

CC 4th Meet Resolution 2013

1. Homage to the martyrs

After CC-3 until now more than two hundred of our beloved comrades laid down their lives in the course of advancing the New Democratic Revolution and fulfilling that aim. Among the martyrs are present right from Central Committee Politburo member Comrade Mallojuhula Koteswarlu to general party members. Several comrades of revolutionary mass organization, PLGA and RPCs were martyred. Revolutionary masses were martyred. Several women comrades were martyred. Our fellow comrades breathed their last in the revolutionary movement fighting back the enemy's multi-pronged offensive, in accidents and due to ill health. All of them serve as a model to us. CC vowed to fight till the end for fulfillment of their aims and paid revolutionary homage to them.

2. Present Political Situation – Our Tasks

CC is releasing this resolution separately in the form of a booklet.

3. Assessment of the present condition of our countrywide movement – Our Tactics

Following the resolution of the CC-3, state level plenums were held in DK, NT, AOB, BJ and OS states. The condition of the movement in the respective Special Zones/Special Areas/States was reviewed in these plenums. Along with these plenum reviews this CC meeting discussed the condition of other states and departments. Basing on this discussion, it assessed that from the point of view of the subjective condition, the condition of our countrywide movement is critical.

After the formation of our United Party in 2004, hopes about the victory of the revolutionary movement rose among the Indian people. In accordance with this the party and the PLGA strove very hard for the advancement of the revolutionary movement. It strengthened as a countrywide party. Internationally it gained the support of maoist parties and that of the working class movement. Along with the Lalgargh and Narayanapatna struggles it led anti-displacement struggles of the people and movement for separate Telangana. It conducted higher level attacks in DK, BJ, Odisha, Bengal and AOB and placed them as a model for guerilla warfare before the Indian people while the enemy was given a shocking blow. We held high the line of our party among the Indian revolutionary masses in a manner that helps the advancement of the revolutionary movement in all spheres. We successfully held the Unity Congress-9th Congress.

At present all the major contradictions inside the country and in the world are intensifying and sharpening and the material conditions are turning favorable to the revolution. In terms of subjective condition the movement is facing critical situation. CC discussed the reasons that led to this critical situation and is formulating tactics to overcome this situation and advance the Indian revolutionary movement by well utilizing the developing favorable situation for the revolution. Let all the leadership committees from top to bottom formulate appropriate tactics basing on these tactics and keeping in view the changes occurring in the situation and advance the Indian revolutionary movement by mobilizing the entire party, PLGA and people to implement them.

Though the countrywide revolutionary condition is critical, the condition in all the states is not similar. Only by concretely assessing the favorable and unfavorable conditions that developed in the respective Special Area/ Special Zones and the situation of the movement in various states all over the country we can formulate the tactics to advance the revolutionary movement by basing on the favorable conditions and overcoming the unfavorable conditions. So let us mention here the situation of the respective states concretely. In DK mass base decreased in considerable area, the intensity and expanse of the resistance of the PLGA and people decreased; non-proletarian trends increased in party and the PLGA, recruitment decreased; number of people leaving the party and PLGA increased. As a result of all these this movement is facing critical situation. Due to the efforts put since the past five years there is some progress in the NT movement.

There is some progress in the mass struggles in AOB. However the movement in NT and AOB is in ebb. We are striving hard for their revival.

Gondia division is continuing in a weak condition since a long period of time. Due to series of arrests in the past few years the Maharashtra movement is facing setback.

Though the Mainpur division movement in the COB area has weakened, in the rest of the area the movement is gradually getting established among the people and expanding. Due to betrayal of panda and enemy onslaught the Odhisa movement weakened a lot. Due to heavy losses to the leadership and subjective forces and due to decrease in mass base the BJ movement suffered setback at present. Due to Comrade Kishenji's martyrdom and the martyrdom and arrests of state and district leadership comrades and dent in the deluge of Lalgarh movement and Paschim Bang movement suffered a setback. Along with the fascist onslaught carried on by the paramilitary forces and the Army that has entrenched itself in Asom since decades, the martyrdom of four comrades including the secretary of the State Leading Committee in a fake encounter and arrest of other comrades happened and the Asom state movement that was gradually developing weakened. In North Region we lost subjective forces at various levels along with party's central and state level leadership.

