**在印度共产党（毛主义）第九次代表大会胜利闭幕的背景下采访总书记甘纳帕蒂同志。**

**《人民进行曲》第8卷第7期 2007 年7月。**

**来源：<https://icspwindia.wordpress.com/（支持印度人民战争网）印共毛成立十周年纪念册>，英文原版在中文版结尾后。**

**翻译：Telegram 人民战争-中文广播频道**

**【下面的问题已经由各家报纸发给印度共产党（毛主义）总书记甘纳帕蒂（Ganapathy），其中一半以上是由BBC发出的。甘纳帕蒂的回答是在印度共产党(毛主义)代表大会圆满结束和其他最新事态发展的背景下发送给媒体的--印度共产党（毛主义）发言人阿扎德，2007年4月24日】**

**关于印度共产党（毛主义）的统一大会**

***提问1：我们听说你们在时隔近37年后于最近成功召开了党的代表大会，为什么耽搁了这么长时间？***

**甘纳帕蒂：的确，我们上一次召开大会（第八次大会）--还要追溯到1970年。大会近37年没有召开的原因是国内革命力量的状况。在上一次大会召开两年后，革命运动遭受了严重的挫折；党的领导机构-中央委员会，由于成员的牺牲、被捕而变得支离破碎，甚至被如萨蒂亚纳拉扬-辛格（Satyanarayan Singh，简称SN Singh）这样的人背叛，事实上，他们在1971年9月就已经分裂了党。在查鲁-马宗达（Charu Majumdar）同志牺牲后，整个中央委员会就不存在了，因为它分裂成了几个派别。之所以说是派别是因为他们都是原来印度共产党（马列）的一部分。长期作为独立的团体存在，使他们在一段时间内有了独特的身份，成为拥有各自纲领和策略的独立集团和政党。此外，他们还对过去进行了自我批评。这样的状况使得统一进程变得更加困难。**

**一些团体开始走上丹吉派（Danges）和乔希派（Joshis）的老路，尽管他们声称反对这条路线，如维诺德·米什拉(Vinod Mishra)领导的“解放”组织（Liberation），该组织在经历了70年代辉煌斗争的历史后，于20世纪80年代初开始堕落。有些人持续把反政府武装斗争的开始时间无限期地推迟到将来某个“吉利”的日子，还狡辩的说国家太强大了，武装对抗需要更多的时间和准备。因此，他们把自己局限于所谓的农民武装抵抗阶段，或者说是反封建斗争阶段。到今天为止，这些组织还没有完成与国家武装对抗的准备工作！这些是右翼机会主义团体，如纳吉·雷迪-拉奥派集团（TN-DV），ND，钱德拉·普拉-雷迪派集团（Chandra Pulla Reddy，简称CP- Reddy）等。另外，也有一些派别固守印共（马列）最初的纲领，拒绝对过去的错误采取批判性的看法，他们继续教条的执行“左倾宗派主义”错误路线，高估国际形势和主观力量、低估敌人的力量，因此不能建立起任何有意义的革命运动。只有印共（马列）人民战争集团【CPI(ML-PW）】和印共（马列）统一党中央组织委员会【CPI(ML-PU）】等少数党派坚持了八大的基本路线，并对过去的错误策略和运动中的缺点进行了自我批判，从而进一步丰富了路线，并在改进的路线指导下发动了人民战争。因此，它们能够在国内不同的地区发展起相当强大的革命运动。**

**这些就是印共（马列）的基本情况。但另一方面，由卡奈·查特吉（KC）、阿穆利亚·森（Amulya Sen）和钱德拉·谢卡尔·达斯（Chandra Shekhar Das）同志领导的毛主义共产主义中心（MCC）成长为一个与印共（马列）拥有相同革命纲领的独立政党，这两个党当时就应该合并成为一个党，然而由于一些历史原因，在查鲁·马宗达同志领导时期，这一点没能实现。后来，随着印共（马列）在1972年的分裂，统一成了未来的事情。从那时起，共产主义革命者的统一成为了每一个革命组织的任务之一。但统一进程不是仅凭革命者自己的意愿就能够实现的，诚挚的统一意愿无疑是一个重要因素，但起决定性作用的是政党的政治路线和实践。因此，在20世纪80年代和90年代期间，毛主义共产主义中心、印共{（马列）人民战争}和印共（马列）统一党中央组织委员会等政党建立了强大的革命运动后，才奠定了统一的坚实基础。然而，由于政治上的分歧，以及领导层自觉努力实现统一方面的缺陷，这些政党之间的统一在很长一段时间内都无法实现。如果需要，我可以详细说明这一点。党的第九次代表大会迟迟未能召开的主要原因是国内各主要革命力量之间未能实现团结统一。**

***提问2：这么多年没有召开代表大会，党内民主怎么保证呢？党的干部是如何制定党的路线、方针和政策的？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我上面所说的具体特点，是由于我们未能实现国内所有真正的共产主义革命者的统一而导致长期没有举行新的代表大会，这并不是否定党内民主。每个革命党都有自己的内部民主程序，让干部参与政策制定。毛主义共产主义中心,、印共（马列)[人民战争]和印共（马列)[统一党]都会定期召开中央会议、全体会议以及专题会议等。在会议中总结了过去的工作、人民战争中的不利和有利的形势，灵活改变党的方针和政策，丰富党的路线。中央会议在实质上就类似于代表大会，之所以没有把它叫做代表大会是因为国内存在着各种尚未完成统一的革命政党和集团。人们普遍认为，在实现了国内所有革命力量的统一之后，就可以召开代表大会。昔日的革命政党【现在已经成为印共（毛）的一部分了】--如印度毛主义共产主义中心（MCCI）、印共(马列)[人民战争]【CPI(ML)(PW)】和印共(马列)[统一党]【CPI(ML)(PU)】都定期召开了他们的中央会议和中央全体会议。早在1976年，人民战争集团就在特伦甘纳邦召开了他们的地区会议；它的邦会议在1980年召开；它的中央全会在1990年召开；它的全印度特别会议在1995年召开；它的代表大会在2001年召开。同样印度毛主义共产主义中心在1996年，统一党集团在1983年、1987年、1996年召开了他们的中央会议。**

**因此，通过这些会议和全会，全党都参与了民主讨论、党内斗争和民主解决一切有争议的问题的过程。事实上，在和毛主义共产主义中心的合并谈判失败以后，印共（马列）[人民战争]开始准备召开1995年代表大会。人民战争集团在1995年召开的全印度特别会议（AISC）原计划是要准备开成一次代表大会的，但在最后一刻我们决定将其名称改为一个特别会议，但却具有代表大会的意义。这样做是考虑到与印共（马列）统一党中央组织委员会统一的前景。在2001年，统一后的印共（马列）[人民战争]召开了第九次代表大会，但是人民战争党只代表印共（马列）原有革命者的一部分。这次大会的召开是由于人民战争集团领导层的评估，即与印度毛主义共产主义中心的统一在相对较长的时间内可能不会实现，特别是在当时两党关系紧张的背景下。后来，这一评估被证明是错误的。在第九次代表大会举办的三年半之后，印共(马列) [人民战争]和印度毛主义共产主义中心两党合并，组成了新的印度共产党（毛主义）。总而言之，尽管我们已经很长时间没有召开代表大会，但各革命政党都长期保留了健康的民主政策，为之后的多党合并打下了基础。**

***提问3：我们从一些媒体的报道中听说，最近举行的统一代表大会上产生了严重的分歧，强烈反对您再次当选为总书记，甚至不能选举产生中央机构。这些是真的吗？***

**甘纳帕蒂：这种捏造的新闻报道是基于一些媒体人员的猜测，但主要是情报机构发动的造谣运动的一部分。特别是安得拉邦国家情报局（APSIB），有一个专门负责发布此类虚假信息的部门，其唯一目的是在人民和党的干部中制造混乱。在两个毛主义政党合并以后，特别是在过去的一年里，他们已经开始传播这样的虚假新闻了。他们拼命传播谣言：“统一并不是原则性的一致；以往的两个党有严重的分歧；从他们各自的实践中可以反映出两个党不同的路线”等等。**

**我们知道你所说的这些媒体报道是从哪里来的。 这些警方的报道是由国家情报局（SIB）从哈纳姆康达（Hanamkonda）地区传真过来的，并于3月26日在一些泰卢固日报上发表。通过报道，这些骗子拼命地对我党的情况进行了完全错误的描述。他们试图证明前印度毛主义共产主义中心想通过更多的军事行动来加剧人民战争，而前人民战争集团的同志则认为最好暂时推迟这些行动，以把力量集中用在营造激进的群众运动上面。这些编造的谎言没有一丝真实性。看到这样的报道确实很有趣。就在10天前，人民解放游击军（PLGA）发动了毛主义运动历史上最大规模的行动，击毙了68名警察，其中包括恰蒂斯加尔邦拉尼博迪利（Rani Bodii）地区的“特别警务队”（SPO，由政府从民间招募青壮年组成的武装队伍），而且我们还宣布，如果反动统治阶级不放弃以“和平行动”（Salwa Judum）为名的残暴屠杀和破坏运动，党还会发动更多这样的武装行动。**

**这些警察编造的假新闻传播着这样的谎言：“挫折和分歧如此严重，以至于代表大会甚至无法重组政治局、中央委员会、中央军事委员会和各邦级委员会，一些主要领导人有可能面临纪律处分。"事实上是，在印度革命史上还从未出现过如此强大和团结的中央和地方党组织。大会一致选出了中央委员会，设立了政治局、中央军事委员会、各地方局以及中央部门和下属委员会。我可以自豪地说，建立一个领导印度革命的强有力的中央领导机构是代表大会的重大成就之一。邦委员会由相应的邦会议选出，而不是全国性的代表大会。很明显这些假新闻是国家情报局的拙劣制作。**

**更有趣的是，从报道中听到一些主要领导人可能受到包括降职在内的纪律处分，这些胡言乱语毫无真实性。这反映出的不仅仅是虚假信息宣传战，而且反映出了国家情报局和安得拉邦警察绝望地盼望着我们党的主要领导被降职的卑鄙心理。**

注：“和平行动”（Salwa Judum）：在印度中央政府的支持下，恰蒂斯加尔邦地方政府在2005年发动的地区性大规模围剿行动，旨在镇压该地区的印共（毛）组织。“和平行动”围剿期间，恰蒂斯加尔邦地方政府雇佣了大量的民间青壮年，组建了一支规模庞大的民兵武装-特别警务队（SPO）用来镇压革命运动，特别警务队和地方军警经常扫荡村庄，导致许多老百姓流离失所，只能被迫住进政府设立的集中营里。虽然印度最高法院在2011年宣布此类民兵组织违法，但这些武装团体仍然以各种名义继续存在。

***提问4：那么您是说代表大会没有任何分歧？***

**甘纳帕蒂：怎么会没有呢？意识形态-政治辩论是任何共产党的命脉，正是通过这样的内部斗争，党的路线才得以进一步丰富，党才能更加强大统一。我们从不隐瞒我们之间的分歧。在上一期的《人民战争》（党内理论杂志）中，我们公布了党内存在的分歧。最新一期的杂志详细报道了大会上发生的辩论。这些辩论表明了党的力量，而不是它的弱点。它表明了党坚持民主的原则。允许自由表达各种观点和看法，并且只要是建设性的，能丰富党的路线，而不是怀着破坏党的恶意，党就会充分考虑这些意见。大会上的任何意见，都是同志们诚心诚意提出来的，目的是为了丰富革命路线，解决印度革命面临的问题。**

**这里需要注意的一点是，大会上出现的分歧不是过去印度毛主义共产主义中心和印共{（马列）人民战争}之间的分歧，而是党内分歧。如果你了解我们党的历史，你会发现，在我们以前召开的会议和代表大会上，出现了更严重的分歧。无论是在1995年人民战争集团召开的全印度特别会议（AISC）上，还是印共（马列）【统一党】在1987年、1996年的中央会议上，或者在2001年统一后的人民战争集团的代表大会上，分歧都相当严重。这是关于世界主要矛盾、买办官僚资产阶级与印度人民内部矛盾、印度生产方式等问题上的分歧。党的路线是否右倾问题，在2001年人民战争集团的代表大会上也有过激烈的辩论。所有这些严重的分歧都通过有益的争论或者是必要的表决而得以解决。这一次的党内分歧远没有以前那样严重。媒体报道的新闻，很显然是严重背离事实的。因此，旧人民战争集团内部的分歧，或者是在1998年人民战争集团和统一党中央组织委员会合并以后的新人民战争集团内的分歧，或者是人民战争集团和印度毛主义共产主义中心合并以后印共（毛）的内部分歧，在共产党内是非常正常的。任何分歧，即使是最严重的分歧，在共产党内都可以通过坚持民主集中制原则来解决，这就是民主集中制原则的伟大之处，它是共产党存在和正常运作的基础。**

**在卡纳塔克邦（Karnataka），一个自称为“少数派”的小团体在邦级会议上坚持右倾机会主义路线，失去了多数人的支持而从党内分裂了出去。如果他们有共产主义者的精神和原则，不被小资产阶级的个人主义和无政府主义的方法所迷惑，他们就可能会留在党内，并在代表大会上为他们的路线而斗争。当然，在执行代表大会多数人决定的路线和政策的同时，人们也有权在下届大会中再次提出自己在任何问题上的路线和立场。**

***提问5：关于党内强烈反对您重新当选总书记和您对恶意批评者做出妥协的报道是否属实？***

**甘纳帕蒂：没有这回事。有关反对我当选总书记的报道是中央情报局(Central IB)、安得拉邦国家情报局(APSIB)等间谍机构捏造的，他们的任务之一就是散布有关领导层的虚假信息。我的连任是中央委员会一致决定的。他们认为没有任何人事变动的必要性。我不明白那些诋毁我的人是什么意思，也不明白他们的要求是什么，这些报道都是不真实的。关于所谓的妥协，我只能嘲笑敌人阵营不顾一切地建立虚构的分歧和妥协。**

**安得拉邦的损失不是过去人民战争集团的损失，而是全党的损失。全党都在认真分析造成这些损失的原因，吸取安得拉邦革命运动的正反两方面的经验教训对全党非常有益。**

***提问6：大会是在哪里举行的？当政府一直在试图破坏大会时，你们是如何设法举行的？***

**甘纳帕蒂：让情报机构继续猜测去吧！至于媒体，我们可以在以后的某个时候带你们去代表大会的举办地。历史已经被创造，这些地点将具有重大的历史价值。到时候每个人都会知道。但是现在我可以告诉你一点：大会是在人民中举行的，周围由人民和自然天险保护。当然，在会场，我们英勇的人民解放游击军战士日以继夜地工作，24小时值班，警惕敌军的一举一动，做好了伏击敌人的准备（如果他们胆敢冒险进入这一地区的话），即使敌军进入该地区，我们的人民解放游击军也会确保领导层的安全。我们对人民解放游击军和人民群众充满信心，会议期间没有遇到任何紧急情况和问题。我们甚至把大会延长了几天。**

**召开代表大会只是整个民主程序的最后一幕。作为这个程序的一部分，我们在大约15个邦举行了会议；其中12个是邦一级的会议，并且这些会议之前已经举行了地区级和次地区级的会议。我们还通过大规模的学习营和学习班来进行大规模的教育运动。所有这些都占用了我们很大一部分时间。如果没有广大人民群众的支持和我们的游击军的保护，在敌人不断发起围剿进攻的情况下，这些计划根本不可能实现。在“安得拉-奥里萨邦边区”（AOB）和其他一两个地方，当我们被人民告知敌人正在包围这个地方时，我们不得不转移会议地点。人民是我们的耳目，只要我们得到人民的拥护，并严格保密，任何敌人都不可能破坏我们的会议。**

**印度中央政府和地方邦政府都曾企图破坏我们的会议和代表大会。在去年11月和12月的报纸上，都有这方面的公开声明。敌人由内政部牵头成立了一个为期三个月特别部门，以挫败代表大会。他们认为我们的代表将在1月或2月举行大会，因为在那之后，由于夏季的来临，举行大会就会变得相对困难。因此，召开这次大会是新党自合并以来面临的最大挑战之一。来自各地的代表，共有100多人（党的领导核心），在敌人没有注意到的情况下聚集在了一起。我们调集了大量可靠的人民解放游击军来执行保卫任务。在寒冷的冬季，为这样一个大会安排如此庞大的营地并不容易。任何地方的小疏漏都会扰乱计划。在如此困难的条件下，代表大会的成功举行无疑是党的一项重大成就。它表明，只要有缜密的计划、秘密的运作方法、坚定的游击队和人民的大力支持，一切皆有可能。**

