**印度共产党（毛主义）在丹达卡兰亚地区（Dandakaranya）的革命运动 -------采访印共（毛）中央委员会成员索努（Sonu）同志。**

**《人民进行曲》第八卷，第6期, 2007年7-8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。**

**【《人民进行曲》：索努是印度共产党（毛主义）中央委员会的成员。鉴于党的第九届代表大会（统一大会）最近决定将人民战争从游击战提升至运动战级别，索努（Sonu）同志阐述了正在采取的措施和面临的问题。这次采访必须放在准军事部队和打着“和平行动“（Salwa Judum）名义的“特别警务队”（SPO）持续进攻的背景下进行看待。他们不断对村庄进行扫荡，每天都在杀害村民，毁坏庄稼、房屋，将村庄化为废墟。】**

***提问1：国家通过”和平行动“（SJC）提出的战术、军事上的大规模动员和政治斗争导致了一场内战并包围了你们，这是真的吗？，这对你们有多大程度的影响？***

**索努：敌人通过”和平行动“（Salva Judum）提出的战术不过是反叛乱战术和'扫荡'式军事战术。他们主要提出了“烧光、毁光、杀光”这种最残酷的战术。他们还进行着某些发展活动，以说服'民间'社会，因为世界上的群众正日益觉醒。这些都是敌人在任何革命战争中长期以来一直实施的大棒加胡萝卜战术。他们公开表示，无论“Salva Judum”军事行动的大屠杀背后的实际目标是什么，主要问题是消灭恐怖主义纳萨尔派(Naxalite)。他们一直通过采取谋杀、暴行、烧毁房屋、毁坏庄稼、掠夺财产和其他类似的驱逐方法，试图使过去三十年来一直在工作的革命者与群众疏远。这被称为 "和平行动"，是群众的“自愿反抗”，是反对 "纳萨尔派恐怖 "的和平/非暴力革命。这是戈培尔式的宣传。在这种情况下，群众加强自卫已是不可避免的。群众正在通过他们的大无畏精神来发起反击。他们正在面对统治阶级强加给被压迫群众的不公正战争。他们正在抵制反动势力的屠杀。敌人正在把这一地区描绘成内战的局势。**

**敌人通过派遣数以千计的警察和准军事部队，对被几代人严重忽视并面临无限剥削的部落民群众发动战争，这只能是一场内战。您说过，敌人正在通过“和平行动”进行军事群众动员。对于一个法西斯组织，我们不能这样说。任何聪明人都不会相信他们在搞群众动员。如果我们看到“和平行动”的暴徒和警察在500个甚至更多的村庄里制造恐怖，就能理解为什么会有5万名群众住进难民营里。如果认为这是军事群众动员，就是对广大群众认识上的错误。当我想到你的问题时，就想起葛兰西说过的话。他说，法西斯组织也试图获得群众对其行动的认可，也就是说，它试图获得合法性并动员群众。毛泽东同志也说得很清楚--“塑造人民的意识形态是反革命和革命的必要条件”，他们有必要塑造群众的意识形态，以永久地剥削他们。这正是他们通过“和平行动”所做的努力。这就是他们最近一直在做的事情，而且力度很大。**

**说到包围，敌人正在采取这种战术。他们以地毯式安全搜查为名，大肆建立营地（每个营地距离3-5公里）。作为包围Maad山区的一部分，他们在Maad山区周围建立了大量的营地。他们在公路、河流以及其他重要地区也建立了营地。他们正试图切断党的各组织以及各分区之间的联系。这些营地和军队的部署让我们想起查谟和克什米尔以及印度边境的部队。包围正在进行中，这只能通过反包围来应对。广大人民群众是我们反包围的重要组成部分。**

**从本质上讲，我们的斗争是一场政治和军事层面的斗争。**

***提问2：具有自由主义资产阶级思想和进步思想的组织提出了这两个问题--通过双方宣布无条件停火和谈判来解决问题。你对此有何评价？***

**索努：谁必须先发表停火声明？这是一个重要的问题。政府派了成千上万的部队去镇压受压迫的群众，就像你说的那样，沉迷于内战。首先，政府必须建立一个和平的氛围。它必须撤出所有的部队。它必须为群众提供政策服务，让他们享受最低限度的公民和民主权利。这些都是政府在宣布停火后必须立即采取的行动。这样的话，以后所进行的会谈才有意义。然后我们就会毫不犹豫地宣布停火。与此相反的行为只会像绵羊相信屠夫一样。我们从不反对会谈。恰蒂斯加尔邦政府和中央政府在这个问题上的分歧很明显。中央政府把球踢给邦政府，说会谈是邦政府的事。邦政府说纳萨尔派问题是一个全国性的问题，中央政府必须进行谈判，又把球踢回给中央政府。事实上，他们都不希望在和平的氛围中通过会谈解决群众的问题。**

**然而，具有进步思想的知识分子主要局限于新闻声明。他们需要给政府带来更大的压力。只有当他们能够无条件地站在群众一边思考和实践时，他们作为进步人士才会获得更大的公信力。我们希望他们能朝这个方向前进，因为“LPG政策”（印度推行的新自由主义经济政策）以及使用不人道和种族灭绝的镇压形式，正将我国人民推向悬崖边缘。**

