

LIC Is the Cruellest
Counter-Revolutionary
War of the Imperialists

“Concept of LIC and development as a most reactionary strategy of all types of reactionaries after 2nd world war or in the modern world; the question of its concrete application in our country against our movement by the ruling classes aligning with imperialists, particularly; its forms of unarmed and armed organization-structures and commands of state level, interstate level and central level; relation between intrastate, interstate, central and international structures, unarmed and armed organizations of all types of government and non-governmental including strategic and tactical departments governments like financial, forest, welfare, etc of the state and central governments; functional and operational methods, and changes in it according to the needs of countering our counter-action against it and getting help from imperialist countries and some other most reactionary expertise countries; our concrete experience in understanding it, countering it, developing tactics against it, our concrete weakness and shortcomings, our generalizations in developing tactics-forms of unarmed, and armed, open and secret, short-term and long-term organization and struggle , methods of constructing, operating and functioning them; immediate short-term and long-term tasks and plan of implementation; other important aspects can also be dealt.”- GS

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Chapter –II

II. War Strategy of Counter-Insurgency/ Counter-revolution – Development Process

Suppression and insurgency and offensive and counter offensive are two opposites. There is no insurgency without suppression. There is no counter offensive without offensive. One cannot exist without the other. There is at the same time mutual dependence and struggle between these two. This gives shape to the whole war, directs its development and solves its problems. In a phenomenon there is unity and struggle of the opposites from the beginning to the end. As soon as the phenomena ends the unity and struggle of the opposites also ends and in the new phenomena again a new set of opposites arises. So says the Marxist Philosophy.

With the emergence of class society exploitation and oppression appeared for the first time in the history of mankind. The exploiting classes chose oppression as the means to continue their exploitation without hurdles or interruption. That is why insurgency immediately followed it. As the insurgencies were attacked resistance also intensified. So with the emergence of class society class struggle or class war also emerged. As long as there are classes and class exploitation, class struggle and class war continue. Unless the classes end there is no end to the class society. Unless class society ends, class wars and class struggles don't end.

Wars are not dependent on anybody's wishes and wills. In the social development process class society is formed and after passing through various stages in the end it transforms into a communist society where there are no classes. As naturally as that, class wars which took birth along with the class society also end in a class less society. A class less society is formed only through class struggle. The conscious role of humans accelerates the social development process. Since the highest form of class struggle is war, class society can be ended only through war. That is why wars became inevitable to create a society without war.

When we talk of war we are meaning wars which end exploitation. Because all wars are not the same. There are wars which serve the interests of the exploiting classes. There are wars which stand on the side of the oppressed. There are only two kinds of wars in history – just wars and unjust wars. We support the just wars. We oppose the unjust wars. All counter-revolutionary wars are unjust. All revolutionary wars are just wars. We can face the counter-revolutionary wars only with revolutionary wars and defeat them.

When contradictions between political groups, governments, nationalities or classes sharpen and reach a stage where it is not possible to resolve them through ordinary means, wars break out. Thousands of wars have been fought all over the world since the emergence of class society. Millions have lost their lives; the damage to property is enormous. They have left a legacy of tears and agony to the whole mankind. The two sides taking part in the war developed war science, war principles and art of warfare in order to win and to hold on to their victories.

Along with the social development process war science also underwent huge changes. Once upon a time the spear, sword and shield were the highest forms of weapons, now we have guided missiles. Weapon systems, conducting war, war operations, maneuvers of war, logistics, intelligence, speed and destruction have undergone incredible changes. There were many changes in warfare too. There has been development in the warfare of unjust wars. There has been development in the warfare of just wars too.

'Self-defense and destruction of the enemy' is the fundamental principle in any war. The strategy and tactics of offence and strategy and tactics of defense are formulated according to this principle. Whether it was a war waged during the slave society or in

the present time high tech warfare this principle is always there. This principle has to be applied according to the position of the enemy and our subjective position. When to attack and where to attack the enemy in order to destroy him? How to defend ourselves even during attack? If these questions are taken into account, how to defend ourselves when the enemy attacks us or when he comes to destroy us or how to attack even while defending ourselves are also part of it.

Though the general war principles and rules of war apply to all wars, all wars in history until now have been very different from each other. The time and place where these wars took place have been different. But the variation in the strategies and tactics followed is what makes them different. Studying the general principles of war is in no way adequate to solve the problems of any war. Com. Mao has taught us that concrete study of a concrete war is absolutely necessary.

In a war the aim, strategy and tactics of the opposite sides will be different. Who started the war? What was their aim? The strategy and tactics of the attacking side will be dependent on the strengths and weaknesses of that side. The side which is attacked will formulate strategy and tactics which would defeat the attacking side. In the revolutionary wars the differences are more diverse. Due to the particularity of the revolutionary war such diverse strategy and tactics are formulated. This war gets all its strengths due to the participation of the people and their creative role. The exploiting classes have all paraphernalia necessary for the war except the support of the people. Even so, they face defeat at the hands of people in the end.

We have already mentioned that Com. Mao has told that there are only two kinds of war in history till now.

Just wars or revolutionary wars

Unjust wars or counter-revolutionary wars

Revolutionary wars/ Insurgency:

Armed struggles, armed rebellions, resistance struggles, nationality struggles and revolutionary struggles – these are also known as insurgencies. Though various armed struggles are led by various classes all these are revolutionary wars which want social change. All these are revolutionary wars.

Any war which is waged with the aim of seizing power for economic, political and social change is a revolutionary war. Seizure of power is crucial in revolutionary war. But all armed struggles are not revolutionary. The armed struggles sponsored and incited by the exploiting classes for their interests go against the interests of the people. Though a section of the people or people of a class participates in them, they cannot be revolutionary wars. Any wars which serve the interests of the exploiting classes or which consolidate the exploiting forces are counter-revolutionary wars and can never be revolutionary wars.

Revolutionary wars are as ancient as wars. They have been waged under various social systems, led by various classes and in various forms. Whether they are rebellions led by slaves, the democratic revolutions led by the bourgeoisie, the liberation struggles under the leadership of the working class in the past and the present or the nationality liberation struggles, there have been many revolutionary wars in history. But the revolutionary wars waged after the emergence of capitalism, especially in the imperialist era are of the highest order in quantity and quality. The birth of the proletariat which could destroy capitalism inside the capitalist system itself, the emergence of Marxism as the ideology and the fighting weapon of the proletariat, the transformation of capitalism into its last stage of imperialism, the waging of the ultimate class war for the end of classes and wars all over the world are the reasons for it.

Among the wars waged before the 1917 October revolution in history, the main ones were between the exploiting classes. Though revolutionary wars were waged by various nationalities, tribes and classes they were few. The thousands of wars fought during the centuries have developed the conventional warfare to the highest level. We can understand this if we look at the two world wars which were the most destructive. Even the imperialists who started and perpetuated those wars have night mares when they think of them. Such was their impact.

The revolutionary wars waged after the emergence of the proletariat have developed warfare from general insurrection to protracted people's war. In the imperialist era the main contention is between the revolutionary wars and the counter-revolutionary wars.

Counter-revolutionary warfare/ Counter-insurgency

The wars waged against low level wars, non conventional wars, insurgencies and guerilla struggles are known as counter-revolutionary wars or counter insurgency warfare. Counter-revolutionary warfare is the sum total of military, economic, political and social actions.

History has shown that until revolutionary wars became the main trend the exploiting classes were mainly engaged fully in conventional wars. So we can say that even the counter-revolutionary warfare became the main trend after the deluge of revolutionary wars. Thus we can see the development of the counter-revolutionary warfare in two stages.

- i. Counter-revolutionary wars up to the feudal order
- ii. Counter-revolutionary wars under capitalism

i. Counter-revolutionary wars up to the feudal order:

In the pre feudal society i.e. under slave society the classes, exploitation of classes, private property and state machinery had already emerged. The soldiers of the side which lost the war were made to work in production and as soldiers in wars waged for expansion of their kingdom. Physical oppression was the main form in those days. There were frequently spontaneous rebellions by the slaves against this most cruel oppression. The state crushed these rebellions with even more cruel methods. Since these were not waged particularly with the aim of seizure of political power and did not start with a strategy and tactics to that end, they were crushed with physical force. But the rebellion against the Roman kingdom under the leadership of Spartacus was different. This became successful with the aim of the seizure of political power. This can be described as the first revolutionary war where exploiting classes were overthrown and the slaves who belonged to the exploited classes seized political power. Though there were more slave rebellions inspired by the success of this revolutionary war none of them were successful. The material conditions which could develop proletariat ideology and proletarian leadership that would sustain political power of the masses haven't ripened by then.

The ruling classes which realized that it is not possible to control people by just physical force had founded religion with the purpose of controlling them ideologically. The first psychological war weapon employed in the counter-revolutionary warfare is religion we can say. This ideology influences to the extent that people will think it is the most heinous crime to even think of seizure of political power or to fight against the state. The jails and judiciary are anyway present if someone chooses to be different. If even then someone tries to rebel they are either caught by a network of spies or massacred by military.

In the slave society and in the feudal society people belonging to smaller kingdoms and various tribes used to rebel against the expansionist attacks undertaken by the kings to expand their kingdoms and to consolidate them. The smaller kingdoms rebelled under the leadership of the feudal kings whereas the tribes were led by their chiefs. The peasantry waged thousands of rebellions against the unbearable exploitation. Many rebellions were crushed and resulted in bloodbath. In some more there were some against economic exploitation at least in a temporary manner.

These revolutions and rebellions were not spontaneous. There were planned rebellions too. Some were of a short period while some went on for a long time. Whatsoever the revolutions and rebellions were not the main trend in those days. The conventional wars between the exploiting classes were the main trend. The development of the science of war and warfare also took place due to these conventional wars. But the development of guerilla methods and development of methods which increased the participation of masses by the revolutionary wars and rebellions had not only frightened the exploiting ruling classes but also led to their developing methods which were different from methods of conventional war i.e. counter-revolutionary war methods to crush the revolutionary wars. Military, economic, political, social and psychological war methods began to be used in co-ordination. Though we cannot compare them with the counter-revolutionary war methods of today we can find on observation what can be called the origins of these methods in them. We are explaining a few of them here.

Since leadership and military forces are crucial in revolutionary wars and rebellions they followed manouvres and deployments which were different from those of conventional wars to destroy the rebel army or armed forces and the leadership. When the leadership and the military forces which rebelled went underground Special Forces were formed to attack them.

War is violent. It is cruel. This is most severe in the class wars than in the conventional wars between the exploiting classes. The reason is they create terror so that no one dares to rebel again in the future. Though there are killings, loots and destruction in the wars between the exploiting classes, once they occupy they would need the services of the exploiting classes of the occupied territory to run their government. But if the slaves rebel and seize political power the exploiting classes can exist no more. That is why thousands of slaves were put on crosses in the streets of Rome after their defeat to terrorize them. That is why the exploiting classes create terror in the case of revolutionary wars.

They follow methods such as announcing rewards for the heads of leaders, appointing special spies to trace them and announcing the leaders as conspirators etc. It is said that the reason for the murders of many revolutionary leaders in history is espionage and treachery.

Isolating from the people: Terrorizing people by destroying villages and towns, engineering breaches among the leaders, eroding the faith of people by buying the weaker elements, bringing divisions among the people, following various methods to turn a section of the population towards them are done. The main purpose of this propaganda is to fill fear among the people who do not know about the movement by portraying the rebels as bandits and thieves and preventing the rebels from getting shelters in new areas.

ii. Counter-revolutionary wars under capitalism

The feudal society which was in existence for thousands of years was done away with by the democratic revolutions and capitalist society was created. These revolutions were led by the bourgeoisie. That is why they are called bourgeois democratic revolutions. When the feudal society was established by overthrowing slavery or when capitalism was established by overthrowing feudal order through revolutionary wars power merely changed hands from one exploiting class to another but people's political power was not established by ending exploitation forever. The revolutions waged for the capitalist society are very different from the previous two social orders. The bourgeoisie imbibed democratic (bourgeois) consciousness among the peasantry who were living as semi slaves (serfs?) under the oppression of the feudal lords in the rural areas with the slogan of 'freedom, equality and fraternity'. It turned the artisans and peasantry into the modern proletariat. That is why there was huge participation of masses in this democratic revolutionary war - more than in any other revolutionary war in history. As a result even the strongest feudal kingdoms came down

like a pack of cards. Not only had huge masses participated in this revolutionary war but their talents with utmost creativity had come to the fore in war. The development of people's wars had begun in opposition to the conventional wars.

As a result of bourgeois democratic revolutions proletariat which is the most conscious and most militant class had emerged. The bourgeois class which played a revolutionary role in overthrowing the feudal order now became the most reactionary class. It began to fear that the democratic consciousness it had given rise to in overthrowing the feudal order would now destroy it. It did not take much time for the people who participated with the slogan 'Land to the tiller' in the democratic revolution to claim 'Factories to the Workers'. Working class struggles exploded in capitalist countries.

Marx and Engels formulated the theory for the working class with their amazing intellect by imbibing the essence of proletariat struggles and the essence of the social sciences which had developed to a higher stage. War slogans such as 'Workers of the world unite' 'Workers lose nothing but their chains' 'Fight for the end of wage slavery not for wages' united the working class. They prepared the proletariat for the war to be waged for the establishment of the communist society where there would be no exploitation and oppression. The proletariat given birth by the capitalist system had emerged as a great force which can destroy capitalism.

Though the Paris Commune was in power only for a few days it proved that the proletariat can seize political power. The proletariat improved its understanding of the state machinery and in 1917 in Russia it seized political power through general insurrection and established the political power of the oppressed for the first time. This shook the whole world politically. It had impacted a great deal the workers, peasantry, the downtrodden and oppressed and at the same time it terrorized the exploiting classes equally. Even with the Paris Commune the bourgeois class was hesitating to lead bourgeois democratic revolutions. With the Bolshevik revolution it had abdicated its responsibility of leading the democratic revolutions and hand in glove with the most reactionary feudal class took upon itself the responsibility of leading the counter-revolutionary wars.

Since the emergence of capitalism the bourgeois class has been acting differently in revolutionary wars and counter-revolutionary wars. The reason for the bourgeois class to don different garbs is the various stages in its development such as birth, free trade and imperialism. We can divide into three stages the role of the bourgeoisie in capitalism according to the role it played in counter-revolutionary wars and revolutionary wars.

Birth of capitalism and its development

Counter-revolutionary wars during free trade

Counter-revolutionary wars during imperialism

1. Birth of capitalism and its development:

The bourgeoisie was the leader of the revolution which overthrew the feudal order and established capitalism. Likewise their role was progressive too. Though the bourgeois society was also not free of exploitation and oppression, its revolutionary role lay in releasing the productive forces which were held captive under feudalism by breaking the feudal bonds. It gave rise to bourgeois democratic consciousness. It led the revolutions and overthrew feudalism. It liberated the peasantry living as semi slaves. It developed science and technology. It brought democratic consciousness with the slogan 'freedom, equality and fraternity'. It led the nationality struggles and helped to give rise to the Nation States. It introduced bourgeois culture in place of feudal culture. Though the bourgeoisie did all this in the interests of its class, they are revolutionary steps in the social development process. At that time the bourgeoisie was progressive and the wars it led were revolutionary.

The feudal class waged reactionary wars to face the bourgeois democratic revolutions. Due to the leadership of progressive forces, role of the masses and non-conventional war methods the revolutionary wars could defeat reactionary wars.

2. Counter-revolutionary wars during free trade:

Since there was an amazing development of productive forces under capitalism unprecedented production levels were achieved. The domestic market was not at all sufficient for this increased production. So the capitalists ventured to expand their markets all over the world. The relations which began as trade treaties gradually led to their becoming colonies occupied by the imperialists. Since it was in Europe that bourgeois democratic revolutions had been successful and capitalism had developed, the European countries occupied colonies throughout the world. This process was not smooth. There were decades of endless wars by which feudal kingdoms and tribes were defeated and were turned into colonies. Not just that, there was contention for colonies between various capitalist countries and horrifying wars were fought for them.

The colonies world over not only created markets for capitalism but also became rich sources for mineral wealth and raw materials. As a result wealth began accumulating in the capitalist countries and industrial development accelerated. The colonial rulers destroyed the capitalist relations which would have naturally developed in the colonies and introduced distorted capitalist relations conducive to colonial exploitation in its place. They destroyed the local industries and handicrafts and converted them into countries supplying raw materials and into markets for the colonial rulers. Agriculture was devastated. Democratic revolutions flared up in all

colonies world over against this colonial exploitation and oppression. There was a surge of peasant and *adivasi* revolts. The colonial rulers suppressed these revolts in the most brutal manner.

The bourgeoisie which had once led the democratic revolutions to overthrow feudalism now vowed to protect it in the colonies. In order to perpetuate colonial exploitation it went hand in glove with feudalism and changed the production relations to semi-feudal. It developed capitalist relations which were conducive to colonial exploitation. It obstructed the development of independent bourgeoisie and instead encouraged the comprador bourgeoisie and gave fillip to its growth. It turned the big landlord class and the comprador bourgeoisie into its social props to continue colonial exploitation.

In the beginning the bourgeoisie supported the liberation struggles of the nationalities. But now it began suppressing them brutally in capitalist countries and colonies as well. They turned them into prisons of nationalities.

The labour exploitation on proletariat in the capitalist countries was increased for profits. Working class movements flared up resisting this. With the emergence of Marxism there were proletarian revolutionary struggles for the end of wage slavery.

It was in these conditions in the stage of free trade that the capitalist class had formulated its counter-revolutionary strategy. It gave up its progressive role. It took up the most reactionary role. Though there were continuous unjust wars between capitalist countries for markets the proletarian struggles and the anti-imperial struggles in the colonies came to the fore as the main trend. The capitalist class gave shape to counter-revolutionary wars in an unprecedented manner to face the challenge. Many aspects of the modern counter-revolutionary wars are to be found in the counter-revolutionary war strategy formulated in this period. Some of the important aspects are as follows:

Strengthening the state machinery: The state machinery under capitalism is sturdier than the feudal state machinery. The legislature, military, administration and the judiciary have been strengthened further. State machinery is a mechanism of suppression; hence it is not possible to suppress the strong, myriad proletarian movements and the democratic revolutions raging in the colonies with weak state machinery. That was why the capitalist countries built strong armies. They brought many black laws to suppress the revolutions and rebellions. They formed well built intelligence agencies. They took up the building of police and paramilitary forces to strengthen internal security and suppress the proletarian struggles.

After Paris Commune the bourgeoisie developed more fangs. There was bloodbath on the streets of Paris. The Paris Commune gave a lesson to the proletariat that it should have its own state machinery.

Weakening the working class movement: The capitalists not only tried to suppress the working class movement with police and paramilitary forces but also tried to damage the working class from within. They went to great lengths to weaken the working class movement ideologically, politically and also organizationally. They bought some trade union leaders and turned them into labour aristocracy. They made ideological attacks trying to obstruct the working class from owning its ideology of Marxism. In spite of using all kinds of tricks, since there is no stopping of extraction of surplus value the working class would fight till exploitation ends.

Looting the colonies, destroying their economies: It was by plundering the colonies that the imperialists had accumulated mounds of wealth. They destroyed the economy of the colonies so that they depend on them. They introduced colonial economy. They were hand in glove with the big landlords and developed the comprador bourgeoisie and turned these classes into their social props. Thus they made them into betrayers of the revolutionary wars in the colonies.

In order that the people of colonies do not unite and fight against the colonial rulers they used all kinds of contradictions in the society like nationality, religion, caste, tribe etc and used the strategy of divide and rule.

From the artisans whose livelihood was destroyed and the peasantry who lost their land in the colonies they recruited into the police, para-military and the army and turned them into mercenaries who would suppress people of their own country.

Declaring rebels as conspirators, fixing rewards for their heads, using spies to hunt and catch them, killing them after brutal torture and making the movement leaderless.

Destroying the towns and villages in the movement areas, creating White Terror by massacring people.

Turning a section of the population towards them by building hospitals, establishing schools and through Christian missionaries. The colonial rulers have been successful in introducing an education system which producedof capitalism.

Ensuring that one section of the population benefits by administrative and revenue reforms and changes in judiciary, thereby keeping the larger section in illusions.

With such military, economic, political, social and psychological actions the capitalists implemented their counter-revolutionary war strategy. In spite of such severe attacks, the massacres and the destruction, neither the working class in the capitalist countries nor the revolutionary people in the colonies stopped revolting. The people of colonies fought many valiant wars under the leadership of the feudal classes, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. They defeated the colonial armies in many battles. The colonial rulers signed temporary treaties, lay low till the opportune moment came and then again attacked and fulfilled their aims. Even the strongest kingdoms which had huge armies could not withstand the capitalist armies. The internal feuds between various kingdoms, the reactionary nature of the feudal armies, treachery of leaders, the modern armies of the capitalists, modern weaponry and their skill in the art of war were the reasons for not defeating the colonial rulers completely.

Among the wars against the colonial rulers there were smaller ones as well as conventional wars by mobilizing huge armies. Some were over in a few days whereas some continued for decades. In most instances they were carried as guerilla warfare. The capitalists' armies which faced conventional wars with conventional warfare methods used non-conventional methods when faced with guerilla warfare or rebellions. The revolutionary warfare had improved its strategy and tactics with the experience gained in numerous wars.

Likewise the capitalists too improved their strategy and tactics with reactionary wars. Since capitalism was consolidating into imperialism and the working class was still gaining strength in the colonies, the capitalists had an upper hand.

3. Counter-revolutionary war under imperialism:

Capitalism had reached its last stage of imperialism. Marx and Engels thought that there would be proletarian revolutions first in Europe as capitalism was going through periodical crises there during the stage of free trade. As capitalism entered its last stage of imperialism the crises of the capitalist countries was exported to the colonies. As a result the revolutionary storm centres also shifted to the colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin American continents. Com. Lenin analyzed that the revolution of one country had become part of the World Socialist Revolution and that revolution would be successful by breaking the weakest link in the imperialist chain. He named the imperialist era as the era of revolutions.

Since capitalism entered the imperialist stage the situation of revolutionary wars and counter-revolutionary war has not been the same as before. There were many crucial incidents and turning points in this period like – the two world wars fought as a result of the sharpening contradictions between the imperialist forces, the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917, the national liberation and anti-imperialist struggles which raged in the colonies, the success of the second round of revolutions after the Second World War, the coming forth of the contradiction between the Socialist block and the imperialist bands, the transformation of Soviet Union into social imperialism, the emergence of America as a super power, the wars in Vietnam and Korea, the contention between the two super powers leading to Cold War after Soviet Union emerged as a super power, transformation of China into capitalism, the disintegration of Soviet Union, its losing its status as a super power, America holding hegemony over the world as the sole super power, the implementation of the LPG policies, the struggles waged all over the world against these policies, the attack of 9/11, the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq by America etc. Since the revolutionaries on one side and the imperialists on the other side had to put their concentration and thrust on different aspects according to the circumstances in the background of these phenomena, there have been many changes and variations in revolutionary wars and counter-revolutionary wars. So we should not look at this period as one whole. Keeping in view the main changes that took place in the situations of the revolutionary wars and counter-revolutionary wars, it would be easier and appropriate to divide this period as follows and examine.

- a) **Till the 1917 Bolshevik revolution**
- b) **From the 1917 revolution to 1945**
- c) **From 1945 to the restoration of capitalism in China (1976)**
- d) **1976 to the present**

a). Till the 1917 Bolshevik revolution:

The stage of free trade was the period when capitalism consolidated itself, whereas the imperialist stage is its last stage where it collapses. Its collapse had started because it became the number one enemy of the people of the world. As it was plunged in permanent crises a permanent grave has been dug for it. The social democratic parties have become consolidated in the imperialist countries. They led militant working class struggles. The ruling classes did not give permissions for protest meetings and strikes and unleashed brutal repression. Majority of the social democratic parties in Europe followed the path of right opportunism whereas in Russia there was a dress rehearsal for the revolution in 1905 itself under the leadership of Com. Lenin.

In the colonies independence struggles intensified under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. In order to divert the anti-imperialist struggles raging in the colonies the imperialists had started independence struggles by spurring the comprador bourgeoisie who are under their control to lead them. The anti-imperialist struggles in the colonies intensified, the working class struggles in the capitalist countries became numerous and along with them the contradiction between the imperialists also sharpened to the highest level. In the era of free trade there were wars between capitalist countries for colonies and now the situation was such that there would be wars for the re-division of the world market.

Com. Lenin devised the strategy for revolutionary war by stating that the contradiction between the international monopolies would inevitably lead to wars, imperialism means wars, the wars between imperialists were unjust wars, the working class should not participate in them and that by using the war crises people should try to win the revolution in their respective countries. But the right opportunist social democratic parties of Europe took up the slogan of 'Save the Fatherland' and fought on the side of the imperialists, a tactics which sacrificed the working class. In Russia where correct strategy was applied the Great October Revolution was a success. But in spite of the presence of stronger communist parties in Europe than in Russia, since correct strategy was not followed and they betrayed the working class they gradually weakened.

By 1914 when the First World War had started, the imperialists even while suppressing the working class movements in their countries and the anti-imperialist struggles in the colonies were more seriously engaged in war preparations due to the contention between the imperialists. They used the developments in science and technology due to industrial revolution to develop the science of war and new weapons. War industry developed in an unprecedented manner. Arms race led to the invention of many new ones. As a result there were massive changes in conventional warfare. The First World War started in 1914 went on till 1918. It brought in its wake utmost destruction of property and human life in the history of mankind. On the whole since the contradictions between the

imperialists sharpened in this period, the main focus was on conventional warfare. Though the newly invented weapons were used in counter-revolutionary wars too, their usage was not like anything in the conventional wars. For e.g. it may be weapons like tanks, cannons or armoured vehicles or manouvres like trench warfare and deployments. But this doesn't mean that developments in counter-revolutionary warfare had stopped. We can say it increased. Due to developments in small weapons – rifles, machine guns, light cannons etc fire power increased tremendously. Mobility increased due to vehicles and armoured vehicles. Due to development in the field of communications command, control and co ordination increased. As political and military intelligence departments developed strongly, efficiency in understanding the enemy increased. All these helped in crushing the revolutionary wars more severely. The increase in police and military forces, consolidating them more and the strengthening of the state machinery due to reforms in revenue and administration led to more suppression of revolutionary wars. Since the imperialists were relatively more consolidated in the colonies and the contradictions between them had sharpened to the highest level, the main concentration of the imperialists was on conventional warfare.

b). From the 1917 Bolshevik revolution to 1945:

The Bolshevik revolution which proved that seizure of political power is not a theoretical premise but a material possibility had inspired the oppressed people of the world as much as it was dreaded, if not more by the exploiting classes. By a proper analysis of imperialist war and the social conditions of Russia the Bolshevik party under the leadership of Com. Lenin had formulated the correct revolutionary war strategy and implemented it. As a result the revolution was successful and the proletariat came to power. The first base of the World Socialist Revolution was formed.

Due to the impact of the Bolshevik revolution and the surge of revolutions after the World War, communist parties were formed in almost all countries. The freedom struggles in the colonies intensified. Though the alliance of the British imperialist countries won the war, they were weakened due to the immense losses. The economies of the alliance of the German imperialist countries were devastated due to defeat in war. Since the burden of war was put on the backs of the people their life standards came down. As exploitation of the proletariat became severe, working class struggles intensified.

The impact of war on colonies was more devastating. The imperialists recruited poor people forcefully into the army and made them scapegoats. All the resources of the colonies were transported to the war, economic exploitation was increased severely to meet war expenses and work burden on the working class was increased in the name of war needs. As a result working class struggles and anti-imperialist armed struggles intensified. The imperialists resorted to war to solve the intensified contradictions between them. But the war did not reduce them, instead they increased. Not only that, as a result of the war many new contradictions sprung up. The important among them was the contradiction between the socialist revolution's base Soviet Union and the imperialists. The big bourgeoisie in the colonies which was till then leading the democratic revolutions had compromised with the big landlords and the imperialists and emerged into the comprador bourgeoisie betraying the revolution. The contradiction between the comprador bourgeoisie and the people of the colonies came to the fore as a basic contradiction. With the emergence of communist parties in these countries the contradictions between feudalism and the vast masses, between capitalists and the working class, between the working class and the imperialists and others intensified.

After the end of war the imperialist countries along with reconstructing their economies began preparations for another war. Economic resources were diverted to war industries on a huge scale. The temporary period of peace proved to be a preparatory period for another war. It led to another huge crisis in the economies which had temporarily stabilized. The Great Depression of the 1930s was a result of this. It became the massive crisis of the imperialist era. It led to the birth of fascism. It opened the doors to the Second World War. On the other hand the Soviet Union achieved planned economic development. The economic crisis of the capitalist world did not affect the Soviet Union's economy. The Socialist system emerged as an alternative to the capitalist system and influenced many intellectuals.

In China the protracted People's war advanced with spectacular victories under the leadership of Com. Mao. Protracted people's war began and advanced in Indo China countries too. The advance of New Democratic Revolutions under the leadership of the proletariat and the development of the guerilla warfare to the highest stage can be described as the greatest advance in the history of revolutionary wars.

In the background of the circumstances described above, the imperialists had formulated their counter-revolutionary war strategy.

1. Recognizing 'communism' as the greatest threat to the existence of capitalist system and striving to destroy it. Banning communist parties, trade unions and mass organizations in colonies and semi colonies. Forming special intelligence (espionage) structures to hunt down the underground party leaders. Unleashing brutal repression on working class struggles in the imperialist countries.
2. In countries where revolutionary war had developed to the stage of establishing base areas, taking up 'mop up' actions and attacking with millions of military forces.
3. Taking up severe repression campaigns in guerilla zones and taking up the programme of isolating the revolutionaries from the people.
4. The imperialists are not only providing economic and military support for the counter-revolutionary wars in the colonies and semi colonies but are also deploying experts to study the changes in revolutionary war strategy.
5. The guerilla war and the protracted war under the leadership of Com. Mao in China had sent shivers down the spines of the imperialists. The imperialists had till then only an experience of considering and facing the guerilla war as tactics. But they were

aghast at the manner it was raised to the level of strategy and the spectacular victories this has achieved as part of protracted people's war. It led to the imperialist war experts devising counter-guerilla strategies.

Three magic weapons which Com. Mao formulated – the party, people's army and the united front were integral to people's war. While the Red Army was formed in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution, in China and other Indo-China countries the Red Army was formed well before the success of the revolutions. The people's armies were qualitatively different from the mercenary armies of the imperialists. The exploiting classes' governments all over the world had formed standing armies after the Bolshevik Revolution. They were designed to fight conventional wars. They are not armies which fight with the support of the people like the people's armies. They are mercenary armies.

7. In the anti-Japanese war the united front magic weapon was used very effectively in China. The imperialists intensely pressurized Chang Kai Shek not to join the united front. But under pressure of people's movement he had to finally inevitably join it. But he was sitting on the fence fiercely hoping that the Revolutionary Armies would be beaten hopelessly by the Japanese and was scheming that he would step in to attack and annihilate the Red Army. But this scheme boomeranged. The strength of the revolutionary army which fought honestly against Japan increased manifold. There was no weapon left with the imperialists against united front.

8. The Air Force Warplanes which were manufactured only for conventional wars were used in the counter-revolutionary wars. The towns and villages under Red control were bombed. There were many bombings during the Long March to annihilate the Red Army. Likewise light weapons and cannons were used.

9. The cruel repressive measures developed by the fascists were used by the exploiting ruling classes world over on the revolutionary people. Especially they were used on the revolutionary wars led by communists.

10. The imperialists dreamed that the Nazi dictator Hitler who was a staunch anti communist would attack Soviet Union first and destroy it and that they would benefit by the collapse of the specter haunting the whole of capitalist system. But Com. Stalin with great insight had made a no-war pact with Hitler though it entailed temporary loses. As a result war broke out between Germany war alliance countries and the Allied powers. Com. Stalin used this period effectively to equip them for war.

During the First World War the strategy of turning war into civil war was formulated under Com. Lenin's leadership as there was no Socialist Base. Whereas during the Second World War Com. Stalin gave the call for anti German Fascist United Front to protect the Socialist base and formulated the strategy for the World Socialist revolution.

In the Second World War the Russian people and the Red Army had made tremendous sacrifices and defeated the Nazi Germany. The imperialist countries in the Allied Forces suffered serious losses in the war. Since the Red Army could defeat the Nazi army which became the enemy of the people of the world in conventional war too, it became clear to all the people that Red Army was invincible. The conspiracy of the imperialists to destroy Soviet Union failed miserably and the World Socialist revolution took another leap.

Since the imperialists had to be bogged down in the Second World War just as they were formulating the strategy of counter-revolutionary war to repress the nationality liberation struggles, revolutionary wars and independence struggles, their concentration on them was temporarily diverted.

c). From the end of the Second World War to the restoration of capitalism in China:

The Second World War led to a second round of revolutions. The East European countries were mainly liberated by the Soviet Red Army, in Asia they were liberated due to the ongoing protracted people's wars there. North Korea and North Vietnam were formed immediately after the end of War and China was liberated in 1949. Thus a third of the world population came under communist rule. The World Socialist block emerged stronger.

The independence struggles in the colonies intensified. The nationality liberation struggles and the revolutionary struggles gave no breathing space to the imperialists. The Nazi alliance and the victor countries of the Allied Forces suffered severe economic losses in the war. They weakened militarily. They were no more in a position to carry on colonial rule as in the past. Added to that, they feared that the 'Communist specter' may become bigger and devour imperialism. So they finally transferred power to the comprador bourgeoisie in the colonies in order to bring in neo colonialism in place of colonial rule. As a result semi colonial semi feudal systems came into being in the colonies.

As America was not seriously affected economically in the Second World War since it was sitting on the fence, it utilized all the available opportunities and in a milieu where there was no competition from other imperialist countries it made huge economic profits.

The role of communist parties of various countries in defeating Nazism, the main enemy of the world people under the leadership of Com. Stalin and the heroic role of the Red Army inspired the people all over the world. As Soviet Union and People's Republic of China continued giving complete support to the freedom struggles, the national liberation struggles, and revolutionary struggles raging all over the world, the imperialists began fearing as if their very existence was in danger. Opposing communism became their main aim. This was exactly what made the imperialists who had drawn swords and were killing each other to unite. The block of imperialists was formed. The contention between the Socialist block and the imperialist block decided the strategies of both the sides.

Both the Socialist block and the imperialist block had been undergoing many changes. The first biggest blow to the world socialist revolution was the restoration of capitalism in Soviet Union. Great Debate conducted under the leadership of Com. Mao vehemently exposed revisionism. It defended Marxism. Later the attempt to restore capitalism in China was defeated under the leadership of Com. Mao with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Marxism was enriched further. Revolutionary movements raged all over the world.

The temporary unity between the imperialists with the aim of facing the challenge of communism led to the intensification of counter-revolutionary wars all over the world. Britain which had the maximum number of colonies intensified counter-revolutionary wars in many countries. Between 1945 and 1970 it fought about 53 counter-revolutionary wars. Of these only those of Korea, Suez, Kuwait and Indonesia were conventional wars all the others were fought to suppress the revolts or armed rebellions there. Even imperialist countries like Spain, France and Portugal had also fought many counter-revolutionary wars. The American imperialists who were acting as ring leaders of the imperialist countries had fought in many counter-revolutionary wars directly and indirectly in many. It extended all kinds of help like economic help, weapons, sending war experts, training, technical help etc. It wanted to occupy Korea and Vietnam and destroy the revolutionary governments there. But those two wars broke the back of America and taught it a lesson.

After Soviet Union turned into a capitalist country, China took upon its shoulders the responsibility of World Socialist Revolution and extended invaluable support to the national liberation struggles and revolutionary wars to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This tremendously helped the development of revolutionary wars. After the death of Com. Mao the capitalist roaders came to power in China and it turned into a capitalist country. The last Socialist base was also lost.

Soviet Union which turned into a capitalist country very soon emerged as a super power and entered into severe contention with America which was already a super power. It was this contention which led to the cold war. Actions such as intense arms race, piling up nuclear weapons, using modern technology for war science, inciting local wars for oil products, minerals, natural resources and for global hegemony by selling weapons to them had led to deep crisis in global politics. The two super powers had divided the world between them and had become experts in inciting revolts and suppressing them – both kinds of wars.

On the whole we can say that this was the period when counter-revolutionary wars and revolutionary wars had contended with each other. Though new phenomena like the emergence of super powers and the contention between had come into existence and some local wars were fought very intensely, the severe contradictions between the imperialists did not lead to world war. Though they had fully equipped themselves and were fully prepared to go, the world war did not break. So in this period revolutionary wars and counter-revolutionary wars remained the main trend. That was why the imperialists had developed the strategy and tactics of counter-revolutionary wars in an unprecedented manner.

The main changes that occurred in counter-revolutionary wars:

The Experience of the British imperialists:

It was the British imperialists who gained the maximum experience in counter-revolutionary wars. By the end of Second World War it was Britain which had the maximum number of colonies. It was fully immersed in maximum counter-revolutionary wars already by then. Though it had lost some of the colonies immediately after the end of the war, for a long time since then it was engaged in counter-revolutionary wars till the end to preserve its colonies. The strategy it followed to suppress the Malaya revolutionary movement served as an experience for all imperialist countries. Likewise it gained valuable experiences in Oman, Muscat, Kenya and Cyprus. British military officers like Robert Thomson and Frank Kitson wrote books theorizing these experiences. They formulated counter-guerilla strategy to face guerilla wars and implemented it. Its main features are:

Formulating a strategy which is conducive to counter-revolutionary warfare as opposed to the conventional warfare. The essence of this strategy is to conduct war on all the fronts - the military, political, economic, social and psychological fronts.

Isolating from the people: Unleashing white terror on guerilla zones to isolate guerillas from the people, vacating strategic villages and bringing the people to live in big concentration camps and keeping them under their control, banning the mass organizations, not permitting their activities, cutting off the guerilla areas from the urban areas by annihilating the secret party leadership.

