

(Letter 1) For coms in jail and Out

D/C

Hope You are OK. In history of CP, democracy i.e. internal party democracy and the democracy in society have been playing a crucial role. It is a major cause in the collapse of USSR and restoration of capitalism in Soviet, China and in all erstwhile socialist countries. Annihilation or elimination of political competitors was a part of the anti democratic activity there. Now through the elimination of political rivalries in outside and also by trying in that direction inside the party, our party is also marching in that direction. I am opposing all such killings, (killing of other left cadres without exposing them politically), the methods of targeting coms inside the party who have debates or differences on political/organisational questions with leaders and allow them to die in enemy hand during intense repression. And finally I am also opposing the CGM's open declaration of the policy of annihilation, for deviated PMs as a part of punishment. So, the life of internal party democracy is going to be end now or at least it will reach there just after tiny victory of revolution. Democracy should remain everywhere from above and from below. If in any condition we will violate the democratic rights of PMs or use pressure or armed strength to cross the right, then it is not good. In this condition, there is no space for people like me to continue in the party.

Cap is needed for head and not vice versa. Party is needed for revolution and it must be developed as per need of revolution. Path of revolution also must suit to the condition of the country. PPW is not useful for our country just like it was for China. People are not ready for a war or to engage them self in war now at all places. Now in DK or in some part of BJ they need it for their practical problem.....to face and counter the intense state repression. But at all other place, why they will? We may take propoganda to prepare them, but the hasty decision to intensify war every where irrespective of people's condition and consciousness is a fault in our party policy. The decision to build base area in DK or BJ in such a big country, without rear for revolutionary forces, in a country where we are too weak and where our preparation for war is in poor condition, (we have no bullets, no explosives, no weapons, no intelligence, no doctors, no drivers, and no strength etc.) is left adventurist in nature. And we did not review our earlier decision to build GZ and base areas in NT and Nalamala of AP with this outlook. Was the decision correct as per the social and geographical condition of that area? We are repeating the historical mistakes and are not trying to learn from history for our superiority.

People at the time of their crisis need one easy solution through the reform of govt or through our militant economism, and for that they may help and join us partially. But they are not prepared for PPW. We need much time to prepare them, and for this our war must not be intensified in one or two pockets of such a big country. Why because, in intense war and repression it will difficult for us to organise the people and people will not prepare them self over night as we subjectively wish. The objective condition of our country, the position of centralised Govt machinery via huge military strength, communication, infrastructure and Govt reforms is different than that of the then China. After 1857 the Britishers had planned to break Indian rural structure and founded the Panchayat system in micro level, which is now developed to macro level and working as a main vehicle in the hand of their successor to implement reforms. People have some illusion towards it like it has happen in Narayanpatna. Moreover, our Party position, work in working class and subjective preparation for a revolution is totally at a different condition from that of China. Though in the

preparation of revolution we have to build UG party, People's army and both UG and legal mass organisations for future UF, but the form of organisation and struggle will not be same in all places throughout country as we practically are directing in present days. People in Bihar may need one armed organisation in their struggle to face the armed gang of Landlords. But for riot affected Odisha or for people of Lalgarh, we should not copy the form of organisation and form of struggle mechanically as per our subjective wishes. We have to rethink our failures in Gulari, Kajinagar, Narayanpatna, Lalgarh etc in this relation...

As we are moving subjectively and our form struggles and organisations are not suited to the objective condition properly, or the people are not participating in it as per need, we are trying to develop sectarian theories out of our subjectivism, especially in areas of armed struggle. Without any proper class and mass line, not considering the non-antagonistic contradictions among people properly, we are applying the armed strength upon the friendly classes to achieve the so called goal. We have been witnessing such theories via Tribal system and Christianity along with the line of annihilation. As per the opinion of sectarian leaders, both tribal chiefs and Christian chiefs are target for our struggle and by demolishing their authority we can build RPC. One or two RPC in one area cannot solve the situation. We have done it in Narayanpatna where people preferred to go in Panchayat system rather than in our way. RPC or Base area or anything for revolution in our country needs one who is in the situation, at least for an area. Whatever may be the weakness in the struggle, it is proved that when there is change in objective situation, in socio-eco and cultural condition, we have to witness a change in the people's style of participation for political movement and revolution. When everybody is carrying mobiles in their hand, we cannot influence people by blasting towers every day. After expansion of electronic media influence we simply cannot reject it by propagating our age old theory of Imperialist culture.

So, we must take all preparation secretly more or less in the method of insurrection, without exposing all those apparatus to enemy. It is not correct in which method we have been doing till now. Same is needed for legal mass organisations. The question of writing MLM in its ideology and giving vote boycott call through it is linked with this wrong idea of exposing everything to enemy and go for direct confrontation. What is the benefit, if one most revolutionary mass organisation with Maoist brand will organise a big sounded meeting or a rally against war on people with handful of intellectuals in country of 120 crore people? And after branding one mass organisation like this, other mass organisations will face similar repression those are having any type of direct or indirect link with it. All these are happening due to our subjective assessment of situation.

The abolition of the fifth fundamental contradiction 'CBB vs. Indian People' from our basic documents twice in our process of unity of PU -PW and next PW-MCCI, in the period of LPG exploitation and displacement is also a point to note. It had done as the part of pre condition of unity in higher level without any debate in side party rank and file, which is also one symptom of our degenerated inner party democracy. It is also part of political subjective assessment. Similarly about the question of principal vehicle of Imperialist exploitation in our country, though the framing was defeated in last cong in one vote, it is influencing our activity, framing of tactics and thinking in subsequent period.

All these subjective assessment, sectarian idea are reflected in our day to day activity via cultural domination, sectarian dealing to other nationality, mass movt., mass leaders or people of other

and in our inhuman anti ecological activity. If leaders will laugh, when they heard the report
intense repression on people after our armed action or one ambush on enemy, hoping a
immediate good people's armed retaliation subjectively, then what to say ? Those are very
intolerance for people like me and cadres in our area. People fear to PLGA instead of love and
respect.

As I have not got proper democracy to discuss or write the political opinion during our last 9th unity
congress or in the plenums anywhere then after, as I have not got any answer to my opinion on
different political topics and wrong translation of party document in local languages etc from CCM
from 2009 till now, with the development of the present situation around me, as there is no scope
for a immediate solution of our long standing problems we have been facing for last 13 years, I
would like to write this in short.

In addition to this, as it is not possible to send all matter to jail, I would like to request mediator
coms to elaborate the matter as per need, from the detailed letter given below to coms in jail. In the
absence of any face to face discussion, I have to write such a long letter.

Yours

Suman / 1-06-2012

Letter 2

Dear com GS, Vijay Dada and Sumit Dada

Hope You are fine. We are safe with more problems. With much sorrow, I am writing this letter to you. After some developments of debatable questions in our state, I have no way, but to write the letter. Though it is too late, I hope, as per our constitution, you must give any suitable answer.

I had received com Pravakar's letter (through whom I wished to send this letter to you) dated 15-03 on 18th night. For the intense enemy moving, we were in enemy watch due to our 1000 hostages. In other side as per the report of villagers and some activists, a batch of 25000 forces in the leadership of X and Y are searching for me. (We were not sure, but suspected as per the figure and language of the person reported by villager. He might be Suresh. Also in his march 20/21 letter com Bhaskar/Manoj did not write the 2nd person's name, whom he had sent with Badhar in the name of. Who ever might be, they had threatened the Villagers, but did not give any letter form. They had done this with bad intension. They were threatening our activists and asking for more. At 11:00 PM 2nd-25th a group of 8-10 had come and threatened some Villagers for food. They said, who was the voice for us in Kandhamal district and they had raised on the issue. In the night, they had asked not to give food to them. We will come in more number and will see them. They had threatened them. So in this situation, I know the help of yours may not be helpful. Is there any case against me? Yes, there is. Whether anybody is really today trying to eliminate the political opponents like me inside the party or not? If not directly, then they will do with me like they had done with Sitabone activist in SKL-koraput, who had come from PU stream and expelled from the party. With the build organisation on his own initiation in Bandhugaon area, again he had taken in party. After capturing his mass base, again he was expelled and kicked out without any protection. Next he was killed by enemy along with his wife.). Some symptoms are there like that. We are facing the situation and will face problems in future too. For such activity CCMs Kuma / Chetan, Balkrishna/ Bhaskar/Manoj and suspended CCM Ravi/ Chalpati /Aparao might instructed united or separately. Why because, actually they had kept me in observational custody for 3 months based on their subjective assessment on me. I do not know, whether GS and any other com had wrote anything to do like that, when he had advice them to deal softly with SOC coms. Had our respective CCMs asked for permission for any other kind of dealing with me (practically the lone SOCM)? They had done this without declaring openly the matter to cadres or by tiding me with a rope (as they were doing with other coms). But, I was not allowed to meet the local cadres or write letters to others and finally they had declared one bureaucratic observation on me for one year.

1) Internal Democracy -

I have a little knowledge about the communist party's internal democracy problem. In the name of proletarian dictatorship in the socialist Govt after revolution and in the name of democratic centralism inside the party, one type of bureaucratic functioning has been developed in side parties and Govts. In feudal or semi-feudal states like us, the problem is more. Leaders are thinking them as masters and cadres have no courage to oppose the leader's mistakes. Can a son/daughter oppose his/her father in feudal society? The problem is more or less similar to the problem in bourgeois parties in our country. And if somebody fights, then he/she has to become one target of leaders.

As, when the internal democracy hampered, politically one view dominated and at some time it loses the right view. More danger remains there for the victory of wrong without a real polemical environment. For which the parties and the socialist govts in erstwhile socialist countries were topple down by right forces from within easily. You know, the opposition voice was crossed there in the name of fighting revisionism in Stalin period. But when they had killed either rightist in Russia during Stalin period or leftist in China (the so called gang of four), it could not save the socialist systems and the people's sacrifices for the revolution in the respective countries. And recently, in Nepal also Prachanda arrested his opposites in side party to suppress their views. So, I think all these are not good. For this Cultural Revolution and stereotype rectification campaign are not the last solution. It has been proved in all countries. "There should be free space for voice of opposition through open polemics on political questions in side party. Voting on only two or three opinions in conference/ congress which are coming from leaders mainly, is not reflecting the real democracy." A PM should have the right to circulate his/her opinion inside the party on certain political problem he/she has been facing during his/her work. Though law will give less result in a backward country like this. It is needed. And also in Govt and society the democracy can be exercised through a multi party system in new democratic/socialist system after revolution. This may be helpful to protect the socialist system by the people. This will work as a tentacle on bureaucratic leaders of communist party. Because, the danger for socialist system and communist party has been coming from within the party always and that is from above.... from the leaders. As there are classes in that society, so how a single communist party can represent the interest of different classes? Either there should be space for their voice of opposition or they should enter inside or in disguise to capture it. So it is always better to give space to fight the opposition than to suppress it. I had this opinion at the time of discussion on drafts of 2000 yr. Constitution with the present experience. I am again raising that when the democratic functioning and rights are in danger in this party.

I know the present party may not listen this thing. Ok, then you are not for true people's democracy. You want an autocratic system in the name of proletarian dictatorship. If not right now, then it will happen after some day. The policy in practice of the present party is to suppress or eliminate the opposite voice by force, either in side party or outside in society. This we are also declaring openly. In one meeting of BSD and GHSR DOCMS, CCM com Manoj/ Bhaskar, in presence of CCM Chetan/ Kuma and suspended CCM Chalpati/ Aparao told that "in communist party for faults of a PM, we may suspend, expel and if needed can kill him/her (in Hindi be said. *Marne ki Saja vi de sakte*). Even innocent people may be killed in some time for revolution." In that meeting the DVCMS did not say anything though they are opposing such concept in front me after the meeting. Why you did not say anything against the punishment of death inside the party? To this question, one woman com Nikita answered "when we are saying one thing, the leaders suppressed our voice. What we will say". Another woman com Ankita said, "What will happen if we will say anything?" Of course this com latter gave one negative statement like "I have done one mistake by joining in party. I will write one book, so that no one will join in communist party in future and suffered like me." Nikhil also had one similar opinion at that time, regarding punishment of death in side party. But, they feared to say that thing in side party. How our internal democracy is! Also in this meeting CCMs asked the DOCMS to keep observation on me for one year to satisfy their subjective assessment on me.

After listening all this I had come to some political conclusion regarding my internal political polemics, which I have been continuing in some points (those I will write next). I have doubt that,

concern CCMs are threatening to me through this wrong statement (which is not written in our constitution). As right now they are unable to do anything in the process, they want to politically eliminate me, if they cannot do it physically. They plan fully want to take some important contacts and other thing from me, which they are not able to create but are much needed to war. There is no problem in this in normal condition, but the present intension behind this plan is very bad. "Kill the dog after it become old." - Which is an exploiter ideology?

In addition to this, I would like to write one more thing on this point from my experience. In 2009 when one PBM BR had visited to our area, he had some comment on other PBMS like Raroji/ Kishan ji (He is not doing anything, not killing a single police and giving statements. As if killing police is one and only one job for one revolutionary). Also he commented on Vijay dada and Summit dada along with PU party. When during rectification campaign I said that one PBM/CCM should not talk like this before cadres, at once BR, Manoj and Ajad started saying that he did not say like this and tried to suppress my opinion forcefully. When I had given the example, how and when (after listing Ramil's BBC interview) he told, then reluctantly he admitted the fault. But as they all had jumped on me, I could not dare to say his opinion on Vijay dada and Summit dada. Subsequently, they had not taken me for believe in their fractional campaign. If this is the condition of minor, then what is the condition of cadre's right to speech?

2) Recent Incidents - I have to narrate in which background such thing has happened recently. In month of March, 2011, com Manoj had returned from a learning program. He reported me regarding one proposed raid programme in Odisha. The target was possessed by BR, Manoj, Ajad (surrendered soon), martyred com Ravi in my presence long before in 2009. But I was not reported about the development on it in between.