***提问3：在武装斗争的同时，也需要政治鼓动，以对抗掠夺自然资源的帝国主义/买办官僚资产阶级（CBB）剥削。您对这一问题有何回应？您认为有哪些问题和解决方案？***

**索努：让我们以 "战争是政治通过其他手段的延续 "这一众所周知的原则开始回答。我们不仅要依靠武装斗争，尽管斗争的主要形式是战争，这是一个事实。这个地区的群众正面临着与全国各地一样的问题。主要是全球化的恶果已经变得很危险。人们的流离失所已经成为一个紧迫的问题。人们正在无情地与之斗争。人们采取了激进的政治斗争，反对拜拉迪拉矿 （Bailadilla）的勘探，并在斗争中献出了自己的生命。五年前，妇女、男子、儿童甚至老人都走上了街头，反对修建大坝。 所以，在这个 "民主 "国家，我们不得不在许多限制下工作。说到解决问题的办法，南迪格拉姆地区（Nandigram）的英雄群众最近就展示了一个解决方案。卡林甘那伽市（Kalinganagar）的人民群众和Posco集团钢铁厂工人也在斗争的道路上。查甘（Chargam）地区的人民赶走了Nikko钢铁公司并展示了解决方案。因此，任何问题的解决都取决于群众斗争的程度。在纳加纳尔钢铁厂（Nagarnar Steel plant.）建设项目中，警方对包括孕妇在内的人提出指控，许多人被逮捕并被关进了监狱。官员们举行了假的村民大会，并宣布人民接受该项目，他们已经为钢铁厂的建设扫清了障碍。现在，龙汉迪古达（Lohandiguda）、班西（Bansi）、查甘（Chargam）、拉加特（Raoghat）、博迪哈特（Bodhghat）和许多这样的地区的人民正在为反对流离失所而斗争。在2007年3月的第一周，辛格（Singurs）地区和南迪格拉姆（Nandigrams）地区爆发示威游行，成千上万的人不顾警察的镇压，封锁了道路，呼吁实现他们的诉求。仅在恰蒂斯加尔邦，买办官僚资产阶级和跨国公司就已经达成了协议，建立大型工业区。到目前为止，高达1300亿美元的投资计划正在进行中。我们必须了解这些资本势力与“和平行动”之间的关系。事实上，这些资本家通过马亨德拉·卡玛（Mahendra Karma，恰蒂斯加尔邦国大党领袖）这样的代理人设计了“和平行动”，为他们的投资保驾护航，并消灭革命运动。因此，人民群众为了生存，不得不与剥削性统治阶级进行激进的政治斗争。他们也在这样做。在必要的时候，他们也会进行武装斗争，以延续这些政治诉求。我们正在尽最大努力参与这些斗争。但是，TATA、Essars、Mittals、Ambanis、Jindals等（印度国内的垄断资本企业）对地方邦政府施加压力，妄图消灭我们的党和革命的群众组织。**

***提问4：像政府的“公众意识运动”（Jan Jagaran Abhiyans）这样的镇压运动对巴斯塔（Bastar）人民和贵党来说并不新鲜。为什么现在的“和平行动”（SJC）与之前两次运动相比有了质的变化，又是怎么回事？***

**索努：这是一个非常有趣的问题。我们必须从历史上寻找答案。当然，让我们简单地说一下。**

**正如你所说，这些镇压运动并不是什么新鲜事。早些时候，还开展过两次运动，一次是在1991年，另一次是在1997年，名为“公众意识运动“（Jan Jagaran Abhiyan）。但是，早期的镇压运动和现在的镇压运动之间完全不同，这是因为在革命运动中发生了很多质的变化。一个替代性的人民民主制度正在丹达卡兰亚地区形成，这是在持久革命战争的道路上发展出来的。你一定在媒体上看到过关于这一进展的耸人听闻的新闻，“从帕苏帕蒂到蒂鲁伯迪”（Pasupathi to Tirupathi）和“解放”红色走廊（Lohapatti Red Corridor），所以统治阶级决心与此斗争，使革命运动不能得到加强和扩大，妄图结束这一切。**

**注：“从帕苏帕蒂到蒂鲁伯迪”（Pasupathi to Tirupathi），帕舒帕蒂（Pasupathi）是印度教中的神明，主要在尼泊尔和印度被崇拜。帕苏帕蒂也是尼泊尔的国神。这里的Pasupathi代指尼泊尔，蒂鲁伯迪（Tirupathi）则是印度安得拉邦南部的一个城市。“从帕苏帕蒂到蒂鲁伯迪”意为从尼泊尔到安得拉邦这一带的红色走廊地区。**

**谈到第二个方面--我们必须从全球化、自由化、私有化经济政策的角度来看待这个问题。在恰尔肯得邦、恰蒂斯加尔邦和奥里萨邦有丰富的矿藏。这些森林里有宝贵的资源。正如我上面提到的，仅在恰蒂斯加尔邦，该邦政府就签订了1300亿美元的投资协议。在奥里萨邦，协议的投资额为2500亿美元。革命运动已经成为实施这些资本密集型项目的障碍。除非这个问题得到解决，否则商定好的投资将无法付诸实施。新的投资项目也不会到来。所以统治阶级决定为根除革命运动而战，为这些地区的大资本投资创造安全的环境。**

**第三个也是最后一个，同时也是最重要的问题--土地。“和平行动”（Salva Judum）发起后，Bhairamgarh区的Indravathi地区，革命的群众组织和革命群众在人民政府（Janathana Circars）的领导下夺取了地主的800英亩土地。它被分配给150个贫困农户，所有村庄都有一定数量的土地被用于集体农业。这并没有就此结束。人们正在耕种所有这些土地。1991年，革命群众在特伦甘那邦和安得拉邦夺取了成千上万英亩的土地。其中一些也被分配了。但 "国家 "强行阻挠了这些土地的耕种。渐渐地，其中一些土地再次被地主控制，还有一些地主策略性地卖掉了土地，否则，它们就会被闲置。但丹达卡兰亚地区的情况并非如此。如果地主想要夺取农民控制的土地，“和平行动“就必须继续下去。因此，必须要有更多的力量来镇压这场革命运动。所有的地主都知道，如果继续这样下去，他们将无法在村子里安稳度日。地主们索性离开了他们的村庄，在城镇里指导镇压工作。另一个值得注意的问题是，所有这些人都是铁杆的商人、大封建阶层和反对党国大党领袖 "恶棍 "马亨德拉-卡尔玛（Mahendra Karma）代理人的近亲。**

**所有这些都与1991年和1997年的情况有所不同。只有在这种背景下，我们才能理解这些运动性质的根本区别。早期的镇压运动是由地方邦政府主导的；目前的运动是由中央政府指导的，作为其针对整个毛主义运动的”低烈度战争“（Low Intensity Conflict，简称LIC）反叛乱计划的一部分。**

***提问5：国大党和人民党联合展的“和平行动”（SJC）能否为当代印度政治和政治联盟带来变化？贵党对统治阶级内部矛盾的激化有何分析？您对“和平行动”（SJC）将如何反映恰蒂斯加尔邦的政治有何看法？对未来选举中的联盟和阵线是否会有影响？***

**索努：我不认为“和平行动”（Salva Judum）会立即在全国范围内发生变化。这与丹达卡兰亚地区的剥削性统治阶级的存在有关，也与革命运动对恰蒂斯加尔邦政治产生的严重影响有关。国大党领袖马亨德拉·卡尔玛（Mahendra Karma）以其经验丰富的机会主义政治接近印度人民党。他自称是拉曼·辛格（Raman Singh）的内阁成员。印度人民党在巴斯塔地区（Bastar）并不强大。所以他们不得不拉拢支持马亨德拉-卡尔玛。现在，这两个政党都已成为巴斯塔群众永远无法信任的吃人政党。另一方面，修正主义的“印度共产党”（CPI）正以其自认为“正常”的方式试图利用这种情况为自己谋取利益，它在这方面获得了某些积极成果。然而，在“和平行动”的背景下，印共（CPI）和印共（马）（CPM）不可能与国大党结盟。国大党和人民党也不会公开结盟。未来的选举可能也不会有重大变化。但在两次双选中【科塔议会（Kota assembly ）和拉杰南德贡人民院（Rajnandgaon Lok Sabha）】，反建制派的投票获胜。随着我们人民战争的发展，印度的政治可能会发生变化，目前，所有政党都打着法律和秩序的旗号，支持以这样或那样的形式镇压革命运动，这些政党的政治（策略）在基调上有差异是很正常的。**

