoists. The Maoists should come for talks'*. On that occasion, Comrade Vikalp, the media spokesperson of our party's Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, informed twice that our party is ready for peace talks. In order to create a positive atmosphere for peace talks, he proposed to the central and state governments to stop the massacre of the tribal people under the name of 'Kagaar'. He proposed to the central and state governments to limit the armed forces of the central and state governments deployed in the Bastar region to barracks and to stop the establishment of new camps of the armed forces. Without responding to this proposal, the Central and State Governments have been vigorously continuing the counter-revolutionary 'Kagaar' war in all the states affected by the revolutionary movement, especially in Chhattisgarh, for the last 15 months. In this war, more than 400 of our party leaders, activists, commanders and members of various levels of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army, and ordinary tribal people have been killed so far across the country. Of these, 1/3 were ordinary tribal people. The armed forces of the Central and State Governments are arresting thousands of people in the revolutionary movement areas, filing illegal cases and imprisoning them.

The central and state governments are systematically killing the common people. Unarmed members of our party and PLGA, who are caught in the cordon and kill operations, and injured members who are caught by the enemy armed forces, are being subjected to inhuman torture and killed. Women comrades are being gang-raped and killed. That is why we call this war genocide. The central government has deployed the Indian Army in this war under the guise of commando forces. Using the army for internal security without declaring the revolutionary movement area as a disturbed area is unconstitutional. Using the army against

the people of our own country, whether or not it is declared as disturbed areas, is against the basic concepts of the Constitution. The BJP-ruled central and state governments are continuing the Kagaar war to consolidate the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists, comprador capitalists and landlords and to establish a 'Hindu Rashtra'. State governments of other political parties representing the exploitative classes are partners in this. The Kagaar war is making it clear what the 'Vikasit Bharat-Hindu Rashtra' that the Brahminical Hindutva fascist RSS-BJP central and state governments are planning to build will look like. It is being built on the foundations of the blood of the tribals and the poor. It will tomorrow tie up the country's peasant lands, natural resources, markets and public sector enterprises to domestic and foreign corporates. It will constitutionalize discrimination against religious minorities. It will destroy the federal system and build a dictatorial central government (autocratic unitary state). While the tribals and the non-tribal poor people who have been living with them for generations, under the leadership of our party in eastern and central India, are fighting for power over their Jal, Jangal, Zameen, for self-governance (autonomy), for the protection of their culture and traditions, for the protection of their mother tongues, and for the protection of the environment, for the overthrow of the imperialist, comprador capitalist and feudal system and for the establishment of an equal society, the BJP central and state governments, and the state governments of other parties are continuing the Kagaar war in eastern and central India to eradicate those people's struggles. While our party is fighting for the liberation of the oppressed people, marginalized social groups and oppressed races of the country from the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists, comprador capitalists and landlords, the central and state governments are using armed police forces and intelligence agencies like the NIA to suppress those struggles in the cities and plains and are attacking the struggling masses. They have filed the Bhima Koregaon conspiracy case against the pro-democracy intellectuals and imprisoned them. In short, while our party is fighting against the exploitation and oppression of all the oppressed people, oppressed social groups, and oppressed races of the country by the imperialists, comprador capitalists, and landlords, the BJP central and state governments, as well as the state governments of other parties, are continuing the war on the people of the country in the name of Kagar to consolidate the exploitation and oppression of these exploitative ruling classes. In the revolutionary movement areas, they are recruiting tribal youths into the armed forces and are killing tribals themselves.

In this situation, we are ready for peace talks at any time for the benefit of the people. That is why we are proposing to the Central and State governments on this occasion to create a positive atmosphere for peace talks. For this, we propose that the Central and State governments stop the killings and genocide being carried out in the states of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra (Gadchiroli), Odisha, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Telangana in the name of Kagar, and stop the establishment of new camps of the armed forces. If the Central and State governments respond positively to these proposals, we will immediately declare a ceasefire.

Based on these proposals we are making, we appeal to the Peace Talks Committee, the country's pro-democracy intellectuals, writers, print, electronic, and digital media

journalists, human rights groups, tribal and Dalit organizations, student-youth, environmental activists, etc. to put pressure on the central and state governments for peace talks. We request that a publicity campaign be undertaken in all towns, cities, district and taluka centers, and universities across the country to put pressure on the central and state governments for peace talks.

Abhay, Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
Communist Party of India (Maoist)

Maoists offer conditional talks; Chhattisgarh says ready for dialogue but with no conditions: The Hindu; Raipur, April 02, 2025

Maoists have offered conditional peace talks with the Chhattisgarh government, demanding an immediate halt to anti-Maoist operations and a stop to the establishment of new armed forces camps, according to a statement released by the banned Communist Party of India (Maoist) on March 28. The Maoists also called for a ceasefire and peace talks, stating, *"We are always ready for peace talks in the interest of the public."* However, Chhattisgarh's Deputy Chief Minister, Vijay Sharma, rejected the conditions, asserting that the government is ready for talks but without any preconditions. He emphasized, *"Talks will be without any conditions and we are still ready for that... the government will not form any committee."*

Want talks? Reach out directly to me, Chhattisgarh deputy chief minister Vijay Sharma tells Maoists: Reported by The Times of India, Raipur, April 11, 2025

Chhattisgarh Deputy Chief Minister Vijay Sharma responded to the Maoists' second letter seeking peace talks, stating that if they are serious, they should contact him directly. *"If they want to talk, they must come forward transparently. Govt has not formed any official committee for peace talks. If anyone wants to talk, they should reach out to me directly. I will ensure their safety. But let me be clear: violence will be met with force,"* Sharma, who is also the home minister, said. He confirmed the authenticity of the letter issued by the Maoists' in-charge of the northwest sub-zonal bureau, adding, *"We are open to unconditional talks with even a single representative and prepared for strict action if violence continues."* Sharma further emphasized, *"Even if a single individual is willing to come forward for discussions, the govt is prepared. Whether it's a small group or a large one, we are ready for dialogue on all fronts."* He reiterated that the government views peace talks as a path toward long-term stability and development in "Naxal-affected regions."

Sharma also criticized the Maoists' stance, saying, *"You call for peace but continue holding guns. In India, we follow democracy, not dictatorship like China. Guns cannot dictate terms in a democratic nation."* He appealed to the Maoists, urging them not to "waste time waiting for others," but to come forward voluntarily for dialogue. Addressing their call to stop

internal conflict, he added, *"Talks are possible when Naxals decide to surrender."* Sharma highlighted the government's new rehabilitation policy, which offers no prosecution for surrendered rebels, even those who have been active for 5-6 years, and said that pending cases may be withdrawn. He echoed Union Home Minister Amit Shah's call for Maoists to surrender and join the mainstream.

On the intensifying anti-Naxal operations, Sharma stated, *"We are running the 'VIR' (Village Integration and Rehabilitation) campaign. We're going village to village, connecting with people. This is Modi ji's govt, and Amit Shah's mission is clear,"* adding that the state has four years to resolve the situation. However, he made it clear that dialogue alone cannot be the response to violence: *"We cannot respond to bullets with just words."* He stressed that the government will not hesitate to take strict action if necessary.

As Maoists make 'peace offer', why govt is not jumping at it, fears 'time-buying tactic'- Reported by The Indian Express, April 13, 2025

During his recent visit to Dantewada, Union Home Minister Amit Shah addressed the Maoists, calling them "brothers" and urging them to drop their weapons. Shah reiterated the government's goal of ending Left Wing Extremism by March 2026, stating, *"You people are one of us. Whenever a Naxal is killed, no one feels happy."* His comments came in response to a letter from the Communist Party of India (Maoist), which offered a ceasefire under certain conditions, including the cessation of anti-Naxal operations and the establishment of new police camps across several states. However, police officials, including Inspector General of Police for Bastar Range Sundarraaj P., expressed skepticism, suggesting that the Maoists' offer might be a tactic to buy time and regroup. *"As per the desire of the native population and intention of both state and Union governments, we executed a comprehensive action plan to bring an end to the Naxal menace,"* Sundarraaj said, adding that *"If they are serious, they should surrender their weapon."*

Former Chhattisgarh DGP and Naxal expert R K Vij also questioned the credibility of the Maoists' ceasefire offer, stating, *"First, it is not clear if the offer is authentic... Before this, they have talked many times about a ceasefire, laying down conditions, but only when offers were made to them from the government's side"* He pointed to previous failed peace talks, such as those in 2002 under the Chandrababu Naidu government in Andhra Pradesh, where the Maoists refused to give up their armed struggle. *"Peace talks mean their agenda of armed struggle is defeated... We should go for peace talks once they lay down their arms and go for a long-term solution... If they are not giving up their weapons and ammunition, it simply means they will use this period to regroup... They want the talks only when it is of some advantage to them,"* Vij said.

Despite the Maoists' repeated calls for peace talks, some civil society members, like

Shubranshu Choudhary, argue that it may be too late for meaningful negotiations. Choudhary noted, *"The only new thing in the latest letter was that a peace dialogue committee met in Hyderabad... This is the third letter Maoists have written asking for peace talks after state Home Minister Vijay Sharma last year said he was ready to speak with Maoists ... It seems now it was Sharma's personal response and not the official stand of his party or the government. The Central government's only route is the military route."* Since the BJP returned to power in Chhattisgarh in December 2023, over 350 Maoists have been killed in various operations, with 135 of those fatalities occurring this year alone. Following the Maoist ceasefire proposal, State Home Minister Vijay Sharma reiterated his stance, saying, *"They are talking about a ceasefire. I don't understand how the discussion will take place with such terminology,"* and reaffirmed that neither the state nor the central government wanted to *"fire a single bullet."*

Cops, CRPF jawans comb Telangana's Karregutta for Maoists- Reported by The New Indian Express, Date: 23rd April, 2025, Mulugu

The members of banned CPI (Maoist) were reportedly sheltered in Karregutta (hillock), spanning across Chhattisgarh and Mulugu forest district of Telangana on Tuesday. With this, the police and Central Reserve Police Forces (CRPF) personnel from both the states are on high alert.

According to sources, intelligence information indicated that top Maoist leader Hidma and his teams sheltered in the Karregutta forest area. Following this, the Chhattisgarh police forces, along with the CRPF, launched the combing operation 'Bachao Karregutta.' Mulugu Superintendent of Police (SP) Dr P Shabarish stated that Telangana police are not currently carrying out any combing operation in the Karregutta area. The Chhattisgarh police and CRPF teams entered border villages of both the states. Panic prevailed in the border area of the Mulugu district as police forces were on high alert.

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

April 25, 2025

*We appeal to the central and state governments
Declare a ceasefire with a definite time frame and hold unconditional peace talks!!*

Since last January 2024, the central and state police, paramilitary and commando forces have killed hundreds of Maoists and innocent tribals in the name of Operation Kagaar, and this is still going on. Condemning these killings, hundreds of democratic, revolutionary mass

organizations, parties, social institutions and activists, progressive, democratic and activists, progressive, democratic and revolutionary intellectuals are agitating in the country and the world. Their demand is that Operation Kagar should be stopped immediately, ceasefire should be declared, and the government and the Maoists should together find a solution to the problems through dialogue. I had issued a statement on behalf of the Central Committee on March 28 regarding peace talks. In this, I said that we are ready to hold peace talks with the government. Till now, a total of three press releases have been issued for peace talks, including the press release issued by me and two press releases issued by Comrade Rupesh on behalf of the North-West Sub-Zonal Bureau of Dandakaranya. Under this, our comrades issued orders to stop armed actions of our PLGA forces. In this context, the central and state governments together murdered our Central Committee member Comrade Vivek in the Bokaro massacre in Jharkhand state and issued a warning that the rest of the Maoists should surrender, otherwise they will also suffer the same fate. The right to life given by the state to the people in the Constitution of India is being crushed by the state itself. They claim to be constitutionally elected governments, but they are ignoring that same Constitution. They openly say that the answer to guns will be only with guns. By blockading the Karregutta area in the border region of Chhattisgarh and Telangana, deploying 10 thousand police, paramilitary and commando forces from Telangana, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra, running a major operation for 3 days, they not only killed our 3 comrades, but are also trying to kill the leadership of the party. On one hand, efforts are being made to hold unconditional talks with the government and our party. In such a scenario, if the killings of revolutionaries and tribals continue like this, then this process of peace talks will be meaningless. The Central Committee of our party once again appeals to the Central and State Governments to stop these killings to create a conducive environment for peace talks and declare a ceasefire with a definite time period in the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Odisha, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. Our Central Committee appeals to all the democracy loving people, journalists and peace activists and oppressed classes, oppressed sections and oppressed nationalities of the country to support our legitimate demand for peace talks and solutions to the problem and make efforts to make the Central and State Governments agree for peace talks.