Ajad's surrender- Ajad wanted to go for surrender as because local comrades are not supporting his marriage proposal with one local girl, with whom he had developed love and physical relation in wrong method. So he got frustrated and wanted to surrender. He was allowed to do so by CCM Manoj in March, though he knew the target and proposed visit of PLGA. He had promised not to disclose any secret matter and perhaps our leaders still believe him, not suspect him.

In this situation com Manoj also asked me to do preparation for the action. I said it is very hard to do preparation in this poor condition of our organisation. If to do anything, I proposed to allow me to go for one new area for this preparation. But, he refused and said that I had to go in reverse direction first to meet other CC leaders and then to start my work.

PLGA movement exposed- Before this, when the PLGA main force had passed through Koraput (from DK), CCM Chetan had wrote one letter to one degenerated DVCM Ghasi and when he was arrested through that letter, enemy got the information about the main force's movement. So in next place the PLGA forces were followed by enemy and faced intense combing in Niyamgiri of Raygada-Kalahandi. Next they had to come to Basdara (Raygada-Gajapati-Kandmal) and Ghumusar (Kandhamal-Ganjam) out of compulsion.

Now I was called by leadership in June and so many works were given by them including to arrange shelters in 3 new towns, to buy 6 vehicles, arrange food materials and PLGA needs in three /four districts....etc. Along with this explosives for the programme, for AOB and DK had to be arranged. One Sub command was formed with 2 CCMs, one suspended CCM, Soc secy and 2 company

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Commanders to conduct the organisational and military activity in Odisha. (As per their report, CC has decided for such organisational relation between armed forces and local organisational bodies.) We have no drivers, no persons to maintain the shelters, and vehicles, no purchasers so many no, but we have to go for one war in this unending war political work. So we have to take responsible. In this situation I had agreed reluctantly and started the work. To conduct my work and for local coordination I asked for two bike drivers. The persons those were with me till that time (as per CCMs they may call as staffs) were not trustable for our leaders and practically their consciousness is very low. Yes, they are not made for a war. It is my fault that I am working as pragmatists with low skill, with new comers, as there is no way to out. Also I have been always agreed to the proposals of over load work, only thinking the interest of revolution is another weakness within me.

About a person Ravi, who had been working in cultural organisation since 2000 and was in jail for two years, was with me. He was demoted by Basadara committee after his wrong relations with women comrades. So Basadara comrades left him with me. It may be my fault to keep all deviated and rejected persons, with a hope to treat them before their death. BSD coms were unable to control him. He was also a bike driver. About his deviations it was discussed and asked for alternate persons. But, our CCMs were also found more problems with other persons and finally decided to give Ravi the work. Even he was selected as more trusted person by them than another new comer Akash.

I was asked to give some contacts to CCM Manoj. So that he can manage some work of food supply in my absence. They had also asked to use the explosive supplier for food supply, which I refused. Already he had been used for some work by me, which is one repeated mistake in this over pressure war preparation. It was decided that local forces should not meet the main forces, though in our decision there is a contradiction and practically it was impossible as we have to take the help of local forces many a time. For shelter, it was said that one Bahin and his partner will come from AOB. My duty was only to receive them and settle them.

Enemy's Covert - On the other hand, enemy had one plan after the expose of PLGA movement in Koraput and Niyangiri. They send Susant / Prasant Majhi of Gajpati as one covert. He was one student activist, who was selected by PBM BR and CCM Manoj to send DK extension area in 2009. He retreated in 2010 out of fear. In 2010 October I called him once to check and give some general work of student front. He had written me one letter in June 2011 to join the squad. I refused and planned to keep him in one village for observation. In this mean time he had got contact of one local squad of Ghumusar (in which there were 3 DVCMs) and they had taken him with. Suddenly he met me along with some subcommand member (AP) in one place with local forces. I asked the information about him from DVCMs and advice them not to give him weapons and to keep him in observation. Latter this was made one decision in subcommand and CCM Manoj had also given good opinion on him, as he knew him before. As CCMs were remain most time in secret camps and I had to manage all local and outside works, so many technical mistakes occurred in functioning, such as mixing of local and main forces, in receiving of appointments by my staffs, doing phone in nearby towers etc. Main forces are coming directly and halt in our den several time due to their work pressure. For work pressure, I had to do some mistakes, which were not avoidable if we had to do work with so less and unskilled subjective forces.

Rahim story-In this period one story had come in news paper about the arrival of Rahim and his wife (both CCMs as per news paper) along with Chetan and Manoj in Odisha. They had to enquire the sexual scandal on me in Odisha unit, and I had to be punished in people's court. I had narrated this news paper story before subcommand meeting. The CCM/leaders had laughed a little, as if this was very normal news for them. They did not wish to condemn the story of punishment on me or any scandal. As if they were enjoying the enemy's fake propaganda. But, how this name went outside? I put the question. Then after much discussion it was decided that, either by phone or by CCM's letter to AOB, it might be happened.

(In this connection another matter to be note. When there was much fake propaganda on me and on one democratic activist Dandapani Mohanty regarding relation with women cadres, I asked permission from CCMs in one letter, to arrange one media interview in September 2011. Because, when Sumit Dada had send one journalist team to me in 2009, CCM Manoj had raised complain that how PBM Sumit dada without taking permission from the CC in charge had fixed this programme with me? Then in 2009, in December one resolution was made that, without decision I should not give any interview. In presence of BR and Manoj this resolution was made. Commanders of DK and AOB are giving regular irrelevant interviews in state, national and international topics as they wish. Several times I had brought the topic to Manoj's notice. No satisfy answer for this has given so far. However I had to take permission for any interview. CCMs neither gave permission nor refused to do so. The programme did not work out. But to misguide the cadres, Manoj had spoke in special plenum-2011 that we had tried for interview on scandal, but could not due to different problems.)

Kerubadi encounter- As per decision, I had to introduce one Shankar to Manoj for supply. So we both went together. The place where we stayed, I informed to maintain secretly, without cutting the trees, so that we can adjust for one or two days there. When I had returned after complete of one work, I saw the trees were cut by Manoj's guards for their tent area, though there was no rain at that time. The blue tent was visible from one kilometre distance and so many people were in the forest for their daily needs. The village is big and one landlord is there. So the den was exposed to many unknown people. I asked to change the den. But, there was rain in evening and our cadres and CC guards were not searching alternate place with serious. In that evening I called the local team along with student batch to our place (along with Susant). Because, they were in root for last two days and some coms were suffering from malaria. Another main force batch had to go through that root. It was decided that the local forces should not meet the main force. So, it was wise to call them to us. Till that time Susant and others did not know the den. In next morning we got the information about enemy movement. The squad person who had brought the information from village, inform us lately. Already for precaution I had send persons to search alternate place. They returned. Manoj asked for laptop to see some documents, despite he had heard the enemy information. He was not serious till that time. When I informed about enemy movement he agreed to shift. We went to second and practically unsafe place. Though there was no urgent materials in first den, commander asked one team including the person who had carried my computer to move for materials. Others were engaged for water and cooking immediately. Manoj asked me to sit for planning. (These were normal in Magist camps. Leaders are always busy in radio and computer or unending necessary and unnecessary meetings irrespective of time and place. Tribal cadres are thinking more about exercise or hunting and cooking than any other thing. Main or Local, all are same in this matter. In this unsafe second place no one including I had check the retreat root and all members including DVCMs were repeatedly had went to one big stone, in which people can saw

from 5 kilometre distance. They were happy to sit on it. We started our planning meeting, firing had started on us. We retreated only through one tree. Though no life loss, many important materials including my laptop and few phones were lost. This is the story, how in 2011 September encounter occurred in Kerubadi of Kandhamal district, when I and CCM Manoj were in one temporary camp near the village. Susant and 2 others were gone for some materials and they retreated to one village after enc. Ravi and all were with us at that time. Before the enc the enemy had come in the previous night and in morning asked some cow grazers about the address of our previous den (how the kul people call the place). No squad member knew that name.

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After encounter - After enc when I had said to allow me to save other important persons in the relation of those lost phones, CCM did not allow me and he asked me to go for sub-command meeting immediately. After repeated talk he agreed to allow other people to contact those persons in secret number. Then Ravi, one ACM Ranjan and another PM were send for the job. I went to meeting. In this period phone team, our local team had met in that village and Susant batch also went there. Susant, Ravi and others together had done the phone work breaking all the rules.

Series of fake and fabricated complain on me - Now, in meeting the real face of the leaders exposed. They started attack on me united as per their pre plan. Enc is only one incident to start the attack. Manoj specially started so many complains on me, which he never told in meetings or those were cleared. They started all doubts on me, but as there is no way for their political carrier building war programme, they again give me some work. All political debates that I have with party they started those as additional points against me.

I again went to check the problem of Phones. From there Susant and Ravi plan fully went outside for hospital treatment taking some money from commander, before I reached there. I finished other work slowly, received the phones and wait for Ravi. CCMs wrote one letter to have doubt on Ravi and Susant's hospital visit. But, they were repeatedly calling me for other work. They wanted me to help for one ambush work. I had given contacts as per their needs for that work. But, finally they said no you have to stay for help. In one evening when I finished talk with local batches and send them work, Ravi came back. Already CCM's couriers wait for me to take with them.

I enquiry Ravi. He narrated one partially fake story of hospital visit and accidental meeting with one friend, to clarify his late return. He admit his fault for going outside before meet me. With doubt I asked others not to give him weapon. But, for pressure from CCM couriers I did not complete the enquiry. In subcommand meeting some said to have doubt on total story. I said, though there is doubt on Susant, we have to enquiry the truth what Ravi is saying, before come to one conclusion. It was decided to have enquiry, but they send me in reverse direction. Now, it was no one's duty. So, I instructed the DVCMS and ACMs to have observation on Ravi and not to give weapon. After meeting with some local cadres and staffs I had come to know that the story narrated by Ravi is false and he had gone to enemy's hand for which immediately he had to be arrested. We send one batch for that after discussion with another subcommand member Suresh, who was with me. I also wrote the matter to CCMs, those went to another area for their safety. We did not get the local coms contact, with whom Ravi was there; as they were send in another work by main forces. So, we went in ambush work.

Abs failed - All safe root, place, person were arranged by me. But our main force did the job as per their subjective wishes. They did not dig the tunnel, did not remove the explosives after exposed.

They did not listing my advice in this regard. The ambush failed but I was also taken as responsible, though my role was secondary. One person of main force was seriously ill and we send her to hospital for which also I was blamed partially.

Annihilation of Ravi and then after - In this period Ravi along with one militia com went for local aurvedic medicine for one com. They were send by local commander. Com Manoj had arrested both of them before village people and killed Ravi after interrogation, kept another militia person in custody for one month. Ravi had become enemy agent through Susant. His dead body has not been handover to his family. CCMs had done it without informing or discussing with local coms and even without informing me, done it secretly. Though the punishment is not questionable, the method is against our party constitution, that has created some problem.

After that, with false and fabricated complains they had kept me in observational custody and started threatening local cadres and village activists for small mistakes. As much as 50 persons including ACMs, PMs and squad members were targeted within 3 or 4 months and have been threatened by them. 4 squad members and ex-members (Laxmi, Mamata, Manjula, Ramesh) were arrested, more were in the list to be and 24 from Kerubad village (M) are in list of interrogation and final punishment. One nuisance story was camouflaged by CCMs and outside leaders via the main forces that, "local coverts are not killing local leader like me but when the coverts met our great Telegu leaders like Manoj, they had tried to kill him and when he occurred during Manoj's visit." This story planted to disguise the leaders' responsibility and political faults. Also for Ravi, Susant and all other deviated persons I was made responsible by CCMs. They said, though the decision was taken about them in subcommand, your opinion has been remained primary and so you are main responsible. Manoj now started crying that as he did not get any help from me, so he could not take any firm decision on local matters. Hence I should remain responsible. I am liberal to all cadres, so the problem occurred' - this new sentence added on me. And finally for expose of Rahim's name I was made responsible. Though, neither I take that name in my mouth outside the meeting nor I had note the name anywhere. So, I think CCMs might had written something in their letter with some subjective complain on me, which went to enemy's hand and came in media as one story. But latter they raised fake complain on me that, I had exposed the name of Rahim before cadres and that went to enemy through coverts inside the party. In another statement before main forces, com Chetan raised doubt on me and com Nikhil about the expose of that name and as per him another commission from CC will come to enquiry and punish in this matters. He went on with such fake propaganda with subjective assessment. Such type of work of leaders is condemnable.

in one joint DOC meeting of BSD and Ghsh, one DOC woman com had cried against the decision to arrest 3 women squad members, those were wishing to go home during Christian festival. In my presence, there Com Manoj/Bhaskar CCM said that "all these are needed for revolution and if needed one member and leader can be killed. He had also supported the killing of innocents some time. For this he had taken examples of Stalin."

Initiation for annihilation of Ramesh - Another PM, Ramesh, who had gone to home 2 months before, was arrested by PLGA with doubt. He came to the area where I was in custody of CCMs. He was mad in love with one squad girl. They were in understanding to go home as per fixed date. But our commanders kept the girl by convincing her, when she ran away in that date. Now that boy came and move in search of that girl and for some local organisation work. He met the squad with

leaders several times to speak against me. When the leaders were harassed despite their cunning attempt, finally they declared one year observation on me. They did not discuss about this with me before. In this plenum, they wanted to show that all good are done here by them and all faults are happening due to my faults. Even what was reviewed earlier with the guidance of ERB chief Kishan dada, was also changed as per their wishes. Before, the SOC had finalised that sending cadre to Kalingnagar area after the spontaneous anti displacement movt was correct and timely decision. SOC had also praised the steps and prospective we have taken there. But now, as per CCM Manoj sending the cadre Basant to KLN instead of Naupada was a mistake. They are writing this in the plenum report in a different voice.