Using intelligence as a strategic weapon: Though there had been intelligence since the birth of wars they realized that the intelligence structures formed in the conventional manner were not at all sufficient to face people's wars. Facing an 'invisible' enemy, that too an enemy who lives among the people and fights with their support is not possible without intelligence. They cannot take even one step forward without it. The main changes in the strategy of counter-revolutionary war include isolating the guerillas from the people, psychological war and stopping the help and intelligence the guerillas get from the people. But the single most important change was to use intelligence to the level of an alternate to the support the guerillas get from the people in defeating guerilla warfare. Never before in the history of intelligence had intelligence been used to such an extent nor had it this much importance. Only by recognizing this change properly can revolutionary wars formulate their strategies correctly.

Formation of Special Forces: Since counter-revolutionary wars are not conventional wars the military operations should be conducted in a special manner. The imperialists who realized that there were more losses than results by deploying huge forces and conducting 'encircle and suppression' campaigns on a large scale in China took up the slogan of 'fight a guerilla like a guerilla' and made changes in the deployment, structure and operation of military forces. In conventional wars deployment is always in the battalion or regiment level, with fully equipped. The military actions are highly centralized. Guerilla forces operate in a large area as small, small units i.e. from section to company level. Since they are based on the principle of centralization of politics and

decentralization of organization, guerilla commanders can take decisions on their initiative and take up actions. If the structure and operations of the forces which come to suppress the guerillas should hinder their performance, then not only would it not yield results but they would be facing defeat too. Similarly the guerillas have to be faced not just militarily but politically too. For this they would need motivated forces. That is why Special Forces which were decentralized in organization and highly centralized in were built up.

The Pentagon officials have mentioned in their reports that while studying the people's war strategy they faced situations which were different from the conventional warfare methods described by war experts like Sun Tzu, Machiavelli, Clausewitz and Mahan. After these reports the then US President John F. Kennedy summarized briefly the peculiarity of the situation and the essence of the people's war strategy in 1962 thus: 'This is a different kind of war. Though there is a new intensity in this, the origins are old. This is a warfare resorted to by ...'. (source:)

In Malaya British imperialists formed Special Forces and conducted operations at the platoon and company levels. Though they conducted operations with bigger formations when need arose, they were not frequent. Since Special Forces are trained in jungle warfare and mountain warfare they can penetrate into forest and mountain areas which are strategic for the guerillas. Inflicting losses on guerillas through ambushes and surprise attacks, placing restrictions on the activities of the guerillas by taking away the advantage they have in their strategic areas through conducting large scale combing operations which bring psychological pressure on the guerillas than military victory. Due to air support and mainly due to logistics their energies come into use more. Their morale soars. With this experience gained in Malaya, imperialist countries formed Special Forces immediately. American imperialists with ambitions of global hegemony had attained more specialization in Special Forces and established training institutions.

In the 96th Civil Works Battalion in Fort Bragg in the state of North Carolina in the USA and in the name of 'Co-ordination Committee of Alliance' in Brussels (Belgium) NATO Central office and at the 20th command of Special Forces in Germany they began imparting training to local and foreign anti-guerilla war experts. After finishing the training they take up the responsibility of conducting the counter-revolutionary war in their countries.

There are a total of three training schools for training the soldiers who take part in anti-guerilla activities. They are - training school for counter- revolutionary war, (espionage) intelligence training school and the para-troopers training school. The police and intelligence officers of various countries get trained here. When we see the fact that more than 60,000 brute officers belonging to South American countries were trained here and sent to their countries we can understand the significance of these training schools.

Reforms: Catering to the interests of one section of the population through various reforms and turning them into the social base in the counter-revolutionary war. Gathering the unemployed youth and the lumpen elements through various social activities and forming necessary informer mechanisms and black gangs from among them.

Psychological War: Though there are actions of psychological war in counter-revolutionary war from the beginning to the end, it is during stages where the guerilla forces have been repressed through white terror and they have gained control over their area and when reforms are resorted to attract the population towards themselves that these are used to a major extent.

In Malaya the British imperialists implemented the counter-revolutionary war strategy that they had developed. They depended on the local puppet government and through horrible massacres and slaughter had suppressed the people's movement there.

This defeat is not a permanent thing. Just Wars as they continue will be able to recover from the defeat due to mistakes. It would be able to attack again. Then again it leads to a new turn in the war situation.

In essence the reason for the defeat of Malaya communist party lay in not being consistent in implementing its political, ideological line than in organizational failures. The basis for the victory of imperialists lay there.

Experiences of American imperialists:

After the Second World War, there was direct and indirect intervention of the American imperialists in most of the counter-revolutionary wars fought. It was in the forefront in formulating counter-revolutionary war strategies to face revolutionary wars and in providing weapons, economic sources, forming of Special Forces and training them to implement the strategy.

It increased its weaponry and military forces hugely with the aim of continuing its role as the world police. As part of contention with Soviet Union it increased modern weapons and technology more. It was due to this dominance that it thought it could bring Vietnam to its knees within a few days and with the help of the puppet regime in South Vietnam continued aggression against Vietnam.

With air attacks and using internationally banned 'napalm' and other chemical weapons they wreaked havoc in Vietnam. The Vietnam Communist Party established bases in forest areas and waged resistance war. While the war was going on, they formed a Special Force called 'Green Berets' and turned the rural areas into burial grounds by deploying them in thousands in Vietnam. In spite of all this, the people's war developed day by day and with unique sacrifices had defeated the American forces and won the war finally. The Vietnam people's war had once again proved that military forces and weaponry cannot stand up to it.

In the Vietnam though the American imperialists fought partially by standing behind the local regime which depended on them and served them, there were lakhs of Americans who fought in the troops. It had fought a conventional war in manner and scale and the repressive measures it followed, destruction and mass murders led to large scale protests from American people as well as from the people all over the world. The anti-war movement turned into a massive political movement.

Field Marshalsaid about the Vietnam war that ‘’ and American senator Edward Kennedy had said ‘’. From this we can see that the lesson the American imperialists learnt from the Vietnam War was to carry on low intensity conflict, implementing it through the.....regime which is dependent on them and removing the uniform of the world police but continuing that role.

From the hundreds of counter-revolutionary wars fought like a trend between 1945 and Vietnam revolution the imperialists had learnt many lessons. The Vietnam War is a big shock to the American imperialists who were dominating the world. That is why they had resolved to formulate the cruelest strategy named LIC to face the revolutionary wars.

d). From the restoration of capitalism in China to the present

Within a year of the end of Vietnam War Chairman Mao had died and the capitalist roaders came to power immediately in China. The only World Socialist Base ceased to exist. The World Socialist revolution had taken a step back. It had a negative impact on the revolutionary wars fought all over the world.

The contention between the two super powers reached a peak with the Cold War. The imperialist countries were not only divided between the two super powers but the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the super powers also increased. As part of their scheme for global hegemony the super powers incited local wars and benefited by selling their weapons to them. The world political situation became the most crises ridden. The situation had changed to such an extent that there was an apprehension of Third World in the air.

The Soviet social imperialists carried on aggressive wars with expansionist motives. Like the American imperialists in Vietnam the Soviet social imperialists had occupied Afghanistan. They attacked Chechenya and occupied it. Ultimately these wars became the main reason for the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

The LPG policies implemented in the name of New Economic Policy in the 1980s had surrounded all third world countries by 2000. Never since the birth of imperialism had they such an opportunity for the ‘great pillage’ of the markets and natural resources of various countries as now. This became the highest form of neo colonial exploitation.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union it lost its super power status and America retained its status as the sole super power leading to a uni-polar world. The American imperialists with nothing to hold them back are resorting to brutal wars to retain their hegemony over the world. Since they had manufactured very modern weapons as part of the arms race between the super powers during the Cold War, they are attacking countries which opposed them with the aim of destroying them completely. This is a new trend in the manner of war of the imperialists.

In the 1990s they attacked Iraq and defeated it within few days. After 9/11 they rained bombs on Afghanistan, toppled the Taliban regime and installed the puppet regime of Hamid Karjai. In 2003 they attacked Iraq, installed a puppet regime after toppling Saddam Hussain and are exploiting the oil resources there. On the other hand it is threatening that it will attack Iran.

The resistance wars in Iraq and Afghanistan against the American imperialists are reminding the Vietnam War. The economic crisis due to these wars has gradually turned into a world wide crisis. Already economists are alluding to the great depression of 1930. The imperialists who had already calculated that the twenty first century would be a century of revolutions are preparing themselves to face them. For that they have reviewed the experiences gained till the Vietnam war and formulated a new counter-revolutionary war strategy already by the 1980s. They are implementing it and by appending new experiences gained they are consolidating it further. This is the LIC strategy.

III. What is LIC

This is a low intensive or low conflict war strategy. It is the most cruel counter-revolutionary war strategy formulated by the American imperialists for hegemony of the world. There is decades old blood soaked history of American imperialists behind the development of the strategy to this level. From Philippines at the beginning of the 20th century to Nicaragua in the 1930s it conducted counter-revolutionary wars in the third world countries. In 1946, counter-revolutionary war strategy was implemented in the name of ‘Truman theory’ in Greece.

In the Second World War the war operations conducted in the rear area of the enemy in the name of ‘Special Operations’ were reorganized under the National Security Act in 1947 and brought under CIA supervision. In later years CIA conducted many paramilitary actions in Europe, Middle East, South Asia and Latin American countries. When Eisenhower was the president of United States he toppled National Governments in Iran and Guatemala. Though the American imperialists followed the strategy of ‘massive retaliation’ between 1952 and 1960 they could not prevent revolutions in Vietnam, Algeria and Cuba and other third world countries.

America which was mainly depending on the conventional war strategy to stop Soviet Union, decided to view the nationality struggles carried on in the form of politico-military struggles on par with the conventional wars. The then President of US Kennedy had put the seal on the National Security Action Memorandum No. 124. As a result the number of Special Forces in the army was increased hugely and trained in counter- revolutionary war. A committee was formed to co-ordinate between foreign ministry, defense ministry, CIA and political, economical and psychological operations departments. The American counter-

revolutionary war strategy was first put to field test in Indo-China. Keeping in view the negative results in Vietnam, Gen. Maxwell Taylor has written in a secret report to McNamara in 1964 that, ‘ ..’

The Vietnam War posed a big challenge for the American imperialists. At one stage they mobilized about 5 lakhs American soldiers to get results at any cost. But with body-bags returning to America every day the anti Vietnam War movement in America intensified. Finally the American troops had to return back after a crushing defeat in 1975. Due to anger of the people and anti-war movement, changes were made in the laws that the President cannot declare war on other countries without the permission of the Congress and that even CIA should be brought under the supervision of the Congress. The budget of the Special Operation Forces under Pentagon was reduced. The para-military actions of CIA were stopped. The discussion on the counter-revolutionary war strategy was stopped and concentration on conventional war strategy in Europe began.

From the 1980s again the discussion and study on counter-revolutionary wars began in a high pitch. Suggestions were given that if they wanted to win the third world war then they should completely change the strategy and tactics employed to suppress the revolutionary wars in the third world countries by America.

In the conference conducted by the National Defense University at Port Mc Nair in 1983 on ‘Special Actions in American Strategy’ they concluded that, ‘ ..’

But still fears of Vietnam War were high among the Americans. There was immense hostility against old style intrusion methods. As part of winning the ‘hearts and minds’ of the American people first, LIC was formulated with the main plank of getting support from the lower echelons to the political campaign. They followed the principle that if ‘you win in the war of ideas you can win anywhere’. After Reagan became the President they got lot of support to formulate LIC and the process accelerated.

The ideologue of LIC.....said inReview that, “ ..”. From this we can gauge how the cruel the LIC is going to be.

In order to destroy the revolutionary wars in the third world countries America got ready to change the structure of National Security, to re-think and to arm it more. The first low intensity warfare conference was inaugurated by Defense minister Weinberger in 1986 in Port Leslie J. Mc Nair in Washington. In the same month Centre for Low Intensity Conflict belonging to army/air force was formed. The Joint Low Intensity Conflict Project formed in 1986 prepared a final report of thousand pages in two volumes within one year i.e. in 1986 with concepts, strategy, guiding principles and applications of LIC theory.

To implement the LIC strategy the Reagan administration immediately increased the Special Operation Forces one hundred percent – the Green Berets in the army, SEALs in the Navy and other Commando Forces. For covert operations ‘Delta Force’ led by Lieutenant colonel North under the National Security Council, 160th Army Aviation Task Force (Night Stakers) and the para military forces under CIA have been increased. Four special Light infantry divisions have been formed in 1984 itself to cater to the increasing demands of intrusion.

The LIC was institutionalized under Reagan’s rule itself. In NSC, Special Operations Unified Command and Board for Low Intensity Conflicts were formed in 1987. Similarly a special officer was appointed to advise the American President on matters relating to LIC. In the same year Reagan signed on another secret National Security Decision Directive (NSDD). This contains guidelines for LIC unified national strategy. Thus the American imperialists developed the LIC theoretically and organizationally.

i). What is meant by LIC?

In the final report of the Joint Low Intensity Conflict Project LIC was defined. In Physics when a ray of light is sent through a spectrum it splits into the colors VIBYOR and also into the invisible infra-red and ultra-violet rays. Similarly the Pentagon formulated a ‘spectrum of conflicts’ to analyze all wars. According to that, in lieu of the forces used and the violence there are three kinds of war.

High Intensity Conflicts

Medium Intensity Conflicts

Low Intensity Conflicts

High Intensity Conflicts: When a war breaks out all over the world or many countries in an area get involved it is called High Intensity Conflict. The First and Second World Wars come under this. In the High Intensity Conflicts conventional warfare is followed and nuclear weapons are also used.

Medium Intensity Conflicts: When war breaks between two countries or between countries in a area and if it is conventional warfare without use of nuclear weapons then it is called Medium Intensity Conflict. E.g. the war between Iran and Iraq.

Low Intensity Conflicts: All kinds of non-conventional wars like guerilla war, revolutionary wars, nationality liberation struggles, counter-insurgency, war on terrorists, wars on drug mafia etc.

Pentagon did not make this division based just on the level of violence used. This division was made broadly to know in what environment the war is being fought and what different civil, military action processes should be used in that kind of environment.

Some people are arguing that counter-revolutionary wars should not be known as LIC. It may be LIC to the intruders but to those fighting resistance wars they are full scale wars. When all resources of the country are diverted to it and a huge population participates in it, how it can be low intensity conflict for them, they argue. Similarly the war which started as low intensity conflict can immediately transform into medium intensity or high intensity conflict. This is highly possible in the Persian Gulf region. The American analysts feel that since modern high tech conventional weapons are easily available LIC can turn into medium conflicts immediately.

But military analysts are saying that though LIC is claimed to be a war of all seasons, in essence it is counter-revolutionary theory.

ii). How do we understand LIC?

LIC is a war strategy formulated as part of the American imperialist scheme for world hegemony. It starts with counter-revolutionary war and takes up various political and military actions. They can be either overt actions or covert actions. For the American rulers and other war planners, LIC is not just a special kind of warfare. It is not just diverting all military sources of America to wipe out the revolutionary wars in the third world countries but deploying forces with more determination in this big war.

The basis for LIC is counter- revolutionary war strategy. After the experiences of Cuba revolution and South Vietnam in 1960s, the economic aid, psychological war and security operations formulated for South America were added to the counter-revolutionary war strategy and LIC was formulated.

“The reasons” says the American military Secretary John So waging ‘low level total war’ with economic, diplomatic, psychological operations and threats is its meaning. It should be understood as a total war on the social base of a country. Though they had written in LIC that only the puppet government armies should be deployed primarily and the necessary military, technical help, training in new methods of warfare and co-operation should be given and team of war advisors should be formed, we should not forget it will directly resort to the severest attacks if necessary.

Implementing LIC strategy is like a juggler juggling with four balls. The military ball should be tossed first. Then immediately one after the other the social, economic and political balls should be tossed. Once the balls are in the air all of them will have the same significance. The performance is a success only when all four of them are tossed with the same concentration. One has to do the same in LIC.

The aim of the imperialists is not to occupy the land in the semi colonies through LIC. Suppressing the revolutionary movements there, gradually winning the hearts and minds of the people with reforms all the while hiding behind the backs of the local puppet regimes is their aim. If the imperialists are not to be in danger, then they have to suppress all the class and nationality wars – this is their aim. They are ready to go to any length to do this.

The bourgeois and landlord classes of the backward countries who kowtow to the imperialists make changes in the state machinery in accordance with the LIC strategy. Though the features in the LIC strategy are mainly for the sake of American imperialists, most of them are applied by the rulers of the countries where LIC is being implemented according to their circumstances. The imperialists guide them in conducting war.

Crushing all the just wars conducted all over the world – the nationality liberation struggles, revolutionary struggles, resistance struggles – brutally by the imperialists is the aim of LIC strategy. So we can describe LIC as the cruelest counter-revolutionary war strategy of the imperialists.

IV. LIC Strategy

LIC is the political, military war strategy formulated by the imperialists especially the American imperialists to suppress brutally all just wars in the world i.e the nationality liberation wars and the revolutionary wars. This is the strategy of an unjust war. This is the cruelest counter-revolutionary war strategy.

Since this is a strategy designed for the global hegemony of American imperialists it helps in protecting their interests. Similarly it ultimately helps in continuing the exploitation and oppression of the imperialists as its principles are used by other imperialist countries and the ruling classes of third world countries.

The American imperialists have written a LIC manual to give an understanding of LIC to its military and para military forces, administration and for the military and para military forces of the exploiting classes in other countries and their administrations and to conduct the operations properly. They are making additions to it with the experiences gained time and again. There is a lot of difference between the manuals of 1981 and 1996. Whatever may be the differences we can never understand the LIC strategy fully just by studying the manuals. Because the imperialists have not written their actual aims and real strategies in them. Some are written but they are either partial or misleading. For e.g. they wrote that the reason for the start of revolution in a country should be analyzed i.e. whether it is imperialism, aggression, exploitation or oppression and that it should be solved. Does this mean that the imperialists would end imperialism? Will the exploiters put an end to exploitation? Will the aggressor wage war on aggression? So it is clear that whatever analysis they make is to formulate plans as to what reforms are to be taken up to mislead the people according to the severity of the problems.

Even saying that they should follow the principles of International law is equally ridiculous! It is like the devils reciting Vedas. These principles were written to protect from the imperialists. But no other country else had violated them like the imperialists. According to which principle of International law was the Abu Ghraib jail built? The many secret jails and concentration camps run by CIA were built according to which principles of International law? Though millions people all over the world had opposed why did the US attack Iraq? If we go on writing the list would fill a whole volume.

So LIC strategy cannot be understood by the LIC manuals alone. We will understand it when we look at the exploitation and oppression of the world by the imperialists. We will understand it when we look at their aggressive wars, intrusion policies and counter-revolutionary wars. We will understand it when we look at the political, economic and military operations (steps?) it is following to implement the LPG policies. In essence we will be able to understand the LIC strategy clearly only by understanding imperialism.

The social, economic, political and military conditions of any two countries in the world are not the same. Every country has its own peculiarities. Similarly even in one country the conditions are different in different regions. So the exploiting classes in those countries decide how to implement the LIC strategy according to the total conditions in their countries under the guidance of the imperialists. They apply the general principles of LIC according to the concrete conditions there. So we need not discuss the strategy and tactics of LIC just in the order written in the American LIC manual. We have to examine the general principles of LIC with Marxist viewpoint. In opposition to it we have to formulate the revolutionary war strategy and tactics.

i). LIC strategy

Aim of LIC: Defeating the just wars and winning the unjust wars of the imperialists. Stabilizing the political rule of the imperialists.

Since it is a strategy formulated in opposition to the people's war strategy the main features in it are as follows:

- 1. Conducting military, social, economic, political and psychological wars in co-ordination**
- 2. Winning the hearts and minds of the people.**
- 3. Using intelligence as a strategic weapon**
- 4. Special Forces**

In any war the victory is ultimately decided by the strategic strength in that war. That is why people's wars start with nothing and by gaining one thing after another, finally win the war. Imperialists start war with all paraphernalia. They lose everything one after another and finally lose the war.

When is this possible? We have to understand thoroughly the proletarian war strategy of people's war and implement it. For that we have to analyze the social system properly. We must be able to recognize the class nature of the enemy. We have to find out what strategy the enemy is developing to oppose the proletarian ideological, political and organizational line. We have to continuously study that strategy and deploy our forces accordingly. Only then can we implement the people's war strategy.

We cannot advance the class struggle even one step if we just know the general principles. We have to apply the principles to the real life conditions. Not just that. To realize these guiding principles we have to build some concrete methods and structures necessary. If the politics we have stood by and the aims we have proclaimed in our writings and speeches can be converted into practice through strong structures and proletarian will of steel we can get excellent results.

We have to monitor at the right time how the enemy is applying every point in the LIC strategy to the concrete conditions and analyze their impact deeply and then formulate the strategy in opposition to it to defeat them. The revolutionary movement would suffer serious losses if vigilance is lost here. It could be temporarily defeated too.

For e.g. let's take the matter of 'winning the hearts and minds' of the people. In fact, the exploiting classes can never win the hearts and minds of the whole or the majority of the population. It would be possible only if they give up exploitation and oppression. So whose hearts do they want to win? They want to serve the economic, political and social interests of a section of the population

and use them as the social base to stabilize their exploitation and oppression. If this is not observed at the right time and dealt with, the imperialists can take the contradictions between people to a high degree and can even provoke a civil war. If we are alert we can make the people fight against the imperialists in a united manner. The imperialists and the exploiting classes are the donkeys in the story 'Donkey in a tiger's skin'. People would know that it is not a tiger only when it is beaten with a stick. If we do not beat it would continue masquerading as a tiger for a long time and create terror.

ii). LIC tactics:

Since the imperialists and the comprador rulers who are their lackeys enter the war with all paraphernalia they are strong tactically. That is why Com. Mao taught us that the imperialists are paper tigers strategically but should be viewed as real tigers tactically. Since particular tactics are formulated according to the particular conditions we are mentioning only a few general tactics here. It would be easier to study if they are divided as follows:

1. **Political Tactics**
2. **Organizational Tactics**
3. **Military Tactics**

1. Political Tactics:

There are many kinds of tactics in this starting from ideological attacks to erecting opposing political movements etc.

Ideological attacks

Bad propaganda

Breaking the unity of the people

Consolidating the administrative mechanism

Enacting black laws, preparing the judiciary

Bringing unity between various political parties (unity between the ruling classes)

In the cultural sphere

Ideological attacks: Propagating that Marxism is outdated and capitalism is permanent, flattering the nationality movements for their unity etc are there in this.

Bad propaganda: Launching a huge mud slinging campaign against the revolutionaries using the electronic and print media in their control. They are given various names like, terrorists,,, bandits etc. They exaggerate their own activities and development programmes and propagate them widely.

Breaking the unity of the people: The unity of the people is broken using various methods. They divide the people from the village level to the country level using matters of nationality, caste, class and religion. They make the persons who benefited from their 'reforms' to stand against the total interests of the people. They increase the contradictions between the people to the level of antagonism and make them kill each other.

Consolidating the state mechanism through administrative reforms: A weak state mechanism cannot implement the LIC strategy. To implement the reforms, to have a hold on the people, to face revolutionary propaganda and organization they need a mechanism. So consolidating the state mechanism before implementing LIC strategy is a must for the imperialists.

Enacting black laws, preparing the judiciary: Stopping revolutionary propaganda by enacting draconian repressive laws, controlling the sympathizers and the activists of mass organizations with these laws. Similarly the judges also take the side of the LIC and give severe punishments to the revolutionaries, they are molded to give judgments which are favorable to the exploiting classes. Forming fast track courts in contradiction to the normal judicial procedure and giving punishments quickly, carrying on secret trials instead of trials in open court rooms.

Trying for unity between the ruling classes: Though the ruling classes clash to the point of killing in other issues, they should speak and act the same in the matter of revolutionary movements. The imperialists try to bring such unity among the ruling classes in all ways possible. Whenever a big incident happens we know the political parties of the ruling classes give a statement to the effect 'we must react to this by rising above politics'.

In the cultural sphere: Abusing all resources to develop the bourgeois culture and to destruct the revolutionary culture and values.

There are LIC tactics other than the ones mentioned above, in many matters. The ones mentioned here are implemented in almost all countries generally.

2. Organizational Tactics:

For the implementation of any strategy we need necessary structures. Without structures the strategy remains on paper. Right from the highest policy making bodies at the top to the lower level, policies can only be implemented if there are particular structures for them. Usually the following organizational changes are made.

The LIC policy making body

The structure to implement LIC tactics

Coordinating structures

Special budgets in the name of development and organization

Secret budgets.

The LIC policy making body: In America this consists of the American President, defense minister (Secretary), foreign minister (Secretary) and a special officer allocated for LIC. It is part of the LIC strategy that the LIC policy making bodies should be under the state executive. In our country the Prime Minister at the central level and the state chief ministers at the state level lead these bodies.

The structure to implement LIC tactics: In implementing the LIC tactics the responsibility of the intelligence agencies remains primary. Instead of the general military intelligence, it is thought a special intelligence formed from the police department would be most effective for this and this is implemented in all countries. Special departments for LIC are formed in military and central intelligence.

Bureaucrats head these structures. They are given utmost freedom in taking decisions and implementing them. Officers from military, para military and Special Forces are its members.

Coordinating structures: Various structures for coordination are formed at all places like between various departments, between various levels of structures in one department, between various organizations in the country and imperialist organizations.

Most importantly the coordination committees formed for coordination between various intelligence agencies inside the country. Similarly coordination committees between the intelligence agencies of the country and the intelligence agencies of imperialist countries. Similarly coordination between intelligence and Special Forces. There are structures to coordinate between various departments like administration, judiciary, intelligence and operational forces etc which are participating in the LIC.

In countries having federal structure the coordination between the centre and state governments has great significance. When various governments are ruling the different states the problem becomes even more serious, so LIC is implemented effectively by forming coordinating committees.

Special budgets in the name of organization and development: Special budgets are allotted for organization and development. The budgets allotted for social welfare are diverted for this. Transport and communications and other infra structures are built up with a long term plan on a large scale for LIC.

Secret budgets: For expenditure on covert actions necessary in LIC operations, buying weapons and for other expenditure not approved by the Law money is spent from this secret budget. Sometimes the secret budgets are many times larger than the budgets allocated legally. The main reason for this is absence of any kind of supervision of the executive (parliament) or the judiciary on it.

3. Military Tactics:

Military tactics are mainly of two kinds

Overt operations

Covert operations

Overt operations:

The following are there in the overt military operations.

1. Formation of Special Forces and their training
2. Modern weapons
3. Fortification
4. Operations to isolate the guerillas from the people
5. Joint operations
6. Mop Up operations
7. Operations preventing re-entry (of guerillas)

Formation of Special Forces and their training: Selected persons from various departments of the police, para military and the army are given special training and formed into Special Forces. The training is given according to the terrain in which they would be fighting, i.e. forest area, mountain area, snow-clad area etc. Anti revolutionary ideology is inculcated as part of the training. The training is contrary to the conventional war methods. They are taught about guerilla war, guerilla tactics and the structures of guerilla forces and are given the understanding to 'fight a guerilla like a guerilla'.

Modern weapons: Many of the modern weapons used in conventional war are not useful in LIC. Tanks, heavy machine guns, heavy artillery and war planes and many such are not useful in the war against the guerillas. For speed in movements, speed in firing, for making ambushes and short surprise raids light automatic weapons, area weapons, LMG, grenade launchers and rocket launchers are mainly used. For transporting troops they use armored vehicles (bullet proof and mine proof vehicles) where possible and air support in other places. In the war against guerillas air support is mainly for logistical support. Where there are camps and larger formations they try to destroy with air raids.

It is a principle that you should not attack the guerilla bases without establishing your own bases. So they make fortification in the areas under their control and provide the necessary defense for themselves. They make the necessary arrangements to retaliate an attack by the guerillas. According to the condition of weapons with the guerillas and the intensity of the war, changes are made in this fortification. The fortification made when the guerillas have light weapons is not adequate when they have artillery. Likewise the fortification when they are attacking as small units is inadequate when they attack in the formation of a battalion in the manner of mobile war.

Operations isolating the guerillas from the people: The imperialists who realized that the strength of the guerillas lies in their ties with the people try to take up operations which drain the sea to catch the fish. In the name of strategic hamlets the stronghold villages and hamlets of the guerillas are vacated and big, big settlements are established and then they try to keep them under their control. They try to stop people from helping the guerillas by terrorizing them through massacres, severe repression and oppression. For this purpose they take up combing operations on a wide scale. This creates hurdles for the guerillas in keeping their connections live with the people and in continuing their activities.

Joint operations: Joint operations are conducted by the police, para military, Special Forces and military forces. The forces of various states also carry out joint operations. In the areas of international borders forces of various countries conduct joint operations.

Mop up operations: With proper intelligence they either destroy the guerilla forces in that area or make them retreat temporarily from that area and destroy the local party organizations. Though the guerillas retreat temporarily from an area or face losses, the guerilla war can again intensify immediately if the local party organization, mass organizations and people's power organs are intact among the people. So these operations are taken up with the aim of totally wiping out.

Operations preventing re entry: When a strong guerilla area is damaged temporarily, the area is not only wiped out completely but operations are taken up so that the guerillas cannot re-enter the area in any manner. Such operations are part of this. Apart from turning a section of people towards them with intensifying reforms, establishing a strong intelligence structure among the people is the main feature in this.

Covert operations:

In LIC Covert operations are carried out from the beginning to the end. But there are differences in their forms and intensity. The general forms of covert operations are the following.

- 1. Forming killer gangs**
- 2. Forming black gangs**
- 3. Infiltration**
- 4. Forming counter-revolutionary guerilla squads**

Forming killer gangs: Generally these belong to the special intelligence department. Their main job is to catch the leadership and kill them after severe torture to get secrets from them. They arrest the leadership and cadres and make them disappear (turn them into missing cases). They kill ordinary people and even stoop to the level of conducting terrorist operations and putting the blame on revolutionaries. All their activities are conducted in utter secrecy. These squads do not have a geographical area of operation and conduct their murderous activities anywhere. The killer gangs of CIA and Mossad have resorted to political killings and assassinations in many countries.

Black gangs: Generally these are formed with ex guerillas, ex guerillas and police killers or with lumpen forces and criminals. They murder the revolutionary sympathizers, various persons who are outside the revolution and empathize with the revolutionary movement while working in various organizations, the leaders of civil and democratic rights organizations, party activists, leaders and cadres of revolutionary mass organizations and create terror among the revolutionary people and try to stop the open activities. Such is their main responsibility. All these gangs work under the strict control of special intelligence. The special intelligence expends funds from its secret funds for the upkeep of these gangs, for the weapons and training necessary for them.

Infiltration: There is no other thing as infiltration to get inside information from the enemy's ranks. That is why the enemy tries to infiltrate his agents into party, mass organizations, people's power organs and people's army. Sending agents from outside is one method, converting those already inside into traitors is another. While some of these are utilized to collect information and send, some others are used to develop a network of traitors while remaining in the party structures and to raise political crises inside the party. Even some more are converted in the most treacherous way to kill the party leadership. We have the habit of calling only these as coverts. In fact covert operations are of many kinds. Killing is one of them.

Formation of counter-revolutionary guerilla squads: American imperialists formed a guerilla army called 'Contras' to topple the government in Guatemala. The American imperialists called this shameless act as support to the revolutionary wars. Such experiments were carried on in Vietnam and Malaya. In Algeria the French imperialists formed a counter-revolutionary army called F force and it inflicted serious losses to the revolutionary movement there.

The Salwa Judum formed in Chattisgarh is also one of this kind. If they have proper leadership and political support they are run as independent counter-guerilla armies. If that is not the case then its soldiers are taken into police and Special Forces.

V. Development of Counter-Revolutionary War in India

A. Counter-Insurgency Warfare of British imperialists in India

Prior to the occupation of British Imperialists, India was a feudal society. It had many princely states and many independent and semi-independent states like Mughal kingdom, Bengal, Awadh, Hyderabad, Maratha etc. It was the time when many industries were developing. Though agriculture used to be the primary occupation for majority people, many luxurious goods were also produced in the country. There was non-agricultural production both in rural and urban areas. With many industries like brass, copper, gold, diamond, iron & steel, zinc, mica, paper, tanning, sugar, ship building, India used to be the 'industrial workshop' for the countries around the world.

These were the conditions when British imperialists eyed at the Indian wealth. Until then England was essentially an agricultural country. British entered into India in the name of trade its 'East India Company'. The objective of this company was to earn more profits by establishing its monopoly over Indian goods and agricultural crops. There was huge demand for Indian Spices, cotton and silk clothes in Europe and England markets. They needed gold and silver for buying Indian goods. British used the gold and silver they earned by the sale of slaves in their African and American colonies. In the early stage when the British were trying to get their foothold, they adopted unfair means of taking away the goods either freely or by paying less than half prices. In some instances they paid less than 1/4th price and hit those who refused to take the money offered and forcibly taking away their goods.

East India Company was not purely traders' organization. But none of the Indian rulers either the Nawabs of Bengal or the rulers of Mughal kingdom or the feudal princely states could recognize it as the colonial organization with invasionist and expansionist desires. They thought that both the governments and the people will be benefited by the expansion of trade and commerce. After 1707, East India Company started using force and military to achieve its goals. By the end of 17th century British had defeated Portugese and Dutch. During the twenty years period between 1744-1763, there were fierce battles between British and French for the supremacy over Indian trade, wealth and territorial land. Finally French had lost their battle for supremacy.

From 1694 to till 1757 when the battle of Plassey took place, the exploitation of British was at some level and it was intensified without any limits afterwards. Britain managed to remain unchallenged for next 50 years. The amount of profits they earned from the exploitation of India was more than what they had earned from any other colonial country. India, which was agricultural as well as industrial country prior to British occupation was turned into an agricultural colony to the British Industrial capitalism. Battle of Plassey had laid foundations for the British supremacy on entire India. They amassed crores of rupees by exploiting the helpless people of Bengal. British had managed to build strong army with this exploited money.

By 1797, the strong Mughal, Maharashtra, Mysore kingdoms were weakened. Marathas who were immersed in deep infighting and internal quarrels were completely weakened. The political conditions in India at that time were conducive for the British expansionist policies. Occupying the Indian territories was easy and profitable. The industrial and trading classes in England had devised plans for further expansion of British Empire in India. Lord Wellesley had depended on three methods for achieving his political objectives. 1) Military co-operation method. 2) Direct wars. 3) Merging the kingdoms of the kings and Nawabs who had earlier defeated by them with British Empire. In this way between 1818 and 1857, British had completed the task of defeating entire India. They also defeated Sindh and Punjab. Awadh and many small princely states in Madhya radish became part of the British Empire and by 1857 British rule was completely established in India.

By 1857, the total armed forces of British India were 3,11,400. Of this 2,65,000 were Indians. All the officers were British and all the jawans were Indians. The highest position occupied by an Indian in the army was Subedar. In 1856 there were only three Indians who were getting salary of Rs 300 pm in the entire Indian army. It was impossible for the limited population of British to form strong army required to defeat a country like India. That is why they had to recruit Indians in their army. But they maintained special army with a

definite number of British people for keeping Indian jawans under control. We have to correctly analyze the important political and military factors behind the few numbered foreigners defeating, occupying and maintaining their authority over a country like India with huge population and large geographical area.

At that time India was divided into many feudal fiefdoms and there was no national consciousness in the people, in Indian soldiers, in feudal kings, in Nawabs and in the rulers of princely states. Religion, regionalism, nationality, language and caste have divided the people. That is why the soldiers recruited from Bihar and Ayodhya never thought they were committing a treason or acting against people while helping British in defeating Maharashtrians or Punjabis.

British used the jackal tricks to split the Indian feudal kings using the internal contradictions. They had defeated Mughal, Maratha, Mysore Tipu Sultan who opposed to their supremacy. The British had taken maximum advantage of the narrow mindedness and selfish attitude of Indian feudal kings who never hesitated to join hands with British against the compatriot feudal kings for short-term interests. British used the same tactics of using internal weaknesses to defeat Mughals and used Mughals in comprehensively defeating Marathas in Maratha wars that took place during the period 1803-05 and 1816-19. In the Anglo-Mysore war that took place between 1789 and 1799, British had isolated Tipu Sultan using political the same tactics (by winning over Marathas, Nizam, Tirunankur and Coorg kings to their side) and defeated him. Tipu Sultan fought with unparalleled valor, courage, patriotism and died heroically on May 4, 1799.

Without any national consciousness and because of the tradition in him to faithfully serve the masters for wages, Indian soldier had become a true 'hired soldier'. For using this weakness of Indians to their advantage British rulers paid them regular wages without any fail. It had created a feeling in them that foreign British rulers are better than the local kings. It gave British an opportunity to build very strong army with Indian people. With this British were able to continue their exploitation and oppression without any obstacles pitting Indian against Indian.

The Indian infantry under British trained in European techniques and modern weapons and canons was able to defeat the traditional armies of Indian rulers.

1). Suppression of Mass Movements:

The government of British invaders had introduced land taxescollection system to suit them in exploiting the peasantry. They enforced an English law of registering lands. They made land a commodity and determined tax on land. Farmers had to pay fixed tax whether they had crops or not. If they failed they were evicted from the land. British had created a new form of Private Property on land. With this the self-sufficient villages were shattered. Majority of the farmers had lost their lands and turned into agricultural laborers.

In 1793, the British invaders had introduced Permanent Land Revenue settlement policy in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and North Madras regions. It had created a new Zamindari Class (a new feudal class) in place of old Zamindars. British had created a new class which is faithful to them and help them in mopping up huge profits putting the peasantry to extreme exploitation and suppression. The primary objective behind creating this new zamindari class was to create feudal lords similar to England and establish their rule in the society. At the same time there was temporary zamindari system in some parts of Bengal, Bombay and Punjab.

British colonial rulers had also implemented Ryotwari system of taxescollection in majority parts of Bombay and Madras and in other regions of Bihar, Sindh, Assam. In this Ryotwari System, the farmer had property right on the land he is cultivating. The tax, which was collected at fixed rate had done more harm than good to the Indian agriculture which was primarily dependent on the monsoons which are unpredictable. As a result of this tax burden farmers were trapped in debts. Gradually their lands were slipping into the hands' of moneylenders making them land lords.

The government of British invaders had also introduced 'Malguzari System' of taxescollection in central Indian states. Under this method village officials acted as the 'Malgzars'. Only those who were faithful to British were made 'Malguzars'. This was another feudal class.

