



## **Maoist Information Bulletin - 17**

**May 20, 2010**

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**Red Salutes to all the Fallen Martyrs in the ongoing revolutionary people's war!**

**Let us avenge the cold-blooded murder of our beloved comrades by the fascist Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang under the guidance of the imperialist vultures!**

The reactionary rulers of India led by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram fascist gang have unleashed an unprecedented brutal armed offensive on the Maoist revolutionaries and the poorest people of our country who had stood up against the reactionary rule of these exploiters. The cold-blooded murders of hundreds of innocent unarmed people and several Maoist cadres and leaders is a part of this cruel offensive unleashed by the central and state governments against the CPI(Maoist) in the name of Operation Green Hunt. Following is a brief history of the lives of some of the comrades who had become martyrs in the past three months.

**Maoist leader comrade Sakhamuri Appa Rao (Ravi) will remain an exemplary model for all revolutionaries!**

The fateful day of March 12, 2010 witnessed the fall of another shining star of the Indian revolution. Comrade Shakhmuri Appa Rao, popularly known as comrade Ravi in Andhra Pradesh and as Vinod in other states, fell to the bullets of the notorious Special Intelligence Bureau (SIB) of Andhra Pradesh. He was abducted by the APSIB on March 10 from Chennai city, tortured for over a day and shot dead in the forests of Nallamala in Prakasham district.

The cold-blooded murder of reactionary rulers through their Pradesh or the police-intelligence reveals the extent of weakness of Maoist revolutionaries whose these reactionaries. These popularity of the Maoist leaders on the part of the rulers to every and any means available to based on information obtained agents to eliminate them secretly, even in jails. Every Maoist the deadliest explosive for he/she action thousands of people. attempts to eliminate them by any oppressed people leaderless. comrade Ravi and Kondal Reddy juncture when the reactionary almost eliminated the Maoists in shows the great potential for the movement in Andhra Pradesh. extreme panic and a deep-rooted the hand of the Maoists in every



Maoist revolutionaries by the lawless goons like SIB in Andhra rowdies in any other state only the rulers, their mortal fear of the very name creates nightmares for murders also show the extreme among the masses. Hence the urge eliminate the Maoist leaders by them. They illegally abduct them from their paid agents, use covert murder them in police custody and revolutionary is more powerful than can mobilise and galvanise into Hence the rulers' desperate means possible in order to make the The cold-blooded murder of in Andhra Pradesh, particularly at a rulers have been claiming to have the state, exposes their lie and revival of the revolutionary Hence the rulers are afflicted with fear of Maoist resurgence. They see people's agitation in the state.

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## Early Life of Comrade Appa Rao:

Born in the year 1962 in Khanapur village in Warangal district of North Telangana, comrade Appa Rao began his revolutionary career at the age of 19 when he was studying Polytechnic course in the city of Hyderabad. In 1981 he came into touch with revolutionary politics through the Radical Students Union which was active throughout the state of Andhra Pradesh at that time. He participated actively in several struggles on student issues and other political issues of the people. His simplicity, sincerity and discipline, and ability to mingle with any comrade won the trust of the entire Party in a very short period. He became a trusted lieutenant of comrade Puli Anjanna aka Sagar who was one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in the state at that time. Comrade Ravi became a professional revolutionary and went underground in 1983 when the Party called on him to do so. From then on, comrade Ravi remained a steadfast, highly disciplined soldier always accepting without any hesitation whatever task and work the Party had entrusted him.

Comrade Ravi worked as a Party courier and fulfilled the responsibilities with great creativeness and alertness. Thus he escaped the police net several times.

## As a Party Organiser and Leader:

In the mid-1980s he was entrusted with the task of organizing the Party in South Telangana. He led the movement in Medak district after the martyrdom of comrade Ankam Babu Rao. As the district consisted largely of plain area along with some forest comrade Ravi had to devise creative ways of organizing the people and building the secret Party. And he did this with considerable efficiency. He became the secretary of the south Telangana regional committee by 1988 and was elected an alternate member of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee in 1991. He was the youngest comrade to have come into the state committee until then. After coming into the state committee he guided the south Telangana region and contributed significantly to the development of the Party and revolutionary movement in the region.



**At the funeral of Comrade Apparao**

Comrade Ravi played an active role in the fight against the opportunist liquidationist line of Kondapalli Seetharamayya in 1991 and also against the wrong trends in the Party.

Comrade Ravi fulfilled every task entrusted to him with complete dedication, with utmost efficiency and with great meticulousness. Whichever task he undertook he immersed himself fully, concentrated on it with great thoroughness, and brought significant results due to this. Hence the Party had immense confidence in independently entrusting him with any task.

Comrade Ravi was arrested in early 1993. He was the main accused in the annihilation of DIG Vyas, the founder of AP Grey Hounds, in January 1993.

## Exemplary behavior in police custody and prison

Comrade Ravi was arrested in 1993 and was cruelly tortured for several days. His knees were beaten with lathis so hard that the bones were reduced to powder. The pain of the terrible torture inflicted on him by the inhuman enemy remained until his martyrdom. In spite of such brutal torture comrade Ravi had not let out a single Party secret. He knew many shelters and appointments but safeguarded the secrets like the apple of his eye. He was kept in jail for more than 7 years until 2000. If comrade Ravi posed great danger outside, he proved to be even more dangerous inside the prison.

His prison life was exemplary and a great inspiration to the entire party and people at large. Along with comrade Patel Sudhakar and Balakrishna he organized several struggles inside the prison,

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the most prominent being the two-month-long struggle in early 1995. Almost all jails in Andhra Pradesh were organized by these three comrades. Through his close and amicable relations with others, his flexible attitude and approach, and extreme patience in dealing with comrades and teaching them, Comrade Ravi earned the love and respect of everyone in jail including the non-Party elements. He would never give up the pursuit of influencing people's minds and winning them over to the side of revolution. It was this tenacity and persistent effort that he could influence many prisoners who were languishing in jails due to petty crimes or murders. Some of them had even transformed themselves into revolutionaries due to the efforts of comrade Ravi, Patel Sudhakar and Balakrishna. The prisoners in all the jails of Andhra Pradesh have great regard for comrade Ravi and other two comrades for their exemplary behavior.

Comrade Ravi was released from jail in 2000.

**As a Leader of Andhra Pradesh and as Military chief:**

He was given work in Andhra Pradesh as a member of the AP State Committee after his release in late 2000. He became a member of the State Military Commission and carried on his work in Nallamala forest region until 2006. Later, he guided the Party's Intelligence department in AP and the Action Teams specifically set up to target cruel police officials and top political leaders involved in policy-making. He played a prominent role in planning and executing tactical counter-offensives against the police forces and attacks on political targets such as the one on the SP of Prakasham district in 2005 and on former chief minister of AP, Janardhan Reddy, in 2007.

As a member of the state committee comrade Ravi played a creative role in evolving tactics in the complex conditions prevailing in Andhra Pradesh. He contributed immensely to the decisions taken by the committee to counter the enemy tactics, the work in plains and urban areas, and in developing the Party's arsenal in the state. Despite his weak joints due to the torture, he led comrades militarily and guiding them in attacks against the enemy. He was taken into the state secretariat and thus was in the core of the leadership until he was withdrawn from the state for other work in 2006. In 2007 he was allotted military intelligence work under comrade Patel Sudhakar and after the latter's martyrdom comrade Ravi was entrusted with the responsibility of leading the MI department which task he carried out with great efficiency and devotion. As the incharge of the Party's Military Intelligence wing he thus occupied a special position in the Party.

Martyrdom of comrade Ravi is an irreparable loss to the Party and the Indian revolution. With his rich experience and a long revolutionary life spanning almost three decades, he would have been a great asset for Party and the people in defeating the enemy's all-round country-wide coordinated cruel offensive. And it is precisely due to this fear the reactionaries had decided to eliminate this great leader. The decision to murder comrade Ravi was taken by fascist Chidambaram himself in his fond hope that this would boost up the morale of his mercenary forces. But such murders would only lead to fiercer retaliation and to further intensification of the war. Dantewada has shown that murder of Maoist leaders can never weaken the people's war or the resolve of the people but will only strengthen it further.