Joint meet with AOB - In one review meeting with AOB all these coms were present. They also had given wrong information in it. But, in practice AOB had never followed any political call of SOC for their superiority feeling. This they did not admit in this meeting. And during collector arrest the AOB committee demanded for release of only Telegu leaders. They had given false answer that they demanded for Ganonath Patro and Tapan Mishra of Narayanpatana movt. For that I am sending the talk proceedings here with. Even we regularly exposed the arrest of Badal, Sunil, Marko and Swadhin in this period and demanded to produce them before court, the members of AP did not support their Odisha counter part. Badal was killed in custody for such irresponsible attitude. The problem is, after this also they were not ready to admit the faults and giving wrong statements as they have done in several cases to hide their wrong political approaches.

Hanuman review meet of special action - One review meeting was done after the failure of total action. When the raid programme was cancelled, our leaders had selected the spot for big ambush as per their subjective wishes, mainly with the proposal of Manoj. They quit good forest area and select a place where we could not stay for one day. Even after the abscond of two Chatishgodi lover couple from the camp (those who knew the spot and plans) we fixed the same place! Because we have no doubt on Telegu cadre like Ajad or Chatishgadi cadre like Samir. When the preparation completed, they said it is impossible to continue the ambush if we could not keep all the wood cutters in our custody for all the days we need. I was given the novel work to talk and keep in custody all these people, and to convince them with politics when they would cry to go home. The ambush failed, because Aparao connected the battery with the explosive after asking his guard to stand on the mine. The mine blasted causing the death of his guard.

After this the earlier reviews were refinished. Now it was said not only I, but from Ghasi..... to Samir up to Chalapati all we have deviations. So, we could not get success. Now they said it is one fault of subcommand which could not give one alternate driver for my coordination work. Now Hanuman of Ramayana is starting to tell the truth at his death bed. Is it a communist spirit? Or instead of real review to advance the work we are only following the style to through stones on the back of frogs/toads those are inside the well?

Review on Account Next they wanted to target on me on account. I had marked a new thing in this period. CCMs those had never serious about their accounts, now engaged one yes man AP cadre Swarupa to write all articles those I had purchased. In meeting I deposited all accounts and slips they demanded. Finally they put some doubt and put questions on my articles and rates. I cleared those. I was really happy because during last 13 years I had never seen such checking on accounts, which should be done in communist party. However this was done only for me, not for others. All others

partial fake story. The main force members were also gave him the information about me. So, he wrote one letter to meet me. Then suddenly CCM Manoj asked to arrest him from village. In next day I was send by CCM to talk with him to know the facts. But our leaders did not satisfied with his information and started torchering him. Nothing more he had told. Now they decided to kill him in doubt of Informer. I know the real problem, so I asked to have one enquiry in his village. Reluctantly the Subcommand agreed to send one team for this and gave the final authority to commander of that team either to kill or to keep him in custody till the action programme. I only requested the team leader Nikhil not to do any wrong with Innocents. He had done the job perfectly, met as much as 30 persons amidst the state repression (both his family members, villagers and the people against his family). All gave good report on him. So, the commander freed him. Next he had remained with one team but without tiding any rope in his hand. But, the leaders were not happy with such decision of the commander. They wanted to kill him. So, in between they found some more points (what he had narrated before squad members, when he came to area) to again interrogate him and kill him. Finally, when the operation failed and they went back, they had given me that responsibility. In between com Chetan wrote me one letter that 'you should kill Ramesh as he had saw so many dens'. I did not think it justified. I had enquired about him as much as possible, organised one meeting with all local coms and put him before them. He narrated his love story, how much time he had tried to escape but did not go with rethinking etc. With the decision of all party coms (only one com of DK, Budhram said we must kill him as he will go against us if we will free him after so many beating) we freed him. I am sure, leaders are angry with me for this. But, I am happy by freeing one innocent.

In our party constitution, such punishments are not allowed. The party constitution says that, "When a Central Committee member seriously violates party discipline (acts as enemy agent or indulges in open anti-party activities) the Central Committee shall have the right to remove him/her from his/her rank or to expel him/her from the party. But, such a measure will come into force only when two-thirds of Central Committee members give their approval."

This is the maximum write the party constitution gives you. More over for one party member we must take more democratic process taking his/her consciousness into consideration. Anything to do more means you have to go through a democratic and time taking process. But, the undemocratic methods started in our party before revolution, as per the doubts of writer Arundhati Ray, what she had written in her book.

Un democratic Plenum- Again, to target me politically and organisationally, CCMs arranged one special plenum. (N.B-When without prior plan and decision of higher committee, leaders like BK and Chalpati had agreed with me to arrange one special plenum following the Basadara problem in 2004, they were criticized by AOB committee). But, they had arranged one plenum even postponing the action programme. They gave proposal to dissolve Odisha soc committee in AOB, prior to this plenum. I oppose this, as AOB leaders had been opposing any independent party committee in Odisha from beginning. But I did not oppose any other thing due to their aggressive attitude. They organised the plenum without a proper decision, with promotion of non local cadres and excluding local cadres. This is very undemocratic method to achieve majority in side party. There also they done the review as per their wish and some time they said that, if I will not agree then, the CCM's opinion will be written as final opinion. How we can call it as a state plenum then? And, here I could not keep my opinion directly in hall. Some Chhatisgadi cadres and AP cadres were prompted by

Give the round account and there were errors in it. Now there is shortage of some 4 and half lacks. They tried to put the blame of that account also on me. For this they had one side talk when I went to urinal. When I rewrite my account in their style and my account was proved ok, then they were silent. There was no checking on others account and suddenly after half an hour they declared some 1 lack had recovered etc. In next DVC meeting again one DVCM Krishna said that he had given 1 and half lacks to Manoj. This account was not reported in main account. This is apart from that 4 and half. Manoj had remained silent and one day reported me that he had lost that account list somewhere. But, from CC couriers I recovered some 2 thousand, which as per their report CCM asked them to keep with them as pocket money. From one DK cadre Budhiram we seized some 40 thousand rupees and one new mobile phone, which he had stolen and kept with him. So many Dk cadres and main force activists are expending money as per their wish and giving round account.... by saying that all 10 thousands we have done expenditure etc. Also some have money with them ... some thousands. All these are symptoms of wrong trend which we are promoting from above to continue the war by any means.

In SOC, except I and Ajad, others have never given any account. Another DVCM from DK Subash always giving wrong account of some thousand of rupees. When they are going home we are observing extra money with them. All these forces were working as CCM guards and now they are doing like this. From where these tribal cadres are learning corruption? Why from Ashok to Budhiram, all CCM staffs are so corrupt? Let the CC think about it.

I had marked the financial anarchy in this party from very beginning. This anarchy has been forgiven with one simple logic that where we will take these money. We left home, family, we have no personal interest and for repression and work load, could not keep the account etc. In no committee proper account checking is there. Leaders are habituated with giving round figure expenditure instead of detailed account in all subject, irrespective of secret or non secret. I had raised one irresponsible statement of one Bengali com Ashok in this regard during 8th cong. He had worked in CC department and did not give accounts of 15 lacks. And next he had not given any proper account showing this as example. This type of financial anarchy will lead to corruption in side party and next in the govt after revolution. How we can believe all in good faith after so many ups and downs in socialist countries. Had not the best cadre of AOB Binoy accumulated money from different sources before his plan fully surrendered? So, financial anarchy is a common trend everywhere in party, which is a dangerous trend.

After released from above said custody, I decided the political future along with local coms and send message to all of you. I had been fighting inside party for last 13 years on different policy matter and tactical questions. So far I had enjoyed partial internal democracy....hopping more democracy in future. When I came to know, the road of democracy is closed partially and will be closed in future more, and then I think doing any work for so called revolution under an undemocratic party means, doing another crime for people and society. Even, I have to give life for no cause in the hand of so called coms. Because, In SDS division of Odisha our SOC coms had taken one com to kill in firing, as he had organised fractionally some local cadres against the BJ and Cuttack leaders. He escaped. When I reported this to CCMs, as other topics, they were not serious on it and never commented anything on this.

So, I think, this is a virus in side party. This also developed to some extent criminality in some cadres. That's why I decided to start this fight openly, so that the struggling people under the Maoist party may save them along with the democracy loving leaders. As for fighting from inside is not possible in this democracy of armed strength, so my fight from outside might help the movt in some way. Today or tomorrow you may have a similar opinion with me. While I have been writing the letter to GS, some Maoists are killing people, without proper investigation of the faults. If any discussion is possible at this juncture, then ask these people first to stop such activity. Otherwise discussion with these people is useless. I would like to open the matter before the people with a commitment for real democracy. But all these should be done before they (the sectarian friends) can kill me.

Fight Political and Organisational Sectarianism including application of the theory of annihilation as only form of struggle inside the party to build a real people's democratic Society.

3) My relation with erstwhile PU and my political position might have created one problem of acceptance for some old PW coms.

I had relation with the erstwhile PU, PW from 1995. But politically I was close to erstwhile PU though I joined the united PW in 1998 along with the Basadara movt of Odisha. I had close to the political position of PU regarding a) Keeping CBB vs. Indian people as one of the fundamental contradiction, b) accepting CBB as the principal vehicle of Imperialist exploitation in India c) about accommodating mass organisation and legal leaders in secret party committee with proper precaution, instead of only using them simply in propoganda work. d) Studying about different form of struggles and organisations instead of only one for places likes Punjab etc. Other than I had some opinion on other topics. But, in unity process, without waiting to the future political outcome, I had joined the PW along with Bhal Chandra and Budha as Bhal was hastier to join the party and we were working as a group. Now I think it was a mistake. Of course they went away out of fear of repression, just after two months. But, basing on our practical experience of work in area of AOB PW, we wrote some complains on their activity. This might have irritated the coms (leaders) who never learnt to tolerate criticism from outside. They have been thinking them self as only correct. So, how they could tolerate?

Who?

In this condition Some coms had come to this area from Bengal, those were persons of old PW, close to AOB coms in their work relation.

One such couple (known to you and few CCMs) repeatedly had raised the question why I had not joined old PW, though they were close to our area of operation? They had once through away the defected single short weapon by saying that these are your party (PU) weapons. They had made the

dalit contradiction in our area an issue against me. As if all these were created by me. They had said this without going through the history of our activity in each issue and our role for dalit-tribal unity. Even if they had taken the problem to people, take the side of some dalit land grabbers and ate pig meat from them as bribe. They had propagated that, the old party (means our independent movt led by CMS) was different from present PW. CMS was anti dalit, PW is the party of dalit and in area like AOB (where PW had work) such problems were resolved successfully etc. (It is not correct, because after so many year work of PW in Narayanpatna area, in CMAS leded movt the problem reflected gravely). They had hate sora pakhal (water rice) by equating that with wine. Also they had asked for a separate area to work, where I should not have influence. Finally they resolved the issue by performing Sora area and said not to work in Kul dominated area, in which they had thought that I have more influence than former. I had no experience to guide the squad at that time. How much to walk at a time or any such thing including to ask every ACMs in small question etc. (I was not informed about the committee position of all of us by leaders.) Making such inexperience and to some extent individual functioning within me a point, they had used unparliamentary languages to me, to the people. The problem I had felt so much that, I was in doubt that whether this is the common trend in this party or not. Thus I had first tested the sectarian filing within the erstwhile PW cadres. This was nothing, the sectarian fillings within old parties.

Other than these there were so many problems till 2003. The AOB coms had been not answered my political and organisational questions, those I had raised about their work in border area in 1998. I think they have been targeted me for this and for their sectarian fillings, of which I can give several examples. Why because, after we work under AOB the political problem had been coming repeatedly along with organisational problems. Perhaps AOB leaders have some prejudices on me and our movement, as I was close to erstwhile PU. It is not out of place to mention that, martyr com Sitru of erstwhile PU, who had died in enemy attack with SBMLs, after his 14 year service to revolutionary movement in AOB, despite his several faults and weaknesses, also suffered due to sectarian attitude of AOB coms. I can also give so many examples, for this.

Moreover, in AOB SZC meeting I had been hearing some light comments on Pravakar and other PU cadres. Some leaders had said "no PU cadres will stay. They are like Janashakti cadres." After arrest of the then PU GS Vijay dada and PU CCM Summit dada both PBMs of Maoist party, another PBM Com BB and CCM Com Bhaskar had tried to convince me that, the guide of Vijay dada and erstwhile PU leaders in organisational matter and their approach on women cadres is not correct. They were not thinking about organisation and always thinking about some type of business in the name of making covers. So, their advices regarding some woman cadres should not be allowed. Again, Com Bhaskar from very beginning, when he had came here after his transfer to ERB, had been convincing me that PBM Summit dada's is always talking more than need about people, whenever any debate is coming on any of our policy and action. When, Sumit dada was arrested, these two leaders had started discussion about his wrong relation with some women cadres. My point is if these all are true, then it is not proper method to discuss. Why they had feared to speak this or to make any resolution on them, when they were outside the jail? These discussions are nothing but the old sectarian view regarding PU. Of course they might have deviations. But fighting the deviations in this way is surely another deviation i.e. sectarianism. Let us come to other problem.

