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■ **Summer 2026: a major crisis for the Communist Party of India (Maoist)**



The cover photo of this issue features three Indian revolutionary figures who fell during the people's war waged by the Communist Party of India (Maoist). They are Nambala Keshava Rao – known as Basava Raju – the Party's General Secretary, assassinated in May 2025; Gumudavali Renuka – known as Midko (meaning “firefly” in the Gondi language) – a Party leader assassinated in March 2025; and Madvi Hidma, commander of the first battalion of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army, assassinated in November 2025.

Their loss was, of course, a painful blow to the revolutionary cause. Unfortunately, the situation has since deteriorated; the summer of 2026 was marked by a major crisis for the Communist Party of India (Maoist) – so severe that the Indian state claimed to have put an end to “left-wing extremism”.

This issue outlines the problem and, naturally, its historical context. Indeed, we have long taken a keen interest in the situation in India, the world's most populous nation with nearly 1.5 billion inhabitants. The revolutionary wave asserting Maoism and people's war was powerful there during the 1960s and 1970s, and the level of commitment has never waned.

Understanding events in India is therefore essential. Yet, neither the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Centre in Belgium nor the Dialectical Materialist Party in France has addressed the subject. This stems from differences in conception, differences profound enough to lead to this outcome. To put it simply, the Indian comrades chose the easy way out, both regarding ideology in general and international relations in particular. They were never interested in getting to the bottom of things, considering they had far better things to do. It would therefore have been inappropriate – and misunderstood – to voice public criticism while they were in the thick of the action; the current situation changes all that, and, unfortunately, it was also entirely predictable.

This should not prejudice the future; inevitably, Maoism in India will correct its course and manage to overcome this major crisis of the summer of 2026.

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**vivelemaoisme.org
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Summer 2026: a major crisis for the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

If you were to pick a random person in Europe and mention India, the first thing that would likely come to mind is the Hindu pantheon—specifically Ganesha, the elephant-headed deity.

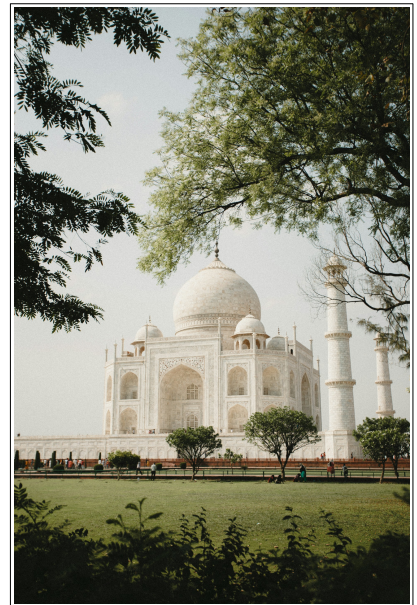
Crowded streets, the masses also quickly spring to mind. The country's enchanting side inevitably surfaces, too: the Taj Mahal — highlighting the importance of setting and atmosphere to Indians — and, naturally, the cuisine: fragrant, delicious basmati rice; various breads like naan and chapati; spices; and lentils. From there, thoughts turn to Bollywood cinema—epitomized by actor Shah Rukh Khan—and its emotionally charged, dance-filled films.

A literature enthusiast might speak of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, while a philosopher would mention the Bhagavad Gita; a musician drawn to atmospheric sounds would cite ragas, and a lover of the performing arts would highlight the vigor and grace of Bharatanatyam and Kathakali.

Gandhi is an essential figure, as is Nehru in a more political context. Yoga comes to mind, as do the vibrant colors of the Diwali festival; meanwhile, animal lovers would likely focus on Jainism and its rejection of violence against living beings.

There are a thousand ways to approach India—and a thousand more besides; India embodies so much, has embodied so much, and will embody so much that it is impossible to overlook.

Though perhaps distant, often mysterious, and rarely truly understood, India is nonetheless appreciated. It is therefore quite surprising that, according to the Communist Party of India (Maoist), India is a fictitious country.



In their view, India is a matter of geography and administration, but not something real. It is seen as an obstacle to the population—or, more precisely, to the populations living within the territory governed by the Indian state.

The nature of India as a civilization: the initial position of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) did not, of course, always hold this view. Here is the first point of its program published in 2004, in which it refers to India as a “beloved homeland”.

“1. Our beloved motherland, India, is one of the oldest, largest and most populous countries of the world, inhabited by near about 105 crores of people. Our country is a country endowed with rich natural resources like labour power, animal, land, water, mineral, forest, etc.

India is a multinational country, comprising people of various nationalities and tribes going through various stages of their development, including people of different religious faiths.

Vast majority of the population of our country is dependent mainly on agriculture. Hence, in essence, it is a country of peasant masses. The people of this country are hard-working and talented.

It is also a land of one of the oldest civilisations. On the whole, our country and our people are the inheritors of a rich revolutionary tradition and a glorious cultural heritage.”

The words used at the very beginning directly echo the first point of the program of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), founded in 1970, of which the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is the continuation.

“1. Our beloved country is one of the biggest and most ancient countries of the world inhabited by 500 million people. Ours is an agrarian country, a country of peasant masses, hard working and talented. They have rich revolutionary traditions and a glorious cultural heritage.”

India is a cherished homeland; it is multinational, and levels of development vary across the country, yet one can speak of “Indians” who share distinct characteristics and a historical cultural heritage—a civilizational dimension.



The Nature of India: The New Position of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has ultimately changed its stance — and radically so. In a 2021 document titled “The Nationality Question in India – Our Party’s Position”, India is portrayed as an artificial construct.

Historically, the very idea of India is said to be the product of merchants eager to play a “comprador” role — that is, acting as intermediaries with imperialism, specifically British imperialism.

“Since the early period the Parsis of Mumbai, the Gujarati Baniyas and the Rajasthan Marwaris collaborated with the East India Company that gained monopoly by defeating the Dutch and the Portuguese merchants from the mercantile sector of our country and gained heavy profits in their businesses.