As a result the North Regional Bureau was completely damaged and along with it movements of various states weakened a lot. Three State Committee members (SCMs) in Tamil Nadu and two SCMs in Karnataka and some cadres at various levels were arrested in the ongoing intense enemy onslaught. The enemy special forces are conducting continuous attacks on the Malnad movement that is present in a limited area. The political and organizational weaknesses that were continuing since the past led to the weakening of the Tamil Nadu and the Karnataka movements. In Kerala too the enemy repression is going on severely. After the arrests and martyrdom of CCMs this RB suffered damage. In the new strategic area of this region too they are deploying central and joint forces of three states and carrying on fake reforms and foul propaganda campaign to prevent our movement from expanding.

Between 2009 and 2012 the enemy damaged our central weapon manufacturing and supply departments; political and military people's intelligence departments, the central magazine department, central SUCOMO and the international departments. The country wide urban movement weakened to a large extent. After the CC-3 meeting four CCMs (Comrades Rupesh, Amber, Sukant and Jaspal) were arrested. PBM Comrade Kishenji was injured in an encounter and was caught by the enemy and was martyred.

The relentless multi-pronged attacks on the country wide revolutionary movement carried on by the central and state government as part of LIC strategy since the formation of the CPI (Maoist) in 2004 is one of the main reasons for this situation to arise. While three to three and half lakh police, paramilitary and commando forces were deployed by mid-2010, this increased to four lakhs at present. In the areas where revolutionary movement is ongoing (particularly in 82 districts) every year the central and state governments are pouring thousands and lakhs of crores of rupees and carrying on reforms. As a result, a divide started in the people's camp and a small section is turning into the social base of the exploiting ruling classes. As a result several unfavorable conditions to the revolutionary movement are coming to the fore. One of the reasons for this situation to arise are the weaknesses at varying scales that are continuing in carrying on class struggle basing on agrarian revolutionary program in all the movement areas. The movement is facing critical situation as we have not formulated appropriate tactics keeping in view the changing domestic and international social, economic and political conditions, as we have not mobilized the party and the people to implement the tactics formulated and as we have not put determined efforts to fulfill our aim. Along with these, the shortcomings in correcting the long term non-proletarian trends in our party, PLGA and revolutionary movement; the weakness and shortcomings in vastly rallying PLGA and the people in an effective manner into armed resistance and counter attacks; the shortcomings in implementing secret functioning and guerilla war principles; the weaknesses and shortcomings in the legal-illegal mechanism; the weaknesses and shortcomings in training the party, PLGA, RPCs and mass organizations ideologically, politically, organizationally and militarily in accordance with the situation; the weaknesses and shortcomings in consolidating and developing the urban movements, in rallying the non-peasant vast masses inside the movement areas and outside, the limitations in rallying the vast masses into the revolutionary movement by carrying on political and organizational work in accordance with our line and

policies at all levels; decrease in mass base and recruitment; increase in the number of persons leaving the movement and limitation in the fighting ability of the PLGA coming to the fore are the subjective reasons for this situation to arise. Due to this change in the subjective condition, though the revolutionary material condition is developing excellently inside the country and in the world, we are facing limitations in well utilizing it. In such conditions left and right opportunist lines are arising in some places inside the party. Savyasachi Panda bringing forth right opportunist, disrupting and revisionist political arguments and Sriramula Srinivas bringing to the fore rightist line in the garb of left line by accusing our party of being rightist are a part of this. The leader of the Narayanapatna peasant struggle Nachika Linga is backing away from the movement with rightist politics. Some persons who are not seeing the enemy as a paper tiger strategically and feeling that the tactical dominance of the enemy is permanent are leaving the movement. Such wrong lines, argument and incidents may arise in future too. In such a situation some are bringing to the fore the argument that the semicolonial semi-feudal production relations in India changed and that capitalist production relations were formed.

Basing on this they are bringing forth wrong arguments that the protracted people's war line is useless in India. As sectarian and bureaucratic trends are continuing in party internal relations and in relations with the people it is causing harm to the party and the movement. In such a situation, basing on MLM theory, the political-military line of the party, party policies, the great experiences gained and class line-mass line, it is necessary to fight determinedly the ideological and political wrong trends and also correct the mistakes continuing in practice and strengthen unity of the party and improve our practice. Thus we should fill revolutionary enthusiasm among the people. The leadership should keep in view the possibility of some persons losing confidence on the revolutionary movement and put efforts to make them stand firmly by filling them with confidence on the revolutionary movement.