**Red Salutes to comrade Kondal Reddy!**



Comrade Solipeta Kondal Reddy aka Tech Ramana alias Srikant hails from Chittapur village in Dubbaka mandal in Medak district of South Telangana. He is a close relative of TRS former legislator Ramalinga Reddy. Comrade Kondal Reddy was inspired by the anti-feudal struggles that were raging all over Telangana including Medak during the 1980s. He began to take part in revolutionary student activities and was attracted towards the erstwhile CPI(ML)[People's War] when he was studying BA in Hyderabad. He joined the Party in 1988 and initially worked in Medak district. He was very popular among the students and youth of the district. He worked as a Party courier during 1989-90 which responsibility he fulfilled with complete confidence often dodging the police when they accosted him on suspicion. He had a knack of managing in the toughest situations through his creative ideas. He was arrested in 1992 in Secunderabad but within a few months was released on bail and immediately went underground.

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Around the beginning of the 1990s there was a rapid expansion of the guerrilla squads and the ranks of armed fighters. Hence the need for equipping the guerrilla forces with arms became an urgent necessity. At this juncture the party decided to allot some comrades with technical aptitude to the production department and comrade Ramana became an obvious choice due to his deep interest and aptitude in technical matters. Hence he was shifted from Medak to the important work of manufacturing weapons for equipping the rapidly-growing fighters in the people's guerrilla army. Comrade Ramana continued to perform this work until his martyrdom.

Comrade Ramana had contributed immensely in the production of hand grenades, pressure mines and other materials for the war through his decade-long work in the production department of the CPI(Maoist) in Andhra Pradesh. By virtue of his work, he became popular in the Party as Tech Ramana. He never hesitated whenever any extremely risky work was allotted to him by the party leadership and remained a highly disciplined soldier until his last breath. He shifted his base from Chennai to Pune after the arrest and weakening of Tech Madhu and the recovery of a huge quantity of rocket launchers in 2007.

Comrade Kondal Reddy will remain an inspiration forever to the students and youth of Andhra Pradesh. He had shouldered every responsibility and fulfilled every task entrusted to him by the Party without any hesitation or fear. The very fact that the enemy had to throw the Indian Constitution into the dust-bin and indulge in cold-blooded murder of comrade Kondal Reddy shows how fearful he is to even keep the Maoist revolutionaries in jails. Comrade Kondal Reddy was arrested on March 11 from Pune city, and immediately taken to Warangal where he was shot dead in the Oddugudem forest in Tadwai Mandal in the early hours of 12<sup>th</sup>. The lawless criminal APSIB goons tortured comrade Ramana brutally before murdering him but he stood steadfast until his last breath and safeguarded Party's secrets. The revolutionary qualities of comrade Kondal Reddy will continue to inspire the Party cadre.

### **Thousands attend the funeral processions of comrades Appa Rao and Kondal Reddy**

Comrade Appa Rao's body was taken to his native village of Khanapur in Warangal district around mid-night of March 13. Thousands of people went to have a last glimpse of the dead body of their beloved leader. People came on foot from several villages in Narsampet, Nallabelli, Duggondi, Kothaguda, Chennaraopet mandals in the district and also from far-off places. Khanapur turned into a sea of people and the funeral procession went on for 3 ½ hours. Comrade Varavara Rao broke down into tears at the sight of comrade Appa Rao's body. He recollected his long association with comrade Appa Rao and narrated the great selfless revolutionary qualities of the revolutionary leader. Cultural programmes and songs on martyrs were rendered by praja kala mandali and Sandhya. Besides Varavara Rao, MRPS leader Krishna Madiga, TRS leader Harish Rao, Peddi Sudarshan Reddy and several others visited Khanapur to pay tributes to comrade Shakhmuri Appa Rao.

Thousands of people from all over the state attended the funeral of comrade Kondal Reddy. The dead body reached Chittapur on the night of April 13. The funeral procession began at 9.30 on 14<sup>th</sup> morning and went on till 3pm. Slogans like "All encounters are police-staged murders!", "Down with Fake encounters!", "Red Salutes to comrade Kondal Reddy!" rent the air. The traffic on Medak-Siddipet came to a standstill as thousands of people participated in the procession. Revolutionary writer comrade Varavara Rao, Amaraveerula Bandh Mitula Committee president Ganti Prasad, Revolutionary singer Gaddar, Vimala, Maa Bhoomi Sandhya, Narsanna, APCLC leader Venkanna and several others.



Com. Gaddar at funeral



funeral procession of Comrade Apparao

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## Red Salutes to comrade Abhishek Mukherjee aka Bikram!



**Abhishek Mukherjee**

Comrade Abhishek Mukherjee aka Bikram (28), a research student from Jadavpur University, became a martyr in an attack by the joint forces of Centre and state in Hathilot jungle near Lalgah in West Bengal's West Midnapore district. The attack by around 1500 personnel of the joint forces led by COBRA commandos took place on the night of March 25. The police were able to launch the attack with the help of a renegade Gurucharan Kisku alias Marshal, who had earlier worked with the Maoists. Initially the police claimed that at least 20 Maoists were killed but when questioned the state's DGP agreed that no bodies were recovered. The police also claimed that comrade Koteswar Rao aka Kishenji was either among the dead or was injured in the encounter.

Comrade Bikram represents the new generation of students and youth of West Bengal who are inspired by the ongoing people's war led by the CPI(Maoist). These students and youth are resurrecting the post-Naxalbari upsurge that had witnessed a revolutionary ferment in the campuses of Kolkata and elsewhere. The reactionary rulers in West Bengal led by the social fascist CPI(M) and its allies in the so-called Left front government, are unnerved by the new wave of revolutionary student activism. He was a resident of Chandarnagore in Hooghly district. As a PhD scholar from Jadavpur University in Kolkata, comrade Bikram played an active part in student politics and, as a leader of the Revolutionary Students' Front, he led several struggles in the University campus as well as in Kolkata city. He took a leading role in the struggle against the decision of the university authorities to expel five students. He was instrumental in forming the Forum for Arts Students (FAS) which became a popular revolutionary student body on the campus. Comrade Bikram was very popular among the students as a brilliant intellectual and able organizer. He was versatile and had the qualities of an agitator, propagandist and organizer all combined. A Bengali newspaper clip of 1994 says how Abhishek at the age of 13 was a "wonder boy" who was proficient in 13 languages, four foreign and nine regional.

Comrade Bikram was actively involved in the struggle in Nandigram and went underground after March 14 when 14 people were murdered in police firing in Nandigram. Giving up his third year of PhD, he went to the area of intense class struggle in Jangalmahal. He played an important role in taking the message of the Party to the public through statements, phone interviews and other means upon the direction from comrade Kishenji.

Martyrdom of comrade Abhishek is a great loss to the Party and the revolutionary movement in West Bengal which has been witnessing a rapid revival in the past one year. Through his martyrdom comrade Abhishek has become a great inspiration to the students and youth of not only Kolkata but all over the country.

Let us pay our red revolutionary homage to comrades Sakhamuri Appa Rao, Kondal Reddy, Abhishek Mukherjee and all the comrades who became martyrs in the ongoing people's war. Let us pledge to carry forward their unfulfilled dreams with renewed vigour and determination. Let us vow to avenge their martyrdom by defeating the biggest country-wide brutal armed offensive unleashed by the comprador-feudal ruling classes backed by imperialists, transform PLGA into PLA, guerrilla war into mobile war, and guerrilla zones into base areas. Let us train up thousands of able Red successors to our beloved martyred leaders. Let us foil the desperate attempts by the reactionary rulers to deprive the Indian people and the CPI(Maoist) of their leadership by preserving our leading cadres and developing innumerable Maoist leaders from the oppressed masses of India.



# News from the battlefield

*(Following are some of the important counter-offensive operations and mass resistance carried out by the people, PLGA led by the CPI(Maoist) in the 3-month period from February 25 to May 20, 2010. these offensives were not covered in the last issue of MIB which was brought out as a Special issue on the daring biggest-ever Maoist ambush in Dantewada. The list is given in chronological order starting with the latest.)*

## **16 mercenary troops wiped out in a major ambush by Maoists in Dantewada**



15 mercenaries belonging to the notorious lawless Koya Commando Force formed out of the SPOs in Chhattisgarh and one jawan of the Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB) were wiped out in a daring ambush carried out by the Maoist guerrillas near Chingavaram village in Dantewada district in Chhattisgarh on May 18. The bus which was carrying the Koya Commandos along with some civilians was torn apart by the powerful IED blast triggered by the guerrillas. Some arms too were carried away by

the guerrillas after opening fire at the commandos following the mine blast. The bus was carrying 30 commandos and an equal number of civilians. 15 civilians were also killed in the mine blast.