**大会前夕发生的一个悲惨事件是我们敬爱的钱德拉穆利【Chandramouli（化名BK）】同志和他的伴侣维贾伊拉克斯米【Vijayalaxmi（化名Karuna）】的牺牲。钱德拉穆利是中央委员会（CC）和中央军事委员会委员（CMC），维贾伊拉克斯米是地区委员会(DC)的成员。他们于26日晚被安得拉邦国家情报局（APSIB）的暴徒抓住，并在第二天经过残酷的折磨后被冷血地杀害。当我们听到他们牺牲的消息时，气氛有些紧张。然而，敌人并没有在他们身上找到任何关于代表大会的东西，当无法形容的非人道酷刑施加在他们身上时，他们两人都像岩石一样坚挺。残酷的敌人无法从这些伟大的共产党员-印度人民的骄傲儿女口中套出一点信息。他们甚至在牺牲时也用鲜血为大会的成功举办作出了贡献。他们的牺牲将永远铭记在党和革命人民的心中。**

***提问7：统一大会最主要的决定是什么？你们的总体规划和策略会有什么变化吗？***

**甘纳帕蒂：大会的总方向是加强人民战争，并把革命运动推向社会各个领域。具体来说，在游击战运动发展到顶峰的地区，将游击战争提升到更高层次的运动战，把武装斗争的地区扩大到尽可能多的邦。在这些地区，进一步打击敌军已进入近期议程，不采取这样的方针，就很难巩固我们的成果以及进一步推进革命运动。同样，迫切需要把广大地区改造成游击区，使我们的游击队有足够的回旋余地。而在发展扩张过程中，提高保密能力是非常重要的。考虑到中央部队（Central forces ）和各邦“特别警察部队”（ Special police forces）的大规模部署，大会制定了计划，采取各种创造性的形式对敌军进行反击。中央部队和警察将会认识到进入我们控制的地区是非常危险的。我们决定加强党和人民解放游击军的建设，积极发动群众抵抗敌军，把这些地区改造成我们的强大根据地，用各种形式消灭敌人的有生力量。这一切都是通过广泛动员群众参与战争来实现的。上个月在拉尼博迪利（Rani Bodili）、里加（Riga）及博卡罗（Bokaro），卡斯马哈尔（Khasmahal）地区对“中央工业安全部队”（CISF）营地发动的反攻行动中，你可以看到数百名群众（有时甚至是数千）参与了对敌人的袭击行动当中。**

**最为重要的是，有了安得拉邦的革命经验，在我们面临日益严峻的镇压的情况下，不管在哪里工作都没有暴露我们的力量。但同时，我们也要走在每一场人民运动的前列。大会已决定开展反对经济特区（SEZ）的斗争，经济特区不过是印度领土上的新殖民主义飞地。他们不仅夺取农民的良田，还要把整个国家变成帝国主义和买办大企业肆无忌惮地剥削和控制的特区。大会发出号召，要进行深入的斗争。我们对印度政府的残酷和法西斯本质不抱任何幻想，因此，最需要的是保持秘密的工作方法，并为各种牺牲做好准备。**

***提问8：最后，您如何总结统一大会取得的成就及其意义？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我们的统一大会是印度革命运动史上一个具有重大历史意义的事件。它不仅标志着国内毛主义力量的统一进程即将完成，而且标志着党和印度革命的政治路线得到了巩固。 对我们党的创始领导人--查鲁-马宗达和卡奈-查特吉同志--所确立的革命政治路线的重申和丰富，是这次大会的最大成就。大会对一些思想政治问题进行了辩论和解决，从而带来了更高层次的统一。另一个重要的成就是为印度革命建立了一个统一的集中领导机构。**

**自20世纪70年代以来，印度共产主义革命运动经过了漫长的时间，随着2004年9月印度毛主义共产主义中心（MCCI）和印度共产党{（马列）人民战争} 【CPI（ML）[PW]】的合并，一个统一的革命指挥中心出现了，这个革命指挥中心在统一大会上得到了进一步的巩固，得到了全党的认可。**

**关于在安得拉邦的损失**

***提问9：近来在安得拉邦遭受了严重的损失。原因是什么？你们的运动会不会因此而被全面削弱？你们计划如何克服这些困难并重新获得主动权？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我们在安得拉邦的损失是相当严重的。对整个国家的革命运动产生了巨大的影响。在安得拉邦，特别是北特伦甘纳（North Telangana）地区，长期以来一直是革命运动的重要中心，这个地区的存在极大的鼓舞着我国的革命群众。但是我们必须牢记，在建立根据地的问题上，我们党选择的是印度中部和东部比较落后的地区，当务之急是解放这些广大地区。因此，我们的运动重点已经逐渐转移到丹达卡兰亚地区和比哈尔-恰尔肯得邦。**

**你一定知道，安得拉邦被打造成了一个示范区，一个帝国主义，特别是世界银行和印度统治阶级集中实施多管齐下的“低烈度战争”（LIC）策略来对付革命运动的“实验地区”，其重点是残酷的镇压和改革。没有任何一个受毛主义运动影响的地区拥有像安得拉邦这样大规模的警察突击队（Police Commando），没有任何地方可以找到如此广泛的情报网络、基础设施、资金、反革命战争的培训，以及警察的无限权力。在过去的40年里，特别是从80年代中期开始，没有任何一个地区能像安得拉邦这样发生如此多的流血事件。安得拉邦监狱里几乎没有政治犯，因为反革命政策规定在革命者被捕后就将他们杀死，不管他们是中央委员会的成员还是同情者。从近40年前斯里卡库拉姆（Srikakulam ）斗争时期的文格尔-拉奥（Vengal Rao）时代开始，“假遭遇战”（杀良冒功）屠杀就是一种传统。数千亿的资金被用于所谓的改革，目的是让一部分人脱离革命运动。事实是，通过这些改革，农村中一小部分有话语权和影响力的人已经被收买了。总而言之，我们可以说，在反动统治阶级最初发起的一系列围剿活动中，党和安得拉邦的革命运动首当其冲。我们正在深入研究敌人的反革命策略、计划和方法，并从中吸取教训。安得拉邦的这场运动，以千千万万同志的巨大牺牲为代价，为我们反击和挫败敌人的战术和计划提供了宝贵的经验。有了这些，我们党现在更有能力在其他邦打败敌人的围剿。**

**在持久人民战争中，挫折和损失是正常的。革命是沿着曲折的道路前进，而不是沿着直线前进。安得拉邦地区的革命运动经历了许多起伏。但它总是像传说中的凤凰一样涅槃重生。毫无疑问，在目前的关头，我们在安得拉邦面临着严峻的形势，从战术的角度来看，敌人占了上风。我们已经失去了很大一部分领导层和干部，但最有希望的是，人民仍然与我们的党在一起。虽然他们和我们党只是秘密的会面，要求我们解决他们的问题，而且他们在工作中没有暴露在残暴的国家面前，党的支持基础并没有受到很大的削弱。对他们来说，我们党是唯一的希望。人们对革命者遭受的每一次损失都感到痛心。你从烈士葬礼上就可以看出群众对我们的支持。尽管有警察暴徒的威胁和限制，还是有2万多人参加了钱德拉穆利（BK）和卡鲁纳（ Karuna）同志在卡里姆纳格尔区-瓦德卡普尔村（ Karimnagar district-Vadkapur）举行的葬礼。人民对反动统治者和他们的警察--灰狗突击队（Grey Hounds）--国家情报局暴徒们压抑已久的愤怒和仇恨，将会发展成一场大规模的运动，把剥削者、压迫者和社会上长期积累的一切污垢都冲走。无论我们今天在安得拉邦面临什么样的损失和挫折，世界上没有任何力量可以阻止这场革命的高潮。统治阶级意识到安得拉邦革命运动的巨大潜力。这就是为什么法西斯的雷迪（YS Rajasekhara Reddy，简称YSR）政府在吹嘘该邦的毛派已经完全被削弱，安得拉邦将成为如何处理毛派运动的典范的同时，启动了几项具有长期计划的措施，如将加强灰狗突击队，为反毛主义运动购置直升机，批准2000亿卢比的中央援助来处理毛派运动，等等。**

**这是一个在全球大动荡中孕育大变革的历史时代。全世界都在发生着剧烈的变化。即使是像美国这样最强大的军事化帝国主义大国，也发现不可能压制伊拉克或阿富汗这样的小国的民族解放斗争。在印度，统治阶级与帝国主义勾结，对人民进行残酷的剥削和压迫，造成了灾难性的局面。利用当今国际国内的大好形势，我们有信心从安得拉邦的挫折中走出来。**

**更重要的是，尽管我们在安得拉邦遭受了损失，但我们在其他许多邦都取得了进展。现在的情况与之前有质的不同，即使我们在一两个邦遭受损失和挫折，也能在其它邦继续推进革命运动。在过去，他们可以镇压纳萨尔巴里（Naxalbari）、斯里卡库拉姆（Srikakulam）、比尔布姆（Birbhum）、穆沙哈里（Mushahari）、康克萨或索纳布尔（Sonarpur）地区的革命运动，但今天，革命运动进一步加强，蔓延到落后的农村大片地区，有了严密的党组织、军队和广泛的群众基础，通过统一的计划和指导来推进革命的进程。因此，尽管敌人有时会占上风，但现在敌人镇压革命运动已经比过去困难得多了。大会已经制定了一个具体的计划，通过将不利因素转化为有利因素来克服安得拉邦的挫折。党和革命的前途是光明的。**

注：灰狗突击队（Grey Hounds）：印度安得拉邦警察署于1989年成立的特种部队（2014年特伦甘纳地区（邦）从安得拉邦分裂出去后为两方共同管理），专门从事反共行动。

**关于经济特区、南迪格拉姆事件（Nandigram）和印共（毛）的作用**

***提问10：您怎样看待像辛古尔（Singur）和南迪格拉姆（Nandigram）这样的事件？你们的人是否像印共(马)所说的那样参与煽动南迪格拉姆的暴力事件？您是否打算积极介入这些事件？***

**甘纳帕蒂：如果我们不介入这种事关群众生死存亡的事件，那才应该感到惊讶。我们打算动员群众反对统治者的阴谋和背信弃义的政策，他们计划建立数百个经济特区（SEZ），以经济发展的名义掠夺人民的土地，并将其交给跨国公司和买办的大企业。经济特区政策的目的是在我国境内建立新殖民主义的飞地，在那里印度的土地法将会失效。在帝国主义跨国公司的怂恿下，印度统治阶级正在积极推动经济特区政策，作为其全球化攻势的一部分。反对经济特区掠夺农民良田的斗争和反对大型工程的斗争愈演愈烈，正如在卡林加·纳加尔（Kalinga Nagar）, 辛古尔（Singur）,南迪格拉姆（ Nandigram）,罗汗迪古达（ Lohandiguda）,波拉瓦兰 （Polavaram）等地区看到的那样。特别是卡林加·纳加尔、辛格和南迪格拉姆，已成为反对买办资产阶级和帝国主义剥削的重要标志。**

**至于说毛派分子在南迪格拉姆“煽动暴力”，整个世界都会嘲笑这些“左”派阵线统治者的荒唐言论。即使是戈培尔在他的坟墓里看到他的撒谎艺术被如布达哈斯（Buddhas）、卡拉特（Karats）、叶丘里（Yechuris）等“马克思主义者”所提高，都会感到不安的。这些政治掮客一直在拼命地转移话题，不厌其烦地重复说外面的毛派分子煽动了当地人，因此警察除了开火自卫外别无他法。像所有的反动统治阶级一样，孟加拉的“马克思主义”统治者也在喋喋不休地谈论他们自己制造的烂摊子，并将其说成是由“境外势力”造成的。布林达·卡拉特(Brinda Karat)曾评论说，毛派分子是通过海路进入南迪格拉姆的。看到这些所谓的理论家在政治上彻底破产，以及他们逻辑上的贫乏，着实令人恶心。在这些伪君子和两面派眼中，萨利姆（Salim）和塔塔（Tata）集团（注：印度大垄断资本集团，对建立经济特区很积极）不是制造混乱的人，而为人民出生入死的毛主义者却成了从外部来制造动乱的人。更糟糕的是，他们像鸵鸟一样，认为全世界都不知道他们的党是如何从该邦的不同地方把成千上万的武装暴徒带到南迪格拉姆的，同时还有一支庞大的警察部队来实施屠杀。卡拉特（Karats）、叶丘里（Yechuris）为了证明他们在南迪格拉姆（Nandigram）的野蛮屠杀有理，不惜将此事推给外人。**

**南迪格拉姆揭示了社会法西斯主义印共（马）【CPI（M）】丑陋残暴的面目，他们的暴徒和警察一起对人民犯下了难以形容的暴行，强奸妇女，杀害了一百多人，甚至包括儿童，最可恶的是，他们还把尸体埋起来或扔进河里。西孟加拉邦的布达拉戴（Buddhadeb）是大买办和跨国公司的忠顺的奴仆。就像中间商（dalal）一样，他的政府承担了从人民手中掠夺土地的任务，并将其移交给大企业。在南迪格拉姆的国家恐怖和国家支持的恐怖活动中，有一件事已经毋庸置疑：对于跨国公司和买办大企业来说，印共（马）【CPI(M)】是维护他们在该国的阶级利益的最佳选择。如果他们选择让这些最忠诚的奴仆披着马克思主义的外衣掌权，即使是未来在中央政府掌权，也不会令人惊讶。**

**至于党在运动中的角色：我们将永远站在斗争的最前列并领导革命运动向着正确的方向发展。 我们号召人民把每一个经济特区变为战场，我们将为反对经济特区的人民运动提供一切支持。**

**关于苏尼尔·马赫托被暗杀**

***提问11：上个月，来自詹谢普尔市（Jamshedpur）的恰尔肯得邦解放阵线党（JMM）议员（MP）兼领导人苏尼尔·马赫托（Sunil Mahto）和其他五个人被你们的游击队枪杀了。据报道，恰尔肯得邦副首席部长苏迪尔·马赫托（Sudhir Mahto）也受到了警告。怎样评价这些行动，你们党是否还有其他的政治暗杀计划？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我们不会因为你是议员或者是部长就要把你杀掉。虽然所有立法者都直接或间接地对政府制定的所有政策负责，，但只有一小撮在帝国主义者和封建主义者联合专政的的政权下推行其政策中，起到至关重要作用的政客才会被列入清除名单。**

**在苏尼尔·马赫托（Sunil Mahto）的案例中，我们之所以要除掉他，是因为他积极参与了对恰尔肯得邦革命运动的残酷镇压。他不仅是恰尔肯得邦解放阵线党（JMM）的领导人，而且积极参加了名为“公民防卫委员会”【Nagrik Suraksha Samiti（NSS）】的治安队团伙，该团伙于2001年在东辛格布姆县杜马利亚区的兰戈村（Singhbhum-Dumaria-Lango）参与了对我党11名干部的冷血谋杀。尽管他不是这场大屠杀的主要策划者，但他鼓励了这个由国家成立的私人雇佣军团伙的活动。最近，他根据反动统治阶级的游戏计划走到了前列，组织了反毛主义运动的武装进攻，以“拆迁”（Sendra）的名义分化和坑害一部分部落民（Adivasis ）让他们反对革命运动。我们在恰蒂斯加尔邦已经有了痛苦的经历，在那里，“和平行动”(Salwa Judum)正在对成千上万部落民的生活造成严重破坏，在警察和中央部队的参与下，700多个村庄被夷为平地，近6万人背井离乡，400多人被谋杀，许多妇女被强奸，人民的财产被洗劫。我们也有安得拉邦的经验，那里的暴徒团伙，如眼镜蛇部队【全称“坚决行动突击队” (CoBRA)】，猛虎组织等，在这些地区制造了一场又一场恐怖活动。在恰尔肯得邦，有人试图以“拆迁”的名义发动类似的计划，而苏尼尔-马赫托（Sunil Mahto）就是带头发起这场打击毛主义运动的主要领导人之一。在国家的支持下，所谓的第三筹备委员会（Tritiya Prastuti Committee，TPC）也在比哈尔邦发挥着类似的作用。因此，在4月9日我们解放军的一次大胆进攻中，我们不得不消灭了主要领导人穆拉里-甘珠(Murari Ganju)。后，如果有需要我们仍然要仍然进行这样的惩罚。但这决不是我们主要政策。**