***提问6：国大党和人民党正在进行全国性的宣传，印共（马）【CPM】也加入了他们的行列，虽然是战术性的。美国也正在进行干涉，有人将此作为一个全国性的问题来应对。在这种情况下，你认为你在与你的同盟一起表达反对意见方面走了多远？***

**索努：在这方面，我们表现的非常落后。美国正在出面镇压全球地区的革命运动。爱国力量、民主人士正在严厉谴责这种行为，这是一个好的、值得欢迎的现象。但是，正如你所说，我们必须与这些力量一起反对美国的干涉。我们的统一大会--党的第九届代表大会将此作为我们统一战线的直接任务。**

***提问7：在丹达卡兰亚游击区周围的革命运动已经减弱了，安得拉邦的灰狗部队（Greyhounds）已经直接成为这个地区镇压力量的一部分。这将导致什么样的政治变化？***

**索努：是的，我们在安得拉邦的革命行动被削弱了。我们的统一大会-第九次大会也下了结论，革命运动经历了暂时的挫折。在革命运动受到削弱后，安得拉邦的灰狗部队越来越多地渗透到这个地区。他们正在马哈拉施特拉邦的Sironcha、Ahiri、Kunta、Golapalli、Kishtaram、Made、Danthewada等地区进行扫荡。在这些扫荡行动中，我们的游击队员牺牲了，灰狗部队也有人受伤了。这就是客观现实。**

**安得拉邦警方深谋远虑，在坎曼市（Khammam）和维沙卡帕特南市（Visakhapatnam）建立了灰狗特种部队。后来，在安得拉邦总警监的领导下，成立了一个由安得拉邦、恰蒂斯加尔邦、马哈拉施特拉邦和奥里萨邦组成的联合指挥部。由于我们的人民军队在恰蒂斯加尔邦的攻击正在加剧，他们经常举行会议，以便在安得拉邦和恰蒂斯加尔邦之间更好地协调应对。在拉尼-博迪利（Rani Bodili）袭击事件后，恰蒂斯加尔邦内政部长、警察总干事（DGP)和其他高级官员与安得拉邦警方进行了为期两天的会晤。总得来说，像安得拉邦那样建立“灰狗部队”和"国家情报局"(SIB)这样的组织，推广到全国范围内以镇压纳萨尔派，并在帝国主义国际金融组织的指令下加大经济改革力度，这已成为中央政府和地方邦政府的政策。安得拉邦的警察因为他们镇压的“成功”而自称是英雄。然而，另一方面，丹达卡兰亚地区、比哈尔邦和恰尔肯德邦的革命者们正在加紧进行人民战争，作为应对灰狗部队的“良药”。所有的敌军都联合起来，采取严厉措施加强攻击。在Maad的中心地带Moonji和那格浦尔（Nagpur）地区，正在建立军用机场，以控制各地方邦的纳萨尔派活动。敌人正在采取的这些措施，目的是以其残酷的军事力量镇压我们的政治斗争。在这种情况下，安得拉邦运动的削弱是一种损失。我们的代表大会做出了严肃的决定，恢复该地区的革命运动！**

***提问8：在过去的几个月里，人们一直在讨论派遣印度军队代替准军事部队到丹达卡兰亚地区。贵党如何评估不仅在丹卡地区，而且在全国范围内的政治影响和后果？你在这方面的政治准备如何？***

**索努：确实有这样的讨论。但实际情况是，印度军方成立的研究小组在指导整个准军事行动中发挥着积极作用。军方已经在该地区建立了一所丛林战学校，并有意识地参与指导准军事行动。在过去的三年里，军事专家千里迢迢来到这里，研究发生过的所有重要袭击事件。在莫吉（Moonji）和那格浦尔（Nagpur）地区，正在建造军用机场，为镇压活动进行长期的准备。三十年前，我们的人民害怕当时带着长矛四处走动的警察。现在，他们正在从准军事部队手中夺取武器。在这种背景下，中央政府鼓励各邦按照军队的模式建立“印度后备营”，而不是为了国内安全而部署军队采取大规模镇压手段。剥削性统治阶级的安全部队在镇压方面会越来越严厉和残酷。从某种意义上说，他们能“教会”群众如何去战斗。**

***提问9：我们了解到，在“和平行动”期间，你们的主力部队增加了2到3倍，根据地部队增加了10倍。如果没有质的变化，你将如何提高战斗力？***

**索努：你是对的。我们的主力部队、次要部队和根据地部队在数量上都有所增加。但是，这些数字与你提到的不同，是一个技术问题。 你问的另一个问题更重要， 你问我们如何在不发生质变的情况下提高作战能力，这个问题很严肃。只有提高战斗力，才会有质的变化，仅靠增加兵力数量是无济于事的。这只是问题的一个方面。另一个也是重要的方面是不断提高部队的打击能力。为了提高打击能力，火力必须增加，战争技能也应该增加。所有这些问题都是相互关联的。**

**我在回答你的第二个问题时说过，我们必须提高战争技能，才能推进到运动战阶段。但如何提高呢？战争技能只有通过战争才能发展。我们在过去两年的实践中可以清楚地看到这一点。早些时候，我们在击退徒步而来的敌人时面临很多问题，我们必须承认，我们无法给予他们足够的打击，也无法夺取他们的武器。但是“和平行动”（Salva Judum）教会了我们很多。它不断地让我们参与战争行动，这增强了我们的力量，我们在游击战行动中获得了新的经验，根据这些经验教训，我们对部队的训练进行了必要的改变，我们在武器装备方面获得了某些改进。现在我要给你们讲几个2007年的新例子。今年1月，我们的人民解放游击军（PLGA）伏击了30名徒步来到Maad-Jaraghati地区的警察，他们散开队形并消灭了其中七人，还缴获了他们的武器。2月份，我们采用了一种新战术，在拜拉姆加尔（Bhairamgarh）附近的本德里地区（Pundri）附近布置地雷，并在那里消灭了7名警察。3月1日，我们在达恩泰瓦达县（Danthewada）-昆塔（Kunta）附近的Darbha地区杀死了乘卡车而来的警察部队，并缴获了9件武器。特别重要的是，在2月和3月的这些事件中被杀的是臭名昭著的那加警察（Naga Police）。3月15日发生的拉尼-博迪利（Rani Bodili）事件是众所周知的，敌军如此大规模地被革命者杀死，在印度历史上是绝无仅有的。我们在这次大胆的袭击中缴获了36件武器，在这次大胆的突袭中，我们牺牲了6名英勇的游击队员。他们的理想和他们的战争技巧将在我们未来的实践中给予我们很大的帮助。**