On this occasion we should widely propagate among the party, PLGA and the people the strategic weaknesses of the enemy, the strategic strength of the revolutionary camp; the manner in which outdated semi-feudal, semicolonial production relations in our country are making the lives of the people unbearable day by day, the manner in which the major contradictions in India are intensifying due to the implementation of neo-liberal policies in our country since 20 years, the manner in which people all over the world are waging movements in various forms as all the major contradictions in the world are intensifying due to economic crisis of capitalist imperialist countries, the mass base we still have, the favorable terrain, the leadership forces we have, the leadership sources, the experiences gained by our People's Army and people in Peoples's War and increase their confidence on the revolutionary movement.

We must formulate a strategic plan to overcome the critical situation faced by the movement and bring it into progression. The first point in this is strengthening the entire party ideologically and politically and condemning, exposing and defeating the anti-Marxist bourgeois and revisionist theories. As part of this we must fight back the post modernist theories. We should educate the entire party abiding by our party's political line. Taking into consideration the changes occurring as a result of class struggle in semi-colonial, semi-feudal India and the changes occurring in the economic, social, cultural, administration and ecological spheres due to the onslaught in all spheres of our country on all oppressed classes-sections of people by the international financial capital that joined hands with the domestic comprador bureaucratic capital, we should formulate tactics that would mobilize the vast masses into the revolutionary movement. We should not just confine ourselves to forest areas and peasantry and basing on the experiences we gained in the plain areas we must formulate appropriate tactics suitable to the present conditions. We should mobilize the non-peasant vast masses in all our strategic movement areas. We should build urban movement and rally the working class and the vast urban masses into the revolutionary movement. We should correct the non- proletarian trends continuing in the party and PLGA and strengthen the party and the PLGA. Whatever may be the level of the movement, whether in the rural or the urban movement or in the united front activities while rallying the people on their daily issues and against the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists and the Indian ruling classes we should strive to rally maximum forces on a broad basis. We should get rid of the tactics and practice that would isolate us from the people and make us a target of enemy attack while working in any sphere and particularly in the urban sphere. Keeping in view the favorable conditions in various forms in various areas and all over the country and the favorable material condition which is still present, we should rally our subjective forces creatively and strive hard to

sustain/gain initiative. Entire party should work consciously and with determination to overcome the present unfavorable conditions of our movement. Along with these we should develop the entire party, PLGA and mass organizations to work dynamically basing on the tactics formulated by the PB, CC, CMC, RBs, SC/SAC/SZCs from time to time according to the changes that occur in the conditions.

At present let us mention the favorable material and subjective conditions that are present as a basis for formulating the general basic tactics that are to be followed in the coming two years. All the major contradictions are sharpening and intensifying inside the country and in the world. As a result, people are rallying widely into militant struggles on various issues inside the country and the world. In DK the people have steeled themselves in class struggle and People's War in the past 30 years. In this course, the PLGA and the people defeated several enemy repressive campaigns including Salwa Judum. The Janatana Sarkars built as the organizational form of new democratic political power at area and divisional levels after destroying and paralyzing enemy power are still wielding people's power. The process of building New Democratic economic system is continuing at a primary level under the leadership of the Janatana Sarkars. In accordance with this a revolutionary change is occurring at a primary level in the cultural sphere. The local organizations are working amidst relentless OGH offensives and are resisting the enemy. The effort to overcome the weaknesses and shortcomings identified in the DK plenum began. In BJ too people were steeled in 30 years of class struggle and people's war. In this course they fought back several enemy repressive campaigns and defeated them. At present the peasantry and para teachers there are fighting militantly. The Jharkhand Adivasi peasantry is fighting militantly against the conspiracies of the ruling classes to undermine the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, against displacement and for the annulment of MoUs signed by the state government with CBB and MNCs. In Bihar too peasants are fighting on various issues. There are several potentialities for the BJ movement to advance. In Telangana the movement for separate Telangana is developing in militant forms. Revolutionary political and propaganda agitations are ongoing widely in AP, NT and AOB. People are getting consolidated through various people's movements.