It has become a tactic of the policemen and the SPOs to use ordinary people as a human shield while traveling in the Maoist-controlled areas for they know that Maoists would never target them when civilians were around. It was with such confidence that the commandos boarded the civilian bus unheeding of the protests by the driver and conductor of the bus and the rest of the passengers. Maoists had earlier issued repeated warnings to the management and staff of the bus services in Dandakaraya region not to allow armed policemen into their buses. They had also requested the people at large not to board the buses when armed policemen were inside. This was generally followed by the bus staff and the people. And on several occasions people either got down from the buses when policemen boarded them or prevented the policemen from boarding the bus. This time, however, the Koya commandos forced themselves into the bus and threatened the driver of the bus with dire consequences if he did not take them. The Maoist guerrillas were not aware of the fact that the bus had civilians inside. In fact, 15 commandos were seated on the roof of the bus which had misled the Maoists into thinking that the entire bus was occupied by the commandos.





The CPI(Maoist), which values the life of every civilian, had expressed its heart-felt regrets over the unfortunate deaths of 15 civilians. It issued a public statement immediately following the incident expressing its anguish over the deaths of the civilians and assured that it would do all it could to compensate the families of the dead adivasis. It explained why it had to target the Koya Commandos who had unleashed a reign of terror in the region murdering unarmed, innocent adivasis, raping women, abducting

and torturing adivasi youth, destroying the property of the people and stealing their meager belongings.

The Chingavaram ambush was an immediate retaliation to the atrocities committed by the Koya commandos on the previous day. On May 17, a day prior to the ambush, two youth from Gumiyapal village were abducted and shot dead most brutally by these Koya Commandos. On the same day, over 300 people surrounded the local police station protesting the abduction and murder of the adivasi youth by the koya commandos. The statement issued by comrade Ramanna, a member of the DKSZC of the CPI(Maoist), while explaining the circumstances that had led to the ambush, placed the responsibility for the death of innocent civilians squarely on the shoulders of Chidambaram-Raman Singh gang which had created such a situation in Dantewada.

Pointing to the death of 15 civilians in the incident, a hue and cry was raised by the ruling class parties, top brass of the police and bureaucracy. The media which otherwise maintains a deafening silence when hundreds of civilians are murdered by the paramilitary and SPOs, launched a vicious campaign against the Maoists for "murdering" innocent adivasis.

The most notorious rowdy of all, Union Home Minister Chidambaram, fumed that Maoists did not discriminate between the paramilitary, policemen, SPOs and civilians. This lap-dog of the imperialists and the corporate sharks who had never bothered to order an enquiry into the hundreds of incidents of murders, abductions, tortures, rapes, destruction of houses and property, looting of belongings of adivasis by the paramilitary marauders sent by him, or the SPOs, the Koya Commandos, Chhattisgarh Armed Force, and the salwa judum goons raised by the saffron terrorist Raman Singh, shed crocodile tears over the deaths of civilians. It is clear that the civilians had died not because of the Maoist attack on the Koya Commandos but because of the policy of suppression pursued by the central and state governments. As the CPI(Maoist) had warned several times in the past, the war unleashed by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang and the imperialist-corporate sharks guiding them would escalate the violence and counter-violence in the entire country to unprecedented levels.

Hence it had called for the immediate halt to the armed operations carried out by the State in the name of Operation Green Hunt and a mutual cease-fire. Now from the statements of the Union Home Minister, the saffron brigade, the revisionist or social-fascist red brigade and the top bureaucrats and police officials it is clear that the hawks in the Home Ministry would step up their offensive on the people and the Maoists. Needless to say, this would give rise to more ambushes and attacks by the Maoists all over the country to counter the state attacks and the war will engulf more areas and sectors.



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## 5 CRPF troops wiped out near Lalgarh

In a daring operation carried out by Maoist guerrillas 5 CRPF personnel including a Deputy Commandant of the CRPF were wiped out in a daring daylight ambush by Maoist guerrillas in West Midnapore district in West Bengal. While four jawans died on the spot the Deputy Commandant died in a Kolkata hospital succumbing to injuries. Another jawan was seriously injured in the ambush. The ambush took place on May 19, the second day of the 48-hour bandh observed by the CPI(Maoist) in the five states of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Orissa.



This was the second major attack after the Silda attack on February 15 in the same district which had wiped out 24 EFR jawans. The car of the Commandant in which the Deputy Commandant accompanied by CRPF personnel were traveling was ripped apart in the mine blast triggered near Lalgarh. All the CRPF personnel belonged to the 66 Battalion. The Deputy Commandant was sent to his new job of suppressing the people's resistance in West Midnapore just six days prior to his death. He

was earlier engaged in suppressing the national liberation struggle in Kashmir. In a statement to the media the CPI(Maoist) placed the onus of responsibility for the death of the CRPF personnel squarely on the Chidambaram-Buddhadeb gang which had been escalating the war on the people and suppressing the just and revolutionary-democratic movement of the people of Lalgarh. It vowed to carry out more such daring attacks on the mercenaries sent by the Centre unless they put an end to their inhuman atrocities on innocent unarmed people.

The wiping out of the CRPF troops is yet another slap in the face of the war-hungry hawks in the Union Home Ministry led by Chidambaram—the most servile dog of the imperialists and comprador big business houses—and the social fascist butcher of West Bengal, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya. For almost an year these mass murderers had been carrying out a massive suppression campaign against the adivasi masses of Lalgarh and entire Jangalmahal region of West Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia districts of West Bengal. Hundreds of innocent adivasis, including old men and women, were thrown behind bars, several were abducted and detained illegally in police torture chambers, women were beaten up and raped, and property of the people was destroyed. In addition to the paramilitary, EFR and local police, the social-fascists had let loose their armed gangs called *harmad bahini* on the adivasi population of the region. Given the open support declared by the social-fascist bosses to the war waged by their Congress chieftains in Delhi and their shameless support on using air power it is clear that the Maoists and the people have to devise various creative ways to wipe out the menace of the state-sponsored *harmad* terror and state terror by the paramilitary and the local police.



## 48-hour bandh successfully observed on May 18-19 in five states

The CPI(Maoist) issued a call for a 48-hour bandh (shut down) in the five states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa in protest against the brutal state armed offensive on innocent unarmed people in the name of Operation Green Hunt, against the decision of the central government to sell 10 per cent of the government's stake in profit-making PSUs and also plans to sell government's stakes in State-owned banks, and demanding punishment to the culprits involved in the IPL and 2G Spectrum scams. The bandh was successfully observed not only in the areas under Maoist influence but also in several other areas in these states as people have come to realize the

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game-plan of the reactionary rulers in waging their brutal war on the poorest people of India spending huge amounts of people's money even as the majority of the people are suffering in extreme misery without access to basic necessities. People came out stopping trains and buses wherever they plied.

### **8 CRPF troops wiped out in Bijapur district in Chhattisgarh**

In the first major attack on the central paramilitary forces after the biggest-ever Maoist ambush near Tadimetla in Dantewada district on April 6, Maoist guerrillas wiped out 8 CRPF troops belonging to the 168 Battalion in the adjacent Bijapur district on May 8. The ambush took place near Pedakodepal village on National Highway No 16. The dead included a Sub-Inspector of Police and three Head Constables. The CRPF party was travelling from their company headquarters in Murkinar to their Battalion headquarters in a bullet-proof vehicle when it was ripped apart by the blast triggered by an Improvised Explosive Device. Some jawans were seriously injured in the ambush.

The state Home minister of Chhattisgarh, Nankiram Kanwar, made his usual remarks that the jawans had not followed the Standard Operational procedures. "*It appears that the personnel had ignored instructions not to drive through Naxal-infested areas,*" he said. The state DGP Vishwa Ranjan, on the other hand, said that it was nothing unusual for the police and paramilitary forces to use vehicles while moving on the National Highway which is considered to be safe.