***提问10：您能否再详细说明一下在对抗国家机器的庞大力量方面所涉及的力量的性质，以及你在不久的将来可能面临的战斗的性质？***

**索努：在我们的人民解放游击军（PLGA）中，有三种部队--1.主力部队；2.次要部队（地区部队）；3.根据地部队（民兵）。我们对这三种部队进行了明确的定义，根据这个定义，主力部队并不局限于某一个地区活动。他们会在丹达卡兰亚（Dandakaranya）的任何地方进行军事活动，主要在地区军事委员会的领导下计划这些行动。然而，随着部队的增加，战争行动是在分区司令部的领导下计划的。总的来说，所有的主力部队都在特区军事委员会的直接领导之下。**

**目前，我们认为“连队”（兵力70至100人）是主要力量，也是正规军（Regular Army）中的主要作战单位。这可以说是努力将“人民解放游击军”（PLGA）向“人民解放军”（PLA）方向发展的第一个步骤。 因此，我们没有把次要部队和主力部队仅仅限制在一个地区。考虑到战争行动的需要，所有这些部队都可能被集中起来。但他们的职责不同，他们有自己的指挥部，在各自的军事编队中也有党委。**

**关于次要部队（二级部队），他们现在是在各自的分区委员会（分区司令部）的直接领导下工作。无论如何，在这方面有一个重要的问题需要提及。每当有特别行动时，他们就必须执行中央军事委员会、特区军事委员会的指示，并着手进行战争行动。所有的部队都需要加强游击战的力度。游击战必须发展成运动战，否则就会逐渐衰弱。这是一个军事原则。毛泽东同志、吉普（Giap）同志和其他许多人都强烈地提出了这一点。**

***提问11：有报道称，将战争从 "游击战 "推进到 "运动战"，这意味着什么和需要什么？普通人是不是很难理解它的含义？***

**索努：运动战的一个主要特点是大编队，第二个特点是作战技巧的提高。**

**大编队必须被看作是部队的集中化，通常情况下，游击战需要采用打了就跑的方法，在这里，集中兵力也是为了促进这种方法。但运动战争是一种比游击战更高级的战争方法。起初，它具有游击战的性质，而正规战争的原则会逐渐清晰地显现出来并得到相应的发展。**

**为了大量消灭敌军，解放领土，游击战必须逐步转变为运动战，这就是运动战必须集中力量的原因。运动战也被称为歼灭战，这意味着它比游击战需要相对更多的时间来与敌人作战，只有这样才能歼灭敌人。兵力集中化是反击敌人的必要条件。**

**我们必须认真考虑在我们原有集中部队的水平上，组建更正规的高级编队。如果我们要踏踏实实地进行有效的战争行动，就必须改进军事编队。除非我们这样做，否则我们无法有效的应对敌人。**

**当我们采取集中力量或建立更高级别的编队时，有两种可能的错误方向。一是由于局部思维而拒绝大单位。二是把大单位作为主要问题，而忽视了地方和小单位。这两种做法都是错误的。因此，注意地方和小单位，与集中力量建设大单位一样重要。单靠集中力量是不能打赢战争的。部队和行动之间的协调也是非常重要的。**

**如果我们认为增加兵力仅仅意味着集中现有兵力，那么战争就不会有任何进展。如果只是集中兵力而不扩大我们的总体力量，就会造成主力部队和次要部队、根据地部队之间的不平衡。只有通过大规模地招募新军加入人民军队，才能增加所有部队的力量。这就是我们现在正在做的事情，这是提高部队素质的正确方法。只有通过这种增加整体部队的力量，才能加强集中化。**

***提问12：印度的准军事部队和武装力量拥有最先进的武器装备和强大的实力。许多人怀疑你们是否能成功地与这样一个强大的敌人作战。你对这些质疑有何回应？***

**索努：我们的武器装备确实比不上从美国和以色列那里得到各种援助的反动派。这个弱点长期以来一直困扰着我们。我们刚刚开始克服这个弱点。即使是现在，12号口径（18.53mm ）的武器（霰弹枪）也恰好是我们丹卡地区人民解放游击军（PLGA）的主要武器,而弓箭则是群众和人民民兵的主要武器。我们正在付出巨大的努力来改变这种状况。我们的游击队、群众和民兵在对"国家矿产开发公司"(英文简称NMDC,印度最大的铁矿石生产商和出口商)货仓的攻击中缴获了20吨爆炸物，这对我们帮助很大。因此，我们的人民民兵在相当长的一段时间内一直在进行地雷战。它正在创造奇迹。敌人在我们的人民民兵的地雷面前吓得瑟瑟发抖。我们不能为所有人装备上现代武器，在这方面，我们无法与敌人竞争。但有必要使我们的武器为所有人带来巨大的变化。撇开哪个部门能缴获武器，哪个部门不能缴获武器的问题不谈，人民解放游击军在每次行动中都必须冒着生命危险缴获敌人的武器。我们人民解放游击军的行动正朝着这个方向进展，我们仍然在进行游击战争，游击战是一种大众化的斗争形式，游击战是依靠群众的英雄主义进行战争的斗争方式。现代武器可以通过游击战来对抗，并获得成功，我们决不能忘记这一点。这一点早先在越南得到了证明；现在又一次在伊拉克得到了证明。然而，这并不意味着否定武器在战争中具有重要作用的事实。利用武器也是战术的一部分。这就是为什么我们正在努力争取根据目前的战争行动水平来装备武器的原因。我们正在取得一定进展。**