They received two per cent commission in every business transaction of the British merchants. So they could easily turn compradors to the imperialists.

In their footsteps, right from the beginning they represented the idea of ‘Indian nation’ with the objective to exploit the entire country.

Thus these merchant sections that played the comprador role did not represent the nationalities arising in those areas but collaborated with the British imperialists and played a reactionary role in the independence movement of the country and in the process of the development of the nationalities.”

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) acknowledges—albeit somewhat implicitly—that the British plan to administratively partition Bengal sparked unrest and fostered an Indian national consciousness.

Nevertheless, it maintains that in 1947, the comprador bourgeoisie assumed power, receiving the keys to an “Indian” administrative entity established by the British Empire as part of its colonial rule, built upon the ruins of the Mughal Empire.

The Indian constitutional safeguard would prevent national expressions.

According to the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Indian Constitution established at independence in 1947 unilaterally locked in the regional demarcations and the status of various languages, favoring the promotion of an abstract Indian identity that serves the Hindi language and Brahminism (i.e., Hinduism with the Brahmin clergy in a dominant position), all against the backdrop of the domination of the comprador bourgeoisie.

Consequently, in the view of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), a contradiction arises: on the one hand, there is the multinational dynamic, and on the other, the centralized regime using “India” as a pretext.



"Any movement arises from economic, political, social and historical reasons.

The movements for separate state also have similar reasons.

In conditions in India the movements for separate state are coming forth as a reflection of the aspirations of the nationality due to regional inequalities and the anti-nationalities policies of the central and the state governments.

Therefore the movements for separate state must be considered as democratic movements going on as a part of the nationality question and must be supported.

Our party must work with the immediate program of the movement for separate state and combine it with the New Democratic Revolutionary program and lead the movements for separate state."

India would exist as a geographical entity and as a state established from above; fundamentally, however, there are primarily different nationalities—different countries, so to speak.

Extending anti-centralism to tribal groups

Since the Indian constitutional "lock" blocks all genuine national developments, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) holds that it is necessary to defend not only existing national developments but also those that could potentially exist.

This approach therefore extends to tribal groups—that is, indigenous or aboriginal peoples.



While they do not constitute nations—not even oppressed nations in the process of development—they must nonetheless be granted the national right to self-determination.

"We have to build strong movements in the leadership of our party with the demands for right to self-determination to all the primitive nationalities and for the formation of autonomous areas and separate states according to their democratic aspirations."

As can be seen, the approach adopted here is one of rejecting the central Indian state and reconstructing—from the bottom up—a vast national mosaic, in which each "people's republic" would voluntarily join a grand federation.

The argument regarding the absence of a common language

The same document highlights the following argument—which, incidentally, serves as a fundamental backdrop: situations vary greatly across India in terms of development and, above all, there is no common language, implying that no nation exists.

"India was not a uniform country before the arrival of the British and similarly there was never a common language of the people before or after the British."

Consequently, for the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the central state's language policy is revealing. On the one hand, it recognizes the following languages: Assamese, Bengali, Bodo, Dogri, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Konkani, Maithili, Malayalam, Manipuri, Marathi, Nepali, Odia, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Santali, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu.

Yet, in doing so, it overlooks many others—in practice, there are 860 languages in India, spoken by populations of varying sizes.

Moreover, the central state asserts Hindi as the official language—specifically Hindi written in the Devanagari script (which entails rejecting the Arabic-Persian alphabet, even though Hindi and Urdu were historically one and the same language, known as Hindustani).



For the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the situation in India must be viewed as follows: all democratic forms of linguistic expression are suppressed—both by English, in the context of globalization, and by Hindi, the language of the state apparatus. This dual, anti-democratic oppression constitutes an obstacle that must be eliminated.

Herein lies the very essence of the ideology of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The Congress Party, the "Indian" party

Following this logic, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) analyzes governing political parties based on their relationship to the contradiction between democratic expressions and the central state.

Here is what it says about the Congress Party:

"Not only Congress but the parties that branched from it also shall not approve the right to separate and the right to self-determination of the nationalities.

All of them are pieces of a single bundle. All the bourgeois parties including Congress serving imperialism are against the development of nationalities, the development of languages and that of all the regions. All of them bear the same attitude.

In fact the problems of the nationalities arose from the undemocratic and bureaucratic policies of the Congress. They represent bourgeois national chauvinism in the leadership of Congress. It is expressed in the form of Indian nation."

As is clearly evident here, the idea of an "Indian nation" is rejected as a top-down approach; the Congress is presented as the politically vehicle for such an idea.

The BJP, the "Indian" nationalist party – a vehicle for Brahminism

The same line of reasoning applies to the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party—Indian People's Party), the nationalist party that employs this very "concept" of the Indian nation as a cure-all for every problem. The idea is that there exists an Indian politics, Indian science, Indian religion, Indian art, and so forth, all rooted in Hinduism — with priests (Brahmins) serving as the essential agents of the entire system: this is "Hindutva".

Historically, the BJP is the political wing of a fascist organization founded in 1925: the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Volunteer Organization). Here is what the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has to say about it.

"The BJP propagates a stronger idea that the Indian nation was formed basing on Hindi language, Hindu religion and Brahmanic Hindu culture. This is the stand of the Brahmanic Hindu fundamentalists. BJP is the parliamentary party formed to work in the political sphere to achieve the objectives of RSS. BJP has a clear outlook regarding Kashmir.

All the forces working with the Hindutwa agenda felt that Article 370 is a hurdle for national feeling and the formation of Indian nation state. They portray the Kashmir problem as Hindu-Muslim problem and Pakistan sponsored riots.

Thy openly state that those who do not say 'Bharat maataki jai' and 'Vandemataram' should leave the country to Pakistan.

They are working in the direction of forming 'new India' saying 'Ek Bharat, Sresht Bharat' (single India, best India).