In this way the taxescollection systems introduced by the British invaders had increased the exploitation of peasantry. The taxescollection was always done by using force. The farmers were trapped in debts because of the money lenders and the agriculture of small farmers was destroyed and resulted into agricultural crisis.

The artisans who were dependent on agriculture were pushed into poverty because of the crisis in agriculture on one hand and the competition from the British goods on the other hand. The most important occupation of artisans in Indian, the handloom industry had suffered the most. With them joining the army of agricultural laborers which comprised of farmers evicted from their lands, the crisis was further deepened. The number of people who couldn't manage bare minimum was increased to lakhs. Loakhs of people were died because of famine and hunger.

The policies of British invaders had also increased pressure on feudal kings. Under the policy of military co-operation, by 1853 many princely states spreading over Seven Lakhs hectares of land comprising population of more than 5 crores had lost their friendly status to the British. They were all pushed to the mercy of British with various conditions and different forms army and defence policies. Similarly by rejecting the 'adoption system' they had forcibly annexed many independent princely states into British empire during the period 1848-54. In this way even the heads of princely states were also compelled to fight against British.

The remuneration paid to Indian soldier was very less compared to the British person of same level. The facilities and food provided to them was also inferior. They didn't have the eligibility to become Subedars. There was prohibition of using caste and religious symbols like tilak, beards, head turbans etc. British officers treated the Indian soldiers in most inhuman way. The cartridges of new Enfield Rifles introduced by British had paper coated covers with cow fat and pig fat. Sepoys had to bite them before putting them into the rifles. This had hurt the sentiments of both Hindu and Muslim soldiers. British government had hanged a young soldier Mangal Pandey on March 29, 1857 for revolting against British officers. All these culminated into a mass uprising in 1857 which is known as the first war of independence.

Because of this exploitation and oppression the discontent and hatred against the foreign rule was increased in different classes of Indian society. Peasant revolts, armed uprising of Adivasis have turned into military revolts. Lakhs of farmers, adivasis, artisans and sepoy fought heroically. All these mass uprisings have shaken the British colonial rulers. We must look into the reasons for the defeat of these uprisings and analyze how the colonial British government was able to implement their anti-people (anti-farmers and anti-advasi), anti-rebellion and anti-revolutionary policies and what are the political and military changes they had made to continue their colonial exploitation.

2). Peasant Revolts:

There were many peasant revolts against the colonial exploitation through out the country. After 1857 these revolts had become a common phenomenon.

Because of severe discontent developed in them with the new taxcollection policies introduced by the East India Company, farmers organized many revolts. In 1783, farmers had raised an armed revolt at Rangpur on a very large scale. The Sanyasis rebellion which took place in Bengal during the period 1763-1780 is also very important one. This rebellion was led by religious heads and the landlords. the sepoy returned from the army also took part in this struggle along with the farmers. The Chunar revolt (1760-1772) and also the indigo rebellion (1859-60) also occurred. Between 1872-76, in Patna and central Bengal farmers had revolted against the land rent.

In 1875, farmers organized a movement against ryotwari system in central deccan region. Mapla rebellion in Malabar, Ramoshi movement in 1826-29, Gadkari movement in 1844 also took place. In this way there were numerous peasant revolts between 1765-1900.

Adivasi Armed Revolts:

With the objective of occupying the lands in tribal areas, the British invaders had deployed the people from plains and encouraged them to grow commercial crops. They had created a new feudal class who can act as trusted British agents in the tribal areas. These landlords from plain area became instruments in the hands of British in bringing Adivasis into the ambit of colonial economy. The British acts relating to private property had destroyed Adivasi community ownership and commune living resulting in the destruction of Adivasi lives. The forest products came under British monopoly and they imposed restrictions on the usage of wood. Adivasis lost their traditional right on forest. Christian missionaries also occupied the lands in the hilly areas of Bihar, Orissa and Assam.

Adivasi tribes like Santhals, Kols, Hos, Oran Khonds, Mundas, had organized armed revolts against this exploitation, suppression and invasion. The important among them were Kutch revolt (1816-32), Santhals revolt (1836) in Hazaribagh, Singhum and Rajmahal hills, Kolis revolt (1845), Mundas and Santhals revolt under the leadership of Birsa Munda in Chotha Nagpur region (1874-1900), Santhals revolt (1855-57), Koya and Konda Reddys' revolt (1855-57) under the leadership of Dwara Bandala Ramachandraiah in the Rampachodavaram area of East Godavari district, Chenchu tribals revolt (1898) in Nallamala hills in Cuddappah, Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh, Thado Kukis revolt (1914) in Manipur, Orans revolt (1914) in Chotha Nagapur area, Daspalla Khonds revolt (1914) in Orissa, Manyam Guerrilla war (1922-24) under the leadership of Alluri Sitarama Raju, Gonds and Kolams revolt (1940-41) under the leadership of Komaram Bhim, Mythili (Malkangiri district) struggle under the leadership of Laxman naik and many more.

The Significance of the defeat of 1857 revolt:

From the feudal kings of princely states to the Indian sepoys under British to artisans, to vast peasantry and to Adivasi people had participated in the 1857 revolutionary struggle to give it a character of mass revolution. Masses had attacked both old and new Zamindars and moneylenders to express their class hatred. They destroyed promissory notes and accounting books of moneylenders. Masses had attacked the courts, Tahasil (revenue) offices, police stations set up by British and destroyed the tax records. They looted the armories and treasuries. In all these attacks masses had participated in large numbers. Of the one lakh fifty thousand people killed in the 1857 revolution, one lakh people were ordinary masses. People had boycotted the sepoys who didn't participate in the revolt.

There was complete co-operation and co-ordination among the sepoys and the Hindu-Muslims in the ordinary masses. People had shown respect for the religious beliefs of other religions. They had participated in the revolt on equal terms.

The reactionary nature of the British imperialism, their cruel anti-people behavior and their counter-revolutionary character became clearly visible in the suppression of this revolt. The hired army gangs of British had set ablaze villages after villages and massacred large number of people. They conducted public hanging to terrorize people and killed people without any trial. The intensity of the revolt is reflected in the brutal suppressive massacre carried out by the British. Even then the sepoys and the masses participated in the revolt fought heroically till the last drop of their blood.

Even though this revolt was extended to wider areas it couldn't mobilize all sections and classes of Indian society. There was no central leadership and there was no common action plan. There was no co-ordination between the struggles broke out at various places. The leadership of these struggles was united only because of their opposition to the foreign rule. They didn't think about the alternative administration after dethroning the British rule at any place. They didn't form a disciplined army against the British colonialism. India's first war of independence was lost because of the treachery of feudal classes. Many feudal kings (heads of princely states), big zamindars, big businessmen collaborated with British government for their selfish interests had sabotaged the revolt and extended active co-operation to British government in suppressing the movement. Notable among them were Scindias of Gwalior, Holkars of Indore, Nizam of Hyderabad, Jodhpur king, Nawab of Bhopal, Kashmiri kings, Ranas from Nepal and many small kings and Big zamindars. Some taluqdars who took part in the beginning had withdrawn from the movement after the British had assured them to return their estates. The big businessmen from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras had supported British as their profits were coming only from British trade and as they financial dealings with British businessmen. Many modern educated people because of their attraction towards British culture also didn't support the movement.

The heads of princely states who led the revolt like Jhansi Laxmi Bai, Maulvi Nana Saheb of Faizabad, Ayodhya Begam etc., had fought till the end showing their patriotism and sown the seeds for new national movement.

Reasons for the defeat of Peasants and Armed Adivasi Revolts:

Political: In peasant revolts, in armed adivasi revolts and in 1857 first war of Indian independence, farmers, adivasis and artisans had not developed to provide a conscious leadership on their own. In absence of concrete objective and also a revolutionary party that can understand the social evolutionary process and provide able leadership till the end, these revolts were confined to certain areas only and suffered defeats. They didn't develop into a nation wide shape and character. These revolts had fought only for re-establishing the old feudal system. Peasantry which is engaged in small scale production in backward economic system can't visualize a new society. The feudal classes who led these movements naturally didn't fulfill these tasks. The feudal lords, zamindars who led these movement had stopped the movements whenever the British had reinstated their traditional rights and returned their estates.

Many local kings like a trusted agents and parasites to the British government had spent all their energies to suppress the revolts. Using the princely states as a strong foundation and forts for the British rule had become a fundamental policy for the British. That is why British government introduced the adoption policy.

Divide and Rule: Taking advantage of the disunity among the Indian kings, by pitting one against the other British had conquered India. After that also they continued the same policy of 'Divide and Rule' and pitted people against the heads of princely states, one state against other state, adivasi people against the people from plain areas, one adivasi tribe against the other tribe, one caste against the other caste and Hindus against the Muslims.

Military: In all these revolts shortage of modern weapons, ammunition and cannons to fight effectively the British army was a serious problem. Rebels had fought with inferior and the traditional weapons used in the villages. Not able to organize in a army form, not having a central leadership to give correct commanding, control and training, not able to organize with definite objective, unity and discipline required to fight against a strong enemy, not able to fight according to correct strategy and tactics were the important reasons for the defeat of these revolts. There was no common action plan and strategy. Though guerrilla tactics were used they were confined to very small regions. They didn't properly understand the treacherous war of the enemy and its anti-people, counter revolutionary and anti-revolutionary character. British had brutally murdered the leaders of the movements through treacherous means (using coverts, hanging them without fair trial, killing in public and buying the informers). In those days when the British imperialism was controlling many countries in the world, they had complete co-operation with many Indian kings and zamindars. They had deployed extensive army, modern weapons and unlimited money to suppress the revolts. They had created separate intelligence and various types spying mechanisms to suppress the movements. They had set up huge informer network pumping money and hunted down the important leaders of the movement.

British government had praised the educated Indians who refused to take part in the 1857 revolt. However with the enlightenment from the modern education when they opposed the imperialist character of British administration and demanded the participation of Indians in the administration the British had cut down the higher education and took serious actions against the educated people.

Administrative changes after the revolts: Administration was transferred from the hands of East India company to British king. It means the power was handed over to a Secretary of Indian state and an advisory council attached to him. This had helped British industrialists, businessmen and bankers to raise their influence significantly on the Indian government. As a result of this the Indian administration had become more reactionary than the previous one.

Changes in the Army: British government had taken many steps to prevent Indian sepoys from revolting in future. Firstly they had raised the domination of British in the army. In Bengal army there were one British soldier for every two Indian soldiers. In Madras and Bombay regiments they decided maintain the ratio of two British soldiers to every five Indian soldiers. In strategic geographical and military bases they had posted only British soldiers. The key departments in the army like artillery, tanks were kept under the control of British soldiers. They removed all the opportunities for the Indians to become officers.

While recruiting into the army they maintained the religious and caste compositions. They removed the sepoys from Ayodhya, Bihar and central India as they had participated in the 1857 revolt and increased the recruitment of Sikhs, Goorkhas and Pathans who had co-operated with British in suppressing the revolt. To prevent nationalist consciousness developing in the sepoys, British rulers had encouraged the narrow out look based on nationality, religion, caste and regionalism. If one regiment is revolted they were ready with another regiment with different identity to fire against that. In this way the Indian army with its anti-people and counter revolutionary character had become a true pro-British hired armed force. Newspapers, journals and books that can raise nationalist ideas were kept away from the soldiers.

The British imperialists had projected the Indian traditional rulers as the natural leaders and praised kings, heads of princely states, zamindars and landlords and protected their rights. They handed over the lands of the farmers to zamindars.

3). Revolutionary Movement:

Counter Revolutionary and sabotaging role of comprador bourgeoisie:

British imperialism had introduced colonial economic policies in India that can serve its imperialist interests. The imperialist MNCs with 25% of share were able to control the total Indian capital and exploit the country in different forms. One should understand this. The capitalist evolution to factory production in India didn't take place in the natural course. With the introduction of colonial economy, the British imperialists had destroyed the indigenous capitalist production and technical expertise started at few places. The technology developed in England and its industry was imported here. The factory industry was shifted to India only to serve the interests of British imperialism.

The big and independent businessmen and Bankers who existed prior to colonial rule gradually weakened and a new compradors who acted as intermediary to the British came up. The marwari banias who remained as an important section in the big bourgeoisie from the British time until now are extended from Maharashtra to Assam. They served the purpose of intermediaries for selling the British goods and buying the raw material for the British at cheaper rates by exploiting the Indian masses particularly the farmers. They never questioned the British imperialism that had crushed the Indian industrial progress and pushed the people into pathetic

conditions of severe hunger, poor health and illiteracy. They never demanded for the ouster of British rule but only asked for the changes in the administration. They reminded faithful to the colonial rule and asked for more facilities and powers to the compradors, landlords and high government officials.

They by playing different roles as indigenous bankers, as government treasury, as traders, as landlords, as industrialists, as owners of mines they served faithfully the British. They all were born and developed by the British rule. They extended valuable political and economical service to them. There was some collaboration of Indian and British capital in some sectors. However the control was always in British hands. In this way, the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie acting as trusted and faithful agent to the imperialist capital always took anti-people and pro-imperialist stand. Serving the imperialism is important to it not the contradictions it had with it.

At the time of first World War (1914-19), with unbearable burden of imperialist war on the Indian masses India was like boiling pot. At the time, when the people were suffering with sky rocketed prices, scarcity essential goods, severe famine and poverty British had forcibly collected war funds and recruited people into army. The outbreak of Influenza had resulted in the death of one and half crore people. When the people were jumping into struggles with anger and hatred towards foreign rulers, the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie had entered in the government through 1919 reforms. This counter revolutionary class had cooperated with the government in brutally suppressing the struggles by eliminating the leadership and introducing draconian laws like Indian Security Act for nipping in the bud the efforts of armed revolts by some revolutionary groups.

Indian industrialists had opposed the non-cooperation movement of 1920-21 and took the side of British government. They formed an anti-non cooperation movement league for opposing the movement and to carryout propaganda against it. This comprador bourgeoisie had extended all types of help for suppressing the peasant and adivasi armed revolts, revolutionary struggles of proletariat and to bring anti-people and anti-working class laws. This class had played the role of political broker between the Indian Congress particularly Gandhi and the British government.

That is why this, the high class Indian bourgeoisie had been reactionary from the very beginning. It had amassed lot of wealth by working as intermediary and helped the colonial forces in penetrating into Indian sub-continent and their political and economical domination. On the other hand instead of fighting with the feudal class it maintained friendly relations with them. The capital for the industry primarily came from the taxes forcibly collected from the farmers by feudal forces and the Indian comprador bourgeoisie outlook is completely filled with casteism and communalism.

Prior to formation of Indian Congress and after the defeat of armed revolt of 1857-58, which is popularly known as the first war of Indian independence, patriotism had expressed in many different forms. In 1870s the economic crisis was deepened and many severe famines had struck India. More than 70 lakh people had lost their lives in these famines. People were distressed and living under unbearable conditions. Deccan revolt took place. Under these circumstances fearing that they might lead to a nationalist revolution under the leadership of educated middle class, British had asked one of their top intelligence official to form Indian National Congress. Accordingly Indian Congress was formed on December 28, 1885 in Bombay. Congress was to work as instrument in protecting the British government from the anti-British feelings brewing in the country. Congress was formed only to make the middle class from compromise with the British and prevent them from participating in the revolutionary mass struggles. They formed Congress to act as safety valve in suppressing the mass struggles growing against British.

During the first World War (1914-18), British had brought Defense of India Act for suppressing the revolutionary upsurge. Many freedom fighters and revolutionaries were imprisoned under this Act. The rightists in the Congress displayed their loyalty and declared their support to British. Because of this British had shown special affection to Congress. During the war period state governors had attended the Congress conferences in their states. In 1917, Gandhi had attended the meeting on war called by Viceroy in Delhi. Gandhi campaigned for enrollment in Gujarat. The Congress leaders who always preach non-violence acted like British military sergeants and encouraged youth to join the war. During this war more than 10 lakh Indian people were recruited into army. More than a lakh of Indian soldiers had lost their lives in different parts of the world fighting for the British.

In 1919, Rowlatt Act was introduced which allowed the British to put people in jails without any inquiry. When the people were expressing their anger through militant struggles and attacking government offices and police, Congress Party had taken up program of token protest in the name of Satyagraha to divert masses from struggles. In this way Congress Party became instrumental for unlimited British violence on people and the leadership of militant struggles. As a result brutal violence had taken place behind the curtain of nonviolence. In Jallianwala Bagh, more than 1000 people were killed by the indiscriminate firing of British police under the leadership of General Dyer. About 1200 people were killed in Punjab in different satyagraha struggles against the Rowlatt Act. In Ahmedabad, Marshal law was declared and 12 persons were killed.

In 1920-21, the mass movement was further intensified. Congress Party had take up non-cooperation movement and declared achievement of Swaraj through peaceful and legal methods as its objective. They put restriction on the movement of boycotting foreign goods and clothes. Keeping farmers and masses always away from the freedom struggle is the only objective of non-cooperation movement of Congress party. However farmers' and people's struggles came up in large scale. At Chowri Chara in Gorakhpur district when about 4 thousand rural people were returning after staging a peaceful demonstration in front of police station, police caught some farmers who were at the rear end of the group. Seeing this the masses turned back and marched towards the station. Police opened fire killing three farmers. Unable face the fury of the crowd policemen went in side the police station and bolted from inside. The angered masses set fire to the police station and the policemen inside were burnt alive. With this incident Congress Party under the leadership of Gandhi called of the non-cooperation movement. Gandhi said that he can not be part of a movement with violence incidents. Congress Party condemned the "inhuman conduct" of the people of Chowri Chara. 172 people were given capital punishment, hanged 12 persons and handed over life term for many more in this case. But there was no protest from the nonviolent Gandhi, Nehru and their Congress party. On the other hand Communist international and the proletariat parties in Europe severely condemned this brutal imperialist violence. In this way all the movements against feudalism and imperialism were watered down under the leadership of Congress.

In 1929, Congress gave a call for 'Poorna Swaraj' (complete freedom) for the first time in its conference at Lahore. In 1930 Gandhi gave a program for the boycott of foreign goods and picketing as part of his Dandi Yatra to protest Salt law. But Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed on March 1931 for calling off this agitation. Since then a new form of watering down the mass struggles using pacts through negotiations came into existence. None of the items in Gandhi-Irwin pact was implemented not even the tax on salt was removed.

Gandhi and Nehru always tried to achieve the most difficult task for the British government, that is garnering public support against the national revolutionaries (Gadar revolutionaries, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukhdev). In AICC conference Gandhi gave call to the congress organizations to carry out special propaganda against all forms of mass violence. Gandhi condemned the trends of praising the daring and courageous sacrifices of our youth fighting against the government violence. Gandhi showed utter silence on the terror unleashed by British in Bengal. Gandhi and Congress leadership issued statements from jail condemning the Chittagong, Peshawar, Sholapur revolts. They declared these revolts as the fight between the government and some Indians who don't have trust in nonviolence. They never uttered a single word against the uncountable murders carried out by military and police.

The Reforms Introduced by British:

Modern education: British imperialists had used modern education to consolidate their political foundation. For meeting the needs of clerks for their administration they had introduced slave education in India. With this education, Indian bureaucrats, collectors, Tahasildars, Judicial magistrates, factory managers, engineers, doctors and advocates were produced.

Introducing the culture of Missionaries: Christian missionaries were encouraged to serve the imperialist interests. In the name of egalitarian religion they introduced missionary culture in interior Adivasi villages. Hospitals, churches were constructed. Huge lands were allotted to these churches.

Adult Franchise: Proletariat class organized struggles demanding adult franchise. In this movement students and youth took active part. Succumbing to this demand British government had introduced adult franchise and every one above 21 years was given voting right.

Limited Self-rule: These reforms were brought in as part of buying the rightist section in the Congress party. They allowed very limited members elected indirectly into the central council and allowed more representatives in the legislative assemblies but they had very nominal powers.

Peasant and Proletariat Struggles:

The conditions of Indian working class were very contrast to the British working class. The traditional cottage industries and the occupations of artisans in India were destroyed to serve the interests of British imperialists. The cottage industries in India were not allowed to develop into modern industries as it had happened in Europe. There was a gap two to three generations between the destruction of cottage industries and establishment of modern industries. Because of this artisans who had lost their livelihood were settled in the agriculture as farm laborers and poor peasants. Most of the urban labor here had come from poor peasantry and hence they didn't have any industrial training. We can say that there were no proletariat traditions for the Indian workers in the early days and they were paid at rural level wages. Under severe conditions of property agricultural laborers have migrated in large numbers to distant places to work as laborers in mines, tea plantations and the new industries that were coming up. The modern industries had started in India during 1850-70. By 1890 about 3 lakh people were working in cotton and jute mills and 2 lakh people were working in mines. By the beginning of the first World War industrial development was extended to all sectors.

The first World War (1914-18) had created a new awakening in the working class. October revolution in Russia had a huge impact on workers. The destruction caused during the World War had resulted in the surge of proletariat struggles in Europe. These conditions in India had facilitated for building trade union movement.

During the first World War along with the industrial growth working class population was also increased. In 1920, the first All Indian Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was formed. However because its leadership from Congress party, their class character for working for British imperialists, comprador bourgeoisie and feudal classes had affected its working and policies.

Birth of Indian Communist Party:

Communist Party of India was formed on October 17, 1920 in exile in Tashkent of then Soviet Union and it was recognized by Communist International in 1921. Since then some youth with communist ideology started working for propagating socialist ideas through their writings and speeches. For nipping in the bud of this movement Kanpur conspiracy case was filed on them alleging that they were propagating Bolshevism and organizing farmers and workers against the government. Muzaffar Ahmed, S A Dange, Shaukat Usmani, Nalini Bhushan Dasgupta and others were arrested. On November 5, 1925 Workers and Peasants party was formed in Bengal. Communist Party organizations are formed under different names in various parts of the country.

In 1923, thousands of workers from 56 mills went on strike for 2 months protesting against the wage cut of 20% imposed on them. Thousands of workers from Bombay had participated in struggles and demonstrations in 1924 demanding for the representation of workers in legislative assemblies and voting rights and opposing the retrenchment in railways and against the police force against agitating workers and in the "Simon Go Back" movement in 1928. Though working class was not able to take up the leadership of political movement it had militantly participated in it. In 1928-29, the textile workers of Bombay went on general strike. Since 1927, May Day was dutifully celebrated every year.

In spite of the fact that trade union movement in India was being led by bourgeoisie leadership since its inception, the militant struggles between 1926-29 had attracted many communist revolutionaries into its leadership.

The political conditions prevailing in the country had created a necessity for the working class to have a united front. At that time AITUC had the followers of different ideology- communist, congress socialist and Royist (M N Roy). With growing struggles the membership in trade union also started increasing. From 1945, workers' strikes became widespread. In 1945 there were total 820 strikes and they became 1629 in the year 1946. There were many strikes in all the industrial centers of Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Punjab, United Provinces, Bombay and Madras provinces. For suppressing these movements organized by the working class, British government resorted to brutal acts of suppression like arrests, torture and indiscriminate firing. Many workers were martyred. The indefinite strike by Postal and Telegraph workers in July 1946 is very significant one. In 1947, Congress Party split the trade union and formed its own union.

The principle shortcomings in Proletarian Struggles:

In spite of having considerable influence and leadership in AITUC movement, Communist Party succumbed to the influence of Congress Party leadership while making policy decisions. The political line adopted by Communist Party at that time was an important obstacle in providing correct leadership to the working class.

In spite of militantly participating in many struggles, as the working class was not trained in the politics of armed struggles of seizing the political power working class was subjected to economism.

As AITUC was a joint forum for both Congress and Communist party until 1947, there were considerable limitations in practicing working class politics in it.

Even after transfer of leadership into Communist Party in 1947, because of its practicing of rightist politics in place of revolutionary politics, class compromising politics in place of class struggle politics, the working class struggles were confined to the politics of lobbying and legalist methods.

Working class had lost the consciousness to provide leadership not only for themselves but for the emancipation of oppressed people of all sections and for the change in the social system.

It had forgot the task of leading the farmers in agrarian revolution. They didn't consider the lesson from the experiences of proletariat revolutionary struggles that there can be nothing to the masses without people's army.

Role of Nationalist Revolutionaries:

There was considerable dissent was brewing in the students and youth because of the comprador politics of Congress Party in protecting the imperialist interests in the name of nonviolence at the time when British imperialists were applying brutal violence on

freedom movement. These students and youth had hoped to end the British rule through force. They decided to create conducive atmosphere for armed struggle by eliminating notorious British officials, by neutralizing the administration and by inspiring the masses through their daring acts. Important among in shaking the British imperialists were Gadar party heroes, Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, Sukhdev.

Bengal, Maharashtra, Punjab became centers for their revolutionary activities. They studied and propagated modern warfare and guerilla tactics. They were attracted to socialist ideas after the 1917 October revolution. They inspired the masses with their slogan of 'Inquilab Zindabad'. They tried to organize revolt of soldiers. To contain this revolutionary upsurge British imperialists resorted to cruel repression, built many conspiracy cases and mercilessly hanged many of them.

They lacked the scientific understanding of the laws of social development and couldn't appreciate the fact that "masses are the real history makers". As they believed that daring acts of heroes will create the history, they couldn't create base among the masses and depended on American and Germany imperialists.

Peasant Revolts and other mass struggles:

Anti imperialist struggles were not confined cities and towns but extended to remote rural areas. Farmers, students, youth, employees and a section of Indian infantry, navy and police had also took part in the anti-imperialist revolts and carried out armed revolts.

Chittagong rebellion had special importance. Chittagong rebellion was planned to create model for the people by liberating a particular region from the British imperialism. Revolutionary group under the leadership of Surya Sen had conducted this rebellion. At 10 O' clock in the night of April 18, 1930, they had simultaneously attacked and occupied police armory and associated military armory. They completely destroyed the information network. British officials sped away and a revolutionary provincial government was established under the leadership of Surya Sen. Immediately after this in another incident sepoys belonging to Garwal regiment refused to open fire on the agitating masses in Peshawar. Similarly another important incident was the revolt of workers in Sholapur of Maharashtra. British government was taken a back temporarily by this strike and re-occupied the town after 49 days only by declaring Marshal law.

In Punapra- Vayalar of Kerala farmers, fishermen and workers revolted against feudal lords. This struggle was led by Communist party activists. Military and police goons attacked the people in October 1946 killing six workers. Army surrounded the Vayalar and killed many Communist party activists. The farmers of Kayyuru revolted under the leadership of Communist party against the increased land rent. Because of suppression campaign carried out by the state villages were deserted and people had to take shelters in the forest. Four Communist party activists were hanged. Thousands of workers in Bombay went on political strike against the second World War and repression by imperialists.

Quit India movement in the larger extent was primarily a farmers, revolt. The peasantry had fought against the British imperialism using guerilla tactics and establishing parallel government in many places. In this struggle about 1600 farmers were killed in the police firing.

The revolutionary upsurge followed after the defeat of fascism in second World War through out the world also had shaken India. Unity was visible among all sections against imperialism. Naval uprising took place in 1946. Bombay as center and with the support of town population, this revolt was extended to Madras Karachi and many other places. This uprising using slogans like 'Jai Hind', 'Inquilab Zindabad', 'Long live Hindu Muslim Unity', 'Down with the British Imperialism', 'Azad Hind Fauz Zindabad', 'Release all Political prisoners', 'Recall the Indian Army Immediately from Indonesia' had shaken the British imperialism. Government had brutally suppressed this revolt killing 250 and putting thousands of people in jail.

Worli Adivasi struggle in Maharashtra was organized in 1945 by Communist Party against outside landlords, forest contractors and moneylenders. Tebagha movement in North Bengal was also led by Communist party. The communist youth activists from Calcutta went on to organize the land tenants demanding the reduction of land rent from 60% to one third. During this struggles farmers seized the crops. About 20 Santhal Adivasis were killed in the police firing at Baluru Ghat during this movement.

There was a significant change in the struggles of 1946-47. The farmers revolt in the rural areas of Bengal, Kerala and Telagana were led by the farmers organizations affiliated to Communist Party. Poor and middle class farmers, land tenants, landless farm laborers and Adivasis had participated in these movements.

Reasons for the Defeat of these Revolts:

There was no revolutionary political party with correct political and military line. Because of this there was no proper objective and independent strategy and tactics were developed to train the people in class struggle. They didn't form a secret party to face the strong enemy. As a result they couldn't coordinate the militant struggles in a planned manner.

As all the sections of masses who took part militantly in these struggles particularly, workers, peasantry, Adivasi masses, soldiers from Indian army and navy who were willing to rebel, students, youth and intellectuals were not armed to build a strong people's army, these struggles became victims of brutal suppression. Mao's teaching the people can't have any thing without the people's army was once again proved in these revolts.

There was no proper anti-imperialist united front action program to protect the people's unity and isolate the enemy and a joint leadership to lead such front. People wanted unity in the anti-imperialist struggle but there was no unity among leadership of Congress, Muslim league and Communist Party. The disunity, lack of preparedness and the weakness in leading a national struggle was proved.

In all these revolts Congress and Muslim League parties stood by the British imperialism and extended all the possible help.

Role of Communist Party of India:

Communist Party of India didn't take up the responsibility of advanced and independent and leadership of the Indian national democratic revolution. It didn't take up correct political and military line to succeed revolution in India. It wrongly analysed the different classes in India. It assessed enemies as allies and trapped into rightism. It recognized the comprador bourgeoisie as national bourgeoisie and wrongly analysed the class character of Indian bourgeoisie and adopted class collaboration in place of class struggle. It couldn't defeat Gandhism and nonviolence theory through Marxist class outlook. It couldn't formulate correct strategy and tactics for succeeding Indian democratic revolution and couldn't select correct revolutionary line which means protracted people's war. It couldn't form a secret revolutionary party, strong revolutionary people's army (Red Army) and United Front of all the forces willing to come forward to fight against a common enemy by creatively applying the proletariat revolutionary experiences of Russia and China. With this it worshipped spontaneity, confined to legalist methods and trapped into economism with a reformist outlook. It underestimated the British imperialism and left out the independent tasks of a Communist Party. As a result it couldn't develop into a strong secret party invincible to enemy and lead the war. It couldn't organize farmers, workers, rebel soldiers and oppressed masses to form a new people's army (Red Army) to defeat the modern army of the enemy. Though every revolt was taken into armed struggle adopting guerrilla tactics they were not intensified and advanced into mobile and stationary wars. As a result it couldn't plan for countering the treacherous attacks of enemy and failed in converting the potentialities and human resources emerged from the revolts into a disciplined people's army.

Because of the failure in establishing a new united people's government in places where the government of the enemy was destroyed through farmers and Adivasi revolts and failure in completing the task of seizing the political power area wise, these revolts had faced the enemy's fascist repression and the leadership was eliminated. Unable to take up the task of agrarian revolution of distributing land to poor and landless farmers on the basis of 'land to the tiller' in a planned manner, Communist party couldn't coordinate all the revolts with agrarian revolution. As a result all these revolts were isolated and couldn't attract the support of large masses.

Counter Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics of British imperialists:

British had used severe repression on one side and provided some facilities (through reforms) on the other side for suppressing and eliminating the revolutionary struggles, mass struggles and farmers and Adivasi armed revolts against the exploitation, oppression of imperialism. British government had continuously used these twin weapons depending on the situation.

They had strengthened their military and police to brutally suppress the anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary struggles and revolts. They made these forces to acquire anti-people and counter revolutionary character and brutal enough to serve the British imperialism till the end and had imposed the mentality of hired goons who can execute the orders of British government without questioning. With the same outlook they formed informer network country wide both in rural and urban areas through their Central Intelligence Bureau. They formulated suitable suppressive laws and repression methods based on the information regarding the strengths and weaknesses about the revolutionary mass struggles. They had appointed cruel police officers who are capable of creating informers, coverts and counter revolutionaries for recognizing and hunting down the rebel leadership and those who are leading the militant mass struggles. They strengthened police and administration (Tahasildars and Collectors) from villages to Delhi level. Courts and Judiciary became pro-British. British imperialists had solidly implemented their policy of 'Divide and Rule'. They created mistrust among different caste, religions, nationalities, states and Adivasi tribes and also between plain and Adivasi people. They tried every trick and created all types of rumors, used Gobbles propaganda for misleading and terrorizing people.

Repressive Laws:

From the very beginning British imperialists had used different suppressive laws and acts to put the leaders in prison without any inquiry and send them to exile. They even hanged the revolutionaries without any trial. During the first World War (1914-18) repression was intensified and Defense of India Act was introduced. Under this Act many freedom fighters and revolutionaries were imprisoned. In March 1919 Rowlatt Act was introduced. The objective of this Act was to put the leaders in jails without any trial.

Declaring “Marshal Law” and indiscriminately firing at militant mass struggles had become a regular feature. British government had used many brutal methods and anti-democratic and counter revolutionary acts like imposing military rule in the rebel areas, implicating the revolutionaries in false conspiracy cases, banning the revolutionary organization and Communist Party, banning revolutionary literature and magazines, imposing severe censorship on newspapers for suppressing the mass movements.

Repression Forms:

Firing at unarmed masses became a regular feature. Lakhs of people were subjected to arrests and torture. With an objective to demoralize the people they declared prices for the heads of rebel leaders and resorted to violent brutal oppression. They set up police camps in villages. Not a single day was passed without violence on people. State machinery behaved as if they wanted to make people habituated to daily violence.

Mopping up Actions:

Mopping up actions like brutal violence and atrocities on women, seizure of properties, burning down the villages, massacres etc., went on unlimited manner. The cruel atrocities carried out by British imperialists are no way inferior to nazi atrocities. They had done every thing from military attacks to beating the people to cruel torture to imposing collective fines on villages to seizure of lands to punishing the children for singing national songs. In this way the brutal suppression by British police went unabated. Many revolutionary and rebel leaders were hanged in jails and killed in fake encounters. Indian soldiers refused to fire on fellow Indians were trialed in military courts and given death penalty. They killed lakhs of people, leaders of farmers and adivasi revolts, revolutionaries and rebel soldiers. In this way by eliminating the politically progressive forces the reactionary British imperialists and their agents had obstructed the social development in India.

Counter Guerilla Operations:

Isolating the revolutionaries and rebels from the people and eliminating them. For this mopping up actions of complete destruction for terrorizing the people and forcing them to leave their villages so that the mass base for the rebels is destroyed, killing the militant youth even before they join the movement, putting the surrendered persons in concentration camps and forcing them to the side of state.

Using special force for eliminating the revolutionaries and rebels. They formed specially trained murderous gangs with modern weapons by British soldiers for suppressing the guerilla struggles, armed rebellions and military revolts by Indian sepoys. The special police forces like Assam rifles, Goorkha Battalions, East Coast special police, Sikh regiment, Malabar police were used to for suppressing the mass movements. They used methods like- isolating the struggle areas from the other areas and ensuring that they will not get any support from out side, taking severe actions against those who are supporting the rebels, using the pro-British forces (Landlords, zamindars, comprador bourgeoisie and their agents) in side the struggle areas, creating informer network with those who can be bought for collecting the information about the strengths and weaknesses of the movement and its leadership. They had introduced a poisonous imperialist culture of putting price on the heads of leadership and encouraging the people to sell themselves for money to act as informers and converts particularly the persons who had the confidence of the leadership into coverters either by persuading or by force.

Using all these methods and also using ultra modern weapons, the special force of British government continued suitable counter guerilla warfare in forests, plains, hilly and urban areas. They had brutally suppressed the movements by putting pressure on the revolutionaries through continuous combing, chasing and hunting them. For suppressing these revolts they had also used Navy and Air force as and when required. They had destroyed some towns and villages by bombing.

In totality, primarily the feudal class leadership had betrayed the first war of independence (1857) and subsequently comprador bourgeoisie took the leadership of democratic revolution and betrayed it. The Russian October revolution (1917) had created great enthusiasm in the oppressed masses and also a same level of disturbance in the exploiting classes. As the people became more conscious and started militant struggles, the comprador bourgeoisie betraying the mass revolts had compromised with British imperialism and feudal classes. The world wide revolutionary upsurge following the second World War had its impact in India as well. All sections of masses (students, youth, workers, farmers and adivasis) entered into militant struggles against imperialism and feudalism. Threatened by the people’s consciousness, the Congress Party (comprador bourgeoisie) had compromised with imperialism by directly betraying the national democratic revolution. As a result under condition that the economic exploitation to be continued as usual, the transfer of power had taken place on August 15, 1947. Communist Party of India, because of its rightist political line, in spite of being in mass struggles, it couldn’t take the leadership of democratic revolution and convert it into new democratic revolution.

B) Counter insurgency Warfare of Ruling classes post 1947:

i). North East:

Prior to the occupation of British imperialists the land of Naga people was extended for about 1 lakh square meters (from the present day Assam to Myanmar). British had occupied this land gradually and kept it under "Crown Colony Scheme". Even under British rule this region was kept separate from India. British had geographically divided the Naga people into two parts. One is presently in India and the other is now part of Myanmar. Even before entering into Nagaland British had brought the land belonging to Nagas in Assam and Manipur through the Treaty of Yandabo. British had used Maiti kings for bringing Naga villages under their control. In 1832, with the help of Manipur king Gambhir Singh 700 British soldiers and 800 laborers under the leadership Captains Jenkins and Pemberton had occupied Naga villages. Naga people particularly Angami Nagas had bitterly fought back this invasion. In 1833, a British official H Cordon with the help of 2000 hired 'Kuki' gangs attacked Naga villages. For the first time in 1852, some parts Naga region were formed into a sub division 'Nowgaon' and later in 1866 Naga hills district was formed. In 1938 the same district was renamed as 'Naga Hills Excluded Area'. North East people are historically, geographically and culturally separated from India. Even under British rule Naga people fought many struggles demanding a separate for and politically independent state. All the struggles of Naga people for their justifiable demand were brutally crushed by British government. The political demand of the people was crushed with military dictatorship.

On the occasion of transfer of power on 15th August, 1947 British had handed over the North Eastern region to Indian exploiting ruling classes. Questioning this illegal transfer of power North Eastern people were protesting since then. They had many rounds of peace negotiations with Indian leadership of Nehru and Gandhi for political freedom. Gandhi and Nehru had given them many false assurances but nothing was happened to North East people. Since then North Eastern people took armed struggle for the development of their nationalities and for their right for self determination. In this way for the first time during the period 1947-56, Nagas had taken up the armed guerilla struggle for their political freedom and for their right to self-determination. Later armed struggles started in 1960s in Mizoram, 1970s in Manipur and in 1980s in Assam and still are still continuing.