In Bengal comrades are striving to overcome the heavy leadership losses and the setback of the glorious people's movement of Lalgurh. In Odisha comrades are fighting back the betrayal of Panda and are putting efforts to consolidate the subjective forces and develop the mass base. Though the party forces in Tamil Nadu Karnataka and Kerala are in limited numbers, they are striving to build the revolutionary movement. Though the RB in North India suffered damage due to losses, the limited forces present there are striving to build the revolutionary movement in the states where they are present. In Korchi area of Gondia division, the people rallied vastly and militantly against 'Korchi Loh Prakalp'. Inside the prisons too party leaders and cadres are fighting unflinchingly. In the past two years we extended to the COB area. In BJ we extended to some areas. Party plenums were held in some states and new forces were elected to the Divisional/Zonal, Special Zone/Special Area Committees. The PLGA in the East and Central Regions is resisting the enemy and gaining some considerable successes. In these areas along with PLGA the People's Militia and the people too are resisting the enemy. The Lalgurh people's deluge suffered setback due to severe enemy repression and due to heavy leadership losses. The Narayanapatna peasant revolutionary movement is facing severe repression. These struggles have not only imparted great experiences to us but are also providing constant inspiration not only to the people of those areas but also to the people all over the country.

Keeping in view the favorable and unfavorable conditions mentioned above along with the excellent material situation developing favorably to the revolution in our country, let us formulate the following tactics for the coming two years. Let us formulate these tactics with the aim of fighting back and defeating multi-pronged countrywide onslaught carried on by the enemy in the name of OGH, of preserving the movement and of advancing for the fulfillment of the tasks formulated by the Unity Congress

Tactics are not formulated just by basing on the condition of the subjective forces. Tactics are formulated basing on the favorable and unfavorable conditions in the contemporary material and subjective situations. In the present critical situations the conscious, courageous and planned efforts of the party would be the guarantee for gaining successes. By bolshevizing and strengthening the party, by enhancing the quality of PLGA and by

revolutionizing the people ideologically and politically, by taking up politically offensive tactics utilizing the present favorable material condition to the revolution and by actively mobilizing the PLGA and the people actively in People's War, we would definitely advance in fulfilling the higher level tasks. We should understand the tactics being formulated now with this view.

1. We should preserve the subjective forces (from CC up to party cell) from enemy onslaught; particularly priority should be given to preservation of top level leadership forces. We should ensure that the party, PLGA and the local organizations do not get isolated from the people in enemy onslaught. The State/ Special Zone/ Special Area Committees up to the AC/PPCs should take up appropriate steps for this sake. Secondary leadership should be developed in a planned manner at all levels.

The ideological and political levels of leadership from higher level to lower level should be enhanced. We should give special education on the political and military tactics that are to be followed when the movement is facing critical situation. We should develop the political level of the party such that we can study from time to time the changing social, economic and political conditions and formulate new tactics by making the necessary changes in the tactics in accordance with them. We must train the party cadres at all levels for this sake. We should conduct education and ratification against the non-proletarian trends that developed in the party. Party should be bolshevized through all these.

2. In all the movement areas anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggles should be intensified basing on agrarian revolutionary program. We should not confine to secret and illegal activities in this class struggle and utilize united front activities, open and legal struggle and organizational forms to rally vast masses (students, youth, employees and other petty bourgeois sections and various oppressed social sections).

3. As part of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal class struggle we must concentrate on land issue or Jal-Jungle-Zameen issue and displacement issue. Along with these we must taken up daily issues of the people. We must rally the people in struggles from local level to state level. We should gain new forces from these struggles and strengthen the party and the PLGA. In order to utilize the people's struggles erupting spontaneously all over the country in favor of revolution, we should participate in those struggles and lead them.

4. As part of mass work all the local organizations should be functioned regularly. People and local organizations should be mobilized against OGH and rallied actively and militantly. Mass work and resistance should be carried on with coordination. We should be cautious not to let the trend that neglects resistance in the name of primacy of mass work to arise. We should carry on political, organizational and military work in coordination with the aim of defeating OGH.

In areas where carpet security is spread we should give primacy to secret structures and function the local structures in a lively manner. The shortcomings occurring in work methods formulated in areas of carpet security should be corrected. In these areas, while giving primacy to secret structures we should form united front and cover organizations that would be helpful in consolidating vast masses. Basing on the results obtained in practice, we should develop the tactics to carry on mass work and resistance in carpet security areas and make them comprehensive.