The 'Goods and Services Tax' that they brought forth saying 'one nation – one tax' tramples the interests of the states (nationalities).

They brought forth the discussion to hold elections to the centre and the states at a time saying 'one nation – one poll'. The 'Sagarmala', 'Bharatmala', 'one country, one theory, one leader' and other such things are part of Brahmanic Hindutwa fascism. They are hinduising many towns, prominent places and the names of people's institutions of the country."

The Indian Idea: A Reactionary Vector According to the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

In the same document, we find this clear definition of "India" as a reactionary idea. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) views India as a "prison of peoples" headed by usurpers who employ a "unitary" ideology—a sort of equivalent to the Habsburg or Ottoman Empires.

"In order to properly lead the nationality struggle in India we must firstly continuously expose that the idea of 'Indian nation' created by the exploitive ruling classes of India and their political parties the Congress and BJP and the revisionist parties CPI and the CPI (M) is false and conspiratorial and that it is a theory that justifies the suppression of the nationalities of India. We must also expose the wrong theory that the Northern bourgeoisie is the Indian big bourgeoisie.

We must propagate and enlighten the oppressed nationalities that the Indian comprador big bourgeois class developed from the big trading classes of all the areas of the country along with the Gujarati Baniyas, Marwari traders and the Parsi business classes, that it seized power through the transfer of power in 1947, that it is developed as the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class of India and that it is the common enemy of all the oppressed nationalities of India."

In short, in 1947, all the country's compradors united as the managerial bourgeoisie of an artificial nation, championing that nation to safeguard their interests.

Comprador bourgeoisie or bureaucratic bourgeoisie?

Issue No. 14 of *Communism*, published in July 2021, is titled "*Is there a difference between the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie? How the Communist Party of India (Maoist) proposes a flawed definition.*"

This is an important article for understanding the error made by the Communist Party of India (Maoist), which views the class in power in India as a merely comprador and exclusively parasitic bourgeoisie, rather than a firmly entrenched and developing bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Simply put, there are two ways of viewing decolonization—provided, of course, one understands that, in practice, it was not at all real.

One view is that the keys to power were handed over to local merchants, traders, and landowners—who were essentially told to change nothing. Independence is merely nominal, and the country remains dependent on imperialism, yet it is now “locals” who manage day-to-day affairs.

Alternatively, one might consider that a gradual synthesis occurred among these merchants, traders, and landowners, forming a bureaucratic bourgeoisie that holds the reins of the state — a situation akin to that of the USSR and Eastern European countries during the 1960s and 1980s.

In the first case, the new managers make do with the resources at hand in a fundamentally unstable situation where everything is cobbled together; they are constantly on the front lines trying to keep the regime afloat—much like administrators ultimately corrupted by imperialism.



In the second case, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie relies on a form of development specific to national conditions, characterized by a bureaucratic capitalism that extends its reach to the point of state-monopoly capitalism.

It is not a question of challenging the bureaucratic-capitalist nature of India — a country where the wealthiest 10% command 55% of national income and 90% of the population works in the informal sector.

However, even bureaucratic capitalism can develop: India’s GDP was \$296 billion in 1989; today, it is approaching \$4 trillion!

We are not dealing with a situation where a comprador bourgeoisie is maneuvering as best it can; rather, we are facing a form of bureaucratic capitalism that is developing relatively independently of imperialism.

All in all, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) views India as being in a state of neo-colonial dependency under the aegis of a comprador bourgeoisie that is forcing the issue; it has failed to grasp the dialectic between semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism that gives rise to bureaucratic capitalism.

The weakness of the comprador bourgeoisie and the vigor of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie

Thus, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) holds the view that a comprador bourgeoisie is in power in India. Consequently, it rejects the idea of an internal dynamic within India: insofar as the regime merely manages the country's relationship of dependency on imperialism, everything hinges on the latter.

However, a crucial point arises here: the Communist Party of India (Maoist) holds a perspective that is out of step with events regarding the development of productive forces. Indeed, its worldview is based on the premise that global capitalism has been in crisis since the 1970s — a crisis that has intensified since 2008.

For instance, here is what the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) stated in November 2025, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army:

`"Since 1973, to overcome the fundamental crisis, imperialism has pushed forward imperialist globalisation. However, the global economic crisis of 2008 proved that imperialist globalisation has failed.`

`This crisis has still not been resolved. All the economic, political, military, and cultural policies that the imperialist countries and the backward countries following them, or being made to follow them, implemented to overcome that crisis have failed miserably or are in the process of failing.`

`To implement the policies associated with imperialist globalisation, in many countries across the world, right-wing, racist, and fascist parties have come to power."`

This leads to the following interpretation—valid in itself but entirely false if taken in isolation: Indian governments may come and go as they please, but ultimately it changes absolutely nothing; they are merely (and thus, in this context, “exclusively”) puppets whose role is to stabilize the situation and maintain India’s “neo-colonial” dimension.

One can see the disastrous error that stems from this.

From this perspective, the rise to power of the ultra-nationalist BJP in India was a sign of weakness, as the country is inherently characterized by an artificial administrative structure and a leadership of passive parasites—a generally explosive situation.

In reality, however, India has changed significantly since the massive wave of global capitalist growth between 1989 and 2020, and it now exists as a nation with genuine coherence. The BJP's nationalism is not merely an ideological venture but the product of the expansion of Indian bureaucratic capitalism.

This changes everything. The BJP embodies the development of this bureaucratic capitalism in an expansionist sense; it represents strength, not weakness.

The central state—portrayed by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) as weak and ill-defined—has thus proven to be both powerful and dynamic; therein lies the crisis of the summer of 2026.



The Indian government's triumphant announcement

The summer of 2026 saw a series of statements from the Indian central State reinforcing a claim that had been repeated time and again over the preceding months: that the Communist Party of India (Maoist) had been routed. The statement made to the Upper House of the Indian Parliament on July 29, 2026, by Nityanand Rai, India's Minister of State for Home Affairs, is a prime example of this.