Naga:

Naga National Council (NNC) was formed in 1946, under the leadership of AZ Fizo and leading the struggle for liberation of Naga nationality. Indian security forces started attacking the NNC and its sympathizers and the Naga are resisting them through armed struggle. In 1955, Nehru decided to crush the movement with a full fledged military operation. Accordingly Indian army entered into Tuyensong and started attacking the Naga people and declared war on Naga people. In 1956, NNC had formed an underground government with the name Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN). They created different ministries in that government and formed Naga Federal Army(NFA). Youth in large numbers joined the movement. In Naga Youth Movement (NYM), Naga Women's Society (NWS) and other mass organizations thousands of people were enrolled. The Naga liberation struggle with its extensive mass base soon became a "little Vietnam". This guerilla war continued for 10 years until 1964.

In 1964, ceasefire agreement was signed on 6th September. However this agreement was confined to papers and was never implemented. As the ceasefire didn't yield any result Nagas restarted the armed struggle. In an ambush on August 8th 1972, Chief Minister Hokishe Sema along with his two security guards and car driver was killed. Immediately Indian government declared ban on NNC, FGN and FA and declared emergency in the state. It gave free hand to the security forces and sent them after Naga people. The situation became tough for the rebels and gradually the NNC, FGN and FA structures were destroyed and the chain of command in NNC was completely lost. There was no guidance from the leadership as a result rank and file became confused. At the same time because Bangladesh was formed with the support of Indian army, Naga revolutionaries had lost their important base and supply lines. When the Naga revolutionaries were having complete unfavourable conditions, Indian army intensified its military operations and conducted major offensive attack. They mobilized large armed forces into Nagaland reinforced and reorganized them to form a unified command. By coordinating with the state government which wants to keep Nagaland part of India, central government carried out this major offensive. Under the pressure of the prevailing condition government was able to woo a section of Naga leadership and forced them to sign an agreement in Shillong in November 1975. This was a severe setback for Naga movement and a success for the Indian government.

According to the Shillong agreement Naga people had to abide by the Indian constitution and the NNC leadership which agreed to this had surrendered their weapons to Indian government. After this there became two groups in NNC, one which accepted the Shillong agreement and another which opposed it. The group opposed to the agreement made efforts to bring the NNC into correct path and reorganize it. As their efforts didn't succeed in 1980 National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed under the leadership of Thuingaleng Muivah and Isac Chishi Swu and continuing the armed struggle for the Naga liberation with socialist objective.

According to the changes in national and international political conditions Naga nationality liberation fighters carried out their guerilla war some times at higher level and some times at lower level. China was liberated in October 1949. The Chinese Communist party under Mao leadership has supported the rightful demand of Naga people, their separation from Indian state and the Naga people's right for self determination. They recognized NNC as the organization fighting for Naga people's liberation. Chinese Communist Party with its internationalist outlook extended all kinds of support to the armed struggle of Naga people. In 1966 Federal Government of Nagaland (FGN) had sent a team of 300 Naga fighters under the leadership of its General Secretary Muvivah and federal army Brigadier Thinoselle M Keyho to China. It had created friendly relations between them. After the death of Mao Chinese Communist Party became revisionist party and betrayed all nationality struggles. After 1980s the support from China to liberation struggles of North East nationalities was completely stopped. The guerilla war in North Eastern states is now advancing on its own.

Because of the conspiracy of Indian ruling classes and the disruptive activities of its Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), NSCN was split into two groups one NSCN(IM) and the other NSCN(K). Currently both groups are having ceasefire agreement with Indian government.

Mizoram:

Mizo National Front (MNF) was formed under the leadership of Laldenga and had taken up the armed guerilla struggle for the liberation of Mizo nationality. By 1966, the struggle reached higher level. Laldenga named this armed struggle as 'Operation Jericho'. For suppressing this struggle Indian government had deployed its army for years.

MNF guerilla fighters successfully repulsed the counter insurgency operations up to 1986. However in June 1986, Laldenga signed an agreement in Delhi with Indian government. After that MNF became an open organization, participated in elections and Laldenga became Chief Minister of Mizoram in 1988 elections but lost his power in 1989 elections.

In this way as part of their counter insurgency plan Indian exploiting ruling classes wooed a section of the fighting leadership on their side and killed those who are committed for the Mizo liberation using its army and crushed the Mizo national liberation movement.

Manipur:

Guerilla war is continuing in Manipur since the formation of United Liberation Front (ULF) in 1964. Similarly another group People's Liberation Army (PLA) was also formed under the leadership of Bisheswar. In Manipur an urban guerilla force (PREPAK) is also functioning. These groups had fraternal relations with Naga and Mizo fighters.

Tripura:

Tripura Upjati Samiti (TUJS) is functioning in Tripura. Since 1979 Tripura National Volunteers (TNV) and Tripura Tribal Liberation Front (TTLF) are also working. In 1989 National Liberation Front of Tripura (TNLF) has started functioning.

Assam:

With the objective of liberating Assam from India's exploitation and creating an independent socialist Assam United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) was formed on April 7th, 1979. Between 1979-1985, a strong students movement was led by All Assam Students Union. Large number of masses took part in these movements demanding the ouster of Indian exploiting classes from Assam and stopping people migrating into Assam. ULFA organized a secret army and is continuing the armed struggle. ULFA is able to create sympathizers and allies in local police and lower level bureaucracy.

In 1990, central government gave another counter insurgency task of suppressing the ULFA and the nationality liberation movement under its leadership launching "Operation Bhajarang". This operation was continued till April 1991 elections. There was not much success for the army in the beginning of the "Operation Bhajarang" and ULFA managed to have the pre-information of the deployment of the army. On the other hand army had to suffer losses in the ambushes carried out by ULFA.

In August 1991, central and state governments launched a combined action "Operation Rhino" and carried out counter insurgency operations. In this operation they were able to force a section of ULFA to surrender.

Meghalaya: ALMA, HALC are formed in this state and are working with the support of NSCN(IM).

With the objective of protecting the imperialists interests and in contrast to the aspirations of the people of North Eastern region Indian ruling classes occupied that region since August 15, 1947 proving their expansionist desire. Geographically this region is adjoining to Myanmar, China and small nations like Bhutan and Sikkim occupation of this region has become a strategically important. China being liberated and strengthening of the aspirations of the people in this region had necessitated the Indian ruling classes to suppress the nationality movements at any cost. Rejecting the rightful demand of the people of this region, the Indian ruling classes led by Nehru, Gandhi had tried everything from wooing the leadership with money and power to brutal suppression of torturing and killing the people. The people of this region are continuing their armed struggle demanding political independence from India.

The people of Naga, Mizo, Tripura and Assam nationalities are continuing their struggle both legally and illegally, peacefully and militantly and with extensive mass base. For the liberation of their nationalities they had created secret party, army and parallel governments. With the mass support they were able to organize nationality liberation armies, intelligence, weapons and ammunition supplies and logistics. Army creation and its growth was based on the mass support. As a result nationality liberation armies were able to carry out militant and intensified war against the strong Indian army and its paramilitary forces. Instead of politically resolving the justifiable political demand of North Eastern people surpassing the British imperialists at every step, Indian ruling classes had deployed large number of army and paramilitary forces and tried to look the problem from military outlook. By intensifying the brutal repression level on one side and using the peace negotiations on the other side they hoped to put pressure on the vacillating section of the movement so that they can either become neutral or traitors and isolate the leadership committed to the nationality liberation and eliminate them. The counter insurgency operations of Indian Army, which started against Nagas in 1956 are still continuing in Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Assam.

In 1993, under the control of Union home ministry “North Eastern region security coordination cell” was formed. Chief Ministers, chief secretaries, DGPs and high ranking army officers are members of this cell. Coordinating the counter insurgency operations carrying out in all these states and implementing them is the objective this cell. This cell had particularly targeted the NSCN (IM) which has hold in the entire region and formed ‘multi-faced attack’ strategy and applied on it. The important aspects in this ‘multi-faced attack’ which is applied on all the North Eastern states are like this.

Coordinating all the intelligence agencies working in North Eastern region.

Creating a ‘Unified Command’ for all the security forces engaged in the counter insurgency operations in this area.

Establishing a common intelligence data bank in Shillong. Maintaining a hotline communication with all the capitals of North Eastern states and immediate exchange of communication and coordinating the low intensity counter insurgency operations.

Declaring the areas of intensified struggles as ‘disturbed areas’.

Declaring some fighting groups as ‘unlawful associations’.

Deploying additional army and paramilitary forces.

Providing financial assistance to the North Eastern states for modernizing and up gradation of their state police forces.

Creating Indian reserve battalions.

The responsibility for properly coordinating this multi-faced attack is with the Coordination cell mentioned above. However for its implementation and ensuring the proper usage fund provided to them and regulating them a “Special Standing Monitoring Mechanism” is also formed by the union government. The representatives from Home, Finance and Planning Commission shall be members of this committee.

Low Intensity Conflict (Counter Insurgency) Strategy implemented by Indian Ruling Classes:

North Eastern fighters (revolutionaries) are very swift and capable of completing their task speedily and efficiently. They can move with lightening speed and fight till the end and they can very rarely fall in the enemy hands. They have very committed and dedicated woman activists. These fighters are highly disciplined and well trained. They are expert in making Improvised Explosive Devices (IED). They are also experienced in using high-tech explosives. They have natural expertise to creating traps for large animals like elephant. North Eastern fighters added surprise element also to all these characters for destroying the security forces.

Since the primary bases for the North Eastern fighters were located outside the Indian borders and inside Myanmar, China, Bangladesh and Bhutan low intensity war is their characteristic. These fighters penetrate with lightening speed, finish their actions and retreat immediately. 72% of their ambushes are targeted against Indian army and paramilitary forces. They made foolproof plans and executed them with precision.

For countering the guerilla war of North East guerillas with the above features Indian army and paramilitary forces used the following tactics.

Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act and other Black Laws:

Instead of recognizing the nationality movements as the political movements, Indian ruling classes are behaving as if they can isolate the nationality fighters through military operations and either weaken them or eliminate them and through this they can completely suppress the movement. For achieving this objective and in the name of maintaining law and order Indian ruling classes are giving special powers to security forces by introducing many black laws. Assam state government had introduced "Assam Maintenance of Public Order (Autonomous Districts) Act-1953" and "Assam Disturbed Areas Act -1955". Indian central government had declared Naga Hills regions as "Disturbed Areas" in 1955 and kept this area under the army control since then. Later "Armed Forces (Special Powers) Regulation Act-1958" and "Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act-1958" were introduced. Another act specially for Nagaland "Nagaland Security Regulation Act-1962" is under implementation. In Nagaland and Manipur "Punjab Security of State Act-1953" is also under implementation. In 1972, "Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act-1958" "Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act-1958" was amended and made "Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act-1972. This draconian act is under implementation in all the North Eastern states (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalay, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura) which are known as 'seven sisters' and also in all the Union Territories in the North Eastern region. Along with these special acts, NSA, TADA and POTA are also implemented there. Brutally suppressing the civil rights using all these black laws enemy is terrorizing and discouraging the people from joining the movement.

Security forces are given the right to fire and kill the people under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act-1972. According to the provisions under this law security forces can never face any trial for any atrocity they commit. Civilians are prohibited from carrying any weapons, Foreigners and Journalists are prohibited from moving in this area. Searching and arresting without warrants, banning the political parties and mass organizations leading the nationality liberation struggles, punishing those who are joining the movement, supporting the movement and their sympathizers are some of the many powers armed forces have under this Act. Using this Act, security forces had killed thousands of activists in and youth from Adivasi tribes in Naga, Mizo, Assam, Tripura, Manipur and other states, carried out brutal atrocities on women. The naked demonstrations of Manipur mothers protesting against the atrocities of security forces on Manipur women had disturbed the civil society across the globe. Public came onto roads to show their dissent. Civil rights activists strongly condemned this act and challenged the Act in Supreme Court. But Supreme Court stuck down the petition and supported the Act. This makes the Indian Army and Paramilitary forces a true invaders of North Eastern states.

Flush Out Operations:

Indian security forces had primarily taken up "Flush Out Operations". Isolating the North East fighters (revolutionaries) from the people through patrolling, ambushing, raiding, cordon & searching and either eliminating or weakening them is the primary objective these flush out operations.

From 1956 in Nagaland and from 1960s in Mizoram Indian army and Paramilitary forces (CRPF, Assam Rifles) have taken up combined military actions. Naga and Mizo fighters with the support of the people replied them through guerilla war. Until 1967, Indian army and paramilitary forces had suffered losses. Taking lessons from it, for providing proper understanding about the geographical conditions and psychology of people and fighters and also to provide special training to the forces engaged in counter insurgency operations, Indian army opened Counter Insurgency & Jungle Warfare School (CIJWS) in 1970 in the Wairangtai in Mizoram. This village is near the border district Coochar of Assam. Since then this school is used for not only for the security forces of North Eastern states but also for selected forces from all the states are provided training every year in this school. Other countries including America are also sending forces for training. The participants in this training school are taught apart from the details of counter insurgency operations carried out in North East area, a basic course on comprehensive counter insurgency operation. The course material contains history of the insurgency area, theatre specific training, language, clothes and living style of the people of that area. Along with this field training suitable to firing in all types of geographical areas and conditions (for example quick response firing, urba shooting, pursuit, ambush, jungle lane shooting, chance encounter, mobile firing etc.). They created eleven firing ranges in the vicinity of this school.

Indian ruling classes had opened this school for providing special training in counter insurgency for suppressing the justifiable struggles of North Eastern masses. But soon the forces specially trained in this school are also used to suppress the mass struggles broke in other parts of the country like Punjab and Kashmir. The Naga, Mizo battalions deployed in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand since 2004 for suppressing the Moaist movement are also trained in this school.

In this process there are some systemic changes are taking place in the forces deployed in counter insurgency operations. As every unit is required to fulfill a greater responsibility during the counter insurgency operation even a small section of 10 members shall be headed not by Naik or equivalent level but by an officer. In place of rifles they are carrying AK 47s or Machine Carbine (modernized

sten sterlings or Kalashnekovs). For carrying out large scale destruction Mortars are also given to counter insurgency forces. They are introducing the additional facilities for detecting booby traps and mines. They are also using helicopters as and when required. For taking the photographs from the above of the targets, camps of the fighters, areas of their movement and to locate the safe landing places for their helicopters they are taking help from air force and space agencies. They are doing all these only to mercilessly eliminate the leadership and fighters of guerilla war. They are applying the principle of using a big stick even to beat a small snake.

Security forces have deployed their large forces for countering the hit and run tactics of guerilla war by small units. As they didn't get the expected result from camping for a long time in the killing ground they had learnt their lessons and started new tactics. They learned to attack with small teams. They studied the shape, nature and pattern of guerillas and identified the places they move frequently. Established intelligence work and based on this they started surprise attacks. Selecting suitable places after thoroughly studying the conditions in forest for waiting in counter ambushes, improvising their movements depending on the situation, following discipline regarding the start of firing, enemy forces had done all these for disrupting the ambushes by guerilla forces. They had used the multi-faced intensification of repression for destroying the organization structures of guerillas, their commitment to the goals and their solid decision to resist.

Principle of Minimum Force:

In the North Eastern counter insurgency operations Aircraft, Artillery, armed vehicles like tanks were never effective. When Mizo National Front (MNF) occupied its state capital Aizwal in February 1966, Indian Army used aircraft for bombing the town. It used helicopters for the deployment of forces, transportation of ammunition and other supplies and shifting the injured persons. But the conditions in a guerilla war are not favourable for using these facilities and equipments which are useful in traditional warfare. Hence in counter guerilla warfare tactics they use the principle of "minimum forces and maximum fire power" which means using small number of specially trained forces armed with automatic weapons and mortars. According to this principle they are using large forces for defense and using small and efficient teams for attacking guerillas.

For this special commando forces they are recruiting active people with less than 25 years of age. In the struggle areas of Nagaland there will be one army or paramilitary person for every eight ordinary persons. It means they are deploying exceptionally large numbers of armed and paramilitary forces than guerillas for their offense and defense.

Patrolling:

Patrolling is done continuously for finding out the areas of guerilla fighters, their bases, their targets and plans. Tracing the guerillas and eliminating and making a place unsafe for the guerillas is the primary objective of his patrolling. They are filling the guerilla areas without any gap with extensive patrolling. They are using this patrolling for taking control of important roads and key passages and for establishing and maintaining contact with their other forces.

Patrolling is also used for setting up ambushes for guerillas and closing their escape routes. Further they are chasing the guerillas forces and compelling them for confrontation and eliminating them.

Counter insurgency forces shall try to lower the intensity of guerilla war during the guerilla war phase using patrolling. Similarly they put severe pressure on guerilla forces and not allow them to have space for breathing. Patrolling is carried out in small numbers with lighter automatic weapons and move very fast. These patrolling are generally conducted in planned and coordinated areas. But they frequently change their routes to deceive guerilla forces.

Ambushes:

Counter insurgency forces are compelling the guerilla forces into war using night ambush and day ambush in a surprised manner and inflicting serious losses. It is also affecting the movement of guerillas and their supplies.

Counter insurgency forces by collecting concrete information about the movements and traveling routes of guerilla forces and eliminating them in ambushes. In this way 20 KM inside Bhutan, on Bangladesh border and on Myanmar border security forces had laid ambushes and killed many guerilla forces. On getting concrete information of guerillas visiting the villages they are ambushing them enroute. Using the weaknesses of guerilla forces and identifying the suitable town and villages raiding them and destroying them.

Raids:

Based on the intelligence information, Indian counter insurgency forces are locating the guerilla bases and raiding them. They are conducting commando raids on guerilla bases in Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh. Government of India is pressurizing the governments of Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh to cooperate with Indian counter insurgency forces and conducting combined operations and killing guerillas.

In September, 1980 after the formation of NSCN, Indian security forces, NNC group which accepted the Shillong agreement and Myanmar forces had conducted a combined attack on operational head quarters of NSCN and killed 70 guerillas. even now joint operations are being conducted on the Myanmar border. In another joint operation in Bhutan more than 300 guerillas from ULFA, KLO and Bodo fighters were killed and hundreds were arrested.

Cordon and Search Operations:

These operations are carried out after locating the guerillas. Either on getting concrete information or on suspicion counter insurgency forces swiftly cordon whether it is day or night, cover the entire escape routes and start searching. They search every place including houses, buildings and the bushes around. They will form into search teams, defense teams and reserve teams and conduct this operation in swift and alert manner. Suspecting every one and abusing them, hitting them, disappearing some of them, carrying out atrocities on women has become routine for the counter insurgency forces. When the operations are going on they set up check points and road blocks to seal the routes of escape for guerillas. They herd the people at one place and search the houses and buildings. Such operations are generally carried out for guerilla fighters, for their weapons and for their ammunition dumps. They use search teams, mine detectors and metal detectors. These operations are repeatedly carried out in an unexpected and surprised manner. counter insurgency forces conduct these operations hoping that they might get their targets one time or other.

Roadblocks and Check Points:

For controlling the movement of guerillas, their couriers and their supplies(weapons and ammunition) counter insurgency forces shall set up road blocks and check points both inside the guerilla areas and nearby towns. Check points are manned with army and paramilitary forces and regulate the movements. They check every citizen and vehicle. Either immediately after a guerilla action or for the security of VIPs moving in the area or with some concrete information about some guerilla action they carry out this operation and terrorize the people. In all the roads in North Eastern region particularly on national highways and state highways they had set up out post and check post at every step and are doing the continuous checking.

Generally roadblocks are set up in permanent manner but some times they are setting up them temporarily and in an unexpected manner. They are using the jeeps with armed jawans and other vehicles as removable roadblocks and check points. They are using the culverts, narrow roads and low lying regions which are difficult to escape for setting up roadblocks and check points. All these are creating inconvenience and fear in the people.

The counter insurgencyP carrying out by the Indian state in North Eastern region has two important aspects. One combat operations and the other increasing the development and welfare activities. However from the past experience we can add some more additional aspects.

Intelligence:

Intelligence requires the first mention. The Indian intelligence agencies collecting the information for helping the counter insurgency forces are Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), Intelligence Bureau (IB), Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau (SIB), Central Intelligence Department (CID), Military Intelligence (MI) etc. All these agencies were acting independently in the past.

For counter intelligence and for collecting the external intelligence from the border countries to North Eastern side Indian army had Liaison Units (LU) and Intelligence and Field Security Units (AFSU) in the past also. And now the Indian army had created Internal security Group (ISG). The task for this group is to ready the Indian army to face any type of situation. Additionally, other paramilitary forces BSF, CRPF and Assam Rifles had set up their own intelligence units and are continuing their intelligence operations.

Presently they are trying to coordinate all these agencies and integrate them into one common intelligence network applicable for the entire North Eastern area and bringing it under one unified command.

IB and SIBs are using every available resource and means for collecting the intelligence in counter insurgency. They are approaching those who are opposed to guerilla and those who were personally affected by guerillas offering them money and jobs and using them for intelligence. They are using all precautions for protecting their informers. Money is extensively used to tempt the people and using

them for collecting information. Tempted by the money and job offers a section of the people are coming forward to help the intelligence agencies. They are even using the contradictions with in the people to collect the intelligence.

The role of intelligence agencies in counter insurgency operations is not confined to collect the information and passing it on to counter insurgency forces. Their important objective is to split the fighting organizations and destroying them. In this way IB was able to not only split the NSCN but also tried to kill the leadership of the group committed to the movement.

Military is of unanimous opinion that all the successful counter insurgency operations are successful only because of the definite information. Indian army recognized the key role of intelligence very early and started the activities of creating sources for collecting the information about the locals and fighters. It is proved from the experience that only those who are able to collect definite information on their own and carry out fake encounters based on that information are able to succeed.

Intelligence departments are collecting the information about the following aspects:

About the party leading the armed struggle, its army, its underground parallel government, its organization structure, working methods, strengths, morale, training level, strategy adopted, tactics and expertise in these tactics, their expertise in attacking, in defense and in mobilizing additional forces, personality of leadership, resources available to them, their relationship with ordinary masses, status of their supplies and communications, level of their intelligence and counter intelligence, communication channels, the weaknesses of guerillas and their leadership, their expertise in mines and booby traps and the outside support they have. Based on these information and by summarizing and analyzing them, central government shall prepare counter strategy and tactics and monitor their proper implementation in a coordinated manner through the counter insurgency forces.

The military commander of counter insurgency operations is required to have prior information about two aspects. How the revolt started and since how long it is continuing.

Based on the general information about the morale of the people and their attitude towards government forces they decide the strategy for psychological war and decide the section of masses to be targeted. If the general and definite information indicate that the morale of guerilla forces is on the lower side then they will take up extensive combing, put them under severe pressure and compel them to surrender. They are predicting the actions of the guerillas are going to take for maintaining their morale and concentrating their efforts to foil them.

When there is no definite information they are simultaneous operations at two three places where the guerillas are likely to be present. At any time for restricting the guerilla activities and counter insurgency operations are carried out continuously, IB, SIB and other intelligence agencies are ensuring that counter insurgency forces are having general and definite information.

Psychological Warfare:

Psychological warfare is an important aspect in counter insurgency. Psychological warfare will be carried out with the objective of disrupting the guerilla war and suppressing and winning over the people supporting the guerilla war. Psychological warfare is being conducted with the objective of targeting a section of the people and winning their feelings towards counter insurgency forces by putting pressure on the people and the armed struggle of nationalities through propaganda mediums of TV, Radio, Cinema, Newspapers, leaflets and posters. By propagating that there is no benefit from the liberation of the nationalities and these struggles can never be succeeded in the people if they are trying to raise the morale of counter insurgency forces.

One special branch (IB/SB) has been created in the army and paramilitary forces for conducting this psychological warfare. Negative propaganda about the leadership of the movement and guerilla forces, issuing paper statements through surrendered and betrayers, spreading rumours etc are some of the activities. They are carrying out most vicious propaganda saying that guerillas are killing innocent people, doing atrocities on women, joining hands with drug mafia for weapons etc.

counter insurgency forces are continuously propagating that there are no problems in the North Eastern states and the armed struggles are created by our enemy countries and only misled youth are carrying weapons.

Reforms:

For splitting, weakening and then eliminating the armed struggles in North Eastern states and for misleading a section of people who are politically backward Indian government has taken up some hollow political, economical and social developmental reforms through counter insurgency forces.

With the objective of splitting and weakening the armed struggle of Naga people and for pitting Nagas against Nagas by converting some Nagas into government agents Indian government had encouraged some Naga groups and provided them some political concessions. Declaration of Naga hills and Tuensang area as autonomous areas and creation of Nagaland state etc. With the encouragement given by Indian government some civil service officials joined together and formed Naga People's Convention (NPC). Indian government made this organization to make a demand for separated state and on 1st December 1963, government of India formally announced the formation of Nagaland state. In this way Naga people were divided into four states (Nagaland, Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh). After the formation of Nagaland state serious difference rose in the Naga liberation activists. Later Indian government had encouraged Kukis (they were settled in Nagaland by British to fight Nagas), provided them weapons and other financial assistance to raise the demand for "Kuki home land". The fight between Kukis and Nagas is still continuing.

The Bodo movement in Assam is being led by National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and its military wing Bodoland Army (earlier it is known as Bodo Security Force). Central government had propped up another organization Bodo Liberation Tigers Force (BLFT) against them. RAW had provided arms and training to BLFT. In Tripura with the support of central government some Bengali armed groups are formed and are attacking the local Adivasi movements.

In 1966, the state government in Nagaland had taken up "Peace Offensive". They had allocated 113 crores for this attack. This money was used by counter insurgency forces for splitting the justifiable armed struggle and for creating informer network against this struggle.

The central government which never come forward for solving the basic problems of the people had taken up the economic reforms in North Eastern states for watering down the justifiable struggle organized with the support of the people. But it didn't give any relief to the people. Recently special economic package of Rs 13,29,891 crores is announced for implementation in North Eastern region for a period up to 2020. Though these economic activities are initially implemented by the civil administration gradually their implementation is going into the hands of army, paramilitary and police forces. The real objective of these economic reforms is to create favourable opinion about the armed forces in a section of the people, to create false impression in the middle class masses and to create a opinion that armed forces are working for the general good of the people.

For improving the image of army they had started "Operation Good Samaritan" program. This is part of the "Army Development Group (ADG)" set up in 1995. Construction of roads, school buildings and play grounds, water supply, medical camps, maintaining the fair price shops are some of the activities under this program.

Central government is wooing a vacillating section in the armed struggle fighters under the scheme of "surrender-rehabilitation". They are declaring the prices on the heads of leadership and offering that money either to the persons who help them in arresting the leadership or directly to the persons who surrender.

They are forming youth associations and organizing sports competitions, conducting anti-people durbars and cultural programs. Through all these they are trying to divert the peoples attention away from the justifiable mass struggles and attract them towards government's counter insurgency forces.

Concentration Camps:

Completely eliminating the conditions favourable for the movement of guerilla and nationality struggle fighters is the only objective of this. It means applying counter revolutionary violence on the people and forcing them to leave their villages. For isolating the guerillas from the people counter insurgency forces are carrying out cleaning and mopping up actions by organizing large massacres, forcing the people to leave their villages, vacating wide areas, burning down villages and making people refugees. They bring down the schools and churches and destroyed the crops. In totality they completely disturbed the economic conditions of Naga people. There are instances where the villages supporting guerilla fighters are burnt down more than twenty times. In this way they are dislocating the people after burning their villages and putting them in new villages. This type of dislocation is called by Indian government as "village grouping" and the area comprising such villages is called "village grouping area". This method was first used by Japan invaders in Manchuria in 1930s. Later British army used the same method when they attacked communist guerillas in Malaya and the Indian exploiting classes are now using the same method.

The objective of this method is creating "strategic villages" it means setting up new villages as camps at a place favorable to central government and counter insurgency forces. Enemy had maintained complete control over these camps. Identity cards were issued to every villager, home guards were appointed to control the movements of villagers, only one entrance was kept for the camp and security was provided surrounding the camp. With all these they managed to disrupt the contact between the people and guerillas. Between 1966-70, about 230 villages were removed and kept the people in concentration camps. 35 percent of the Mizo people were living in camps. By forcibly converting the people ideologically, politically, economically and culturally to the government side they

are describing this as “winning the people and their hearts”. The real objective is continuing the exploiting rule by turning people into slaves.

Counter Insurgency Gangs:

As part of the counter insurgency operations, they are organizing the anti-revolutionary gangs and surrendered guerilla fighters into killer gangs or licensed gangs. During 1960s they had formed killer gangs in the name of “village guards” for attacking the guerilla fighters and for terrorizing the villagers and “village volunteer forces” for fighting NNC in Manipur. For fighting NSCN in 1980s same strategy was adopted. With the consent of Indian government pro-Shillong agreement NNC group had formed a local militia with the name “People’s Militia of Nagaland (PMN)”. This militia gang along with the security forces create terror among the Naga villagers. Indian army provided money, arms, shelter in the army camps and made them to attack NSCN. These gangs also counter insurgency forces. They are using these killer gangs for attacking the people, sympathizers, mass organization activists and terrorizing the people and for splitting and weakening the movement. Similarly security forces are using these gangs as a cover to save their image. SULFA is being used in Assam for the same purpose.

The method of using the surrendered people is known as “Cat System”. Those who are surrendered to the enemy and work under disguise for the enemy are called “Cats”. ‘Cats’ are used for different activities. They are infiltrated into the organization structures of guerillas, collect the information about their strengths, secret bases, modus operandi and transfer that to security forces. They are used as ‘Spotters’ for identifying the guerillas. New “revolutionary group” is formed with renegades with personal hatred towards movement and they function as independent ‘revolutionaries’. These ‘cats’ hunt down the revolutionaries. This ‘cat system’ was extensively used in the counter insurgency operations in Punjab after 1991.

Defense actions:

counter insurgency forces are taking up the necessary defense actions for protection (including police stations, camps, mobile patrolling parties) from guerilla raids and ambushes. As part of these defense actions, forces are provided with modern weapons, bullet proof jackets, bullet proof vehicles, mine proof vehicles, VHF and other communication equipments, Night vision, GPS equipment, etc.

Defense actions for Camps and Police Stations: For protecting camps and police stations they are taking up the steps like restricting the vehicles from coming near, searching the visitors with metal detectors, setting up search lights, construction of bunkers, trenches, fortified constructions, providing two to three layers of fencing etc. In Manipur soldiers are provided with armored vehicles. In Nagaland ordinary Naga people are used as shield for the military camps. They are keeping the buses carrying people in front, back and in the middle of police convoy. Police are traveling in civil dress along with people to protect themselves from ambushes. Polices are given motorcycles to have faster movement and escape from ambushes.

And finally Indian Army, paramilitary and police forces are nothing but exploiting hired gangs with anti-people character a tradition left behind by British imperialism. Till today Indian Army, paramilitary and police forces are continuing British tradition and are trying to resolve all problems of political nature with militarily with brutal suppression. And hence they are facing the people’s hatred. Learning lesson from this experience counter insurgency forces is trying to coordinate and succeed civil administration and military actions under one policy. Similarly they are forming unified command for better coordination between the security forces (Indian army, Paramilitary and police) and also forming comprehensive political administrative plan requiring for the coordination between state governments and central government in North Eastern states.

ii). Kashmir:

From the date of transfer of power from British imperialists to Indian exploiting ruling classes until today Kashmiri people are fighting for their right of self determination and Indian army is continuing their suppression since then. From 1990s with Kashmiri people raising the level of their guerilla struggle both in quality and quantity Indian army has converted entire Kashmir into “low intensity battle field”.

As Kashmir has Pakistan on one side and China on other side, Indian exploitative ruling classes are trying to convince us that Kashmir is strategically important for India's protection from external invasion. As part of their expansionist desires and by saying that if India loses its hold on Kashmir it would be occupied either by Pakistan or by China, Indian exploitative ruling classes are trying to maintain its firm grip over Kashmir by brutally crushing the aspirations of Kashmiri people.

Indian exploitative ruling classes are continuously carrying out false propaganda that 'Kashmir problem' is created at the instigation of Pakistan and China, that this is being continued as part of Hindu-Muslim religious conflict, that Muslim fundamentalists are leading this insurgency, that Kashmiri movement is nothing but a proxy war being waged by Pakistan using Kashmiri Muslims against India and that Kashmiri people who are fighting for Azad Kashmir are the disruptionist forces of Indian national integrity.

In fact Kashmiri people are continuing their struggle demanding 'Azad Kashmir' since 1947. Immediately after the formation of India and Pakistan, the people living in Poonch on the border to Pakistan revolted for independent Kashmir. Pakistan supported their demand. But India took that issue to United Nations in January, 1948. Security Council of United Nations passed a resolution on 21st April 1948 to conduct joint plebiscite after withdrawing Indian forces and Pakistani people from the disputed area. However both countries didn't accept this resolution. After that there were two wars between the two countries in 1965 and 1971. In 1972, both countries signed Shimla agreement. Through this agreement both countries agreed to resolve their disputes bilaterally and without any international arbitration, to accept the 'Line of actual control (LOC)' at the time ceasefire agreement on December 17, 1971 as the defacto boundary line and to decide the future of Kashmir in future bilaterally between India and Pakistan. However this agreement was never implemented. During the years 1984-88, in non-inhabitant Siachen which is completely covered with snow India and Pakistan had long term conflict which is little short of full scale war.

As the fundamental aspect in the Kashmir problem, the independent Kashmir, has never featured in the agenda of expansionist Indian ruling classes, Kashmiri people had intensified their struggle. In 1965, Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) was formed and started armed guerilla struggle for independent Kashmir. But in 1989 this organization was split into three factions. In the same year Jamat -E -Islami, a political party started its military wing Hizb-ul-Mujahadeen (Hizb). JKLF and Hizb are the two largest organization waging armed struggle. Since 1947, Indian ruling classes for suppressing the justifiable struggles of Kashmiri people are using military to kill thousands of fighters and people. But Kashmiri people are fighting with this strong enemy using variety of methods. They formed into small squads and fighting in villages and towns. Sacrificing their lives one two members are forming suicide squads and attacking the enemy. In Kashmiri movement along with guerilla struggle general masses whether they are children or old people or women are coming on to roads and facing the Indian brutal army through street struggles and are exposing the conspiracies of Indian ruling classes.

The Low Intensity Conflict Strategy of Indian ruling classes in Kashmiri:

The atrocities by Indian army had sharpened the fighting spirit of Kashmiri people and their determination to fight till the last drop of their blood. Mass struggles are further extending and intensifying. Finally in January 1990, Indian government brought Kashmir under central rule and converted entire government into a battlefield. It treated Kashmiri people particularly Muslims as enemies. Army was given the task of counter insurgency. It deployed large number of army, paramilitary and police forces and specially those who are specially trained in counter insurgency operations. By March 1990 about 2 lakhs of forces were deployed in Jammu & Kashmir. As it was happened in North Eastern states, "Armed forces (Special Powers) Act, 1990 (Jammu & Kashmir) was introduced giving unlimited powers to the armed forces for torturing the people.

Indian army had modernized its infantry to increase its firepower by 10 times for the Low Intensity Conflict in Kashmir. Particularly it is modernized to carry out its operations during the nights. Every soldier was provided with high firepower weapons and high-tech surveillance instruments. Infantry was provided with 84MM Carl Gustaph Mark-2 weapons which are capable of creating light on the target and Draganov Sniper rifles for firing in that light, Aguerilla squads-30 automatic rifles and 84 MM Rocket Launchers Mark-3. It had provided thousands of hand held thermal imagers, night vision glasses and Long Range Observation Systems (LOROS). With the Long Range Observation Systems one can see upto 16 Kms in the night. Along with them infantry used the battlefield surveillance radars which are used in traditional warfare. These radars are capable of detecting a person from 15 Kms, a group from 18Kms and a helicopter f rom 25 Kms. Indian army extensively used these equipments on Kashmiri guerillas.

In the mean time under the pretext of war threat from Pakistan, Indian ruling classes are spending thousands of crores for modernizing not only its infantry but every wing including air force and navy. This is an example for the expansionist desires of Indian ruling classes.

Counter insurgency forces have adopted all the counter insurgency operations which they had implemented in North Eastern region in Kashmir. However they were more brutal in Kashmir than north east and Punjab. The objective of counter insurgency operations is brutally suppressing the fighters and the people supporting them. Political, social and developmental activities have become

secondary. Whether he is a guerilla fighters or whether sympathizer every one was branded as Pakistan agent and was hunted like an animal and brutally murdered. During the 10 years period between 1990-2000, counter insurgency forces had killed 60,000 Kashmiri people. Any one spotted at the border was killed and propagated as infiltrator. In this thousands of Kashmiri youth became victims of Indian brutal armies and there is no count for the atrocities of security forces on Kashmiri women. Atrocities on women is always used as weapon in counter insurgency operations. Because of the coverage media has given to Kashmir was more than the coverage given North Eastern and Punjab, the atrocities of ISF, crushing the human rights have come out open to the world. It is natural for the Kashmiri people to treat Indian government as enemy for the brutal acts they had done to them.

For keeping the Kashmiri people and particularly Muslim people under continuous surveillance identity cards were given to every individual. Every one compulsorily carry this card always. They created very deep and strong intelligence network and machinery in every village, every town and every street. Tempting a section of unemployed youth and lumpen gangs with many lucrative offers, appointed them as "Special Police Officer (SPO)" and used counter insurgency operations. This type of experiment of SPOs was used for the first time in Kashmir.

Indian ruling classes used Divide and rule principle as part of their counter insurgency operations. They divided the secular Kashmiri people on the basis of religion. They provoked Kashmiri pandits saying that Kashmiri Muslims are tilting in favour of Pakistan. With this a section of Kashmiri pandits has stood against struggle for independent Kashmir. As part of the conspiracy by RAW, a section among them was trained, provided with arms and formed into armed killer gangs. With the encouragement given by Indian government, they are demanding for 'home land' for Kashmiri pandits. These are all part of counter insurgency operations of splitting and weakening the independent Kashmiri movement and the people.