**我们不会不分青红皂白地暗杀政治领导人或者是政党的普通成员。我们基本上是靠动员群众，孤立、揭露和打击各政党的反人民政策，同时在必要时让我们的人民解放游击军小队和行动小组参与打击治安团匪帮。消灭苏尼尔·马赫托不应该被解释为我们对整个恰尔肯得邦解放阵线党（JMM）的对抗。我们并不反对JMM，只要它不再沉迷于反人民的活动和对革命运动的攻击。我们呼吁JMM的活动家和普通成员了解统治阶级以“拆迁”的名义分裂部落民的阴谋，号召他们与国家支持的私人雇佣军团伙（如“公民防卫委员会”，NSS）以及所有领导臭名昭著的“拆迁”运动反对恰尔肯得邦革命运动的人作斗争。**

**关于毛主义者在恰蒂斯加尔邦展开的最大规模进攻**

***提问12：最近，你们的人民解放游击军在恰蒂斯加尔邦的拉尼-博迪利（Rani Bodili）地区消灭了大量警察和特别警务队（SPO），给警察部队和”和平行动“（Salwa Judum）造成了沉重的打击。你们以后是否还会进行此类的袭击?你认为可以通过这些行动来阻止"和平行动"的围剿吗？***

**甘纳帕蒂：3月16日，由印度共产党（毛主义）领导的人民解放游击军对查蒂斯加尔邦比亚普尔（Bijapur）警区拉尼-博迪利（Rani-bodli）的一个警察大本营进行了大胆的战术反攻行动，其中包括特别警务队（SPO）在内的68名警察被歼灭，这是邦政府和中央政府以“和平行动”（Salwa Judum）的名义发动的残酷恐怖统治的必然结果。你必须了解丹达卡兰亚地区（Dandakaranya）的实际情况，才能理解为什么要计划如此大规模的武装行动。**

**自2005年6月以来的近两年里，恰蒂斯加尔邦的人民党政府和中央的国大党领导的“统一进步联盟”（UPA）政府发起了一场反革命恐怖运动，屠杀、酷刑和逮捕数千名部落农民，轮奸和谋杀数百名妇女，摧毁数千所房屋、粮食和部落民的所有财产。在丹达卡兰亚地区（ Dandakaranya,），特别是在丹特瓦拉（Dantewara）、巴斯塔（ Bastar）、坎克尔（ Kanker）、比亚普尔和纳拉扬普尔地区（Bijapur and Narayanpur），杀害或带走数千头牛，将数万人从近800个村庄中强行疏散，并对被怀疑是革命群众组织成员或同情毛派的人发出威胁和恐吓。超过5000名青年被纳入国家雇佣军武装力量，按月领取工资，并与印共（毛）领导的为土地、生计和解放而战的本地部落民进行对抗。那加营（Naga）和米佐营（Mizo）与庞大的“中央后备警察部队”（CRPF）和其他特警部队一起被调恰蒂斯加尔邦，他们对部落民犯下了最野蛮和不人道的罪行。**

**所有这些针对全体人民的残忍袭击意味着在建立和平的坟墓，并为塔塔（Tatas）、鲁亚斯（Ruias）、埃萨斯（Essars）、米塔尔（Mittals）、金达斯（Jindals）和帝国主义跨国公司等贪婪的鹰派分子肆无忌惮的掠夺扫清道路。恰蒂斯加尔邦政府与这些大买办企业签署了价值超过10亿卢比的谅解备忘录，以榨取该邦丰富的矿产和森林资源。这些强盗在光明正大的进行抢劫。议会反对党领袖马亨德拉-卡尔马（Mahendra Karma）、人民党内政部长拉姆维查-内萨姆（Ramvichar Netham）一直在领导这场针对部落民的反革命战争。**

**中央政府部署了一支庞大的部队，现在已经超过了13个营，接下来他们还将扩招10个营的国家部队，甚至将14岁的未成年人也纳入雇佣警察队伍中。因在旁遮普省大规模谋杀青年而臭名昭著的卡瓦帕-辛格-吉尔（Kanwar Pal Singh Gill，简称KPS Gill）被特别任命为首席部长的顾问。在警察营地周围地区启动了地毯式安全体系，以便对人民发动恐怖活动。**

**我们以印共（毛）中央委员会的名义再次警告邦政府和中央政府，如果不立即停止以“和平行动”（Salwa Judum）名义发动的谋杀活动，我们的“布姆卡尔军”（Bhumkal Sena，地方民兵）和人民解放游击军（PLGA）以及人民将进行更大规模的反击。我们宣布，数百名警察和特别警务队（SPO）的死亡，这些责任完全在邦政府和中央政府的肩上。如果继续以"和平行动"（Salwa Judum）的名义对部落民实施暴行，由我党领导的部落民大规模武装报复将是不可避免的。就如乔治·布什只会使用野蛮的武力来控制伊拉克的民族解放火势一样，印度的统治阶级也只能想到动用更多的武装力量来镇压人民战争，抢夺丹达卡兰亚地区的矿产资源。然而，他们最终只会使丹达卡兰亚的内战进一步升级。**

**我们与死去的警察和特别警务队的家人一样感到悲痛，但我们被迫要消灭那些服从统治阶级及其帝国主义的命令，镇压革命运动以掠夺该邦财富的警察和雇佣军团伙。我们呼吁中央部队，特别是那加营（Naga）和米佐营（Mizo）的士兵不要服从统治者的命令，撤出恰蒂斯加尔邦。我们呼吁正在与部落民作对的特别警务队（SPO）退出雇佣军集团，因为他们正在为反动统治者的利益而与自己的兄弟姐妹进行非正义的战争。我们呼吁民主组织和个人以及全国广大群众谴责国家恐怖主义和国家支持的对丹达卡兰亚地区（Dandakaranya）的部落人民的恐怖主义，要求立即解散"和平行动"Salwa Judum和雇佣兵部队，争取让臭名昭著的中央部队撤出该地区，对警察-"和平行动"（Salwa Judum）雇佣兵集团杀害500多名部落民的事件进行司法调查。**

**关于党争取社会上“中间阶层”的计划**

***提问13：历史表明，“中间阶层”（ middle class）希望维持现状。但印度中间阶层正变得越来越庞大。您打算怎样与他们协调？***

**甘纳帕蒂：印度中间阶层的数量确实在增长。同时，由于物价飞涨、失业、生活越来越不稳定、教育、医疗、交通等费用高涨导致家庭开支急剧增加，中间阶层中有相当大的一部分正面临着严重的危机，而这些已经在很大程度上被国家私有化，已经超出了相当一部分中间阶层的承受能力。简而言之，尽管中间阶层在数量上有所增长，但却处于被动地位。因此，我们看到，很大一部分中间阶层日益增长的挫折感正迫使他们走上街头，以满足他们的要求，这在教师、政府雇员、学生，甚至是受到购物中心和零售业外国直接投资影响的店主的罢工和其他形式的斗争中得到了证明。还有一个重要的因素需要注意，曾经的奢侈品大多数变成了今天的日常必需品。随着消费商品的大规模扩散和市场对消费主义的推动，生活必需品的种类与日俱增。因此，这个阶层的成员越来越感到沮丧，他们无法购买这些商品，因为他们的大部分收入必须花在食物、衣服和住所等基本必需品上。**

**中间阶层受到物价上涨、生活没保障、腐败、子女失业、高额的教育和医疗费用，房地产商的威胁等问题的严重影响。考虑到这些问题，我们的党已经制定了计划，动员中间阶层在这些问题上进行斗争。**

**捍卫武装斗争**

***提问14：为什么武装斗争是必须的？（很大一部分人由于暴力而离开了党，难道这不是事实吗？）***

**甘纳帕蒂：武装斗争或非暴力斗争的问题不是基于任何个人或党派的主观幻想和愿望。它是独立于人的意志的。 这是一条被所有历史经验所证实的规律。历史的事实是，在世界任何地方，在阶级社会的历史发展中，没有任何一个反动统治阶级不用武力镇压人民群众的反抗而自动放弃政权。他们拼命抓住政权，直到被武力推翻。当然，人们可以举出通过和平运动、通过大规模抗议发生政权更迭的例子，但所有这些都只是政权更迭，而不是国家制度的变革。一部分统治阶级可以把权力让给同一阶级的另一部分人，而不需要发生暴力动乱，但如果一个统治阶级被另一个阶级利益截然相反的阶级取代，情况就不同了。然而，我们发现，即使是这些政权的更迭，也不乏暴力冲突，这在非洲、亚洲和拉丁美洲的一些地方都有见证。如果真的有在不需要武装斗争的情况下就能实现系统性的变革，那我们也会为之高兴。**

**当我们开始斗争时，这基本上是一场关于人民的各种问题的和平运动，如土地、生计和从封建、帝国主义的剥削和压迫中解放出来。几乎不需要任何天才就能掌握这样一个事实：任何封建领主都不会因为群众的民主诉求而放弃自己的土地和权力，地主会利用他所掌握的一切手段，用蛮力镇压群众的反抗。他将动用当地警察和特种部队、中央准军事部队，必要时甚至会动用国家常备军。每当我们发起反封建斗争时，我们都看到了这种情况--上世纪七十年代末，在贾格泰尔地区（Jagtyal），农民对地主的社会抵制迫使他们逃离村庄，我们的革命运动已经蔓延到一百多个村庄，震撼了当权者。这场非暴力斗争之后发生的事情，应该让所有怀有幻想或对武装斗争抱有偏见的人大开眼界。几周后，地主带着雇佣军回来了，并发动了大规模的暴力和残酷的镇压措施，如逮捕、折磨农民、破坏他们的财产、宣布该地区为骚乱地区、钳制人民的公民权利等等。是在这个时候，党不得不拿起武器，而不是出于任何浪漫的想法。反帝斗争和民族解放运动也是这样。人民群众的土地要求、民族自决要求、如果帝国主义剥削和压迫能通过和平方式解决，谁愿意放弃宝贵的生命，去忍受残酷的生活折磨和苦难呢？一切运动最初都是和平运动，但由于反动统治阶级的镇压行动，不得不采取武装斗争的形式。伊拉克的情况是一个典型的例子，说明由于帝国主义为了满足他们对石油的贪婪而肆无忌惮的暴力，整个人口被迫拿起武器。巴勒斯坦、克什米尔或其他地方的情况也是如此。**

**你问题的第二部分是一个大笑话。在任何地方，群众都不会因为武装斗争而被离开党。相反，正是因为缺乏有效的抵抗，才会在国家露出獠牙的时候起不到反制作用。不消灭和击败镇压的武装力量，就不可能团结人民，也不可能让他们有信心。事实上，不仅仅是我们的游击队在进行抵抗。人民在英勇抵抗和积极支持人民解放游击军（PLGA）对警察部队的武装抵抗中发挥了巨大的作用。好吧，这就是实际情况，尽管那些在象牙塔里分析事件的知识分子可能会有什么想法和理论。**

***提问15：为什么不用非暴力的方式进行斗争？***

**甘纳帕蒂：你必须把问题反过来问。你必须问问反动统治阶级--大地主、大企业、帝国主义跨国公司、强大的印度政府及其武装力量、国家警察和官僚机构--如果他们愿意倾听的话，他们为什么不允许以和平的方式举行抗议活动？他们为什么要殴打、逮捕、拷打、杀害敢于罢工的人？为什么他们要因罢工而终止工人和雇员的服务？为什么他们要派他们的雇佣警察部队、中央后备警察部队（CRPF）和国家军队在没有任何挑衅的情况下向举行和平游行、罢工（Dharnas）和集会的人们开火，为什么他们允许“卡其色”帮派（Khaki Gangs，对身穿灰黄色制服的印度警察的一种戏称）违反印度宪法的所有规定强奸妇女、破坏财产、“假遭遇战”，并对所有这些反人类罪行不予追究？为什么他们要在加林格纳噶尔（Kalinganagar），南迪格拉姆（Nandigram），阿尔瓦（Arwal)，因德维利(Indravelli)等数十个地区制造暴行？为什么克什米尔人民对失踪事件的和平抗议不仅被忽视，甚至受到如此凶残的攻击？为什么他们还能继续在曼尼普尔邦执行野蛮的《武装部队特别权力法案》？印度军队和警察部队在对人民实施暴行，曼诺拉玛的强奸案（Manorama）就是典型的例子。难道你能忘记这些穿着卡其色和橄榄绿（印度警察和军队制服的颜色）的暴徒是怎样毒打抗议者的？这些暴徒打碎了抗议者的头骨，甚至在他们重伤倒地后也不放过他们。**

**世界上任何地方的统治阶级都不允许人民以和平方式实现他们对土地和从压迫中解放出来的基本要求；即使是所谓的民主国家，也只是在不威胁现状、不对他们的剥削和积累巨额利润构成威胁的情况下才允许。Ahimsa（非暴力）和Karma（宿命）这些模棱两可的口号是剥削阶级延续他们对广大人民的暴力和霸权统治的思想基础。**

**首先，没有人愿意或能够直接采用暴力方式来解决他们的问题。只有在他们的和平游行、集会、苦行、绝食、大罢工等被忽视或被镇压之后， 他们才被迫采取暴力手段。无论是革命者领导的反封建武装土地斗争、东北部地区的民族运动、克什米尔地区还是反帝国主义斗争，这都是一个无可争议的事实。你只需看一眼世界上任何地方的武装运动的起源，而不仅仅局限于印度，就会明白这个普遍的真理。简而言之，人民采取的斗争形式总是取决于统治阶级的行动，反之亦然。你还应该记住，即使在今天，我们也同时使用暴力和非暴力的斗争形式，而不仅仅是暴力形式。**

***提问16：你们的暴力是为了自卫还是为了夺取国家政权？***

**甘纳帕蒂：严格说来，你不能把这两者分开。从长远来看，或者说我们的最终目标是夺取国家政权，没有国家政权，就不可能把我国人民从帝国主义、封建主义和大买办资产阶级的魔爪中解放出来，也就是改变现有的不公正的社会经济制度。但是，在人民准备建立自己的政权的过程中，统治阶级对党、对人民群众、对整个革命运动都采取了野蛮镇压的手段。因此，在动员群众开展运动的过程中，我们甚至在初期阶段就被迫拿起武器进行自卫。而且在相对较长的时间内，我们的战争将具有这种性质，我们所有的战术反攻行动和革命运动都应该被看作是这个阶段自卫战争的一部分。**

**论与“强大”的印度政府的斗争**

***提问17：印度政府正变得越来越强大。你们打算如何对抗印度政府？***

**甘纳帕蒂：从战术上讲，确实没错。印度的镇压力量有了大规模的增长，国家也得到了加强。它在国防和“国内安全”方面投入了巨额资金，慷慨的向各邦发放资金以镇压革命力量、民族运动和其他民主运动。**

**然而，镇压力量的增长带来了一个重要的问题，即印度政府发现，源源不断地增加力量，人民运动反而在日益增长。从这个角度看，安全部队数量的大规模增加并不意味着印度国家的强大，而是意味着它的软弱，它已经失去了以旧方式统治的合法性。它显示了印度统治阶级和帝国主义的绝望，他们越来越多地依靠强制手段来巩固权力和确保他们的剥削。如果不是因为国内不断增长的民主和革命运动，就不需要拼命地加强国家机器，采取如此大规模的镇压力量。**

**让我告诉你一个经常被遗忘的事实。任何国家，无论它看起来多么强大，都无法超越人民的力量。正如毛泽东同志所正确指出的那样--“一切反动派都是纸老虎”。昨天，我们看到人类历史上最强大的国家和军队在越南的耻辱性失败后不得不狼狈收场。今天，整个世界都在难以置信地看着美帝国主义领导的最强大的帝国主义军队在伊拉克被训练不足、装备不良但意志坚定的民族解放战士所击败。归根结底，热爱自由的人民是比任何国家都要强大的。我们不能忘记这样一个普遍的真理：哪里有压迫，哪里就会有反抗。无论国家看起来多么强大，它都可以而且一定会被群众的反抗所击败。**

**我们最近召开的统一大会（第九次代表大会），对这个问题作了很详细的论述，并制定了计划，依靠我国受帝国主义、封建主义和买办大企业压迫的广大人民群众来对抗国家。当然，也要加强我们的军事实力来实施这一计划。我们对印度国家的实力和弱点进行了专门的研究。你可能知道，即使是最强大的敌人也会有最薄弱的地方。我们必须正确认识这些弱点，并给予有效打击，才能取得胜利。**