"After nearly six decades of violence, the country became free from Left Wing Extremism, which was once considered one of the biggest threats to the Internal security of this country.

This has been achieved with resolute implementation of the "National Policy and Action Plan to address Left-Wing Extremism" 2015 and the coordinated efforts of Centre and State governments.

At present, no district is categorized as LWE affected. The number of Naxal-affected districts reduced from 126 to 90 in April-2018, 70 in July-2021, 38 in April 2024, 08 in December, 2025 and to "zero" in March/April 2026.

Presently, 37 districts are categorized as 'Legacy & Thrust' districts, which are no more LWE affected, but continued support in respect of security and development measures is required for some more time to consolidate the position.

One district has been kept under the category of 'District of Concern', where LWE violent activities have been totally contained and their organizational structure has been completely dismantled.

Although these districts are now free from LWE, security surveillance and developmental interventions are to be continued for some more time so as to preclude any possibility of their relapse."

The wave of repression targeting the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

This announcement follows directly on the arrest in the state of Jharkhand of 65-year-old Misir Besra — clandestine since 1989 — who is considered the last remaining at-large member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The Indian government also maintains that it has dismantled the entire Central Committee.



In recent years, the Indian government has consistently claimed to have dealt severe blows to the Maoists—traditionally known as “Naxals” or “Naxalites”, a name derived from the major peasant uprising in Naxalbari.

Notably, in June 2025, the death of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), Nambala Keshava Rao (also known as Basavaraju), was announced.

In October 2025, the following data for the preceding three years was presented: 4,839 “Naxals” surrendered, 2,218 were arrested, and 706 were killed in clashes. It should be noted that human rights defenders regularly denounce summary executions by the police and army that are passed off as clashes.

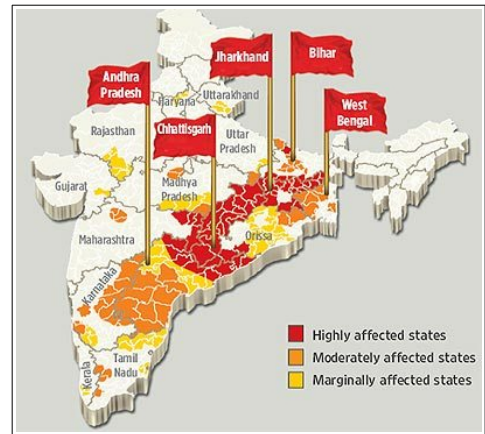
By March 2026, the Indian government had already announced that it had crushed the armed units of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The announcement on July 29 marks the culmination of a process that paralleled the collapse of the “Red Corridor”.

The dismantling of the "Red Corridor"

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) was formed in 2004 through the unification of two organizations—themselves the products of earlier mergers—that each carried a distinct tradition dating back to the 1970s: the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) – People's War.

This consolidation of forces enabled the establishment of a “Red Corridor” spanning central, eastern, and southeastern India; it encompasses isolated rural areas — often mountainous or covered in dense forest — across 180 districts.

This region is home to between 70 and 100 million people, with the affected states — to varying degrees — including Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, and Uttar Pradesh.



To this list, one must add West Bengal — the historic heartland of Maoism in the 1960s — as well as Andhra Pradesh and Telangana, the historic centers of the movement in the 1980s. Above all, Chhattisgarh must be included, as it constitutes the hard core of the “Red Corridor”.

This hard core was all that remained at the end of a long process of disintegration. According to the Indian central government, the number of districts affected by the military activities of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) stood at 126 in 2014, 90 in 2018, 70 in 2021, 38 in 2024, 8 in 2025, and zero in July 2026.

The “operations” conducted by the Indian government

The Indian government employed two approaches to successfully carry out its crackdown.

The first involved high-impact, targeted operations. One of the most notable — due to the significant results it yielded — was Operation “Kagaar”, which ran from January 2024 to March 2026.

However, there was also Operation “Black Forest” in the spring of 2025, targeting the Karreguttalu Hills—a dense forest area located on the border between the states of Chhattisgarh and Telangana.



Operation “Octopus”, meanwhile, was spearheaded by intelligence agencies in 2022, targeting financing and logistical support networks across 15 states. That same year, sweeping operations were conducted in the forests of Jharkhand (Operation “Double Bull”), along the Jharkhand-Chhattisgarh border (Operation “Thunderstorm”), and in the forests of Bihar (Operations “Bhimbarg” and “Chakrabandha”).

The reason for this is easy to understand. The “Naxals” relied on dense jungle and rugged terrain. In response, the police and army began using drones. This did not involve only large drones circling overhead for hours; small, vertical-takeoff drones — capable of operating directly within extremely difficult terrain — were also deployed.

Naturally, thermal imaging and infrared sensors play a decisive role here; the expanding field of artificial intelligence has also helped — for instance, by detecting recently turned soil where an improvised mine might be hidden, a tactic commonly employed by the “Naxals”.

This technological progress has also been crucial for the scientific analysis of mobile data, foliage-penetrating radar, and the NavIC satellite navigation system used to guide ground troops.

When constant satellite surveillance is factored in, it becomes clear that a forest-based guerrilla force is up against an extremely formidable enemy. Yet, in a people's war of the kind waged by the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the human factor is decisive, and all these technical advantages cannot be the deciding factor. Why, then, did they prove to be so?

The transition from the agrarian revolution to anti-centralism based on tribal structures

By failing to view India as a nation, to take economic expansion into account, and to grasp the aggressiveness of the BJP and the vigor of bureaucratic (rather than “comprador”) capitalism, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) was unable to reckon with what was unfolding. Yet, when the facts became undeniable, why did it not undertake a rectification?

The fact is, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) believed it had found the key. In its view, since the Indian central state maintains national unity only fictitiously, one need only rally the most oppressed to overturn the balance of power.