4) Some Problems in unity of revolutionary groups and parties

I had seen the unity between erstwhile PU and PW after 5 years joint action and discussion. Then several small groups like us had joined it. Also in 2004 the unity of united PW with MCCI occurred. Each party before unity has their own review. The unity must be done with the basis of that review and with equal respect. When I had seen in 2000 party cong (9th cong) that the PU party is written as a right deviation party, I was astonished. Their over emphasis on mass movt than armed struggle was denounced in that cong via the over emphasis on armed struggle by PW. I marked some sectarian approach for this PU party cadres in AOB, in WB (for CCM Ajay dada also, who had less experience in leading a guerrilla squad). And towards us, what to say? If we would have given one XY ML party name before our group like other groups, with one formal CC or SC committee, then there might be some temporary organisational respect for us. But we had not done like that. So, from ACM to CCM in old PW party (not all) have been behaving us and our movt in some different way. Again, when the total movt led by united PW had been suffering losses, in that period another merger had taken place between PW and MCCI. There was problem in both party's achievement and both were engaged in quarrel. Hastily the unity had taken place. One joint struggle between both parties for at least five years was need before this unity. Anyhow no review was done on past work of particular party practice in unity 9th cong, as it was done in PU case. So it has done only at the basis of strength of armed forces. One American theory is working here in side party, mighty is right. When in Odisha the erstwhile MCCI coms said the number of their PRs as much as 80, we accept blindly and started distribution of them orally. Also with another sectarian view our AOB leaders like BK started adding us to promote all our cadres for old PW like Bindu suddenly to compete with MCCI. He said we had been sectarian towards our cadres, so only I hear also Hanuman of Ramayana told Hanuman that his deer had been in practice out of the 80 PRs of MCCI only 16 were prepared for BR and within a month of two he retreated when they were asked to join home. Some other surrendered or retreated when they were sent for practice in field. But no review has been done on it officially so far. Here one problem is, the main basis of unity of parties or groups is not heartily, it is based on armed strength only.

Second our coms were more interested for the united party's name as per their wish than the political problem. For which the erstwhile PW leaders preferred the lengthy name CPI (MLM) and the erstwhile MCCI coms wished the name CPI (Maoist). What is with the name?

But, when one CCM Bhaskar from old PW side had met me in BJ camp, he started talking me in Telegu, to report something against old MCCI work in BJ. "They have only 2 RPC so far in BJ; their CCMs are not spending much time in field. Only Kishan dada is thinking correctly and rest are not like that. Etc..." was the matter he had reported me. 'PW's work has been remain number one', this superiority felling remained in most of old PW leaders, what to say about cadres? They are not thinking about their subjective assessment and sectarian activity, which is one of major cause of setback in AP or elsewhere. All groups have some positive and some negatives. They should try to learn from each other. But here the thing is different.

"What is our organisation position in all India other than DK and BJ? If we start right now direct confrontation with govt, like it was done in AP or latter in DK, where we can stay? Again, the movt will be crossed. So knowingly we are not advancing some work in that direction." This is one CCM's (of MCCI side, now in jail) opinion. I do not know whether he had put this opinion in CC meeting at any time or it is non-formally decided opinion of some CCMs? But, I think it is write time to bring this to light including all other thing, those are points to note as defects in our unity and open polemics. When we are going to achieve organisational unity without political unity, such things will happen.

5) Examples of organisational sectarianism and Partiality.

A) Partiality for local PRs- You know, two / three Bengal coms were working with us for some time from 2000 to 2002. At that time local cadres and peoples opinion was not considered properly in decision making. After working under AOB the problem was aggravated more. Leaders like BK had wrote their famous sectarian and wrong report on Basadara movt to CC, taking the information from the said Bengal couples. The local cadres, who had been working with us to build BSD movement, were not promoted as per need. The so called PR certificate was issued as per the mercy of leaders like CCM BK and Bhaskar (SZCM) of AOB. Late com Rindo (Singer) was not accepted as a PR, as he was married and had to go home in every 15 days once? Reluctantly another person was taken in AC, but without considering his consciousness mechanically forced him to move separately from his wife. This had resulted in his immediate retreat. But, latter it was reviewed that his promotion was not proper, so he retreated. As if all others are promoted remained lifelong in movement). Another five PMs, who had been remain as UG and organised the people in one pocket, were not accepted as PRs and were told to work only within their village. The main problem is the gun holder commanders are not tolerating the local tribal people's assertion and the mass leaders like martyr Ravi (of AP), Rindo or any other are not given proper importance in party. So, in decision local opinion and situation was not properly reflected. About promotion of local cadre and giving important to them, the problem has been continuing. Though we reviewed the matter in 2006 state POR, this POR is not finalised till now and the review is not accepted by AOB leaders.

B) Promotion not election- Instead of electing cadres to committees in conferences and plenums, nomination and promotion of cadres are usual process in this party. In which only yes-men and good boys/girls of leaders are promoted. Any person having fighting spirit with leaders becomes one target by them. I had seen this in AOB plenum when the election of a woman com was rejected in the name of cadre policy time period. If the cadre policy is the basis for election of cadre, then why we are writing the right to elect and to be elected for one PM. Actually in the name of promotion rule one type of feudal democracy, similar to that of fascist RSS organisation, prevailed in this party. Persons having minimum/insufficient qualities are placed in some committees and at other place real movt builders are suffering from underestimation.

C) Partiality in local and non local- Local cadre's opinion on non local cadre has not taken positively. For example in 2003 BSD plenum, when 2/3 coms including I had reported about Srikant's wrong behaviour with local women coms, the AOB leaders including BK did not take it seriously. Srikant was demoted only when he admitted his faults after the plenum. All problematic persons (having Patriarchy deviation) have been transferred to odisha pocket from AOB. When about Ajad or any other leaders deviation local cadres had started fighting, they were discouraged and deviated persons were supported by CC leaders on the basis of partiality. For example, when one ACM Sitru had started some doubt on his partner, he was suspended for one year in AOB. But, when SOCM like Ajad, Basant or CCM like Chalpati had done some wrong behaviour with women com? One SOCM was suspended for one year only and another Basant was forgiven without any punishment. For CCM like Chalpati also the punishment had remained same. Though it has been said that, for same faults SCM and CCMs should be demoted.

D) Partiality in punishment and promotion- I would like to say about one recent incident of 2011/12. Our CC special company had one special action tour to Odisha. Ajad (ex-SOCM) who had known the target place was allowed by CCM Bhaskr to go outside to surrender before

enemy. When one DCM from DK had ran away with his lover, we believed him and engaged in same target, that he knew. But other local squad members, who did not know anything about the work, when asked to go home or had shown any vacillation, were forcefully kept by tiding with rope in the name of expose. One PR from AP, Sorupa, who has been here for last 2 years without following the work and guide of SOC, had wanted to retreat from the movt after the martyrdom of her husband com Ravi. But, suddenly she had changed her decision and was promoted as one ACM by CCMs, to make her eligible for one special Plenum of Odisha in 2011. This Plenum was organised suddenly without plan and without participation of 2 divisions, in which 3 local ACMs were not allowed to participate for their vacillation. It is not out of place to note that, all these local ACMs are continuing in movt despite several harassment. Thus, we can see so many examples of local non-local type of organisational sectarianism from above.

E) Partiality in review-During arrest and surrender of coms also, the so-called review and assessments about their role have been differ for different coms of erstwhile parties. Till now there was no review on all erstwhile MCCI coms, those have been arrested for some of their deviations and had bend before enemy partially like some SOCM. Shekhar had given information to arrest one DVCM and one ACM was narrowly escaped, or tota become enemy agents like Jagt Singh, BOC secy Santanu (he had given all informations about the division and surrendered) and one DOCM Swadhin (he had surrendered secretly and helped to arrest SOCM son U). But, often some question was raised by big group of erstwhile MCCI regarding one SOCM Ranvir of erstwhile MCCI, he was declared as enemy Dalal without much enquiry. The then CCM in charge Ajad had agreed to this resolution reluctantly. It is not out of place that, Ranvir had died in Sambalpur jail. Shekhar had written one letter about the groupism among SDS coms for which wrong reports are coming about different coms including about Ranvir.

Another serious deviated person Uday (ex DVCM and he is of erstwhile PW, from AP) was arrested after the surrender of one serious deviated and demoted DVCM Dora Ghasiram. Both ex-DVCMs of BSD were affected by same deceases i.e. repeated illicit sexual relations with women, inside and outside the party. It was decided by 2 member SOC meeting to write one booklet about Dora's wrong trends including this one. After the meeting in between Uday was also arrested from one home, where he had illicit relation with house owner's wife. After arrest, he was politically surrendered before enemy and had given anti-party statements and interview. So, I include his name in that book in some place. Though the booklet was mainly carried the wrong trends. The then SOCM Ajad, who had been patronised Uday's wrong trends, opposed to include Uday's name as a surrender person or to speak him characterless in this booklet. As per him we should speak this only for Dora. Two CCMs BR and Bhaskr had supported Ajad and said we should not write his name. For this, the booklet distribution was stopped and reprinted. During our hasty decision for reprint, the press mechanism was exposed and persons in it were arrested.

My question is, irrespective of local or non local, my cadre or their cadre, we should fight against wrong deviations like illicit sexual relation. When both Dora and Uday had worked in same division and both were affected with same virus, how we can write the book on only one? Then, what we will answer to people about the second person? But, instead of thinking about the problem politically, our sectarian friends are thinking differently.

had two direct enc with police in my UG life. In both cases CCM BK and Manoj were present respectively. I had narrated the KB enc above. In 2003, during Basadara plenum another enc occurred. First the selection of place and arrangement was given to one Telegu cadre (latter surrendered), and I was given the responsibility to receive leaders from AOB. One local militia was send as courier of BK from the camp to receive 5 Telegu persons from Berahampur, with the advice of that Telegu cadre. They were arrested from Gumuda in doubt and enc occurred with the information of that bend militia. But in review they raised so many fake question like why I had taken them to one land struggle village (a total land less village and strong village of ours), from that village information went to enemy etc. It is an additional example of our leader's subjective attitude, those are continuing today.

During raids and etc. We have no minimum infrastructure and subjective forces etc. For RUD raid they asked me to build some infrastructure and buy one commander jeep. I had done that and come to area. After coming back, they asked me to buy one small bus, etc. It was too difficult to do from inside. So I had given the work to one person whom all they knew and another one two a local int person. I had no chance to check the vehicles directly. The south drivers could not drive the Bus as BBSR and CTC drivers have been usually driving in 2nd gear from starting. Bd could drive that vehicle well. Whatever the problem, to check or for any thing I had no chance. Other leaders went outside and had not done it. Those vehicles were not used. One had so called gear problem and another was small in size. But in review, despite clarification it was said that a vehicle without gear was purchased and I was made lone responsible for it.

During Nayagarh raid that's why I said, we need to drivers for 6 vehicles, persons for shelter maintenance, minimum 300 persons for the action etc. Without this going for preparation is useless. But till last hour no driver had come! One PR driver who was send by CMC, went back because we could not arrange for him one TV attached hotel and instead of it we ask him to stay in one rented room. He was arrested latter and surrendered partially. (Example of simple life). So there was no person to maintain the vehicles. I had to check, buy and do all with help of Bd and some non party people, those had not known about our party identity.. Some persons had come latter and despite their weaknesses we have nothing to say about them, as they were sympathisers. But, after checking all vehicles I quit one with the responsibility of one experienced person as it was too pressure for me to stay outside at that last tour. Money problem also started. Due to localism in party, we could not arranged 300 persons and done the work with only 160. No proper precaution, no ambush party was there as we had decided. Due to shortage of forces we had choice a long root instead of short return root, to avoid one small PS. One vehicle, that last one had battery problem and created some problem for our approach. In this condition man and material was the main problem. In addition to it localism and particular coms fault in their respective duty should be reviewed. But, subjectively some people, particularly those have one political rivelarity with me, tried to show the example of RUD no gear bus fake story and put all the pests of jackfruit on my head. As if I was the lone person to decide everything. So the review could not conclude. I had sent my reservation on this to CC orally. Lastly CC reviewed lack of man and material, localism as main problem. But this review did not come to us, and was spoken when I asked to one CCM. About localism there is no common opinion in major leaders. It reflects the real problem of localism. And for our coms doubt, I had to give one example. When I reported that there was one LMG above the target one and five member sentry system as per int report, our CCM started sock on the man who had given correct information (latter proved), and threatened to take action on him for any failure of

programme. As per him he might give information to enemy and all these are new precaution. In doubt and due to lack of proper class concept education our forces killed as much as 14 common police men, those were not retaliating us and mostly had sympathy for our movt. Though we had reviewed the fault of killing so many police, it was formal and the problem we have not feeling deeply. We are speaking about class concept in voice, as part of tactics. Same we had repeated in recent kotogarh abs, where we killed 3 APR local and tribal police, those were not engaged against us directly.

F) Fake allegation- Again, when Com S was arrested, she wrote me one letter with enemy pressure, though she did not give any extra information or made any loss to others. I did not receive her letter till now. I wrote one letter to her about my stand on such letter. I had informed this to ERB secy in my letter and also about her apology for the letter. (I am enclosing this letter to ERB chief here with). But, for CCM Bhaskar this is a big case, and not all the other surrender cases. He asked to take one review and note it as her vacillation. We (I and Sunit) did not oppose this. But, again he had spoken and written to other coms that "I was liberal on her. Sunit had not spoken anything against me out of fear and I reacted on this resolution etc." Yes, in next meeting when more discussion was taken place, I said, "When we did not review any case including the cases of SOCMs, why we will make a resolution on her only, if she will ask about the role of other leaders, what we will answer? So, we should review all cases including her. Ajad wrote a letter to my mother to raise her voice against the misbehave of police personals on her and advised her to understand the matter politically via the nature of state, also as if she can help to save public property by saying these as family property. All these I had done tactically to give their political back ground in favour of the people's movt. But, with the wrong information and fake propaganda of the ND leader Bhalo, CCM Bhaskar and Ajad (latter surrendered) tried to make it one issue against me. Even they think that we had tried to make personal property via party.

Yes, it is my fault to do all such things in good faith! Our party has no members in city, they have no legal ID, no cover, no DP etc. We had done something. For this some money are expended and it is given in my account. In party there is no fare account system. I can challenge this. There is no collective planning for cover, ID or all this. If you will speak the planning before the cmnts, then there is no guaranty that this will not go to enemy in few days. Because, we are trying to do revolution with one immature party, a party having very minimum quality to face the war of state. So, with the advice of PBM Summit dada I had done some, and some with our own initiation. Whether he had reported in his committee or not, I do not know. Some I had also done with the permission of SOC. All these are not wrong.