Abhay

Spokesperson, Central Committee
CPI (Maoist)

RESPONSES BY CIVIL SOCIETY, ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS

STATEMENT BY FORUM AGAINST CORPORATIZATION AND MILITARIZATION (FACAM), DELHI

*FROM BASTAR TO PALESTINE, STOP THE CORPORATE WAR MACHINE
FROM BASTAR TO PALESTINE, DECLARE CEASEFIRE*

On April 3rd, the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) released a press statement saying that they are ready for peace talks if the Indian government halts its ongoing operations against them. Emphasising that they are always ready for peace talks in the interest of the people, the Maoist Party urged both the Central and State Governments to take sincere steps towards creating a positive and conducive atmosphere for meaningful negotiations. The Party also declared in the statement, *"If the government responds positively to our call, we are prepared to immediately declare a ceasefire"*. However, the Indian State has responded to this with a blatant refusal of any conditions put forth by the Maoists.

It is to be noted that this statement for peace talks has come in the backdrop of the escalation of the Indian state's military offensive to a genocidal scale in Bastar, and nearby regions, under the name of Operation Kagaar, cannot be ignored. To understand the urgency of the war-like situation in Bastar, and the hypocrisy of the officials of the government, who have been outrightly denying it, it is important to understand the brutal history of the ongoing war in central India.

The State's Response to Peace Talks: A Clear Message of Hostility Towards Adivasis

The recent developments concerning the state's response to calls for peace talks by the Maoists have exposed a troubling reality: the government is not interested in engaging in any constructive dialogue. By outrightly rejecting the terms put forth before engaging in any negotiations, the state is effectively shutting the door on the possibility of a ceasefire and a meaningful peace talk.

In response to the call of peace talks, Vijay Sharma, deputy chief minister of Chhattisgarh has given the following statements.

The Maoists, he said, want the state to stop setting up police camps. *"They (Maoists) say if the state stops making police camps, we will pause the war. What is this war-like situation that you want to pause? There is no war situation... If you (Maoist) really want a discussion, we are ready... You can send an individual or a committee or (pick) any channel of your choice for a dialogue, and if a solution comes of it, honourable Amit Shah ji and Vishnu Deo Sai ji will be very happy,"* he said.

Apparently for the Indian state, the use of drones for aerial bombings , mass arrests of nearly 1000 villagers and more importantly the gruesome murder of over 400 of its own citizens does not seem enough to be recognised as a war.

“They are talking about a ceasefire. I don’t understand how the discussion will take place with such terminology. I want to say again that neither the central or state government wants to fire a single bullet, and that’s the reason why the rehabilitation policy has been brought again. So many (Naxal) people surrendered and are being rehabilitated with an attempt to make their lives stable,” he said.

Historically, ceasefire has been an integral part of peace talks and also recognised by international laws. Statements like these not only show the lack of seriousness towards international legal obligations that the Indian state has but also its failure in understanding the socio-political demands of its very own citizens. These demands are not only raised by the Maoists but are legitimate demands of the adivasis in Bastar. Calling for complete surrender without resolving the questions not only belittles the aspirations of the adivasis of Bastar but also closes doors for political resolutions ultimately denying any genuine possibility of peace.

The statement of not wanting to fire a single bullet is a white lie of the Indian state , especially considering the prevalent practice of bounty killings in Bastar. There is a fixed bounty for each Maoist, and civilians are also then shown as maoists to avail that fixed amount. Security personnel are incentivized not to arrest, but to kill; the directive is clear: if a Maoist is spotted, they must be eliminated. This raises a basic question – Why does the state need to go to war against its most deprived, impoverished and oppressed population, and inside its own territory?

Peace Vitiating: The State's Legacy of Betrayals and Preconditions

The conditions put forth by the Maoist Party for peace talks with the government include the call for a ceasefire and an immediate cessation of all military operations in Bastar. One of the cornerstones of public security and self-determination, demilitarisation is vital for peace initiatives. However, instead of using this opportunity to give assurances to the people of Bastar, the state's refusal to accept these conditions echoes its recurring pattern of broken promises, deceitful negotiations, and outright betrayal.

The experience of peace talks in the past between the state and the Maoists, especially in 2004 and 2011, leave much room for concern. The way the government went back on peace agreements in 2004, the way the Home Minister Chidambaram broke his promise to Swami Agnivesh, the dastardly manner in which the Maoist leader Cherukuri Rajkumar alias Azad who was finalising the process of peace talks [Editor’s Correction: Azad was not finalising the process but was going to meet comrades to discuss the possibility of peace talks along

with Com Hem] was abducted and killed in a fake encounter in 2010, the abrupt overturning of the Orissa agreements—the state has ridden roughshod over its agreements with the Maoists, to avert violence and move towards peaceful negotiations, on numerous occasions in the past.

The current state of arrests of key Maoist leaders, multiple military offensives under different guises, and the continuation of Operation Green Hunt in the form of Operation Kagar are all clear signs that the government's real aim is not peace, but the suppression of dissent. Despite this, the historical possibility of peaceful negotiations still persists.

In light of the past experiences and ongoing hostilities, Abhay, the spokesperson of the Maoist party, has put forward a set of clear demands for the initiation of peace talks. These conditions are rooted in the fundamental principles of justice, human rights, and the Indian state's obligations to international laws governing cease-fires and peace talks in a Non-International Armed Conflicts (civil war):

1. Immediate Cessation of Killings and Massacres in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra (Gadchiroli), Odisha, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, and Telangana being carried out under Operation Kagaar.
2. Limit the security forces in the existing camps and halt establishment of new camps.

These conditions put forward by the Maoists, are in fact the demands of adivasi villagers as well. Thousands of adivasis have marched under the banner of Moolwasi Bachao Manch against the establishment of camps, arrests, rapes and massacres being carried out in the ongoing military offensive under the moniker of Operation Kagaar.

Repression of Democratic Organisations: Criminalising People's Demands

The state's decision to ban the mass organization Moolwasi Bachao Manch (MBM), under the Chhattisgarh Security Act, is a clear attempt to threaten and silence the democratic voices of the people of Bastar who are trying to protect their land. By criminalizing organizations of tribal populations, the government has created an environment where even peaceful, unarmed democratic movements are treated as threats.

This approach is deeply concerning because it eliminates the space for dialogue and peaceful resolution. The state's refusal to engage with these organizations and the demands of the Adivasi villagers, leaves no alternative option for adivasis, other than to resort to armed struggle. It is the state itself through its oppressive policies and refusal to address the root causes of the conflict, that pushes the people to pick up arms.

The state's actions reveal a disturbing pattern: displacement, destitution, and death. It is a

cycle that has repeated itself over decades, with Adivasis bearing the brunt of policies that prioritize corporate profits over human rights. The government's failure to acknowledge the legitimate demands of these communities, coupled with its heavy-handed approach, only continues to deepen the crisis. The fight put up by the Adivasis is thus about the survival of a people--their right to their land, their culture, and their dignity. The Adivasis are not victims of an insurgency—they are victims of a state machinery that has systematically marginalized them, denied them basic rights, and now seeks to erase their existence through displacement and militarization. The world must recognize this for what it is: a systematic attempt to erase, displace, and destroy the Adivasi way of life. And to those in power, we say—this is not just a war against Maoists or Naxalites. It is a war against the people of India, against their history, their culture, and their future.

From Open Forests to Open Prison

Bastar is in Dandakaranya—a vast forested region, located in central India with slices taken from four different states of India. This region embraces parts of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. It is very rich in forest and mineral resources, and is spread across 1,10,000 square kilometers over eleven districts. An Adivasi-dominated area, historically, Dandakaranya has been home to the Gond, Khoya, Bhatra and other Adivasi communities who have lived here—their livelihood largely depending on the forest and its produce. However, right from the inception of the Indian state, the Adivasi peasantry in Dandakaranya have suffered exploitation and displacement at the hands of the state officials. Despite inhabiting one of the richest regions of the country, the irony is that the Adivasi communities of Bastar have been among the most marginalised groups in society. While laws in the name of forest protection and rehabilitation have displaced thousands of Adivasi families, the same forest land continues to be unconstitutionally and illegally leased out and sold to big corporations for mining and other forms of land encroachment by the state. The systematic dissolution of constitutionally guaranteed rights to Adivasi communities, such as the right to self-determination and self-governance, and the state's blatant violation of international laws governing the cultural and political right to ancestral Adivasi land, is part of this scheme of unchecked corporate loot, whereby the nexus between the state and big corporates is unmistakably clear. Furthermore, all forms of democratic assertions, by the Adivasi communities, of their inalienable right to land and against the undemocratic practices of the state have seen a history of criminalisation and brutal military repression by the Indian state. In every sense, this repression is a war waged by the state against its own people, and this has been continuing for more than 20 years. From Operation Green Hunt to Operation Kagar, the shapeshifting offensive of the Indian state has targeted the central and eastern parts of India with a singular agenda—the loot and plunder of peoples' resources by all means possible, including genocide, and the large-scale massacre of Adivasi communities trying to protect their land. In the past 7-8 years alone, almost 250 security camps and fortified police stations have been set up in Bastar, with a camp after every 2-5 kilometres! This has transformed the area into an open prison camp.

Operation Kagaar: The Final Offensive against Adivasi Resistance

The current phase of this brutal war is being carried out under the name of Operation Kagaar, launched by the BJP-led Hindutva fascist government. With the Home Minister, Amit Shah's call to completely wipe out Maoists by March 2026, this new offensive is an attempt to crush the democratic resistance of Adivasi communities by any means necessary. The ensuing violence under Operation Kagar has been horrifying.

It began with a six month old infant killed in cold blood by the security forces, announcing the beginning of one of the most brutal attacks faced by the Adivasi peasantry since the time of the Bhumkal rebellion. Some of the state's bloody achievements after the beginning of Operation Kagar include massacres of villagers and unarmed Maoists in fake encounters, such as the killing of three villagers in Nendra (January 19), two unarmed Maoists and four villagers in Chipurbhatti (March 27), ten villagers and two unarmed-ill Maoists in Pidiya (May 10), four villagers in Ghamandi forest (July 3), five villagers and two captured Maoists in Ghamandi (December 12) to name a few; the list is too long to be concluded. The mortar shells of the security forces have led to the deaths of two adolescent children. The civil rights activist, Soni Sori has also mentioned that there have been incidents where young girls, teenagers, were forced to wear the fatigues of the PLGA, who the security forces then attempted to kill in a fake encounter. There are several other incidents where innocent Adivasi peasants going towards a protest site were attacked— while many were shot and killed, some among them were arrested and tagged as Maoists. In once incident, a deaf girl by the name of Kamli Kunjam was dragged away from her bed, was raped and then killed by the security forces. Kamli was sick and was not even in a state to rise from her bed when she was abducted and raped by the forces. In addition to civilians, unarmed Maoists were captured and tied, tortured and killed. Often, Adivasi peasants who have a similar first name as that of the Maoists are abducted and killed or arrested. Many times, Adivasi peasants are kidnapped and then red-tagged as Maoists and then forced to surrender. Thousands of them have also been arrested. Such brazen acts of violence against the Adivasi peasantry have become commonplace, leading to the deaths of more than 400 people in the last two years, at the hand of a state which has promised to safeguard the rights and liberties of the people.

The True Motive: Corporate Loot and Adivasi Displacement

This war has, in fact, been going on for two decades—when the war against the people was first initiated in the form of the Salwa Judum and then Operation Green Hunt. From the beginning the state had made its objective clear—to snatch the jal, jangal and jameen of the Adivasis. In 2008, Manmohan Singh, the ex-prime minister who had declared Maoism as the greatest internal threat, had even mentioned that the Maoists prevented the utilisation of resources by the corporates of the country. In these years, multiple MoUs have been signed with the corporates to sell the resources under the soil. Many of these MoUs are secretive in nature. This begs the question—Are the Maoists the real targets of the Indian state?

in the name of fighting the Maoists, the state wants to evacuate the entire area of the tribals, so that the land and forests can easily be handed over to multinational companies. This is not new—the new economic policy, since 1991, has repeatedly attacked whatever little access the poor had to forests, land, rivers, common pastures, village tanks and other common shared resources and public property. In each case, the attacks were justified in the name of development, whether as Special Economic Zones (SEZs), mining or industrial parks. In each case, it is the poor who lost their land and livelihood. For instance, in Niyamgiri, Orissa, which is home to several Dongria tribes, land was handed over to the multinational company, Vedanta and in Jagatsinghpur to POSCO, or in Kalinganagar to the Tatas; resulting in mass deprivation.

At the same time, the rulers have absolute disregard for the strong resistance of the people. However, there are voices of dissent against oppression and dispossession. In recent years, people throughout the country, with or without Maoists, are fighting to defend land and resources. So far, valiant resistances by the tribal and other deprived sections of people have prevented government-backed corporates from making inroads into the mineral rich central India. But desperate to gain control of valuable resources, the government, at the behest of big corporations, has now planned a full-scale war on people who are fighting a battle of survival. The stated objective of the current offensive—‘internal security’, is nothing but a smoke screen to shield this loot.