In the past Indian ruling classes had provided special status to Kashmir under article 370. However a section of the Indian ruling classes are demanding the abolition of this article which was never implemented in totality. Indian ruling classes, by creating a controversy on this issue are trying their best divide the people in Kashmir and rest of India.

Protecting their trusted agent India, through it maintaining their hold on South Asia and getting their interests served is the real objective of imperialists. That is why imperialism is supporting the expansionism of Indian ruling classes. As part of this strategy, they are supporting the Indian ruling classes from the time of division of India, Pakistan to until now.

iii). Punjab:

At the time transfer of power on 15th August 1947, Sikhs had demanded for the formation of new Punjabi state for the Punjabi speaking people. This aspiration in the Punjabi people was there right from 1947. They had organized large movement with this demand. Akalidal had led this movement. In 1973, Akalidal gave representation to Indian government to resolve the Punjab problem under the 'Anadpur Sahib Resolution'. Through this resolution Punjab people suggested to central government to allow the state government to function independently except the portfolios of Defense, Currency, General Communications (Roads, Rail, Aviation, Telephone, Telegraph etc.) and External affairs. Similarly for resolving the problems of the farmers in Punjab they had proposed that Punjab should get due share from the rivers flowing through it. They also proposed subsidies for the farmers and many other things. When central government rejected their demand, people entered into movement.

In 1980s, this movement was extended to entire state. People organized bandhs, dharnas and many legal struggles. As they didn't get any favourable response from the government armed struggle was started and all sections of people including students, intellectuals, farmers and workers had extensively participated. Punjabi people in different states and in other countries had supported this struggle in many ways. The Congress government at the center under the leadership of Indira Gandhi instead of solving the genuine demands of people had propagated that the demands mentioned in the Anandpur Sahib Resolution are nothing but the symbols of separatism, that all this is done with the support of external forces for destabilizing India and the activists as destabilizing elements and foreign agents. But the people particularly Sikh people had further intensified their struggle. By 1984 the struggle reached very high level.

Central government decided to militarily crush this movement using counter insurgency plan. In 1983, state government was removed and central government rule was imposed. Army officer. General R S Dayal was appointed as advisor to the Governor on security matters. Army, paramilitary and police forces were deployed in large numbers and entire state was kept in the hands of army. Indian army under the control of Lt. General R S Dayal started looking after all the internal matters of state government and established its complete control over the state government. Apart from the state police machinery, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi had given even the right to restructure the civil administration also to Gen. Dayal. Governor rule was only for namesake in reality it was army rule in Punjab. This was the first time when a state was officially handed over to army. The black law which gave unlimited powers to the security forces in North Eastern area was extended to Punjab through "Armed Forces Special Powers Act 1983 (Punjab

Chandigarh)". In addition to this in the name "Internal security in Punjab" another black law "Terrorist Activities Disruption (Prevention), Act -1985" (TADA) was also introduced

All the methods that are used in North Eastern counter insurgency operations were applied in Punjab with some degree of variance. With the objective of eliminating the fighters and their supporters, security forces (army, paramilitary and police) had murdered thousands of youth in fake encounters describing them as terrorists and militants. They were shot in front of the people. To make the villages without youth, they killed some, disappeared some and forced others to flee to different states and other countries. In this way ISF had tried to arrest the public support to the movement. Enemy had taken up 'Mopping up' actions in villages and towns. Police machinery gathered a section of rowdies, lumpens and organized them into hired killer gangs. These gangs were given A K 47 rifles and were allowed to roam freely in the name of patrolling.

In Punjab SF had applied some additional methods as part of their counter insurgency operations.

Operation Blue Star:

The important leaders of Punjab movement Jarnailsingh Bhindranwale and his followers were staying inside the Golden Temple in Amritsar. Major General Shabegh Singh who was supporting them was also with them. Major General Shabegh Singh had played an important role in "Bangladesh Liberation" war of 1971 in which Indian ruling classes fought with Pakistan to 'Liberate' East Pakistan. Later he was removed from the army. He supported the Punjab movement under the leadership of Jarnailsingh Bhindranwale. He acted as operational commander and developed it into guerilla struggle.

Indira Gandhi with a view to eliminate the leadership of Punjab people's movement and crush the Kashmir, had decided to conduct military attack on Golden Temple on 2nd June 1984. This decision was not conveyed to President Zail Singh who is constitutionally the Supreme Commander of the armed forces. Before the sunset on 5th June Golden Temple was surrounded with war tanks and thus began the "Operation Blue Star". Lieutenant General Sundarji was in-charge for this army operation. On June 5th and 6th no journalist or outsider was allowed to enter into Punjab. Golden Temple was turned into battlefield. Fierce battle was fought inside the temple. The overconfident Indian army which thought of killing all the leadership and take control of the temple in few hours had taken some days for completing the operation. The fighters in the temple had taken position on key places on four sides and gave bitter resistance to the Indian army. They were coordinated and commanded by General Shabegh Singh using wireless sets. They gave tough time to the army commandos who tried to enter through main gate. This heroic guerilla fight from build up area against very strong enemy is one of the finest example in the history of guerilla struggles.

Indian army couldn't enter into temple for some days. They were not able to bring out the neither fighters nor the people. And finally it destroyed the Golden Temple from all sides with heavy firing using artillery shells, armored vehicles and tanks. In this destruction the 400 hundred years old "Akal Takth" which is very sacred for Sikhs was also completely destroyed. The Temple area became red with blood and was filled with dead bodies. Bhindranwale and Shabegh Singh were also killed in this attack. Along with the fighters about two thousand people who were inside the temple at the time attack had lost their lives. Later central government had declared that 332 soldiers were also killed in this operation.

Indian government had decided to use minimum force in Operation Blue Star. It identified three objectives for this operation. 1) 'Flush out' the terrorists from the Golden Temple. 2) Causing minimum damage to the Temple. 3) Avoid firing on the hostel side of the temple where more people stay. But in practice non was achieved. The way they temple was surrounded and sealed from all sides by deploying armored vehicles, war tanks even before the operation was started and the destruction they caused to the temple complex including Akal Takht using tanks and artillery shells it is clearly proven that the above mentioned objectives are nothing but conspiracy. The heap of bodies inside the temple shall prove that 'Flush out' means nothing but killing the people. On the whole in front of the resistance put up by the fighters who fought without fearing the death, the Operation Blue Star which is one of the major counter insurgency operations by Indian ruling classes had suffered a defeat militarily, politically and morally.

Punjab people, particularly Sikhs couldn't tolerate the destruction of Golden Temple and killing the people inside by Indian army in Operation Blue Star. It has its impact on Indian army. There was a revolt in the army. As a result some changes were made in the army. Indian ruling classes made use of hardcore anti-Punjabi and anti-revolutionary people. This operation had exposed the drum beating of Indian ruling classes about the "Indian Nationality". The Sikh people across the country and across the globe were united. Punjab people strongly felt that they can never be part of India. The demand for self determination including the right to separate came into the people's agenda. Punjab people demanded for separate country and further sharpened their struggle.

Operation Black Thunder:

For avenging the attack on Golden Temple, fascist Indira Gandhi was killed on 31st October 1984. Immediately after the death of the dictator, at the instance of her son Rajiv Gandhi who was not even in power Sikhs were massacred through out the country. The Hindu fundamentalists in all the ruling class parties had joined together and openly massacred about 3000 Sikhs in the country. Under the direct leadership of Congress ministers and local leaders the lumpen gangs had burnt alive many Sikhs. They cut the beards of Sikhs and brutally assaulted their women. Industries, shops and businesses belonging to Sikhs were destroyed and looted. All this was happened right in front of the police and paramilitary forces. It was most serious massacre in the name religious riots after 1947. Fearing a huge backlash by the Sikh people in Punjab because of this massacre in 1985, exploitative ruling classes had introduced TADA act and implemented it brutally in Punjab. Thousands of Sikh people were killed in fake encounters and disappeared using TADA.

Naturally Sikh people fought against Indian government more seriously. Between 1984-88 many guerilla organizations were formed for demanding separate Punjab and started working actively in rural and urban areas. Getting in the information that Sikh militants are taking shelter inside Golden Temple, in May 1988 ruling classes once again prepared a counter insurgency plan for eliminating the Punjab guerillas. They named it "Operation Black Thunder". They devised "Operation Black Thunder" drawing lessons from the failures of "Operation Blue Star". They made a detailed study of the information available on Operation Blue Star, video films made at that time and the experiences. They learnt the lesson that small teams with specially trained experts are more useful in such counter insurgency operations. They also learned the lesson to provide proper training to all the armed forces for succeeding in all Low Intensity Conflicts.

Keeping in view of the experience of Operation Blue Star they didn't use army in Operation Black Thunder. They used National Security Guards (NSG) who are specially trained paramilitary force. 80% of NSG were the soldiers from army. Operation Black Thunder was carried out under the leadership of Police Chief KPS Gill, with NSGs and the police force with commando training. KPS Gill is hardcore anti-people brutal police officer. He formed many hired killer gangs and carried out brutal massacres and personally did many atrocities. This hardcore brutal officer was specially selected by Rajiv Gandhi for Operation Black Thunder.

Many preparations were made prior to Operation Black Thunder. They had rehearsals with the commandos participating in this operation. Commandos were provided with all special equipment required during the operation. If it was required to seal the attacking area for longer time and if it is required to impose curfew in the adjoining areas, they had arrangements for the continuous supply of water and food.

At the time of operation there were above 200 guerilla fighters and hundreds of ordinary people inside the temple. Enemy sealed the temple and stopped the supply of food and water into the temple. Made announcements through loud speaker for the guerilla fighters to come out raising their hands above and surrender to the police. Keeping in view of the bitter experience of killing 2000 people this time they allowed the passage of ordinary people in batches. Without water and food guerilla fighters continued their fight from inside. They didn't allow the commandos to enter inside the temple. In this fight 30 guerillas lost their lives. After resisting for seven days the remaining guerillas came out surrendered.

Even after Operation Black Thunder, the Punjab movement was not dead. guerilla fighters extended to rural areas and continued their struggles. After that for putting more pressure on guerillas counter insurgency forces had formed "Punjab Commando Force" and carried many counter insurgency operations like "Wood Rose", "Rakshak" etc. By conducting continuous patrolling and Cordon & Search operations they completely eliminated the leadership. Some of the surrendered people were rehabilitated under the surrender policy. Prises were declared on the heads of leadership. Commando Force operations were continued in Punjab, Chandigarh and Terai region of Uttar Pradesh. From the information gathered from surrendered persons, they eliminated the leadership and sympathizers. The military operations were coordinated with complete support of exploiting ruling class party leaders, civil administration and intelligence.

After some time due to lack of leadership Punjab movement was declined. However the counter insurgency operations carried out by exploiting Indian ruling classes will always remain as bitter experiences in the minds of Punjab Sikhs. None of the problems of Punjab people was resolved nor their aspirations. This fire is currently covered under ash it's potentiality to become will be there till their problems are solved.

iv). The new methods followed in North East, Kashmir and Punjab

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C) Counter Revolutionary Warfare by Indian Ruling Classes:

After the sham independence on 15th August 1947, Indian ruling classes under the leadership of Congress Party had conducted counter insurgency operations using the army for the first time from 13th September 1948 to 21st October 1951 in Telangana. For suppressing the Telangana armed struggle and restoring the reactionary feudal rule Indian army along with different types of armed police forces of 50000 were deployed in the area of 16000 Sq. Kms. In the years of 1947-48 Indian ruling classes had spent in this counter insurgency operations equivalent to the amount spent in the war with Pakistan on Kashmir problem.

i). Great Telangana Struggle:

After the death of last Mughal, Nizam formed Hyderabad state. However British – India rulers made it a principality under them and allowed Nizam to continue as its feudal lord. Hyderabad was the largest princely state under the British at that time. It had 1 crore 70 lakhs population and 17 districts. On linguistic basis it was divided into three regions- Telangana, Marathwada, Kannada. Telangana which constituted 50% is the biggest among them. Nizam had given lakhs of acres along with hereditary rights gifted to his relatives and the officials who worked like his trusted agents. He has given away complete villages. There are different names for these gifts- Paiga (Land or villages given to Muslim feudal lords), Samsthanams (lands belonging to small kings under Nizam), Jagir, Izar, Makta, Inam, Agraharam (lands given Brahmins). The owners of these lands were exploiting feudal lords. Apart from the land gifted by Nizam they used brutal force to usurp the people's lands also. They had their own tax collectors for collecting the land revenue. Deshmukhs and Deshpandes who were originally tax collectors had seized the lands of poor farmers and became the owners of lakhs of acres. The village chiefs – Patels and Patwaris also manipulated the records and developed into feudal lords. On the other hand farmers were reduced to bonded laborers.

Under the brutal rule of Nizam the socio-economic conditions of people particularly Telangana people were pathetic and they had faced worst form of feudal oppression. These exploiters had tortured people in many ways. Large share of the crops of the farmers was absorbed by them under different names- taxes, cess, excise duty etc. In a *farman* issued by Nizam banning the illegal tax collection (though it was nominal and never implemented) had list of 82 types of taxes. They used forcefully take away the cattle, goats, hens belonging to farmers. The artisans should meet the needs of feudal lords and their agents without getting paid. Dalits and agricultural laborers were supposed to work like bonded laborers. Under this kind of feudal exploitation and bonded labor the conditions of the rural people were pathetic. And the conditions of the people living towns- workers and middle class employees were no better. The wages of workers used to be Rs 10 to 15 per month. In 1943, the total annual wage bill of 4000 workers was Rs 13.63 lakhs while the annual commission of the owners' agent was Rs 7.44 lakhs. The 1500 high officials in the government offices were paid aggregate Rs 5 crores annually and the lower level employees were paid only Rs 12, Rs,16, Rs,30 and Rs 60 per month. Till the outbreak of Telangana armed struggle in 1946 the same situation was continued.

Nizam was a trusted agent for British imperialist. He had helped British imperialists in suppressing the independence struggles particularly the first war of Indian independence (1857). People had severe hatred for the brutal and autocratic rule of Nizam. Indian National Congress Party had adopted the policy of noninterference in the affairs of the princely states loyal to British imperialists. Because of this policy they never encouraged the people in these princely states to fight against their kings and Nawabs. However because of the growing anti-British national movement in the adjacent British India areas some intellectuals and bourgeoisie liberals were organized in Nizam area and had formed 'Andhra Mahasabha' in Telangana, 'Maharashtra Parishat' in Marthwada and 'Kannada Parishat' in Karnataka region. 'Andhra Mahasabha' was formed in 1928 under the leadership of Madapati Hanumantha Rao. It's first conference under the chairmanship of Suravaram Pratapa Reddy in 1930 in Jogipeta. Andhra Mahasabha had only requested for and reforms and some civil liberties and it didn't made any efforts to organize the people against the exploitative rule of Nizam. Some militant youth from the Nizam area who had actively participated and arrested in the anti-British national movement returned after release from jails had started to mobilize the people with revolutionary and democratic ideology. They tried to transform the 'Andhra Mahasabha' which started as a cultural organization of bourgeoisie liberal and reformist intellectuals in Telangana into a forum for the democratic aspirations of the people and a broad based political organization. Ravi Narayan Reddy and Baddam Yella Reddy were prominent among them.

By 1940, Andhra unit of Communist Party was able to turn many militant and progressive cadres on its side. As a result it established regular party units in Hyderabad state. With the joining of popular leaders like Ravi Narayan Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddy and others powerful party units were formed in Telangana. In 1940, 'Andhra Mahasabha' elected Ravi Narayan Reddy as its President and Baddam Yella Reddy as its Secretary. Along with them the militant and progressive forces in 'Andhra Mahasabha' had joined the Communist Party. As per the decision of the party they were able to transform 'Andhra Mahasabha' into broad based anti-Nizam United Front. 'Andhra Mahasabha' worked along with Hyderabad State Congress in supporting the growing militant struggles against Nizam. It had gone to villages and took up the issues of the people there. It demanded for the abolition of bonded labor, protection of tenancy rights, pattas for the lands, abolition of Jagirdari system, reduction of taxes and rents on lands, abolition of illegal taxes and

many others. The left which became majority in 'Andhra Mahasabha' had taken up all these issues and started people's struggles. However the rightist section and the Congress who couldn't digest because of their class character had split from 'Andhra Mahasabha' in 1944. However the mass struggles continued to intensify under the name of 'Andhra Mahasabha' till its 12th and last conference in 1945.

During the second world (1939-45), Communist Party on all India level was primarily implementing reformist policies. Hence between 1940-44, the mass struggles taken up by Communist Party dominated 'Andhra Mahasabha' were only legal struggles and not revolutionary armed struggles aimed at destroying the Nizam's rule and feudal system. After the war Central Committee had reviewed the surging people's revolts and changed its reformist policies adopted during the war period.

From 1946, farmers in the entire Telangana under the leadership of Communist Party revolted against the exploitation and atrocities of feudal lords, against the autocratic rule of Nizam and demanding land to the tiller and emancipation from exploitation. Particularly the revolt of people of Jangaon in Nalgonda against Deshmukh Visnuru Ramachandra Reddy had changed entire course of the movement. This notorious landlord along with his goons had fired on farmers and their leaders in Kadivendi village on 4th July 1946. In that firing the village mass organization leader Doddi Komuraiah was killed. The martyrdom of Doddi Komuraiah had set farmers into flames. In hundreds of villages farmers militantly organized the protests and held demonstrations in front of the houses of landlords and in the presence of their goons. They bravely faced the Nizams police, which came for the protection of zamindars. They shouted against the feudalism and autocratic rule of Nizam. It was the first time a political demand like abolition of the rule of feudal lords and Nizam came from the farmers who were so far fighting for their economic rights. It had brought a change in the character of the movement. The military aspect of armed resistance to the landlords, their goons and the Nizam police who came for their protection also came into the agenda. The hurricane of farmers' revolt which spread like wild fire after the martyrdom of Doddi Komuraiah had reached to 400 villages in Nalgonda, Warngal, Khammam districts within weeks. This movement was developed into a strong people's armed struggle. This is how the heroic Telangana armed struggle was started. Thousands of people had participated in this armed struggle for land and their emancipation. By 1947, 5000 strong people's guerilla army was formed with farm laborers, middle class farmers and some rich peasants.

This struggle was soon extended to major parts of Telangana which means 3000 villages in Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam district covering a land of 16,000 Sq. Km (one third in Telangana) with about 30 lakhs population. Village administrative committees (Grama Rajya Committees) were formed. Powerful militia with volunteer squads and Village protection squads were formed. About 10000 people were organized into village squads and 2000 people into regular guerilla squads. The Nizam's officials hated by the people had ran away. Nizam's police, army and the oppressive village officials were confined to camps and were moving out only in day time. People were liberated from oppression of landlords. People's rule was started in villages under the leadership of Grama Rajya Committees. Under the guidance of Communist Party Grama Rajya Committes distributed land, cattle and agricultural implements to the landless and poor farmers. Total 10 lakh acres of land was distributed. Food grains were also distributed. Fair wages were implemented. They abolished the bonded labor, illegal taxes and levies. The money owed to landlords was written off.

People had taken fresh breathe as a result of this struggle. They became more prepared to fight for new life. This revolutionary movement was spread to entire Telangana and its beyond. Nizam's establishment and his social basis was shaken from the foundation. In this way this anti-Nizam, anti-feudal agrarian revolt was continued to develop into liberation struggle from Nizam's rule and Telangana armed farmers struggle till the "Police Action" implemented by Indian government in September 1948.

Under these circumstances Indian ruling classes committed for protecting imperialism, comprador bourgeoisie and feudalism and with the objective of eliminating the Communist Party and the Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle continuing under its leadership deployed its army in Hyderabad state and started massive attack. For protecting the victories of struggle so far, Communist Party resisted the Indian army attack till its withdrawl of Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle on 21st October 1951.

In the great Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle that continued between 1946 to 1951, communists and the heroic masses had made innumerable sacrifices. 4000 communists and farmers' activists had laid down their lives. First Nizam and later the Indian armed forces had put more than 60000 people in jails.

Strategy and Tactics of Counter Insurgency under Nizam's Rule:

Under Nizam's rule the big jagirs, paigas, samsthanms had their own independent police, taxes and criminal justice systems. All the landlords had owned goon gangs. Jagirdars and Deshmukhs had licenced gins, rifles, cavalry and armed forces. They all stood in the forefront in suppressing the revolution from the beginning to till the end. They also provided the required information and agents to Razakars, Nizam police and military forces for their counter revolutionary attacks. They had directly participated in the attacks. They were in forefront in carrying out anti-communist and anti-movement propaganda. They had imposed restrictions on the people for joining in farmers' organization, village volunteer squads, guerilla squads, Andhra Mahasabha and in Communist Party. They threatened the people who joined the movement. They tried their best for spoiling the victories of the people, to keep people away

from the Communist and to water down the confidence of the people in the Communist. In this way they made serious efforts for protecting the feudal system.

Razakar Army:

For suppressing Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle, Nizam had created big terror by encouraging Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism. Razakar army was created under the leadership of Kasim Razvi a leader of Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslamin party with a demand of 'Azad Hyderabad'. He propagated that under Asaf Jahi rule every Muslim is a ruler and it is sacred duty of every Muslim to defend Nizam and fight against Hindus. He organized Razakars in large numbers and sent them along with Nizam army on attacks against communists in villages. Razakars, Nizam's army and the goons of Landlords had organized combined attacks on the people. Razakars with their base in towns attacked the people in villages, destroyed their property, tortured them and indulged in violence activities like burning down the houses and raping and murdering women.

Nizam's Police:

The armed police in Maharashtra, Karnataka under the Nizam's rule also assisted the armed police in Communist region. Hardcore anti-communist police officials and British officials were used for suppressing the Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle. Cavalry was also used in the suppression. These armed police were provided with rifles and guns and established in all districts and taluqs.

Nizam's Military:

For suppressing the Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle under the leadership of Communist party Nizam used all his military. They deployed thousands of forces and used rifles, sten guns and different types of machine guns. Hardcore anti-Communist army officers were specially selected. They encouraged to anti-Communist attitude and brutality in the military. They used anti-Communist and anti-guerilla strategy and tactics in suppressing the revolutionary movement. They modernized the military with exploited money from the people. Taking the help of intelligence they had created all the required structures. In this way a strong military was used for protecting a feudal dictator and thousands of military forces were deployed for suppressing a revolutionary movement.

Military Camps:

Nizam had completely handed over Nalgonda, Warangal districts to military and set up military camps in many struggle villages. There were continuous day and night military attacks on villages. Army went in batches to carry out atrocities. Camps were also set up in the villages in the adjacent districts of Mahaboobnagar, Medak, Karimnagar where the movement was strong. Razakars and armed police had daily attacked the villages and looted everything they can, raped women, burnt houses and murdered people. These military, police and Razakar camps became hells for the people.

Repression Forms:

Encircling the villages, injuring the women and men who were caught, forcefully taking them to camps, arresting mass organization leaders and activists, torturing them and killing some and putting in jails others- these are some of the various forms of repression used by Nizam. According to an estimate about 60000 people were implicated in false cases and put in jails by Nizam.

Some of those who had left mass organizations, Communist party, Andhra Mahasabha were forced to turn into counter revolutionaries and were used as CIDs in recognizing the mass organizations and party leadership.

Firing and openly killing hundreds of people became routine. As an effort to remove the hatred in the people, Nizam along with his son had toured some villages and offered compensation to the wives of the deceased. However under the leadership of Communist Party and mass organizations people had refused to accept such compensation and boycotted Nizam. Offering compensation after killing people became a character of exploiting ruling classes since then.

Nizam's son toured many villages and distributed clothes. He had taken up the propaganda campaign saying that Nawab is like father to the people and made serious efforts to keep people away from the movement and leadership.

Military attacks continued for weeks and months. Village patels, patwaris, landlords and their goons with the support of military and police had caught many leaders and tortured them to death or permanent disability.

Police used to take people along with them when they were going for searching and if they couldn't find any activists they used to beat the people they brought.

Mopping up actions:

Attacking the villages, torturing the people, loot, murders, rape and other atrocities on women, shooting the mass organization leadership, party leadership and the people participating the revolutionary movement became routine for Razakars and the army. Attacks were continuously carried out for destroying the party, mass organizations, volunteer squads, guerilla squads. Isolating the mass organizations, party and guerillas from the people and eliminating them is the only objective of these mopping up actions.

Autocratic Laws:

There was no scope for civil rights under the autocratic rule of Nizam. Farmers were like complete slaves. Whatever comes to the minds of Nizam, Jagirdars, Deshmukhs and feudal lords became the law. Democratic rights can even be imagined. There was no press freedom. Mass organizations, Communist Party and Andhra Mahasabha were banned. Communist movement areas were declared as disturbed areas and implemented Marshal law. Courts, laws, were used only for suppressing the movement.

CIDs and Hired Agents:

Jagirdars, Deshmukhs, Patels, Patwaris and landlords had turned anti-people, anti-revolutionary persons with bad habits like drinking, gambling etc i.e. who are susceptible, into hired agents. They send many people under pseudo names as CIDs. Through them information was collected and used that information during attacks. They declared awards for those who help in catching leaders of party, mass organizations in the form of money, jobs and lands. Landlords while fleeing to towns had left behind their agents.

Dividing the people and rule:

They had encouraged fundamentalism among the Muslims and provoked them to attack Hindus. They tried use Muslim people against Hindus. They left Muslims and tortured the other population. In this way they tried to create difference between Hindu-Muslims for weakening the movement. But people showed their class-consciousness and Hindu-Muslims joined and repulsed the tactics of 'divide and rule'.

Nizam's army officers, collectors and local landlords repeatedly declared that they would not harm the people, who leave the arms and help in catching the leadership. They tried to create rifts among the people by propagating like this. On the side they were using the soft methods of dividing people on the other hand army attacked them with rifles and guns.

Indian Government's Support to Nizam:

Nizam government and its police and military forces were carrying out brutal attacks on the people and freedom fighters in Hyderabad state. Indian government had entered into a secret pact with Nizam had supplied the arms and ammunition for his forces and everyone knew it. There were no bars for Nizam's police to enter into Andhra region for catching the wounded leadership taking shelters. In this way exploitative ruling classes had proved their real nature.

Role of Congress Party:

When Nizam started his massive attack on people, Congress leaders and their teams, along with their Satyagraha camps had vacated Hyderabad state and went to the areas of Indian Union. Similarly some rich people who couldn't face the repression also left for the Indian Union. Only Communist Party, Andhra Mahasabha and Communist squads only stayed in the struggle areas and fought against the terror of Razakars, Nizam military and Police.

The unity between the Congress and Andhra Mahasabha activists which was visible at the early days of the movement demanding for the integration of Hyderabad state with Indian Union was disappeared after the movement was intensified. After the nature of the movement was changed into anti-feudal and anti-Nizam mass movement, Congress lost its enthusiasm in it. They stood behind the exploiting landlords and became counter revolutionaries by attacking the people. Hence it was required for Communist squads to disarm the Congress goons and their teams.

Counter Guerilla Operations:

Along with Razakars, armed police and military, Jagirdars, Deshmukhs, Patels, Patwaris landlords and their agents and carried out their counter guerilla operations. They conducted these operations from their military camps, taluq and district centers. They carried out continuous attacks to find the whereabouts of the leadership of village, town, taluq, district and state level leadership of Communist Party, mass organizations and Andhra Mahasabha. They indulged in encircling the villages attacking them day and night, laying for traps on the routs, conducting surprise attacks on the expected meeting places and frequently attacking the target villages. Majority of the attacks were based on the information provided by CIDs and enemy agents. There were few spontaneous attacks.

They also used the methods of using small teams coming in disguised forms for killing leadership and activists on specific information. With all these methods they had killed about 2000 militant activists, fighters and leaders.

Resistance by Heroic Guerillas:

Military, police and Razakars had conducted large scale attacks in the beginning and the guerilla squads and local squads who were neither trained nor experienced had difficulty in facing these attacks and had faced some losses. However gradually while continuing to fight started learning from their experience were able to repulse the enemy attacks. Squads and local structures were suffered most where there were no party structures, Grama rajya Committees and land distribution and wherever they are guerilla squads and local squads had displayed capabilities to repulse the enemy attacks. With the resistance Party structures, number of guerilla squads and local squads were further increased and the movement was developed and extended.

In the beginning people, militia and squads jointly carried out the activities of harassing the enemy and eliminating the enemy in ambushes and face- to- face confrontations. They eliminated many cruel Jagirdars, Deshmukhs, Patels, Patwaris and their agents, goons and CIDs. With the growing strength of guerillas, militia and people enemy elimination was also increased. They carried out many ambushes in creative manner. In these circumstances it became necessary for the guerillas, militia and people to go in offensive war. Understanding this situation central and state committees had decided to conduct raids on police and military camps and force the enemy to lift them. The raids on enemy camps were initially conducted in Nalgonda and Warangal districts and later they were extended to other districts.

Enemy had suffered serious losses because of these attacks. The camps in villages were shifted to Taluq and district headquarters and stopped setting up camps in villages. With the removal of camps from villages, guerilla squads and village mass organizations had the opportunity to organize their activities in large scale. In this way guerilla struggle developed to higher level.

Enemy's Cavalry Attacks and Guerilla's Resistance:

Nizam government had used cavalry in some areas for terrorizing the people. In these forces there used to be 15-20 soldiers but they often came in small teams of two to three and attack the people. They carry rifles, shotguns, stens and javelins. Initially guerilla squads were confused as how to face them. Later they learned the methods to face them. Since the soldiers firing from the horse are continuously moving they generally miss the targets and if guerilla squads fire at them, the horses get scared and go out of control. Taking covers not visible to cavalry forces, firing before they start firing, moving aside when they are firing and scaring the horses with continuous firing, etc., were some of the methods used by guerillas in repulsing the cavalry attacks effectively.

Fight Against the Interference of Indian army:

By 1948, the activities of Communist Party, Grama Rajya Committee, village militia and different types guerilla squads had reached their peak. Nizam military, police and Razakar gangs were pushed to defensive. The Nizam state and his social system was shaken from the foundations. Anti-Nizam, anti-feudal movement was extended all areas of Telangana and beyond it.

Under this situation fearing that the situation is going out of hand, Indian government showing the pretext of suppressing Razkar violence and to persuade Nizam to join the Indian union had decided to deploy its army and interfere for its primary objective of suppressing the "communist violence". The Nehru government committed to the protection of the exploitative rule of feudal and comprador autocratic bourgeoisie classes entered into military action in September 1948. It created white terror on Communist Party, Grama Rajyas, people's militia, guerilla squads and people.

Resisting this cruel repression, Communist Party, Grama Rajyas, people's militia, guerilla squads and thousands of ordinary people heroically fought with Indian army displaying exemplary courage and sacrifices. In this guerilla war that continued for three years resisting the attacks of Indian army there were about 400 armed actions and conflicts. By 1951, Indian army gangs had brutally killed more than 2000 armed activists and people.

On September 13th 1948, Indian union government attacked Hyderabad state and within 5 days i.e. 18th September Nizam had surrendered. But Andhra Provincial Committee of Communist Party had decided to fight against Nehru armies. When Indian army was attacking Nizam army and Razakar camps, Communist Party had directed all its area committees and guerilla squads not to confront with Indian army and instead to carry out the attacks on camps and strengthen themselves by seizing the arms from Razakars and Nizam police. Party directed them to wait till the hopes and expectations of the people on Indian armies are completely exposed as they were any way going to attack the farmers along with goons of landlords.

Within a week of its deployment, the armies under the leadership of J N Coudhary had started military rule showing brutal terror to the people of Telangana. By December 1948, this attack reached its peak.

Counter Insurgency Methods implemented by Nehru-Patel armies:

When Nizam Nawab surrendered to Indian Union, he was assured of all luxuries he was having and also privy purse by the Indian government. None of the Nizam's officials was arrested and punished for the atrocities they had done on the people of Telangana. Large number of police officers and officials were deployed from other states. Complete administration was taken over and sent the army and police to every corner in Telangana.

Plans, Strategy and Tactics implemented by enemy between September 1948 and October 1951.

Big military camps were set up with hundreds of soldiers and they were set up closely at a distance of 4 to 5 miles each for better coordination of counter insurgency operations. These operations were conducted with the objective of finishing the movement. Wireless sets were provided in these camps. They brought back the landlords who had ran to cities and tried restore their authority and rule. Congress Party offices were opened next to every camp. They carried out campaign with the people in every village to ask the party leadership and guerilla squads to surrender.

Military Governor, General J N Choudhary issued an ultimatum to communists that he was going to eliminate them if they don't surrender in a week. Campaign was also carried out in the villages to this effect. Their campaign was "we are all Hindus, communists are Russian agents. They don't follow social customs. They kill old people. Don't trust them. Now we have people's state. Handover land, property, food grain whatever you have taken from Deshmukhs. Pay your taxes, cess, levy etc. Congress government will introduce land reforms. Ask the squads to surrender with arms. We have modern weapons to fire a distance of 2 KMs and tanks to destroy any thing including an airplane. We came to protect you. If you don't listen to us we will punish you and you are digging your own grave". They tried scare the people and turn them to their side.

They arranged day and night surveillance on the routes used by squads for catching guerilla squads and party leadership. They searched every place and squads were managed to escape only because of the alertness shown by sentries.

They had strengthened CID branch, hired agents and home guard system. Many rich farmers and moneylenders had joined hands with the enemy and passed on information about squads and party members. Congress volunteers acted like special spies to the military and gave them details of the active members in the movement. The Congress goons also acted like Razakars and attacked the people.

The movements of the enemy were swift and sharp. They used to surround a place in no time whether it is day or night.

They subjected the activists fallen into their hands to brutal and unbearable torture for extracting the information and some times they were able to get some information.

Forms of oppression:

Encircling: Every day army used to bring people from five to six villages to one place torture them all for two to three hours. They used to cane them severely asking them details about communist activists. After that they used to take some of them along with them in their search operations. With the people kept by their side they search every place in that area. This way they concentrate one center a day. This was continued in taluq after taluq. Some times they used to encircle twenty to thirty villages.

Torture:

Attacks were primarily concentrated on the families of Party members and guerilla squad members and these family members were tortured in public.

People were tied with ropes taken to height and thrown down. People were tied inside gunny bags and thrown up and down like a ball.

People were hung upside down on trees and then they were kicked like football

Pins were pushed into their nails and body marks were created using heated iron rods and fire sticks. Some times electric shocks were also given.

They made people to run with trucks if they couldn't they were dragged on roads by tying them to trucks.

People were made to sleep under scorching sun and heavy stones were placed on their bodies. Soldiers danced on their bodies.

People were thrown into thorny bushes and made them crawl on knees and elbows.

In this way Indian army had excelled Razakars when it comes to torturing the people. People used to say "the person who ate sheep had gone and now we have a person who eat buffaloes". This repression continued unabatedly and more violently.

There were 160 attacks on a village in a three months period. One militant was tortured 18 times making his whole body like wound. One squad had faced military attacks 12 times in a particular day they had to run continuously for 120 Kms on that day. 1000 to 1500 armed forces had attacked thirty to forty villages simultaneously. All these shows the intensity of oppression. On one or two occasions air bombing was also done on villages.

In this repression 3 lakhs people from 2000 villages belonging to Nalgonda, Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar and Hyderabad districts were subjected to torture. About 50 thousands were arrested and more than 5000 from them had languished in jails for years.

Brigs Plan: government had concentrated only on the efforts to isolate squads and party from the people and forest area and eliminate them. They forced koya, chenchu, lambadi and other tribes to vacate their villages and made them to settle away from the camps and near their camps. They vacated the small villages and added them to big villages and kept their Military camps in such big villages. The forceful settlements around the military camps are nothing but repression camps.

Enemy forces adopted cruel methods for making the people vacate their villages. They burnt down village after village particularly they had not left a small hut in forest area. They burnt everything people had including clothes and food grains. They hadn't left any thing in plain areas as well.

They mercilessly beat the people who refused to vacate. In some places they did mass firings and in some places people were burnt alive. They had killed 15 to 20 people in a small Banjara village with 15 houses.

The people in forced settlements had lived under severe torture. From the fact that the total tribal people of an entire taluq were made to live in three or force settlement shows the condition of these settlements. Many people in these camps had died because of scarcity of food, water and other basic necessities. Epidemics like Cholera and other communicable diseases became a common feature in these camps. In one of the camps about 1500 Koyas had died because of Cholera with in two months. In the vicinity of this camp more than 10 thousand people were died. The cattle brought into these camps also died in large numbers due to lack of proper care.

Deshmukhs were allowed inside the camps to identify the people sympathetic to the movement. The persons identified by Deshmukhs were beaten till blood comes from their bodies and red chilli powder is applied on them. Many people died in the camps because of the torture. Some of the people were made to dig graves for themselves. They were shot at and buried in the very same graves. Some were buried alive. Some were hanged from the tree branches.

These forceful settlements created for carrying out inhuman atrocities had been described by Congress leaders as "Resettlement centers" and often named as 'Gandhi Nagar', 'Ashok Nagar', 'Jawahar Nagar', 'Bapu Nagar' etc.

Atrocities on Women: In raping and carrying out atrocities on women, Congress Razakars and Indian soldiers had exceeded Nizam Razakars. Parading the naked women and raping them became a routine. This happened more in the places near camps and forceful settlements. They didn't spared pregnant and newly delivered women. Women were raped right in front of their husbands and other family members. In the first year itself more than 1000 women were raped. During the entire period some thousands of women were reaped and more than 100 women died because of the gang rapes.

Women were herded to one place like cattle and then subjected to mass torture. They were made naked and beaten badly and red chilli powder was sprayed on their wounds. They restrained mothers from giving milk to their newborn babies through out the day and cruelly killed infants in front of their mothers.

Burning alive, Burying alive and mass killings: Those who didn't reveal any secrets even after severe torture were killed in most cruel forms. They were tied to the bullock cart and burnt alive. They were kept inside paddy fields and burnt alive, they were shot and buried alive. They were tied to truck and dragged till they are dead, they were tied to the wheels of bullock carts and rolled over till they are dead, their bodies were cut into pieces, they were thrown into bushes with thorns and crushed to death, they were asked lie down and crushed to death with stones, they were made to roll over sand under scorching heat, hot boiling water poured over them till they are dead, they were killed with bayonets. In police, military camps and force full resettlement camps hundreds of people were shot in groups.