You need one Badal like driver horse, but you are not thinking about his needs. You want one S for CCMs hospital work, shelter so and so. But, you never discuss with her politically nor you think her problems of cover in these 11 years. I had done a little, without giving in detail information to one weak SOC. Why SOC, some CCMS are not in a position to keep secret about coms in city and they had discussed all in Basadara DVC meetings. All informs are going to enemy. All these are needed for one revolution and I had done. I think it correct. But this should not do with such sectarian and doubt minded CCMS. But, there is no question of making personal property as you people have doubts. Thanks for your doubt; those CCMS are unable to give 4 and half lack rupees account after recent special but failure Odisha operation. And I will ask about your accounts, you cannot give the account, I am sure of it.

Why I am saying about your doubt? Because, after the conclude of the matter in one SOC meet, CCM Bhaskar had talked something as he wish in CC, and they had taken some resolution on this but did not give me it till now. Again raise all such questions in recent SOC secy- 2 CCM meeting.

My dear sectarian coms do not have any doubt. In a war engaged underground party, there is ample scope for corruption. You have fewer sources of A&A and explosives. The same explosives what you have been taking through me in quintals have separate rates in separate sources.... from 200 to 1200/kg. And if someone will want to do anything can do by giving the highest rate in account. You can check my account in this regard. You people had been not checking about your through away money in each action and I had been recovered all these, had given the account of these. Let you check this. We know this is people's money and I hate to behave with this in the way you are behaving. Yes, you may say that there is some misuse of money in the departments, those are guided by me or by some legal persons those are not depositing their account in time like some people in UG. But, the other thing you doubt is very dishonesty.

G) Sectarian for mass organisations In 2003, it was told by SZCMS of AOB that higher cmt of Mass Organisation (after MO) cannot guide the lower cmt of that MO and the gun holder ACMs from AOB had threatened the local MO leaders to keep their work confined to their village only. Gradually MO higher bodies were made defunct. It was told that, these were not needed as per AP experience. AOB SZC secy, SZCMS and ACM from AOB had done all these. All these were not democratic behaviour. Our party higher cmts are so poor in political and so much sectarian in organisational position, these were few reflections. After a fight when the review had come in favour of us, up to that the MO functioning reached to dead end. We are poor in building mass organisations and continuing them unexposed. Again, we are sectarian to mass organisations and mass movts.

H) About not giving democratic rights of PMS - Even after we have separated from AOB in 2005 and the formation of unified GPI (Marxist) party, the problem have come in new manner. I have already written the problem of PRs and the review on it. Second problem had come when we organised our state conference. As the SOC-PGR reviewed some important faults of AOB and also the action like JUJUMARA by erstwhile MCCI cadres in SDS, the review was not finalised. The conference had to elect one delegate for 9th unity cong. If there would not be any conference, then the secretary had to go. There was debate on some political subject and voting was needed in that cong. So for no cause the conference was stopped. It was not a great problem. But, we were not allowed to send our democratic opinion to the said party cong. There was no technical problem, as the GS and other leaders explained latter in our state committee meeting. Because, three women PRs of erstwhile MCCI, those were staying in their home till that time had taken to the cong for volunteer work from our state. We were not informed about this till that time. It is very much undemocratic approach of the party which cannot be forgiven. I think some coms had feared the opinion on AOB practice might expose their ugly faces and some for JUJUMARA. So they crossed our democratic right. How we can hope democracy after revolution from such a party?

I) Superiority of cmts - Our AOB leaders always for their superiority and tried to keep Odisha committee as their subordinates. They never want to develop one independent Odisha revolutionary struggle. So, always they are against for any separate Odisha cmt. Be it before 2000 or after 2004 or even now. It is not out of place to note that, the recent Special plenum had organised

with that proposal i.e. to bring the Odisha SOC under AOB. But, politically they never think about Odisha, its people condition and political acceptance. After serious repression in AP their body remain in Odisha and mind and type of work in AP.

J) On issue of Secretary and SOC/Sc- After separation of our area of work from the sectarian AOB SZC committee, Our CC planned to send Chalpati to Odisha. The person mainly responsible for killing innocent tribal knowingly, whom AP police had taken force fully with them. The person responsible for loss in Basadara movt and had a long history of sectarian activity of killing number of innocents in AOB. He would lead the movt as secretary of Odisha committee, as per CC plan. After the surrender of another military hero Vinoy of AOB, there was problem and they could not send him. It is also not out of place that though there was a perspective for Basadara to extend the work towards north, Chalpati had guided (from 2003-2005) to reduce the work area of Basadara to one third in name of consolidation. He had advised to extend towards AP. These people are unable to understand the dialectical relation between the extension and consolidation of organisation and always have been seeing the things in light of their own wishes. Too much mechanical thinking. Such a person was selected by our CC for development of OS organisation. Because here one thinking is working on the basis of narrow nationalism. Our national people are good and leaders wish one whispering report in their own language. My words are hard but carry truth. That's why they are advising cadres in OS pocket to learn Telugu instead of Odia. What the SZC cadres reported me in AOB and I had observed. Outside the meeting Telugu leaders and cadres have their separate meeting and plan to suppress their wrong idea on us. CPIM party upholds general national chauvinism, Are we wishing to march in same way?

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Next to this after the unity of erstwhile MCCI and PW, during the state level unity the erstwhile MCC state defunct unity had organised its own meeting just a hour before of the joint meeting to suspend its secretary on some complain and to elect a new one. Though other members of that committee had opposed this and gave their opinion to elect or select the secy in joint meeting. One Jharkhandi person un-experienced about functioning of a committee and politically weak but expert in sectarian actions was selected as secretary. I had given my opinion clearly to the then ERC secy Vijay Dada, that in such a heterogeneous type of body and in such sectarian condition I did not wish to take any top responsibility like secy. What I had proposed in that meeting was to organise combined study on Odisha History and class analysis etc to develop one common understanding on politics. At that time some SOCM's have the opinion that Odisha has no revolutionary history, there is no feudalism in Jagatsingpur, doing red terror actions like Jujumara without following mass line is correct etc. But till now neither this study nor any political class was organised for a weak SOC. In this condition I had functioned as spoke person cum secy in giving statements (as per the SOC decision), conducting the meeting, concluding the debates, writing anything was needed and also for co-ordination. This had created some inferiority in the form of false superiority among the then secretary. And when the POR (I was given the charge to write it) was put for discussion the superiority and sectarian trend of the secretary had burst out. One SOCM who was not working in field was main supporter of such idea and had regined from committee. In this condition in one meeting how the secretary talked, how the meeting was conducted that report I am enclosing (*) here with for your rethinking. To get a delegate for CC cong in undemocratic way the state conference was stopped and no action was taken on the wrong trends of secretary. But, miss propaganda was done on me that, I had wanted to be secy and so this is going on. There is no doubt, I am more capable than the persons in our committee and even the persons selected by CC.

but, I never wanted this, due to our heterogeneous committee position and the sectarianism in CCMs.

Though I was in the watch of enemy, I was transferred to new area Ganjam-Kandhamal-Nayagard-Baudo in 2006 without a single assistance and without any protection by our leaders. Along with I had the responsible to organise all outside works. So, I went fifty percent time to urban to organise students and others and recruited some person to full fill our need. But Our CCM BR and some others had commented on this outside the meeting before Telegu cadres like AJad. As because they are thinking that staying in forest with one weapon is only and only one revolutionary work.

Next, the secretary was arrested and CCM Manoj was selected as secretary of OS unity by CC in 2007. But how he is interested for OS movt? He went DK for one and half year in research works and did not come here. So, I had to work as undecared secy, write and speak anything needed. Again CC decided to give me secy work in 2009 and then after Manoj had come here. As I have several political debate with Manoj's AOB committee and myself is the main obstacle for implementation of their left sectarian line (the line to target tribal system and Christian organisation for building RPC in our area), so he was unhappy with this decision of CC.

That's why I had said to FRB chief to give him that responsibility instead of me. I knew the problem of intolerance. He is a good communist clerk, who can read the resolutions and give utmost important to translation of some video documents on methods etc but he is not a good organiser. Have so many sectarian and bureaucratic approaches. From the day he had been here, only he is discussing and trying to tide me in his principles. Why PBM's Union Dada fixed with me the date of journalist? Why Ramji / Kisan had given me one phone contact without taking permission from him etc? Though these were not my problem and were problems of CC. He is serious about more guards for him and angry with me why I am not educating the cadres to give feudal service to CCM (as one com spoke in special plenum regarding Manoj's dealing with his guards). He is more thinking for AP mass organisation and only Odisha is needed for technical use of it. He always had given the work to send money and illegal letters through legal channels. Ask to arrange explosives, weapons for other state, to follow his wife's case etc. But he is not so interested for the whole cases of Odisha, never had he talked about that. He wants to me to function as one clerk to him who can speedily post his letters, or arrange so many things so that he will report and take credit for that. And if there is any failure that should be the pests of jackfruits on the heads of barbers like me. Thank you coms. Anything may happen but such persons are not for revolution, those have so much sectarian thinking and political careerist thinking. Now with this condition he CCM Manoj is proposing to dissolve the state committee and they want to keep it as SOC for indefinite period, not wishing to transfer it as SC. Actually it was decided to transfer the committee into Sc in 2006. Then what is the problem to transfer it into SC? If we will argue about weakness, then was the 3 member AP state committee (including Jogal, who surrendered before enemy after his arrest and helped to kill two other SCMs) was strong? Is all other committees like AOB are strong, those are quieting the old areas and continuously moving to new area to exercise their sectarian activity safely?

6) Political Sectarianism next to organisational sectarianism.

Before we are forced to work under AOB cmt, there was a good land struggle (Gudari land struggle) in Basadara (BSD). When there was ample scope to develop the Bsd movement and land struggle, our CCM BK and AOB leader's advice our DVCMs to start so called class struggle against tribal chiefs (the so called state) to establish RPC. It was argued that the experience of DK, (about which I had less knowledge,) should be implemented in Bsd, irrespective of different objective situation. At that time I was a SZCM. Our leaders including CCMs never try to explain the theory to me, though it was not written in our S and T or any other documents to do so. Without analysing the theory whether that is applicable to all places including Bsd, it was implemented under estimating my view. I was propagated as a friend of land lords, for my opinion. Achievements of local organisation and movement were miss propagated. The Basdara consolidation circular was distributed in other divisions of AOB, as a great model theoretical investigation. Only after negative result of the activities via the theory, the incidents were reviewed and One DVCM com Basant was made responsible for faults. Out of fear Basant never formally spoke the leader's name, those who instigated him to work against me personally via this theory. But none formally he had spoken before us about com BK, Chalpati and locals role in it. (local was surrendered latter and done serious loss to the movement). The review was only partial. The main question, whether that theory was correct or not. Was it helped equally where to mobilise the majority tribal in support of our movt, as we have hoped in our basic documents. Or it divided the tribal by redrawing our support to one third and giving ample scope to enemy to organise tribal against us in name of santi sena or salawa judum etc. These were not answered. Still the review of those actions via the theory was enclosed here to follow the present problems ..

[REVIEW ON BASDARA SITUATION

(Review passed in the plenum of Basdara Division held in the month of March 2004.)

After Basdara movement had become the part of AOB movement in 2002, we put one perspective to raise the movement in to a division movement in one year and to GZ in two years. The government of Odisha has been planning to suppress the growing movement of Basdara through modernisation of PS, weapons and training its armed forces with the help of AP police etc. In this period on March 2003 we organised the Basdara plenum and gave it a division shape. Again we put the perspective to liberate Basdara as a part of AOB liberated zone and to advance it to a GZ within one year. Also we had planned to extend the organisation area to north. We fixed the following tasks in the plenum.

1. To intensify the class struggle.
2. To transfer class struggle into anti state struggle.
3. To achieve people's support.
4. To form squads.
5. To build contiguous area of struggles.
6. To start building of RPC.

As a part of this perspective we had started our work positively and as part of anti state struggle we had plan correctly to control informers. Also the DVC had started consolidation and recruitment campaign which also gave some successful result. We have attempted to advance the class struggle -in particular we have been trying to turn the crop seizing movement into land struggle. We also got some success in this regard. People got inspiration to participate in it. We had attempted in 20 villages to build land struggle and

about 8 land lords had come for surrender. Though there are some short comings, we got some success.

Review on consolidation circular

Some political debate had started during the discussion on consolidation circular. The political debate had remained unclear in higher committee and conceptual problem reflected in Basdara consolidation circular (BCC) along with the wrong tactics in relation of land struggle.

In BCC there is subjective assessment in theory and also in giving examples. We should have come into one opinion regarding the old mo and on tribal chief system in this area.

In BCC, though it is not clearly mentioned, still we explain the tribal chiefs and priests as enemy class. In relation of productive forces and productive relation it is discussed like that. Actually nontribal exploiters vs. tribal, is the main contradiction in Bsd area. These non-tribal exploiters are the main obstacle to the revolutionizing of productive relation.

In the past we had not done class analysis as per need. We were weak in this point. Some tribal chiefs also are in our organisation. But it is not correct to say that almost all mass organisation cadres are from tribal chief families. Such thing is written in BCC.

The translation of BCC and in depth discussion is too late. There is no different of opinion that there is classes and class struggle in tribal society, as well as in every society. But tribal chiefs and priests should not be identified as a class and without precise explanation no generalisation should be done that mostly they are land lords and exploiter class.

Some subjective and mechanical approach reflected in BCC regarding this subject, without concrete study of the local situation. We started struggle on tribal chiefs and priests with impatience.

We may write the review on class analysis in BCC, but there must be a balance in approach towards past work. This must be done in BCC.

Tribal authority family members will be taken in our organisation through practise in class struggle. First we should take them as general members in MO and gradually they may be taken as leaders. We may also take them as PMS, seeing their practise. There should not be any ban on them to take in MO. We declared such ban in BCC wrongly.

It is also not correct to identify local authority as state power. It is sufficient to say it as authority only.

Non-tribal land lords/businessmen i.e. non-tribal exploiters vs. tribal is the main contradiction in Bsd division and in elsewhere tribal area. The contradiction between tribal land lords and tribal is also should be dealt as part of antagonistic contradiction. But we should take the issue of tribal land lords only after targeting the non-tribal lords.