In the worldview of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), tribal and indigenous (or aboriginal) peoples are not merely people living on the margins of a developing India; rather, they are the most oppressed victims of a large-scale parasitic system — one that was artificially constructed and is artificially maintained.



By rising up, tribal peoples would thus tear away the ideological veil of the “Indian nation” and lend strength to a general revolt that is, all in all, national in character.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has abandoned the principle of agrarian revolution in favor of a revolution of peasants asserting nationhoods — a movement driven by the dynamic of marginalized indigenous peoples claiming their rights and shaking the central state.

Indigenous people are not a class

There are numerous indigenous populations around the world. Some tribes in Brazil live as hunter-gatherers and have no contact with the modern world; the 1985 film *The Emerald Forest* offers an interesting portrayal of this contrast. In other instances, such as in Australia, Aboriginal people were forcibly integrated—losing their tribal nature in the process—while still retaining many distinctive characteristics.

There are also cases where indigenous groups live as communities parallel to mainstream society while remaining integrated within it, as seen in parts of Mexico. In Burma, indigenous peoples make up around 30% of the population; since 2021, the central government has been losing ground militarily to their armies, retaining control over only one-fifth of the territory.

In short, there is a vast array of different situations for indigenous peoples — from the Mapuche in Chile to the Adivasis in India, the indigenous population that makes up around 8.6% of the total. Nevertheless, this does not alter the laws of history.

And when it is said that history is the history of class struggle, this is linked to the principle of humanity’s development through modes of production.

Do Indigenous, Adivasis, Aborigines peoples constitute a class? Absolutely not. They consist of human groupings at particularly backward stages of development.

This is precisely what makes them interesting from a dialectical-materialist perspective: while they are far from the communist outcome, they are nonetheless close to the entry into history—to the primitive communism that predates the emergence of classes.



In their relationship with Nature, they are thus often closer to Communism than people in capitalist countries, precisely because they remain close to primitive communism. Their backwardness places them, dialectically, closer to the advance.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist), however, does not hold such a view; its defense of tribal peoples is rooted in an ultra-democratic stance in opposition to the Indian central state. It is not concerned with the Adivasis' contribution to the advance toward Communism; rather, it asserts their right to self-determination and their existence in confrontation with the central state.

This explains the shift of the center of gravity to Chhattisgarh.

Chhattisgarh, an isolated region with an isolated population

Chhattisgarh is a vast Indian state: covering 135,191 km², it is 4.5 times the size of Belgium or a quarter the size of France. In 2010, it had a population of 25 million, one-third of whom were indigenous people known as “Adivasis”.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) focused its attention on the state, and its activities flourished particularly in the south — specifically in the Bastar region (comprising districts such as Dantewada, Bijapur, Narayanpur, and Sukma). In terms of land area, this region is equivalent to Switzerland — making it slightly larger than Belgium — and had a population of 2.5 million people (as of 2010).

In terms of development, there is neither electricity nor running water. People live in tribes, practicing subsistence living; they rely on oil or kerosene lamps for light and on wells for water. Houses are made of mud, wood, and thatch, and the diet consists of rice, millet, and gathered wild foods. There is no internet, television, or the like.

Tribal languages are spoken, and life follows the rhythm of local customs. Religiously, there is an influence of Hinduism, though it remains diffuse; the prevailing belief system is animist, and there are no Brahmin priests—only figures akin to shamans.

Liberated zone: what does it convey?

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has established Revolutionary People's Committees in hundreds of villages; the key zone is Dandakaranya, a region of dense forests extending from Chhattisgarh into western Odisha, northern Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Maharashtra and Telangana.

A “Janatana Sarkar” — or people's authority — is thus established to manage finances, education, culture, healthcare, and so on; a similar process has taken place, albeit on a smaller scale, further north in the country — in the regions linking Bihar and Jharkhand — through Krantikari Kisan (Revolutionary Peasant) Committees.



But what follows from this general approach? It is that, while the agrarian revolution is naturally an essential component of the established people's power, what stands out above all is local power and self-determination.

Indeed, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has emphasized, first and foremost, its role in driving local development — development that had previously been thwarted by the central state.

This is the crucial point. Indeed, an agrarian revolution — as Indian revolutionary program, with a democratic and popular nature — holds a historic significance in India.

This is not the case with small-scale, independent self-development, which has ultimately led the Communist Party of India (Maoist) to play the same role as the EZLN in Chiapas, Mexico.

This is inevitably how matters were perceived in India — all the more so in a civilization that originated by systematically rejecting the “world of the forests” as barbaric. Hinduism is permeated by a fundamental distrust of these areas that stand apart from the rest, alien to the dominant culture and religion.

The famous Ramayana epic recounts how the whole of India came under the sway of Hinduism once the demons lurking in the forests were hunted down and their leader — based on the island of Lanka — was defeated. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has developed a strategy that is virtually the reverse of this.

It is here that the error lies—the error that led to the military disaster.

Militarization, integration, and corruption of Adivasis; surrender policy

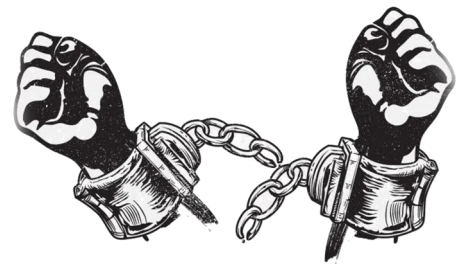
It was not enough for the Indian police and army to possess equipment capable of detecting guerrilla forces; they also needed to have agents on the inside.

As Stalin famously said, “the best fortresses are taken from within”, and the Communist Party of India (Maoist) paid a heavy price for failing to understand the social nature of the Adivasis and for pursuing a strategy that amounted to a sort of “anti-Ramayana”.

What, in fact, has the Indian government done? Since 2014, it has built over 12,000 kilometers of roads and installed more than 9,600 mobile network towers, providing coverage to 96% of villages. It has established 1,804 bank branches, 1,321 ATMs, and over 74,000 banking correspondents, while also expanding financial access through 6,025 post offices. It has opened 259 residential schools, providing educational opportunities for 80,000 tribal youths and women.