Loss of large number of important activists: With in few months of Indian army's entry large number of important activists became martyrs. They had lost their as they solidly struck to their ideological position and protecting the people. About 2000 lost their lives of which 500 were party activists and 1500 were sympathizers.

In the Great Telangana Farmers' Armed Struggle, which continued for 5 years total 4000 had lost their lives.

Strategy-Tactics adopted by Communist Party against the Counter Insurgency Attack by Indian Union Army:

Defeating the counter revolutionary attack of Indian Union army, protecting the victories won by Telangana people after struggle and further extending them became the objective for the Communist Party, guerilla squads, Andhra Mahasabha and people.

1) Protecting the old victories in the old areas and extending to new areas. Carrying out ambush attacks and harassment actions to stop the enemy from settling down in the old areas and put brakes on the enemy's initiative. Increase these actions to destroy the confidence of enemy, eliminating the CID agents, land lords and counter revolutionary forces to push enemy into defensive position and finally defeating the enemy.

In the initial stage people were terrorized with enemy's brutal killings. But at the same time their hatred and anger was also increased. People repeatedly asked guerilla squads to attack and kill the military and police forces. They even suggested places suitable for attacking the military and police.

Thousands of members from village squads and Gram Rajya committees were arrested. Those who had resigned and surrendered to the enemy were put in jails and by February 1949 the remaining others had left for forests. Some had gone to towns and only few were remained in the old areas. Movement started to strengthen in Chenchu people in the Nallamal forests on the banks of Krishna river and in Gond people in Adilabad district on the banks of Godavari river. As result Communist Party and their squads extended to entire forest area in Telangana. The plains adjacent to these forest areas were also brought under the influence of movement. In this way Party and squads were extended to Nalgonda, Warangal, Mahaboobnagar, Medak, Karimnagar, Adilabad and Khammam districts.

Considering the changed condition of enemy, some changes were made in squad structures, their numbers and their defense methods. The members in village squads shouldn't be more than 5 members. They must wear the same clothes as people and keep weapons secretly. If they come to know about the army's attack they must leave the place immediately. In some forest squads and when they have people's support the members can be between 10 and 30. But majority of the squads had 10 members and in plain area squads there were 3 to 5 members. While conducting large attacks 3 or 4 squads plan for a combined attack.

In the initial days when situation was not properly understood squads were withdrawn in some areas. This had given courage to the landlords and their agents and they passed on information about party activists to enemy and got them arrested. Through them police came to know that squads were withdrawn and party activists are working in cells. This also gave them courage to intensify their searches and attacks.

Before they rectified their mistakes and restored squads, home guard squads were formed with Congress goons and landlords' agents. Guerilla squads had to eliminate these home guard squads.

By the beginning of the year 1950, people became more matured and stood with firm determination. Guerilla activities became strong and confident. They continued to attack on military and police. Deaths and injuries were becoming common for soldiers also. Guerilla squads continued to harass the enemy and military and police became confused. Many landlords were scared and ran away from the villages to towns.

As part of resisting the military and police attacks which had created white terror in the people guerilla squads and local squads had started combined lightening raids with 40 to 50 guerillas.

As a result of these activities enemy couldn't set up home guard squads. Even when military attack was going on their village, people protected and fed the guerillas. Guerilla squads, militia, and people had conducted attacks on different targets and in different forms and had advanced guerilla war to a higher stage.

Eliminating or injuring some of the members in military and patrolling forces that were attacking villages. Guerillas targeted the army and police who were forcing the villagers to return to landlords what they had seized earlier like taxes, lands, property, food grains etc.

Guerillas attacked the military and police while they were returning after attacking the villages.

Conducting lightning strikes on the military and police camps, which were notorious for torturing the people, killing some of them and seizing their weapons.

Guerilla squads conducted ambushes on military and police when they were crossing rivers and traveling in the forest routes.

Attacking the enemy camp at a time when he was least expecting (like in the early morning) and killing their sentry and other members

Blocking the roads by felling trees and attacking the enemy when he was removing them

In one incident guerillas and people dug a big hole on the road and covered it with thin layer of soil. A truck carrying military and police came and fell in that hole. Some of them died and others were injured.

Using the explosives got from a coal mine in Illendu were used to trigger a mine blast on a truck carrying 50 soldiers. All of them were died and their weapons were seized.

They attacked soldiers on their way to taddy shop.

Five guerilla squads with the help of local Adivasis and mine workers attacked an explosive magazine in Illendu and seized 15 bags of explosives, detonators and fuse wires

Guerilla squads laid trap on either side of the railway line and attacked patrolling squad and killed some of them.

Guerillas repeatedly destroyed roads, telegraph lines. Train services were disrupted because of the repeated damages made to railway tracks.

In this way creatively attacking on the weaknesses of enemy, harassing him continuously, laying traps for the enemy and conducting lightening attacks were continued till the withdrawal of armed struggle. Gradually the situation became favorable for Communist Party, guerilla squads and people and unfavorable to enemy. In the 3 years of guerilla war, guerilla squads, militia and people had eliminated 957 cruel landlords, police agents and counter revolutionaries. In total 400 armed actions and conflicts between military and police forces and guerilla squads about 1000 soldiers, police and home guards were killed.

2) It is not proper to think that enemy had succeeded and people were defeated just because enemy was able to regain the control of some villages, areas through brutal violence and continuous attacks, or because he was able to seize back the land and food grains, or because he was able to collect taxes, or because the arrest of Grama Rajya Committee members, or because people were terrified. Until the enemy's power is completely removed the victories of people will keep changing the hands. Hence guerilla war is the only key. Guerillas by joining hands with militia and people and continue their efforts and hit the enemy through that force the enemy to leave the place.

If the enemy is able to seize back the lands he shouldn't be allowed to use that land and seize the crops from that land. If it is not possible then destroy the crops. Push the enemy from the village. We must continue the struggle even if the power changed for 10 times or even 100 times till the enemy is pushed out of that area.

3) In old and extended areas the tax collecting officers and revenue inspectors should be forced to leave and also the zamindars, Deshmukhs, landlords and village officials. Isolate the village elders living with people and acting as enemy agents. Force the enemy to remove his camps from the strong places for guerillas and make it is impossible for the enemy to enter the area.

4) Peoples' Issues: Foil all the efforts of Deshmukhs and landlords to take away the lands forcefully from the people and seize the landlords' lands and distribute them to people wherever it is possible. Organize struggles of agricultural laborers for raising wages, reduction of working hours and for poor and middle class peasantry on the issues of loan burden and against high interest rates.

5) Build mass organizations, militia and party structures. Agricultural laborers should be organized into a special class organization. Work by uniting all revolutionary forces and make Andhra Mahasabha as people's democratic front. Encourage the agricultural laborers poor middle class farmers to join Andhra Mahasabha and make them part of the executive.

Volunteer squads are to be built with agricultural laborers poor middle class farmers and provide them with military training and self-defense.

Party structures are to be formed with those who understand and accept the party objectives and program and who agree to the activities implemented by squads and who are disciplined and who are ready make all sacrifices for the party and those who are ready to lay down their lives for the people. The secret methods of functioning are to be developed.

6) Necessary directions were given for organizing small squads and secret party functioning.

7) The necessity of propaganda campaign among the security forces and also the necessity to expose the real character of political parties and their anti-people policies.

8) A program was formulated for the immediate improvement in the conditions of Adivasi people. Similarly the efforts were made to solve the problems Adivasi people their chronic diseases, sanitary conditions, social equality, women's problems, education etc.

The Short Comings and Failures of Communist Party in Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle (1946-51):

1) Political Ideology wise: Party couldn't adopt a correct political and military line with the objective of making revolution successful in India. As a result it couldn't opt for a correct revolutionary path. (It entered into a need less debate as whether Russian path or whether Chinese path and wasted lot of time, finally watered down the revolution and entered into elections trap). It worshipped spontaneity in formulating correct strategy-tactics and in isolating the real enemy restricted the struggles legal boundaries with reformist outlook and finally trapped into economism. It recognized comprador bourgeoisie as national bourgeoisie, Communist Party lost its independent existence. Unable to find the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist truth that people's army is primary thing for the emancipation of the masses they were armed more on spontaneity. There was no proper ideological co-ordination between Center and State Committees. The war leadership role and organizer role of the great Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle was left to lower committees by Center and State Committees. The central leadership of the Communist Party couldn't coordinate this struggle and conduct it solid determination.

It couldn't build a nation wide solidarity movement with all sections of people in support of Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle. And similarly it was required to build strong movement of workers, students and intellectuals in Telangana in support of the struggle going on in rural areas. To summarize Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle had to face a strong enemy alone and there was no coordination with struggles of other sections.

After the Second World War and by the time Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle was started in spite having excellent favourable conditions for the out break of armed farmers struggles in other parts of the country, Communist Party couldn't utilize these conditions and build struggle in any other area. As a result it became convenient for the exploiting Indian ruling classes to concentrate their forces on Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle.

As a culmination of their ideological bankruptcy, Communist Party leadership gave call for ending the armed struggle after sacrificing lives of thousands of masses and party cadre at a time many more were prepared to lay their lives and determined to fight. In this way by crushing the bud of agrarian revolution it had betrayed Indian new democratic revolution.

2) Militarily: The biggest military shortcoming was lack of any military training for the squads. As they were not having any training in primary tactics, guerilla methods, weapon handling, their manufacturing and repair they had faced losses in some attacks and had to retreat. Some of the important failures:

Due to lack of training required in basic military tactics there was no coordination in small guerilla actions and they failed.

Even the attacks when large number of people had participated with enthusiasm were unorganized and prolonged due to lack of coordination. As a result either they had ended up in losses or they had to retreat.

The harassment actions against the enemy were not developed to higher level to push the enemy to leave the area.

Due to lack of correct political consciousness about the tasks of sentry and also as no training was given on correct sentry methods guerilla squads had faced serious losses. In many times because of the sentries were not attentive particularly in plain areas guerilla forces had faced losses.

Prior to the police action by Indian army, Nizam's forces and Razakars should have been eliminated and seized their weapons. Only after the military action was started guerilla forces started seizing the weapons and were able to seize significant number of weapons. By that time political conditions became unfavorable for Party and guerilla forces and they had to fight the highly trained and well disciplined new enemy i.e. Indian army.

If the favorable conditions (pushing the Nizam military, police and Razakars in to defensive position) existed prior to the military action by Indian army were converted from quantitative to qualitative in bringing the changes in the army building in a planned manner and if they had seized modern weapons and developed the guerilla army with military training and solid discipline there could have been a change in the war. If the guerilla forces were organized into companies and battalions while fighting with Indian army situation would have been different and it would have laid path for the emancipation of Telangana.

ii). Counter insurgency strategy implemented to counter Naxalbari movement (1967-1972)

While police action was adequate to crush the Naxalbari revolutionary armed peasant revolt in 1967, they had to resort to joint actions of para military forces along with police action to crush the revolutionary movements in Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur and Mushahari. In 1971 they used Indian military forces along with police action to crush the revolutionary movement of Birbhum. The enemy resorted to the following counter insurgency methods in these operations.

1. Strengthening the police forces, deploying state special armed police forces, CRPF and military forces:

The central and state governments had together taken up a big police action on July 12th in 1967 with the aim of completely wiping out the Naxalbari revolutionary peasant revolt. Top police officials were given all powers by the cabinet. As a result they implemented very harshly the 'attack and liquidate' on the Naxalbari revolutionary peasantry. Police camps were set up in every village. Nobody from other areas was allowed inside. Villages were rounded up and thousands of peasantry and revolutionary leaders were arrested. They were tortured severely. The Home Minister Hari Krishna Konar was personally present along with the police and had this policy implemented. CPI (M) goons also participated in this actively with the police.

While the Srikakulam revolutionary movement was taking root among the people they failed in crushing it with state police actions. So they had to deploy para military forces on a large scale. The central and state governments had jointly deployed 10,444 of CRPF and a large number of state special armed police (APSP) in May 1969 with the aim of completely wiping out the Srikakulam revolution. In Srikakulam where the movement was at its peak 80 armed outposts were established. Some camps were established in Warangal, Khammam, Karimnagar and Adilabad of Andhra Pradesh. For the effective co ordination and observation of forces senior police officers were kept in special duty. They were allotted motor vehicles, necessary communication material and necessary things. The number of civil police in districts was regularly increased. To effectively face the naxalite movement the state government had created newly six posts of special duty officers at the level of additional superintendent of police, 22 deputy superintendent posts, 58 inspectors, 63 sub-inspectors, 94 head constables and 408 police posts. Police stations were fortified. In the plains (Uddanam) in every village or for every mile a police camp was established.

Debra and Gopi Vallabhpur are two police station areas in Midnapore district of West Bengal. It is a forest area in the borders of Bihar and Orissa. The party had good hold among the adivasis. The Eastern Frontier Rifles and para military forces were deployed in Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur and the West Bengal United Front government had implemented the 'attack and liquidate' policy from 1969 December. 1200 EFR para military forces were deployed in Gopi Vallabhpur. In Debra 700 were deployed. 400 Bihar military police was deployed in Bhagoda. Along with these para military forces the police of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa used to conduct raids jointly.

Mushahari is an area in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. It is a plain area. Police camps were set up within short distances. Thousands of police were deployed. In 7 police station areas 'attack and liquidate' was implemented from June 1969. In order to crush the peasant struggle in the Lakhimpur Khillapali area in Uttar Pradesh the local district administration had set up camps in 11 villages with the help of Uttar Pradesh Provincial Armed Police.

The Punjab government had taken up police actions to crush the revolutionary guerilla struggle which developed in Punjab. Guns were given to feudal agents and anti-naxalite squads were formed. Six battalions of Punjab state police were deployed to deal with the situation in Bhatinda-Sangrur.

Since guerilla operations increased in Birbhum, the central government deployed Indian military there. The decision to deploy Indian military was taken at a conference of higher police officials and government secretaries in Kolkata on July 4th in 1971. The police station officers were mutually transferred. Local police and the Indian military started joint operations. Smaller camps were not set up in villages. In Bolpar attack and liquidate campaign was started with 97 vans and 7,500 Indian military.

2. Repressive laws, declaration of disturbed areas

The aim of the Indian ruling classes and the revisionists is to isolate the revolutionaries from the people and wipe them out through military action. To achieve this aim the Indian exploitative ruling classes are implementing black laws which give enormous

powers to the military, para military forces and the police in the name of protecting law and order and announcing as disturbing areas, a legacy of the British.

In 1950 the Preventive Detention Act was brought with the aim of crushing the Great Telangana Revolutionary Armed Struggle and the communist revolutionaries. This was implemented from 1968 to crush the armed peasant revolutionary struggles of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahiri, Lakhimpur, Birbhum and Kangsa. Likewise MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act) was implemented from 1971 with the aim of suppression of naxalites.

The PD Act and MISA were used so that the revolutionaries do not get any support from the people as they would be booked under the pretension that they are helping the armed struggle surreptitiously. For e.g. in Andhra Pradesh alone 60 persons were arrested under PD Act and kept without any trial in jail. Likewise 363 persons were kept under MISA in jail.

In some areas government civil administration was paralyzed; landlords, big usurers and ruling class political party leaders came under red terror and escaped from their areas; the areas where armed guerilla squads operated were announced as disturbed areas by the ruling classes.

The Nehru government implemented this law in 1948 with the aim of annihilating the Great Telangana revolutionary armed peasant struggle. With the aim of wiping out the naxalite movement the same was again implemented by the exploitative ruling classes by declaring Naxalbari area; Srikakulam, Warangal, Karimnagar, Khammam areas in Andhra Pradesh; Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahiri, Birbhum; Bhatinda and Sangrur in Punjab and Kamgla etc areas and taking up military actions. In 1969 June the areas of Parvathipuram Pathapatnam and Palakonda and on August 20th, 1969 Tekkali, Ichchapuram and Sompeta areas in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh were declared as disturbed areas. On 7-11-1969 Nugur, Burgampad, Bhadrachalam, Ilendu and Kothagudem areas of Khammam district were brought under the Disturbed Areas Act.

On September 10, 1970, the West Bengal government declared that the provisions of the Bengal suppression of terrorist outrages Act of 1936- a notorious law used against the Indian revolutionaries during the days of British colonial rule - would be applicable with immediate effect.

In November 1970, the second in the series of draconian laws, was produced. President VV Giri gave accent to a new bill - the West Bengal prevention of violent Activities Bill - which gave wide powers, including arrest with warrant, to the police, to curb the CPI(M-L) movement, and proving the police with the legal sanction to what they had been doing for the last few months.

3. Arrests, sedition cases:

By 1973, 32,000 CPI (ML) leaders, activists and supporters were incarcerated in various jails all over India. On the main revolutionary leaders and on various mass organization leaders more than 20 sedition cases were booked all over India. In West Bengal jails there were 17,787 prisoners. Of them 12,016 were youngsters and 1,399 of them were below 18 years of age. In 1971 January 1,500 activists and supporters of CPI (ML) were jailed all over the state of Bihar. 200 workers were arrested in Jamshedpur alone. In May 1971, in Suri area in Birbhum 500 persons were arrested on the suspicion that they were naxalites. Thousands of Santhal adivasi peasantry was detained illegally and put in jails. In Punjab police started suppressing the activities of the students from the end of 1970. In the Bhatinda-Sangrur area police surrounded every village, arrested the peasantry on a large scale and foisted false cases on them. Naxalbari activists were arrested in thousands. In Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur para military forces conducted large scale raids on villages and arrested many adivasi and non adivasi peasantry and put them in jails. In 200 villages they enforced 144 section for about a month and pounced upon the peasantry and arrested them. In the Andhra-Orissa border area Orissa police raided the villages and carried on large number of arrests. False cases were foisted on them. Some villages and houses were burnt down.

On the pretense that they had resorted to sedition of waging armed war against the ruling government with the aim of overthrowing it, 64 CPI (ML) leaders, other revolutionary leaders and RWA (VIRASAM - the Revolutionary Writers Association) leaders including Nagireddy, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao were booked under 'Atlapragada Convention' sedition case. They were tried in Hyderabad and convicted. In the name of Parvathipuram sedition case, 15 of the central and state leaders of CPI (ML) were booked. They were tried in a special court in Visakha Central Jail and were sentenced to life. In the name of Hyderabad sedition case state and regional leaders of CPI (ML) and RWA leaders were tried. The case was discharged on some of them later.

As the Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahari, Birbhum, Punjab and Kangsa armed peasant revolutionary struggles were intensifying, within a short period the main central committee leadership was arrested and many were martyred. This seriously affected the development of the revolutionary movement.

4. Ban on Party, mass organizations and literature:

With the aim of wiping out the proletariat party which gives leadership to the revolution, the central and state governments had banned the CPI (ML) party and erstwhile MCC party. Mass organizations, party literature and magazines were banned. Thus with severe repression the exploitative ruling classes tried to stop revolution for some time. The CPI (ML) organ 'Liberation' was banned. In Andhra Pradesh literature produced by RWA was banned. Cases were booked on articles which appeared in Srujana and Pilupu-the organ of the state party. Maoist literature was banned from getting printed.

5. Combing Operations of the police, patrolling, Ambushes and Raids:

On May 25th, 1967 police fired indiscriminately on the villagers in Naxalbari and killed 9 persons. Of them 6 were women and two children were also killed. Later many peasants were arrested and were booked under false case that they had revolted against the police. The central and state governments together took up a big police action in Naxalbari on July 12th, 1967. Villages were surrounded and Naxalbari leaders and activists were arrested. They were charged under sedition and put in jails. On July 20th Com. Jangal Santhal and later Kanu Sanyal and some more important leaders were arrested. At the end of July many Naxalbari followers surrendered as they could not withstand police tortures.

In May, 1969 attack and liquidate policy was implemented in Srikakulam by the police and para military forces. Surrounding the villages, searching the houses, arresting the people, burning villages and terrorizing the peasantry became very common. Catching CPI (ML) leaders and activists with the information provided by police agents, murdering them in cold blood and concocting false encounter stories became very common. In May 1969 in Srikakulam district Com. Panchadi Krishnamurthi and six other comrades were caught near Sompeta and killed. Likewise power to kill any suspicious person was given to police, para military and military personnel in the struggle areas of Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahari, Punjab, Birbhum and West Bengal (Kolkata). Thus combing, patrolling, ambush and raids were implemented by the enemy to flush out the CPI (ML) party and guerilla squads.

The enemy desperate in its ruthlessness had managed to gain a tottering foothold in Srikakulam. Insecure and panicky in the midst of Girijans boiling with suppressed rage, the police began a campaign to tyranny and intimidation. Wholesale arrests followed. The tribals were crammed into stinking cells of the jails and held there indefinitely without adequate food or water. The government poured death into the villages of the girijans in a fury of blood lust. The police have been pretty ruthless in their operations. On the slightest suspicion, they open fire and in the process take many innocent lives.

During the Srikakulam peasant armed struggle in the whole state of Andhra Pradesh 340 party leaders, activists and sympathizers were killed in fake encounters by the police and para military forces.

The central government had deployed para military and military forces from the end of 1970 with the aim of crushing the Kolkata urban guerilla struggle. Many CPI (ML) party activists and supporters were caught and brutally murdered. Many young men and women and students were targeted and killed. The CPI(M) goons, lumpen gangs and Congress Party goons were used as CIDs and agents to catch the activists and kill them.

Activists were caught while among the people and killed in front of their eyes. Com. Bhavani Dutt Sen was a post graduate student who was killed near the Kolkata University gate. In one instance the police caught 100 young men and picked up four among them. They just fired and killed them after lining them up. In many cases, after beating senseless some political suspects, the police would take them outside the lockup, pump bullets into their bodies and throw the bodies out in the streets. The enemy propagated concocted stories of fake encounters and perpetuated such horrible atrocities with the aim of creating white terror among the people.

With the aim of defeating the communist revolution Robert Thompson wrote a manual on counter insurgency manual. He was a British advisor. Kolkata police commissioner Ranjit Gupta had him train para military and military forces. Copies of this book were taken and distributed among the forces. Thus counter revolutionary forces were prepared and unleashed on the people.

In the name of combing operations, one area was chosen in towns or in rural areas and the para military or military cordoned the area and searched for CPI (ML) activists, guerillas and sympathizers. While this operation was going on nobody was allowed to go out. Sometimes these operations lasted for 24 hours. If they got hold of CPI (ML) activists, in most of the cases they were killed. In 1971 February in Beliaghata, East Kolkata five children were caught in their homes and were killed in front of their parents. Of the vast number of supporters of the Party among the youth, many were taken to police lockups, tortured, maimed and let off with warnings)

The lumpen-proletariat was put to use in two ways. Some were used as agent-provocateurs, who participated some violent action and exposed the unwarned CPI(ML) cadres in a locality to an unanticipated police raid. it was a sort of 'cropsus delicti' which provided the police with an opportunity to pickup whom they wanted. Some other members of the lumpen-proletariat were bought over, formed into an unofficial band of home guards, paid Rs. 105 per head per month, and set upon the CPI (ML) leaders and cadres. In official parlance their actions came to be known as people's resistance' to naxalite depredations. Being local, they could spot the hideouts of the CPI (ML) in their respective localities and identify the real political elements among the student youth cadres of the party. They served wonderfully the purpose of the police, particularly in the maze of lanes of north and central Kolkata, along which the so called liberated zones were established with which without the guidance of these local hoodlums, would have remained impenetrable to the CRPF and the military. With the aim of discrediting the Birbhum armed peasant struggle and damaging it, the police forces gathered anarchic elements and goons and made them do many robberies indiscriminately in villages in the name of naxalites. With the aim of isolating guerilla squads from the people, police created terror among them.

Supporters, overt and alleged, of the CPI (ML) were massacred. The youths and students were the main targets of the repression. Police sources themselves admitted that between March 1970 and August 1971, in Kolkata and its suburbs 1,783 CPI (ML) supporters or members were killed. An unofficial source claimed that the figure was at least double. The number of dead mentioned here did not include those killed inside jails between May and December 1971, the police opened fire on unarmed prisoners in at least six jails of West Bengal.

In Punjab the houses of CPI (ML) activists were confiscated by the government and the families were led to economic ruin. The borders of Punjab with other states were sealed. Patrolling and combing was intensified. With the help of police agents leaders and cadres were caught and killed in fake encounters. Some were arrested. Between 1971 and 1972 in winter police killed guerillas in the guerilla zone (Bhatinda-Sangrur) with the help of superior armed forces, caught them and cleared the area of them.

When movement was at its peak in Debra and Gopi Vallabhpur some persons belonging to the middle and rich peasantry who had supported the guerilla squads, party and the people had surrendered to the police after the enemy offensive started as they could

not bear the severe repression. They were with the police during combing operations and helped them to attack the guerilla squads. The guerillas and party leadership comrades who were caught in the raids of military forces were shot dead. Some were arrested. Due to the arrest of some important leaders like Com. Ashim Chatterji, this movement suffered a setback.

Shooting people dead without trial was quite common. Com. Saroj Dutt was caught by the West Bengal police on the night of August 4th/5th in 1971 and on the same night he was killed and the body was thrown in Kolkata Maidan corner. To keep up with the genocide in East Bengal, the Indian police carried out a wholesale slaughter of more than 1000 young people in a single locality in one sweeping stroke on August 12, 1971. The area was Baranagar near Kolkata. With the help of hired hoodlums, the police rampaged over an area of two square miles raiding every house, dragging out every young man suspected of CPI (ML) leanings to be butchered. The escape-routes were blocked with the police guarding every lane. The bodies of the slaughtered were later thrown into the near by canal.

6. Counter Guerilla operations:

The local police and para military forces targeted the leaders, guerillas, peasant organization leadership, leaders of revolutionary committees and village defence squads (Gram Raksha Dal) and raided the villages after surrounded them. They set ambushes on the pathways, conducted surprise raids after coming to know about meeting places and conducted continuous raids on target villages.

Some party cadres surrendered as they could not tolerate the tortures. With the information obtained from them, police raided the dens of guerillas, on shelters and dumps in villages. As a result many party leaders and guerillas were lost forever. We have lost arms and ammunition. Such surrendered naxalites were turned into approvers. They were made into witnesses in courts and thus they managed to convict many leaders and cadres.

The forest department officers, revenue officers, village officials and ruling party leaders were used in counter insurgency operations directly and indirectly. The counter insurgency forces i.e. the police, state special armed police forces, para military and military forces had effectively used the superior training and resource of fire power in comparison with the guerillas. Even then the number instances where there were no losses were more in real encounters.

Police resorted to severe tortures. People were maimed and blinded. The number of people who died due to unbearable mental and physical torture increased every year.

In villages counter-revolutionaries were trained and the intelligence network which collects information on revolutionaries, the mercenary agents and home guard system were strengthened. Rich peasants and usurers were hand in glove with the enemy and had given the information about the whereabouts of guerillas and party leaders in many instances.

7. Strengthening the jails:

In West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar (Jharkhand), Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Tamilnadu and Kerala in the process of the widening of revolutionary guerilla activities, 'Naxalophobia' spread among the police forces. Their cowardice and panic led to the killing of unarmed prisoners in jails. When the police opened fire in Midnapore Central Jail where the Gopi Vallabhpur revolutionaries were lodged on December 17th in 1970, eight prisoners died and 60 of them were injured. When the police opened fire again in the same jail a year later on February 4th another two of them died and 60 were injured. On the same day they opened fire in Presidency Jail in Kolkata and injured 24 of the inmates. On February 21st police opened fire in Behrampur jail 10 inmates died and 62 of them were injured. It was very common for the police to open fire in jails. Between 1970-72 police opened fire in 20 incidents in jails all over the country. More than a hundred revolutionaries were killed and hundreds of them were injured. The Indian exploitative ruling classes surpassed the British imperialists and massacred the revolutionaries very cruelly. These atrocities were condemned by people of all sections. As an answer to these massacres the revolutionaries formed guerilla squads inside jails for self defence.

There was not a single crime which the jail authorities have not committed by being hand in gloves with the civil police officials outside. The main leaders' hands and legs were bound in chains 24 hours a day and they were kept in single cells. Many revolutionaries died as they could not get proper medical treatment inside the jails. In Andhra Pradesh 13 of them died between 1970 and 1972. Police officers used to come into jails whenever they wished and picked up whomever they liked and tortured them in the name of interrogation.

The police showed no difference between the male and women comrades of the CPI (ML) and tortured them equally. We come to know of the severity of the tortures by the reports given by the CPI (ML) women to magazines in Kolkata. The CPI (ML) women stripped naked and their bodies were burnt with cigarette butts – the neck, breasts, stomach and no other private parts were spared. Not withstanding this they were insulted in all manners possible. Due to these tortures their delicate parts became injured. Later their unconscious bodies were brought back to the jails in police vans. 20, 22 days later, after the girls had recovered they would again be taken back to Lal Bazar (Kolkata police headquarters) and tortured similarly.

It became very common to resort to lathi charge on revolutionaries inside jails and injure them severely.

From the middle of 1970, various levels of leadership and cadres of communist revolutionaries were arrested on a big scale. Revolutionaries breaking the jails with valor and joining back the revolutionary movement also became common between 1969-70-71. From the Visakha Central Jail in Andhra Pradesh 11 revolutionaries escaped. There were jail breaks in many jails like Darjeeling,

Siliguri and Dumdum jails etc. As a result the central and state governments were horrified and tried to strengthen the jails to prevent jail breaks of revolutionaries.

They increased the number of jail guards and strengthened them. They were given .303 rifles in place of rifles. The jail walls were fortified. The height of the walls was increased and electric fencing wire was installed over them. Tall towers were erected in strategic points and vigilance was increased to foil the attempts to escape. The numbers of special armed police forces was increased to do regular patrolling outside the jail walls.

8. Mopping up campaigns – formation of strategic hamlets:

The aim of the policy of mopping up campaigns and formation of strategic hamlets was to eliminate the conditions which would be favorable to revolutionary war. Since the interests of the people are the interests of the revolutionary movement, if the revolutionary struggle which is waged with the strong support of the people has to be crushed, then the people should be isolated from the revolutionary movement through deceit. This policy embodies that. Razing to the ground all villages, houses and huts which had taken part in the revolutionary movement, destroying completely the properties of the people (including small property) so that they incur economic losses, torturing people, loot and murders are part of this.

Perpetuating horrible atrocities and tortures on women, massacring the people who have participated in the revolutionary movement, killing them by torturing them, creating white terror among the people and weakening their united strength are done. Thus isolating the people from revolution, the villages have been totally relocated to new areas as per the 'Vietnam Model' in adivasi areas such as Srikalulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur and Birbhumi etc. The total population of the villages was relocated to these strategic hamlets. The people thus relocated were kept in far away bigger villages and were made dependent on the mercy of the exploitative ruling classes and the police. Thus they followed the method of denying human resources to the revolutionary movement. These collective tribal settlements were turned into constant torture chambers without freedom and independence, without proper medical facilities and food and without their lands and harvest.

From the Parvathipuram agency area in Srikakulam district, 600 people belonging to 250 tribal families were relocated to Rambhadrapuram, Jimmalavalasa and Pedabavi Thanda villages. The people thus relocated faced immense hardships. They had to depend on the mercy of the government like slaves.

In the past when the peasantry revolted, the Indian state used to send the police and protect the interests of the landlords. Now it took another step forward and established 'villages' for them. It created hunting grounds for them full of game.

9. Sham reforms:

According to this policy, the central and state governments had perpetuated mainly repression on the revolutionary movements and implemented sham reform policies as a secondary measure. Since the revolutionaries are utilizing the backward economic, social conditions of the illiterate villagers especially the adivasi people and attracting them into revolution by inciting them, the state and central governments had decided to take up sham reform policies to eliminate naxalism by eliminating those very conditions. For their implementation they chose areas like West Bengal, Srikakulam, Ganjam, Debra Gopi Vallabhpur, Birbhumi, Lakhimpur and Kangsa where revolutionary movement has blazed. The real motive of these policies is to corrupt a section of people who had participated in the revolutionary movement and breaking the unity of the people. A section from the middle class and the rich peasantry benefited from them and became anti revolution. These policies were used for surrendered naxalites and they were turned into police agents. Many more anarchic elements were turned into police agents and government middlemen.

Indira Gandhi had nationalized the banks and had sanctioned loans to peasantry by reducing interest. In all the districts where naxalite movement had influence, 1,000 persons were to be given job opportunities in construction of roads, irrigation projects and drainage schemes in each district. Comprehensive Area Development Programme (CADP) was implemented in Naxalbari and Debra areas. The local government officials should see to that the loans of poor tribals are annulled. They should be given loans from banks for development of agriculture. According to the 1/70 Act the plains people do not have any land rights in adivasi areas. Schools have to be established in tribal villages and illiteracy is to be eradicated. Girijan (tribal) Corporations have to be established without the involvement of middlemen. The roads and communication network in remote areas should be improved. More police stations are to be opened there. The Girijan welfare and social welfare departments should implement appropriate policies for tribal welfare.

iii). The counter-insurgency strategy adopted by the enemy against the Maoist Movement

The aim of the army, paramilitary and the police machinery is to protect the semi-feudal and semi colonial system that is perpetrating the oppression and exploitation by the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal classes opposed to the interests of the 90 percent exploited people. The aim of the Maoist party is to destroy imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal classes in India and establish new democratic state in order to solve the basic problems of the 90 per cent oppressed people of the country. After the Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra, Gopi Vallabhpur, Mushahari, Birbhum, Dihi-Sonarpur and Kangsa revolutionary struggles faced set-back while fighting to achieve the above aim, these armed struggles and the Telangana armed struggle developed in waves. These waves have spread from small to extensive areas. Class struggle intensified and guerilla zones are formed with the aim of forming base areas. The struggle between the para-military and the police forces of the exploitative government and the revolutionary guerilla forces has become the principal form of struggle. Guerilla war is raging in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Odisha and it is raging intensively in DK (Chattisgarh, Maharashtra), Bihar and Jharkhand.

The exploitative ruling classes (Central and state governments) are naturally according prime importance to crush the revolutionary movement going on to change the order. Hence the revolutionary movement is facing counter-revolution from the beginning. The central and the state governments are striving very hard to wipe out the revolutionary movement by using modern police, paramilitary and commando forces. They are trying to root out the party and the people's liberation army by the actions of police and paramilitary commando forces i.e. by adopting counter-insurgency strategy and tactics. An intensive counter-revolutionary attack is going on the masses which are extending either direct or indirect support to the revolution.

We carried forward the revolutionary movement by heroically fighting, making innumerable bloody sacrifices and defeating the two repressive campaigns launched by the central and the state governments to crush the Maoist movement in Andhra Pradesh in 1985 and 1991. The enemy is always making long term plans to curb our movement. As part of this, the NTR government in Andhra Pradesh formed SIB and Grey Hounds and started preparations to implement the LIC strategy and tactics. Congress government later continued these. TDP government further hastened these in 1995 and started implementing from 1996 onwards. Maharashtra government started preparations from 1991 and is implementing them on the lines of AP government. Central government started completing the LIC preparations speedily from April 2000 onwards in Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal and intensified them from 2002 onwards. Though this LIC offensive is going on from 2004 onwards in DK, Bihar, Jharkhand, AP, West Bengal, Odisha, UP, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka in varying degrees, there is serious concentration in DK, Bihar, Jharkhand and AP.

The enemy is closely studying the revolutionary movement, evaluating its strengths and weaknesses concretely and formulating plan after plan more comprehensively to completely wipe out the revolutionary movement. In the beginning, while the attack was carried out by the state police and the state special armed police, later the LIC assumed the form of fascist attack by the para-military and special commando forces, in addition to the state police. As part of this LIC, the enemy is implementing the following strategy and tactics.

Modernization of the police, para-military and the Commando forces:

With the help of the imperialists, the Central and the state governments are forming various types of police forces and intelligence mechanisms, acquiring and adopting various security and communication systems, modern weapons and training mechanisms with a long term perspective in order to crush the guerilla movement that is developing and extending to wider areas under the leadership of the Maoist party.

They have increased the number of police and modern weapons in all the police stations in the areas of Maoists in AP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Odisha, UP, MP and other states. All the police personnel from the level of constables to the police officers are being taught about anti-Maoist theory, anti-Maoist strategy and tactics, government policies and the change in its attitude etc. during the training in addition to the military training. They are raising thousands of police along with special armed police forces in all the states where the revolutionary movement is strong. The police force in AP is raised to one lakh police now while it was only 30,000 when the movement started. State special armed police forces have also been increased in various states. Battalions and battalions of APSP, CAF, BMP, JAF and OSAP are being raised. For ex. there are 13 APSP battalions. This APSP is utilized as an anti-naxalite force from the beginning. Thousands of para-military forces (CRPF, BSF, SSB, ITBP, CISF, Naga, Mizo special battalions) are also deployed in addition to the state police forces. At present, 40,000 para military forces are deployed in Maoist areas in the name of CRPF, BSF, SSB, Naga and Mizo special forces. There are Indian Reserve Battalions also. Tribal battalion in AP, Sengel force in Jharkhand and other such para-military forces are also deployed against the Naxalites. They are pitting tribal against tribal. One battalion comprising exclusively of tribal youth is formed after the formation of Chattisgarh.

The central government is training up 10,000 CRPF police as anti-Maoist guerilla special commandos in the name of COBRA with an expenditure of Rs.300 crores to deploy them in Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and other states by 2010.

Formation of Grey Hounds as a special commando force:

Taking the help of the imperialists to root out the Maoist revolutionary movement with a counter insurgency strategy, the TDP government of NTR formed a Special Intelligence Bureau and the murderous Grey Hounds force, with more than 3,000 police as an anti-naxalite force in AP during 1985-89. This was formed under the leadership of DIG Vyas. After he was annihilated by us, Aravind Rao is heading these forces. Those police from APSP, district special police and the civil police who are opposed to the Naxalites and renegades from the families of informers and police killed by us who are between 18 and 25 years of age are recruited into this force. Cruel and anti-naxalite officers are appointed from SI to the DGP level. All the police machinery from the DGP to the SIs is mainly involved in anti-naxalite activities. There is an Officer on Special Duty (OSD) in every district where the movement is strong. He will be mainly responsible for intelligence and operations. SIB supervises this. He leads anti-naxalite operations with special district teams and hunts down guerilla squads. Each team comprises of 40 members. In the Grey Hounds, section commander is of the rank of SI,

platoon commander of the rank of CI and the company is lead by a DSP rank officer. SP and IG level officers guide and coordinate the operations. Counter insurgency plan was formulated and implemented as a model in AP and when they had positive results they started these special commando forces and SIBs under various names in all the states from the year 2000. Taking cue from the AP experience, Maharashtra government formed Gadchiroli district special force by the name of C-60 Commando force and intelligence agencies - Intelligence Bureau, ANO and district intelligence agencies in 1991-92. These are participating in field operations from 1992. A 600 strong trained commando force is formed, selecting them from among the Gondia, Bhandara and Chandrapur district police forces. Nagpur is their Head Quarter. Commando force by the name of Hawk force was formed in MP which is participating in the repression of the revolutionary movement in Balaghat.