According to the Bandyopadhyay Report published by the Planning Commission in 2008, the Maoist movement is a socio-economic issue and not a military issue. The report clearly mentions that socio-economic inequalities and historical injustices are the major factors behind the Maoist insurgency. While the state denies the agency of Adivasis by reducing their assertions against land-alienation in Bastar to one of Maoist insurgency, it is important to remember that Adivasi resistances have preceded the Maoists and even the Indian state—the Adivasi peasantry bravely resisted the British colonial rule under Birsa Munda in Jharkhand and during the Bhumkal rebellion in Bastar. So then, whose interests does the militarisation of Bastar serve—is it really to protect the sovereignty or the national security of the country? Clearly, this war solely serves the interest of big corporates and ensures carpet security for the unbridled loot of people's resources. The roots of this war lie in the state's insatiable greed for natural resources. While this war was started by the Congress government, it has reached new levels of military aggrandisement and gruesomeness under the BJP rule.

The Role of Foreign Powers and Zionists

What adds another layer of horror to this war is the involvement of foreign powers. The National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO), set up with the support of the NSA of the USA, has been instrumental in coordinating drone strikes against Indian citizens.

What is more alarming that the Indian state is the largest importer of arms globally and Israel's biggest arms customer. Not only is the Indian state massacring people but it is also bombing on its very own soil. These aerial bombings are done by using the Israeli Heron Mark 2 drones.

The recently inaugurated Adani-Elbit Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) Complex reveals the alliance of land grabbers- Adani and Elbit representing Indian state and Israeli state respectively. Besides procuring large scale weaponry, UAV drones, missiles; the Indian state has also used Israeli surveillance technology, the Pegasus spyware to target and arrest the activists questioning India's war on people in the interest of corporate loot. These arrests aimed at creating a war without witnesses. The arrests of the BK-16 activists, G.N Saibaba and Hem Mishra can be seen in the same light.

The alliance between the Indian and Israeli state and the massive purchase of advanced weaponry and spyware worth millions of dollars also means that Indian taxpayers' money is indirectly funding the genocide in Palestine, while Adivasis in India are being systematically exterminated under the pretext of "national security".

OUR POSITION ON PEACE TALKS

In the last two years, the brutal war waged by the Indian state has claimed over 400 lives, with most of them being Adivasis. Among them, 40% are women, and more than 35% of them are villagers. Around 200 were ordinary villagers and unarmed, injured or recuperating Maoists. The present civil war situation necessitates that an intervention is made to create a viable situation for any peace talks, especially with past experiences of betrayals from state's side in 3 peace-processes. We believe that it is the state's responsibility to ensure that a viable situation of talks is created through ceasefire encompassing cessation of killings, tortures, arrests of Adivasis and Maoists alike; limiting security personnels to existing camps and halt on construction of new camps. This responsibility is even greater, considering that the breach of trust by the state in past attempts of talks had created hostilities for 13 years before this renewed effort of talks could now be initiated by the Maoists. Furthermore, we believe that peace talks must encompass political dialogue to resolve the socio-economic and political questions raised by the movement, a fact that the state's own committees have accepted in the past. Without addressing the questions and resolving the conditions prevalent in the society that give rise to such forms of people's struggles, peace can no way be achieved in the way Chhattisgarh Home Minister Vijay Sharma is claiming to achieve i.e., by unconditional surrender without addressing the problems and further carrying out the plunder of mineral resources of these regions at the same time, through the might of armed hand of the state. Such approach will only deepen the gap and increase hostilities and although unlikely but even if an unprincipled "peace" is achieved, it will be a fragile one and likely to fall apart amid state's policy of dispossession, displacement and plunder in the interest of Big-Indian corporates and foreign corporates. We say this in light of the historical struggles like Bhumkal

and Santhal Rebellion being waged by the Adivasis to protect their Jal-Jungle-Jameen; therefore this struggle and the various forms it assumes including armed struggle, is not limited to Maoists but is something that precedes them.

Furthermore, This war is not just about insurgency and law and order, or national security and development; it is part of a larger, more sinister agenda. The ongoing repression is crucial to the consolidation of the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist Indian state under Surajkund Scheme (2022), which seeks to achieve its so called “Vision 2047 for Viksit Bharat” to build a "Hindu Rashtra" on the blood and suffering of India's very own people. The development narrative being pushed by the state is fueled by displacement, genocide, and the exploitation of Adivasi lands for corporate loot.

Today, the future of India is at a crossroad. We appeal to all farmer and working class organizations, students, activists, intellectuals, and friends in the media to rise in solidarity with the oppressed and the exploited. It is time to demand that the government engage in genuine peace talks by adhering to the demands of the people of Bastar and conditions of the Maoists; free from coercion, repression, and the heavy hand of military force. This call for peace is not just the call of the Maoists—it is the fight of every citizen who believes in justice, democracy, and the sovereignty of the people.

INTERNATIONAL JOINT STATEMENT ON ENDORSEMENT OF PEACE TALKS WITH CPI(Maoist)

29 April 2025

On April 2, 2025, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) Central Committee expressed its readiness for peace talks with the Central and State governments if they stop the ongoing ‘Operation Kagaar’, a genocidal operation being carried out in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra (Gadchiroli), Odisha, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Telangana, and setting up of new camps as part of the ‘military offensive’ by the security forces. This offer of peace talks, amidst ongoing bloodshed, is a much-welcome proposal.

Bastar division of Chhattisgarh, where the most killings have taken place under Operation Kagaar, is the sole tin-ore deposits and high-quality iron ore deposits in India. It is home to numerous Adivasi communities. The Government of India (GoI) has allowed and facilitated mining by numerous private and public sector corporations in this region, leading to the forcible acquisition of Adivasi lands and the proliferation of extractive industries. The Adivasis have been subjected to massive dispossession and displacement from their farms, forests and common lands. Mines, including the NMDC, and the BSP, aside from Memorandums of Understandings signed with Tata and Essar for the establishment of Iron and steel plants, serve as a rich source of profit to the Central and State governments. For this reason, Bastar is an intensely militarised region, with an average of 1 security personnel for

every 9 Adivasis. More than 230 security camps have been set up across Bastar, and clearly not for the “security” of the Adivasis but to facilitate the looting of the resources. Operations Green Hunt, SAMADHAN-Prahar and the recent Operation Kagaar, all claiming to counter Maoism, have claimed the lives of hundreds of Adivasis, including women and children, over the decades. The Maoists killed under these operations have also been subjected to intense torture, and the government and security forces have a history of staging fake encounters. The Supreme Court itself has said, *“A republic must not kill its own children,”* in response to the 2010 fake encounter of CPI(Maoist) spokesperson Cherukuri Rajkumar, who was on his way to attend peace talks with the Government of India.

The BJP-led regime at the Centre launched a military offensive against its own people in the name of Operation Kagaar, undermining the lives of tribal people and fundamental constitutional provisions. This brutal offensive is aimed at crushing the revolutionary movement for rights of Adivasis to their Jal, Jangal, Zameen, promoting corporate interests to allow plunder of the natural resources, eventually decimating the federal system in the country and establish an autocratic unitary State. More than 400 persons, including ordinary Adivasi people, were killed in the brutal offensive by the State across various States, mainly Chhattisgarh, in the last 15 months. Adivasis constitute a majority of those killed in Operation Kagaar. In the past month alone, more than 20 Maoists have been killed by the state. Maoist leaders have bounties on them, meaning killing them is a profitable exercise for the forces, resulting in extrajudicial killings of Maoists. Many of the Maoists killed under this genocidal operation were not killed during the encounter but were murdered in judicial custody. Gummadavelli Renuka, a member of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee of the Maoist outfit, was not killed in an encounter on March 31 but was arrested while resting alone in a house in the Bhairamgarh block of Bijapur district due to health issues. Police surrounded the house at 4 AM, arrested her, and later killed her by the Indravati River between 9 and 10 AM. On March 25 police arrested Ankeshwarapu Sarayya, a member of the Indravati Area Committee of the Maoists, along with some villagers, and later executed Sudhir and two young villagers outside their village. These incidents highlight the ongoing fake encounters and extrajudicial killings in Bastar. Moolvasi Bachao Manch, an organization protesting democratically in thirty sites against land grabbing and paramilitary camps being set up, was banned last year, and Raghu, the ex-president of it was put in jail under draconian UAPA.

The Adivasis of Bastar have been living with pain now for nearly two decades. No functional schools or hospitals exist in the division, while numerous military camps exist. In this intensified phase of counter-insurgency people are dying almost every day. People are being picked up in large numbers and kept in police custody for many days when family members do not know whether they are dead or alive. Adivasi women being raped and killed by the state forces is a regular occurrence in the Bastar region of Chhattisgarh. Since April 2021, high-explosive mortar bombs have been launched from drones five times in Bijapur.

The state, which claims to be peace-loving, has ensured this bloodbath to facilitate corporate

corporate loot. Now, the CPI(Maoist) has offered peace talks, and a ceasefire proposal, given that the state stops its massacre of people. They have also put forth certain demands. The demands, which are both reasonable and feasible, will ensure the safety and the civil and democratic rights of the Adivasis, which have long been violated.

We urge the Indian state, to stay true to its claims of being a democratic state, to stop the war on people and engage in the peace talk, fulfilling the conditions put forth, which include stopping the military massacre going on in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, and Telangana and the halting of the further establishment of military encampments in the above mentioned regions, and the personnel deployed there should stay within the existing camps and not carry out military operations in the regions. No further signings of memorandums of Understanding or selling out people's resources for corporate exploitation should take place.

We, the undersigned, welcome the ceasefire appeal and peace talk offer. Alongside the peace talk offer, we also put forth the demand that all the Adivasis, activists, and Maoists (actual or suspected) unlawfully jailed by the Government for fighting against the corporate plunder of resources in Bastar be released. The Government of India has always claimed that all it wants is to establish peace in central India, but by not agreeing to their conditions and not showing any interest in the peace talks makes clear its intentions of continuation of the plunder of resources in the resource rich regions of our country.

The long ongoing war on people has taken away numerous lives, aside from the exploitation of people and the environmental damage it has facilitated. The idea of peace in regions such as Bastar had started seeming an almost Utopian idea, given the daily killings and violence by government and security forces. Now, however, with the CPI(Maoist)'s offer of ceasefire and peace talk, an opportunity for the establishment of peace and restoration of livelihoods for the people involved has come up. We call upon all democratic and progressive organisations and individuals to urge the state to ensure the democratic and civil rights as well as international human rights guaranteed to the people of this country by engaging in peace talks.

HISTORY OF BETRAYALS

Throughout the history of revolutionary struggle in India, there have been multiple moments when the Maoists made principled efforts to initiate dialogue with the Indian State, with the sincere intention of stopping the state's war on people and addressing the deep-rooted socio-economic injustices inflicted upon them. However, time and again, these peace initiatives have been cynically manipulated and betrayed by the ruling classes, irrespective of which parliamentary party held power. What unfolded in each instance was not a process toward resolution, but a tactical ploy by the Indian State to gather intelligence, disarm the revolutionary movement and people's resistance, and ruthlessly suppress the movement under the veil of peace.

On June 17, 2002, the CPI ML- People's War (PW)—the predecessor of the CPI(Maoist)—entered peace negotiations with the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) government in Andhra Pradesh, led by Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu. The CPI (ML) People's War (henceforth, PW Party) approached the talks with seriousness, viewing the process as an opportunity to politically present the people's demands and expose the State's nature before the people. In a statement, the PW Party said: *"In the talks, an agenda with the people's democratic aspirations as the basis has to be prepared. At least, the freedom to fight for minimum democratic rights has to be secured. Not only that, the debate should be based on the wide-ranging interests of the people, like what are the forces that hamper peaceful atmosphere and development, what is the 'necessary effort' to achieve peace and development, etc."*

Further, we can see how serious the PW Party had been in trying to commence peace talks, as they released a questionnaire to the public to help formulate an agenda. In 2002, the PW Party circulated this questionnaire among some quarters, inviting suggestions on the agenda. The PW Party asked: *"What issues can be taken up for the agenda of talks? Which of the following can be included or omitted, and what are the other issues to be taken up?"*

The Party raised concerns about land rights, farmer distress, privatisation, and the issue of separate statehood for Telangana. It condemned state violence, police encounters, and attacks on marginalized groups and activists. Corruption among police and politicians was also criticized.

However, as soon as the ceasefire was in effect, the Naidu regime began a dual strategy: public posturing about dialogue while covertly escalating combating operations in the countryside. Revolutionary mass organizations were harassed, cadres were tracked, and encounters surged.

An infamous example is the "Nerella encounter," a significant incident that occurred on July 2, 2002, in Nerella village, Karimnagar district, Andhra Pradesh. During this event, Andhra Pradesh police forces conducted an operation resulting in the deaths of six members of the

PW Party, including a prominent female cadre known as Padmakka. In a joint statement, PW Party leaders like Ramakrishna and Balakrishna alleged that the police, acting on information from an informer, cordoned off the area and killed Padmakka and others on July 2. They stated: *"Through this action, Chief Minister N. Chandrababu Naidu has scuttled the process of talks, and the entire responsibility of these incidents rests with him alone."*

In response, the PW Party called for a two-day statewide bandh (shutdown) on July 11 and 12, 2002, to protest the incident and the government's actions during the peace talks. Finally, the government called off the peace process on January 17, 2003. Chandrababu Naidu ironically cited continued violence as the reason for the same—when in fact it was the violence caused by his own government which led to the collapse of the effort. The talks collapsed not because the revolutionaries walked away, but because the State used the process as a smokescreen to launch a brutal offensive.