***提问13：最后，你对未来的看法是什么，你会呼吁全国人民对你在这个国家的“一个小角落”里的斗争和战斗做什么？***

**索努：首先，我们不仅仅局限于国家的“一个小角落”里，我们的党在17个邦都有存在；而且在比哈尔邦、恰尔肯德邦、奥里萨邦、西孟加拉邦、马哈拉施特拉邦和其他许多邦都有在进行游击战。我们的斗争是其中的一部分。这些斗争的发展程度可能不同，但都是按照持久人民战争的规律进行的。要把我们的国家从帝国主义、封建主义和买办官僚资本主义的枷锁中解放出来，建设一个真正自由繁荣的印度，没有捷径可走。历史表明，无论道路多么曲折，都没有其他选择。我们今天看到了什么？帝国主义和他们的代理人正在以五十年来闻所未闻的规模使群众变得贫穷，而且我们也看到帝国主义对我国的控制日益加强。和平的异议被无情地镇压，仅仅在过去的两年里，就有数百个这样的例子。那么，还有什么选择呢？只能是武装斗争，就像我们在丹达卡兰亚地区进行的那样，除此之外没有其他出路。我们的斗争，只不过是这个国家被压迫人民和民族斗争的一部分。唯一不同的是，它可能更进步。它是一场共同斗争的一部分，我们正面临着巨大的暴行；迫切需要全国各地的其他人发出反对暴行的声音。我们斗争的持续和前进，将对国内一切斗争起到积极的推动作用，正如国内其他斗争的前进和支持，对我们的斗争将有很大的帮助一样。这是一种相互帮助，在帝国主义，特别是美帝国主义的支持下，与印度国家对抗的辩证关系。我们期待着来自印度群众和所有进步力量的支持。在这里建立的新政权和人民政府（Janatana Circar）中，已经可以看到新印度的愿景的雏形。它必然会发展壮大。**

**Interview with Com. Sonu, Central Committee Member,**

**CPI (Maoist) on the Revolutionary Movement in**

**Dandakaranya**

***People’s March, Volume 8 No. 6, July-August, 2007***

(*Com. Sonu is a member of the CPI(Maoist) Central Committee. In light*

*of the recent decision of the Unity Congress-9th Congress to take the*

*people’s war from the level of guerrilla war to mobile war, Com. Sonu*

*elaborates on the measures being taken and the problems faced. This*

*interview must be seen in the backdrop of the continuing hostilities of the*

*paramilitary forces and SPOs, in the name of Salwa Judum, where raids*

*continue to be conducted on villages, killing villagers on a daily basis,*

*destroying crops, houses and reducing villages to ashes.* – Editor, PM)

***Question 1: How far is it true that the tactics, military mass mobilization***

***and political struggles brought forward by the State through the Salva***

***Judum Campaign (SJC) led you to into a civil war and encircled you?***

**Sonu:** The tactics that the *enemy* brought forward through the Salva Judum

Campaign are nothing but counter-insurgency tactics and ‘mopping up’

military tactics. They mainly brought forward the cruel most tactics of

‘burn all, destroy all, kill all’. They also took up certain development activities

to convince ‘civil’ society, as the masses of the world are increasingly

becoming conscious. These are the stick and carrot tactics the enemy had

been implementing in any revolutionary war for a long time. They openly

say that whatever the actual objective behind the massacre of the SalvaJudum military campaign might be, the main issue is to eliminate the terrorist

Naxalites. They have been trying to distance the revolutionaries who have

been working for the past three decades from the masses by taking to

murders, atrocities, house burnings, destroying crops, looting other properties

and other such repelling methods. This had been named a ‘peace campaign’,

as a voluntary revolt of the masses and a peaceful/non-violent revolution

against the ‘naxalite terror’. This propaganda is of the Goebbels kind. In

such a situation it has become inevitable for the masses to intensify their

self defense. Masses are making war through their unique sacrifices. They

are facing the unjust war imposed on the oppressed masses by the ruling

classes. They are resisting the massacre by the reactionary forces. The

enemy is portraying this to be a situation of civil war in this area.

Perhaps, the war created by the enemy by sending the police and

paramilitary forces in thousands on the adivasi masses, who have been

severely neglected for the past generations and have been facing unlimited

exploitation, could not be anything but a civil war. You have said that the

enemy is taking up military mass mobilization through the Salva Judum.

We cannot say this in regard of a fascist organization. No wise person

would believe that they are taking up mass mobilization. If we see the 500

and more villages where the Salva Judum goondas and the police created

terror, we could understand the situation in which the 50 thousand masses

reached the camps. If we consider this to be military mass mobilization, we

would commit mistake in understanding the broad masses. When I think

about your question I remember what Gramsci said. He said that a fascist

organization too tries to obtain *the acceptance of* the masses for its *actions,*

*that is,* it tries *for* legitimacy *and* to mobilize the masses. Comrade Mao too

said very clearly — ‘Moulding people’s opinion becomes necessary for

counter revolution and revolution’. It is necessary for them to mould the

opinion of the masses to permanently exploit them. This is exactly what

they are trying through the Salva Judum. This is what they have been doing

recently and with force.

Coming to encirclement, the enemy is following this tactic. In the name

of carpet security they are establishing camps extensively (at a distance of

3-5 kms*).* As a part of encircling the Maad hills they have established camps

around the Maad hills in big numbers. They have established camps onroads, rivers and other vital areas. They are trying to cut the contacts

between the divisions and between the sub zones. The camps and the

deployment of forces remind us of Jammu & Kashmir and the forces

deployed on the borders of the country. Encirclement is going on. This has

to be countered only through counter encirclement. The broad masses are

the great source for our counter encirclement.

In essence ours is a struggle at both the political and military levels.

***Question 2: Organisations with liberal bourgeois ideas and progressive***

***ideas brought forward two issues—solving the problems through the***

***announcement of unconditional ceasefire by both sides and talks. Your***

***comment?***

**Sonu:** Who has to make the ceasefire statement first? This is an important

issue. It is the government that sent thousands of forces against the oppressed

masses and as you said indulged in civil war. First the government must

establish a peaceful atmosphere. It has to withdraw *all* the *forces. It* has *to*

provide conditions *for* the masses to enjoy the minimum civil and democratic

rights. These are the actions *that* the government has to take up immediately

after announcing a ceasefire. It would then be meaningful to have talks

later. Then we would not hesitate to announce a ceasefire. Acting contrary

to this would only be like the sheep believing the butcher. We were never

against talks. The differences between the Chathisgarh state government

and the central government in this matter are clear. The Centre throws the

ball into the court of the State government saying talks are the affair of the

State government. The State government says that Naxalite problem is a

national problem and that the Centre must conduct talks, throwing the ball

back into the Centre’s court. In fact none of them actually wish to solve the

problems of the masses through talks in a peaceful atmosphere.

However intellectuals with progressive ideas are mainly confined to

press statements. They need to bring greater pressure on the government.

They would gain greater credibility as progressives only when they could

think and practice unconditionally on the side of the masses. We hope that

they do move in that direction, as with the policies of LPG and the inhuman

and genocidal forms of repression used, the masses of our country are

being pushed to the brink.