This policy was dubbed Vishwaas (restoring trust in the State), Nirman (building infrastructure), and Jan Kalyan (the welfare of the people). It is a classic approach combining corporatism and... repression.

There were 66 fortified police stations before 2014; afterwards, there were 597. Over the last seven years, 408 bases for police special forces — the CAPFs — have been built. Sixty-eight night-operational helicopter landing zones have been established. Four hundred mine-resistant transport vehicles have been handed over to security forces. Hospitals have been required to maintain specialized staff to treat injured police and military personnel.



To link corporatism with repression, a vast scheme of financial incentives was established. The surrender of any Maoist is accompanied by financial aid: a Maoist cadre who surrenders with their weapons receives after three years 500,000 rupees—just over 4,500 euros—while a rank-and-file militant receives half that amount.

That is not all: there is also monthly financial assistance (10,000 rupees per month for three years), as well as the provision of housing, mandatory three-year training (in mechanics, crafts, or modern agriculture), and access to employment—complemented by zero-interest micro-loans and, potentially, the granting of land.

Free schooling and healthcare for children must also be factored in; naturally, legal proceedings are eased or dropped, except in cases of major "crimes."

According to the Indian government, 3,927 Naxalites surrendered between the start of 2024 and March 2026. These defectors helped security forces navigate areas where the guerrillas were active, revealing weapon caches and assisting in the encirclement of fighters.

It would be wrong to reduce all this to individual betrayals or personal capitulations. The fundamental problem is that the Adivasis do not constitute a class, and there is no revolution driven by the Adivasis.

In reality, heroism belongs to the working class, and a peasant revolution led by the working class takes on a mass dimension, as it is part of the historical process of class struggle.

Socially, Adivasis are like immigrants in a host country: they are hyper-exploited and oppressed; collectively, they champion the cause of justice... yet individually, they dream of advancement—or even a career—and feel no sense of obligation whatsoever toward their amorphous social stratum.

The communal dimension tempers this individualism, but conversely, the inevitable encroachment of capitalism creates a counter-counter-trend.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) was led into an error of political economy here because its pragmatism drove it to use the Adivasis as the driving force of the agrarian revolution, without realizing that such an approach fundamentally altered the matrix and distorted its nature.

Negation of the negation and the question of the Indian national trajectory

The concept of the negation of the negation was highlighted during the establishment of Marxism; subsequently, Mao Zedong set it aside, reasoning that there was an uninterrupted flow of negations anyway—meaning the process never stops: there is the negation of the negation of the negation, and so on.

This raises a crucial issue, as it concerns the perception of India's history. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) does not argue that India is an unfinished, poorly constructed, incomplete, or unperfected nation. Instead, it views India primarily as a superstructure that obstructs the development of the actual base.

In other words, India — both as a concept and as a state entity — represents a negation, and the proposed "New Democracy" revolution constitutes the negation of that negation.

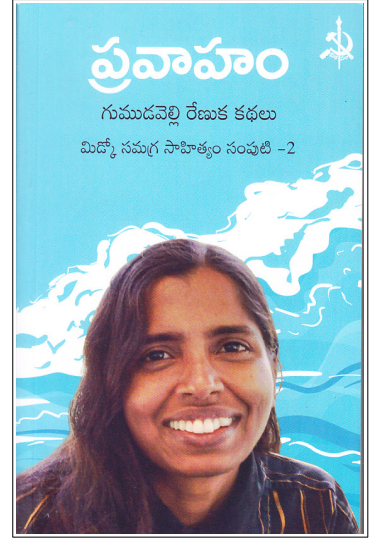
Beyond the various ideological questions here at play, it is evident that this is the level at which an intellectual and cultural discussion grounded in history can prove productive.



Indeed, it is entirely possible to take a different view and regard Hinduism—historically speaking—as the product of a civilizational impulse that unified the masses on a vast scale and fostered general development, before eventually stagnating and turning into its own opposite.

To put it bluntly: India has produced very positive developments, and we would prefer to discuss these with our Indian comrades rather than simply noting one thing or another. The relationship with animals, in particular — framed by Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism within a logic of compassion — strikes us as essential; it is deeply regrettable that the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has never addressed this issue.

Discussing such matters — among others — would allow for a deeper understanding of the situation and of the historical movement in India and elsewhere. This would help avoid one-sided value judgments; and it must be said that, unfortunately, by reducing India to a mere artificially created prison, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has clearly blocked prospects regarding the actual historical content.



An erroneous positioning stemming from a practical reason...

We must now turn to the fundamental reason that led the Communist Party of India (Maoist) to adopt a line in which Adivasis would serve as the “detonator” for a revolution against the central state. Indeed, an entire process underlies this, requiring us to look back several decades.

Historically, when the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was founded in 1969 under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar, its strategy centered on selective execution. This meant that the agrarian revolution hinged on targeting specific individuals viewed as key to maintaining existing power dynamics. This approach fueled a flurry of activity, most notably involving massive youth mobilization in West Bengal.

However, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) did not withstand the strain; Charu Mazumdar was killed in 1972, and the movement splintered into various factions. Nevertheless, the principle of armed struggle had been strategically established; moreover, a Maoist Communist Centre had formed in parallel under Kanai Chatterjee, also conducting guerrilla operations with the aim of agrarian revolution.

Yet, driven by the need to maintain armed groups — both as a matter of principle and to clearly distinguish themselves from factions veering toward revisionism — organizations favoring people's war began to gravitate toward establishing themselves in the most remote and inaccessible areas, as these were technically easy to defend.

This is all the more true given that, during the 1980s and 1990s, India was a Third World country characterized by deeply incoherent development — featuring security forces that operated in a rudimentary, unrefined manner and an absence of genuine political centralization, a result of bureaucratic capitalism and the associated corruption.