A second attempt at peace negotiations was made in 2004, following mass pressure on the state and the continued resilience of the revolutionary movement. On June 29, 2004, the Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh, K. Jana Reddy, announced that the government had requested S. R. Sankaran—a retired Secretary to the Government and a respected IAS officer—to serve as the coordinator of a mediators' committee. He noted that *"other members are likely to be named soon."* Separately, on June 30, the PW Party—which had by then merged with the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist)—also announced its list of preferred mediators. Notably, S. R. Sankaran's name appeared on both the government's and the CPI (Maoist)'s lists. A second attempt at peace negotiations was made in 2004, following mass pressure and the continued resilience of the revolutionary movement.

The Andhra Pradesh Congress government, now under Chief Minister Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy (YSR), officially invited the Maoists to the negotiating table. The government temporarily lifted the ban on the Party, allowing its leaders to briefly come out in the open to participate in the peace process. This unprecedented openness was met with enthusiastic support. Revolutionary masses, sympathizers, and cadres flooded the streets in solidarity with both the peace initiative and the revolutionary movement. A historic rally in Andhra Pradesh demonstrated the breadth and depth of popular support for the initiative of peace talks. Revolutionary masses, sympathizers, and cadres flooded the streets in solidarity with both the peace initiative and the revolutionary Maoist movement. A historic rally in Andhra Pradesh demonstrated the breadth and depth of popular support for the peace process and the revolutionary movement.

The process of talks was itself questionable from the very start. In an incident on Monday, October 11, 2004, six Maoists were killed in shootouts with the police in Prakasam and Mahabubnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh. The police claimed self-defense, stating that the Maoists opened fire first. CPI (Maoist) leader Ramakrishna condemned the killings, accusing

the government of undermining peace talks and declaring retaliation for the deaths. He blamed the state government for trying to scuttle the peace atmosphere. The recent incidents prove that it is impossible to resolve the burning problems of the people through peaceful methods of dialogue, Ramakrishna said. Despite this incident, the CPI (Maoist) continued to try and engage in peace talks.

On October 15, 2004, formal peace talks began at the Dr. MCR HRD Institute in Jubilee Hills, Hyderabad. Key leaders from the CPI (Maoist) included Ramakrishna as well as members from the Janashakthi (like Amar, State Committee Secretary; Riyaz State Committee Member and senior leader Challapalli Srinivas Rao). The demands presented focused on socio-economic issues such as land reforms and addressing inequalities. Though treated as "state guests" and escorted to the venue, the leaders were closely monitored. The peace talks were largely a response to public pressure by the public on the state. While the government sought to address the revolutionary movement through dialogue, the Maoists remained cautious, aware of the state's tendency to use such processes for military gain. Despite skepticism, this marked a historic attempt to engage directly with the state.

This scepticism of CPI (Maoist) proved to have grounds as it would later turn out that the government was insincere in its proclamations of wanting peace. The police and intelligence agencies used the peace rally as a data collection exercise. Everyone present was documented, tracked, and later targeted. State agents infiltrated the movement under cover, pretending to be cadres, and passed on information to state agencies. This intelligence was later used to systematically attack the revolutionary movement. Hundreds of sympathizers were arrested, disappeared, or killed in staged encounters. The ban was reinstated, and repression intensified.

What followed was an orchestrated bloodbath. January 6th marked the beginning of the 'encounter raj' under the Congress-TRS government led by YSR. On that day, the first fake encounter took place in the eight months of the Congress rule when Rajireddy, a member of a Janashakti squad, was shot from behind in the Mulugu forest in Warangal district. In less than 48 hours, the police fired on a PLGA squad of the CPI(Maoist) in Pullalacheuvu forest of Prakasham district on 8th January. They arrested an organizer of the Chaitanya Mahila Samakhya, comrade Laxmi, from Kurnool, tortured and shot her dead. A story was floated by the police that she was killed in the Pullalacheruvu encounter. On 13th January comrade Pantha Narasimlu alias Naresh, the commander of the Maneru squad of Janashakti, was shot dead in Avanur village in Karimnagar district. Within a week, on January 15, two encounters were staged in the Nallamala forest in which six Maoists were killed. In one encounter near Chintala village in Prakasham district, three guerillas, including a woman guerilla, were killed while three others were killed in the encounter near Bukkalangayapalli village in Achampet mandal in Mahaboobnagar district. The Maoists were caught unaware as the YSR government had been swearing day in and day out that it would maintain restraint though the cease-fire was not extended after it had lapsed on December 16, 2004. It, however, turned out

that YSR and Jana Reddy, the state Chief minister and Home Minister respectively, proved themselves to be of Hitler's breed. They undertook a bloody offensive while keeping the Maoists off guard by their talk of maintaining peace and their commitment to hold the second round of talks.

The sequence continued. On January 13, comrade Pantha Narasimlu alias Naresh, the commander of the Maneru squad of Janashakti, was shot dead in Avanur village in Karimnagar district. Within a week, on January 15, two staged encounters were conducted in the Nallamala forest in which six Maoists were killed. In one incident near Chintala village in Prakasam district, three guerillas including a woman were killed, while three more were killed near Bukkalingayapalli village in Achampet mandal in Mahboobnagar district.

On January 17, two more persons, Sudarshan of Telangana Jana Sabha (TJS) and Nalla Vasanth of Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS), were killed in Warangal district in the usual story of exchange of fire between the police and the Maoists that began when the latter had opened fire and the police retaliated in self-defence. On Jan 20th, three more youth party organisers were killed in a fake encounter in Karimnagar.

Thus, in a period of just fourteen days from 6th - 20th January, a total of fourteen persons — eleven revolutionaries belonging to the CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)-Janashakti, a state executive member of the women's organization, the CMS (Com. Laxmi), one TJS activist and one activist of even the TRS, which is a partner in the ruling alliance, were killed in fake encounters in the state. There are strong reasons to surmise that the killing of the last two might have been done deliberately in order to scare those who are trying to agitate for a separate Telangana.

The Maoists were caught unaware, lulled by the deceptive rhetoric of peace. The YSR government had sworn day in and day out that it would maintain restraint, even though the cease-fire had lapsed on December 16, 2004. It turned out that YSR and Jana Reddy, the state Chief Minister and Home Minister respectively, had proved themselves to be of Hitler's breed—undertaking a bloody offensive while keeping the Maoists off guard through their double-speak.

Thus, in a period of just fourteen days from January 6 to 20, a total of fourteen persons—eleven revolutionaries from CPI (Maoist) and CPI(ML)-Janashakti, a state executive member of the women's organization CMS (comrade Laxmi), one TJS activist, and one TRS activist—were killed in fake encounters. There are strong reasons to believe that the killing of the last two was deliberate, aimed at terrorising those agitating for a separate Telangana. Thereafter, there was another incident on March 7, 2005. In this, 10 CPI (Maoist) guerrillas, including divisional committee secretary Gangula Venkata Swami, were killed in an encounter with Andhra Pradesh police near Jothia Tanda. Of the 10 guerillas killed, 8 appeared to have been killed in their sleep, including 3 women. The police suffered no

casualties. The event sparked controversy, with revolutionary P. Varavara Rao condemned it as a "fake encounter"—police sources in Hyderabad themselves claim that before the hour-long fake-encounter began, Greyhounds had encircled a group of 15-20 revolutionaries who had been resting in contradiction to the official stance that the Maoists fired first. However, how is it that the police suffered no casualties if it was indeed a case of cross-firing? Revolutionary P. Varavara Rao condemned the killings as a "fake encounter." Even police sources in Hyderabad admitted that before the so-called hour-long exchange, the Greyhounds had already encircled a group of 15–20 revolutionaries who had been resting—completely contradicting the official story that the Maoists had opened fire first. Yet even after this, YSR described the incident as “unfortunate” and claimed he was still hopeful that peace talks would continue.

However, this only proves that process of peace talks was a sham and that the government never intended to find a socio-economic solution but only used peace talks to pressure the Maoist Party into laying down arms. On June 7, 2004, revolutionary writer Varavara Rao and balladeer Gaddar had even said: *“There is no difference in the attitudes of the earlier TDP government, which had insisted on the PW Party laying down weapons for peace talks, and the incumbent Congress government that thinks peace talks are meant for the PW Party relinquishing armed struggle.”*

By these brutal acts YSR’s Congress government had proved itself to be even more fascistic than the predecessor Chandrababu Naidu’s TDP. It had dumped all the promises made to the people of Andhra Pradesh during the last Assembly elections that it would not resort to fake encounters, would check all police excesses, ensure the freedom of speech and assembly, and that it would even institute a judicial enquiry into all the fake encounters that had taken place during the TDP rule. Let alone ordering a judicial enquiry into the fake encounter killings of the past, now it itself had become the hangman and tyrant. The Congress tradition of brutal suppression of people’s movements has been there since 1947, and the ruthlessness with which it suppressed the nascent Maoists movement in 1971 was an example.

The state always likes to present that it was the Maoists who were the reason for the breakdown of the 2004 talks, they try to argue that it is because the Maoists refuse to give up arms and join the mainstream that the state has been a victim of their “terrorism and tyranny”. The facts on ground present the truth - The political crisis had intensified after the open statement issued by the CPI(Maoist) leaders comrades Ramakrishna, Jampanna and Sudhakar on January 15 and the January 17th statement by the leaders of both CPI(Maoist) and CPI(ML)-Janashakti. The leaders of the two parties made it clear that the talks were sabotaged by the government which had let loose a wave of repression and fake encounters while swearing that it was committed to continue the talks with the Maoists. Hence they declared that they had no other alternative but to withdraw from the talks.

This drew massive protests from all the political parties against the government’s policy of

staging encounters. All of them demanded that the government should persuade the Maoists to resume talks and that it should conduct an enquiry into the encounters and punish the guilty. The crisis within the Congress party itself as well as in the TRS and in the ruling alliance became quite acute. Hundreds of lower-level functionaries within the Congress and TRS and MPTC and ZPTC members tendered their resignations en masse in some Telangana districts in protest against the government's policy of encounters and demanding that talks should be continued to maintain peace in the state.

The state cabinet, after an emergency meeting, declared that it would resume talks and appealed to the Maoists to reconsider their stand. The mediators, members of the monitoring committee and others accused the government for having vitiated the atmosphere by enacting fake encounters. At the time of writing, a demand was advanced by the Maoists that they might reconsider if the SPs of the four districts where the fake encounters had taken place were removed and murder cases filed against them. Yet there was no response by the state to the same.

Finally, on 17 January 2005, in a press statement released by the AP units of the CPI(Maoist) and the CPI(ML) Janashakthi said: *"No More Talks with the Government! Intensifying the people's war — the only answer to the fake encounters perpetrated by the treacherous YSR government!!"* The statement added: *"People of Andhra Pradesh democratically aspired for the establishment of a democratic atmosphere in the state through talks with the Maoists. The Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy government had utterly betrayed these people's aspirations. It has shamelessly abandoned its promises made during the elections that it would usher in a democratic atmosphere in the state by holding talks with the Maoists and that it would resolve the basic issues of the people. Thus it proved itself to be an anti-people traitor. It revived the fascist rule in the state and thereby exposed its real character..."*

...It has been proved once again that parliamentary democracy being advocated by the ruling classes is fake. It has also been clearly exposed that the present ruling classes cannot solve people's problems through such a peaceful political process as talks. Under these circumstances, the government is trying to bind our hands in the name of talks and to suppress the revolutionary parties and the revolutionary masses. We are withdrawing from the process of talks due to this conspiracy of the government. We appeal to the entire people to understand this reality. We also appeal to the people to participate in the people's war for the resolution of the basic problems of the people.

We convey our gratitude to all the democrats and members of the intelligentsia who had sincerely tried to bring about a democratic atmosphere in the state in accordance with the people's aspirations. We appeal to them to participate in the political struggle that is being waged for democracy."

The breakdown of the 2004 peace talks between the Andhra Pradesh government and the

Communist Party of India (Maoist) marked a turning point in the state's approach toward the Maoist movement. After three rounds of dialogue in October 2004, the talks collapsed due to the state's unwillingness to address core political demands—such as land redistribution, demilitarization, and recognition of revolutionary mass organizations. Instead of a negotiated settlement, the state reverted to a counterinsurgency strategy rooted in militarization and repression.

In the years that followed, this shift would crystallize in the form of Salwa Judum, launched in 2005 in the neighboring state of Chhattisgarh. Though presented as a “spontaneous people’s movement” against the Maoists, Salwa Judum was in fact an orchestrated counterinsurgency operation backed by the Chhattisgarh state government, the Indian police, and central paramilitary forces. The blueprint for such militarized responses had already been laid in Andhra Pradesh, where the Greyhounds commando force had conducted decades of brutal anti-Maoist operations. Now, that model was being exported and expanded.