The wiping out of the CRPF jawans on the National Highway has sent shockwaves among the paramilitary and other police forces as well as the VIPs and political leaders belonging to the ruling class parties who use the road frequently. These reactionaries are gripped with fear after it has become clear that they cannot get fool-proof protection even with their bullet-proof, mine-proof vehicles and even after amassing huge contingents of central paramilitary forces, special anti-Naxal commando forces, SPOs and private vigilante gangs in the name of salwa judum, sendra, gram suraksha samiti, nagarik suraksha samiti, shanti sena, etc. The news of the successful ambush of the paramilitary forces has further enthused the masses who had been suffering under their brutal reign of terror ever since they were sent to their villages by the rulers in Delhi to protect the local uniformed rowdies of the state government.

### **4 BMP jawans annihilated in Bihar**

Maoist guerrillas ambushed a police patrol party in Aurangabad district in Bihar and wiped out at least 4 jawans of Bihar Military Police on May 3, 2010. The attack took place in Tandava Bazaar area in the district when the BMP jawans accompanied by the District Armed Police were patrolling the area. Two more jawans were injured in the daring surprise guerrilla attack.

### **76 CRPF troops wiped out in the biggest-ever ambush in India's history carried out by Maoist guerrillas in Dantewada**

In the biggest-ever ambush that took place in the history of India, 76 CRPF personnel including three high-ranking officials, were wiped out in a daring ambush by a PLGA battalion of the CPI(Maoist) on April 6. 75 high-powered rifles were seized by the Maoist guerrillas after the ambush. Maoists lost 8 comrades in the attack.

The last issue of the *Maoist Information Bulletin* had carried detailed reports of the daring ambush, the reasons for carrying out the massive counter-offensive by the CPI(Maoist), the aftermath of Dantewada ambush, the statements by the Dandakaranya SZC and the Central Committee, the reactions from various parties and top brass of the bureaucracy and police, and the media.

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## Blast in Lalgarh before Chidambaram's visit



Maoists triggered a remote-controlled mine blast, injuring at least two CRPF jawans 6 km from Lalgarh police station on April 3, a day before Union Home Minister Chidambaram's scheduled visit to the area. The IED blast occurred when a security patrol was inspecting the road.

In protest against the visit of the Home Minister the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA) had called for a 24-hour bandh in Jangalmahal region comprising West Midnapur, Bankura, and Purulia districts on 4<sup>th</sup> April to protest against the visit. The people of the region came forward voluntarily digging up roads, felling trees and putting gup road blockades. The much-publicised trip of Chidambaram to Lalgarh became a flop as roads and bazaars in the entire region bore a deserted look .

## 11 state commandos of Orissa wiped out in a daring Maoist ambush

A week after joint operations were launched by the paramilitary and state forces of Orissa in the southern districts of Koraput, Rayagada and Malkangiri along the border with Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh as part of the Operation Green Hunt unleashed by the Central government under the direct leadership of Home Minister Chidambaram, Maoist guerrillas struck on a massive scale wiping out 11 commandos of the elite anti-Maoist Special Operations Group (SOG) and injuring eight. Initially nine were proclaimed dead while two SOG jawans were said to be missing. Later they too were found to be dead thus taking the toll to 11. The daring ambush was carried out on April 4.



The SOG jawans were moving from Boipariguda falling under Jeypur sub-division in Koraput district to Govindpali in a mini-bus at around 10 am on April 4 when the ambush took place at Mantriamba village 15 km from Boipariguda. The SOG batch was on a road clearing mission for the movement of the CRPF and BSF personnel who had been on combing operations for over a week in Koraput and Malkangiri districts. Three vehicles carrying SOG commandos were moving on the ghat road when the first vehicle was blown up by an improvised explosive device. The blast was so powerful that the bus was hurled to a height of 20 feet and a ten foot deep crater was formed at the site of the blast. Four of the eight injured jawans were airlifted to Vishakhapatnam for treatment while the other four were taken to Jeypore hospital. Top police officials, as usual, blamed the jawans for not following the standard operational procedures (SOPs) thereby leading to the casualties. They said that the jawans should have gone on foot, split themselves into small groups and undertaken several other measures that form part of the standing instructions given to them. The SP of Koraput, Anup Sahu, did not dare to visit the blast site and returned after going 2 km near the site.

The daring ambush took place on the day when the Union Home Minister was calling the Maoists cowards and indulging in his usual abjure-violence-and-come-for-talks drama during his visit to Lalgarh.

## Three SOG commandos wiped out in Gajapathi district of Odisha

3 Special Operations Group (SOG) jawans were wiped out and four others were injured in an ambush by Maoist guerrillas in the wee hours of March 24 in Ambajhari forests in Gajapathi district of Odisha along Andhra-Odisha border. The attack took place on the second day of the 48-hour bandh called by the CPI(Maoist) in seven states to protest against the Operation Green Hunt launched by the central and state governments. These special anti-Naxal elite forces have been carrying out atrocities on innocent unarmed adivasi people in the villages of Gajapati, Malkangiri, Koraput,

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Rayagada, Kandhamal, the district with no questions being asked by the government, the judiciary, the National Human Rights Commission or any other state body. News of atrocities by these forces is suppressed by the government. A day prior to the ambush a Special Police Officer Vasudev Kbillo and a village headman were annihilated in Malkangiri district.

### **Police Station in Bihar blasted by Maoists**

A newly constructed police building at Bheldi (Bihar) was blasted by Maoists on March 25<sup>th</sup>. About 15 guerillas participated in the attack which had put off the plans of the police to move into new fortified buildings to defend themselves from raids by Maoist guerrillas. Ever since the commencement of the Operation Green Hunt there has been hectic construction activity by the various state governments aimed at providing fortified police stations and bunkers for their police forces. Huge funds are allotted for providing protection to these mercenaries while the majority of the people suffer from lack of safe drinking water, food and medicine. The Maoist guerrillas had stepped up their attacks on these new constructions from West Bengal to Maharashtra.

### **16 rifles seized from security guards near Gaya**

Maoist guerrillas raided a toll plaza near Gaya guarded by a contingent of security guards. A fierce exchange of fire ensued in which one security guard was killed and several others injured. A truck driver too was killed in the cross-fire between the Maoists and the security guards. 16 rifles were seized from the security guards and the toll plaza was set ablaze.

### **2 CRPF jawans wiped out, four injured in Maoist ambush**

Two Central Reserve Police Force personnel were killed and another four seriously injured in a land-mine blast triggered by Maoist guerillas on March 19 in the forests of Bijapur district in south Chhattisgarh.

### **Gadchiroli: 16 ½ tonnes of explosives seized by Maoist guerrillas**

In a daring attack on a truck carrying explosives in the forests of Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra (Dandakaranya) on March 9, Maoist guerrillas seized 16.5 tonnes of explosives and carried them safely to their guerrilla base. It was the biggest ever seizure of explosives in recent times. The truck belonged to Nagpur-based Nova Enterprises. The owner was arrested by the police. The truck was attacked between Dhanora and Murumgaon in North Gadchiroli. The truck was taken into the forest and the offloading of the chemical explosive called matrix lasted the entire day of March 10. The police and the central paramilitary forces were so scared that they did not venture into the area until five days later. On March 15 a huge force went to the spot where the offloading was done and claimed to have undertaken search operations for the missing explosives. 45 days after the seizure by the Maoists the police failed to recover a single kilo of the explosives. As the war advances such seizures of explosives, arms and ammunition would become a daily feature as the enemy is always the chief source of the war materials needed for the people's army.

### **Police Inspector annihilated in Jungalmahal**

A police inspector was killed on February 25 when Maoists opened fire on his team as they were returning to their police station, shortly after an attack by the Maoists on a local CPM leader and panchayat member in Bankura district of West Bengal. This came a day before CM Buddhadeb's tour of Bankura and Purulia. Home secretary Ardhendu Sen said Inspector-in-charge of Sarenga Police Station Rabilochan Mitra took a bullet on his chest and another on his leg.

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About 15-20 Maoist guerrillas reached Sonardanga village late night of February 24, looking for Tarashankar Patra, a local CPM leader. A senior police official said the Maoists were assaulting Patra when the police arrived. Soon a team of the joint forces from Lalgarh also reached the village and a gubattle ensued forcing the Maoists to retreat.

Later, when the police team was returning to the Sarenga Police Station with the injured Mitra, some guerrillas who were hiding in an under-construction building, opened fire on them, killing Mitra.