The contradiction between tribal authority and general tribal is only a secondary one and it must be dealt as friendly contradiction mainly. But we should keep in mind that there is possibility for enemy class to use this authority to obstacle the advancement of our movement and formation of people's power. In such a condition this tribal authority in some places may become the supporter of land lord class. Then we will deal them as a part of antagonistic contradiction.

In tribal area like Bsd, where non-tribal had an entry since long, here non-tribal authority is in dominating position in local authority also. When the Gram panchayat system entered to this tribal area, these non-tribal firstly and an intermediate section among the tribal including some of the old chiefs and priests among tribal developed their local authority through the panchayat system.

Any authority not only as class position, but as per the basis of their political ideological position will become a hurdle to building of people's power. Sometime this

authority will become the supporter of enemy class and some time they may also join in our UF. So very tactically they must be dealt with.

Not only tribal religions, faith or blind faith, but each and every blind faiths and religious faiths are obstacles to revolutionizing the production system. But it is not the main obstacle. Imperialism-CBB-land lord classes are the main obstacle to revolutionizing the production system of tribal society as well as elsewhere. All religions are used by ruling classes for strengthening their rule of exploitation. But it is not correct to identify any particular religion as an imperialist religion. We may expose the religious leaders through people's mobilisation issue to issue and may target them in such cases only. But generally we should not take any physical actions or forceful actions on any religion. This religion issue must be dealt taking the people's sentiment into consideration.

People are free to practise their religion faiths, but the role of the religious leaders in local authorities should be discouraged in our campaign. We should not take religious propagandist in our organisational work.

The BCC should be rectified and rewritten according to the afford said concept, deleting all examples based on subjective assessment.

Review on land struggle and other actions.

Our subjective assessments regarding the land struggle reflected both in forms of action and non-implementation of mass line. A wrong assessment of the situation and a wrong assessment had brought the wrong concept of action. Gradual approach without taking the issue to masses. The wrong concept reflected in action application and resolutions also. But all these applications and resolutions are not wrong.

In our land struggle people's participation was not sufficient in different places of division, squad members along with few people put flags to occupy the lands. It was not correct. People have been harassed by court and we have not given proper help to them. They have also fear. We are not going the land struggle villages frequently and not trying to convince the people repeatedly about the struggle. In such a situation our initiation is not sufficient to advance the land struggle in form of a mass struggle.

After completing the plenum we entered area in April 10. In May 22 we had taken some wrong resolutions for demolition of land lord's houses. Time period for preparations of land struggle was not sufficient. There was no need to take such actions to advance the land struggle. Without going through any other forms there was no need of such forms. Out of 5 targeted land lords, two B.sarapancha and Ganapati were surrendered land lords. So again targeting them was not correct. Another P.Sahu had no immediate enmity with us. So it was also not necessary to target him. We should put them before people to leave their lands. Taking such forms like demolition directly is not correct. In this case we failed to follow party policy on surrendered land lords. There should not be any generalisation resolution for action. If needed we may select particular one.

But when we should follow such policies for surrendered land lords, we must keep in mind that these persons may raise their head against us in our defensive position. So always we should have a watch on them.

We may convince the chaukidars for surrender or give pressure through people to leave the job. But we cannot threat for such thing unless he is an informer. How we had threatened to all chaukidars is not correct.

The result and impact of May DVC meet resolution was not reviewed in depth in July DVC meet. We also did not follow the party policy of taking resolution for annihilation in DC, for bearing in AC etc. Sectarian trend, bureaucratic approach and individual functioning reflected a much. The actions those were decided in AC are not all correct. Again other than the decision of meeting no more action was needed. But such wrong thing was practised in those days. In discussion of AC itself bureaucratic approach and sectarian trend was

reflected. It goes against mass line. We beat unnecessary so many people and brake and burn houses. Again when there is problem with persons working in MO, then it must be delta taking more long time. If persons having tribal or dalit back ground, then we must try to neutral him even he is an informer. We must take different methods to expose him before people, before going for any type of physical action. In some cases also we did actions on unconfirmed information.

Burning of houses or articles in any way is correct. Breaking the houses is also not correct at present stage. We may take such actions on cruel land lords responsible for people's arrest and repression in latter stage only.

Targeting on tribal land lords such as Biripanga Purna at this period is also not correct. We may take such problems latter only.

Beating Mangada, Diti, Pratan and threatening so many persons in MJ area is not correct. Similarly physically targeting land lord M.padhi without resolution is not correct. Breaking the house of surrendered land lord B.padhi without resolution is also not correct. This happened in Dph area. Beating Krishna (Chhapuda), Nilakantha and Gumuri (Sambarlendi) and Sunari of Dhepaguda by one squad member along with some militia and not informing to people committee are also serious mistakes. Such actions also influence by our general sectarian activity. Beating Baskota, Saranaha-Bharat, Bhagirathi, Karlaghati sarpancha Bhadra, Bandagudi Mudura also serious mistakes.

At the meeting all these wrong trends and actions were not identified correctly. The trends went ahead with hands aggressively. As a continuation of the wrong trends and approach during all actions and incidents are without resolutions. Within only a month of Aug AC meeting what was the need of such actions without resolution? Again as the concerned DVCMS was new to Gangadh AC area, he should take more time to learn the outdoor situation here. During the conversation between two DVCMS no such decisions was there for such actions. There was not a lot of change in the situation of the area. What was the need to anger friendly classes impatiently again? DVCMS had taken decisions spontaneously in which the old sectarian trend, approach and individual functioning reflected more aggressively. In such case breaking houses of Kadama Surapantha, Madhu prasad, Chhin along with other samitis (businessmen) Jitpati and Tamara, beating one of these two Sabukats are not correct.

Attacking Kur Sanshad, Urayan Parasid, KSUP is a repeated mistake which had already happened during attacks on land lords' houses. The old trends and wrong ideas came in a new form only. Without taking the issue to the people we had wished a solution through our armed forces. When we had gone to attack an organisation, we should have taken more careful decision. Our lack of class concept reflected during beating of Panchunath, one land less as he is a member of KSUP and during beating of one dalit Suranda without a proper information about his police informer activity. Seizing the local gun (ML) of Panchunath is also not correct. Demolishing house of Denga Majhi of Madhukupuda, burning bible books, clothes and materials in his house; demolishing Simon Majhi's house (secretary of KSUP) and the office of KSUP are not correct at all. After having discussion between two DVCMS not to attack Rangam Keshab, it was not correct to beat him again.

Review of actions on Religion

Without any discussion on religion issue in DVCMS AC, taking propaganda and actions against Christianity is a blunder mistake and a reflection of sectarian approach also. It is also a glaring example of individual functioning. Burning bibles also a serious mistake and a total undemocratic sectarian approach.

Review on rise of Santi sena and our actions then after:

For the afford said wrong assessment of total situation in BSD and wrong trends and activities we were isolated a lot from the people. The enemy who had been taking preparation long before to cross our movement had taken the opportunity and started organising Santisena or Kui sena or santi cmt, in the cover of a people's organisation to repress us. Some were with Santi Sena due to dissatisfaction on our activity, some convinced inside of the enemy due to fabricated campaign against us and some went under the pressure of enemy and also due to fear. Anyway we were forced to leave almost all of our LGS areas and retreated to new area, stayed there for two months. Our retreat was so unsystematic and our forces were so disturbed with such repression that, we lost one of our militia fulltime woman comrade Kartino, 4 weapons including one 303 and bags in river. We retreated in this way because, we lost confidence on people and over-estimated the enemy. On the other side we did not admit our faults in a self critical way.

Santi-Sena had targeted our general supporters and activists, militia. They demolished three/four houses of our militia, 1000 4/5 strong villages of ours, beat brutally a dozen of our activists, gave pressure on almost all strong support villages of ours, arrest and made pressure to surrender on about 50 sympathisers and militia, MO activists.

They also collected fines from villages those are not taken active role in the heinous activity of SantiSena like breaking houses and looting property of common people.

Santi Sena has been working as an organisation of Govt, police and land lord class. It has been propagating the politics of the enemy class. It has misled the common people and forced them to cut their own throats.

After the rise of Santi Sena though we had left our LGS area, we stayed in the division and had tried to enter our area. We have given moral and political confidence in our cadre and prepared them for offensive counter. We have tried to change the situation on our side and have been going to people in the area, making good relation with them though we have some limitation also in this regard.

We attempted to kill so many Santi-Sena leaders. It is not correct. Doing this we had kept aside the main target and such actions have been giving only negative impacts. Also we had declared our such wrong targets openly through media. Actions done on below rank Santi Sena leaders were also not selected and decided properly. Except B (B means Bhadro and he had lost two eyes in our action) action all others are not correct. For below rank Santi Sena leaders we may take other forms and expose them before people. This work had not done. After getting guidance from higher committee that was also not followed. It shows superiority feeling and indiscipline nature of concerned DVCM. Attempts to blast bridge and block office in relation of Banda call is also not correct.

When enemy had come to our area, during such offensive repression period, we attempted to ambush correctly. But if leadership would have been participated in that ambush directly, it would give positive result.

In total actions information was not taken properly, reckon were not proper, review and decision was not done in a collective way.

When there was a change in old situation and old forms, content also changed. Then new forms were bound to come on. This should be understood during decision and review of situation in those days. The lone DVCM along with the ACMs should form one committee for such decisions and review on that time.

There should be internal democracy in every juncture. We did not give respect to it and did not take opinion of cadres during that time properly. Democratic functioning was stopped to a large extent.

Fault of SZC in relation to Bsd situation

How to advance ?

It is time to go to the people again. Study the masses, learn from those who have been oppressed, learn from the people about our subjective mistakes, establish the relation with people.

To achieve our goal, we had targeted a period of one year to make the division GZ. But now the time is over. We are weak in many aspect. So, along with the election boycott campaign we must try to full fill following tasks within 6 months to advance the movement one step ahead.

- 1) We have to advance land struggle. Distribute lands of surrender land lords in Dhep, LGS area. Try to establish the land struggle in Prk and Big pocket.
- 2) Make functioning the old committees in MB, Pond and Dhep area.
- 3) Concentrate on at least 2 FI in each (RPC) pocket of every LGS and give them work in MO, militia org etc. We have to concentrated on at least 3 pockets in one LGS area.
- 4) Concentrate on fund collection to make the division self sufficient.
- 5) Form at least one development committee in each LGS area.
- 6) Develop fruit culture in at least 5 to 10 villages of each LGS and make them to put fruit plants.

7)

A) Wrong class approach

I have to say something about above matter, action points. What our S and T had been saying on this matter i.e. regarding tribal society. Even after Bsd situation and without adding our opinion, the 2007 S and T saying tactics chapter (Not in strategy chapter) like "As the regions inhabited by the Adivasis are rich in mineral deposits and forest wealth, imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie are evincing special interest in exploiting these regions through mining, quarrying and such other activities. Some infrastructure too has been developed towards this end. The state and central governments have been carrying on construction works, luring a section from the Adivasies under the name of welfare schemes. In the main, tribal chiefs, are benefiting from government schemes and are trying to turn the people in favour of the government and, in some areas, a tiny section of adivasies have become rich and have developed themselves as local oppressors. Both of them constitute the social basis for the ruling class parties or parties in the name of welfare of various tribes and nationalities.

Proper tactics have to be adopted to ensure the eradication of the influence on the Adivasi masses of this intermediary section which is divorced from labour, while at the same time proper tactics have to be adopted so that a strong unity within the toiling adivasies people could be achieved and also a strong unity between toiling people of tribal and non-tribal can be developed and maintained."

First, the position of all tribal area is not the same all over India. The dominant role and benefiter role of the non-tribal in the tribal area is not studied properly in this statement. The role of pachayat system and the dominant role of non-tribal in tribal-nontribal mixed area, specially the poor condition of tribal in such mixed culture area are not studied properly. Subjectively the particular condition of DK (if any such condition does prevail there) has been generalised through it.

Next, what prompted the CCM / SZCM to write such a consolidations circular, those never had done any class analysis here in Basadara or any part of Odisha? These leaders did not move in this area. Basant, one DVCM at that time, was also a new comer. How he could get

so many material to write a circular over night? I think, neither you nor anybody will be interested to answer the truth. So, leaders always reply in short basing on some in charge CCM's report that I should not think mechanically either about Basant or any problem. You never tried to take report from me or to listen about the problem.

You have done some experiment about tribal system in DK. Well. But is it suit to our S and T class approach or our class analysis of Indian society? Are the tribal chiefs are a separate class? If yes, then write it in your documents. Is the DK theory benefited the revolution in uniting 90% or at least 80% tribal there, those are deprived of their natural rights? Or it creates one base for enemy by reducing our support base to one third tribal? Is this theory had only targeted the benefiter of govt scheme or the non-benefiter common persons? If the theory has benefited us in any way, it cannot help the tribal autonomy, which should guaranty their economical rights, developed them as suit to their life, respect their social and cultural system and try to make it more democratic gradually. One democratic revolution cannot end all type of small and big exploitations from any society. If, you are correct, then why you have not included such theory in any basic documents? And without doing this, how the leaders are implementing such theory forcefully and undemocratically?

Thirdly, the non tribal society and the Jait society in India also a more similar system like tribal chief system. You can study about the non tribal, Jait village headman, priests and cast headman system. When you will compare the tribal system of one mixed callal area and these non tribal system, you will not differentiate more between these. So, in this case we must have one common theory for all such village.