Salwa Judum operated by forcibly mobilizing Adivasi youth into armed militias, often pitting villagers against one another. Thousands were herded into state-controlled camps, entire villages were burnt down, and civilians—especially those sympathetic to or organizing with revolutionary mass organizations—were subjected to torture, rape, and extrajudicial executions. The Indian state used this violent civilian-paramilitary formation to fracture Maoist strongholds, disrupt revolutionary organizing, and sow chaos across Dandakaranya. Despite this onslaught, the CPI (Maoist) continued to grow in influence and territory. By 2010, the party had established a robust presence across multiple states. Faced with growing pressure from international human rights bodies, civil society, and even sections of the Indian judiciary criticizing the blatant human rights violations, the Indian state began gesturing toward the possibility of peace talks once again.

In good faith, the CPI (Maoist) responded positively. Comrade Cherukuri Rajkumar, better known as Azad—a Central Committee member and official spokesperson of the party—was appointed to facilitate the process. Azad's appointment signaled a willingness on the part of the Maoists to engage politically, even amid relentless military aggression. However, at the very moment that peace was being proposed publicly, the Indian state had already launched Operation Green Hunt—a massive, coordinated military offensive across Maoist-dominated regions, deploying tens of thousands of paramilitary troops with air and satellite surveillance support. It was in this climate of contradiction—peace overtures on paper, war on the ground—that Azad was assassinated by the Indian state.

Azad was in touch with mediators like Swami Agnivesh and was going to discuss the possibility of peace talks with the Indian government. On July 1, 2010, he and journalist Hemchandra Pandey were abducted and killed in a fake encounter by Andhra Pradesh Police while en route to meet with comrades.

PUCL released a statement on 9th July 2010 which said: *“The press has reported sources (The Hindu, 3 July 2010) that have questioned the encounter theory. We have reasons to pay attention to this point of view since villagers around Sarkepalli (Adilabad district), the purported place of exchange of fire, are reported not to have heard any sound of firing between 10 pm on 1 July 2010 and 2 am on 2 July 2010 (The Times of India, 3 July 2010). It will be pertinent to point out that Mr P Chidambaram vide his letter that has been reported in the press had requested the help of Swami Agnivesh to reach out to the CPI(Maoist) and to persuade them to accept the Government’s offer for talks. Swami Agnivesh’s efforts received favourable response and, in a letter, reported in the press, Azad had written to the former that they look forward to positive results. We believe that there are vested interests within the Government who want to escalate the armed conflict and scuttle the peace process and the killing of Azad is a deplorable act towards scuttling the talks.”* The Party also responded with a simple question- *“Will Chidambaram expect CPI (Maoist) to sit for talks with blood on his hands, of Com Azad and Com Hem Pandey”* when the two were only going to the forests to meet and discuss with comrades concrete proposals by well-meaning people the dates for ceasefire? The Supreme Court said, *“A republic must not kill its own children,”* in response to the 2010 fake encounter of CPI(Maoist) spokesperson and politburo member Cherukuri Rajkumar (Comrade Azad).

Azad’s murder not only derailed the prospect of dialogue once again but also revealed the deeper strategy of the Indian state: to eliminate revolutionary leadership under the guise of negotiation, and to suppress the Maoist movement not through political resolution but through protracted militarized violence. The message was clear: the Indian State would not tolerate any dialogue that threatened its corporate and military interests. The killing of Azad was met with an uproar of anger against the Indian state with the Maoist leadership condemning it as a targeted assassination aimed at silencing dissent, while civil society groups viewed it as a grave violation of human rights and a setback to peace initiatives.

The assassination occurred amidst Operation Green Hunt, the Indian state’s most coordinated counterinsurgency campaign to date which was launched in 2009. After the martyrdom of Comrade Azad and Comrade Hem, the operation intensified even more. This undeclared war on the people involved the deployment of tens of thousands of paramilitary troops, aerial surveillance, and advanced warfare logistics to flush out Maoist cadre from the forests of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Maharashtra and West Bengal. Under the banner of “development” and “national security,” Operation Green Hunt facilitated the clearance of land for corporate mining operations—often displacing Adivasi and Dalit communities who were resisting these incursions under Maoist leadership. The operation did not distinguish between armed cadre and unarmed villagers; revolutionary mass organizations, Janatana Sarkars (People’s Governments), and even community health workers associated with the movement became targets. The goal was not just to weaken the military strength of the CPI (Maoist) but to annihilate its social base. This was a part of the state’s Low Intensity Conflict war on the people.

It was in this context of heightened repression that the Indian state turned its crosshairs toward yet another central figure of the Maoist movement: Comrade Kishenji (Mallojula Koteswara Rao), a Politburo member and senior military strategist of the CPI (Maoist).

In 2011, following the electoral victory of the Trinamool Congress in West Bengal, Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee announced a new “peace initiative” in Jangalmahal, a region with strong Maoist influence. The CPI (Maoist) responded with caution. Despite the ongoing military operations, Comrade Kishenji engaged with the idea of talks, signalling once more the Maoist leadership’s willingness to explore political avenues.

But the state's intentions were once again exposed as duplicitous. On November 24, 2011, Comrade Kishenji was brutally killed in a staged encounter in the Burishol forest area of West Bengal’s West Midnapore district. The official account described a 30-minute firefight, but this narrative was swiftly contested by human rights activists and Kishenji's family, who alleged that he had been captured, tortured, and executed in custody. Human rights groups revealed signs of torture on his body, with Varavara Rao (after seeing the body), claiming that there were “distinct signs of torture,” including burn marks and injuries inconsistent with a combat scenario. The Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) echoed these concerns. Government-appointed interlocutors, disillusioned by the turn of events, resigned from their roles, stating that the prevailing conditions were not conducive to meaningful dialogue. The CPI (Maoist) condemned the killing as a “political murder,” accusing the state of sabotaging peace efforts. The custodial killing was not only a targeted political assassination—it marked the systematic sabotage of any remaining space for negotiation. Government-appointed interlocutors resigned in protest, declaring that the state had no genuine interest in pursuing peace. The CPI (Maoist) denounced the murder as a “political murder” aimed at beheading the leadership and destroying the revolutionary morale of the masses. This was not just the killing of Kishenji—it was the murder of peace itself.

Together, the assassinations of Azad and Kishenji signalled the consolidation of a strategy that sought to resolve the “Maoist question” not through dialogue, but through decapitation. The Indian state's dual approach—speaking the language of peace while deploying the machinery of war—revealed the underlying logic of counterinsurgency in India: protect capital, crush resistance.

In conclusion, what we learn is simple. The betrayal of peace was never accidental—it was a deliberate strategy embedded in the Indian state's approach to revolutionary politics. Behind every call for negotiation was not a genuine interest in dialogue, but a counterinsurgency logic aimed at dismantling the Maoist movement from within. The state did not view peace talks as a step toward resolving the material and historical contradictions faced by the oppressed. Rather, it saw them as tactical pauses—opportunities to gather intelligence, isolate leadership, and prepare for more intense military campaigns.

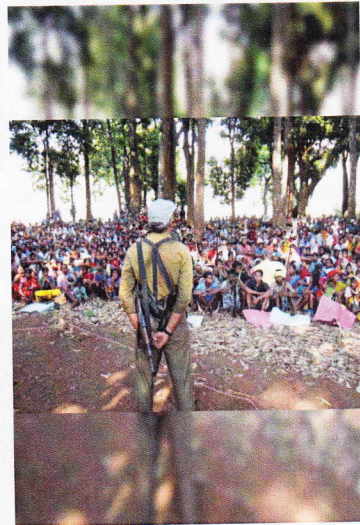
From the outset, the Indian ruling class, regardless of its party banner, has understood the Maoist movement not as a political force to be engaged with, but as an existential threat to its authority, its profit pipelines, and its social order. In this framework, peace was never on the table—only surrender. The language of dialogue was instrumentalized to pacify resistance, buy time, and strike harder. Leaders were eliminated under the pretext of negotiations, cadres were surveilled and targeted, and areas that temporarily demobilized under good faith were turned into laboratories for state terror. This is why every effort at peace was ultimately a trap. Not because of tactical missteps, but because the state was never negotiating in good faith. It sought not reconciliation, but decapitation. It feared the political legitimacy of the revolutionary alternative, especially when it resonated with vast sections of India's most exploited.

What the state could not defeat ideologically, it tried to destroy physically. Peace talks were weaponized as psychological warfare—to lure the movement into a posture of openness, only to betray it with bullets. From 2002 to 2011 and beyond, one truth remains: every Maoist peace initiative was met with duplicity and violence. Regardless of whether TDP, Congress, or TMC was in power, the Indian State used peace talks to intensify war. Peace became a cover for massacres. The revolutionary Party never walked away from peace—it was betrayed, every single time.



The Martyrs of the Peace Talks (top to bottom): Comrade Azad, Comrade Kishenji





Support for CPI (Maoist): It is the party coming from the people

THE NEED FOR A POLITICAL RESOLUTION

This chapter will explore whether peace talks with the Indian state can ever lead to a genuine resolution of the people's struggle—or whether the nature of the state itself makes such peace an illusion, a tactical deception to crush resistance.

Since the CPI(Maoist) has expressed willingness for peace talks, the Indian state has repeatedly demanded that if the Maoists wish to enter into negotiations for peace with the Indian state, they must first lay down their arms, surrender and then rehabilitate back into society. Soni Suri, Adivasi activist and human rights defender, “माओवादी खत्म मतलब बस्तर का जंगल भी खत्मा” (“If Maoism ends, it means the forests of Bastar will also end”). This shows that CPI (Maoist) is leading its armed guerilla movement amongst the people, not in isolation from them. This shows how the persistence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the party leading it is not borne out of isolation, but from the material conditions of society—out of the people's fierce fight for jal-jangal-jameen and izzat-adhikar. If the state wishes to address the communist armed guerrilla movement, it must address the cause of Naxalism—the socio-economic and political conditions of society.

From the state's demand that the Party must disarm and join the mainstream for there to be peace talks, it is clear that the state wants demilitarization of society before it is willing to enter negotiations for peace. What is abundantly even more clear is that it wants demilitarisation in such a manner that is completely one sided—their refusal to the conditions set by CPI (Maoist) makes that clear. This stance of the government raises some important ideological, political and organisational questions for us— firstly, who is militarised and who should be allowed to be militarised according to the state? Secondly, what has the history of demilitarisation of the people been? Thirdly, what is the state's agenda in demanding demilitarisation? Fourthly, what is the solution to this problem? Should the armed guerilla movement stop in totality?

When the state is talking about demilitarisation of society and for the Maoists to surrender, one must keep in mind that all those who are armed are not necessarily cadres of CPI (Maoist) or members of the people's army under its leadership, People's Liberation Guerrilla Army. Some examples include the Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra for the purpose of countering atrocities against Dalits, police brutality and to assert their rights, modelled after the Black Panther Party in the USA.

The Indian state and its agents/friends are more than happy to claim that group-formations like these are terror outfits (often with funding from abroad) due to their anti-fascist nature, due to their resistance to the class rule of the exploiters and oppressors. In regions where the Maoists are strong, the Indian state claims that groups like these are formed under coercion or instruction of CPI (Maoist), but the fact of the matter is that these groups have not happened suddenly but have a rich history dating back to colonial times.

The history of armed anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles in Chhattisgarh, particularly in the Bastar region, is deeply embedded in the resistance of Adivasi communities against the intrusion of imperial powers and feudal forces into their land, forests, and traditional ways of life. These movements, often overlooked in mainstream narratives, were not merely spontaneous reactions but well-organized and community-driven with strong leadership and a collective memory of defiance. One of the earliest known revolts was the Halba Movement (1774–1779), where the Halba tribe fought fiercely against the expanding dominance of the Marathas and the British. This was followed by the Paralkot Movement in 1825, led by Ganga Narayan, which erupted in protest against oppressive revenue demands and the erosion of customary tribal rights under both colonial and feudal systems.

In 1842, the Maria Movement exemplified the Adivasi backlash against forced labour and exploitative forest policies, both imperial and feudal in nature. However, perhaps the most iconic of these uprisings was the Bastar Movement of 1910, also known as the Bhumkal Movement, led by Gunda Dhur. Sparked by British efforts to control forests and restrict traditional tribal practices, this movement saw thousands of Adivasis take up arms, attacking symbols of imperial and feudal authority, such as police stations and administrative outposts. Though brutally suppressed, it remains a powerful symbol of tribal resistance and is remembered as a foundational moment in the region's anti-imperialist struggle.