### Three CRPF jawans injured in Maoist mine-blast in Bihar



Maoist guerrillas heroically repulsed an attack by the police-CRPF forces in Jamui district in Bihar and injured three CRPF jawans. The exchange of fire continued for three hours on February 25. The encounter between the Maoists and the police forces took place near Hansikol village in Bongi panchayat. Upon receiving information that Maoists had gathered near Hansikol village, police and CRPF forces from Chakai, Chandramandi, Simultala, Sono police stations and camp.

### People in seven states organize series of bandhs against the brutal State offensive on the people and Maoist revolutionaries

Several bandhs (shut downs) lasting from 24 to 48 hours were observed in large parts of the seven states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra and in one district of Madhya Pradesh in protest against operation green hunt, mass murders, abductions and rapes of adivasi women, burning down of villages and destruction of property of adivasis by the central paramilitary forces, anti-Naxal commandos, local police forces and state-sponsored private vigilante gangs.

#### 48-hour bandh on March 22-23

A 48-hour bandh was observed on March 23-24 to protest Operation Green Hunt, price rise and the arrest of Maoist cadres. People came out in thousands in the areas under Maoist influence, dug up roads, felled trees and set up road blockades, put up banners, posters, and organized rallies.

On March 23, railway tracks were blown up in Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa paralyzing the entire rail traffic. The blasts took place near Rourkela in Orissa, between Gidhni and Khatkura Halt near Jhargram in West Bengal, and near Dhalbhumgarh in Jharkhand. An office of a sponge iron factory, Narsingh steel, in Saraikela-Kharswan district and ambushed a police party which was on its way to the plant. One policeman was killed in the Maoist attack. In Sitamarhi in Bihar, six policemen including a station house officer were injured when Maoist guerrillas exchanged fire with the policemen at a market in Belsand in Sitamarhi district. A gas agency of ex-RJD MP Mohammad Anwarul Haque was also attacked by Maoist supporters. A police jeep was burnt in Sheohar district. Attacks also took place against congress cadre in Jharkhand and CPM cadre in West Bengal.



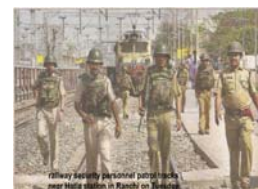
Paramilitary men patrol the jungle of Berla in Jharkhand.



Maoists blow up a railway track in Bengal on the first day of a 48-hour bandh against Operation Green Hunt



Cops examine the blown-up portion of track near Gaya station



Railway security personnel patrol near Hazratganj in Ranchi on 23 March

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## Anti- agitation flares up again defying state repression

The anti-POSCO agitation flared up both in intensity and spread with several organizations declaring support to the movement after the police firing on May 15 and continuing police atrocities on the protestors. On May 19 a public meeting organized by the Posco Pratirodh Sangram Samiti was addressed by the leaders of six opposition parties—the CPI, CPI(M), Forward Bloc, the Samajwadi Party, the Rashtriya Janata Dal and the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM). Notwithstanding the fact that all these parliamentary parties pursue different policies in different states depending on whether they are in power or in opposition, their participation in the rally has given a boost to the anti-Posco movement which aims to throw out the 12 million steel plant project of Posco-India in Jagatsinghpur district of Orissa.



CPI General Secretary AB Bardhan condemned the police action on agitators on May 15 and demanded shifting of the project to some other location. The protestors mainly belonged to the three gram panchayats of Dhinkia, Nuagaon and Gadakujang that have a population of around 20,000 who are directly affected by Posco-India project. It was at Balitutha, the main entry point to the three gram panchayats, that hundreds of policemen resorted to lathi-charge and firing on May 15 on people peacefully sitting in dharna. At least a 100 people were injured in the lathi-charge, tear-gassing and firing of rubber bullets by the police. Hundreds of villagers from the three villages and neighbouring areas have been sitting in dharna for almost four months since January 26 this year to prevent the entry of Posco and government officials to the site chosen for the steel project.

The South Korean company had signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the state government of Orissa in 2005 to set up steel plant. But the project could not make any headway due to the vehement opposition and resistance put up by the majority of the local people who are reluctant to hand over their lands for the company. It also plans to set up a captive port near the proposed steel plant which would have an adverse impact on the existing Paradip Port. The chief minister of Orissa, Naveen Patnaik, has promised the South Korean company to grant captive mining lease for sourcing iron ore and had sent recommendation to the Centre. These traitors of our country never feel ashamed to bleed Mother India to death by permitting MNCs and comprador big business to plunder the mineral resources at throw-away prices. In exchange for fat commissions and kick-backs these traitors lease out iron ore at Rs. 27 a tonne while the market value hovers around Rs. 5000 a tonne! It is these vultures who are responsible for the continuous drain of our country's wealth to foreign lands. And it is for achieving this goal these vultures have launched the brutal war on the people in the name of Operation Green(d) Hunt.



Three days prior to the firing in Balitutha the Naveen Patnaik government had ordered the police to open fire on protestors at the Tata Steel project in Kalinganagar. One protestor died in the firing on May 12. There is a growing realization among the people of Orissa that the state government is acting as the paid manager of the MNCs and comprador houses and the police have become like paid goons of Posco, Tata Steel and other corporate houses.

In spite of the police atrocities and threats the anti-Posco protestors have shown great mettle and determination to continue the movement until the project is shifted from the present site. The President of the Posco Pratirodh Sangram Samiti, Mr. Abhay Sahoo, asserted: "*Posco can never establish the project in this area as people are determined to make any sacrifices to save their land and homes from being taken over by the company.*"

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## **Massive demonstrations against Operation Green Hunt in Orissa**

Over 5000 people from various areas of Malkangiri district demonstrated outside the district Collectorate in Malkangiri town on April 2. The demonstration was organized by the Konda Reddy Unnayana Sangha. Demonstrators demanded education, health care, roads and electricity in their areas.

### **Kalinganagar rises up against Tata and his goons running Orissa: Tata-sponsored Green Hunt fails to suppress people's resistance**

The adivasis of Kalinganagar have been resisting the forcible acquisition of their lands by the Naveen Patnaik government in Orissa which is acting as the manager of the Tatas, POSCO, Vedanta and other corporate sharks. The paid mercenaries of these corporate sharks who run the government unleashed a brutal armed offensive against the people as part of Operation Green Hunt. Chidambaram's Green Hunt which began in Malkangiri, Koraput, Rayagada, Gajapati, Ganjam, Sundargarh, Sambhalpur and other districts of Orissa has now extended to industrial townships like Kaliganagar to provide direct assistance to Tata Steel and other corporate projects. The recent developments in Kaliganagar prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Green Hunt is meant to pave the way for not only mining projects of the corporate sharks in remote countryside but also their industries in the urban centres. Operation Green Hunt stands universally exposed as an imperialist-sponsored, corporate-sponsored cruel war on the people who resist the plunder and exploitation by imperialist MNCs and Comprador big business vultures. Kalinganagar reveals this glaring fact most nakedly.

Ever since the State massacred 14 adivasis in January 2006 there was no let up in the repression by the State, private goons of the Tatas and other reactionary forces on the people of Kaliganagar. The people of Kalinganagar too have not cowed down by the brutal repression and cowardly attacks by the state and state-sponsored goons. The situation flared up once again on March 30 this year when the police opened fire on a peaceful people's demonstration against the corridor being constructed from the main road to the proposed project site of Tata Steel. The police chased the people for 3 km, lathi-charged them brutally, entered Baligotha village, burnt down several houses, severely thrashed old people, and unleashed a reign of terror. Two days before Orissa Day the Govt celebrates with a bloodbath... The police had later vacated the village but has gathered about half a kilometer away in front of Rohit Ferro Chrome Factory where the construction of the common corridor road is to begin... All houses have been ransacked... foodstocks set afire... televisions, radios, etc have been destroyed... the girl who was beaten up by police has been admitted to the hospital... its not clear yet how many have been arrested but some 20-30 people have sustained serious injuries in the attack...

This is being carried out under the supervision of IG Special Operations, Arun Sadangi. Despite Sec 144 being imposed in the area, a large number of Tata supporters and BJD cadre have assembled at the site and are giving instructions to the police.