After Basadhara incident, first some CCMs and AOB leaders had rejected my letter on this matter. But, when the same letter had come through Sumit leader and which AOB leaders had faced intense debate, reluctantly only they said in a different way about tribal chiefs. But, never had they admitted it in their heart. When I asked them to read the letter S and T, they did not take the English S and T to consideration and only after going through Telegu S and T, they admitted some SZC faults in this regard. They lack their class outlook. So, later they united with PBM BR and CCM BK and had taken one resolution in my last AOB SZC meet. In it they said that I have lack of class concept. Because, about the partial normalisation of situation in Basadara, I said to Jugal non formally that, it was our political initiation which made the situation some normal. (Read the direction of BSD plenum, in review, what it had directed to do? It says... How to advance? It is time to go to the people again, study the faults, admit those before people self critically, learn from the people about our subjective mistakes, re-establish the relation with people.) But they all said, it is the annihilation action on Santi Sena Chief Daku Majhi, which brought the success. Though there was no dispute on Daku Majhi's annihilation and I did not demand any vote for the principal cause of successes, they had taken vote on it and had made one stupid resolution as I wrote above. Of course, during this meeting time, when our true (!) class revolutionary AOB SZC coms had listen one series bomb blast in Bangladesh (which had killed as much as 50 common people), they had campaigned with encourage in front of CCMS, that, see the PPW have started in Bangladesh. I had opposed this version in that meeting giving the example of their wrong thinking. For, this BR said in Telegu "deneki dan ki enduko poti?" - means I should not talk this example about the thinking of SZCMs during discussion on JIJUMARA or On Basadara. Later I had raised the problem before PBM (and the then Odisha in charge) Vijay Dada in Odisha SOC merger meeting. GS also had listen the report half and said do not take Basant's problem mechanically.

Why I am writing this now again? The theory is still in dominant position. When I had gone to Lalgado in 2009, there local coms had reported same. Kisan ji (Ram ji) had tried to convince something like this, but they did not agree to implement it. Why because, as per

them, even the Maji (Chiefs) Organisation had divided into two parts during the movt. One sections pro to govt and CPM another against it. In recent time, in 2011, another CCM Chetan along with two old AOB leaders Bhaskar and Chalpati (both are CCM and suspended CCM respectively) had organised a series of meetings with me to review the work here. Though GS and PBM BR directed only to 2 CCMs to do meeting with me in the absence of life contact with ERB and SOCMs. In that meeting Com Chetan said that, the tribal chief wearing one lenguthi (a small piece of cloth) also doing exploitation on tribal's irrespective of his class position. So we have to start one class struggle. (That means in side party, such theory is working). I asked, can we start class struggle against one middle peasant, who is also exploiting the landless wage labours to some extent and for some time? Then he stopped to answer.

B) No alternative policy.

My dear sectarian friends, please do not stop there. Yes, we have to fight against such exploitation. We have to fight against some dalit and non-tribal small exploiters in our tribal-dalit or tribal non-tribal mixed areas, those are exploiting the tribe to some extent. We have to fight against the authority of a tribal chief in their society, authority of non-tribal heads on tribal society, the authority of a father or a husband inside a family and the undemocratic authority of leaders inside a communist party or inside a mass organisation. All these are no doubt struggles. But, we have to do this in a democratic way and not an antagonistic way. All these are friendly contradictions, those should be resolved in different way than you are doing. Beating and burning or eliminating some one by simply stamping him/her as informer is not the solution. You cannot occupy the individual lands of your friendly classes for co-operative even after socialist revolution. You have to show some good model examples to convince them, so that they may give their lands gradually for it.

But, you people are working in tribal areas for last thirty years, without a concrete tribal autonomy policy or model. Only you are saying about tribal autonomy in your document. For example your party programme says, "xi) This state will ensure various forms of autonomy to all Adivasi communities for their full-fledged development and execute special policies accordingly."

What is your special policy for new democratic govt in tribal area? Your Jantan sarkar is not the tribal autonomy body or it is not governed by traditional tribal rules even not partially. Then you say, what type of tribal autonomy you want to give after revolution? You are destroying tribal culture for your selfishness, for which I can give some examples latter. You have no alternate agricultural, industrial, medical, educational policies. So, how you can think about tribal autonomy for a tribal area?

Your leaders including cadres are quarrelling on allopathic and homeopathic medicines in intellectual Magazines like Aruna Tara. Which is scientific and which is unscientific you are not giving solution. Most of our squads and medical teams have been giving medicines to people without dose policy and are creating problem for whole, which is harmful to society. In some areas our people are cheating malaria patients by giving only paracetamol or half dose chloroquine. Even, some leaders are advising not to give full dose to people, as they do not deserve it. Yes, some other cmt have finalised some dose books and general policy. We also finalised some model in our committee on this, but leaders are not interested in it to develop. What to say about our initiation on the development of traditional Ayurvedic medicines?

Your agricultural development is simple in Govt method i.e. Imperial capitalist method . Are you against use of pesticide ? Then what is your alternative ? Are you in favour of natural pesticides and fertilisers ? Is it working in Jantan Sarkar ?

You have not said anything regarding new democratic alternate industry and the problem of displacement there ? What is the Local people's share in industry ? This thing also related to tribal autonomy.

We are saying about tribal language. But, we are not getting time to do anything for it . We are in an endless war with the help of a tiny PLGA army.

But , we want the tribal should admit our autonomy slogan without any defined alternate in our documents. They have to hope for one good heaven only after their death. As we cannot think for a better tribal autonomy as we have promised, we are taking the help of such theories of wrong class out look to exercise our authority over the back ward tribes by using the tiny and non-antagonistic contradictions among them.

C) Theory of annihilation is another main problem.

'Annihilation of class enemy is the one and only one form of struggle'. This was one of the sectarian theories at the time of Naxalbadi that had created so much loss to the movt. Latter though our people have been reviewed it & but in line and in action this theory is continuing. In several speeches, leader like BK in AOB had said that it is an important form of struggle. I think this is not the correct review. It is only one of the forms of struggle. But such learned statements are given the real examples of our most of come since. Due to this, the AOB SZCMs and some coms had given the opinion that Daku Majhi's annihilation is the preparatory cause in cracking the Bastard situation. In all meetings always there is one argument to do some annihilation even without doing sufficient propoganda to expose the real culprits. In the same SZCM meeting of 2005 I had raised another issue. Just after the unification of erstwhile PW and MCG, the coms of erstwhile MCG had annihilated 5/6 village people in JUJUMARA of Sambalpur. The cause of annihilation was just like our all time formal statements. They are informers. There was no expose statement or any propoganda on this before doing such annihilation. PBM BR and all SZCMs argued in favour of such massacre, while I was alone to oppose this. This was neither followed our mass line or class line. Our PBM had given wrong information by saying that, there was a salwa judum campaign in Sambalpur. So they had done it on Salawa judum gundas. Otherwise they cannot survive. I said that this is wrong. It is not out of place to write that, the Sambalpur-Deogarh-Sudargarh division coms latter denied about any such salwa judum activity there. But they had said in support of this action theoretically. As per their opinion 'we should create red terror by doing such type of big annihilation action.' They are not worried about prior propoganda on this to convince the people. This was one of the disputed points, for which the state conference POR in 2006 had not finalised.

i) I would like to note some more points on this theory. From 2000 up to now I had been witnessing so many unnecessary annihilations in Odisha. In Malkangiri one SUCI cadre Biswanath Madhi was annihilated by AOB leaders for only political rivalry. Whether he was an informer or not, it was not clear. At that time GS advice our AOB leaders to review this matter. He advised that, we should take utmost care while doing action on political leaders mostly on leaders of left parties, those are not in power in concern state.

ii) Again, Arjun Kendruka of Kanhu sanyal CPI(ML) was annihilated in relation of Naryanpatna movt. To explain the cause of annihilation, our AOB leaders had taken the help of Sitru who was expelled by them long before. After some days Sitru was separated from them and killed

by enemy . He had remained one target of AOB leaders In organisational matter. Also , our people had tried to take help of DSU fact finding to justify this . Though , the report is not sufficient to annihilate Arjun , all these were needed before the action. I had raised the problem before CC via CCM , but no reply till now.

iii) We are too weak in tread union movt, despite our repeated review on this. But, we had killed one CITU leader Thamaso Munda in Odisha-Jharkhand border area and demolished the TU office. We can stamp anybody as informer and kill him with our gun power without responsibility to convince the people for our action! This is our revolutionary birth right!! But, why we will demolish the TU office, the office of common workers? What will be the impact on workers? We are doing this, because we are not a working class party. We are either a peasant revolutionary party or a petty bourgeois romantic revolutionary party. . I had raised the problem before CC via CCM , but no reply till now.

iv) Jagabandhu Majhi (the man who had leaded the Raigarh tribal movt. , one BJD MLA was annihilated in 2011 by Chatishgarh coms. He had been threatened by our people for last 2 years. Out of fear , he contacted me and wanted to surrender. But he feared to do that before AOB or Chatishgarh coms . I had reported this to CCMs long before . But without any respond , simply he was killed . The complain on him is also fabricated. He was a person, who had been moving in wheel chair , a handicapped person. Our people are saying that he killed several people , stolen public fund etc. All MLAs/ MPs/ Officers are corrupt, we should seize their property and distribute among people. But for this we should not kill all.

In one place we are reviewing about killing of land lord like Jagan Sahu , who had been exposed a lot. Why because, he had send one fake application to surrender. Also , we have been correctly reviewing the lack of propaganda (which should be done before annihilation) in case of annihilation of anti people element like fascist laxmana nando. But , we are not serious about other political persons. All these cannot help to justify the ongoing elimination theory. Some cadres and leaders have discussed new names for it in recent special plenum-2012 and then after. They may kill Lodo sikaka of Niamgiri movt for their doubt on him or kill Harihar Kadraka of new democracy after any encounter in this area. Then they will only repeat their old statements of so called informer to satisfy the ugly theory of annihilation. No one like me will be astonished after this.

8) Wrong policy on minority .

When in 2002 our AOB coms repeatedly asked me to write my opinion on Christianity in BSD , I could not follow the intension. But they had not said anything about my report on BSD and also on all matter including the class analysis there. (I am enclosing that report , which also prove the subjective thinking and also underestimation to our view) of these leaders in relation of the 2003-04 BSD incident.) Next I was astonished when the left sectarian friends of AOB had distributed one leaflet against Christianity in Srikakulam district, to make the hold of the party strong among Sora tribe. Latter the AOB cadres and squads were vacated from this sora (all most all are Christians) dominated area.

The same approach had also reflected in Basadara. The review of which also already written in point 6 of this letter. Before this review, when I had handed over my letter to Sumit Dada, he had said "the approach of AOB leaders on minority is not correct. I told about their wrong resolution to GS." But, what the GS had said, he did not speak.

After the 2008 Kandhamal riot and annihilation of Lakhana Nando, there was wide confusion in side party and no supporting statements came from anywhere except one or two from CC. Finally we had taken wide propaganda from party and from other forum to counter the fascist offensive. But, when the Christian people organised around us, PBM like BR started advising us to write in circulars and pamphlets that 'Christianity is not the solution of people's problem.' I said, we know, "no religion is the solution of people's problem and we can write this". But, he said to write specially about Christianity. When I argued that it is not good to write about a particular religion, then he reluctantly remained silent and my sentence was included in circular.

Next, in 2009, when CCM Manoj came here and both BR and Manoj had series of discussion, again another theory came. I would like to request all the readers to go through the matter what the party document says on it before we go to that theory.

The party document like S and T speak shall

"The attempts to convert Adivasies into various religions with the backing of the state have been going on since a long time. Whereas, during British rule, Christianity spread on a considerable scale into the vast tracts inhabited by the Adivasies, after the transfer of power it is the Hindu chauvinist organisations that are aggressively spreading Hindu religion in these areas."

(iv) Religious Minorities: The religious minorities like the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others comprise around 15% of the Indian population. They are often the targets of attacks by Hindu chauvinist political parties and Hindu fascist gangs and suffer from discrimination by the Indian state that is biased towards the Hindu majority. Among the religious minorities the Muslims are being specially targeted in recent times. The Hindu fascist forces have been whipping up a hysteria against Pakistan and Bangladeshi migration and promoting national chauvinism in the form of Hindu nationalism. They are portraying the entire community as anti-national creating an atmosphere of mistrust and hatred against the Muslim minority. Pogroms and targeted arrests have increased in the past decade.

The party should oppose, expose and fight against the growing threat of these Hindu fundamentalist forces ideologically, politically and also fight against them at the local level by adopting all the appropriate means. At the same time we must also continue to expose the fundamentalism of other religions but we must be clear that the real purpose of the chief aims of the Hindu fundamentalist forces is to divide and divert the people's attention from their growing bourgeois and thus blunt their class consciousness. Hence, the party must continue to focus its attention in advancing the actual class struggle, that is, the protracted people's war, which will finally put an end to this threat.

We must widely propagate the politics of new democratic revolution among the people of the religious minorities and make them realize that they too are oppressed by the three big mountains weighing down the backs of the entire Indian people and it is only by fighting united with their class brethren among the Hindu majority that they can put an end to the religious persecution. We must take class struggle as the key link in solving the problem of communalism permanently.

The party programme speaks like.....

"34. The people's democratic state will carry out the following tasks:-

(iii) It will confiscate all land belonging to the landlords and religious institutions and will redistribute it among the landless poor peasants and agricultural labourers on the slogan of 'land to the tillers'.....

(xiv) It will put an end to all social inequalities based on religion and to the persecution of religious minorities. It will execute special policies for their socio-economic development. It will ensure the genuine secularism of the state and will prevent the use of religion for political purposes. It will put an end to the interference of the state in religious affairs. It will guarantee personal freedom to believe and not to believe religion. This state will encourage a scientific and rationalist outlook to eradicate superstition and blind faith and will oppose all types of religious fundamentalism.

But, as per the new theory of these CCMs and (which he raised in soc via Ajad) Christianity is the main obstacle for building one revolutionary organisation and people's power in Basadara and hence we have to target it. For this they never go through social study and neither they have any grip on Christianity. When I argued, PBM BR said that "are there no police among Christians?" I said, 'yes'. Then he said, 'So they are targets?' When I said, 'then can we target all Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and also Peasants, workers... with such arguments?' He stopped. After that, CCM Manoj said, "as because Christian is an organised religion, it is from village to Rome, so for any organised revolutionary work it will become one obstacle."