**议会斗争和党的立场问题**

***提问18：为什么你们不参加选举？为什么不加入议会以民主的方式提出问题呢？***

**甘纳帕蒂：这的确是一个“合乎逻辑”的问题，任何只看到所谓议会民主的外壳的人都会这样问。这其中重要的是核心、本质、内容，而不仅仅是形式。当你剥去民主的外衣时，你会发现里面是腐烂发臭的尸体。这就是为什么列宁把议会描述为一个猪圈和一个纯粹的空谈馆。我们为什么称它为空谈馆？**

**首先，人民的真正问题永远不可能被议会和国会提及，更不用说解决这些问题了。议会机构不是为此而设的。他们没有真正的权力。他们可能会通过一些看似对人民有利的决议，但这些决议必须通过拥有真正权力的行政部门来执行。我们知道《土地限额法》、关于贱民制、嫁妆的立法，这些都只是摆设。一切都是由行政部门来执行的。在英迪拉-甘地(Indira Gandhi)执政期间的紧急状态时期，当议会本身被颠覆时，真正掌握权力的行政部门公开站到了前台。街上的人都知道，决定他们生活的是税务官员、警察和地方法官。无论一项立法看起来有多好，决定人民生活各个方面的是金钱、武力和裙带关系。**

**其次，议会机构是为了维护现状，而不是为了改变制度。当然，他们时不时会做一些表面上的改变，以维持他们在群众中的信誉。最重要的是，控制议会的是帝国主义者、买办大企业、大地主、承包商和黑帮。那些进入议会的人都是这些强大游说集团的代表或仅仅是其手中的傀儡。即使是“心地善良”的议员也不能超越这些大人物制定的规则。如果你看到议会中的事务，你会发现90%以上的事务都是垃圾，空谈，与国家需要解决的实际问题毫无关系。**

**选举制度是一场巨大的闹剧，这一点毋庸置疑，甚至连小学生都知道。用酒和金钱买选票，煽动种姓、宗教和民族情绪，甚至在选举结束后，就像在市场上购买任何其他物品一样，收买立法委员，这叫民主吗？如果在古吉拉特邦屠杀数千名穆斯林的纳伦德拉-莫迪能够赢得选举并连任首席部长；如果罪犯、强盗和最臭名昭著的腐败政客能够当选；如果选票可以通过暴力操纵来获得，那么你认为这所谓的民主有意义吗？**

**这就是为什么我们党对于立法制度的性质了解得如此清楚，而不像其他一些政党那样，宣称是革命的，但在实践上却沉迷于议会政治。我们坚信，只有通过斗争才能解决人民的问题，议会机构除了制造假象外，什么也做不了。议会是一个安全阀，可以释放民众被压抑的愤怒，以免体制崩溃。你们认为在议会中提出问题是民主的方式，而我们认为，人民通过有组织的抗议活动以民主的方式提出问题才是真正的民主。我们将始终站在这种斗争的前列，而不是陷入不民主的、无权的、被称为议会的空谈馆的泥潭，它是大企业和封建势力的工具，服从帝国主义的命令。**

***提问19：你们是不是担心如果党加入了议会，就会变得腐败？***

**甘纳帕蒂：这个问题的答案在我前面的阐述中已经提过了。用一句话来说，进入议会后导致的腐败，这在马列主义的政党中也是事实。只有腐败的政党和个人才能成为议会体系中的一部分。我们党坚信，相对于议会的金钱和权力，摆在人民面前的真正选择是建立真正的人民民主权力。我们已经在国内一些地方建立了这样的人民权力机关，如丹达卡兰亚地区的“人民政府”（Janthana Sarkar）。这些革命性的权力机构与无能、腐败和罪恶的议会机构形成了鲜明对比**

**论毛主义者的群众基础**

***提问20：你们的群众基础是什么？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我们的群众基础是广大被压迫者，是地球上悲惨的人，是贫穷的、被剥夺的、赤贫的、被排挤的群众。工人、农民、中产阶级、达利特人（贱民）、妇女和所有数以百万计的劳苦大众是我们的基础。这些庞大的群体构成了真正的印度，而不是社会中5%-10%的上层富裕群体。这些广大群众需要革命并且把我们看成是替代性的选择，甚至他们中的大多数都没有见到我们。随着我们主观力量的增长，我们要在全国各地深入这一庞大的群体。今天，在我们领导反封建武装土地斗争的所有地区，我们在这些阶层中有了强大的群众基础。但仍然需要深入到城市地区的其他阶层--工人阶级、学生、青年、中产阶级、小商贩等等。**

***提问21：在过去一年中你们的队伍数量增加了多少？您能否提供统计数据？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我不能给出准确的统计数据，因为我们不想让敌人知道我们党的实际发展情况。让他们通过所谓的研究基金会、情报机构等产生的统计数据去猜测吧！无论如何，我们看到这些机构给出的关于我们党的增长速度以及我们的斗争和影响领域的统计数据，都是极其夸张的。但有一点我要说明--在过去的一年里，尽管在一些邦出现了严重的损失，但我们的整体干部力量、群众基础及其质量都有所提高。**

***提问22：印度有多少领土处于毛主义者控制之下？印度总理曾经说过，604个地区中有160个由毛派控制，这是不是夸大？***

**甘纳帕蒂：正如我前面所说，关于我们的运动的这种统计数字是极其夸张的，但是有一件事我们可以从总理的声明中看出，那就是我们对印度的反动统治阶级来说已经变成了一场噩梦。事实上，一些机构和基金会都在编造数据，以说明毛派分子已经成为了多么大的威胁。一位作者说，我们正在以每周两个区的速度增长！另一位研究人员说，我们已经从2005年的64个地区扩大到2007年初的169个地区，但另一位研究人员断言，毛派分子已经扩展到安得拉邦、比哈尔邦、恰尔肯德邦、恰蒂斯加尔邦和奥里萨邦的大部分地区，等等。这些数字大多只是他们的想象，是刻意夸张的，目的是为了增派警力，拨出更多资金镇压革命运动。**

**说毛派控制着这么多地区是夸张的。但就我们的影响力而言，我应该说还不止这些。**

**论人民政权**

***提问23：你们说的 "人民政权 "是什么意思？在西孟加拉邦这个共产主义者掌权的地区，我们看到了共产党人上台后的所作所为。你如何确保你们能够把权力交给人民？***

**甘纳帕蒂：和大多数人一样，你也被“共产党”这个名称所迷惑，这并不奇怪。一个政党自称是共产党并不意味着它就是共产党，就像一个自称是“印度人民党”的政党，他并不是为印度人民服务的党，更不会是一个社会主义党（Samajwadi）。最明显的例子就是印共（马），虽然自称是马克思主义政党，但他们早已放弃了共产主义计划和马克思主义意识形态。从1967年纳萨尔巴里（Naxalbari）农民武装起义爆发时起，它就成为了一个社会法西斯主义党，在20世纪60年代末和70年代初，成千上万的革命者在当时的内政部长乔蒂-巴苏(Jyoti Basu)的命令下在西孟加拉邦被屠杀。最近3月14日在南迪格拉姆（Nandigram）发生的对数十人的屠杀，对辛古尔地区（Singur）人民斗争的残酷镇压，以及公开宣布允许跨国公司和大企业家建立经济特区并将该邦变成这些掠夺者的天堂，都表明了罪恶（Bddhadeb的"马克思主义政党"是如何在塔塔(Tatas)、萨勒姆(Salems)和帝国主义跨国公司的授意下行事的。特别是警察-印共（马）暴徒集团在南迪格拉姆地区（Nandigram）预先策划的系统性大屠杀，向新一代的印度人民揭示了他们的社会法西斯主义特征。所以，你所说的西孟加拉邦的情况不过是社会法西斯统治。**

**现在来谈谈你关于人民政权的问题--只有当真正的权力由人民自己行使时，我们才称之为人民政权。你可以在丹达卡兰亚地区、比哈尔邦和恰尔肯德邦的部分地区看到它。我们曾在安得拉邦的一些村庄中发展过这种力量，但由于我们的武装力量薄弱，无法对抗中央和地方邦武装部队的大规模进攻，这些村庄被摧毁了。在我们建立了人民政权机构雏形的地方，你可以看到群众的积极性和干劲得到了释放和发挥，群众积极参与管理自己的生活，通过集体修建学校、蓄水池、医院等设施发展自己的村庄，发展生产，自己解决地方纠纷，而不需要到资产阶级封建法庭去求助，简而言之，就是人民当家作主。在我们的人民军队和人民民兵相对强大并成功地摧毁了国家武装力量的地区，人民不再受到部落长老、地主、森林官员、官僚、大承包商和警察的压迫和剥削。人民的主张也让大工业的掠夺者和帝国主义的跨国公司望而却步。妇女比国内其他地方的妇女享有相对更大的自由。**

**我们要通过加强人民军队，使之成为一支强大的力量，通过加强人民战争摧毁敌方力量，建立根据地，把这种人民力量从地方发展到更高的层次。正是在根据地，这种权力变得相对比较容易巩固。然而，在全国范围内最终夺取国家政权之前，村级和地区级人民权力的行使将受到严重制约。因此，你在注意到这些地区人民政权的同时，也要看到它的局限性。**

**关于伊斯兰教运动的高涨**

***提问24：现在全球的斗争日益变为全球化与伊斯兰运动高涨之间的斗争。在这种情况下，您怎样看待一个无阶级的社会？***

**甘纳帕蒂：全球化是一场对人民的战争，是对人民几个世纪以来所珍视的每一种价值观的战争。全球化是市场原教旨主义者（Market Fundamentalists）的意识形态。市场原教旨主义者正在摧毁一个国家几个世纪以来所拥有和保存的一切。他们提倡的只是纯粹的贪婪和私利，唯一的目标是全球霸权，而实现这一目标的手段是在军事、经济、政治、文化和心理等各方面进行侵略战争。为了实现这个 "崇高 "的目标，他们认为即使是世界的毁灭也只是附带损害罢了。**

**世界各地都有反对全球化的人民起义，伊斯兰运动是全世界人民反对帝国主义、帝国主义全球化和战争的一个组成部分。**

**一个无阶级的社会--共产主义社会--是一个有意识的“人类工程”，必须通过人类意识的转变来建立。而要实现这一目标，首先要摧毁世界范围内的帝国主义和各国国内的反动政权。伊斯兰运动是对帝国主义全球化和帝国主义对世界人民特别是穆斯林群众的压迫和剥削的反应。只要帝国主义存在，只要它还支持亚非国家腐朽的反动买办伊斯兰政权，穆斯林群众就不可能走出宗教原教旨主义的迷雾。只有在世界范围内摧毁帝国主义之后，伊斯兰教群众才能完全走出蒙昧的意识形态和价值观。这将为建立无阶级社会铺平道路。**

***提问25：您对伊斯兰教运动的高涨有什么看法？***

**甘纳帕蒂：这个问题的答案已经包含在上述解释中了。从本质上讲，我们认为伊斯兰教运动的高潮是当代世界的一种进步的反帝国主义力量。把在伊拉克、阿富汗、巴勒斯坦领土、克什米尔、车臣和其他一些国家进行的斗争说成是伊斯兰原教旨主义者的斗争，或说成是塞缪尔-亨廷顿(Samuel Huntington)早就提出的 "文明的冲突"，并在今天被各式各样的人提及，这是错误的。从本质上讲，所有这些都是民族解放战争，尽管伊斯兰原教旨主义者在这些斗争中也发挥了作用。我们在意识形态和政治上反对各种宗教原教旨主义，因为它混淆了阶级界限和阶级斗争，使群众处于阶级压迫的枷锁之下。然而，在我看来，"伊斯兰原教旨主义 "是人民反对美国、欧盟、日本和其他帝国主义推行的市场原教旨主义的“盟友”。**

**这股热潮必将提高穆斯林群众的反帝民主意识，拉近他们与其他一切世俗、进步和革命力量的距离。我认为伊斯兰运动是穆斯林群众民主觉醒的开始，尽管目前伊斯兰运动中原教旨主义的意识形态和观点占主导地位。我们的党支持伊斯兰运动，并寻求与所有反帝国主义力量的合作。**

***提问26：最近，黎巴嫩真主党(Hizbollah)的纳斯鲁拉(Nasarullah)说，左派应该接近伊斯兰主义者。在印度的背景下，你有什么感想？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我基本上同意真主党的纳斯鲁拉所说的话。人们必须明白，纳萨鲁拉指的是伊斯兰国家从帝国主义手中争取民族解放的斗争。**

**当务之急是团结一切反对帝国主义的力量，特别是反对美国帝国主义，它正在大肆破坏几千年历史赋予我们的每一种人类价值，压迫着亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲的每一个国家。如果左派不采取措施与伊斯兰运动中为民族解放而战的力量联合起来，甚至不能说自己是民主的。正如我在上面提到的，所有正在进行的运动都是由各国的伊斯兰势力领导的，在内容上都是民族民主运动。从内容上讲都是国家民主运动。这些运动领导人使用的强烈宗教语言并没有改变他们的民族民主本质和反帝性质。**

**关于尼泊尔的事态发展**

***提问27：您怎样看待尼泊尔？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我们党的官方立场，在上一期的理论杂志《人民战争》上已经用声明、采访和文章的形式表述出来了。去年我们党的发言人也接受了采访。我们正在与各毛主义政党就尼泊尔的发展进行辩论。**

**尼泊尔人民在与君主制的斗争中表现出了极大的勇气，但这场斗争只进行了一半。真正的斗争不是反对贾南德拉国王和君主制，君主制只是封建-帝国主义对尼泊尔广大人民的压迫和剥削的一个象征。如果不把封建势力、帝国主义、印度大企业和当地的买办赶出去，仅仅赶走贾南德拉，并不能解决尼泊尔人民的任何问题。只有坚定地将人民战争进行到最后，才能做到这一点。任何议会都无法撼动这些事实上统治国家的反动势力的地位。**

**我们认为，在尼泊尔共产党（毛主义）以“21世纪民主”的名义采取多党民主的立场后，存在停止尼泊尔人民战争进行的严重危险。他们口口声声说要防止革命后资本主义复辟，但实际上是在未夺取政权之前就参加选举！而这将损害革命的利益。我们正在与尼泊尔的毛派就这些问题进行辩论。我们告诉他们不要对议会民主抱有幻想。世界各地以及印度近六十年的议会民主历史表明，这是一场闹剧。**

**该协议中最危险的部分是解除尼共（毛）人民解放军的武装，将武器和战士分别安置在不同地区。这样做除了解除群众的武装，让他们听从压迫者的摆布，没有任何好处。无论是帝国主义还是印度和中国这样的大邻国，都不会允许尼泊尔的社会经济体系发生任何根本性的变化。无论是通过人民战争还是通过议会，如果他们的利益被毛派破坏，他们都不会坐视不管。因此，毛主义者永远不可能通过以多党民主的名义进入议会来实现结束封建和帝国主义剥削的目的。他们要么被纳入这个体系，要么放弃目前与资产阶级分享权力的政策，继续进行武装革命以夺取政权。革命没有“中间道路”。他们不能为资产阶级发明的游戏制定规则。**

**论党在当今世界中的作用**

***提问28：国际和国内局势正在发生快速的变化。 您如何看待党在这场动荡局势中的作用？***

**甘纳帕蒂：在当今国际国内形势下，我们党发挥的作用是巨大的。我们的代表大会分析了当前的政治形势，向党和人民发出了号召。它制定了必要的即时策略和任务，以利用这一形势，在印度正在进行的人民战争中实现进步和飞跃。新的一届中央委员会以有时限的方案和计划的形式进一步具体化了这些内容。大会就我国人民和世界人民面临的问题通过了几项决议。我们希望积极介入这些问题，建立一个基础广泛的激进的政治群众运动。**

**在未来的十到二十年里，世界各地都将发生大规模的政治和社会动乱，我国也将在几个邦发生大规模的动荡，反对帝国主义的冲击，反对印度统治阶级的反人民政策，如划出称为经济特区的新殖民地，反对城市和农村地区的大量穷人流离失所，反对严厉的法律、国家镇压、失业、腐败、通货膨胀、忽视社会福利等等。人民和国家之间的激进对抗将成为全国的普遍现象，我相信我们的党将成为这些运动的领导者。它将发展到领导我国绝大多数被压迫群众的地位。取缔我们的党和群众组织，杀害我们的同志，残酷地镇压人民，恐吓和骚扰一切参加革命运动的人和他们的一切镇压手段，都不能阻止我们党对广大人民群众的领导的必然性。反动的和修正主义的政党、议会制度在人民心目中是很不光彩的，他们不能不把我们的党看作是摆在他们面前实现真正解放的唯一选择。**