The brutal attack by the police was part of a pre-planned conspiracy hatched in closed door meeting of Naveen Patnaik's government and the Tatas with Chidambaram sending his approval and additional central forces. 29 platoons of State Armed police, 2 platoons of Special Operation Groups (SOGs), 70 senior police officers, 7 magistrates besides District collector and Superintendent of Police were deployed for suppressing the people's movement. Entire area was cordoned off and section 144 was declared.

*'Bisthanpan Birodhi Janamancha'*, which is spearheading the movement in Kalinga Nagar, recently met the administration on March 28 after the latter invited for the discussion.

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The Mancha placed few things before the Adm, like (a) after Kalinga Nagar firing (on 2nd April 2006 when 14 tribals died for opposing Tata steel project) the chief minister has invited and met them twice. But none of the demands have yet been met. It speaks how far really the government of Orissa is serious about the problem of Kalinganagar. (b) The Mancha is not opposing the project. But land against land should be given and who are already displaced by previous projects should be rehabilitated properly.

Administration has not accepted any of the demands but next day started their 'war' on the people.

A team of senior journalists and activists along with a doctor who visited the villages around Kalinga Nagar reported that about 50 people have been seriously injured with many having these new kind of plastic bullets still lodged in their bodies.

On March 31 the police had again blocked all roads and many people have been held on their way to the villages. The police stations in Kalinganagar have turned into offices for Tata goons and the local mafia. Goons on bikes and in SUVs are patrolling all roads leading to the villages and are intimidating any unknown person they see on the road. Suresh Panigrahi of CPI(M) was threatened by the police as well as the goons and he was not able to reach Baligotha or other villages that are being targeted. At the same time Tata goons have assembled at the common corridor construction site near Baligotha and are carrying out construction activities. The police are spreading rumours about Maoist presence in the area to be able to cut off the villages again and attack one more time.

The police had vandalised the 2 Jan 2006 martyrs' memorials...they have destroyed the personal documents of the people...they have robbed money from homes... they have destroyed foodstocks and carried away livestock, and killed cattle. It is as if we were returning to the medieval times of plunder and invasions. Two separate press conferences were held in Bhubaneswar by those who visited the area.

## **Concerned Citizens Committee on Kalinganagar Firing**

*Bhubaneswar: March 31, 2010*

A citizens' committee which visited Baligotha Kalinganagar under the leadership of Justice Chaudhry Pratap Mishra ( Retd Judge of Orissa High Court ) on 30th March, 2010 after indiscriminate firing against peaceful protesters of Vistapan Virodhi Janmanch was reported in the media, has come across shocking instances of police and mafia brutality. The members of the committee which also included Sri Rabi Das (senior journalist), Shri Chitta Mohanty (writer and political activist), Sri Sudhir Pattnaik (senior journalist), Sri Mahendra Parida, TU and human rights activist, met the victims of bullet injury in Baligotha, Chandia and Baragadia and saw the damages done to the houses, bovine wealth, food grains, food articles, motor bikes and cycles of the villagers.

The Sarpanch of Baligotha reported before the committee that his cash and golden chain also have been stolen from his house apart from the damage caused to food grains. Dabur Kalundia, another leader, also deposed before the team. Rabi Jarika, the leader of the agitating tribals who had sustained a bullet injury also narrated the incidents of the day and the politics behind the common corridor. The committee met men, women and children and about 25 injured persons including 9 women received treatment from the senior doctor who accompanied the committee along with a team of volunteers.

### **Observations of the Committee**

1. About 30-40 tribals have sustained bullet injuries in the firing and 25 were treated by the doctor accompanying the committee. Four critically injured persons were in the hospital. Some have bullets stuck within their wounds. Though it appears to be rubber bullets, the kind of bloody wounds each one of the persons treated has received does not seem to be the work of rubber bullets.



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2. No efforts by the administration to treat the injured. People don't wish to go out for treatment for fear of torture and arrest.

3. The police firing at the site of the controversial common corridor road near Baligotha was unwarranted and uncalled for and therefore looks to be preplanned.

4. 29 platoons of armed police, 2 platoons of NSG, 70 police officers and 7 magistrates does speak a lot about the firing and also speaks about the atmosphere of police terror prevailing in the area.

5. The witnesses report that familiar faces in the nearby localities close to the ruling party came in police uniform and attacked all houses in Baligotha. They did not carry guns. They had swords and other deadly weapons in their hand.

6. Civilian goons in the presence of police could be seen in the place in which 144 was declared, as reported by the people.

7. The houses of leaders of the Manch have been damaged and all important articles including food grains burnt.

8. Agitating and aggrieved tribals are spending sleepless nights under trees in fear of more attacks, since the police, goons of the company and certain criminal elements associated with the ruling party are having a field day with good cooperation of the administration and police.

9. The presence of such a huge force itself threatens the peace of the area.

10. The administration does not seem to be sensitive to the cause of the tribal protesters as much as it is concerned for the companies in Kalinganagar.

### ***Recommendations***

1. The Honble Chief Minister should immediately intervene and call an immediate halt to the controversial common corridor project

2. Since the administration has betrayed the people once more a dialogue should take place at the highest level with the CM on the demands of the tribals including the one calling for land for land. Even people owning land in the common corridor have not been consulted.

3. Instead of building police stations one after another in a small place with corporate funding the CM should ensure that every village gets developmental inputs particularly education, health, water, social security schemes such as widow pensions all of which have been suspended arbitrarily.

4. Law should not be taken to hands by any citizens and this law applies first to the police administration. All officers, civil and police, involved in the firing of 30th March and in criminal activities such as injecting a sense of fear among the tribals the day preceding the firing and conflicts must be suspended immediately and be subjected to trial.

5. Financial compensation to the tune of Rs 1 lakh for every person injured in the firing be given to the victims.

Justice Ch.Pratap Mishra(Retd)

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## May 12: Police murder Laxman Jamuda in Chandia village

On May 12 the police opened fire at Chandia village killing Laxman Jamuda and had further infuriated the people by refusing to hand over the dead body. The Bisthapan Birodhi Janamanch which is spearheading the agitation against displacement and forcible land acquisition by the state government and the private goons of the Tatas. The BBJ has been demanding the scrapping of the Tata Steel project for manufacturing 6 mln tones of steel which uproots thousands of villagers from their homes and lands.

A meeting was held on May 14 in Kaliganagar industrial area in Jajpur district. The meeting was addressed by former Union Minister Braja Kishore Tripathy, president of the Odisha Jana Sammilani Rabi Das, Prafulla Samantara of the Lok Shakti Abhiyan, and leaders of the CPI, the CPI(ML), CPI(ML)-Liberation, and the CPI(ML)-New Democracy, the Odisha Jana Adhikar Parishad and the Save Odisha Forum, among others. The speakers urged the NHRC to intervene to save the agitating adivasis from police brutalities. They demanded that the Naveen patnaik government should halt its brutal offensive against the adivasis who do not wish to part with their lands for the Tata steel project.

Given the adamant attitude of the Naveen Patnaik government to forcibly acquire land from the reluctant adivasis and hand over to the Tatas, and its determined bid to create a blood-bath on a peaceful agitation in order to achieve this heinous objective, what other option is left before the people than to graduate to armed resistance and punish the state's armed mercenaries, Tata's private armed goons, the ruling BJD leaders and their henchmen? And to stop land-acquisition and project construction by using all means at their disposal? Needless to say, the corporate vultures and the State that represents and protects them have created fertile ground for another major battle-front against the Centre-State's war on the people.

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## International Women's Day (IWD) is the story of ordinary women as makers of history

International Women's Day (IWD) is the story of ordinary women as makers of history; it is rooted in the centuries-old struggle of women to participate in society on an equal footing with men. The idea of having an international women's day was first put forward at the turn of the 20th century amid rapid world industrialization and capitalist economic expansion that led to protests over working conditions.



International Women's Day was the fruit of the efforts of women in the Second International. Clara Zetkin, the legendary German Communist leader and an international Socialist leader proposed in the Second International conference of socialist women held in Copenhagen (Denmark) in 1910, that women throughout the world should focus on a particular day each year to press for their demands. Zetkin and others emphasized the international scope of their vision, calling on "the Socialist women of all countries [to] hold each year a Women's Day," and declaring that "The Women's Day must have an international character."