The special task force formed in TN and Karnataka against Veerappan is being used against us after Veerappan was killed. At present Special Task Forces are there in Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, UP, TN and Karnataka by the same name. There used to be a special cell in Odisha in 1990 on the models of Grey Hounds to curb the Naxalite activities. In the year 2000, the name was changed to Elite Grey Hounds and then further renamed as Special Operations Group, at present. A special force called Special Auxiliary Police (SAP) is formed comprising of ex-service men in Bihar and Jharkhand as an anti-naxalite and anti-Maoist force. Odisha government also has decided to form such a force.

The number of Home guards has been increased in a big way to assist the police and the special commando forces locally. Anti-Maoists, anarchists and anti-people elements, who can be bought for money, are being recruited into this. These forces are there in all the states. A counter revolutionary force is formed in Chattisgarh by recruiting anti-Maoists as special police officers (SPOs) and are using in anti-Maoist operations. Thus they are unleashing these thousands of home guards and SPOs against revolutionary movement and terrorizing the people.

Modern Weapons:

The enemy is using semi-automatic weapons, light machine guns, area weapons (Grenade launchers, mortars, hand grenades, automatic grenade launchers) on a big scale. The usage of SLRs, AK47s, INSAS, Sten machine Carbines, 9 mm pistols in operations and by the forces in police stations and camps has become quite common.

The enemy is using modern communication equipment like VHF and UHF sets, Cell phones, GPS, night vision equipment etc. for the collection of information, deployment of the forces and the coordination of the operation. They are using vehicles on a large scale. They are using RTC and public transport buses, civil lorries, other government department vehicles and private vehicles. They are also using motor cycles. They are using helicopters for the transport of the forces, aerial survey, transporting of goods, air lifting of the injured police men and to co-ordinate ground forces. They have started surveying using satellites and unmanned aerial vehicles. BRO is laying cement or bitumen roads with the help of CRPF. World Bank has sanctioned long term loans of thousands of crores of rupees for this purpose.

Security Measures for Police Stations and Camp:

As the ambushes and raids increased with the aim of the annihilation of the enemy and seizure of weapons, smaller police stations and camps from the interior areas have been folded up and all the stations and police camps in the key locations for his repressive actions are fortified as attack proof stations. Local police, state special armed police, para military police, local home guards or SPOs are all stationed in these stations and camps. Thus they are staying there in large numbers of up to 100-250. At district head quarters, up to 500 forces are stationed. In the camps set up as part of carpet security nearly 150-200 forces of all types are staying. These are being called base camps. One camp is set up for every 5-10 km. All these camps are being fortified in military methods with heavy expenditure. Special positions needed to deploy weapons, fortified bunkers, observation posts and many bunkers on the buildings and on the floor are formed. Number of the sentries is also increased.

Many security measures are being adopted like not allowing any vehicle to come near the camps and police stations; checking persons with metal detectors, arranging search lights and generators and barbed wire fencing in two, three circles and forming bunkers, trenches etc. Police are given bullet proof jackets, bullet proof vehicles and mine proof vehicles. They are trying to seek protection by travelling in civilian clothes along with people in buses and civil vehicles. They are setting up tall watch towers in camps and key places. On certain special occasions they are forcing people and erstwhile activists to sleep in police camps.

Training:

Higher police officers are imparted training in Israel and other imperialist countries to train up in LIC as part of the Counter insurgency. Para military forces are being given training in the Counter Insurgency and Jungle Warfare School in Wairangte in Mizoram. They are also being given training in Silchar in Assam and in Hazaribagh in Jharkhand. Grey Hounds in Hyderabad, AP state police forces and the special forces of other states are being given training in counter-insurgency methods. Chattisgarh police forces, STF, forces of other states and the CRPF are also being given training in modern methods of Jungle Warfare and Counter Insurgency in Kanker in Chattisgarh. In this training, along with the anti-guerilla tactics, they are being given training in firing techniques in various geographical conditions and situations and in Fire Movement so that they can attack with secrecy, speed and violently to destroy. They are instigated with anti-Maoist politics. They are also given training to protect themselves from land mines.

Awards and Promotions:

The police of various states, para-military forces, special commando forces and the SIB personnel who achieve success in anti-Maoist guerilla operations are rewarded with awards, and promotions. These forces compete with each other for promotions. Enemy is encouraging these forces to eat and booze to their satisfaction and compete with each other to outsmart one another to get promotions by any means. He is promoting an anarchic mentality of striving for luxurious life throughout their lives by adopting any means. The state is protecting them even when they resort to any number of cruel acts or any number of rapes and thus developing a

cruel mentality among them. Even the injured are being given lakhs of rupees. These forces are competing with each other to participating in operations.

Establishment of Joint Operational Command:

A Nodal cell was formed at the central level in 1991 so that the central and state governments can suppress the Maoist movement in a co-ordinated manner. JCC was formed in 1998. In April 2000, this was changed into JOC. This JOC is meeting frequently and intensifying the suppression and eradication plan. Special Director of central intelligence, DGPs and Intelligence officers of AP, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra and Odisha participate in this JOC. JOC establishes intelligence network at the central level and gathers accurate intelligence, prepares fool-proof planning and conducts military operations efficiently. It acts as an intelligence and operational command with the aim of striking at the open and secret mechanism and activities in both the urban and rural areas. They are concentrating on the central and state leadership of the Maoist party and arresting and killing them in fake encounters or incarcerating them in jails by fabricating hundreds of false cases and conspiracy cases. The JOC is establishing regional joint operational commands in the state borders and conducting joint operations and military actions with a suppression and eradication plan. They are enhancing intelligence network in border areas. A Unified Command is formed to co-ordinate local police forces, para-military forces and special commando forces in a better manner. Frequent joint operations (campaigns) are being carried out in AP-Chattisgarh-Odisha; AP-Chattisgarh-Maharashtra; Bihar-Jharkhand-UP-Chattisgarh and Bengal-Jharkhand-Odisha border areas. A Special Task Force is formed at the All-India level especially to suppress the Maoist movement.

The exploitative ruling classes have appointed nearly 10,000 police as security guards for the protection of people's enemies, notorious political leaders (From the Chief Minister to the block level leaders), police officers and bureaucrats in the states where the Maoist movement is strong.

On the whole, special commando forces and a section of the para military forces are being used for offensive actions on guerillas, while state special armed forces, local police and some para-military forces are used for defensive purposes.

Black Laws, Disturbed areas and police districts:

Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) and Indian Penal Code (IPC) are there for the protection of the ruling classes. Various other laws like Arms Act, Explosives Act, Preventive Detention Act (PD Act), NASA, MISA, ESMA, Unlawful Activities Preventive Act (UAPA), Disturbed Areas Act, Special Powers of Armed Forces Act in J&K and the North-Eastern states, Peoples Defense Act in J&K and acts with some other names in Punjab, Tamil Nadu and other states are used whenever the need arises to suppress the revolutionary movement, nationality movements and democratic movements.

76,030 people across India had to face the brunt of TADA during the decade of 1985-95. TADA was implemented to arrest, cruelly torture, inhumanly harass people, destroy their property and thus terrorize them. TADA was hated by the people as a very cruel act and had to be repealed on 23rd May 1995. The exploitative ruling classes tried intensively to make another crueler and more repressive law in the place of TADA. With the result, BJP government at the centre introduced another cruel black law POTO (Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance). Maharashtra, AP, West Bengal, Karnataka, Rajasthan and UP governments made ordinances and Acts in the name of Control of Organised Crime (COCO/COCA) to curb the revolutionary and democratic movements. Maoist Parties and various mass organizations were proscribed throughout the country under the black act, POTO. Human rights have been trampled upon in a heinous way. An offensive is carried upon the people with bans, arrests, tortures, confiscation and/or destruction of property and imposition of cruel punishments. Lakhs of people of different sections throughout the country had to bear the brunt of this cruel law. UPA government scrapped this law after coming to power at the centre. But all black laws continue to be implemented. BJP government in Chattisgarh is implementing Chattisgarh Special Security Act and drowning the revolutionary movement in rivers of blood.

Disturbed areas act was introduced in Jagityal and Siricilla in 1978. Later it was extended to other areas. When TADA was in force between 1985 and 1995, the areas where movement is developing were declared disturbed areas. With the enactment of POTO in 2001, all the areas under the influence of Maoist parties came under the disturbed areas. Government rule came to a standstill in the Bastar region. So, Bijapur block in Dantewada is made a police district and the fascist attack of the police and para military is continuing on the people. Like wise, Narayanpur block is also announced as a police district and suppression of the movement is going on.

To maintain their exploitative rule, the ruling classes are enacting newer and newer repressive black laws and suppressing the revolutionary movement with iron boots by drowning it in rivers of blood. These black acts aimed at repressing the revolutionary movements are ruining the whole civilian lives. By carrying out fake encounters and murders they are trampling the civil rights, trade union rights and the right to speech.

Banning the Party, revolutionary mass organizations, magazines and literature:

The central and state governments have realized that they can not suppress the Maoist parties only militarily and therefore banned the Maoist parties and mass organizations. The exploitative ruling classes are utilizing ban as a weapon to distance these parties and mass organizations from the people, to terrorize those who maintain relations with and support the Maoist parties, to prevent the Party from using the legal opportunities, to cut off relations with the other revolutionary parties within the country and out side and to prevent all the legal activities like magazines, public meetings, literature etc. Ban is continuing on the new party and various mass organizations even after the formation of CPI (Maoist) on 21st September 2004. Peoples March was banned in 2007 and the editor was arrested. Central government is continuously watching and attacking when necessary to prevent Maoist literature from being propagated and to prevent new literature from being published. The enemy is trying to picture us as terrorists and is propagating falsehoods that we have relations with ISI and LTTE and thus wean a section of the people away from us.

Repression on the people:

Exploitative ruling classes are implementing repression on the people ever since all sections of the people have started struggles under the leadership of our party. The intensity of repression has increased along with the increase in the role of the people in the class struggle. After the class struggle intensified and it turned into class war, the class suppression has turned akin to civil war.

Repression is taking many forms like arresting of thousands of people who go on strike for the fulfillment of their just demands, third degree torture, collective torture, atrocities on women, lock-up murders, fake encounters etc. Enemy has hunted down and arrested and then killed in fake encounters many leaders of SIKASA, workers, students and their leaders, leaders and members of peasant-agricultural workers associations, KKC, DAKMS, the revolutionary women's organization (KAMS) and RPC. False cases are foisted on thousands of masses. It has become quite common to arrest the party leadership, general activists and general public by unleashing unrestrained violence and then kill them cold bloodedly and fabricate the story of encounter. Central and state governments have killed 3,700 revolutionaries so far since 1980 by unleashing state violence. The number of those who were killed in fake encounters after brutal torture is much more than of those who were killed in actual war.

It has become quite common to foist false cases and conspiracy cases and make people do rounds of courts and police stations and extract huge amounts of money from them and thus harass them. Many party leaders, activists, mass organization leaders have been disappeared in a heinous way. To terrorize the people, revolutionaries were killed and the bodies were hung to electrical transformer in the midst of town. Bodies were thrown on railway tracks. Like wise the bodies of the revolutionaries were thrown in the open. With these heinous methods, exploitative ruling classes have resorted to brutal fascization of the police. Its ultimate form by far is the Salwa Judum military campaign which has resulted in a huge pile up of the dead bodies of the exploited people. Scores of people had to face tortures, harassments and threatenings in the earlier Jan Jagaran Abhiyan. Many women were raped, houses were burnt and property was destroyed. Mass organization leadership was inhumanly tortured. Police threatened the Chenchus that they would burn down their hamlets if they don't vacate the Nallamala forest and thus forcibly sent to far off places.

Thousands of masses, who participated in land struggles, were arrested, tortured and false cases were foisted on them. 144 Section was imposed on villages and they were fired upon. Some farmers were killed openly by firing upon mass meetings at Narmetta and Gajwel. In Bihar and Jharkhand also police fired upon farmers' gatherings and killed some.

When people raided the houses of landlords and Sahukars and the godowns of the government in famine raids police arrested hundreds of people unjustly and sent them to jail. They terrorized the people saying that they would be killed by branding them as thieves. When people punished landlords, goondas and informers in people's courts, they were arrested and tortured and false cases were foisted on them. People activists going to public meetings were also arrested, tortured and implicated in false cases. When revolutionary guerillas annihilated the police in ambushes and raids along with the people for the defense of the people, the police would later raid the villages and torture the people and implicate them in false cases. When thousands of people rallied to protest the fake encounters and the police stations were gheraoed, they were lathi charged and implicated in false cases. False cases were also foisted when there were struggles demanding that the dead bodies of the revolutionaries should be handed over to the parents. People who participate in bandhs demanding solution to issues and opposing the repression of the police are also implicated in false cases. Police is raiding the meetings conducted to commemorate the martyrs' week and arresting people and implicating them in false cases.

Thousands of revolutionary leaders of various levels; activists and leaders of various mass organizations, democratic rights organizations and revolutionary writers association; democrats and common people are rotting in jails, implicated in false cases under various black laws like TADA and POTA. Some of them are undergoing life imprisonment.

Intelligence Network of the Enemy:

Special Intelligence Bureaus have been formed with the plan of 'suppression and eradication', in the states where the Maoist movement is strong. They are given directions for comprehensive gathering of information, to achieve co-ordination and to adopt repressive policies. These are mercenary armed counter revolutionary organizations of the state, which are answerable to none and bound by no laws. They are supra-constitutional. They select concrete targets from village level to the central committee leadership and hunt down with a concrete plan and strike. Central government has given authority to the SIB to operate anywhere in the country. SIB has deployed its murderous gang of officers in cities like Chennai, Mumbai, Delhi, Raipur and Nagpur.

To describe them in brief, they are anti-Maoist murderous gangs. These Special Intelligence Bureaus gather information by maintaining close touch with the Central Intelligence Bureau and the local police forces. Individual police officers have intelligence network. SIB does the coordination job at the state level. Para-military forces have their own intelligence network. SIB has network in the villages of the plains and forests as well as towns and cities. As soon as they get information that the leadership or squads are there in a particular area or town or city, the hunting of the special commando forces starts.

Network: Police officers and cadre of various levels are allotted for this. Special branch police and home guards of the local police stations are part of this network. They stay in regular touch with the leaders of local ruling class parties and revisionist parties and gather information directly and indirectly about the party structure, activities, movements of the squads, whereabouts of the local leadership and other necessary information. SI of every police station and other police officers of the district gather information from contractors, big businessmen, landlords and political leaders of block and district level by being in regular touch with them. They keep a watch on the activities of open mass organization leaders. Unexposed local informers stay in the network of the exposed informers of other places. Those who are opposed to the revolutionary movement for various reasons and visit the police stations for their needs and lumpen male and female youth who are ready to do any thing for money and luxuries take the cover of doctors, nurses, teachers, members of one or the other NGO and forest department employees etc. and gather information secretly and send it immediately through cell phones, land line phones, wireless sets etc.

There are limitations for the enemy movements in the struggle areas and the informer network is weak among the local population. So, the enemy is sending CIDs under various garbs for collecting information. He is sending them with the promise that their families will be given compensation in case of their death. They are coming to the villages as lunatics, astrologers, traders of goats-sheep,

businessmen, teachers, RMP doctors, shop keepers, insurance agents, unemployed youth on the look out for jobs, general public who are looking for party contacts to get their problems solved or policemen who have lost jobs or have been suspended etc. Some are staying in the villages and building informer network also.

Enemy has prepared some of those surrendered after leading a guerilla life to pretend that they are leading normal lives in the villages and gather information for him. He is terrorizing the mass organization leadership into submission and gathering information from them and then carrying out attacks. Enemy is spending hundreds of crores of rupees on informers. Some are taking salary secretly while leading normal lives in the villages and giving information to the police. It is very difficult to identify the informers unless the people observe very keenly and conscientiously. There is of course the problem of anti-Maoist renegades and betrayal of the counter revolutionaries. Thus the enemy has done many losses to the movement and we have lost much leadership.

Counter Action Teams:

Ruling classes are deeply perturbed at the heroic actions of the special action teams formed to annihilate people's enemies, hardcore political leaders and brutal police officers who are standing as a stumbling block of revolution. So they have formed Counter Action Teams. Renegade Naxalites who have turned into counter revolutionaries and specially trained local police are there in these CATs. These teams, comprising of 5 to 7 members, are using civilian vehicles and autos and attacking with AKs as soon as the special action team or its members are seen. Thus we faced certain losses in block, district and state capitals. These CATs specifically attacked our special action teams. CATs are put into action as soon as information is obtained from the intelligence wing, informer network and Naxalite degenerates. Some CATs in Hyderabad are on this job for 24 hours.

They are keeping a close watch on doubtful persons, using Naxalite degenerates and setting up moving cameras in front of police stations to detect the attempts of the PLGA at the recce stage itself and foil the ambushes and raids. Special commando forces are regularly conducting patrols to detect the movements of the PLGA participating in reces and striking at them. Thus they are trying to gather information about the preparations of raids and ambushes. Enemy attacked us on some occasions at the time of preparations itself with the information gathered from degenerates. Some times he used the coverts in the PLGA to counter attack and caused losses to the PLGA. After the PLGA forces attacked Eturu-Nagaaram police station in AP with mines on a tractor, enemy is taking precautionary measures like setting up police stations far away from traffic roads, setting up gates at a distance so that vehicles can not come nearby, making police stations mine-proof and piling up sand bags like a wall etc to protect the police stations from attacks.

'Suppression and Eradication' actions of the enemy:

It is the aim of the enemy to eradicate the Maoist Party and PLGA by adopting anti-Maoist guerilla tactics in the actions of police, para-military and special commando forces. He is taking up patrolling, combing, ambushes, raids and cordon and search operations to achieve this aim.

Patrolling:

Special commando forces and para military forces are striving to reduce the intensity of the guerilla war and destroy it by carrying out intensive coordinated patrolling in platoon or company formation. In this, there use many batches comprising of a small number of members with light weapons (mostly AK47s) and move very secretly and with speed. Patrolling is taking place only in coordinated routes in the areas and districts planned by the SIB officers. They change their route very frequently (coming by one way and going by another etc) so that the PLGA can not detect and thus escape from the ambushes of the PLGA. They create a suffocating situation for the PLGA and create intensive pressure on them. They are also trying to prevent the PLGA from carrying out revolutionary activities among the people and make them thwart the PLGA from carrying out attacks on the enemy.

The enemy forces first identify the areas and limits in which party organizers, guerilla squads, platoons, company and various party committees function. They are continuously doing patrolling to identify the locations and camps that PLGA frequently uses and to know the plans and tasks of the party and PLGA. The main aim of these patrollings is to prevent the PLGA from utilizing any area.

The enemy is doing intensive patrolling in guerilla areas without leaving any gaps between the patrolling batches. The patrolling is done so that he can dominate the key roads, routes and villages and control them. To achieve these aims, he is doing area domination patrolling, long range patrolling, short range patrolling, road clearance patrolling and road domination patrolling. It has become quite common to conduct all these patrollings on foot. Batches of 15 to 30 conduct patrolling to find and remove landmines, booby traps and any other obstructions during and before bandhs and after big ambushes and raids by the PLGA. In the strategic areas and in areas where there is a danger from the PLGA, patrolling is done with company formation. Two or three special teams per every police station area are being used to hunt down our guerilla squads and to lay ambush.

The number of batches or force is decided based on the task at hand. In general, these patrollings are done for 3-7 days. Some times 500 to 1000 forces are concentrated and engaged in 10-15 batches to annihilate or drive out LGSSs, LOSSs, platoons and companies. This is called screening. These patrollings are done in the movement areas of AP, Chattisgarh, Maharastra, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. For ex. led by five district SPs and coordinated from the Head Quarters in Hyderabad, hundreds of Grey hounds, CRPF, APSP, local police and home guards jointly conducted patrolling simultaneously in five district areas of Nallamala. Patrolling is conducted by concentrating 200-400 police in a single area after famine raids or other big actions are carried out. During summer, patrolling is done with hundreds of forces with many batches looking for the guerillas at many water points simultaneously. Some times patrolling is done to find out land mines or dumps. If they come to know of a squad in a particular area, then all the old camp places or shelters or all the doubtful places are searched. Some times, 200 to 1500 police encircle and comb one to five villages in a district in the plain areas concentrating on two or more squad areas.

Forces are concentrated in big numbers (200-1500) under the leadership of a higher officer and special patrolling operations like Wild Bison, Godavari, Manthani, Janmabhumi, Indravati, Vajra, Danteswari-I and Danteswari-II are taken up. In Tamil Nadu, they

conducted attacks on the movement in Dharmapuri and Madhurai districts with 3000 police. STF is regularly conducting patrols in Malnadu in Karnataka. Now, even in Tamil Nadu, STF forces are conducting patrols targeting our squads.

In the borders of two or three states, state special police, para-military and local police are concentrated in a big way (500-1500) and joint patrollings are conducted for 3-7 days under the coordination of higher officers. Such patrolling campaigns are taking place in the borders areas of Bihar-Jharkhand-West Bengal-Orissa; AP-Chattisgarh; AP-Maharashtra; Maharashtra-Chattisgarh-MP and UP-Bihar. Commando forces are going to any places in the neighbouring states and conducting operations. Patrolling batches are going after our squads and trying to force them into battles and thus wipe them out. However, our squads did not face many losses in general patrollings.

Ambushes:

Commando and para military forces are mainly taking up these wiping out actions targeting the leaders of the party, PLGA, various mass organizations, KPCs and RPCs. These operations are conducted based on the concrete information obtained through the enemy intelligence network and the local informers. Special forces are conducting night and day ambushes, surprising our guerillas and causing serious damage and thus control their movements.

There are incidents where the ambush sites of the guerillas got exposed and enemy counter ambushed with a plan. We had to face heavy losses and lost weapons. Two or three special police in civilian disguise attacked many comrades with pistols and killed them with the help of informers. Some times they were caught and killed. Hundreds of comrades were killed in this fashion.

Enemy is laying ambush at many places for the guerillas who manage to escape after the enemy attacks their house shelters in plain areas. Some comrades became martyrs in such ambushes. It has become quite common to wait in ambush for the guerillas who escape after the enemy makes surprise attacks on the guerilla camps or routine shelters in forest and semi-forest areas. Enemy is laying area ambushes leaving no room for the guerillas to escape so as to completely wipe them out. Based on concrete information, enemy is also laying ambush for the guerillas when they are going to a village or going from the village.

Raids:

Special commandos, para military and local police jointly conducted many surprise attacks on the house shelters of the guerillas with the concrete information obtained from police spies and informers and killed many comrades. They then laid ambushes for the guerillas who escaped the attack. We lost many of the whole squads in such combined attacks of raids and ambushes. We lost 8 to 10 comrades in each of such attacks.

Hundreds of police and para-military forces carried out attacks on villages, tortured people collectively and terrorized them by killing the mass organization leadership right in front of them. Two or three police came in civilian disguise on motorcycles and killed mass organization leaders, PRs and full timers with pistols.

Based on the concrete information given by the informers, enemy entered inside the camps secretly by evading the sentries and attacked with rapid fire by auto-weapons, concentrating on the leadership. We have lost 10-18 comrades in each of such incidents when they violently attacked the surprised guerillas.

Enemy strengthened his informer network and struck blows to the squads which had military weaknesses. We also lost the whole LGSs and LOSs in the attacks of the special forces on smaller squads. If they get to know that a squad is staying near a village, then special batches comb the nearby forests secretly and speedily and pursue the squad and attack with coordination.

They are strengthening the detective branch to capture our leadership and cadre and are striking at our mechanism in urban areas. Based on the information provided by the surrendered renegades and the technical mistakes of the revolutionaries they are trying to strike severe blows clutching on to even the smallest of the clues. Special Intelligence Bureaus and police officers have concentrated on our mechanism in many urban centres and attacked it and destroyed.

Based on the concrete information provided by the informers, special police and the para military forces have concentrated on arms, ammunition and explosives dumps in the guerilla areas and seized them so that guerillas are deprived of them. Thus we have lost many weapons, ammunition, mines, rocket launchers, explosives and grenades.

It has become quite common to concentrate battalion size forces including commandos, para military forces, special armed police of various states and local police in important operations of eradicating and mopping up the party and the PLGA. While the commando forces participate in assault in 2 to 3 batches, the rest of the forces stand as protection forces by laying ambushes. Based on concrete information, special commandos conduct the operation in one day and leave. If not, they stay for one more day. They come with large amounts of A&A. When we see it on the whole, we have faced severe losses when the enemy attacked with the concrete information provided by the enemy intelligence network.

Cordon and Search Operations:

The enemy is taking up these operations after identifying the houses in the villages, workers wards and houses in towns where our party organizers, activists and squads take shelter. They are cordoning off the villages with 200-500 forces either on getting concrete information or on suspicion, covering all the possible escape routes and searching every household. They are conducting these operations by forming search teams, defense teams and reserve teams and moving actively and alertly. They treat all the people with suspicion and scolding, beating, arresting some, molesting women and disappearing or killing in fake encounters the party activists, who are caught, has become quite common. In towns they are setting up road blockades and check points to prevent escaping. They assemble all the people at one place in the villages or workers wards, slums and college hostels in towns and search houses and the nearby bushes. These operations are conducted for the dumps of arms and ammunition. They take up these operations quite frequently in the villages and certain wards in the towns where the movement is strong. They are taking up these operations after our guerillas

carry out actions on the chief ministers, ministers, MLAs, police officers in small towns or big cities and striving seriously to catch the guerillas who have escaped. In the areas where the movement has faced a set back also they are taking up these operations with the suspicion that the guerillas would again try to revive the movement there.

These operations are also being taken up in rural and urban areas after the raids and ambushes of the PLGA on the enemy, to nab the guerillas injured in the police attacks. They are checking the hospitals and medical shops in the urban areas. Some times they are conducting these operations with the suspicion that special action teams are roaming a particular area or town.

Road Blocks and Check Points:

Police and para-military are regularly taking up these measures in the movement areas and in urban areas to nab party leaders, activists, couriers and the PLGA commanders and guerillas who go for doing recce or for treatment. They also do this to obstruct the supplies. They are setting up check posts and outposts on national highways, state highways and on all pucca roads in the interior areas and carrying out checking very regularly. Some times all the vehicles and people are being checked. These measures are taken up when the guerillas do some action or during the tours of the VVIPs, Chief Ministers and ministers or for the protection of the police officers or when they get some suspicion or on getting some concrete information.

Some times the police temporarily use their jeeps, vans or other vehicles as moving road blocks and check points creating surprise road blocks. Road blocks or check posts are set up at culverts, bridges or narrow points sharp curves on the roads thus completely blocking any chance of escaping. Metal detectors and mine detectors are used on such occasions. All these measures are causing inconvenience and terror among the people.

Surrender Policy:

Some persons, who have worked in the party or PLGA but could not dedicate themselves politically and ideologically to the worker-peasant exploited class, are lured by the crumbs thrown by the ruling classes, sell of their individuality and the ideology they have hitherto believed in and turn into betrayers of revolution and faithful servants of the ruling classes. Huge amounts of funds are allotted to encourage surrenders and implement the surrender policy in the states of strong Maoist movement. Surrender policy is also one of the many offensives to suppress the movement. This policy is in implementation in AP for quite a long period. Enemy could attract underground revolutionaries in quite significant numbers by luring them with jobs and money, in the name of rehabilitation plan. Crores of rupees are spent on such schemes. Rewards are announced on the heads of all the underground persons and their reward money is given to them when they surrender.

Family members are subjected to cruel repression and then in the name of 'Counselling' the police are trying to make the revolutionaries surrender through the family members. The police are repeatedly announcing that one can surrender before Mandal presidents, POs or collectors through Sarpanches and that there would not be any threat to their lives. They are taking up campaign on a big scale in the name of 'Underground Life versus Liberty' and are lifting cases on those who surrender and give a statement against the party. Their names are even removed from the police records. These sly tactics being implemented in AP are also being followed in Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal. For ex. in Chattisgarh, they have announced rewards of Rs. 50,000 for one who surrenders along with a 0.303 rifle, Rs.1,00,000 for SLR, Rs.2,00,000 for AK and INSAS and Rs. 3,00,000 for LMG.

Surrender policies are being made much broader in range. Police is threatening the revolutionaries working in the movement that they will kill family members if they don't surrender. They are also destroying the property. If those who surrender do not act like their pet dogs, then they are even being killed brutally by the black gangs. AP government has again recently announced crores of rupees as rewards on the heads of our party leaders of various levels so as to encourage the betrayers of revolution, people's enemies, police and para military forces.

Covert Operations:

As the class struggle is intensifying and the guerilla war is achieving victories, counter revolutionary exploitative ruling classes are using all kinds of open and secret conspiratorial methods to wipe out the revolutionary movement and the leadership of the party and the revolutionary mass organizations to safe guard their power. Covert operations are one of such spiteful tactics of the ruling classes aimed towards this end.

There was a lot of opposition to the police in AP and throughout the country after the Warangal police killed people's Doctors Com. Ramanatham and Narayana and Narra Prabhakar Reddy in the name of unidentified people. To save the police from this ignominy, SIB introduced counter revolutionary black gangs. These gangs are formed with cruel SIB police and people's enemies, keeping renegades of revolution in the forefront. These gangs are attacking the leaders of mass organizations, families of the revolutionaries and the sympathizers and killing them or making them surrender after kidnapping and threatening. They have thus brutally killed com. Belli Lalita, Kanakachari, Ajam Ali, Purushottam, Prasad and many other such revolutionary people's leaders. They face no arrests because of the support of the counter revolutionary exploitative government. They seek protection in the headquarters of SIB. SIB gives statements on their names against the Maoist party and the people. SIB decides the weapons with which the attack has to be carried out and make them available to these gangs. If they have to be produced in courts under compulsion, then the civil police felicitate them with garlands. Thus they exhibit their counter revolutionary nature. Counter revolutionary murderous SIB is running these black gangs in the name of Green Tigers, Black Tigers, Red Tigers, Kranti Sena, Tirumala Tigers, Cobras, Vishakha Tigers etc. under the leadership of counter revolutionary degenerates like Jadala Nagaraju, Nayeemuddin and Haribhushan. They are forming such black gangs in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Chattisgarh, AP and Maharastra where the Maoist movement is strong.

Police is directly running organizations like Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Gram Rakshak Dal, Maitree Sangh, Gopaneey Sainik, TPC, JPC, Shanti Sena, Sendra and Salwa Judum in order to break the unity of the people and impede the class struggle going on in the villages. These organizations are resorting to direct armed attacks on the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary masses. These are nothing but the counter revolutionary militia of the exploitative ruling classes. They work under the direction of the police

to maintain the exploitation and suppression and the counter revolutionary rule of the landlords. State governments are providing weapons, money training and all the other requirements. SPs of the respective districts are supervising them. They have regular relations with the police stations. They regularly inform the police about the whereabouts of the party and PLGA. They come to attack the PLGA along with the police, para military and commando forces. They hold meetings and Panchayats in support of the landlords and attack in a conspiratorial way to wipe out the guerilla squads. They even poisoned our squads to kill them. With this method, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti implemented the plan of the SP and wiped out two of our squads. In some states, lumpens, anti-people elements and those who are instigated by the anti-Maoist propaganda are lured by the money offered by the government to carry out attacks on guerilla squads and the party activists. Enemy is using these murderous gangs to terrorise the people and to split and weaken the movement.

Betrayers of revolution (Coverts):

Wiping out the Leadership is the key to the wiping out of the Maoist movement. It is very difficult for the ruling classes to eliminate the leadership during actual battles. More over it is a protracted task. So, they are using the betrayers of revolution, who have secretly surrendered to the enemy but continue to don the garb of the revolution according to the conspiratorial plan of the enemy, to secretly eliminate the leadership. SIB is doing this in a planned manner. It is adopting many methods – coverts directly kill by using fire arms; Grey Hounds attack and kill the party leadership and the PLGA members, after they eat the poisoned food given by the coverts and fall unconscious; PLGA is attacked and killed with the regular information supplied by these betrayers while continuing in the party and the PLGA; coverts are told to supplying information regularly about the leadership of the party and the PLGA and the plans and the resolutions to SIB; etc. We have lost many valuable comrades from the central leadership to the party members and PLGA commanders and fighters due to the betrayal by these renegades from within.

SIB converted mass organization leadership at many places into coverts by threatening or luring and trained them to mix poison in the food while living like one among the people. They have tried this method in Srikakulam, Telangana districts, Nallamala area and Dandakaranya. SIB thus sent one tailor, on whom we had a lot faith, to our military camp to mix poison in the food.

Mopping-Up Measures, establishment of strategic villages:

If conditions that favour the party and the guerillas have to be eliminated by destroying the organised fighting power of the masses and their unity, then their organizing capacity, fighting spirit and the morale have to be destroyed. Party and guerillas have to be deprived of the human resources. Relations between the people and the party and the PLGA have to be cut off. They have to be completely destroyed. Terror has to be created among the people so that they do not participate actively in the revolution. A situation has to be created forcing the people to think that they better live some way or the other than die unnecessarily. So, the aim of these mopping up actions is to destroy everything so that the revolutionary movement does not develop and it does not get any organised support from the people. Enemy is resorting to very cruel counter revolutionary violence in these mopping up actions.

Enemy is implementing these mopping up actions from 1985 onwards. Enemy is implementing these operations seriously in one or other form in all the states where the Maoist movement is strong. Burning the whole villages and all the property of the people including the immovable property and thereby shattering their economic condition, destroying the houses of the party leaders and cadres and confiscating the property of their families, torturing the people en-masse, killing party activists, leaders, guerillas, leaders of various mass organizations and common people in fake encounters, disappearing them, carrying out atrocities on women, third degree torturing of the arrested persons, killing and burning the bodies of the villagers etc. have become quite common in the tribal areas. Salwa Judum is a far crueller mopping up operation. The villages which are actively participating in the revolutionary movement are being repeatedly burnt down. In AP, by catching and killing many active leaders, PRs and full timers of various revolutionary mass organizations and the sympathizers in fake encounters and severely terrorizing the people, many open and secret mass organizations were destroyed by the enemy. On the other hand, many party leaders, activists, PLGA commanders and fighters became martyrs in the flush out operations that the commando forces launched on the guerillas, weakening the PLGA. Thus the authority of the enemy and his control on the area increased. He increased the spy network in the rural areas. The exploitative rule is reorganized with fake reforms and the hegemony of the landlords is reestablished. Police machinery is striving by all means to make the exploitative ruling class parties participate actively in anti-Maoist activities. Anti-people chief ministers and ministers, who are trampling the revolutionary movement with iron foot, are pretending and propagating that they are solving the people's issues and thus trying to create illusions among the middle class people that their problems would be solved under the rule of this government only. As the people are thus weaned away from the party and the PLGA, guerillas would be deprived of all the resources including the human resources and the development of the revolutionary movement will be hampered. This will make it easy for the enemy to wipe out the guerillas. On the other hand, the enemy is trying to regain control on the villages and reestablish the rule of the exploitative government by carrying out mopping up operations like Jan Jagaran Abhiyan and Shanti Sena.

The aim of the military campaign going on in the name of Salwa Judum from June 2005 is also to distance the party and the PLGA from the people and wipe them out. When the enemy got isolated from the people and the revolutionary movement is progressing in Dandakaranya, central and state governments have started implementing the 'strategic hamlet' policy used in Vietnam and Malaya to suppress the communist guerillas, with the help of police and para-military forces and under the guidance of the military officers. They started organizing 'Salwa Judum' for this purpose and police and the para military forces have unleashed counter revolutionary violence in an entirely unrestrained way. Hundreds of villages have been burnt down. Some villages were burnt even up to ten times. All the property was destroyed. White terror was created among the people. Enemy spread many rumours and created a quite confusing atmosphere for the people and forcibly herded them into rehabilitation camps (Relief camps). These camps are nothing but hell holes.

Enemy is keeping all these camps under his control. He is controlling the movements of the people by appointing the SPOs under the guise of the protection of camps. These camps are fenced by 2,3 layers of barbed wire and only one side is left open which is guarded. 50,000 people are removed from the villages in Dantewada district and herded into 23 forcible camps. Special houses are being

constructed in these camps. Central and state governments, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and land lords are extending financial help to these camps and they are adopting these camps. This is to stop the party, PLGA and the revolutionary government from developing by depriving them of human resources and cut off all help. They are trying to turn the people politically, economically and culturally favourable towards the exploitative government. They are describing this as 'Winning the Hearts and Minds' of the people. Their real aim is to make the exploitation and suppression permanent. In Jharkhand, the enemy tried to implement some aspects of the mopping up operations in the name of Sendra and Nagarik Surakhsha Samiti. The enemy will implement this 'strategic hamlet' policy with various modifications in the states where the movement is developing.

Reforms:

In counter insurgency operations, eradication measures and reforms (Fake economic and reform programs) are mainly taken up. So, the wicked policy of the ruling classes is - 'repress before reforms'! The politically backward people who are severely terrorized by the state violence will feel the reforms to be a relief and will be tricked to believe that some thing is being done. They will also nurse illusions that their basic problems also will be slowly solved. By this, the revolutionary surge can be stopped. Ruling class and revisionist party leaders, some reformists, NGOs and petty-bourgeoisie organizations who act as the agents of the state propagate very gladly that this is the solution to long pending problems of the people.