The approach succeeded: the armed struggle was sustained. However, this was accompanied by a distinct style—one with a practical orientation that leaned towards pragmatism.

... but which also stems from a pragmatic-Machiavellian deviation

When the Communist Party of Peru referred to India during the 1980s and early 1990s — doing so through the Peru People's Movement, which handled international affairs — it spoke of “armed struggle” in India, not of “people's war”. The same applied to Turkey, incidentally. For the Peruvian comrades, the Indian approach was “technicist,” characterized by a technical obsession with the ability to deliver blows.

A striking example can be found in the following remarks made by Abhay, a spokesperson for the Communist Party of India (Maoist), during an interview in November 2001.

“In the past 20 years 2,958 armed personnel of the Indian state were wiped out and 3,507 were injured. 3,208 modern weapons of various kinds were seized from the enemy and 1,52,899 rounds of ammunition were seized.”

Specifying the exact number of cartridges down to the last round speaks volumes about an entire mindset. And, in principle, this had serious consequences: in the 1980s, the two main “Naxal” factions ended up in armed conflict with one another, while ideologically, there was a significant lag in recognizing Maoism as the third stage following Marxism and Leninism.

On the international stage, the only organization that captured the attention of the PCI (ML) People's War and the MCC was the Communist Party of the Philippines, which shared the same pragmatic approach.

These three organizations even briefly produced a journal titled *Vanguard* — intended more as a compendium of experiences than anything else — whose final participant, Turkey’s TKP/ML, was actually denounced as “pragmatic-Machiavellian” by the TKP(ML).

Thus, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) had no trouble finding a basis for dialogue with the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka or the United Liberation Front of Assam — groups operating along India’s borders — given the practical advantages involved; conversely, its international ties to Maoism rested on fragile foundations — so much so that it struggled immensely to denounce (and did so only belatedly and diplomatically) the revisionism of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) when the latter abandoned the people's war in 2006.

Beyond its intrinsic nature, this orientation naturally influences mindsets, and here, subjectivism is an undeniable phenomenon.

Recourse to subjectivism

To compensate for sidelining the agrarian revolution, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has espoused a subjectivism that is unparalleled and virtually boundless.

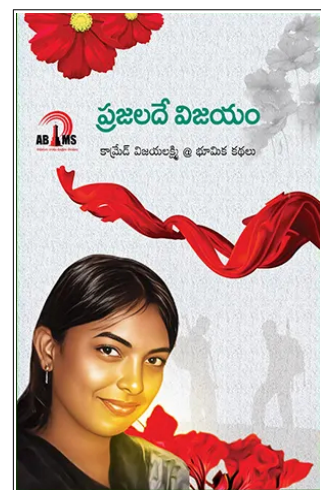
A routine demonstration in France on March 23, 2023 — involving only minor scuffles and a large turnout that was otherwise unremarkable — is portrayed as a "militant workers' movement" witnessed by the entire world.

At its 2007 congress, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) described the prevailing situation with “the already impoverished masses of the country on a scale unheard of in post-1947 India” ; by May Day 2018, it spoke of a situation defined as “the gravest economic crisis since the ‘Great Depression’ of the 1930” — this was prior to the 2020 pandemic and the armed conflict in Ukraine that began in 2022.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) also hailed Hamas for its October 7, 2023, attack and generally interprets Muslim fundamentalism as an “anti-imperialist” expression.

All this subjectivism is the byproduct of the “anti-centralist” struggle, in which imperialism is portrayed as a brake, an obstacle, or a barrier.

Another mistake was the decision to finally "open up" to the international arena—pragmatically, of course.



An International Committee to Support of the People's War in India was established in 2010, yet it never contributed anything to the understanding of India—and thus of its struggles—while from 2014 onwards, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) began signing May Day declarations alongside the clearly right-wing bloc centered around the Maoist Communist Party of Italy.

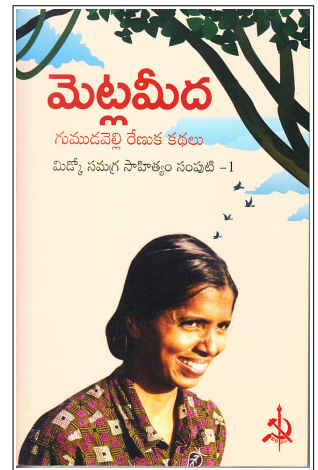
However, this subjectivism came at a price: while the Communist Party of India (Maoist) may have hoped to influence public opinion, the only result of this “opening” was that a few individuals would occasionally gather with red flags outside Indian embassies or consulates in certain Western cities. Naturally, at the same time, these people were disseminating the Communist Party of India (Maoist)’s “Basic Course” on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, seeking to appropriate its prestige.

This represents a subjectivist attempt to force the issue—amounting to the abandonment of class struggle within a specific mode of production in favor of a struggle that merely takes the outward form of a class struggle against an oppressive system.

A Communist Party operates within a national framework

All of this, however, brings us back to the simple question of what the Communist Party of India (Maoist) actually wants. If it aims to carry out a revolution in India, it must acknowledge India; if it does not acknowledge it, then it must make way for the Communist Parties of the nations that comprise it. Classes, after all, develop within a national framework. They exist only in relation to a mode of production.

Even assuming the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is correct regarding India’s non-national character, basing its strategy on the Adivasis would amount to “finding” a transnational path to unite nations and nationalities against a central state—an approach that is flawed.



And even if he were right about the artificial nature of the Indian state, he blinds himself to the fact that a reactionary figure like Narendra Modi—leader of the BJP, and akin to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey and many others—does not represent a reactionary turn born of fundamental weakness; on the contrary, he embodies an expansionist aggressiveness driven by the development of bureaucratic capitalism during the massive global capital accumulation that took place between 1989 and 2020.

In practical terms, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) attempted to force the issue; it believed it was confronting degenerate figures with empty coffers whose regime was withering away, yet it found itself facing a decadent force with full coffers and expansionist ambitions.