**154**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)Question 3: Political agitation too is needed along with armed resistance***

***to counter the imperialist/CBB exploitation which loots the natural***

***resources. How do you respond to this issue? What are the problems***

***and solutions you have in mind ?***

**Sonu:** Let us start the answer with the well known principle that ‘war is the

continuation of politics by other means’. We are not only depending on

armed resistance, though it is a fact that the main form of struggle is war.

The masses in this area are facing problems like those across the country.

Mainly the evil consequences of globalization have become most dangerous.

Displacement of people has become a burning problem. People are

relentlessly fighting against the same. People took up a militant political

struggle opposing the Bailadilla mine exploration and laid down their lives in

that struggle. Five years back women, men, children and even the old came

on to the roads opposing the construction of the Nagarnar Steel plant. The

Police butt charged people including pregnant women and put many in jail.

Many were arrested and put in the lockup. The officers conducted fake

gram sabhas and declared that the people accepted the project. They have

laid the foundation stone for the construction of the Steel Plant. Now the

people of Lohandiguda, Bansi, Chargam, Raoghat, Bodhghat and many

such areas are fighting against being displaced. In the first week of March

2007 thousands of people blocked the road to achieve their demands, despite

police repression. Singurs and Nandigrams will break out everywhere. In

the Chathisgath State alone the Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists on the

one hand and the Multi National Corporations on the other are making

agreements to establish big industries. By now investment plans upto 130

billion dollars is on hand. We have to understand the relation between this

capital and Salva Judum. In fact these capitalists designed Salva Judum

with agents like Mahendra Karma to continue their investment without

problems and to eliminate the revolutionary movement. So the masses have

to take up militant political struggles against the exploitative ruling classes

for their existence. They are doing that too. When necessary they have to

take up armed resistance too in continuation to these politics. We are

participating in these struggles to the best of our strength. But the TATAs,

Essars, Mittals, Ambanis, Jindals, etc have put pressure on the state

governments and it banned our party and revolutionary mass organizations.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **155**So we are forced to work with many limitations in this ‘democratic’ country.

Coming to solutions to problems, the heroic masses of Nandigram showed

a solution recently. The people of Kalinganagar and Posco too are in the

path of struggle. The people in Chargam chased out the Nikko Company

and showed a solution. Thus, the solution to any problem depends on the

level of mass struggles.

***Question 4*: *Suppression campaigns like Jan Jagaran Abhiyans of the***

***government are nothing new to the people of Bastar and your party.***

***Why and how is it, there is a qualitative change in the present SJC when***

***compared to the earlier two campaigns?***

**Sonu:** This is a very interesting question. We have to look for an answer

historically. Of course, let us do it in brief.

As you said these suppression campaigns were nothing new. Earlier

too, two campaigns were conducted, one in 1991 and the other in 1997

under the name of Jan Jagaran Abhiyan. But, there is really a qualitative

change between the earlier campaigns and the present one. It is because

there are a lot of qualitative changes in the revolutionary movement. An

alternative people’s democratic system is being formed in Dandakaranya.

This is advancing on the path of protracted revolutionary war. You must

have been going through the sensational news in the media about this

progress, describing it as ‘Pasupathi to Tirupathi’ and ‘Lohapatti Red

Corridor’. So the ruling classes are determined to fight with this so that the

revolutionary movement does not get strengthened and spread; and to see

its end.

Coming to the second issue — we must see this in the light of the

globalization, liberalization, privatization economic policies. There are

abundant mineral deposits in Jharkhand, Chathisgarh and Orissa. There are

valuable resources in these forests. As I mentioned above, in Chathisgarh

alone the state government entered into agreements for an investment of

130 billion dollars. In Orissa the agreements were for an investment of 250

billion dollars. The revolutionary movement has become a hurdle for the

implementation of these capital intensive projects. Unless this problem is

solved the agreed investment cannot come into practice. New ones too

**156**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***would not come. So the ruling classes decided to fight to root out the

revolutionary movement in order to make these regions safe for big capital.

The third and the last, but important issue is the local one. After the

launching of Salva Judum, the revolutionary mass organizations and the

revolutionary masses in Indravathi area alone of Bhairamgarh block seized

800 acres of land belonging to landlords under the leadership of the people’s

governments (Janathana Circars)*.* It was distributed to 150 poor peasant

families. Certain amount of land was taken for collective agriculture in all

the villages. This did not end here. People are tilling all these lands. In 1991

the revolutionary masses seized thousands of acres of lands in Telangana,

and Andhra areas. Some of this was distributed too. But the ‘state’ forcefully

obstructed tilling of those lands. Gradually some of these lands once again

went under the control of the landlords and some of them sold the lands

tactically. Or else, they were left fallow. But this is not the case in

Dandakaranya. Salva Judum has to continue if the landlords are to seize

the lands that the peasants took control of. Therefore there must be many

more forces to crush the movement. All the landlords know that they cannot

live if this continues the same way. The landlords have left their villages

and are guiding the Judum from the towns. Another issue worth realizing is

that all of them are close relatives to the agents of hard core big feudal,

trader classes and the opposition Congress party leader, the Bastar ‘tiger’,

Mahendra Karma.

All these conditions mentioned are different from those of 1991 and

1997. The fundamental difference in the nature of the campaigns could be

understood only if we see it in this background. The earlier campaigns were

led at local state government initiative; the present one is being directed by

the Centre as part of its counter-insurgency methods of LIC (Low Intensity

Conflict) against the Maoist movement as a whole.

***Question 5: Can the SJC being jointly conducted by Congress-BJP bring***

***about changes in the contemporary Indian politics and in political***

***alliances ? What is your Party’s analysis on the intensifying internal***

***contradictions among the ruling classes ? What is your opinion about***

***how the SJC will reflect on the politics of Chattisgarh? Will there be any***

***effect on alliances and fronts in future elections ?***

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **157Sonu:** I don’t think there would be countrywide changes with Salva Judum

at that level immediately. This is related with the existence of the exploitative

ruling *classes* in Dandakaranya. It is also related to the revolutionary

movement making a severe impact on Chathisgarh state politics. The

Congress leader Mahendra Karma approached the BJP with his seasoned

opportunist politics. He claimed to be a member of Raman Singh’s cabinet.

The BJP is not that strong in Bastar. So they had to patronize Mahendra

Karma. Now both these parties have stood as man-eating parties that the

Bastar masses could never confide in. On the other hand the revisionist

CPI in its normal way is trying to utilize this situation for its benefit. It is

gaining certain positive results in this regard. However the CPI and CPM

are not in a position to have alliances with the Congress in the background

of Salva Judum. The Congress and BJP would not enter into open alliance.