**The conference decided that every year, in every country, they should celebrate on the same day a "Women's Day" under the slogan "The vote for women will unite our strength in the struggle for socialism". It was decided to have a Woman's Day in every country as a form of struggle in getting working women to vote. This day was to be a day of international solidarity in the fight for common objectives and a day for reviewing the organized strength of working women under the banner of socialism.**

Com V.I. Lenin, the great leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution, was among those who voted at this conference to establish this tradition). Since then it has been celebrated worldwide by class conscious workers and those fighting for the liberation of women and the emancipation of all humanity.

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## In India

The vast majority of women live in villages weighed down by feudal oppression that takes many forms. Intense economic exploitation, crude and brutal social oppression, a culture that not only denies her independence but also denigrates her in all possible manners. Hence, women from the oppressed classes have had a stake in the destruction of the feudal rural order and have come forward to do so.



In the anti-feudal peasant struggles in the past century women have played a very militant and active role. In the Tebhaga struggle in the 1940s the participation of women was very high and Nari Bahinis were formed for self-defence when state repression began. In the Telengana peasant uprising from 1947 to 1951 too women participated in large numbers and peasant and tribal women became guerrilla squad members and there are many accounts of the bravery and tenacity displayed by these women in the face of encirclement by the Indian Army, in the face of torture and sure death. Thus when the Naxalbari uprising took place in 1967 in North Bengal under the leadership of Charu Majumdar it is not surprising that poor peasant women and girls participated with full enthusiasm. In the Srikakulam struggle the participation of women was remarkable. Women became commanders of the armed squads and struck terror in the hearts of the moneylenders and landlords of the area.

The armed struggle in fact began after an attack on women by the goondas of a landlord when they were on their way to participate in a peasant conference. The names of the women martyred in this struggle, women who preferred to be felled by the bullets of the armed police rather than surrender still shine high – Nirmala, Ankamma, Saraswati. Thus these women defied their families and society to take on roles, which directly challenged their traditionally acceptable roles in society. They displayed tremendous heroism and determination to make the anti-feudal struggle a success. But the revolutionary movement at this time did not take up the conscious task of organising women's organisations and taking up the struggle against manifestations of patriarchy. In the face of severe repression these movements were suppressed.

When communist revolutionaries regrouped themselves and began building up the anti-feudal peasant struggles in the late 1970s once again there was an upsurge of participation of women in the struggles. In the plains of Central Bihar, in the fields and villages of Telengana (AP) the peasant movement grew like a storm. Among the first issues the movement confronted was the feudal privileges of the landlords over the wives and daughters of the labourers working in their fields, especially of the Dalit castes. Subject to worst form of abuses and vulgarities of the landlords' men, bent down due to starvation and poverty, these poor women were easy prey for the landlords and their henchmen. Many of the violent struggles in Bihar and Telengana in the first part of the peasant movement in the 70s and 80s was to end this abuse and molestation, going in the name of "tradition". These struggles provided the background for the growth of the women's movement.

The women's movement has grown with the growth of armed struggle. Contrary to general opinion the launching of armed struggle in the early 80s by the communist revolutionary forces in various parts of the country, the militant struggle against feudal oppression gave the confidence to peasant women to participate in struggles in large numbers and then to stand up and fight for their rights. Women who constitute the most oppressed among the oppressed, poor peasant and landless peasant women who have lacked not only an identity and voice but also a name, have become activists for the women's organisations in their villages and guerrilla fighters. Thus with the spread and growth of the armed struggle the women's mobilisation and women's organisation have also grown leading to the emergence of this revolutionary women's movement, one of the strongest and most powerful women's movement in the country today. But it is unrecognised and ignored, a ploy of the ruling classes that will try to suppress any news and acknowledgement as long as it can.

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Early in the dawn of this new century remarkable developments are taking place on the women's front in India. Deep in the forests and plains of Central India, in the backward villages of Andhra Pradesh and up in the hills among the tribals in the State, in the forests and plains of Bihar and Jharkhand women are getting organised actively to break the shackles of feudal patriarchy and make the new democratic revolution. It is a women's liberation movement of peasant women in rural India, a part of the people's war being waged by the oppressed peasantry under revolutionary leadership. For the past few years thousands of women are gathering in hundreds of villages to celebrate March 8. Women are marching through the streets of a town like Narayanpur to oppose the Miss World beauty contest; they are marching with their children through the tehsil towns and market villages in backward Bastar and Jharkhand, feudal strongholds in Bihar and Orissa, in Lalgarh and other places demanding an end to the exploitation and oppression by the outside exploiters, unscrupulous traders, contractors and forest officials, mining corporations, police and paramilitary forces, state-sponsored private vigilante gangs. They are blocking roads to protest against rape cases, demanding that the sale of liquor be banned, and that the so-called security forces should move out of the schools and allow the children to pursue their studies..

And hundreds of young women are becoming guerrilla fighters in the army of the oppressed, throwing off the shackles of their traditional life of drudgery. Dressed in military fatigues, a red star on their olive green caps, a rifle on their shoulders, these young women brimming with the confidence that the fight against patriarchy is integrally linked to the fight against the ruling classes of this semi-feudal, semi-colonial India, are equipping themselves with the military knowledge to take on the fourth largest army of the exploiters . This is a social and political awakening among the poorest of the poor women in rural India. It is a scenario that has emerged far from the unseeing eyes of the bourgeois media, far from the flash and glitter of TV cameras. They are the signs of a transformation coming into the lives of the rural poor as they participate in the great struggle for revolution



# Glimpses of Bhumkal Diwas -10 February 2010



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**On the occasion of the centenary of Bhumkal people of Dandakaranya vow to create another Mahan Bhumkal to defeat the War waged by the imperialist-backed Indian State.**

The Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, the PLGA, Janathana Sarkars (Revolutionary People's Governments), various revolutionary mass organizations like DAKMS, KAMS, CNM and others have issued a call to the people of dandakaranya to celebrate the centenary of the great Bhumkal Rebellion from February 10 to February 16, 2010 throughout the region. They called upon the people of Dandakaranya to transform the Centenary of the great rebellion against the British imperialists in the history of Bastar into another Mahan Bhumkal against the brutal war waged by the Central and state governments on the adivasis. They called upon the people to courageously confront and hit back at the paramilitary, state police forces, private vigilante terrorist forces which have transformed the entire region into a veritable hell for the people. Deriving inspiration from the heroic revolt of the adivasis led by Gundadur the people vowed on the occasion of the Centenary of the rebellion to fight until their last to defeat the Operation Green Hunt and stop the exploitation of their land and resources by the imperialists and the comprador business houses.

Adivasis of Dandakaranya have a long history of revolts against the exploiters and oppressors who invaded their territory. The British had occupied Dandakaranya by 1853. Prior to that adivasis fought against the Marathas under the leadership of Gend Singh. Throughout the period of British colonial occupation adivasis of Dandakaranya rose up in revolt several times of which the Bhumkal of 1910 was the biggest and widespread. The rebellion was brutally crushed by the British imperialists. Several leaders of the rebellion were either hanged or killed in battle. These martyrs include Baburao Sadmek, Venkatrao, Gundadur among others.

Programmes were organized throughout Dandakaranya and wide propaganda was conducted through posters, leaflets, banners, booklets, magazines, cultural programmes, meetings, rallies etc. Slogans like "Long Live the Mahan Bhumkal of 1910!", "Long Live great leaders of adivasi rebellions Gundadur, Baburao Sadmek, Venkatrao!", "Throw out the imperialist and comprador companies from Bastar!", "Bastar is not the jagir of Tata-Jindal, Essar-Mittal!", "Stop the Loot of the natural resources of Bastar!" "Stop the imperialist loot of Bailadilla!", "Oppose Raoghat Mines and Railway line!", "Stop the forcible land acquisition in Lohandiguda!", "Let us establish people's government throughout Dandakaranya!" rent the air in hundreds of villages and during rallies and meetings.

Besides the meetings and other programmes organized by the Party and revolutionary mass organizations several other organizations too celebrated the centenary of Bhumkal and condemned the State's offensive on the people. The Bhumkal celebrations have once again roused the people and filled them with enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit to resist their oppressors to create another Mahan Bhumkal to defeat the Operation Green Hunt.



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## News from the counter-revolutionary camp

### Dantewada Operation was "thoughtlessly" planned says Chidambaram

Addressing students at a seminar in the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, Home Minister P Chidambaram said the Dantewada operation, in which 76 CRPF personnel were killed by Maoists, was planned "thoughtlessly" by top officials of the force there.