5. Taking into consideration the uneven development, level of formations and the strengths and weaknesses of the People's Army, we should carry on guerilla warfare to the best of our capacity in all areas including extension areas. In all areas we should intensify and expand the guerilla warfare to the best of our capacity. The guerillas should utilize every opportunity present for damaging enemy forces and to seize weapons from them. Only by display of initiative by guerillas to utilize such opportunities, can we damage the initiative of the enemy and increase our initiative and bring the anticipated change in the conditions. Military Commissions and Commands at all levels should guide such that formations and level of actions are implemented according to the decisions taken in this meeting. In order to politically mobilize the people against OGH and to resist and defeat it we should increase the active participation of people in People's War.

6. We should increase the commanding efficiency of the commissions and the commands and the fighting efficiency of the PLGA forces to fight back the enemy onslaught by constantly studying the changes occurring in the counter-insurgency and counter-guerilla warfare operations and by identifying the enemy weaknesses in them. The PLGA forces should be given military training to fight back the changing enemy tactics.

7. We should carry on guerilla warfare to fight back the enemy onslaught on strategic areas and guerilla bases. As part of this people and the People's Militia should be rallied on a vast scale and mine warfare should be intensified. The People's Militia should be armed with the weapons available.

8. We should seize arms, ammunition and other war material from the enemy, utilize the local sources, increase them further and wage guerilla warfare basing on them. We should preserve all kinds of war material carefully. We should immediately correct the shortcomings occurring till now in supply of war materials, dumping and their utilization. Higher level commissions, commands and party committees should pay special attention on this.

9. Priority should be accorded to extension of X area. The extension of DK should be gradually fulfilled. The internal extension decided in BJ should be continued. Extension in other areas should be taken up according to the availability of forces. We should see to it that the enemy is dispersed through this extension. In every state in our country where our party is working we should put efforts to develop subjective forces while developing mass base. In all areas leadership should put efforts in a planned manner to advance with higher level tasks basing on the good results we achieve in our practice.

10. We should preserve the remaining forces in the urban movement and run the movement there. We should create new forces in the towns adjacent to our movement areas and strive to build the movement.

11. We should correct the non-proletarian trends present in the party, PLGA and local organizations. Rectification campaigns should be taken up where necessary.

12. Thousands of party leaders of various levels, cadres, activists of mass organizations and RPCs and sympathizers are incarcerated in jails all over the country. They form a considerable part of our party at present. The leadership inside the prisons and outside should put efforts so that all of them get rallied through jail communes and build movements with coordination and get educated ideologically and politically. We should put efforts so that they can play appropriate roles directly in the revolutionary movement after their release from the prisons.

13. We should carry on revolutionary propaganda war constantly and efficiently to fight back from time to time the psychological warfare of the enemy against the revolutionary movement conducted as part of counter-insurgency operations.

14. Fascist repression is increasing in our country with each passing day. We should put efforts for the rights movement against this and for democratic rights of the people to be carried on more effectively and its expansion.

15. In the backdrop of all the international forces having lot of hopes on the Indian revolutionary movement, the responsibilities of the international tasks of the party increased than in the past. Though party suffered leadership losses, we should carry on international work in various forms and at various levels even with limited forces. We should muster active solidarity to the Indian revolutionary movement.

16. If we are to implement the above tasks properly, we should improve our work style. As part of it, we should establish lively and affectionate relations with the people. We should correct the shortcomings occurring in implementing mass line-class line.

We should implement the tactics mentioned above in the coming two years and work with the aim of reviving the areas in setback; we should once again mobilize and consolidate the party forces where they had become dispersed; we should strengthen in the areas where we have weakened and we should expand to new areas and spheres basing on this consolidated strength. Basing on these tactics the RBs and SZC/SAC/SCs should concretely formulate the goals to be fulfilled in their respective areas.

The enemy formulated a plan to decimate our party and the movement in our country within the next five years and is carrying on the offensive intensely and widely. In such a situation we should drag this war on through our resistance utilizing the above mentioned tactics. We should make the plan of the enemy unsuccessful by dragging on this war and defeat him.

The enemy is seriously worried as the revolutionary situation is developing day by day and we are gaining small and big successes in various areas by fighting back severe and widespread repression. Our counter attacks on the enemy are continuing. If we can bolshevize the party even under such difficult conditions, increase mass base and advance while damaging the enemy by strengthening the PLGA, we can develop the

revolutionary movement by overcoming this critical situation. Once again we can create favorable subjective situation and advance for the fulfillment of the tasks given by the Unity Congress. This has been proven many times over in the history of the International Communist Movement.