***提问29：最后，你是否觉得这是印度毛派斗争历史上的一个非常关键的时刻？如果是的话，原因何在？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我不知道你提出这个问题时到底在想什么。但我会说是的，因为有以下几个原因。当你第一次看到在印度共产主义运动中的两大毛主义政党合并后，出现了一个统一的印度革命指挥中心，当你看到35年(准确地说是37年)之后作为党的最高权威的代表大会的召开，这确实成为印度毛主义斗争史上的一个关键时刻。而且还不止于此。召开统一大会本身就是对党在近代以来面临的最大挑战。反动的统治阶级在帝国主义的指挥下，曾试图动用他们所掌握的一切手段来破坏大会的召开。然而，在我们的中央委员会和我们党的各个领导委员会的精心策划下，在我们解放军的英勇战士以及永远警惕的人民民兵和革命群众的保护下，我们完成了从两年前就开始筹备的这场巨大的民主活动。值得骄傲的是，我们成功地把代表大会开了两个多星期，给敌人以适当的回击。**

**这也是一个关键时刻，还有另一个原因。今天，毛主义运动面临着建设强大的人民解放军和建立偏远农村根据地的巨大挑战，反动统治阶级正在不遗余力地阻止在印度中心地带出现这样的红色基地(人民的民主政府)，因为这将意味着出现一个强大的革命党，能够真正代替腐败的议会制度和犯罪的、社区的（社区主义，民族宗教法西斯主义）、法西斯的、买办的议会政党。因此，我们不仅看到中央部队、国家特种部队的大规模部署，而且还从当地居民中建立了庞大的民兵力量，武装和训练他们，让他们对抗革命运动，组织大屠杀，让我们想起革命前俄国的“黑色百人团大屠杀”（Pogroms of the Black Hundred），以及法西斯希特勒的纳粹团伙。这就是在丹达卡兰亚地区以"和平行动"(Salwa Judum)的名义上演的情景，在比哈尔-恰尔肯得邦以“森德拉”(Sendra)的名义在较小程度上上演的情况。他们会毫不犹豫地派遣印度军队去制造更多的流血事件，而且，毛主义运动只有通过粉碎敌军的这些攻击才能前进。这就是我们认为目前是印度毛主义斗争史上的一个关键时刻的原因。**

**我们把现在时刻称为至关紧要的最后的原因，是因为：我们毛主义者面临着为十几亿人民提供革命领导的伟大任务，这个时候，整个国家正在变成一个新的殖民地，这个国家正在被卖给帝国主义和以经济特区为名的大企业，数百万人被所谓的发展项目所取代，工人、农民、雇员、学生、知识分子、达利特人（贱民）、妇女、部落民、少数民族、宗教少数派和其他群体的反抗情绪异常高涨。**

**Interview with Ganapathy, General Secretary,**

**CPI(Maoist) in the Background of the Successful**

**Completion of the Congress of the CPI (Maoist)**

***People’s March, Volume 8 No: 7, July 2007***

*(The questions that follow have been sent by various newspapers to*

*Ganapathy, General Secretary, CPI(Maoist). More than half of these were*

*sent by BBC. The answers by Ganapathy are being sent to the media in*

*the background of the successful completion of the Congress of the*

*CPI(Maoist) and other recent developments — Azad, Spokesperson,*

*CPI(Maoist), 24 April, 2007)*

**On the Unity Congress of CPI (Maoist)**

***Q: We heard that you had successfully held your Congress recently after***

***a gap of almost 37 years. Why has there been such a long delay?***

**A:** It is true that we held our last Congress—8th Congress—way back in

1970. The reason for not holding it for almost 37 years is the condition of

the revolutionary forces in the country. Two years after the last Congress

the movement suffered a serious setback; the highest committee, the CC,

became disintegrated following the martyrdom, arrests, and even betrayals

by some members like SN Singh who had, in fact, split the Party in

September 1971 itself. After the martyrdom of comrade Charu Majumdar,

the entire CC ceased to exist as it got splintered into several factions. I sayfactions because they were all part of the original CPI(ML). Prolonged

existence as separate groups gave them distinct identities in course of time

as independent groups and parties with their own respective programmes

and tactics. Moreover, they made their own self-critical reviews of the past.

Such a state of affairs had rendered the prospects of unity all the more

difficult.

Some groups began to traverse the same old path of the Danges and

Joshis, although they claimed to oppose their line, such as the “Liberation”

group led by Vinod Mishra whose degeneration began in the early 1980s

after a history of glorious struggle during the 1970s. There were some that

went on postponing the initiation of armed struggle against the state

indefinitely to some auspicious day in the future with the plea that the state

is too powerful and armed confrontation with it required more time and

preparation. Hence they confined themselves to so-called phase of armed

peasant resistance or the anti-feudal phase of struggle. Till today these

groups have not completed their preparations to begin their armed

confrontation with the state! These were the Right opportunist groups such

as TN-DV, ND, various factions of CP Reddy etc. Then there were some

others that stuck to the original programme of the CPI(ML) but refused to

adopt a critical outlook towards the past mistakes. They continued

dogmatically with the Left sectarian mistakes such as over-assessment of

the international situation and the subjective strength, and an underestimation

of the enemy forces and hence could not build any movement of significance.

It was only a few Parties such as the CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU]

which had upheld the basic line of the 8th Congress, made a self-critical

review of the past tactical mistakes and shortcomings in the movement

thereby enriching the line further, carried on the people’s war based on the

enriched line, and hence could develop relatively strong movements in

different parts of the country.

While this was the condition of the CPI(ML), on the other hand, the

MCC led by comrades KC, Amulya Sen and Chandra Shekhar Das, grew

up as a separate party with almost the same programme as that of the

CPI(ML). Both parties would have been part of a single party but due to

some historical reasons this did not materialise during the time of comrade

CM. Later, as the CPI(ML) itself got split by 1972, unity became a thing ofthe future. From then on unity of the Communist Revolutionaries remained

one of the principal tasks in the agenda of every revolutionary organisation.

But unity cannot materialise due to the desire of the revolutionaries itself.

The will, i.e., the sincere desire for unity, is no doubt, an important factor

but what is decisive is the political line and practice of the parties. Hence it

was only during the 1980s and 90s when movements were built by Parties

such as the MCC, CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU] that a strong basis for

unity was laid. However, the unity between these Parties could not materialise

for a long time due to political differences and also due to shortcomings on

the part of the leaderships to make conscious efforts for unity. I can elaborate

this if needed. The main reason for the long delay in holding the 9th Congress

has been the failure to achieve unity among the major revolutionary forces

in the country.

***Q: How is democracy ensured in the Party when you could not hold the***

***Congress for so many years? How are the cadres involved in formulating***

***the line, tactics and policies of the Party?***

**A:** The specific feature that I had described above, i.e., not holding the

Congress for a long period due to our failure to achieve unity of all the

genuine communist revolutionaries in the country, does not negate inner

Party democracy. Each revolutionary Party had its own internal democratic

process of involving cadres in policy-making. The erstwhile MCCI,

CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU] had their respective central conferences,

plenums, special meetings etc at regular intervals where they summed up

their past work and the positive and negative aspects in advancing the

people’s war, made the necessary changes in the policies and tactics, and

enriched the line. A central conference is, in essence, similar to the Congress.

The only reason for not naming it as the Congress is the recognition of the

existence of various revolutionary parties and groups in the country. It was

generally felt that a Congress could be held after achieving the unity of all

the revolutionary forces in the country. The erstwhile parties that are now

part of the CPI(Maoist)—the MCCI, CPI(ML)[PW] and CPI(ML)[PU]—

had held their central conferences and plenums at regular intervals. The

PW had organised its first regional conference of Telangana way back in

1976. It had its state conference in 1980, its central plenum in 1990, its All

India Special Conference (AISC) in 1995, and its Congress in 2001.

**120**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***Likewise, the MCCI had its central conference in 1996 and the PU in

1983, 87 and 1996.

Thus through these conferences and plenums the entire Party was

involved in the democratic process of discussions, internal struggle, and

resolution of all disputed issues democratically. In fact, the CPI(ML)[PW]

began preparations for holding the Congress in 1995 after the break-down

of the merger talks with MCC. The AISC of erstwhile PW in 1995 was

actually planned as a Congress but at the eleventh hour we decided to

change its name to that of a special conference but having the significance

of a Congress. This was done keeping in mind the prospect of unity with

the CPI(ML)[PU]. In 2001, the unified CPI(ML)[PW] held the 9th Congress

but it was the Congress of revolutionaries belonging basically to only one

stream of the Indian revolution, the CPI(ML). The Congress was held due

to an assessment by the PW leadership that unity with MCC may not

materialise for a relatively longer period of time especially in the background

of strained relations between the two parties at that time. Later, this

assessment proved to be wrong. Within 3 ½ years after that Congress the

new Party, CPI(Maoist), was formed with the merger of CPI(ML)[PW]

and MCCI. To sum up, healthy democratic processes were in place

throughout the histories of the major Parties constituting the present

CPI(Maoist) even though we could not hold the Congress for a long period.

***Q: We heard from some media reports that serious differences had***

***emerged in the recently-held Unity Congress, that there was strong***

***opposition to your re-election as General Secretary, that the Congress***

***could not even elect the central bodies, and so on. Are these true?***

**A:** Such concocted reports are based on speculation by some media personnel

but are mainly part of the disinformation campaign unleashed by the

Intelligence agencies. The APSIB, in particular, has a special department

for such disinformation with the sole purpose of spreading confusion among

the people and Party cadre. They have been circulating such stories ever

since the merger of the two Maoist Parties, particularly over the past one

year. They have been desperately trying to spread the rumour that the

merger was not a principled one, that there are serious differences between

the two erstwhile parties, and that both have different lines of thinking

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **121**which are reflected in their respective practices, and such trash.

And we know from where the so-called media reports that you are

referring to had originated. These police stories had been faxed from

Hanamkonda by the SIB and were published in some Telugu dailies on

March 26. Through these reports these liars had desperately tried to project

a totally false picture about the situation in our Party. They tried to prove

that while the erstwhile MCCI wants to intensify the people’s war by resorting

to more and more military actions, the erstwhile PW comrades think it is

better to put off the actions for a while and concentrate on building militant

mass movements. It is indeed amusing to see such reports just 10 days

after the PLGA had carried out the biggest ever action in the history of the

Maoist movement by eliminating 68 police personnel including SPOs in

Rani Bodili in Chattisgarh and after we had declared that more such actions

would follow if the reactionary ruling classes do not give up the brutal

campaign of mass murder and destruction in the name of *salwa judum*.

There isn’t an iota of truth in these fabricated lies.

These police stories also spread the lie that “*the setbacks and differences*

*were so serious that the Congress could not even reconstitute the Politburo,*

*Central Committee, Central Military Commission, and various sate*

*committees and that some of the key leaders are likely to face disciplinary*

*actions*.” In fact, at no point in the history of the revolutionary movement

in India we had such strong and closely-knit central and state Party structures.

The Congress had unanimously elected the Central Committee which then

set up the Politburo, CMC, various Regional Bureaus, and central

departments and sub-committees. I would proudly say, the establishment

of a strong, centralized leadership for leading the Indian revolution has

been one of the significant achievements of the Congress. The state

committees are elected by the concerned state conferences and not by the

Congress. The press release shows the poor homework of the SIB.

It was even more amusing to hear from the report that disciplinary

action, including demotion, is likely to be taken against some key leaders.

There is not an iota of truth in these wild assertions. The above shows not

merely the disinformation campaign but also the psychology of the SIB and

the police in AP who desperately wish that the “key” leaders of our Party

be demoted.

**122**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)Q: Then you say there are no differences at all?***

**A:** Why not? Ideological-political debates are the life-blood of any communist

party. It is through such internal struggle that a Party’s line gets further

enriched and the Party becomes stronger and more unified. We never keep

our differences secret. We had published the differences in the last issue of

our theoretical magazine, the *People’s War.* In the current issue of the

magazine the debates which took place in the Congress are reported in

detail. These debates indicate the strength of the party, not its weakness. It

shows the democratic credentials of the Party which allows freedom of

expression for all kinds of opinions and viewpoints, and its ability to digest

various opinions if they are expressed in a constructive way to enrich the

Party line and not with a malafide intention to wreck the Party. Whatever

opinions had come up at the Congress were placed by the comrades in all

sincerity, with a view to enrich the line and find solutions to the problems

confronting the Indian revolution.

One very important point to be noted here is that differences which had

come up at the Congress were not differences between erstwhile MCCI

and CPI(ML)[PW] but were those within a single Party. If you are aware

of the history of our Party you would find that even more serious differences

had come up in our earlier conferences and Congress. In the AISC of PW

in 1995 or the central conferences of PU in 1987 and 1996, or in the 2001

Congress of the unified PW, the differences were of quite a serious nature.

There were differences on the principal contradiction in the world, on the

contradiction between the CBB and the Indian people, mode of production

in India, and so on. There was also a sharp debate on the question of Right

deviation in the Party line during the 2001 Congress of erstwhile PW. All

these serious differences were resolved through a healthy debate and by

placing for vote where needed. This time the differences were not as much

serious as in the past. The media reports, obviously, were wide off the

mark. Thus the differences within the old PW, or the unified PW after the

merger of PW and PU in August 1998, or in the CPI(Maoist) after the

merger of the PW and MCCI, are very much normal in a Communist

party. Any difference, even the most serious ones, can be resolved in a

Communist party by adhering to the principle of democratic centralism.

That is the greatness of the principle of democratic centralism which is the

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **123**basis for the existence and functioning of a communist party.

It was only in Karnataka that a small group calling itself the Minority

had split away from the Party after they had lost the majority for their

Right opportunist line in the state conference. If they had the communist

spirit and discipline and were not carried away by petty-bourgeois

individualism and anarchic methods, they would have remained in the Party

and fought for their line in the Congress. Of course, while carrying out the

line and policy decided by the majority in the Congress, one has the right to

bring up one’s line or standpoint on any question once again as part of the

next Congress.

***Q: So you say there is no truth in the reports about the strong opposition***

***to your re-election as the General Secretary and that you had to accede***

***to many of the demands of your detractors as part of the compromise***

***formula?***

**A:** No truth absolutely. Reports of opposition to my election as GS are a

planned fabrication by the Intelligence agencies like the central IB, APSIB

etc., which had taken the task of spreading disinformation about the

leadership as one of their principal tasks. My re-election was a unanimous

decision of the CC. They saw no reason to make any change. And I do not

understand what they mean by my detractors or their demands for neither

of these is true. As regards the so-called compromise formula I can only

laugh at the desperation of the enemy camp to establish fictitious differences

and compromises.

The losses in AP are not seen as the losses of erstwhile PW but as

those of the entire Party. The entire Party concentrated keenly on analysing

the reasons for the losses and took lessons from the positive and negative

experiences of the movement in AP. Synthesising the experiences of the

movement in AP was very useful for the entire Party, which had imbibed

its positive experiences and drew lessons from its negative aspects.

***Q: Where was the Congress held? How did you manage to hold it when***

***the government has been seriously trying to foil it?***

**A:** (*Laughs*) Let the Intelligence agencies keep guessing where it was held.

**124**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***As for the media, we can take you people to the place sometime later. As

history is being built, these places will assume great historical importance

for future generations. Then everyone will come to know. But one thing I

can say for the present—it is held in the midst of people, protected by

people and nature all around. And, of course, at the venue it is our heroic

PLGA fighters who worked day and night, doing 24-hour duty, alert to

every move of the enemy forces, sitting in ambushes for the police forces if

ever they dared to venture into the area. Even if the enemy forces had

entered the area our guerrillas would have ensured that there were no losses

of leadership. Placing full confidence on the PLGA and the masses, we

conducted the Congress without any tension or problem. In fact, we had

even extended the Congress by a few days.