So there might not be major changes in the coming elections in the background

of SJC. But in the two bi-elections (Kota assembly and Rajnandgaon Lok

sabha) an anti establishment vote won, more than the SJC. As our People’s

War intensifies there might be changes in Indian politics. Presently all the

parties are supporting the suppression of the revolutionary movement in

some or the other form, under the label of law and order. It is but natural

for the politics of these parties (tactics) to have a difference in tone.

***Question 6: The Congress and BJP are taking up countrywide propaganda***

***and the CPM too is joining them, though tactically. America is interfering***

***and there are responses to this as a country wide problem. In this situation***

***how far do you think you have gone forward in voicing your opposition***

***together with your friendly forces?***

**Sonu:** We are very much backward in this regard. America is coming forward

to suppress the revolutionary movement developing in this part of the globe.

The patriotic forces, democrats are condemning it severely and this is a

good and welcome sign. But we have to yet voice our opposition to American

interference together with these forces, as you said. Our Unity Congress-

9th Congress took this as our immediate task in our United Front work.

***Question 7: The revolutionary movement in AP around the***

***Dandakaranya guerilla zone has weakened and the greyhounds of AP***

**158**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)have become part of the forces of suppression in this area directly. What***

***political changes would this lead to?***

**Sonu:** It is true that we were weakened in Andhra Pradesh. Our Unity

Congress-9th Congress decided that the movement underwent a temporary

setback. In the wake of the weakening of the movement, the greyhounds

of AP are increasingly penetrating into this area. They are combing in

Sironcha, Ahiri areas of Maharashtra, Kunta, Gollapalli, Kishtaram, Madded,

Usur in Danthewada district and other such areas. Our guerillas were

martyred and greyhounds forces were injured during these operations. This

is the objective reality.

The Andhra police established the special greyhounds with a foresight,

in Khammam and Visakhapatnam. Later a joint command of AP, Chathisgarh,

Maharashtra and Orissa was formed under the leadership of the Andhra

DGP. As our people’s attacks are intensifying in Chathisgarh, they are

conducting meetings frequently for better coordination between Andhra

and Chathisgarh. After the Rani Bodili attack the Chathisgarh Home Minister,

DGP and other higher officials met the Andhra police for two days. One the

whole, establishing the greyhounds and the SIB like in Andhra to suppress

the Naxalites countrywide and intensifying the economic reforms under the

dictates of imperialist International Financial Organisations has become the

policy of the central and the state governments. The Andhra police are

claiming to be heroes because of their success. However, on the other

hand, the revolutionaries of Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand are

intensifying People’s War as a good antidote to the greyhounds. All the

enemy forces have joined hands and are taking up severe measures to

intensify the attacks. A military airport is being established in Moonji in the

heart of Maad. In Nagpur, military airports are being established to control

the Naxal activities in all the states. All these are being taken up by the

enemy with a long term view to suppress our political struggle with their

brutal military strength. In this situation the weakening of Andhra movement

is a loss. Our Congress took serious decisions to revive that movement.

***Question 8: For the past few months there is a discussion going on***

***about sending the Indian army in the place of paramilitary forces to***

***DK. How does your party assess the political impact and consequences***

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **159*not only in DK but all over the country? How are you prepared politically***

***in this regard?***

**Sonu:** It is true that there is such a discussion. But the reality is that an

army established study group is playing an active role in directing the entire

para-military operations. The military has already set up a jungle warfare

school in the region and are consciously involved in guiding and directing

the paramilitary. Military experts are coming all the way to study all the

main attacks taking place here, for the past three years. In Moonji and

Nagpur, military airports are being built. Long term arrangements are being

made with this view. Thirty years back our people feared the police who

were then going around with lathis. Now they are seizing weapons from the

paramilitary forces. These people would in future fight with the army too.

In this background the Centre is encouraging the states to establish Indian

Reserve Battalions in the mould of the army, instead of deploying the army

for internal security. Army would take up large scale suppression methods.

The security forces of the exploitative ruling classes would be increasingly

severe and cruel in suppression. They would in a sense teach the masses to

fight.

***Question 9: We have come to know that your Main force has increased***

***two to three times and the Base force increased 10 times during the***

***Salva Judum campaign. Without a qualitative change how would you***

***enhance fighting power?***

**Sonu:** You are right. Our Main forces, Secondary forces and Base forces

have increased in number. But, the numbers are different from what you

mention and is a technical matter. Your auxiliary question is more important.

Your question about how we are going to increase our fighting ability without

a qualitative change is serious. There would be a qualitative change only

when our fighting capacity is enhanced. Quantitative increase of forces

alone would not help. This is only one dimension of the issue. Another and

important dimension is the improving of striking power of the increasing

forces. In order to increase the striking power, the fire power has to increase.

War skills too should increase. All these issues are interlinked.

**160**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***In my answer to your second question I said that we have to increase

the war skills in order to advance to mobile war. But how will the increase

come about? War skills would develop only through making war. We could

see this clearly in our practice in the past two years. Earlier we faced a lot

of problems in fighting back the enemy coming by foot. We must admit

that we could not deal them big blows. So we could not seize their weapons

too. But the Salva Judum taught us a lot. It is constantly engaging us in war

actions. This increased our forces. We are gaining new experiences in guerilla

actions. In the light of lessons from these experiences, we made necessary

changes in the training of our forces. We achieved certain improvements in

our weapons. I shall now tell you a few fresh examples of 2007. In January

our PLGA guerillas ambushed 30 policemen coming by foot at Jaraghati in

the Maad area. They separated and eliminated seven of them and seized

their weapons. We followed a new technique in arranging mines near Pundri

near Bhairamgarh in February and eliminated seven police there too. On

1st March we killed the police forces coming by truck near Darbha near

Kunta in Danthewada district and seized 9 weapons. It is of particular

importance that it was the notorious Naga police that were killed in these

incidents in February and March. The Rani Bodili incident on 15th March

is well known. It is unique in the history of India where enemy forces have

been killed on such a large scale at the hands of revolutionaries. We seized

36 weapons in this daring attack. We lost 6 of our heroic guerillas in this

heroic raid. Their ideals and their war skill would help us a lot in our future

practice.