4. On celebration of 10 years of party formation day

By September 21, 2014 it would be ten years since the formation of Communist Party of India (Maoist). CC-4 decided to celebrate this occasion on a huge scale all over the country. Under the present conditions where our country wide movement weakened and is facing critical situation – party should immediately concentrate completely on strengthening the mass base, on waging the resistance war actively and on mobilizing the people in this war actively. We must place the results achieved in various spheres and in revolutionary practice since the formation of the new party in front of the party, PLGA and the people and use this occasion completely to educate them. The political propaganda to be taken up by our party on this occasion should increase the confidence among the people that the revolutionary movement would definitely strengthen under the leadership of the party, with the support of the PLGA and with the building of revolutionary people's committees and that a strong party can develop with the building of People's Liberation Army, establishment of liberated areas, building of a countrywide movement and with recruitment of new forces. The message of the CC on the occasion of September 21, 2013 should contain relevant directives regarding the ten years celebrations.

CC must bring out a special issue of PW on the ten years occasion. CC comrades should write articles in this issue in the backdrop of the tasks taken by the CC-4 and send via RB secretaries to GS six months prior to its release. Among the theoretical articles we must definitely include selected articles from the writings of comrades CM and KC along with the main article to be written by GS giving a direction on the experiences gained by the party in these ten years. A special issue of MIB should be released for this occasion. PBMs should write theoretical articles and send within the stipulated time (six months before its release) to GS. In the light of the teachings of Comrade Lenin that there is no revolution without a revolutionary party the Regional Bureaus, State Committees, Special Area/Special Zonal Committees and SMC/SAMCs must release circulars with concrete program three months beforehand mentioning the significance of the ten years celebrations.

In all the states the ideological, political and military magazines should be brought out as special issues. Where there are no magazines they must at least be brought out as bulletin souvenir. They should also carry interviews of experienced party senior comrades. The souvenirs that would be released by the CC and the state committees should publish photographs of martyr comrades after the merger, their life histories, the photographs of important comrades who are in jails and their contribution.

-Special Bulletins of Party, PLGA magazines on the 10 years celebrations should be published.

-The revolutionary people's organizations/cultural activists should release a documentary with a message on the occasion of the ten years celebrations (a video film not exceeding one hour)

-The revolutionary women's organizations, cultural organizations and RPC should release special issues on the ten years occasion. Where publication of the magazines stopped, efforts should be put to definitely

bring out the issues on this occasion.

-The ten years celebrations should be conducted for ten days from September 21 to 30. (Depending on the conditions they can be extended not exceeding one month).

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- Selected articles of Marxist Great Teachers explaining the significance of the party should be released in the form of small booklets for the education of the party cadres.

(b) Regarding Veteran Comrades

Since 2005 several CC comrades were arrested from various areas in our country. Though all of them are living under horrible conditions in prisons, all of them are resisting the enemy with lot of revolutionary enthusiasm.

Some among them are suffering from serious ill health along with old age. If such comrades get released, in the backdrop of serious enemy repression at present, we must inform them that since party and the movement had weakened in several states, we cannot make them go underground and that they would have to share their share of leadership responsibilities while spending an open life. We have to appeal to them to think about the need to work even while facing the dangers and challenges of open life and convince them. We should keep in view that due to absence of veteran comrades in the daily life of the party, we will not be able to get their valuable suggestions in the daily activities of the party. So, by following certain correct and scientific methods we should definitely try to get suggestion, ideas and some ideological and political articles from them. The CC should make the necessary suggestions to give them guidance and give them the necessary help and cooperation. We should form a mechanism that would help open and secret work. We should formulate appropriate methods.