Holding the Congress was only the final act of the entire democratic

process. As part of this process, we held conferences in about 15 states; 12

of these were state-level conferences, and these were preceded by regional,

zonal/divisional/district conferences and in some places sub-zonal and area

conferences too. There was a big education campaign with study camps,

classes etc. All these had consumed a large part of our time last year. But

for the extensive mass support and the protection provided by our guerrilla

forces, these programmes would have been simply impossible given the

continuous suppression campaigns unleashed by the enemy. We had to

shift the conference venue in AOB and one or two other places when we

were informed by the people that the enemy was surrounding the place. It

is the people who are our eyes and ears and as long as we enjoy the support

of the people, and maintain methods of strict secrecy, no enemy force can

do anything.

There were serious attempts by the central and state governments to

disrupt the conferences and the Congress. There was open declaration to

that effect in the papers in the months of November and December last. A

special wing was set up for a period of three months in the Home Ministry

to foil the Congress. They knew it would be held in the months of January

or February since it would be relatively difficult to hold after that due to the

onset of summer. Thus holding the Congress was one of the biggest

challenges the newly-unified Party had faced after the merger. More than a

hundred delegates—the core of the Maoist Party—had to come from

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **125**different states unnoticed by the enemy. A huge force of tested PLGA

fighters had to be mobilised for protection purpose. And the arrangements

for such a huge camp, that too in the coldest days of winter, were not easy.

Any small leak anywhere would have disturbed the programme. Under

these difficult conditions successful completion of the Congress is definitely

a big achievement for the Party. It has shown that anything is possible with

meticulous planning, secret methods of functioning, a committed guerrilla

force and the strong support of the people.

One tragic incident that took place on the eve of the Congress was the

martyrdom of our beloved comrades Chandramouli (BK) and his life-partner

Vijayalaxmi (Karuna). Chandramouli was a member of the CC and the

CMC and Karuna was a DC member. They were caught by the APSIB

goons on 26th night and murdered in cold blood the next day after cruel

torture. There was some tension when we heard the news of their

martyrdom. However, the enemy did not find anything indicative of the

Congress on their person and both of them stood like rock when unspeakable

inhuman tortures were being inflicted upon them. The cruel enemy could

not extract a single bit of information from these great communists, the

proud son and daughter of the Indian people. Even in their martyrdom they

made great contribution in blood for the success of the Congress. Their

sacrifices will be remembered forever by all our Party cadres and the

revolutionary masses.

***Q: What are the major decisions of the Unity Congress? Will there be***

***any change in your overall plans and tactics now?***

**A:** The general direction of the Congress is to intensify the people’s war

and to take the war to all fronts. Concretely it decided to take the guerrilla

war to a higher level of mobile war in the areas where guerrilla war is in an

advanced stage and to expand the areas of armed struggle to as many states

as possible. The destruction of the enemy forces has come into the immediate

agenda in these areas without which it is very difficult to consolidate our

gains or to advance further. Likewise, there is an immediate need to transform

a vast area into the war zone so that there is enough room for manoeuvrability

for our guerrilla forces. And in expansion the element of secrecy is very

important. Keeping in view the massive deployment of the central forces

**126**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***and special police forces of the states the Congress had drawn up plans to

adopt various creative forms to cause serious damage to the enemy forces.

The police and central forces will be taught how dangerous it is to enter our

areas. We decided to strengthen the Party and the PLGA, mobilise the

masses actively to resist the enemy forces, and to transform these areas

into our strong bases by destroying the enemy’s power in all forms. And all

this will be achieved by wide mobilisation of the masses into the war. As it

is, hundreds of people, and at times even more than a thousand, are involved

in the attacks against the enemy as you can see from the recent

counteroffensive operations as in Rani Bodili, Riga, CISF camp in Khasmahal

in Bokaro district, and so on in the past one month itself.

With the experiences we gained in AP in the midst of ever-increasing

and continuous state repression and state-sponsored repression, it is all the

more important that our forces are not exposed wherever they are working.

But at the same time we shall be in the forefront of every people’s movement.

The Congress has decided to take up struggles against the SEZs which are

nothing but neo-colonial enclaves on Indian territory. They are not just

snatching fertile farmlands of the peasants but are transforming the entire

country into special zones for the unhindered ruthless exploitation and control

by imperialists and the comprador big business houses. The Congress gave

the call to go deep into these struggles. We have no illusions on the cruel,

fascist nature of the Indian state, and hence there is utmost need for

maintaining secret methods of work as well as to be prepared for every

kind of sacrifice.

***Q: Finally, how do you sum up the achievements of your Unity Congress***

***and its significance?***

**A:** Our Unity Congress is an event of great historic significance in the

history of the revolutionary movement of India. It not only marks the near

completion of the process of unification of the Maoist forces in the country

but also the consolidation of the Party and the political line for the Indian

revolution. The reaffirmation and enrichment of the revolutionary political

line established by our founder leaders-comrades CM and KC-is the biggest

achievement of the Congress. Several ideological-political questions were

debated and settled by the Congress thereby bringing about a higher level

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **127**of unity. Another achievement of significance is the establishment of a

unified centralised leadership for the Indian revolution.

After a long time in the history of the revolutionary communist

movement in India since the 1970s, a single directing centre has come into

existence, with the merger of the MCCI and CPI(ML)[PW] in September

2004 and this centre has become further consolidated and firmly established

in the unity congress with the approval of the entire Party.

**On the losses in Andhra Pradesh**

***Q: There have been serious losses in Andhra Pradesh in recent times.***

***What are the reasons? Has your movement become weakened overall?***

***How do you plan to overcome these losses and regain the initiative?***

**A:** I agree that the losses in the state of Andhra Pradesh are quite serious.

They certainly have a considerable impact on the revolutionary movement

in the country as a whole. AP, particularly the region of North Telangana,

has been an important centre of revolutionary movement for a long period

and a great inspiration to the revolutionary masses of our country. But we

have to keep in mind that so far as the question of establishing base areas

goes, it has been the more backward areas falling in central and eastern

India that were selected by the Party with the immediate task of liberating

these vast areas. Hence the focus of our movement had gradually shifted to

Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand.

You must have known that AP was made into a model state, an

experimental state where the imperialists, particularly the World Bank, and

the Indian ruling classes had concentrated to implement their multi-pronged

LIC strategy against the revolutionary movement, with its focus on brutal

suppression and reform. No other state affected by the Naxalite movement

has such a massive police commando force as in AP, nowhere do you find

such extensive intelligence network, infrastructure, funds, training in counter

insurgency warfare, and unlimited powers to the police. No other state had

witnessed such a bloodbath as AP had for the past four decades and

particularly from the mid-1980s. There are hardly any political prisoners in

AP jails since the policy had always been to bump off the revolutionaries—

whether they are members of the central committee or sympathisers—after

**128**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***they are arrested. Fake encounter killings had been the tradition right from

the time of Vengal Rao during the struggle of Srikakulam almost 40 years

ago. Thousands of crores have been spent on so-called reforms with the

aim of weaning away a section of the people from the revolutionary

movement. It is a fact that a small but articulate and influential section in

the countryside has been won over through these reforms. In a word, we

can say that the Party and the revolutionary movement in AP bore the

brunt of all the counter-insurgency measures initiated by the reactionary

ruling classes in the initial stages. Today these are being implemented in

several other states. We are making an in-depth study of enemy’s counter

revolutionary tactics, plans and methods and taking lessons from these.

The movement in AP, at the cost of huge sacrifices of thousands of comrades,

has given us invaluable experiences on how to counter and defeat enemy’s

tactics and plans. With these, the Party is now more equipped to defeat the

enemy’s tactics in other states.

Setbacks and losses are not unnatural in protracted people’s war.

Revolution proceeds along a zig zag course and not along a straight line.

The movement in AP has seen many ups and downs. But always it rose up

like the proverbial Phoenix. No doubt, at the present juncture, we are facing

a tough situation in AP and the enemy has the upper-hand from the tactical

point of view. We had lost a good part of the state leadership and cadre but

the most promising aspect is that the people are still with our Party. The

support base of the Party has not eroded much although the They meet us

secretly, ask us to solve their problems, and they work without getting

exposed to the brutal State. For them our Party is the only hope. People are

pained at every loss suffered by the revolutionaries. You can gauge the

mass support from the turn out at the funeral meetings of our martyrs. In

spite of the threats and restrictions imposed by the police goons, more than

20,000 people had turned up at the funeral of comrade Chandramouli (BK)

and Karuna in the former’s native village of Vadkapur in Karimnagar district.

The pent-up anger and hatred of the people for the reactionary rulers and

their police-Grey Hounds-SIB goons will grow into a movement of such

great proportions that it will wash away the exploiters and oppressors and

all the muck accumulated in society for long. No force on earth can stop

this high tide of revolution whatever losses and setbacks we might be facing

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **129**today in AP. The ruling classes are aware of the great potential for the

revolutionary movement in AP. That is why while boasting that Maoists in

the state had become completely weakened and that AP will serve as a

model on how to deal with the Maoist movement, the fascist YSR

government has initiated several measures with a long-term plan such as a

hundred per cent increase in the strength of the Grey Hounds commando

force, acquiring helicopters for anti-Naxal operations, sanctioning of Rs.

2000 crores of central aid to deal with the Naxal movement, and so on.

The present historical epoch is an epoch of great turmoil with tumultuous

changes taking place worldwide. Even the most powerful militarised

imperialist power like the US is finding it impossible to suppress the national

liberation struggle in a small country such as Iraq or Afghanistan. In India,

the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the people by the ruling classes

in collaboration with imperialism has created an explosive situation. Utilising

the excellent international and domestic situation prevailing today we are

confident we will be able to come out of the temporary setback in AP.

And what is more important, we made advances in many other states

in spite of the losses we had suffered in AP. The situation is now qualitatively

different from that of the earlier periods in that we are now able to advance

the movement in a number of states even if we suffer losses and setbacks

in one or two states. Way back they could suppress a Naxalbari, a

Srikakulam, a Birbhum, a Mushahari, a Kanksa or Sonarpur but today the

revolutionary movement has become further strengthened, has spread to

large tracts of the backward countryside, has well-knit Party structures,

Army and vast mass base. It is advancing through centralised planning and

direction. Hence it is not an easy thing for the state to suppress the movement

as in the past although it might achieve an upper hand in one place. The

Congress had chalked out a concrete plan to overcome the setback in AP

by transforming the unfavourable factors into favourable ones. Overall there

is great future for the Party and revolution.

**On SEZs, Nandigram and role of CPI(M)**

***Q: How do you see issues like Singur and Nandigram? Are your people***

***involved in inciting violence in Nandigram as claimed by the CPI(M)?***

***Do you intend to get actively involved in such issues?***

**130**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)*A:** One should only be surprised if we are not involved in such life-and

death issues of the masses. We intend to mobilise the masses against the

conspiracies and treacherous policies of the rulers to snatch the land of the

people and hand over the same to the MNCs and the comprador big business

in the name of development through creation of hundreds of SEZs. The

policy of SEZ is aimed at creating neo-colonial enclaves within our country

where no laws of the land can be applied. The SEZ policy is being

aggressively pushed by the Indian ruling classes goaded on by the imperialist

MNCs as part of their globalisation offensive. Struggles against the SEZs

acquiring fertile farmland of the peasants and also huge projects are turning

more and more militant as witnessed in Kalinga Nagar, Singur, Nandigram,

Lohandiguda, Polavaram, etc. Kalinga Nagar, Singur and Nandigram, in

particular, have become important symbols in this struggle against exploitation

by the big comprador houses and the imperialists.

As regards Maoists inciting violence in Nandigram, the entire world

would laugh at the temerity of these “Left” Front rulers. Even Goebbels

would turn in his grave seeing how much his art of lying has been improved

by “Marxists” like Buddhas, Karats, Yechuris etc. These political brokers

have been desperately trying to divert the issue by repeating ad nausea that

Maoists from outside had incited the local people and hence the police had

no other alternative than to open fire in self-defence. Like every reactionary

ruling class the “Marxist” rulers of Bengal too are harping on themes such

as “foreign hand” for the mess which they themselves had created. Brinda

Karat had commented that Maoists had used the sea-route to enter

Nandigram. It is sickening to see the utter political bankruptcy of these so

called ideologues and the poverty of their logic. In the eyes of these

hypocrites and double-dealers, a Salim or a Tata, are not outsiders while

Maoists, who live and die for the people, become outsiders. Worse still, like

ostriches, they think that the world does not know how thousands of armed

goons had been brought by their Party from different parts of the state to

Nandigram along with a huge police force to enact the massacre. Karats

and Yechuris are placing this on outsiders in their sheer desperation to

justify their savage massacre in Nandigram.

Nandigram reveals the ugly cruel face of the social-fascist CPI(M) whose

goons along with the police shad committed indescribable atrocities on the

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **131**people, raped women, killed over a hundred people including even children,

and, what is most abominable, had buried the corpses or thrown them into

the river. Buddhadeb had emerged as Bengal’s Dyer and has proved himself

to be a loyal servant of the big comprador houses and the MNCs. Like a

true dalal, his government had taken up the task of acquiring lands from the

people to hand over to the big business. One thing has become established

beyond a shadow of doubt with the state terror and state-sponsored terror

in Nandigram: the CPI(M) is the best bet for the MNCs and comprador big

business for securing their class interests in the country. It will not be a

surprise if they choose to bring these most loyal servants in Marxist guise to

power even at the Centre in the future.

As for our role in such movements we shall definitely make all efforts

to be in the forefront and lead the movement in the correct direction. We

call upon the people to turn every SEZ into a battle-field and assure them

that we will render all support to the people’s movements against SEZs.

**On the annihilation of Sunil Mahto**

***Q: Last month JMM leader and MP from Jamshedpur, Sunil Mahto,***

***was gunned down by your guerrillas along with five others. There have***

***been reports that Dy Chief Minister Sudhir Mahto was also warned.***

***How far are these acts justified? Is your Party planning more such***

***political assassinations in the near future?***

**A:** We do not kill everyone just because he/she is an MP or a minister.

Although all legislators are directly or indirectly responsible for all the policies

made by the government, it is mainly a small coterie of political leaders that

play a crucial role in finalising the policies under the dictates of the imperialist

CBB-feudal combine. It is such political leaders that we single out for attack.

In the case of Sunil Mahto, we had to eliminate him only because he

has been actively involved in unleashing brutal repression on the

revolutionary movement in Jharkhand. He is not just a leader of JMM but

is associated actively in the vigilante gang called the Nagrik Suraksha Samiti

(NSS) which had taken part in the cold-blooded murder of 11 of our Party

cadres in Lango village in Dumaria bloc in East Singhbhum district in 2001.

Although he was not the main architect of this massacre, he had encouraged

**132**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***the activities of this private mercenary gang sponsored by the state. Of late,

he had come to the forefront organizing the armed campaign against the

Maoists movement according to the game plan of the reactionary ruling

classes to divide and pit a section of the adivasis against the revolutionary

movement in the name of *Sendra.* We already have bitter experiences in

Chattisgarh where the so-called peace campaign in the name of *salwa judum*

is playing havoc with the lives of thousands of adivasi people. Over 700

villages had been razed to the ground, almost 60,000 people were uprooted

from their homes, over 400 were murdered, several women were raped

and property of the people was destroyed by these salwa judum vigilante

gangs accompanied by the police and central forces. We also have the

experiences of AP where vigilante gangs such as Cobras, Tigers, etc had

created a campaign of terror in some areas. A similar plan is being sought to

be unleashed in Jharkhand in the name of sendra and Sunil Mahto was one

of the main leaders spearheading this campaign against the Maoists. The

so-called Tritiya Prastuti Committee (TPC) too has been playing a similar

role in Bihar with the support of the state. Hence we had to eliminate the

main leader, Murari Ganju, in a daring attack by our PLGA on the 9th of

April. Such punishments will be carried out where necessary on cast-to

case basis in a selective manner and this must not be treated as our general

policy.