Other movements, such as the Koya revolts in the southern reaches of Chhattisgarh and neighboring Andhra Pradesh, also reflected deep discontent with both British interference and local feudal exploitation by landlords and forest contractors. These uprisings shared common themes—defending land and forest rights, resisting feudal taxation and exploitation, fighting imperialist loot of resources and asserting tribal autonomy. They employed guerrilla tactics, traditional weapons, and relied heavily on community networks for coordination and resilience. Unmistakably anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in spirit, they challenged the authority and legitimacy of both the colonial state and the feudal systems that perpetuated exploitation.

The legacy of these historical resistances continues to influence contemporary movements. Many Adivasi groups invoke figures like Gunda Dhur as enduring symbols of struggle and defiance. These uprisings are remembered through oral histories, local folklore, and political consciousness, forming the bedrock for ongoing struggles over land, forest rights, and self-determination in central India today. All these movements were armed, as militancy was seen as essential to effectively challenge both the imperialism (colonialism at that time) and local feudal forces. Adivasis have historically understood that armed resistance was the only way to protect their land, culture, and rights from both external and internal exploitation and oppression.

In their whole history, Adivasis have consistently adopted armed struggle as a means of self-defence. This tradition continues today, with many local Adivasi movements maintaining this

armed approach, recognizing it as the only effective way to resist ongoing state violence, land alienation, and economic exploitation. This shows us why the armed guerilla movement is not merely a question of strategy and tactics, but a question of the very survival and existence of the adivasis and other oppressed sections of society.

The example of Saranda forests in Jharkhand brings forth even more clearly why armed resistance is necessary against the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist state, and why demilitarisation of society before peace talks cannot be an acceptable demand for the people of this country. Since 2012, Jharkhand is becoming a growing military state. In the period between 2012 and 2020, over 50,000 paramilitary personnel were stationed in Jharkhand, especially Latehar, Lohardaga, and Saraikela-Kharsawan, under counter-insurgency operations. By 2020, 1,000 CRPF personnel were deployed in Sahibganj to suppress land acquisition protests, while private security contractors also became involved in protecting industrial sites. By 2023, 5,000 paramilitary forces were stationed in Madhupur and Simdega, and by 2025, 60,000 security forces are reported to be monitoring high-risk districts, signalling growing militarization in the region. This follows the model of Operation Green Hunt in which brutal military operations have been (and continue to operate under Surajkund Scheme and Operation Kagaar) carried out in mineral rich forest regions lived in traditionally by adivasi communities. In Jharkhand, Operation Anaconda was launched as a special operation in 2011 in the West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand. A 2012 CDRO fact-finding report investigated the possible reason for the launch of the operation. The report concluded that the increase in mining activities as well as the threat of the people's struggle and CPI (Maoist)'s movement was what led to the launch of Operation Anaconda. Saranda Forests is Asia's largest mineral reserve and therefore holds immense economic and political importance for the imperialists and their local agents due to which mining activities have increased. In fact, the report found that contrary to the state's claim that the Maoist resistance had been cleared in the region, the activities of the Maoist movement had intensified due to which the operation had to be launched.

We must never forget the nature of these counter-insurgency operations and why the Indian state wants to demilitarise the masses- not only does it use the tactic of physical assault through increased militarisation (while trying to disarm the movement), but it also tries to delegitimise the Party and its structures and turn revolutionary people away from the movement.

First, by targeting areas under revolutionary influence, these operations sought to demilitarise the masses. This was not merely about disarming weapons but about eroding the organized confidence of the people. In revolutionary zones, mass organizations, people's militias, and parallel political structures represented a genuine alternative to the state. To destroy this, the state deployed militarized police, paramilitaries, and vigilante forces like Salwa Judum, not only to burn villages and displace people, but to sever the link between the Party and the masses. The goal was to make resistance logistically impossible and politically

Second, these campaigns were deeply embedded in psychological warfare. From air-dropping pamphlets, conducting fake “surrender” ceremonies, spreading misinformation through state and private media, to staging encounters and parading dead bodies as “victories”—the state’s message was clear: joining the revolution leads only to death, betrayal, and isolation. As Alfonso notes in his documentation of Operation Green Hunt, even in areas where the state claimed Maoist activity had been “cleared,” the movement remained strong—forcing the state to escalate its military offence. We see this clearly in how the state has launched Operation Kagar (“Final Solution”) in Chhattisgarh. This demonstrates the contradiction: the more the people resisted, the more the state relied on deception and psychological violence to demoralize them.

Third, the repeated assassination of revolutionary leadership was central to this strategy. The killings of Azad and Kishenji were not isolated incidents; they were part of a deliberate attempt to sever the ideological and strategic continuity of the movement. When leaders are eliminated under the pretence of negotiation or through fabricated encounters, it sends a calculated message to the cadre: leadership cannot protect you, resistance is futile, and surrender is the only option. This is the heart of counterinsurgency—not to defeat the people in battle, but to defeat their belief in the possibility of liberation.

By using counter-insurgency offences and peace talks, the Indian state aims to convert revolution into despair. It was not enough to crush resistance physically; the state sought to neutralize it psychologically, to prevent its return. In this, “peace” became a tool of war.

It is the truth that the Maoist resistance has been put in a defensive position under the assault by the state. However, this is even more reason to increase resistance by tapping into the people’s revolutionary potential, instead of cowering or giving into defeatism. In this situation wherein the strength of the people’s movement has been weakened, we need to strengthen our resolve in steel in the face of increasing Brahmanical Hindutva Fascism assault since our deterrence from the correct ideological, political and organisational line means that we weaken the people and their movement, leaving them even more vulnerable to attack. We can understand this in the effect of Operation Anaconda on the people: *“What follows is a brief summary of the observations made by the team. In Puraiyahaat, in January 2011, hundreds security forces entered Kamaay village. They beat up people and arrested four of them called Marshall Bhuiyaan, Nelson Bhuiyaan, Premanad Bhuiyaan and Pinky Bhuiyaan. The first two are still imprisoned while the other two have to appear regularly at the Thana. They are all falsely implicated in helping the Maoists. The CRPF also destroyed property, and mixed food grains in this village.*

On the 20th of May itself, a security operation was conducted in Pandua village. Around 500 jawans entered the village at around 5.30 in the morning. Hallan Huttar was taken away blindfolded and handcuffed by the forces. Villagers now fear his death. Abraham Munda’s property was destroyed, and 3500 rupees were taken away. 15-year-old Mithun Bhuiyaan

was beaten black and blue. Munda's wife and her year and half old son were also beaten up by a high rank police official. One villager was looted of Rs. 10,000 which she had kept aside for buying ox for her fields. Also, a para-doctor here is frequently oppressed with the accusation of treating Maoists. According to the villagers this destruction continued in the village for almost three hours during which the forces also consumed liquor and marijuana. Few villagers were even forced to flee from their village on that day. In the same village, on the 10th of this month when the forces attacked the village, they also misbehaved with the women here. It was shocking to know that there were no women in the force while women were tortured brutally. The team also visited 4 villages of Manoharpur block: Tirilposi, Raatamaati, Deegha, Tholkobaad. In all of these villages, forces converted whole villages into their base camp for an entire month. Villagers had to hide in the jungles and many ran away to their relatives in nearby villages to escape oppression. Of those who were left in the village, men were held captive separating them from the women. They were tortured and even had to relieve themselves wherever they were locked up. Old people who couldn't run away were beaten up so badly that some of them even died. Houses were burnt and people jailed. Most of them are still in Chaybaasa jail, and according to their families they are not even sure of the offense of which they are accused.

In Tirilposi alone 17 people have been imprisoned. Economically dented, these villagers are totally unable to follow legal proceedings to get relief. In one of the copies of charge sheets observed by the team, a villager was implicated in UAPA, CLA, and in addition also blamed of sedition and waging war against the state. Additionally, it was observed that under the IAP, contractors from outside were given work which is against the rules of IAP. Right after operation Anaconda was completed, the government started a development project in the name of Saranda Action Plan(SAP) under which villagers have been given solar panels, clothes, utensils, and sewing machines as short-term trust building measures. The government also plans to introduce long term measures like livelihood options, building of check dams, and training for employment among others. Simultaneously, in and around these villages security forces are also in the process of constructing permanent camps. Saranda will be home to 20-25 camps soon." (1)

All of this clearly brings out the hypocrisy of the Indian state - the Indian state wants the people to be demilitarised so that they are defenceless against the state in its fascist assault in order to clear land, extract resources and make available cheap labour power through the displacement, death and dispossession of the people. This only proves that, ultimately, the armed guerilla movement cannot stop for it is a movement for peace, justice and liberation. The CPI (Maoist) and the PLGA are the concrete manifestation of the people's revolutionary consciousness, their potential to be self-reliant and self-sufficient in the people's struggle against exploitation and oppression. It is not the CPI(Maoist) and PLGA that has given birth to the people's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles but the centuries long people's heritage of struggle against imperialist and feudal exploitation and oppression that has given birth to the CPI(Maoist) and PLGA armed with the most advanced ideology of

To understand why the state views people's armed resistance as the primary threat, and why it is unable to accept the CPI (Maoist)'s terms for peace, we must now examine the nature of the Indian state.

The Nature of the Indian State

To understand the functioning of the Indian state, we must understand its nature. India has an imperialist model of development i.e. a model of development tailored to suit the needs of imperialist finance capital. This is emerging out of its semi-colonial, semi-feudal nature. It is a model of development which is based on the exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of people.

When we say that India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state, we are saying that India is a country whose mode of production is based on the needs of the world imperialist system, strengthened further by maintaining the domestic feudal relations.

When the British empire came to conquer India, our burgeoning local handicrafts industries were destroyed in favour of growing indigo in accordance with the needs of the British empire at the cost of economic development of India's own industries. This process stumped the potential of growth for developing the Indian economy into an independent, self-reliant and self-sustaining model, thereby ensuring that capitalist relations could not develop—India's forces of production was subdued and exploited as cheap labour to serve British interests and the growth of the relations of production stunted, thereby making India a colony of the British instead. The 1947 transfer of power did not qualitatively change the nature of India's production, it merely allowed for some leeway of choice to the Indian ruling classes (feudal landlords and comprador bureaucrat capitalists) to choose under which imperialist powers India will serve. This changed the form of rule from direct to indirect, with multiple imperialist masters instead of one. Though today, it is US imperialism which plays a dominant role in this, with US imperialism serving as the main enemy of the exploited and oppressed countries.

This shows that the Indian economy is dictated by the world imperialist system, which is in a state of crisis, its own downfall inevitable due to the glut of capitalism. To be able to continue to make profits to sustain through the crisis, it must do even more exploitation and oppression to extract more resources and cheap labour so that it is able to earn super profits. This is clear in the example of Bastar itself in which the Indian state is waging war against its own citizens to serve imperialism.

Cases of such indiscriminate firing, death, rape, encounter, and subsequent red-tagging of murdered Adivasis is a common tactic of the Indian state in its war on the Indian people. The Adivasi populations of India have been fighting for centuries for rights over their jal-jangal-zameen. Though the constitution of so-called independent India itself gives Adivasis in

Scheduled Areas a right to self-governance of their ancestral jal-jangal-zameen; these rights are eroded both by legal and illegal means by the state.

In a thirst to open all viable land to mining operations or industrial penetration by big corporations such as Tata, Jindal Steel, POSCO, among others, these lands— those that legally and principally belong to the Adivasi communities inhabiting them, are pushed open for these corporate looters of Indian wealth and resources. While these comprador agents and the Indian State accumulate wealth for imperial finance, the Adivasi and local communities are forcibly displaced in a genocidal mission. Innocent, common citizens and those adopting constitutional means of protest are put under attack as much as the Maoists forces that had risen in the area to combat the forcible attack on jal-jangal-jameen-izzat-adhikar (water, forests, land, respect and rights) of the local populations.

The imperialist model of development In India Is based on 3 Ds- death, displacement and destruction. It is a model of development in which the imperial capital is invested through multinational corporations and foreign direct investments, most often through Indian compradors, to facilitate resource loot and acquire cheap labour. This corporatisation is often facilitated by the feudal classes which provide both dirt-cheap land as well as guns and goons for the protection of these corporates. The state plays an active role, especially through its policies of militarisation, to maintain favour with their imperial masters. This shows how imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism are the enemies of the people, and that resistance and unrest is primarily rooted in people's material conditions. Even government officials accept that and say that Naxalism is a problem which is emerging out of the socio-economic problems in society which have gone unaddressed.

This shows us that with the deepening imperialist crisis, the assault of fascism in India has also increased. To understand imperialism and how it sustains itself in India, one also has to understand and historicise the character and development of fascism in India. The historical role of fascism has been linked to the objective of the expansion of capital— Hitler came to power on the heels of an economic crisis, Modi too was elected in 2014 with the promise of bringing development and fighting against unemployment after a period of economic unrest. Since then, the Indian state has developed a Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist character which utilizes barbaric state terror in service of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. The Indian state has centered Brahmanical Hindutva to protect the interests of the crisis-ridden imperialist capital.