***Question 10: Could you elaborate some more on the nature of the forces***

***involved in countering the massive forces of the State machinery and***

***the nature of the type of battles that you are likely to face in the near***

***future?***

**Sonu:** There are three kinds of forces in our PLGA —1. Main force; 2.

Secondary force (Regional force); 3. Base force (militia). We have clearly

defined the three kinds of forces. According to this definition the Main

Forces does not confine to one area. They engage in war actions in any part

of Dandakaranya. They plan these actions mainly in the leadership of the

Zonal Military Commission. However as the forces increase, the war actions

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **161**are planned in the leadership of the Sub-Zonal Commands. Overall, all the

Main Forces are under the direct leadership of the Special Zonal Military

Commission.

Presently we consider the Company (strength 70 to 100) as the Main

Force. We considered that the Company would be the primary unit in the

regular army. This could be said to be the *first measure* in *the serious*

*efforts to transform* the PLGA into the PLA. So we did *not* confine the

Secondary forces and the Main forces to just one area. In view of the

needs of the war actions all these forces may be brought together. But their

responsibilities differ. They have commands of their own. Party committees

too exist in the respective military formations.

Coming to the Secondary forces they are now working under the direct

leadership of the respective Divisional Committees (Divisional Commands).

They have been formed upto the platoon level. *Anyhow* there is *one*

*important* issue to be *mentioned in this* regard. Whenever there is a special

operation they would have to implement the instructions of the Central

Military Commission, Special Zonal Military Commission and get down to

actions of war. All the forces together need to intensify the guerilla war.

The guerilla war must develop into mobile war, failing which, it would

wither. This is a military principle. This was put forward strongly by Comrade

Mao, Comrade Giap and many others.

***Question 11: There have been reports of advancing the war to ‘mobile***

***warfare’ from ‘guerrilla war’. What does this mean and entail? It is***

***difficult for the common person to understand its implications?***

**Sonu:** One of the primary characteristics of mobile war is big formations.

The second is improved war skills.

Big formations must be seen as the centralization of forces. Normally

guerilla war would entail hit and run methods and here the concentration of

forces too would be to facilitate this approach. But mobile war is a higher

method of war than guerilla war. Initially it would have the nature of guerilla

war and the principles of regular war gradually come forth clearly and

develop accordingly.

**162**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***In order to eliminate the enemy forces in a big number and liberate the

territory, guerilla war has to gradually change into mobile war. This is the

reason why forces must be centralized in mobile warfare. Mobile war is

also called a War of Annihilation. It means it needs relatively more time to

fight with the enemy than the guerilla war. Only thus could the enemy be

annihilated. Centralization is necessary to fight back the enemy.

We have to seriously consider forming regular higher formations at the

same level at which we initially centralized the forces. If we are to get down

to effective war actions we have to improve the military formations. Unless

we do so we cannot face the enemy.

There are two probable deviations when we take up centralization of

forces or building higher formations. One is to reject big units due to localized

thinking. The second is to take the big units as the main issue while neglecting

local and small units. Both are wrong. So paying attention to local and small

units is as important as the centralization of forces for building big units.

We cannot conduct successful war actions with centralization of forces

alone. Coordination between the forces and actions is very important.

If we think that increase of forces means merely centralizing existing

forces, there would not be any progress in the war. Merely centralization of

forces without expansion of our overall forces would create an imbalance

between the Main Force on the one hand, and the Secondary and Base

forces on the other. The Main Force can be increased only by recruiting

new forces into the people’s army on a large scale. That is what we are

doing now. This is the right way to improve the forces. Centralization could

be enhanced only through such increase in strength of the entire forces.

***Question 12: The Indian para-military and armed forces have the most***

***sophisticated weaponry and huge strength. Many doubt whether you***

***can be successful in fighting such a powerful enemy. What is your***

***response to these doubts?***

**Sonu:** It is very true that our weaponry is no match for that of the

reactionaries who are getting all sorts of assistance from the US and Israel.

This weakness has been haunting us for a long time. We have just started

to overcome this weakness. Even now the 12 Bore weapon happens to be

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **163**the main weapon in our PLGA in DK. The Bow and Arrow happens to be

the main weapon of the masses and people’s militia. We are putting in

severe efforts to bring a change in this situation. The seizing of 20 tons of

explosive material from an attack on the NMDC godown by our guerillas,

masses and militia, helped us a lot. As a result our people’s militia has been

taking up mine warfare for quite some time. It is bringing about miracles.

The enemy shudders with fear at the pressure mines of our people’s militia.

We cannot arrange modern weapons for all. We cannot compete with the

enemy in this regard. But there is a need to bring a great change in our

weapons for all. Leaving aside the question of which division was able to

seize arms and which was not, the PLGA guerillas must seize the enemy

weapons during every action daring their lives. Our PLGA’s actions are

progressing in this direction. We are still waging a guerilla war. Guerilla war

is a popular form of struggle. Guerilla war is the method of struggle where

war is conducted depending on the heroism of the masses. Modern weapons

can be countered through guerrilla warfare and success achieved. We must

not forget this. This was earlier proved in Vietnam; it is once again being

proved in Iraq. Yet, this doesn’t mean rejecting the fact the weapons have a

vital role in war. Utilizing weapons too is a part of tactics. This is the reason

why we are fighting intensely to arrange weapons as per the level of out

present war actions. We are achieving certain progress.

***Question 13: Finally, what is your vision of the future and what would***

***you call on the people of the country to do vis-a-vis your struggles and***

***battles in this one corner of the country?***

**Sonu:** Firstly we are not only restricted to any one corner of the country

and our Party has a presence in 17 States; and guerrilla war is taking place

in Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra and many other

states. Our struggles are part of this. These struggles may be at varied

levels of development but they will advance according to the laws of

protracted people’s war. To liberate our country from the yoke of

imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and build a

genuinely free and prosperous India there can be no short cut. History has

shown that however torturous the path there is no alternative. What do we

see today? The imperialists and their agents are impoverishing the masses

**164**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***on a scale unheard of in these past fifty years and also we see the imperialist

stranglehold over our country grow by the day. Peaceful dissent is crushed

ruthlessly. There are hundreds of such examples in just the past two years.

So what is the alternative? It can only be armed resistance, like we are

undertaking in Dandakaranya. There is no other path. Our struggle is nothing

but a part of the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nationalities going

on in this country. The only difference is that it may be more advanced. It

is part and parcel of a common battle. We are facing great atrocities; there

is urgent need for others throughout the country to raise their voices against

it. The preservation and advance of our struggle will play a dynamic role

for all other struggles going on in the country; just as the advance and

support of other struggles in the country will be of great assistance to our

struggle. It is a dialectical relationship of each assisting the other to take on

the monster that is the Indian State, backed by the imperialist, particularly

US imperialism. We expect this support from the masses of India and all

progressive forces. The vision of a new India can already be seen, in

embryonic form in the new power and Janatana Circar being established

here. It is bound to grow