We wish to make one thing clear: we are not for indiscriminate killing

of leaders or ordinary members of political parties. We basically rely on

mobilization of the masses to isolate, expose and fight the anti-people policies

of various political parties and the attacks by the vigilante gangs while

engaging our PLGA squads and action teams where needed. Annihilation of

Sunil Mahto should not be interpreted as our antagonism towards JMM as

a whole. We are not against JMM as long as it desists from indulging in

anti-people activities and attacks against the revolutionary movement. We

appeal to the activists and ordinary members of JMM to understand the

conspiracy of the ruling classes to divide the adivasi people in the name of

*sendra* and call upon them to fight the state-sponsored private vigilante

gangs like NSS as well as all those leading the notorious campaign of *sendra*

against the revolutionary movement in Jharkhand.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **133On the biggest ever attack by the Maoists in Chattisgarh**

***Q: Recently your PLGA had inflicted one of the biggest blows to the***

***police force and the* salwa judum *by killing a huge number of police***

***and SPOs in Rani Bodili in Chattisgarh. Do you foresee more such***

***attacks in near future? And do you believe the salwa judum can be***

***stopped through such actions?***

**A:** The daring tactical counteroffensive operation carried out by the PLGA

led by our Party, the CPI(Maoist), on March 16 on a police base camp in

Ranibodli in Bijapur police district in Chattisgarh in which 68 policemen

including Special Police Officers (SPOs) were wiped out is an inevitable

consequence of the brutal reign of terror unleashed by the state and central

governments in the name of *salwa judum*. You must know the actual ground

situation in Dandakaranya to understand why such a massive operation had

to be planned.

For almost two years since June 2005, the BJP government in Chattisgarh

and the Congress-led UPA government in the Centre had sponsored a

counterrevolutionary terrorist campaign of mass murder, torture, and arrests

of thousands of the adivasi peasantry, gangrapes and murder of hundreds

of women, destruction of thousands of houses, foodgrains, and all property

of the adivasis, killing or taking away thousands of cattle, forceful evacuation

of tens of thousands of people from almost eight hundred villages and

issuing threats and intimidation to anyone suspected of being a member of

revolutionary mass organization or sympathetic to the Maoists in

Dandakaranya, particularly in Dantewara, Bastar, Kanker, Bijapur and

Narayanpur districts. Over 5000 youth were inducted into a state mercenary

armed force, paid monthly salaries, and pitted against the native adivasis

who are fighting for land, livelihood and liberation under the leadership of

the CPI(Maoist). The Naga and Mizo Battalions were specially brought in

along with a huge CRPF and other special police forces to Chattisgarh who

had been committing the most barbaric and inhuman acts against the adivasi

population.

All these cruel attacks against an entire population are meant to establish

peace of the graveyard and clear the way for the unhindered loot by rapacious

**134**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***hawks like Tatas, Ruias, Essars, Mittals, Jindals and imperialist MNCs.

Over one lakh rupees worth of MOUs were signed by the Chattisgarh

government with these corporate comprador big business houses to drain

the rich mineral and forest wealth of the state. At the behest of these day

light robberers, adivasi dalals like opposition leader of the Congress,

Mahendra Karma, Home Minister Ramvichar Netham of the BJP and others

have been leading this counter-revolutionary war against the adivasi

population.

A huge central force is deployed which is now more than 13 battalions,

recruited 10 additional battalions of state forces, and inducted even minors

of 14 years of age into their mercenary police force. KPS Gill, notorious

for the mass murders of youth in Punjab, was specially appointed as advisor

to the Chief Minister. A carpet security system is initiated with police camps

in close proximity in order to strike terror among the people.

We, on behalf of the CC, CPI(Maoist), once again warn the state and

central governments that our Bhumkal Sena and PLGA and people will

carry out attacks on a much bigger scale if the murder campaign in the

name of salwa judum is not disbanded immediately. We declare that the

sole responsibility for such needless loss of lives of hundreds of policemen

and SPOs lies squarely on the shoulders of the state and central governments.

Large-scale armed retaliation by the adivasis led by our Party is inevitable if

the atrocities on the adivasi people continue in the name of salwa judum.

Like George Bush who can only think in terms of using more brute force to

control the fire of national liberation in Iraq, the Indian ruling classes too

can only think of sucking in more and more repressive forces in order to

suppress the people’s war and grab the mineral wealth of Dandakaranya.

However, they will only end up in further escalating the civil war in

Dandakaranya.

We do share the grief of the families of the dead policemen and SPOs

but we are being compelled to wipe out the police and mercenary gangs

who are obeying the orders of the ruling classes and their imperialist mentors

to suppress the revolutionary movement for looting the wealth in the state.

We appeal to the jawans of the central forces, particularly the Naga and

Mizo battalions, to disobey the orders of the rulers and to withdraw from

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **135**Chattisgarh. We appeal to the SPOs who are being pitted against the adivasi

people to quit the mercenary force as they are fighting an unjust war against

their own brothers and sisters in the interests of the reactionary rulers. We

call upon the democratic organizations and individuals and the vast masses

of the country to condemn state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism on

the adivasi people of Dandakaranya, to demand immediate disbandment of

salwa judum and the mercenary SPO force, to fight for the withdrawal of

the notorious central forces from the region, set up a judicial enquiry into

the killing of over 500 adivasis by the police-salwa judum mercenary

combine.

**On the Party’s plans to win over the middle class**

***Q: History shows, the middle class wants status quo. Indian middle***

***class is growing more powerful. How do you plan to co-opt them?***

**A:** It is true that the Indian middle class has grown in number. At the same

time, a sizable chunk of the middle class is facing cute crisis due to soaring

prices, unemployment, growing insecurity of life, steep increases in family

expenditure due to high cost of education, health, transport etc., which

have become privatized to a great extent and had gone beyond the reach of

a significant section of the middle class. In short, despite the numerical

growth of the middle class it is at a receiving end. Hence we see that the

growing frustration in large sections of the middle class is forcing them into

streets for their demands as witnessed in strikes and other forms of struggles

by teachers, government employees, students, and even shopkeepers who

are affected by the shopping malls and FDI in retail sector. Another important

factor has to be noted—most of yesterday’s luxury consumer goods have

become today’s daily necessities. And the list of necessities is growing by

the day with the large-scale proliferation of consumer goods and the

promotion of consumerism by the market-place. Hence frustration is growing

among members of this class as they are unable to procure these goods

since much of their incomes have to be spent on the basic necessities such

as food, clothing and shelter.

Middle class is terribly affected by such issues as price-rise, insecurity,

corruption, unemployment for their children, high cost of education and

**136**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***health-care, threats from real estate mafia etc. Keeping these in mind, our

party has drawn up plans to mobilize the middle class into struggles on such

issues.

**In Defence of armed struggle**

***Q: Why armed struggle is a must? (Isn’t it a fact that violence pushes a***

***large chunk of people away from the Party?)***

**A:** The question of armed struggle or non-violent struggle is not based on

the subjective whims and wishes of any individual or Party. It is independent

of one’s will. It is a law borne out by all historical experience. It is a fact of

history that nowhere in the world, nowhere in the historical development of

the class society, had the reactionary ruling classes given up power without

resorting to violent suppression of the mass protests, without violent resistance

aimed at clinging on to power until they are thrown out by force. Of course,

one can cite instances of regime changes occurring through peaceful

movements, through massive protests, but all of these were mere regime

changes—not systemic changes. A section of the ruling classes might give

up power to another section of the same class without the need for a violent

upheaval but the same is not the case when one ruling class is replaced by

another with diametrically opposing class interests. However, we find that

even these regime changes are not infrequently marked by violent clashes

as witnessed in several parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We will

indeed be the happiest people to bring about systematic change without the

need for armed struggle.

When we began the struggle it was basically a peaceful movement on

the various issues of the people such as land, livelihood and liberation from

feudal and imperialist exploitation and oppression. It needs hardly any genius

to grasp the fact that no feudal lord would give up his land or power just

because the masses demand it as their democratic right. The landlord would

use all means at his disposal to suppress the mass resistance by brute force.

He would get the local police and special forces, the central para-military

forces and, if needed, the army. We had seen this whenever we had initiated

the anti-feudal struggle — in Jagtyal during the late 1970s, social boycott of

the landlords imposed by the peasantry had forced them to flee the villages

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **137**our revolutionary movement had spread to over a hundred villages which

shook the powers that be. What happened next to this non-violent struggle

should be an eye-opener to all those who harbour illusions or biased against

armed struggle. After few weeks the landlords came back with the mercenary

forces and unleashed large-scale violence and cruel repressive measures

such as arrests, torture of peasants, destruction of their property, declaration

of the area as disturbed, clamping down on the civil rights of the people,

and so on. It was at that juncture that the Party was compelled to take up

arms and not out of any romantic notion. —the same is the case with anti

imperialist struggles and nationality movements. Who would want to give

up their precious lives and undergo harsh, rigorous lives tortures and hardships

when the demands of the masses such as land, national self-determination

and liberation from imperialist exploitation and oppression are achieved

through peaceful means? All movements began as peaceful movements but

had to take the form of armed struggle due to the moves of the reactionary

ruling classes. The case of Iraq is a classic illustration of how an entire

population has been compelled to take up arms due to the unbridled violence

unleashed by the imperialists for satisfying their unsatiated greed for oil.

The same is the case with Palestine, Kashmir or elsewhere.

The second part of your question is a big myth. Nowhere had the

masses been repelled from the Party on account of armed struggle. Rather,

it is the lack of effective resistance that is acting as a discouragement wherever

the state had bared its fangs. Without destroying and defeating the armed

forces of repression it is impossible to rally the people or give them

confidence. In fact, it is not our guerrilla squads alone that are putting up

resistance. The people are playing a great role in heroically resisting and

actively supporting the PLGA in its armed resistance to the police forces.

Well, that’s the ground reality notwithstanding what the intellectuals analyzing

events from their ivory towers might think and theorise.

***Q: Why there cannot be protest in a non-violent way?***

**A:** You must rather put the question the other way round. You must ask the

reactionary ruling classes—the big landlords, the big business houses, the

imperialist MNCs, the powerful Indian state and its armed forces, the state

police and the bureaucracy—if at all they would listen, as to why they do

**138**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***not allow protest in a peaceful way. Why do they beat up, arrest, torture,

and kill people who dare to go on strike? Why do they terminate the services

of workers and employees for going on strike? Why do they send their

mercenary police forces, the CRPF and the army to open fire upon people

staging peaceful marches, dharnas and meetings without any provocation,

why do they allow the khaki gangs to rape women, destroy property, enact

fake encounters in violation of all provisions of the Indian Constitution, and

for all these crimes against humanity, are let scot-free? Why do they create

a Kalinganagar, a Nandigram, an Arwal, an Indravelli, and scores of such

barbaric acts? Why peaceful protests of people in Kashmir against

disappearances are not just ignored but even attacked with such ferocity?

Why do they continue to enforce the savage Armed Forces Special Powers

Act in Manipur when it is actually the Indian army and the police forces

that are committing atrocities upon the people as the case of the rape of

Manorama classically illustrates? Can you ever forget the savage beatings

of the protestors by these khaki-clad or olivegreen goons breaking their

skulls, and not sparing them even after they fall down seriously injured?

No ruling classes anywhere in the world had allowed the people to

achieve their basic demands of land and liberation from oppression in a

peaceful way; even the so-called democratic states allow it only to the

extent they do not pose a threat to the *status quo*, to their exploitation and

amassing of super profits. *Ahimsa* (non-violence) and *Karma* (fate) are the

ideological bases and the dubious catch-words of the exploiting classes to

perpetuate their violence and hegemony over the vast masses.

To begin with, none would or could go directly to violent ways to solve

their problems. It is only after their peaceful marches, rallies, dharnas,

hunger-strikes, general strikes etc., go unheeded or sought to be crushed

that they are forced to resort to violent methods. This is an incontrovertible

fact whether it is the anti-feudal armed agrarian struggle led by the

revolutionaries, nationality movements of the North East, Kashmir or the

anti-imperialist struggles. You only have to take a glance at the origin of the

armed movements anywhere in the world, not just India, to appreciate this

universal truth. To put it shortly, forms of struggle adopted by the people

always depend upon the moves of the ruling classes and not vice versa.

And you should also bear in mind that even today we use both violent and

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **139**non-violent forms of struggle and not just violent forms.

***Q: Is your violence for self-defence or to grab state power?***

**A:** Strictly speaking, you cannot separate the two. In the long-term

perspective, or ultimately our goal is to seize state power without which it is

impossible to liberate the people of our country from the clutches of

imperialism, feudalism and the big comprador bourgeoisie i.e, change the

existing unjust socio-economic system. But in the process of preparing the

people for the ultimate goal of establishing their own power, the ruling

classes are resorting to savage repression on the party, the masses and the

revolutionary movement as a whole. Hence in the course of mobilizing the

masses into movements we are compelled to take up arms for self-defence

even at an early stage. And for a relatively long time our war will have this

nature and all our tactical counter offensive operations and campaigns should

be seen as part of the war of self-defence at this stage.

**On the fight against the “mighty” Indian state**

***Q: Indian state is getting increasingly powerful. How do you plan to***

***fight the Indian state?***

**A:** Tactically speaking, yes. There has been a massive growth in the repressive

forces and a strengthening of the Indian state. It is spending huge amounts

on defence and “internal security”, liberally disbursing funds to the states to

suppress the revolutionary forces, nationality movements and other

democratic movements.

However, this growth of repressive forces brings one important point

to the fore i.e., the Indian state is finding it impossible to control the growing

people’s movements without continuously increasing its forces. Seen this

way, the massive growth in the security forces does not signify the strength

but rather the weakness of the Indian state and that it has lost its legitimacy

to rule in the old way. It shows the desperation of the Indian ruling classes

and the imperialists to rely more and more on the coercive methods in

order to cling on to power and ensure their exploitation. If it were not for

the ever-growing democratic and revolutionary movements in the country

**140**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***there would not have been the need to desperately strengthen the state

apparatus and resort to such massive increases of repressive forces.

But let me tell you one oft-forgotten fact. No state, however powerful

it might seem to be, can surpass the power of the people. As comrade Mao

had correctly pointed out, even the mightiest state is, after all, a paper tiger.

Yesterday we saw how the mightiest army of the most powerful state in all

human history had to tuck its tail after the humiliating defeat in Vietnam.

Today the entire world is watching with disbelief in their eyes as the mightiest

imperialist armies led by US imperialism are being trounced in Iraq by

ordinary ill-trained, ill-equipped but resolute national liberation fighters. In

the ultimate analysis, it is the freedom-loving people who are mightier than

any state. And one must not forget the universal truth that wherever there is

oppression there will be resistance. However strong and powerful the state

might appear to be it can and will be defeated through the resistance of the

masses.

Our recently held Unity Congress—9th Congress had addressed this

issue in much detail and worked out plans to counter the state by relying on

the vast masses of our country who are oppressed by imperialism, feudalism

and the comprador big business. And, of course, by enhancing our military

capabilities as well. A specialised study of the strength and weaknesses of

the Indian state is taken up. As you might be aware, even the mightiest

enemy will have the weakest points. We have to correctly identify these

weak points and deal effective blows so as to achieve victories.

**On the question of Parliament and Party’s stand**

***Q: Why can’t you fight election and go to Parliament and raise issues in***

***a democratic way?***

**A:** It is indeed a logical question which anyone who sees only the outer

shell of so-called parliamentary democracy would ask. What is important is

the kernel, the essence, the content and not just the form. When you strip

off the outer garment of democracy you find the rotten, stinking corpse

inside. That is why Lenin described Parliament as a pig-sty and a mere

talking shop. Why are we calling it a talking shop?

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **141**Firstly, the real problems of the people can never be addressed by the

Parliament and Assemblies, not to speak of solving them. The Parliamentary

institutions are not meant for that. They have no real power. They may

pass some resolutions that seem to do good for the people but these have to

be implemented through the Executive which has the real power. We know

the fate of the Land Ceiling Acts, legislation on untouchability, dowry, etc

which are only showpieces. It is the executive which carries out everything.

In periods such as Emergency during Indira Gandhi’s regime, when the

Parliament itself was subverted, the real power of the Executive had come

openly to the fore. But the man on the street knows how it is the revenue

official, policeman, and the local magistrate who decide his life. However

good a legislative act might seem to be, it is money power, muscle power

and nepotism that decide every aspect of his life.

Secondly, Parliamentary institutions are meant to defend the status quo,

not to change the system. They do, of course, make some cosmetic changes

now and then to maintain their credibility among the masses. Most important

of all, it is the imperialists, comprador big business houses, big landlords,

contractors and the mafia which control the Parliament. Those who enter

the Parliament are the representatives or mere puppets in the hands of

these powerful lobbies. Even a good-intentioned parliamentarian cannot go

beyond the rules drawn up by these bigwigs. If you see the business

transacted in the parliament, you would find that more than 90 % of it is

just trash, with no bearing on the real problems of the country.

That the system of elections is a big farce needs no elaboration as it is

known even to a schoolchild. Do you call it democracy to purchase votes

with liquor and money, whip up caste, religious, and ethnic sentiments?