The Indian state reinforces the ruling class ideology of Brahmanism— a philosophy which is based on caste hierarchy, graded inequality and assimilation into Brahmanical caste-based feudalism. This means that everyone is under the broad umbrella of being Hindu, and is therefore placed within the hierarchy— even thoughts and movements which have emerged from anti-Brahmanical struggles like Jainism, Buddhism have been forcefully assimilated into the fold of Hinduism, as if they are just different forms of the same thing, thereby

ignoring the contents of these movements which was antithetical to Brahmanism. Brahmanism assumes superiority on the basis of caste-hierarchy and therefore the ruling class in India is majorly formed by dominant caste, male, landowning Hindus.

Fascism demands legitimacy through the fiction of a false enemy. In India, this false enemy are the Muslims; anyone who resists the fascist agenda (which also includes the Dalits, Adivasis, oppressed nationalities and women) is also made an enemy - terrorist, anti-national and anti-development are common justifications to state's fascistic repression on the people. This goes on to include all exploited and oppressed sections resisting fascist exploitation being portrayed as the enemy of Hindu Raj, of a glorious era of society.

In fact, this development is nothing but the Indian ruling class serving its masters of imperialism. India is not free but is in fact a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country ruled by imperialists through the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation, and control. In service of foreign finance capital, India has unleashed a brutal assault of Brahmanical Hindutva fascism on the masses.

This is not an arbitrary nexus—it is a necessity borne out of the contradictions inherent in semi-colonial semi-feudal Indian society. The violent repression unleashed by the Indian state, carried out under the banner of nationalism (security) or development, is in reality dictated by imperialist capital to maximise its super profits emerging from the loot of cheap labour and resources in India. The Indian ruling classes, the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and big feudal landlords, act as intermediaries in this process—ensuring that the flow of profits from the forests, mines, and labour of the Indian people continues uninterrupted to foreign monopolies. The fascism of today is the political form required to sustain this economic subjugation.

Thus, the so-called peace that the Indian state speaks of is not peace for the people—it is peace for the exploiters. When the state demands the masses to demilitarize themselves, it wants imperialist loot to proceed unchallenged. Militarization, when wielded by the state, is presented as “development,” “law and order,” or “anti-terror” operations. There is a clear contradiction: in zones where the revolutionary movement has been facing a set-back, exploitation deepens, and resistance is crushed under the boots of corporates, contractors, and paramilitary forces. It is in this context that Comrade Abhay's appeal to halt Operation Kagaar and suspend militarization must be understood—not as a gesture of surrender, but as a principled assertion of the people's right to political self-determination. It was a call to engage with the roots of resistance, not to extinguish it; a demand for dialogue that affirms, rather than denies, the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed. And so, we arrive at the heart of the question: is lasting peace possible under this system? What kind of peace can exist when the fundamental contradictions of society remain unresolved? Can peace talks offer a real resolution to the structural violence inflicted upon the people?

Under Operation Kagaar wherein the state is perpetuating a genocide against the Adivasis, there is a pressing need for the right to self-defence to exist to ensure that the people are organised and well-defended against their enemy, the Indian state. Com Abhay therefore appeals for a stop to Operation Kagaar, to a pause to the policy of corporatisation and militarisation. The CC of the CPI (Maoist) says, *"The Hindutva fascist BJP-led regime at the Center launched a military offensive against its own people in the name of Operation Kagaar undermining the lives of tribal people and fundamental constitutional provisions. This brutal offensive is aimed at crushing the revolutionary movement for Jal, Jangle, Zameen rights of Adivasis, promoting corporate interests to allow plunder of the natural resources, eventually decimate the federal system in the country and establish an autocratic unitary State. More than 400 persons including several leaders and cadres of our party, commanders and members of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA), ordinary Adivasi people were killed in the brutal offensive by the State across various States mainly Chhattisgarh in the last 15 months. Adivasis constitute one-third (1/3) of those killed in Operation Kagaar."*

This assault on the masses has particularly intensified under Brahmanical Hindutva fascism. It can be seen through the intensification of the level of attacks on the Adivasi masses from the time of Salwa Judum to Operation Green Hunt to Operation Kagaar.

However, repression and state brutality is just one aspect. Throughout these times, the adivasis have put up a strong resistance to imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. They have refused to submit to the attacks of the Indian state and its corporate masters. They have also preserved their culture from attempts by imperialist and Brahmanical forces to attack it.

All this has made the adivasis an enemy for the Indian state. Wherever they have been demilitarized, wherever the armed movement of the revolutionaries has been crushed, it is the people who have suffered for the sake of the imperialist model of development premised on loot of resources and exploitation of labour. One such example is Kaimur. When the revolutionary armed guerrilla movement was crushed by the Indian state, the state and forest authorities increased their repression and attempts to displace the Adivasi people.

This is why the state wants to disarm the masses, and why it is essentially rejecting the proposal of the CPI (Maoist) for a ceasefire. The state accepting the conditions set by CPI (Maoist) would be going against its own interests i.e. the diktats of the imperialist ruling class.

The question which we then have to ask— what is the solution? The historicization of the series of past betrayals, as well as the question of the mode of production in India brings us to a fundamental question which is important for the people who want peace to consider— can we say that peace talks will lead to a lasting solution? In other words, is the peace process in itself a resolution to the contradictions due to which the material conditions for the CPI (Maoist)'s adoption of the strategy and tactic of Protracted People's War exists? Can peace

exist under semi-colonial, semi-feudal India?

Peace is not the absence of war—it is the presence of justice. In a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society like India, where land remains concentrated in the hands of landlords, where multinational capital plunders resources with state backing, and where entire communities are dispossessed, criminalized, and silenced, the ruling class's peace is nothing but the violent enforcement of exploitation.

It is semi-colonial—politically independent but economically tethered to imperialist powers. It is semi-feudal—where vast rural populations remain under the thumb of landlords, caste hierarchies, and local feudal goons. The state does not stand above these forces; it exists to protect them. You cannot have peace in a house built on stolen land. You cannot negotiate justice with those whose power depends on its absence. A landlord cannot be expected to surrender his fields through dialogue. A multinational does not leave just because you asked nicely. In a semi-colonial, semi-feudal structure, **armed resistance is not the exception—it is the strategy and tactic needed to fight against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.** And those who resist it are not “anti-peace”—they are anti-exploitation and anti-oppression.

In such a system, peace is not a bridge—it is a barricade for the Indian state. It is wielded to disarm the oppressed, not the oppressor. When the Maoists walked into peace talks in 2004, they didn't bring demands from thin air. They brought the unresolved contradictions of the countryside: illegal landholdings, police atrocities, corporate plunder, and the denial of basic democratic rights. These were not merely grievances—they were indictments of the Indian state's class character. In this situation, when we are seeing that the Indian government is in fact moving swiftly even closer to fascism, why will the Indian state want peace for the people and make genuine efforts for the same when it is already murdering, and has the option to continue to murder, the revolutionaries?

Peace may be a temporary state of affairs, borne out of struggle. Peace can be between two opposing, or even antagonistic, forces at a stalemate with each other. It may be a situation when one party to the conflict is stronger than the other and the latter's forces need time and space to recuperate. Peace can also be for the purpose of providing relief to the people who are suffering under a heavy assault. It may be temporary, it may be tactical, it may be a brief pause before the Indian state continues to wage a war against the people in India. This type of peace we saw between Israel and the Resistance Axis—as soon as Israel recuperated its forces, it broke the ceasefire agreement. Overnight, it killed hundreds of Palestinians across the Gaza Strip (400 civilians!)—and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has vowed that *“this is just the beginning”*. Therefore, we must not confuse ceasefire, or peace, with liberation. Liberation is the qualitative change in the mode of production (a revolution). As we have emphasized before, actual peace is only achievable when classes are abolished, when there exists no antagonism between opposing sections of society; when the source of all

In order to understand the deceptive nature of peace as promised by the Indian ruling class, we need only to examine the betrayal that unfolded in Nagaland during the so-called peace process with the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah), or NSCN (IM), an armed political organisation that had been waging an armed struggle for Naga National Liberation since the 1980s. The 1997 ceasefire agreement between the Indian state and NSCN (IM) was portrayed as a historic breakthrough after decades of revolutionary struggle waged by the Nagas for self-determination. But from the outset, this ceasefire was not an act of goodwill—it was a calculated move by the Indian state to demobilize a national liberation struggle and absorb it into the parliamentary framework, under the thumb of Indian expansionism. The 2015 Framework Agreement, which paid lip service to the “unique history and position” of the Naga people, was used as a smokescreen to disarm, demobilize, and disorient the revolutionary movement. The core demands of the Naga struggle—shared sovereignty, a separate flag, and a constitution—were sidelined and hollowed out through delays, duplicity, and diversion.

This is not a case of failed negotiations—it is a textbook example of counterrevolution. Instead of honouring the spirit of the agreement, the Indian state employed counterinsurgency: prolonging negotiations indefinitely, dividing the revolutionary forces, and sabotaging the movement from within. The state strategically engaged with rival factions like the NSCN (Khaplang) and the Naga National Political Groups (NNPGs), brokering parallel deals that bypassed the principal revolutionary force, NSCN (IM). This divide-and-rule tactic, long perfected by imperialists and their compradors, sowed confusion, mistrust, and factionalism among the Naga masses. The revolutionary unity forged through years of struggle was undermined as the state propped up pliant factions and manipulated contradictions to fragment the movement.

A similar case of peace talks and ceasefire gone wrong is the case of the Nepalese Maoist movement. The UCPN(Maoist) agreed to a ceasefire and peace talks with the Nepali state under the observation of the United Nations. In the peace talks, they agreed to surrender the weapons and liquidate the people’s army led by the party. They settled for a place in the parliamentary system being formed while the semi-colonial semi-feudal nature of the Nepali state remained intact. The result, today, is that the same leaders that were leading the Nepali masses’ struggle for liberation have now become compradors for US imperialism and lackeys of Indian expansionism. Nepal has now become even more of a dumping ground for foreign finance capital and Indian expansionism. None of the fundamental problems facing the Nepali people were resolved. The Nepali monarchy was dissolved but today, Hindu fundamentalist forces are rising up that are demanding a restoration of the monarchy.

Thus, revolutionary and democratic organisations, civil society members and all peace loving people who are in favour of a peace talks between the Maoists and the Indian state, while putting pressure on the state to go ahead with the process, should also guard against the attempts by the Indian state to reduce the armed guerrilla struggle led by the Maoists to a mere

security and “law and order” issue. They must guard against attempts to settle for an unprincipled peace which wouldn’t solve any of the actual problems faced by the masses. Real peace, even if temporary and tactical, can only occur if the Indian state makes a genuine attempt to address the deep-rooted socio-economic and political contradictions that have given rise to the armed Maoist movement. These contradictions—land dispossession, caste oppression, corporate plunder, and the systematic denial of dignity and autonomy to the most marginalized—are not incidental. They are structural, and the armed struggle led by Maoist forces is a response born out of these harsh material conditions.

To speak of peace without confronting these contradictions is to demand surrender. In this context, any serious call for peace talks must begin with the unconditional legalization of the Maoist movement and the ideology it is born out of —Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Peace cannot be built on the criminalization of revolutionary politics. If the state truly seeks dialogue, it must first facilitate the open and unhindered growth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as well as its practice, and organization. Real peace can only occur when the state allows the people’s resistance under Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to grow and take its natural course.

As Noam Chomsky has noted, the concept of “reasons of state” is often invoked to justify repression and war in the name of national interest. The concept of “reasons of state” is frequently used to legitimize brutal repression, war, and surveillance in the name of national interest and geopolitical stability. In the Indian context, the war on Maoist revolutionaries is similarly framed as a matter of state security, while masking the deep injustices that gave rise to the struggle. If the state is sincere in seeking peace, it must abandon this logic of counterinsurgency and instead recognize that the Maoist movement articulates the political aspirations of millions who remain excluded from India’s so-called democratic framework. Legalizing the movement is not a concession—it is a necessary precondition for any credible peace process.

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THE ROLE OF OPPORTUNIST, LIQUIDATIONIST AND REVISIONIST FORCES OF THE COUNTRY IN THE PEACE TALKS BETWEEN THE MAOISTS AND THE STATE

Lenin during the times of the economic and political crisis around the world in general and in Russia in particular said that the economic-political crisis can only be understood in terms of the class struggle being waged under the leadership of the communist party against the ruling class and its state. When a communist party is strong, the proletariat and the entire working class stand to be in a good position in their daily class struggle against the ruling classes and when the party is weak the entire working class is weakened in the class struggle. During the party crisis from 1908 to 1914, Lenin repeatedly insisted that strengthening the party is the only method to bring the people out of the current economic crisis. And in order to strengthen the party organizations and thereby liberate the masses from the yoke of imperialist exploitation and oppression, the struggle against the opportunist elements within the revolutionary movement is a decisive factor.