To 'Win the Hearts and Minds' of the people thus, the state and the central governments are implementing various plans by which the people can fulfill certain of their basic needs through the state. Such programmes are – land reforms, schools, hospitals, roads, electricity, wells, agricultural implements, writing off of loans, check dams, repair of the village drains and tanks, forest protection (VSS), allotment of 10,000 rupees to the interior villages to win over the confidence of the people, loan sanctions, reservations in jobs etc. For ex. Central government expended Rs.1200 crores between 1996 and 1999 in AP to implement such reforms. Enemy could achieve success to some extent by following this policy of throwing crumbs. This is being implemented in other states as well with a few modifications. Now, these reform programmes are being extensively implemented in Bijapur, Dantewada, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Chatra, Palamu, Hazaribagh and Gaya districts as part of the pilot programme. Central government has allocated hundreds of crores of rupees as special budget to all the states where the Maoist movement is strong.

They are implementing various reforms with smart names like Janmabhoomi, Vana Sanrakshan Samiti, Astha Sibir, Pan Load, Yuva Sakti, Gaonbandi, Three Tent Programme etc. to divert the people from the revolutionary movement and protect their crumbling social base. In the name of these reforms, the whole state machinery and the ruling class party leadership is pushed forward to spit venom against the revolutionary movement. Chief Ministers and ministers are personally inaugurating these programmes and touring the movement area and spit venom on the revolutionary movement. All the police officers from SI to DGP are indulging in anti-Maoist propaganda for 24 hours a day.

With these reforms, some in the villages are subdued and they are organised as Gram Rakshak Dals, Home guards, SPOs, Chowkidars, agents of the exploitative ruling class parties, Maitree Sanghs, informers and spies. They enter local organizational structures (various mass organizations, militia, party cell, KKC, RPC) and destroy them. They are starting these reforms in interior villages with much fanfare and are setting up the administrative machinery of the exploitative government within a very short period of time. In this process they are also preparing a section of the people against the revolution and to function as a social base for their exploitation.

During the rule of NTR, Mandal (an administrative unit smaller than block and bigger than a panchayat) system of administration was brought in as part of the counter-insurgency policy, and it was consolidated in such a way that the revenue and police officers jointly implement the exploitative policies of the central and state governments with the aim of repression of the Maoist movement. With the same aim, all departments are now directly or indirectly supporting the measures to curb the Maoist movement.

Psychological Warfare:

Enemy has been conducting psychological warfare on the Maoist movement from the beginning as part of counter-insurgency. Prime minister, union home minister, chief ministers, state home ministers and the ruling class parties are all participating in this. Though some are specifically allotted from the IB and SIB to carry out psychological warfare regularly, all the police officers are directly participating in this. The aim of this psychological warfare is to suppress the people who stand in support of the Maoist movement and disrupt the guerilla warfare and wiping it out. This tries to make the exploitation and suppression of the exploited permanent. It tries to mould the public opinion according to the ideology of the exploitative government. Malicious propaganda is being carried out through TV, Radio, Cinema, newspapers, pamphlets and posters.

What is the impact of the surrender policy on the Maoists? How are they viewing the difference between the party leadership and the activists? How far are they able to build up image among the people and the Maoists that the exploitative government is efficient, intelligent and strong? – We can get an idea of how far the psychological warfare campaign has achieved success through the answers to these questions.

Enemy is carrying out malicious campaigns propagating the ideology of the bourgeois intellectuals that socialism and communism are outdated, outlived and defeated ideologies and that the revolution can never be successful. Thus the enemy is confusing the people and the sympathizers of the revolution. Enemy is picturing Maoists as terrorists, violence mongers, separatists and opponents of peace and development and boasting that he would root them out. He is carrying out vicious campaign that the guerillas are killing innocents in the name of informers, carrying out atrocities on women and that the party leaders are leading luxurious lives. They are using methods like making the degenerates and the betrayers give statements about the above lies and spreading rumours.

After killing guerillas in large numbers, state governments and the chief ministers are giving statements that the Naxalite problem can not be solved by the military means alone and that political, economic and social solutions should be found out so as to confuse the people and the democrats. The ruling classes are propagating that it is necessary to use violence to save the people from the perils

of communism and to eradicate the Maoist menace. Thus they are conducting psychological warfare to prepare the people to get habituated to violence.

They are parroting that India is the biggest democracy and that there is no authoritarianism, exploitation, suppression and tyranny and that there is equal justice to all and hence there is no need for revolution here. They are also shouting at the top of their voices that the people here are participating in elections in a very democratic way and that the naxalites are opponents of democracy and are conspiring to destroy the democracy.

The exploitative ruling class parties and the revisionist parties are also heavily propagating that wisdom has dawned upon the Nepali Maoists and hence have joined the main stream with the new theory of multi-party democracy and participated in the elections and even have become rulers. So, Indian Maoists have to realize at least now that they should emulate the Nepali Maoists. Police conducted propaganda war with pamphlets and posters quoting Prachanda and using his photos.

Enemy is mainly propagating that the Indian state is very powerful and that it is not possible for the Maoists guerillas to continuously carry out their struggle and that they can never win. The central and state governments are unleashing unrestrained counter revolutionary violence on the people while carrying out the propaganda that it is necessary to use violence against the Maoists to defend democracy from the attacks of the Maoists.

iv). Future Strategy and Action Plan of Indian ruling classes:

For suppressing the Low Intensity Conflict in North Eastern states, Kashmir and Punjab, the Indian ruling classes acting like the servants of imperialism had implemented all the anti-people counter insurgency operations which they had inherited from British imperialism with more cruelly and brutally. In applying all these counter insurgency operations, the security forces had tasted some success and some failures in the hands guerilla fighters. In the masses of North Eastern states, Kashmir and Punjab, the hatred for the government is not declined. In this back ground unless the basic issues of the people are resolved this Low Intensity Conflict are bound to happen. Indian ruling classes are fearing they are going to happen not only in the border area but also inside the country and create a threat for the internal security. Hence they reviewing the past counter insurgency operations and learning lessons from their failures.

Failures and their Reasons:

There is no clear political-military line and doctrine for the Indian government to counter the Low Intensity Conflict after 1947.

Lack of joint working of political leadership, bureaucracy and military leadership. As a result political leadership and bureaucracy always decide for lower level counter insurgency operations and ask the military leadership to implement. In this situation differences will come out between the political leadership and military leadership. The differences came out at the time of Operation Blue Star is a fine example.

Indian intelligence has certain weaknesses in the collection, analysis and other aspects. Indian military intelligence is still not extensive and very low level. Though there are many civil intelligence agencies their functioning and the information they collect often create confusion in the counter insurgency operations. The limitations and weaknesses of Indian civil intelligence agencies and their failures in intelligence had resulted in the failures of some counter insurgency operations.

Indian ruling classes had learnt lessons from the above important failures in countering the Low Intensity Conflict. The following two lessons are strategically most important.

For effectively countering the Low Intensity Conflict and its revolutionaries modernizing the army with required special training and developing it into a modern special counter-revolutionary force.

Removing the weaknesses in the collection of intelligence and its analysis.

They are gradually coming into practice. The military doctrine of British time was reviewed and replaced with a new doctrine in 2006. For studying the policy and planning for Low Intensity Conflict a separate institute "Center for Conflict Studies and Piece" has been created. The process of creating 10 CRPF battalions specially for counter insurgency operations is under going. The plan of Indian ruling classes is to deploy all these 10 CRPF battalions in the counter insurgency areas by 2010. The latest decision taken by the government is to establish six schools for training in counter insurgency warfare and Jungle warfare in revolutionary areas. There might be some more structural changes in the future.

The important principle in traditional warfare is 'concentration with a preponderance of force'. Indian military had its training in this. But the principle in counter insurgency operations is different – 'dispersion and use of minimum force'. Hence there will be structural

changes in the Indian army used in counter insurgency operations and Low Intensity Conflict in contrast to the traditional army. Indian ruling classes are considering many proposals for bringing out these structural changes. Some of them are given below:

Building Training Institutes:

The first and foremost of structural changes is transforming the army trained in traditional warfare to follow new military doctrine (doctrinal re-alignment). Establishing some regional schools and a central school for providing ideological and practical training in Low Intensity Warfare. Indian army is running a school in North Eastern region on counter insurgency and jungle warfare. Such schools shall be established in Punjab and Kashmir. They act like regional schools and provide training on the particularities of the struggle and the fighters of that region. Central school shall concentrate on the study of counter insurgency planning and policy.

Building Specific Military Formations:

There is a need to build special military formations. Small commando units with experts are to be formed for countering Low Intensity Conflict. For carrying out airborne (helicopter) operations, sabotage & demolition operations, intelligence gathering and counter intelligence activities small units of specialist commandos are very useful. Along with it division level structures are also required for full-scale operations. However they should be light and not heavy like artillery and tanks as they are in traditional war. Instead of heavy old artillery they must carry mortars, RPGs which can be carried on shoulders, modern automatic rifles, machine guns, high-tech vision and surveillance equipment. With all these equipments every soldier must be made powerful from toe to tooth (raising "tooth to tail ratio"). Every soldier in each division must be made strong enough to withstand all types climatic conditions, should have initiative and total self-reliance and should have the capability to improvise and adopt. The specialist commandos with above characteristics should be base coordinators for all the divisions. These divisions should have tactical mobility. For facilitating their mobility they must be allocated helicopters and lightweight armored vehicles on permanent basis. Such division is called as Light Infantry Division (LID) in America. From the total Indian army 30 percent should be allocated for Low Intensity Conflict and converted it into LIDs.

One shouldn't get into the wrong notion that the present special forces are enough for counter insurgency operations and there is no need for LIDs or after LIDs are formed then the special forces can be dispensed with. Both the forces are required for counter insurgency operations. They must cooperate and coordinate with each other.

Establishment of Efficient Intelligence:

Efficient intelligence is most essential for effective counter insurgency operations. As Indian ruling classes are frequently using army for the counter insurgency operations, it is required to collect the information, analyse it and segregate it into "political intelligence" and "operational intelligence". Political intelligence is required from beginning of Low Intensity Conflict, to the stage of the implementation of counter insurgency operations for suppressing them and to the stage after their completion. The requirement for operational intelligence starts just before the deployment of army for conducting counter insurgency operations and ends with completion of operation. The difference between these two types of intelligence is not very clear hence it requires careful analysis.

There are many intelligence organizations in India. They carry out different types of intelligence activities. But intelligence coming from all these organizations, instead of helping the counter insurgency operations they often create confusion. Though Indian government is having a central intelligence organization RAW, it is primarily concentrating on external political intelligence. Hence while continuing the existing organizations there must be one new organization to take the responsibility for total intelligence activities.

Important aspects in the operational intelligence required for the army conducting counter insurgency operations.

The objective of intelligence collection must coincide with the objective of counter insurgency operations. Operational commanders must have clarity on these objectives.

Special forces must be used effectively for intelligence collection.

Recognizing the importance of every small information.

High-tech surveillance systems should be made available at unit level; for collecting information about guerillas and their leadership.

As guerilla commanders and leadership are important for the struggle, intelligence collection must target them.

While collecting information from the people counter insurgency forces should behave with human attitude.

As intelligence is very critical for the counter insurgency operations command, it should never be neglected.

Keeping in view of the above aspects, the Indian military intelligence system is being extended with new perspective for the counter insurgency operations.

Psychological Operations:

As part of counter insurgency operations to counter the impact of propaganda of rebels and their sensationalism in the media psychological warfare operations should be carried out. There should be planned and coordinated effort for the conduct of these operations.

With the support of imperialists and by imitating the imperialist armies, exploitative Indian ruling classes shall modernize their army, special force, intelligence and other organs and structures with the sole objective of suppressing. They are going to implement counter insurgency warfare more brutally and more specifically targeted against mass struggles. This warfare shall be implemented systematically with two phases strategy. In the first phase with the objective of isolating the fighters (revolutionaries) from the people strategical villages are created and the program of “winning the people’s hearts” shall be taken as campaign. Some of the people who are either not in favor of movement or against the movement are organized against the movement using every possible means and are used for the counter insurgency operations. In the mean time for revolutionary leadership and for their dumps special forces shall continue their attacks through covert operations. In the second phase there will be high-level commando operations. Counterinsurgency forces are using the same tactics used by revolutionaries. During these operations government machinery will support the counter insurgency forces by conducting large scale psychological warfare. Covert patrolling and the attacks by hired killer gangs formed by government with anti-revolutionary gangs shall take place. For providing emergency support heliborne (forces in helicopter) forces shall be available every time.

VI. LIC in our understanding

i). Concept:

The erstwhile Central Committee of the CPI (ML) (PW) hasn’t recognized the multi-pronged attack perpetuated in Andhra Pradesh as part of LIC till August 2000. The Central and state governments together have in a planned manner taken Andhra Pradesh as a model to comprehensively implement the LIC strategy and tactics formulated by the imperialists and have been keeping up an attack in all manners – not just militarily but politically, economically, culturally and ideologically since 1996. The erstwhile CPI (ML)(PW) CC failed in formulating effective counter tactics against the enemy tactics by studying the LIC in time and educating the whole party on this. Since it fell victim to subjectivism and spontaneity wrong trends, it could not get to know in time what particular strategy and tactics were being developed by the enemy with the support of the imperialists. Since it did not study those strategy and tactics constantly, it could not deploy the party, guerilla forces and the revolutionary mass organizations accordingly. It could not formulate concrete methods and principles and new structures necessary for the new situation. It lagged behind in developing military line clearly, according to the times in a creative manner. As a result it failed to build the people’s guerilla army in time (1992) and face the multi-pronged attack of the enemy effectively.

The central and state governments together had conducted repressive campaigns to crush the Maoist movement in Andhra Pradesh in 1985 and 1991. On the other hand when the NTR Telugu Desam government was in power itself, between 1985-89 long term preparations had started as part of LIC strategy and the formation of specially trained SIB and Grey Hounds forces had taken place. The Central and state governments took lessons from the repressive campaigns of 1985 and 1991 and intensified long term preparations with special budgets. They strengthened the informer and intelligence networks and achieved co ordination. Along with achieving development in military attacks they expanded the surrender policies, covert operations and murders by black gangs and introduced newly the counseling policy. Efforts were intensified to develop roads and communications, to trick people with illusions with false reform policies and isolate a section from the people and position them in opposition to the revolutionary movement. The enemy intensified psychological war on revolutionary movement and carried a comprehensive multi pronged attack by co ordinating all sectors and supportive organizations.

When it came to practice, as there were serious lapses in countering the LIC attack of the enemy, in preparing the whole party, guerilla forces, various revolutionary mass organizations and people, in making them resist properly, in making other structural, military preparations and changes, we faced more losses.

To defeat the comprehensive, joint LIC attack campaign of the central and state governments in Andhra Pradesh since 1996, we haven’t mobilized people on a large scale in political and military actions as part of people’s war or taken up enemy eradication attacks (ambush, raid, annoying actions and sabotage actions) till the year 2000. We could not insist with the state committees of Andhra Pradesh and North Telangana on the need to retreat tactically some of our forces in a planned manner to strategic and geographically favorable areas as part of preserving our subjective forces when the enemy forces are dangerously concentrated in these areas. After understanding the LIC policy being implemented by the central and state governments jointly and in a comprehensive manner in Andhra Pradesh a policy was prepared to defeat it and a circular was released in August 2000.

The erstwhile CPI (ML)(PW) reviewed and realized the lapses and failures in the 9th Congress and formulated a concrete programme.

ii). The policy we formulated to defeat LIC:

Aim of the enemy – annihilating the revolutionary movement all over the country by carrying on large scale attacks with strategy and tactics of LIC. For this purpose the central and state governments are together concentrating particularly on Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand states.

The aim of People's War in opposition to that – preserving our party and PLGA by countering the enemy LIC attack, to expand by strengthening our forces, intensifying struggle in all spheres, defeating the enemy's aim by intensifying guerilla warfare all over the country by building guerilla zones with the aim of Base Areas.

The most important part in defeating the enemy LIC repressive attack is to prepare people politically for resistance. The vast masses, party, mass organizations, militia and PLGA should together counter the enemy LIC attack with arms in the form of campaigns.

We are doing two kinds of mistakes in assessing the enemy. 1. Under-assessment of the enemy strength. 2. Over-assessment of the enemy strength. Both these are becoming an obstacle in countering the enemy attack and leading to losing our subjective forces thereby showing our back to the enemy. We should distance our cadres from these two wrong trends. Otherwise revolutionary movement will be damaged.

Tasks:

We must take care to safeguard our subjective forces. Safeguarding our subjective forces doesn't just mean following tech principles and discipline. According to the needs, we should transfer our forces from some areas to safer places either completely (according to the intensity of the enemy attack) or for some time (eg. in summer).

A strong, secret party mechanism should be built up. A well built party mechanism which would co ordinate legal and secret activists without getting exposed to the enemy should be built up in all states immediately. A suitable mechanism to co ordinate between various states' movements should be built up.

A mechanism should be built up to gather information about the enemy. Knowing the chinks in the enemy espionage system and damaging the enemy espionage system should be the aim of our intelligence. So our intelligence system should be formed at all levels.

We should strengthen PLGA and increase armed resistance daringly. The PLGA while concentrating on the enemy and damaging him, should also build up action squads in all areas and destroy all kinds of single targets. We must particularly concentrate on cruel police/SIB officers and CIDs. The counter attack in opposition to the enemy attack should be carried out intensely in the form of campaigns.

We should prepare the people not to give any assistance to the police and para military forces which come to attack the villages. We must strengthen the people's militia and prepare the people to counter the enemy. The people's militia should take up annoying actions to damage the morale of the police.

The LIC attack on Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand movements should be exposed all over the country. Rallies and agitations in support of these movements should be taken up and a broad united front with forces that would come together all over the country should be built up. People and democrats should be mobilized against dangerous black laws like POTA.

People facing repression, parents of martyrs and democrats should be organized in various forms of anti-repression organizations. Widespread agitations should be taken up against fake encounters and against government repression which is trampling the right to life of the people. A wide united front should be built up.

We must expose the anti people policies. We must prepare the people to boycott and resist the counseling, the Mythri organizations, three tent programmes, people's darbars, police melas, surrender and rehabilitation programmes, Janjagran, Astha sibirs, village defence squads, Jan Jagruthi and Lok adalats undertaken by the government and police. We must counter the bad propaganda done by the police cultural troupes against the revolutionary movement. The fake reform programmes and the trickery of the ruling classes should be exposed among the people. We must give the understanding to all our party members and the people that our people's war is a war between the people and the state. Every people's struggle should be developed into a militant struggle and connected with the armed struggle. People should be mobilized people on a vast scale into political struggles and made the main actors in seizing political power.

iii). Lapses in practice:

The LIC attack on the Maoist movement intensified all over the country between 2001-2007. Along with the repressive annihilation attacks of SIB and greyhounds forces, attack forms like government reforms and psychological warfare were also intensified. Eradication of revolutionary movement was intensified by forming government sponsored armed gangs, coverts and informers. In the attack campaign taken up this time, the government used coverts and informers extensively. Even in areas where our movement is not present, it formed informer network in the name of Mythri Sanghams, homeguards and SPOs as a preventive measure. The police mainly used the method of tapping communications between party leaders and cadres through cell phones and inflicting damages.

The policy formulated to defeat the LIC just remained at an ordinary level from the CC to the lower levels. It is not enough to just know it by reading circulars, reviews, articles and books. The study of the CC is partial in constantly studying concretely the strategy and tactics implemented by the enemy in Andhra Pradesh, realizing the political and military counter tactics we should be taking up in opposition and in coming to an assessment on the concrete conditions. We should find out the political and military tactics to be taken up creatively in practice through concrete field study. Basing on this we should discuss in combined study in state committees and implement strongly the resolutions taken up with correct political and military tactics. The results should be reviewed. Since we did not do this, there were wrong trends, organizational weaknesses and a trend of taking decisions as and how they come to mind in those situations had arisen. The CC could not implement the correct method mentioned above. So right from the central and state committees to the lower level committees none could develop the advancement of the guerilla war by defeating the enemy LIC attack. Since we followed a routine, customary method we could not damage the enemy.

Not having an organized mass base showed great ill effect on the level and quality of our resistance. As a result it became a war between our PLGA and the enemy forces. The CC takes the main responsibility for the failure in not taking up appropriate tactics and preventing losses.

As a result we lost subjective forces on a large scale. We were damaged organizationally and the movement in the whole of AP state suffered a temporary setback. There was desperation in the party and PLGA and a defeatist mentality developed. The Unity Congress-9th Congress reviewed the following as the failures.

We could not evolve.....(this has to be filled from our POR).....any breathing space.

We could not give appropriate training to our PLGA fighting the specially trained SIB and greyhound forces. Without keeping the basic principle in mind that the enemy should not know about our tactics in war, many of our plans became exposed to the enemy and there were serious lapses in our military formations and in work methods. The platoons and squads were not in constant movement, camps were run for long periods and security measures were not followed while camping. As a result there were surprise attacks by the enemy and we suffered heavy losses. In many instances when the enemy attacked us and we attacked the enemy, commanders could not achieve command and control. Our forces retreated in a haphazard manner. It was not correct on our part to depend on cell phones for our communication needs. The enemy observed this and gathered our information time to time through scanning methods and inflicted serious losses on us. Along with these weaknesses we could not develop the mental preparation for sacrifice in our ranks which is most crucial in a revolutionary war. This weakness came to the fore in some people during daring attacks on the enemy and in preserving most valuable secrets when caught by the enemy. We are lagging behind in damaging the enemy by deceit. The state and central committees failed in helping to overcome these political and military weaknesses.

VII. The strategy to defeat LIC

i). Preparation:

1). Political Preparation:

We must know what strategy the imperialists are developing to face ideological, political, organizational and military line of the proletariat and to intensify the exploitation, oppression and repression for world hegemony. We must study the constantly the changes in political, economic, military and social spheres under imperialism. We must study what kind of politics the imperialists and their agent feudal and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie classes are perpetuating in semi colonial and semi feudal countries in accordance with the above. We must continuously study the strategy of the American imperialism which is the number one enemy of the world's oppressed peoples, nations and tribes and acting as the police of the world. We must investigate what strategy it is developing to repress and destroy the proletariat people's war strategy, national liberation struggles and democratic movements and try to deeply understand it. Since we would solve the new democratic revolution in India through people's war and people's army, our central committee should provide efficient leadership to the war. It should prepare itself and prepare the whole party, the proletariat, the peasantry and all oppressed people. Our study of the imperialist, feudal and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie classes with a strategic viewpoint should be deep. We should have the aim of defeating the enemy. We must deeply understand our strategy and the enemy strategy. We must study the changing conditions continuously and carry on this process till the enemy is defeated completely. Half baked understanding of the enemy LIC strategy and tactics is leading to a narrow outlook in conducting class struggle. It will create conditions for the defeat of class struggle in practice.

We would not be able to advance the class war or people's war even one step if we just knew the general principles. Participating concretely in class war, concrete field study, combined study in committees, discussions, taking up resolutions by coming to an understanding, implementing them with proletariat will of steel – we must apply our political military line to actual

conditions through these methods. We must formulate concrete work methods, structures and discipline to effectively put this into practice. Likewise we must study the international Maoist revolutions, nationality movements in the country and abroad and apply those experiences creatively to our revolutionary movements.

We must understand the future strategy and practical policies of the Indian ruling classes through study. Only by studying all the aspects regarding the enemy armed forces and their ancillary structures, we would be able to withstand. By studying the LIC strategy and tactics of the enemy forces and by formulating alternatives to face them we would be able to carry on people's war effectively. Any kind of negligence in this would be inviting defeat. It is the responsibility of the CC to review in combined studies, discussions and classes so that the whole party has a uniform political understanding on the policies formulated by it. The results in the advancement of people's war would be in accordance with the uniform political understanding developed in the whole party, PLGA, mass organization and people about LIC. The central and state committees should politically train the party ranks, PLGA and mass organizations on the immediate changes occurring from time to time through continuous study.

It should strengthen the party committees to lead this protracted people's war boldly.

Preparing the people for people's war:

The vast masses are still not able to understand the nature of the LIC attack perpetuated by the central and state governments with the support of the imperialists. They are not able to see the enemy with class consciousness. They are not able to understand the deceitful war of the enemy. We must propagate extensively among the people about the deceitful war politics of the enemy (reforms, counseling, covert, black gangs etc) and raise their class consciousness. This should be a continuous effort. Unless the people understand the deceitful LIC enemy attack, they will not be able to fight the enemy with enthusiasm. We should intensify the people's war. People's war trains the people politically. It keeps the people alert. It will make them active in people's war. We must raise the consciousness of the people to such a level that participating in the justified people's war for their class is accepted by them as a part of their life. We must train them so that they see the solution to their basic problems and a bright future in the victory of the people's war. We must organize the people in the building of people's war and bring to the fore the hidden bravery inside them. We must choose such work and organizational methods which ensure close relations with the masses.

We must educate the people and make them expose the 'strategic hamlet' policy which is used by the enemy to isolate the party and PLGA from the masses and the policies which try to woo the middle classes through reforms. We must creatively take up such policies which would prevent the enemy from getting the support of the people and defeat the deceitful methods of the enemy. We must preserve the unity of the people through class consciousness. We must mobilize vast masses in anti feudal and imperialist struggles for their daily needs, important issues that need solution and basic problems.

We must try to divide the enemy by using the contradictions between the ruling classes. Our dealing should be such that the ruling class parties do not unite against the Maoist violence rising above their party ideologies. For this we must choose targets according to the conditions and times.

Even in the most adverse conditions we must follow class line and mass line. Only by getting rid of sectarian and bureaucratic work methods which isolate us from the masses, we will be able to unite the people and use the contradictions between the ruling classes.

We must build a broad united front with people of all sections at all places against the state repression on people fighting against the feudal and imperialist policies. The ruling classes are formulating new black laws from time to time with the aim of repressing and extinguishing the revolutionary movement and implementing them. We must form broad united front against these and build up a movement.

We must counter the psychological warfare carried out by the enemy on our party using various methods from time to time. We must build the necessary structures for this purpose. They must be given a proper understanding of LIC. They should conduct psychological warfare on the enemy in the form of campaigns continuously. They should counter and expose the propaganda that communism is outdated and that it is an outdated ideology. We must propagate the fact that it is imperialism which is outdated and the truth that the proletariat, peasantry and all oppressed people cannot have liberation unless it is overthrown. Our propaganda should be conducted in such a way that people's support increases and people embrace and implement the ideology as their own.

We must develop the urban movement in support of the protracted people's war with proper orientation. We must develop many resources and recruitment from the proletariat. There must be a change in the orientation of the part time party members in the urban areas. Especially the sacrificing nature and the determination to fight the enemy bravely should increase. Their psychological preparation should change so that they can help the people's war in various ways. We must develop them in such a manner that they fight with a proletarian outlook and realize that we can achieve nothing unless the enemy is annihilated. The part time party members working in various mass organizations should also develop this mental preparation with this outlook.

2). Organizational preparations:

A proletariat party is essential if we have to defeat the LIC strategy of the enemy and advance the people's war.

Right from the CC to the party members a united thought, understanding and practice should be developed politically and militarily; the people's war strategy and tactics should be implemented with determination and resolute discipline. To defeat the LIC attack of the enemy we essentially need a party leadership which fights boldly and courageously, an organized mass of people and a sharp counter attack plan. We must prepare the committees, commissions and commands so that they give effective leadership to people's war with initiative.

The central and state committees should definitely concentrate on strategic study. Likewise teams should be formed from the committees by allotting some comrades to particularly concentrate and study. There should be special study teams for political, economic and military aspects. The central and state committees must conduct combined study, discuss, come to a common understanding, make resolutions, resolutely participate in implementing them, review and solve the problems faced. Especially military science is not studied deeply. As a result we are lagging behind in formulating struggle and organizational forms in time.

It is the main responsibility of the central and state committees to formulate people's war plan, implement, review and develop it. These are compulsory tasks. When the CC is not in session, the PB, CMC and RBs should take up the main responsibility. CMC will concentrate specially. Likewise after the state committee meeting, SAMC/SMC will concentrate specially.

Co ordination should increase right from the CC to the area committees. Likewise we should choose appropriate methods so that co ordination increases from the CMC to the commands. The art of centralizing and de centralizing should be taken up with co ordination.

We should form strategic intelligence all over the country and strengthen it. We should develop counter intelligence against the enemy intelligence. We must form military intelligence from top to bottom and strengthen it. We must give special training to appropriate people and improve their work methods. We must choose appropriate committed people who would penetrate the enemy ranks in various ways and infiltrate. This is very important.

We must the PLGA units such that they fight with initiative independently and efficiently. If the PLGA has to fight competently we have to develop the necessary departments. If these are not developed properly the development of the people's war will be slow. Recruitments from various sections of the people should be increased. We must concentrate with long term perspective with a plan to mobilize all kinds of energies, skills and talents required for the people's war.

If we translate into practice with proletariat determination through strong structures (party, PLGA, UF) all the things written in our letters, circulars, the aims and tasks written in our PORs, the political and military line we formulated, the policies, resolutions, methods and principles we had formulated from time to time, the people's war would advance. If not, the trend of taking decisions as and when we think, organizational weaknesses and wrong trends in central and state committees would come to the fore. There would be mistrust on the leadership.

3). Military preparations:

Protracted People's War – wipe out the enemy forces as far as possible, safeguard own forces as far as possible – to achieve this task the fighting ability and skills and strength of the PLGA should be increased accordingly. For this PLGA should be strengthened and expanded. Likewise the fighting ability of the PLGA is not decided just by its military talent. More than anything it depends on its political consciousness, political impact, mobilization of vast masses and convincing the vast masses to accept our leadership.

The enemy is preparing immediately the special commando forces and SIB which were given special training to implement the enemy LIC strategy and tactics to defeat the aims and tasks decided upon by us. It is forming special commando forces from 30% of the army. Unless we destroy the special commando forces coming with modern weapons, their fortifications and the camps established as part of carpet security we cannot advance the people's war. We will not be able to achieve our aim by defeating the enemy. The preparation of the party and PLGA should be such as to face a bigger and harsher enemy. The PLGA forces and people's militia should be given thorough training on enemy LIC strategy-tactics and its attacks in all spheres i.e. political, military, economic and cultural spheres. We must train them with a counter attack plan of people's war strategy-tactics in opposition to that. We must raise their consciousness to implement it with discipline and get results.

The special commando forces should be divided into many parts and destroyed; there should be change in our modern weaponry and military training which would destroy the fortifications. The strength and skills of PLGA should be increased in all manners. Accordingly the strength and skills of commissions and commands should be increased. We must develop guerilla tactics which would damage the enemy by deceiving him. We must implement guerilla war tactics efficiently and creatively. We must get rid of weaknesses and legal work methods in PLGA immediately. We must accustom ourselves to harsh conditions. We should not hesitate to make sacrifices. We should fight bravely, boldly with courage. Even if we are caught there should be no change in our revolutionary nature. We should display class consciousness. We must not let surrender mentality to come nearby and demonstrate proletariat outlook. We must develop the courage to fight in hard and difficult conditions.

PLGA forces participating in special raids, short surprise attacks and ambushes should be given special training according to the target. We must concentrate on companies and battalions, strengthen them politically and militarily and destroy special targets.

Our struggle and organizational forms should change according to the changes in the enemy. We must centralize and decentralize our forces according to the times and achieve our war aims. There should be flexibility in our tactics. We should not make mistakes coming under the pressure of the enemy. We should never let desperation, despondency and defeatist mentality enter inside us. Whether in victory or defeat fighting is crucial.

We must target the cruel, murderous Special Intelligence (SIB) officers, police officers and special commando forces who are in the forefront in formulating the enemy plans and in implementing them. We must form action teams for special targets and inspire them to fight boldly, daringly with training. They must fight daringly and annihilate the enemy. Special targets should be eliminated with the higher fighting consciousness that we must dedicate ourselves for our class and with a fighting spirit to eliminate the enemy daringly by sacrificing our lives. Likewise as PLGA expands special platoons and companies should be formed newly for special targets and they should be eliminated by giving them political and military training.

There would be snipers, grenadiers, artillery and LMG in PLGA. Special teams for mines and booby traps should be developed. There would be good results if we use the strengths and skills of these teams efficiently in raids and ambushes. Units should have special recon teams. Special militia units should be developed to meet the needs of supplies. We must get people's support in all things.

Tactical counter offensive campaigns should be launched with coordination to defeat the LIC. Small, medium and big actions should be launched with the aim of seizure of arms. Sharp counter attack plans should be made, implemented with determination and victories won. Party committees, commissions and commands should prepare plans with initiative and implement them. The PLGA should think creatively, deceive the enemy with people's support and launch military attacks in various new ways which the enemy least expects. When we take fighting on subjective effort crucially we can win many victories.

There should be special concentration on people's militia. We must build militia on a vast scale, arm it and launch military attacks. It should be developed constantly. There should be special concentration of the committees, commissions and commands on them. Neglecting this would affect the development of the PLGA. The PLGA would become isolated in fighting. Hence the base force should be built strongly and developed.

We must eliminate the traitors whom the enemy had infiltrated into the party and PLGA. There should be constant vigilance. We are still facing the danger of coverts as party methods and policies are not strictly implemented by the party committees and they are being liberal. If necessary they should be physically eliminated. We must raise the class outlook among people, mass organizations, PLGA and party against, reprehensible covert war. Revolutionary vigilance should be taken up in party and PLGA, especially by party committees, commissions, commands, commanders and commissars.

The counter revolutionary black gangs should be eliminated. We must extensively propagate the atrocities of these black gangs among the people and raise class hatred among the people to the level of punishing these black gang leaders and members. We must give special training and education so that people are able to identify infiltration attempts of enemy agents with constant vigilance. We must especially concentrate on the leadership of Nagrik Suraksha Samitis, Gram Rakshak Dal and Salwa Judum and eliminate them. They should be disarmed. Cruel anti people persons should be punished in people's courts. They should accept their anti people and anti revolutionary activities and mistakes in front of the people and apologize. Their activities should be controlled through constant vigil of the people and the militia.

ii). Implimentation

iii). Review

LIC is the comprehensive counter revolutionary war strategy of the imperialists. The exploiting ruling classes of various countries are adopting this strategy according to the conditions in their countries and are suppressing the revolutionary movements, nationality movements and resistance struggles there. They are reviewing the new experiences they are getting during the suppression and are sharpening their strategies. The imperialists are deeply reviewing the experiences world over and are constantly improving the LIC strategy. That is why the strategy was able to shape up as a wholesome of worldwide experiences.

In order to face such a cruel counter revolutionary war strategy we have to formulate a counter strategy with study and analysis and practice it with determination. Not just that, it is very much necessary to review our practice constantly and make additions and amendments to our counter strategy. This review has to be made keeping in mind the experiences in our country and all over the world.

1). Review with experiences of our country

We have to review the practice of the counter strategy formulated to defeat LIC within a specific time period and take proper lessons. The CC should take responsibility for this. We can defeat LIC only by understanding the condition of the enemy and the conditions of our domestic situation thoroughly. So, only by applying Maoism to the concrete conditions in our country we can formulate a proper counter strategy. The conditions of the enemy and the domestic situation keep changing continuously. So it would be an anti Marxist understanding to think that once we had formulated counter strategy and tactics they would remain unchanged till we defeat the enemy. Only by continuously observing every change in the strategy and tactics of the enemy and by reviewing our practice we can defeat the enemy.

In India enemy had been using LIC strategy not only on the revolutionary movement but also in North-East and Jammu Kashmir since many years. He used it very severely on the Khalistan movement too and had gained many experiences. Only when we

recognize that all these experiences which the enemy gained as the concrete application of LIC to Indian conditions, we would be able to understand LIC in our country comprehensively. Though there are some differences between nationality struggles and revolutionary struggles, there are lot of common features too. So we need not have any doubts about the fact that the enemy would apply the LIC strategy and tactics used on nationality movements to the revolutionary movement more cruelly. So we have to study deeply the LIC used by the enemy on the nationality movements and come to an assessment about its possible impact on the revolutionary movement. The enemy would use the experiences in suppressing the revolutionary movement to suppress the nationality struggles.

The most important and foremost point in our review is whether we have formulated a comprehensive strategy to defeat LIC or not. The second point is whether we have properly implemented the strategy we had formulated or not.

The responsibility lies with the CC till it studies the material conditions concretely, formulates policies, implements them with determination and gets results. It is also the responsibility of the CC to review the shortcomings that occurred in this total process, correct the mistakes and enrich our strategy and tactics.

Making superficial study and formulating very ordinary policies means that we are recognizing the seriousness of the problem. Even if we study deeply and formulate policies but do not implement it with determination it means the same. Our aim is to defeat the enemy. There would be no basis to say that we have won a victory till the enemy is vanquished.

So, even our review should be very deep. Is the strategy we formulated based on proper ideological and political foundation? Are we observing the changes coming in enemy strategy and tactics? Are we making changes in our practice accordingly? How is our preparation to face the enemy politically, organizationally and militarily? How is our planned effort? Such factors should be definitely reviewed.

2). Review with world experiences

LIC strategy is not something formulated from the experiences in one or two countries. It is a comprehensive strategy formulated from world wide experiences. So we cannot understand it fully with the experiences of a single country.

Though the LIC strategy implemented in our country is a concrete application of the imperialist strategy, if our review is restricted just to our experiences we would become a victim of spontaneity. If we do not assimilate experiences of nationality struggles, revolutionary struggles and resistance struggles of other countries then we become immersed in empiricism.

In the present conditions where the world socialist revolution is weak and there is no strong international communist organization and there is not a single base for the world socialist revolution, though there are many limitations in collecting, analysing and synthesizing world wide experiences it is not impossible. It is an inevitable pre-condition too. Unless we fulfil this task which is a part of the world socialist revolution it is neither possible to make revolution victorious in any country nor sustain the successful revolutions.

That is why while reviewing the counter strategy we formulated in opposition to the LIC we must also take into consideration the strategy used by the imperialists in various countries. We also have to review how much of the revolutionary experiences we had assimilates and where we had failed. It is also very necessary to review to what extent we are observing the changes taking place. We should be able to recognize the impact of the world wide phenomena on the LIC strategy implemented in our country and the way it is implemented and its application according to the concrete conditions here. Thus we would be able to get rid of our shortcomings only when we analyze in the dialectical method and a proper review is made. Victory will be on our way.

VIII. Reference Books

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