In the process, not only did it shift its center of gravity, but it also found itself encircled by an enemy that was rapidly gaining strength. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) absolutely must correct its course.

Narendra Modi's remarks on Independence Day

In his speech marking the Independence Day celebration on August 15, 2026, Prime Minister Narendra Modi made the following remarks regarding “Naxalism”, which was portrayed as an obstacle to national development.

“My dear countrymen,

In the 21st century, it is imperative that we eliminate the challenges that have persisted for decades. Naxalism and Maoism have destroyed the future of lakhs of young people.

They have snatched away and ruined young lives who were the pride of countless mothers, and shattered the dreams of every parent. For four long decades, Naxalism had held a very large part of Bharat and a very large section of its population in its grip.

It tore the Constitution to shreds, and more than 3,500 of our police and security personnel were martyred while protecting ordinary citizens of the country. More of our police personnel had to lay down their lives than the number of soldiers who lost their lives in war, so that ordinary citizens could live in safety. Naxalism had left the land soaked in blood.

When you gave us the opportunity to serve in 2014, we made a resolve on that very day to free the country from Naxalism. Today, I am happy to say that Naxalite-Maoist violence may no longer even have the strength to take its final breath. We are moving towards eliminating it completely.

In areas where Naxalites once fired their guns, where the land was once stained with blood, today, in those very Naxal-affected regions and areas, the Tricolour of development, trust and endeavour is flying high because they have been freed from Naxalism.

My dear countrymen,

But we must not underestimate this challenge. We need to be even more cautious about this challenge.

For years, individuals with a Maoist ideology had made their place in the corridors of power in the country. Even as advisors on government committees, this Maoist ideology influenced policy.

My dear fellow citizens,

We have succeeded in eliminating armed Naxals from the forests and liberating the country from that menace.

However, while the armed Naxals are gone, the mental Naxals remain, and these mental Naxals are on the lookout for an opportunity. They are looking for ways of violence and anarchy.

They are resorting to various tactics to drag society onto the wrong path. We must identify these mental Naxals, isolate them, and steer the nation's youth toward the mainstream effort of transforming India into a developed nation."

Narendra Modi emphasizes that the threat emanated from the "forests", playing on the fact that the civilization rooted in Hinduism historically developed precisely alongside — and in opposition to — these untamed regions. This is, of course, a "narrative" — typical of an ideology seeking to mobilize the masses in a reactionary manner.

Yet, he is able to do this precisely because he believes he holds a monopoly on the strategic vision for the Indian nation. Therein lies the crux of the problem: formulating a counter-strategy of equal magnitude that triumphs through people's war.

The future in India belongs to a guiding thought that leads the people's war

All the observations made here share two characteristics. The first is that they would have appeared utterly ridiculous had they been made prior to the onset of the generalized crisis within the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The second is that they could have been made—and indeed were made, albeit in a non-public manner—as long as ten years ago.

Today, however, such constructive criticism appears serious—and, by extension, useful—by virtue of the dignity of reality itself. Indian Maoists cannot avoid confronting the question of "Guiding Thought"—that is, the concrete analysis of the concrete situation at the national level.



It is important to understand here that this is not a matter of unilaterally denouncing the historical line of the Communist Party of India as pragmatic-Machiavellian.

Indian national culture possesses a synthetic capacity to approach matters analytically—which is a very complicated way of saying that there is a great capacity for being “clever”.

This is a tradition dating back several centuries BCE, found in the famous treatise on governance, the Arthashastra — written by Kautilya, Prime Minister to Emperor Chandragupta Maurya — or in the “devious” counsel offered by Krishna in the Mahabharata.

However, taking a “cold” reading of the facts too far is a mistake, regardless of the passion one brings to it.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) made a mistake by hastily adopting the view that India is an artificial construct; it reasoned too much in terms of “communities” and rights — a perspective rooted in the legacy of British colonialism and the Mughal invasion. It heeded the call of the future, yet that call also arises from the past, not merely the present: one never starts from scratch.

In this regard, to overcome its crisis, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) must be capable of reaffirming its historic strategic proposition; this is a difficult task, yet one made all the more necessary — and achievable — by India’s uneven development within world history and the sheer scale of the masses involved.

Current vicissitudes are therefore merely secondary to the principal aspect: people's war will inevitably triumph in India! ■

“No matter how well the imperialists, Indian reactionaries and the modern revisionists may cooperate in their sabotage and suppression, the torch of armed struggle lighted by the revolutionaries in the Indian Communist Party and the revolutionary peasants in Darjeeling will not be put out.

‘A single spark can start a prairie fire’. The spark in Darjeeling will start a prairie fire and will certainly set the vast expanses of India ablaze. That a great storm of revolutionary armed struggle will eventually sweep across the length and breadth of India is certain. Although the course of the Indian revolutionary struggle will be long and tortuous, the Indian revolution, guided by great Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung’s Thought, will surely triumph.”

Spring Thunder Over India, editorial of the *People’s Daily*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on 5 July 1967

“In the mythology of the ancient Greeks there is the celebrated hero Antaeus who, so the legend goes, was the son of Poseidon, god of the seas, and Gaea, goddess of the earth.

Antaeus was particularly attached to his mother who gave birth to him, suckled him and reared him. There was not a hero whom this Antaeus did not vanquish.

He was regarded as an invincible hero, wherein lay his strength? It lay in the fact that every time he was hard pressed in the fight against his adversary he touched the earth, his mother, who gave birth to him and suckled him, and that gave him new strength.

But he had a vulnerable spot - the danger of being detached from the earth in some way or other. His enemies took this into account and watched for it.

One day an enemy appeared who took advantage of this vulnerable spot and vanquished Antaeus. This was Hercules. How did Hercules vanquish Antaeus? He lifted him off the ground, kept him suspended, prevented him from touching the ground and throttled him.

I think that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus.

They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them.

And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

This is the key to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership.”

Stalin