And even after the election, purchasing the legislators as you purchase any

other item in the market-place? If a Narendra Modi, the butcher of thousands

of Muslims in Gujarat, can win elections and get reelected as the chief

minister; if criminals, dacoits, and most notoriously corrupt politicians can

get elected; and if votes can be obtained at gun-point and through booth

capturing and rigging, then do you really think that there is any meaning in

this so-called democracy?

That is why our Party has complete clarity on the nature of legislative

**142**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***system unlike some other parties that swear to be revolutionary but indulge

in parliamentary politics in practice. We are firm in our belief that it is only

through struggle that people can solve their problems and the parliamentary

institutions can do nothing good except creating illusions. Parliament is a

safety-valve to let out the pent-up anger of the masses lest the system blow

to pieces. You think raising issues in the parliament is the democratic way

whereas we believe that people are raising their issues in a democratic way

through organised protests. We shall always be at the head of such struggles

and not step into the mire of the undemocratically elected powerless talking

shop called Parliament that serves as the instrument of the big business and

the feudal forces, and is subordinate to imperialist dictates.

***Q: Do you fear that if you go to Parliament, the party can become***

***corrupt?***

**A:** The answer to this question is already covered in my earlier elaboration.

To say in one word, more than being corrupted after entering Parliament,

which is also true in the case of the ML parties, it is the corrupt parties and

individuals that can really become part of the parliamentary system. Our

Party firmly believes that as against the money power of the Parliament the

real alternative before the people is the establishment of genuine people’s

democratic power. We had built such organs of people’s power in some

parts of the country such as *janthana sarkar* in Dandakaranya. These

revolutionary organs of power show how real power is exercised as compared

to the impotent, corrupt and criminal parliamentary institutions.

**On the mass base of the Maoists**

***Q: What is your mass base?***

**A:** Our mass base is the vast oppressed masses, the wretched of the earth,

the impoverished, deprived, destitute, alienated masses. The workers,

peasants, middle class, dalits, women, advasis and all the toiling millions

upon millions of masses are our base. These vast masses constitute the real

India, not the fatty upper layer of five or ten per cent of the society. It is

these vast masses who need revolution and they see us the alternative even

if most of them have not seen us. As our subjective forces grow we shall

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **143**enter these vast sections throughout the country. Today we have a strong

mass base among these sections in all the areas where we are leading the

anti-feudal armed agrarian struggles. There is still the need to go deeply into

other sections in the urban areas—the working class, students, youth, middle

class, small traders, hawkers, and so on.

***Q: Can you give statistics how much of your cadre base has increased in***

***last one year?***

**A:** I cannot give the exact statistics as we do not want the enemy to know

about the actual growth of our Party. Let them keep guessing and produce

statistics through so-called research foundations, intelligence agencies, and

so on. Anyway we are a bit flattered to see the statistics given by these

agencies about the rate of growth of our Party and areas of our struggle and

influence. But one thing I will make clear—we have certainly increased our

overall cadre strength, our mass base and its quality in the past one year

despite severe losses in some states.

***Q: How much of Indian territory is under Maoist control? Indian PM***

***once said 160 out of 604 districts –was it an exaggeration?***

**A:** As I said earlier, we are indeed flattered by such statistics regarding our

movement. But one thing we can understand from the Prime Minister’s

statement i.e., how much of a nightmare we have become to the reactionary

ruling classes of India. In fact, several agencies and foundations churn out

figures to show how much of a threat the Maoists have become. One

author says we are increasing at the rate of two districts per week! Another

says we had expanded from a mere 64 districts in 2005 to 169 districts by

the beginning of 2007, yet another researcher assertively says that the Maoists

had expanded to most of AP, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh and Orissa, and

so on. Most of these figures are only their imagination and are deliberately

presented in an exaggerated manner in order to deploy more police forces

and allot greater amount of funds to suppress the revolutionary movement.

It is an exaggeration to say Maoists control that many districts. But as

far as our influence goes I should say it is even more than that.

**144**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)*On People’s Power**

***Q: What do you mean by ‘people’s power—we have seen in a communist***

***state in West Bengal what communists do when they come to power.***

***How would you ensure you will be able to give power to people?***

**A:** It is not surprising that like most people, you too are confused by the

names. Just because a Party calls itself Communist does not make it

communist just as a party calling itself bharatiya janatha party does not

make it an Indian people’s party or a samajwadi party into a socialist party.

The stark fact is that the CPI(M) had long back abandoned the communist

project and Marist ideology though it calls itself a Marxist Party. It had

become a social fascist party from the time of the outbreak of Naxalbari

armed peasant uprising in 1967 when thousands of revolutionaries were

massacred upon the orders of the then Home minister Jyoti Basu in West

Bengal during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The recent massacre of

scores of people in Nandigram on March 14, the brutal suppression of the

people’s struggle in Singur, and its open declaration to allow the MNCs and

big comprador houses to set up SEZs and transform the state into a haven

for these sharks had shown how the Bddhadeb’s Marxist party is acting at

the behest of the Tatas, Salems and imperialist MNCs. The pre-hatched

systematic execution of the massacre in Nandigram by the police-CPI(M)

goons combine, in particular, has revealed their social fascist character to

the new generation of the Indian people. So what you are referring to in

West Bengal is nothing but social fascist rule.

Now coming to your question about people’s power—we call it people’s

power only when real power is exercised by the people themselves. You

can see it in parts of Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand. We had developed

it in some villages in AP but these were destroyed due to the weakness of

our armed strength which could not counter the massive offensive by the

central and state’s special forces. Wherever we had established organs of

people’s power in embryonic form, there you can see the initiative and

energy of the masses being released and coming into full play, active

participation of masses in administering their own lives, collectively

developing their villages through construction of schools, tanks, hospitals,

etc and increasing production, resolving the local disputes by themselves

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **145**without ever the need to go to the bourgeois-feudal courts, in short shaping

their own destiny. Where our people’s army and people’s militia are relatively

strong and succeeded in destroying the state’s armed forces, there the people

are no more oppressed and exploited by the tribal elders, landlords, forest

officials, bureaucrats, big contractors, policemen. The people’s assertion

has also kept the big industrial sharks and the imperialist MNCs at bay.

Women enjoy relatively greater freedom than their counterparts in the rest

of the country.

We have to develop this people’s power from the local to higher levels

by strengthening the people’s army and transforming it into a mighty force,

destroying the enemy power by intensifying the people’s war, and establishing

the base areas. It is in the base areas that this power becomes relatively

more consolidated. However, until the final capture of state power on a

countrywide scale there will be severe constraints to the exercise of the

people’s power at the village and area levels. You have to look at the power

the people are exercising in these areas of struggle keeping these limitations

in mind.

**On the Islamic Upsurge**

***Q: But globally the fight is now becoming pro-globalisation versus Islamic***

***upsurge—in this scheme of things how do you see a classless society?***

**A:** Globalisation is a war on the people and on every value cherished by the

people for centuries. Globalisation is the ideology of the market

fundamentalists. The market fundamentalists are destroying everything a

nation had possessed and preserved for centuries. They promote nothing

but sheer greed and self-interest with the sole aim of global hegemony and

the means to achieve it is a war on all fronts—military, economic, political,

cultural, psychological. And to achieve this “lofty” goal, they think even the

destruction of the world is collateral damage.

There is a people’s upsurge against globalization all over the world and

Islamic upsurge is an integral part of the worldwide people’s upsurge against

imperialism, imperialist globalization and war.

A classless society-Communism—is a conscious human project and

**146**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***has to be built through the transformation of human consciousness. And to

achieve this, the first step is to destroy imperialism on a world scale and

domestic reaction in every country. Islamic upsurge is a reaction to imperialist

globalization and imperialist oppression and exploitation of the world people,

and Muslim masses in particular. As long as imperialism exists, and as long

as it bolsters up decadent reactionary comprador Islamic regimes in countries

of Asia and Africa, it is impossible for the Muslim masses to come out of

their fundamentalism. It is only after the destruction of imperialism on a

world scale can the Islamic masses come out completely from their

obscurantist ideology and values. This will pave the way for the establishment

of a classless society.

***Q: What is your opinion about Islamic upsurge?***

**A:** The answer to this question is already contained in the above explanation.

In essence, we see the Islamic upsurge as a progressive anti-imperialist

force in the contemporary world. It is wrong to describe the struggle that is

going on in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestinian territory, Kashmir, Chechnya,

and several other countries as a struggle by Islamic fundamentalists or as a

“*clash of civilizations*” long back theorized by Samuel Huntington and

which is being resurrected by all and sundry today. In essence all these are

national liberation wars notwithstanding the role of Islamic fundamentalists

too in these struggles. We oppose religious fundamentalism of every kind

ideologically and politically as it obfuscates class distinctions and class

struggle and keeps the masses under the yoke of class oppression. However,

“*Islamic fundamentalism”*, in my opinion, is an ally of the people in their

fight against market fundamentalism promoted by the US, EU, Japan and

other imperialists.

The upsurge is bound to raise the anti-imperialist democratic

consciousness among the Muslim masses and bring them closer with all

other secular, progressive and revolutionary forces. I see the Islamic upsurge

as the beginning of the democratic awakening of the Muslim masses despite

the domination of fundamentalist ideology and outlook in the Islamic

movement at present. Our Party supports the Islamic upsurge and seeks a

unity with all anti-imperialist forces.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **147*Q: Nasarullah of Hizbollah has recently said that Left should come***

***close to Islamists. In Indian context—what do you feel?***

**A:** I basically agree with what Nasarullah of Hizbollah has said. One must

understand that Nasarullah is referring to the struggles for national liberation

from imperialism in Islamic countries.

The need of the hour is to achieve the unity of all forces opposed to

imperialism, particularly US imperialism, which is aggressively destroying

every human value handed over to us by thousands of years of history and

is oppressing every nation of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Left

cannot even claim itself to be democratic if it does not initiate steps to unite

with the forces in the Islamic movement which are fighting for national

liberation from imperialism, particularly US imperialism. All the ongoing

movements which are supposed to be led by Islamic forces in various

countries as I had mentioned above, are national democratic movements in

content. The strong religious language used by the leadership of these

movements does not alter their national democratic essence and their anti

imperialist character.

**On the developments in Nepal**

***Q: What do you think of Nepal?***

**A:** Our Party’s official stand has already been given in the form of statements,

interviews and articles in the last issue of our theoretical magazine, *People’s*

*War.* There was also an Interview by our Party spokesperson last year. We

are having a debate with various Maoist Parties on the developments in

Nepal.

The people of Nepal had shown great mettle in fighting the monarchy

but the fight is only half-way through. The real fight is not against Gyanendra

and the monarchy which is but a symbol of the feudal-imperialist oppression

and exploitation of the vast masses of Nepal. Without throwing out the

feudal forces, the imperialists, the Indian big business and the local

compradors, mere ouster of Gyanendra would not solve any of the problems

of the Nepali masses. And this can be done only by firmly carrying on the

people’s war to final victory. No Parliament can touch the seat of these

**148**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***reactionary forces who de facto rule the country.

We believe there is a serious danger of diversion to the people’s war in

Nepal after the CPN(Maoist) had taken the stand of multi-party democracy

in the name of 21st century democracy. While saying that such a step is

necessary to prevent the restoration of capitalism after the revolution, what

they are actually doing is to participate in elections even before the seizure

of political power!! And this will harm the interests of revolution. We are

having debates with the Maoists in Nepal on these questions. We are telling

them not to have illusions in parliamentary democracy. The history of

parliamentary democracy the world over as well as in India for almost six

decades shows what a farce it is.

The most dangerous part of the deal is the disarming of the PLA by

depositing the arms and placing the fighters in cantonments. This will do no

good except disarming the masses and throwing them to the mercy of the

oppressors. Neither the imperialists nor big neighbours like India and China

would allow any fundamental change in the socio-economic system in Nepal.

They cannot remain passive spectators if their interests are undermined by

the Maoists whether through a people’s war or through the parliament.

Hence the Maoists can never achieve their aim of putting an end to feudal

and imperialist exploitation by entering the parliament in the name of multi

party democracy. They will have to either get co-opted into the system or

abandon the present policy of power-sharing with the ruing classes and

continue the armed revolution to seize power. There is no Buddhist middle

way. They cannot set the rules for a game the bourgeoisie had invented.

**On the role of the Party in the contemporary world**

***Q: Developments are taking place at a rapid pace in both international***

***and national arena. How do you see a role for your Party in this turmoil?***

**A:** Our Party has a great role to play in the contemporary international and

domestic situation. Our Congress has analysed the present political situation

and issued calls to the Party and the people. It drew up the necessary

immediate tactics and tasks to utilise the situation and achieve advances

and leaps in the ongoing people’s war in India. The new Central Committee

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **149**had further concretised these in the form of time-bound programmes and

plans. Several resolutions were adopted by the Congress on the issues

confronting the people in our country as well as the world. We hope to

actively intervene in these issues and build a broad-based militant political

mass movement.

The next ten to twenty years will witness massive political and social

upheavals all over the world and our country is going to witness mass

upheavals in several states against the onslaught of imperialism, anti-people

policies of the Indian ruling classes such as carving out neo-colonial enclaves

called SEZs, massive displacement of the poor in both urban and rural

areas, against draconian laws, state repression, unemployment, corruption,

inflation, neglect of social welfare, and so on. Militant confrontation between

the people and the state will become a general feature throughout the country

and I am sure our Party will be at the head of these movements. It will

grow to the status of providing leadership to the vast majority of the oppressed

masses of our country. Imposing ban on our Party and the mass organisations,

murdering our comrades, unleashing cruel repression on the people,

intimidating and harassing all those associated with the revolutionary

movement and all their repressive measures cannot prevent this inevitable

establishment of our Party’s leadership over the vast masses. The reactionary

and revisionist parties, the Parliamentary system are very much discredited

in the eyes of the people and they cannot but see our Party as the only

alternative before them to achieve their real liberation.

***Q: And finally do you feel it is a very crucial moment in history of***

***India’s Maoist struggle? If so, why?***

**A:** I do not know what exactly is in your mind when you placed the question.

But I would say yes, for several reasons. When for the first time you see

the emergence of a single directing centre for the Indian revolution after the

merger of the two major Maoist streams in the Indian communist movement,

when you hold a Congress—the highest authority in the Party—after over

3 ½ decades, 37 years to be precise, it indeed becomes a crucial moment in

the history of India’s Maoist struggle. And it is more than that. Holding the

Unity Congress itself has been the greatest challenge to or Party in recent

times. The reactionary ruling classes, of course with the advice of the

**150**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***imperialists, had tried by all means at their disposal to disrupt the Congress.

However, with meticulous planning by our Central Committee and various

leading committees of our Party, with the protection provided by the heroic

fighters of our PLGA, and the ever-vigilant people’s militia and revolutionary

masses, we could complete this gigantic democratic exercise that was initiated

two years ago. It is a matter of pride that we could give a fitting rebuff to

the enemy by successfully holding the Congress for over a fortnight.

It is a crucial moment for another reason too. Today the Maoist

movement is facing the great challenge of building a strong PLA and

establishing the base areas in the remote countryside as an immediate task.

The reactionary ruling classes are sparing no stone unturned to prevent the

emergence of such Red bases (democratic government of the people) in

India’s heartland as that would mean the emergence of a real alternative to

the rotten, Parliamentary system and the criminal, communal, fascist,

comprador parliamentary parties. Hence we see the massive deployment

not only of the central forces, state’s special forces but also setting up huge

armed force from the local population, arming and training them, and pitting

them against the revolutionary movement organizing massacres that remind

us of the pogroms of the Black Hundred in pre-revolutionary Russia, and

the Nazi gangs of fascist Hitler. Such is the scenario enacted in Dandakaranya

in the name of *salwa judum* and to a lesser extent in Bihar-Jharkhand in the

name of Sendra. They would not hesitate to send the Indian army to create

more bloodbaths and, the Maoist movement can advance only by smashing

these attacks by the enemy forces. That is how we see the present moment

as a crucial moment in the history of the Maoist struggle in India.

And the last reason why we should call the present moment a crucial

moment is that we, the Maoists, are confronted with the great task of

providing revolutionary leadership to over a billion people at a time when

the entire country is being transformed into a neo-colony, when the country

is being sold away to the imperialists and the big business in the name of

SEZs, when millions upon millions of people are being displaced by so

called development projects, when workers, peasants, employees, students,

sections of the intelligentsia, dalits, women adivasis, nationalities, religious

minorities and others are seething with revolt.