Comrade Lenin through his struggle against the ruling class political line of the opportunists brought the party and the entire working class in a strong position vis-à-vis the ruling class. He, under the ideology of Marxism, could take a great leap into bringing the party out of the crisis as a formidable force. The result was that the party could accomplish the earth shaking October revolution. In order to understand the history of the October Revolution of 1917, it is important to understand the political crisis of the period from 1908-1914 in Russia. We all know about the incident on Bloody Sunday in which about 300 workers died; the Lena massacre of 1912 in which about 270 people died. Similarly, the recorded evidence suggests that about 4,000 Adivasis peasants from 1967-present have been massacred by the Indian state; the communist party which has been leading them is also in the same condition as the Russian communist party was in those times.

The communist party was immensely attacked by the tsarist autocracy. During the crisis, the party ranks and files got reduced to some hundreds. This tremendously decreased the fighting spirit of the laborers and the oppressed masses. Besides, the reform policies were also ushered in large numbers by the tsarist government; the attempt was to blunt the class struggle. These conditions fostered illusions among the petty bourgeois fellow travelers, leading them to lose confidence in the party's political line. They began deserting the party's political line. Does this not sound like the condition of the communist party and the revolutionary movement it is leading in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand? Is not the Indian state using the same old way which the tsarist autocracy used against the then communist party? Is it not killing thousands of revolutionaries? Is it not putting behind the bars all those people who have been working to fulfill the dreams of a classless and stateless society? How is the present Indian state different from the then Tsarist autocratic state?

have been working to fulfill the dreams of a classless and stateless society? How is the present Indian state different from the then Tsarist autocratic state?

In times like those in Russia during that period, opportunists and liquidators also emerged. Liquidators were a specific type of opportunist who sought to dismantle the Party by attacking its very foundation—its members. Their primary demand was to transform the Party into an open and legal organization, thereby stripping it of its revolutionary essence. A similar argument has been made by certain contemporary opportunist elements, such as a figure named Apoorvanand. In an article published on *The Wire*, he suggested that the CPI (Maoist) should join the mainstream. Liquidators, representing a more advanced and dangerous form of opportunism, pushed for a legal, reformist version of the Party that liberals could comfortably support. Therefore, the struggle against these forces becomes the test for the true revolutionaries. Lenin, as the true leader of the masses, stood up to the task and smashed the opportunist forces. We should follow the political line as propounded by Marx and developed by Lenin in all circumstances. This is the only way to create a society where there would be a condition to compel people to take up arms. This will be a classless and stateless society. This society is the kind that we should be striving for. Anyone desiring for everlasting peace should ensure that the communist forces are allowed to move ahead to their historically destined victory.

Opportunists are the agent of the ruling class. Unfortunately, the interesting thing is that they are not visible clearly enough for the masses, especially because they infiltrate the movement under the guise of upholding and practicing Marxism. They have a pretentious character. He is not a smart opportunist who goes in public attacking the revolutionary movement in the central and eastern region. The opportunists by their very nature have the tendency to sit on the two stools. They will vow in the high sounding language that they are with the revolutionary movement but in essence they are the ruling class representative dressed up in a different color and size. At present, the opportunists are in and around the revolutionary movement. The issue of peace talks has become the honey pot in and around which several anti-Marxist and even the so-called “Marxist” opportunists, liquidationist and revisionist bees have gathered to suck the honey from the pot. Therefore it becomes urgent to spread the smoke of communist propaganda in order to disperse the opportunist bees.

These elements can be found in two forms. One group consists of opportunists who present themselves as Marxists but, in reality, serve the interests of the ruling classes and their state. The other group includes those who are openly anti-Marxist or non-Marxist, yet claim to be allies of the Indian revolutionary movement and its people. In practice, however, they actively work to undermine the revolutionary struggle in Bastar and Eastern India, facilitating the entry of capital into these mineral-rich regions and thereby dispossessing the people of their jal, jungle, and zameen. When times allow them they often openly come out against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the core organizing principle of the revolutionary movement. Persons like Subhranshu Chaudhary who insists that the communist

revolutionary movement in India should surrender to the ruling class as it did in Nepal and as the North East nationality movement has been doing are of this kind. These forces are the right hand of the US imperialist and the local comprador Indian state. They have used all the methods to ensure that the people are robbed of their achievements. That facing the mighty army of the corporates like Lloyd and Jindal the people remain armless.

On the issue of peace talks they (the opportunist elements) are speaking in an entangled manner that the Maoist must surrender. They are of the opinion that the Maoist leadership must unconditionally lay down their arms and come into the mainstream. But they do not say this openly, they lay very weak emphasis on the conditions put forth by the communist party. They do not or if they say in very low voice that the state must stop operation Kagar; that military and paramilitary camps should be abolished; that all MOUs with the foreign and domestic corporations must be abrogated. By remaining silent on these issues they allow the ruling class to facilitate unbridled exploitation of the resources and the displacements of adivasis from their jal, jungle and zameen. We must expose these opportunist elements and focus on the demands raised by the people under the leadership of the communist party. The Indian state wants the communist party to be destroyed and the opportunists and liquidators within the revolutionary movement stand to fulfill its dream.

They ensure that there is no discussion on the achievements of the party in Bastar, they do not speak about the development of political consciousness of the Adivasis due to which they are able to accept and develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They do not talk about the fact that under the areas of red power there is no death due to malnutrition, there is no unemployment. All they do is to insist on holding the Maoists accountable for the death of the police forces and some agents of the ruling classes. The question then is what sorts of peace do they want? Do they want peace of the ruling class kind where the state will carry on its loot of the resource and destroy the only weapon with the people in form the jantana sarkar? Hence anyone not making propaganda on the revolutionary achievements of the communist movement in Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand (communist party and revolutionary mass organizations, Jantana Sarkars, Jan Militia to defend the attacks by Salwa Judum like forces). Without propagating this, the opportunists are a ruling class element in essence disguised as civil society.

The peace talk with the state is a tactic to further the task of New Democratic Revolution and it should never be a class compromise to liquidate the party, to demolish its illegal existence or to deviate from the armed struggle line as laid down in the historic Naxalbari struggle. It is the revolutionary duty of the working class, peasants, youths, students and the intellectuals to protect and develop the line of Naxalbari struggle. Let's be the genuine successor to the martyrs of Naxalbari by exposing the opportunist sections who had betrayed the Naxalbari struggle by getting the revolutionary people killed by the state forces. Let's ensure that we will not let a single communist revolutionary be murdered by the Indian state.

CONCLUSION: PEACE ON WHOSE TERMS?

Communists always strive for a world of peace and justice for the people and to end the system of capitalism-imperialism whose existence is marked by war. When the imperialist system is faced with economic crises, it cannot carry on its loot of the semi-colonies and colonies in the old ways. To mitigate the crises, it pushes towards militarisation and war efforts. It props up fascism in the semi-colonies and colonies and wages a war on people of these countries to intensify the corporate loot. Irrespective of whatever methods the different progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces employ, they are united in the aspiration of a society without wars and ensuring peace and justice for all. So, it is our task to demand an end to the war on people and militarisation happening in India and push for peace. The ensuring of mutual ceasefire between Maoists and the Indian State and holding of peace talks are an important part of this effort and, therefore, must be welcomed by all peace-loving and anti-war people.

But such peace cannot be reduced to a question of Maoists laying down arms and surrendering while leaving intact the system of exploitation and repression that gives rise to revolutionary movements and people's struggles. A ceasefire must not become a prelude to crush the people's struggles. Real peace can only be achieved through a political resolution of the fundamental contradiction between the exploited and oppressed masses, and the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist Indian State—a contradiction rooted in imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism which can only be resolved by smashing these three enemies of the people.

This is why any peace process must not be treated as a tactical or administrative measure of the state—it is a political question. The CPI (Maoist)'s insistence on basic democratic guarantees before entering talks reflects the lessons of history: of treachery in Andhra Pradesh in 2004, of the assassination of Comrade Azad in 2010, and the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Kishenji during the 2011–12 peace overtures in West Bengal. When the State demands that Maoists lay down arms unilaterally, it is not offering peace—it is seeking surrender.

In contrast, the CPI (Maoist)'s proposals uphold the dignity and political agency of the masses. Their demands—ending military operations, halting camp expansions—are the minimum basis for any meaningful political dialogue. They are not concessions to “extremists” but democratic steps that any supposedly peace-loving and democratic state should support. Moreover, these are not just the demands of the CPI(Maoist). These are the demands of the people of Central India themselves, particularly people of Bastar. Even democratic mass movements that have come up in these areas, like the Moolwasi Bachao Manch (MBM), have been formed around these demands. That the Indian State refuses these demands exposes its character: not as a neutral arbiter but as an active perpetrator of war, genocide and plunder in the service of imperialism.

As Lenin argued during the Brest-Litovsk treaty with the Germans, the revolutionary approach to peace is determined not by pacifist illusions, but by the political interests of the working class and oppressed peoples. Stalin's temporary non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany was not an endorsement of fascism but a tactical necessity to buy time for socialist construction and preparation for the possibility of an attack by the Nazis and other imperialists. Mao's repeated attempts at truce with the Kuomintang, even while preparing for war, were grounded in the masses' interests. In all these instances, negotiations were used as a revolutionary tactic, never as a substitute for struggle.

We must understand today's peace talks in that same spirit. They are not the end of struggle but a new opportunity in it. The role of revolutionary and democratic forces at this juncture is to break the state's illusion of "peace" and push for the fulfilment of just, pro-people conditions. The task is to create public pressure, mobilise mass organisations, and expose the fascist militarism at the heart of Operation Kagaar.

If the State truly wants peace, it must accept these conditions and recognise the CPI (Maoist) as the political representative of the people, rather than a terrorist group. If it does not, it must be held accountable before the people of this country and the world.

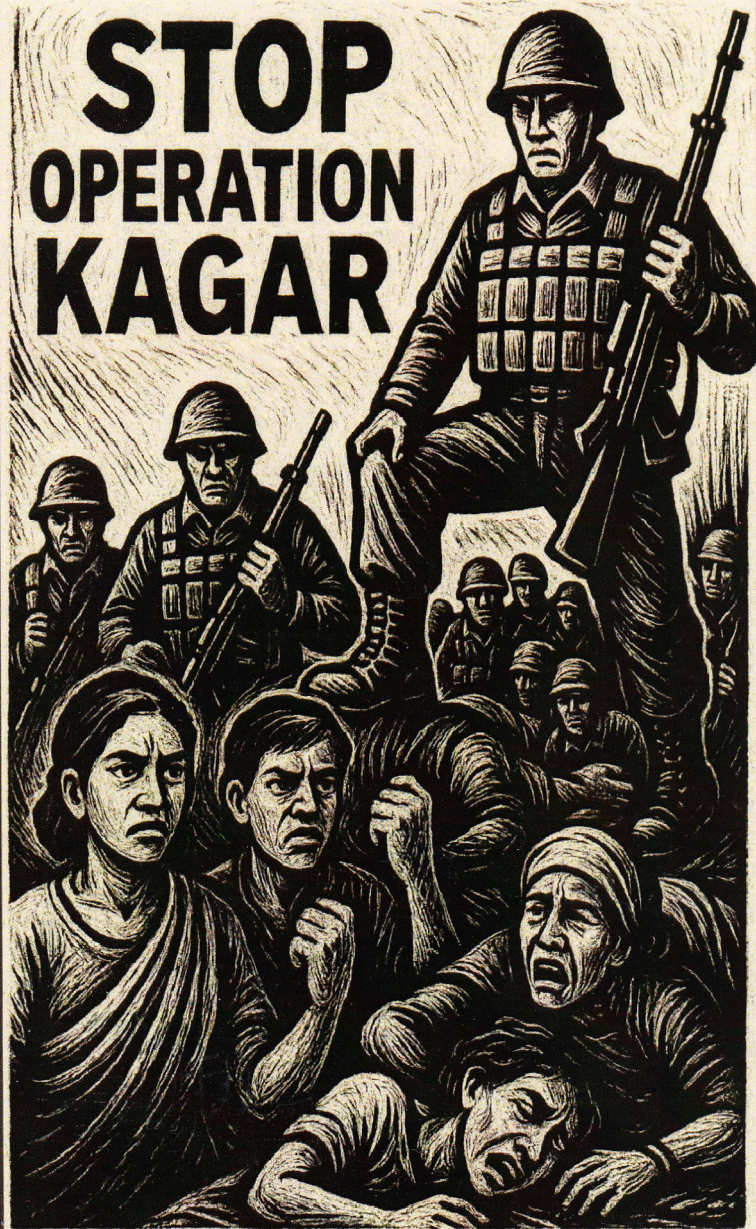
Let us be clear: peace without justice isn't real peace. It's just a way to keep things the same, to quiet the voices of those fighting against exploitation while it continues behind the scenes. For the masses, that's not something they can accept. They'll always revolt against injustice, no matter how many times they're crushed.

This campaign for peace talks should not be about letting the state crush the movement, but to understand the nature of the Indian state and standing with the people's fight for a New Democratic society.

The Butcher
by Varavara Rao

Whose government is it
and
Whose guardians they are
The life of that boy
Fleeing into eternity
Told me
I realized then that
The real butcher is
The state

STOP OPERATION KAGAR



Recommended contribution: Rs 50