10. On arrest of political prisoners

The struggle form of arresting government officials to get our comrades in illegal police custody released started in 1979 itself. Among the later incidents the Gurtedu incident, Sudhir Kumar incident and arrest of Dharma Rao Atram in DK were the prominent ones. In all these three incidents we could get our comrades released. After the 1990s apart from these, some more incidents occurred. Some actions were conducted by the local leadership and the people, while majority of them were conducted by the squads. Majority of the incidents happened spontaneously, while some were conducted with a plan. After 1985, government repression increased and as illegal arrests, fake encounters and disappearances increased, the proposals from people and the cadre to take up this struggle form also increased. In this course, by the 1990s, arresting from ordinary clerks who collect electricity bills up to the collector, from ordinary *sarpanches* up to MLAs on various issues such as – permission for meetings, for judicial trails, for *pattas* to the land occupied by the people, for rebuilding the martyrs' columns destroyed by the police, for getting the comrades in jails released etc increased. In one incident we arrested *Mandal* President Gajula Sankaraiah and as the demand was not fulfilled, we killed him. Such incidents not only caused anxiety among the middle class people but had also weakened their confidence on the party. Keeping in view this total situation and the limitations of this struggle form, the COC of the erstwhile CPI (ML) [People's War] released a circular in 1990 and gave guidelines in it. Later these incidents decreased. The incidents that happened were reviewed in the respective conferences and these were included in the Political Organizational Reviews.

Though this struggle form was taken up sporadically after 2000 too, it increased from 2011 onwards. In 2011-12 in Odisha and Chhattisgarh we arrested collectors Vineel Krishna, Alex Paul Menon, MLA Jhina Hikaka and Italian tourists and demanded the Green Hunt must be stopped and that political prisoners in illegal custody of the government must be released. In Odisha apart from these demands we demanded the government to solve some important people's issues. The release of political prisoners was the main demand and we put other demands mainly for propaganda purpose.

In the above four incidents, we could not get our important comrades released from jails. Only in Odisha some common peasants and legal comrades got bails. Mili Panda, the wife of Savyasachi Panda was released by the government as part of a plan. We could politically expose the government by propagating to some extent on repression and people's issues.

However we could not gain the benefits we expected from these incidents. On the other hand, the Odisha and CG governments used the bourgeois media and propagated on a huge scale that the actions done by us were undemocratic. Portraying the persons in our custody as 'people's servant', they rallied various sections of people against our actions and brought pressure on us. They placed law and constitution in front of the mediators appointed by us and signed agreements tactfully without showing concrete solution to any of our demands. When we study the above phenomena, we faced more losses than political gains through the above three incidents. Keeping in view this result, we must keep in mind the following guidelines when we take up this struggle form.

1. Though arresting persons is a struggle form it has many limitations. There is no scope for people's direct participation in this struggle form. That is why we must not take up this struggle form on a vast scale. At no cost must we arrest persons who are not people's enemies.
2. When we want to get important leaders released, we must choose the target (class enemies) that would get the government to surrender. We must not give lot of time to the government to fulfill the demand. When we understand the government is taking an adamant stand, we must annihilate the people's enemy in our custody and withdraw from this arena of struggle.
3. If we give more time to the enemy in this process, due to the strength of the enemy we may have to face the risk of their attacks. Moreover, there is a possibility of their arresting pro-movement intellectuals and sympathizers as a counter and pushing us into a defensive position. As we got this experience in AP we must keep this too in mind.
4. When we want to take up this struggle form, a part from formulating a correct plan we must keep in view the then concrete political conditions (the contradictions between the ruling class parties, between the central and state governments). These contradictions would help to some extent in fulfilling our demand.
5. It would be useful if we do not appoint mediators in this struggle form. If we feel it is necessary, then it would be better not to appoint liberal democrats (such as BD Sharma, Haragopal etc). As they work as mediators from our side, they would be branded with the Maoist seal and they would face some limitations in working with other intellectual and democratic sections.
6. If in any instance we arrest corrupt government officials and political leaders, we must put them on trial among the people and mete out appropriate punishments to them. We must not follow methods such as arresting soft targets among them, giving statements that we would kill them after putting demands then and there and later releasing them. Due to such acts, apart from our party losing its political dignity in the eyes of the people, some of them would even turn against us.
7. The government is propagating that collector Vineel Krishna and Alex Paul Menon are 'civil servants' and are serving the people, whereas they are playing a crucial role in the counter-insurgency plan of the government on the revolutionary movement. This propaganda is having its impact on the middle classes too. So we must expose the crucial role played by such officials against the revolutionary movement as a whole. In this course, keeping in view their role, we must punish the important government officials when they are caught as prisoners or otherwise.
8. We must not put political and economic demands when we take up this struggle form. We must not take this up with the view of exposing the government politically (for propaganda). Doing so would send wrong signals to the fighting people. Any struggle form taken up by us should aim to mobilize the people as much as possible. Even while getting the political prisoners released we must primarily try to mobilize the people and take up the struggle even while utilizing the lawful opportunities.
9. When lower level cadres take up this process, the higher committee comrades must intervene and carry on the process in accordance with our guidelines. When the higher committee arrests anybody as per plan, they must take up the entire responsibility.