These poor knowledge CCMs do not know how much each caste Hindu religion and other religions are organised. All religions are obstacle for any progressive work. But they are not targets physically. It has been narrated by Marx to all revolutionaries: And in world's anti-imperial struggles and liberation struggles a section of Christian religion priests are helping the people's movements of course from different angle. Finally it was decided that we have to stay in Basadara, because the Christian religion is an obstacle for development of movt. (No one studied on it, except one and there was no summing up). In this period in one study camp CCM Manoj, Ajad took in VRSV taught the cadres in there line without any study. One cadre Prakash, I.E. RSS person and later surrendered. When returned from that class started speaking aggressively against Christianity. He said, look our leaders said persons like AP CM Y.S. Raj Shekhar Reddy, Jagmohan's father is a Christian and he is a bad person. The language may be different, but the essence was same with the leaders in Basadara. They openly started campaigning against Christianity and targeting some village priests. Doing such work against any minority religion is not our work and it is the work of Hindu fundamentalists. To divert the real issue, to bring the non-issue to focus. Our fake revolutionaries are diverting the real targets by always targeting on false one, via such stupid theories. ... be it earlier the tribal chief theory or now the anti Christian theory.

Manoj wrote one letter to ERB chief on this. 2 years have been passed. He non-officially spoke that it is not correct what CCMs were saying there. (As reported to me by Sunit). But officially he did not write me anything.

Again, in recent 2CCMs-SOC secy meeting debates CCM Manoj targeted me saying "Why you had wrote that letter to ERB Chief without informing me?" I said 'there is nothing wrong by doing this.' As the debate is going up and there great revolutionary(!) Ajad surrendered, no one is there to carry this stupid theory as a yes man, So temporarily they stopped it. But, these people are anti minority. They never stopped any Hindu fundamentalist organisation in Sriakulam, but campaigned against Christianity in pamphlets. In DK we cannot stopped organisation like Ramkrishna mission but oust Christian priests by the force of gun. (To stop any unarmed person or person not associated direct or indirect with armed person, by using arm force is not correct.). So, Indirectly these works are helping in expansion of Hindu fundamentalist religious work and spreads castes among Tribes.

Also CCM Manoj continuously opposing till now the book on Kandhamal riot. After riot I wrote the book and was finalised in the then 2 men SOC. It was widely propagated and popularised. The leaders never read it. Basanta said that, in this it is written 'tribal have their separate religion. But, tribal have no religion, as per our party policy.' After clarification, he satisfied or not, but agreed. But Manoj has been raising this topic fragmentally. The truth is in any party basic document no such thing is written. Secondly, So many intellectuals read it, but they never comment like this. Thirdly, Hindu fundamentalists

are trying to show all tribal as Hindu. If we will not discuss how kul's religious faith is different from Sora, that from, koya and all tribal religion faiths are separate from Hindu, then how to convince the real thing. Yes, just like Hindu, Christian ...etc tribal religion faiths have not taken complete religion shape. But are not they religion faiths? Then what we will call those? What is your party document is saying or not, that is not the matter. But you CCMs are unable to convince the matter. You are only raising the matter as if your target is just to help the Hindu fascist arguments. Tribal are not Christians, not Muslims, they have no religion then they are Hindus as there are some similarities on some points. Because, they will not discuss the dissimilarities. And You people, after repeated clarification why it is written like that, you are raising the matter from 2008 till now without consistency. Your mind is not to develop movt and organisation, but to exercise your control on whatever remain in any place. Your intolerance, how anybody can write a book without the permission from you? Is not it? Can you oppose the Santal tribal people those are calling their religion faith as Sama Dharm or anything like that? Who give you this write? Are you not tolerant to any tribal assertion?

shaving

9) Cultural Sectarianism- (food)

^ In party the Political sectarianism and National chauvinism has been reflected in cultural sectarianism, what I have been observed for last 13 years. It is not tolerable and has been remain one cause for retreat for several low consdils cadres. Before I had discussed, how people like Bhangal Ashok said about Pakhal (water rice). One telegu DCM Basanti had said, 'pakhal is the food of buffalos'. Most PLGA forces from DK have is miaj opinion and they are even not taking such food, when they went to villages as there is no problem, if they will not eat the Odia or Koli or sora pakhal. But it is not good to comment on local food equating this with food of animals.

But, again these people are proud of their tamarind and mirchi. I had advised in 2008 to squad members that, if you will not take mirchi then you cannot become revolutionary. In joint camps they have been pressurising people from other nationality to take tamarind force fully in the presence of CCMs and leaders. Leaders never discuss about problem of cadres those are not habituated in their food. BJ leaders are good in this regard. One cannot imagine how 6 activists from Jharkhand in cluding the costal cadres from Odisha were touchered in 2006, during R-Udaygiri raid programme. Despite our repeated discussion about the food problem of different nationalities and to make some separate arrangement, no one had listened. The same is continuing now. You can take as much mirchi and tamarind you like, but you are not allowed to mix sugar in your tamarind water, or you cannot eat one onion in substituted. If you will eat, then you have to listen some thing from cultural imperialists. Of course I never stopped and take as I needed. But other local cadres ACM s/ DCMs are also fearing to ask for something. What to talk about cadres? I had ask sugar to add in tamarind water every day. I had also advised other cadres to ask sugar and quit food dissatisfaction. Seeing this the in charge com said me, you will be suffer from sakar bimar (Sugar disease), if you will take sugar every day. I replied, yes com we will have sakar bimar and you will have karom bimar (Mirchi degases). What to do? Then I was allowed to take sugar. Some people may think it very small thing. But it is very big problem in everyday life of guerrillas inside the jungle, a point of quarrel between local and non local every day, which we stopped now in our area. Because we politically stopped the theory of Cultural imperialism.

Similar is the condition of some Jharkhandi coms, those had come during RUD raid. When we purchase local salt for food, they said these are meant for buffalo. And in recent action programme of 2011, our PLGA people through away all local salts with the advice of CCMs, because it has not like powder. We are writing in magazines against iodised salts, about imperialist assault on local products, but we are not ready to use local products. But, if you buy the Margo soaps for squad member instead of the maoist brand lifebuoy, then CCM like BR will comment on you that, you are not using lifebuoy - the

people's soap . Is it true ? How many people in tribal area are using this soap ? So , is it our anti imperialist political mood or pro monopoly capitalist propaganda ?

Saving of sexual organs-

It is another point of cultural sectarianism , on which dispute has been going on from 2003 to till now. As per my knowledge this is the culture of Muslims, for violation of which women muslims are often tortured by their male counter part. From Muslim rulers of AP the culture has been infected to middle class of Ap. As the present Maoist party in AP is mainly dominated by middle-classes , so practicing of this culture and speaking of English mix Telegu is a common phenomenon in Maoist party. Now it has become a common rule to issue blades to all boys and girls for saving their respective sexual organs . DK cadres has been adopted this as party rule , just like to use only Lifebuoy and Rin brand soaps, Mex brand watch , action trekking boots etc. And it is said that as per military rule it is needed for cleanness and for health point of view. We are propagating this culture among tribal of DK OK , this is our struggle for tribal culture. (DK people has been suffered from the problem. But after so many local cadres reacted on this during Santi crit incident in Basidara , it was reviewed non formally and stopped. Some cadres went back to home due to pressure for such work. Why almost all recruited cadres of Narayanpatna went back ? Simple we can not say, because it is their political awareness. We are listing and reporting the problems of cadres , their feelings to leaders, but they are not taking seriously for their subjective thinking and superiority . Lets , go deep to problem. The cause of their are its cultural domination , patriarchy and undemocratic dealing from above . But from that time 2003 till now , this propaganda is going on. Women cadres are regularly advised to do so, and I also said that in bathing place all should take bath without clothes. What is the relation or connection with such stupid theory , I could not understand. For this there was debate and discussion in DVC level. The Odish women fraction in charge com said she will raise in women workshop about such problem. If there will be any chance. Because I was unable to solve her problem in 2014. In which theory all these are written ? Even , some DK women cadres are now feared to save all hairs from their body by using razors . I discuss the matter with CCM Manoj. He said for health point of view they should do like that and we should educate like that. I opposed such fake health theory . On the contrary , when every day the young boys and girls in PLGA will engage their mind in such saving job, then naturally, they will be tempted for sexual relation/ illicit relations and this is the one major cause of so many illicit relation in PLGA. Particularly in south zone.

Hunting

In party in human hunting culture and irresponsible destruction of trees , not the traditional one , is spreading . Tribal people have their hunting culture . That is separate thing. But , if PGMs will patronise to kill anaconda , then PLGA forces will engage regularly in hunting. We are educating to save sexual organs and are doing propaganda on it . But , as per our party programme why we are not propagating to stop hunting , or to advice the minimum destruction of trees in forests by PLGA force . One cannot imagine , if he will not see , how some commanders are happy to save the hairs of pig with boil water before killing it (As Mohendra had done in SKL camp, and after report no one said anything.). Some commander together had killed one mother mice and put it before her kids . The kids take milk from their dead mother . Then they had put all of those in fire and ate. This was the barbarian enjoyment of our PLGA forces, when we returned from failed ambush of kotogad and people were facing police repression. It is not the problem of tribal background of coms , but the problem of wrong education for which they are lacking the love for man, nature and one type of criminality is developing speedily in party for ruthless killing.

10) PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS - OUR defective STAND

According to Marxism-Leninism, the participation or boycott of Parliament including the election to it are forms of struggle and related to tactics. So we must intervene in ruling class parliamentary affairs. You may also boycott the election and intervene in parliament by organising outside demonstrations or by organising liberal parliamentarians.

But, about this in ML party history, the stand has changed several times and even the PW formulation is changed in recent Maoist party. The formulation has been changed for several times with some subjective wishes. We are changing and we are violating it. In recent party document S and T, it is written that 'According to Marxism-Leninism, the participation or boycott of election are forms of struggle and related to tactics. But after the emergence of Khrushchev revisionism, when the parliamentary path and participation in election has become the strategy of the modern revisionists, then in the backdrop of this aspect, we cannot leave this question merely a question of tactics only. So it is wrong to say, like all other tactics this tactic too, can be utilised only if it suits the concrete conditions of the country in general and serves the revolutionary strategy, i.e. the seizure of power through protracted people's war.

..... Hence, generally speaking, in the conditions prevailing in our country, participation in election neither helps in developing revolutionary class struggle, nor in enhancing democratic consciousness among the people. Rather it will only foster constitutional illusions and legalist trends among the Party ranks and the masses at large.

Moreover, historical experience in India until now has only proved that most of those who participated in election either became revisionist or diverted revolution in armed struggle into legal and peaceful channels. The various Marxist-Leninist groups in our country that pursue the tactic of participation in parliamentary elections are getting bogged down more and more in the right opportunist mire, while some have already abandoned armed struggle and become revisionists.

Since we can conclude that boycott of elections, though a question of tactics, acquires the significance of strategy in the concrete conditions obtaining in India as it is not at all compatible with the strategy of protracted people's war".

But, now days our people are participating in Panchayat Election in Narayanpatna and also in Malkangiri as per press report. There is no doubt about Narayan patna's participation. Yes, you may say that CMAS is participating and in jilparisad it supported the BJD candidate, that party which sign in one agreement to stop repression in area. The AOB committee is intervening in this political demands by arresting the MLA. All these are part to tactics of parliament participation. So, You are implementing the election as tactics through a mass organisation, which is led by one party DVCM. And all agreements are done as per his direction.

When we were in our special plenum, there we had taken so many resolutions to boycott Panchayat election. But when we were separated, in last moment one CCM Chetan had come and said, "there is so many political topics to discuss. We should not think Panchayat election just like Assembly or Parliament elections. So, we should apply our force to oust the relatively anti people elements and help to win our supporters." Again to clear the doubt, I asked the matter to another CCM Manoj and Suspended CCM Chalpati about this. They said, yes, we can do like that. But where we can? Is there such forces? There is not the debate, whether to do or not? But, if you want to do like that, then why you are writing in other way in your documents? Then is it not using election as tactics. The dual role in theory and practices in all matter including election should be stopped.

D/c

I have written so many things on different topics from my practical experience to understand the problem. If I will keep these entire secret in the name revolutionary unity in this intense repression period, then it will be a crime to revolution. I had written at some place with very hard language. Why in a revolutionary party we have been facing the sectarian approach and all such political problems repeatedly? I have political differences, and no one can hope a party with all members having same opinion. So there was no problem to continue despite that many differences as I maintained. But, in a party, in society or in any institution there must be the scope and right to put opinion in right time. To scientifically develop the social theory in positive direction through fight against incorrect one it is needed. This right I had lost or it was snatched force fully from me for sectarian competition in side party, during 9th unity cong. And when we have been raising questions on violation of declared party rules-mass line-class line or on implementation of self style theories, we are not getting answer. Rather I have been become a political target. There has been no solution, but still I have continued with a hope that it should be fight out. But, when, there is symptoms of conspiracy in the name of review plenum-delegate-promotion-demotion-observation etc, and theory of elimination to achieve force full political victory, I am unable to accept it. And we delink ours from our sectarian friends out of compulsion. For this if anybody will say that your move will hamper the revolution, or it will help the enemy etc, I have nothing to say. Because, my silence will ultimately help the enemy, as history have been proved. Take it sure, I and my cadres together (donor think about any individual role) will not go against revolution and will not support the state in any case. But in the name of supporting revolution no more we will remain silent on undemocratic and sectarian activity. Open polemics will go on. If there is no other way, it is up to you, whether to declare me and co as friends or simple stamp us as enemies. I don't know what your plan is. Have your forces killed Deba sarpanch of hanumantpur (Raygada). Recently did they enquiry the real informer? Did they give the statement in name of Nikhi? Let, clear us to understand the enemy clearly.) Please do not have any conspiracy and don't give false report, if we are calling ours as revolutionary.

Wishing a positive response.

Suman/1-05-2012