12. CC Special Resolutions

1. Comrade Barunda, CCM and who worked as PBM was arrested in end 2005. He had to spend his life behind bars for the past eight years with several false cases foisted on him. Prison life in old age had deteriorated his health in several ways. CPI (Maoist) is sending its revolutionary greetings to the lawyers

and other revolutionary, progressive and democratic rights activists and organizations that worked hard for his release. CC is feeling very rejuvenated and enthusiastic with Comrade Barunda joining the outside revolutionary movement once again directly. CC is expressing its joy at his release.

CC feels that the news items published in the name of his interview in contradiction of his role in revolutionary movement by journalists who are hand in glove with the enemy and taken in the conditions where he is suffering from serious ill health are nothing but a creation of the media.

CC seriously took into consideration his old age and ill health and decided to well utilize the rest of his life for contributing to the revolutionary movement.

a.unit should allot a comrade to help him in all manners. That comrade should mainly be engaged in this work.

b. He should send his suggestions to the mother organization on the situation of the movement.

c. Messages should be delivered through him in important forums (for eg: against Green Hunt/deployment of Indian Army).

d. We must record in audio and video his long term experiences in the revolutionary movement and his observation on the domestic and international conditions.Comrades must select a team necessary for this and ensure that this work is completed in six months. These audio and video records and any things that he writes should be copied and one set should be sent to the mother organization and another set should be kept with him.

e. He should be requested to write an article for the ten years celebrations of the party.

f. We must suggest to prominent persons who are contributing to the revolutionary movement legally to meet him in between.

2. Due to the increasingly severe onslaught of the enemy our party cadres got incarcerated in prisons in considerable numbers under various circumstances. Lawyers and other organizations are striving hard for their release. As a result several of the party cadres who are got or are getting released are once again joining the revolutionary movement. Some among those who are not getting party contacts immediately are even working under some cover temporarily till they get party contact. Doing so is correct. However the fractions in those organizations should not appoint them in ECs though they may join them as ordinary members in those organizations till they get concrete suggestions from the concerned party committee. CC is making it clear that they should not be considered as other members working in their organization. Either the organizations or the cadres released should finalize such decisions only after consulting the respective committees. Likewise in the name of security some comrades who were released from prisons are joining organizations that are directly or indirectly serving the government or in organizations that depend on their funds. They are not informing the party too clearly about this. CC is suggesting to those comrades that even for security reasons they should select only those organizations/professions that would not harm the revolution in any manner.

3. CC decided not to function under the same fraction the various organizations that are working as centers of United Front for countrywide revolutionary activities. The fractions in those organizations should strive to work by limiting themselves to the program written in the manifestos of the respective organizations. The fractions in them should put efforts to make the MOs work actively abiding by their program and building movements from time to time according to the situation. None from the fractions should make open discussion on ideological-political issues that do not concern the manifesto and constitution of their respective MOs. Likewise the fraction of an organization or a single fraction member should not make open accusations and criticisms on another organization or its fraction or any of its fraction members. The two fractions may give each other friendly suggestions. Every comrade has the responsibility to examine these suggestions that give priority to revolutionary interests and take them. SUF should give full support for the TUF programs to be conducted smoothly. They should help each other for the smooth conduct of the programs. The teams that were decided to solve the differences that arose between some comrades in the two organizations and between comrades in state level MOs of neighboring states should immediately get into this job. We are requesting that along with these teams formed on these disputes, the two fractions should send detailed reports separately to the CC.

4. We should intensify political agitation and propaganda for the unconditional release of senior party leaders Comrade Narayan Sanyal, Comrade Sheela di, Comrade Kobad Gandhi and Com. Amberda who are

Spending prison life since a long time at old age and in ill health. A defence committee should be formed on behalf of X organization for their release. Their organization's president and secretary should be part of this. 'Dohaha' should be joined in this committee to work full time for fulfillment of this task. The efforts to open an office in Delhi for this should be initiated. The respective state committees should appoint lawyers for solving the cases in various states. Lawyers should be appointed from the centre for special cases according to the need. The state committees should immediately respond for appropriate sureties. Appeals should be made inside the country and internationally for the release of these comrades for various kinds of people's responses including signature campaign. Pressure should be build up on central and state governments.