"I was heartbroken after Dantewada (where 76 personnel were killed on April 6). I did not lose my nerve. I have no fear of Naxalites. One IG, two DIGs and an SP, thoughtlessly without planning sent 76 troops for recce," Chidambaram said. He said the setback meant that the country was confronting an adversary who is organised in strength. Later talking about developmental issues, Chidambaram said, "Dantewada has a police station which has only two policemen. When a policeman does not want to go there, how can you expect a teacher or a BDO to go there?"

The Minister said that extreme ideology can be propagated in India. "*Speech and propagation is free in a democracy but when they take up arms, the conflict arises.*"

He said there was no confusion about the aim of the Naxals. "*The aim is seizure of political power with armed struggle. That is acceptable under certain conditions. Countries under colonialism took this path. Even India saw armed struggle to overthrow British.*" "There are situations when you are agitated or frustrated. I represent a backward constituency. Development has just started pouring in. If everybody has a justified right to take up arms, what will happen to the country?"

He said the debate regarding whether development or police action should take place first in naxal-affected areas is "metaphysical".

"In West Midnapore, police action is needed first. In Gadchiroli, the district has been secured by security forces. Orissa is in mixed stage, we have progressed in Jharkhand. It is a chicken and egg argument" he added.



"Maoists know development is threat to them, so they demolish schools, 71 schools were blown up in 2009, they mine roads, blow up bridges. Villagers are killed in the name of being informers. In 2009, 211 people were killed on this pretext and 362 infrastructure targeted in 2009. So to say Maoists are pro-development is most naive argument."

When asked by a student about the source of arms for the Naxals, the Home Minister said there is a huge bazaar of illegal arms in Myanmar. He said other sources were country-made weapons and those looted from security forces.

Replying to a question on wrong development policies being responsible for the Naxal situation, Chidambaram said: "Throw us out. Elect another government. Let Ganapati and Kishanji come in power and change the policies. But don't take up arms."

When asked why the government was not using the Sri Lankan strategy, he said "We do not regard Naxals as enemy but adversaries. They have a policy which is wrong. We believe police and central paramilitary force are adequate to secure the areas. Sri Lanka did it but our democratic values are different and I do not think it is right to use the Army and Air Force." Addressing students at a seminar in the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, Home Minister P Chidambaram said the

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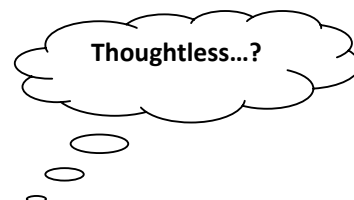
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**T. J. Laung Kumar**



**Amaresh Mishra  
SP, Dantewada**





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## **No animal names, CoBRA is SAF now**

*New Delhi, March 31*

Raised to deal exclusively with extremists and insurgents and christened to give it a unique identity, the COBRA (Commando Battalion for Resolute Action) wing of CRPF has now been renamed as Special Action Force (SAF). And while CRPF had valid reasons to make the change, the fact that Home Minister P. Chidambaram, too, wasn't too keen on forces having animal-like names apparently proved to be the clincher.

"Four battalions of Special Action Force (earlier known as CoBRA) ) in the CRPF have been raised and trained. They were operationalized today," Chidambaram said on Wednesday. Asked about the reason for renaming the force, Chidambaram later told The Indian Express that he was not quite comfortable with the fact that a specialized strike force had been given an animal-like name. He said a name like the Special Action Force appeared more apt.

Home Ministry officials said the minister had made his displeasure with the acronym CoBRA known many months ago. CRPF, in fact, had been informed about this and asked to think of a new name, sources said.

A few months ago, reports had come in CoBRA personnel had started feeling demoralized as Naxalites had started calling them names. One report said that Naxalites had started calling themselves nevla (mongoose) and had devised slogans on how the nevla would devour the cobra. After deliberations at the top level the CRPF quietly effected the change in name.

## **IAF wants to pull out from Maoist zones**

### **Let BSF take over air operations in Naxal hotbed, says top official**

*Hindustan Times/18 March, 2010*

The Indian Air Force (IAF) wants the Border Security Force to take on a bigger and riskier role in the fight against Naxals.

It intends to pull its Mi-17 helicopters out of Naxal territory where they ferry security personnel, carry out reconnaissance and casualty evacuation.

### **Air Base to be set up in Chhattisgarh**

Air Chief Marshal PV Naik and a team of four members of IAF visited Raipur on April 21 and declared that the IAF will set up an air base camp. He asked for 3000 acres of land from the state government to set up the air base. A meeting was held between the Air Chief, Governor of Chhattisgarh, Vishwanjan, and other police officials involved in anti-Naxal operations. Initially three places were under consideration—Nandigram, Nandgaon and Bilaspur—for setting up the air base. One month prior to the latest visit the IAF team led by the Air Chief Marshal had visited the state and held discussions with the state government regarding land for the air base. Reports say that the decision was clinched this time. The state government and the police went public saying that the base would be of great help in operations against the Maoists.

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## **Ekdin report on withdrawal of Harmad camps**

**February 18 2010**

**Medinipur:** Apprehending another Shilda-like Maoist attack the CPM is withdrawing its Harmad (local term for armed vigilante group of the CPM) camps from the area. Party leaders have decided that the number of Joint Forces camps would be cut down in the Jangalmahal region. Camps stationed in villages bordering forests would be wound up as soon as possible. Depending on evolving situation the hidden Harmad dens would be set up at a later date. To recapture Lalgarh, Salboni in the Keshpur, Garbeta style around two dozens Harmad camps had been erected in the Jangalmahal. Carefully selected Harmads had been stationed there. They also shelter modern arms and ammunitions apart from other essential supplies.

The Maoists had launched an unprecedented offensive on Monday evening. Concluding a flawless attack in a densely populated location they retreated to their secret hide out. The incident has stirred up CPM party machinery considerably. Terror has gripped the party. Even the leaders are fearing a Maoist attack.

There are twenty two Harmad camps in Goaltor, Salboni, Medinipur Main block. Six of them were withdrawn on Wednesday according to party sources. They were located in the densely forested parts of Goaltor and Salboni. It is also learnt that the CPM has wound them up after such demands were made by the Harmads. However camps of mercenary forces in Kashijor, Sundra, Enayetpur, Kankaboti have been left intact. After the Shilda incident the Harmads do not want to stay in unprotected camps. After that unparalleled event the village recapturing venture of the CPM has also suffered a big set back. In the last two days the operation has virtually collapsed, the Harmads are reluctant to extend it to new areas.

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### **BSF will raise 16 more battalions**

According to a news report published on Feb 21, 2010, the Border Security Force will raise 16 more battalions in a planned manner over the next five years. The BSF, as the name itself indicates, was set up with the aim of providing security to the country's long borders with its neighbours China, Pakistan, Bangla Desh, Nepal, Myanmar and Bhutan.

However, for the reactionary rulers of our country the borders with their Enemies run across the length and breadth of India itself and not merely in the peripheries. Hence we have several BSF battalions marching into Chhattisgarh in the heart of India, into Jharkhand, Orissa and elsewhere. Thus the need for more BSF battalions arises in the context of the growing people's war and militant people's struggles within the country and not due to threats from across the border.

The fascist rulers are using all means at their disposal in their bloody war against the Maoist revolutionaries and the poorest people who had rallies behind the Maoists. How many more battalions will it raise as the people's movement spreads to ever newer areas? In fact, it is this enormous, wasteful, unproductive, expenditure at the cost of neglect of the basic needs of the vast majority of the people that would fuel the people's struggles and revolutionary resistance in newer areas in the country.

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## GK Pillai's predictions of a Maoist take-over by 2050 sends shiver down the spines of the rulers

***"For the first time we are facing an enemy looking to (carry out) an armed overthrow of the Indian state by 2050." – Union Home Secretary GK Pillai***

If Union Home Minister Palaniyappan Chidambaram has become a laughing stock of Indian politics and has proved himself to be a Don Quixote with his endless lies and his consequent amendments to the lies, and his denial of the obvious like the Operation Green Hunt no matter what the world thinks of such utterances bordering on insanity, his cohort Home Secretary Gopal Krishna Pillai does not lag far behind. He too, like his Guru, is fond of being in the lime light and is known to make controversial statements much to the chagrin of others in the seats of power. GK Pillai was at his controversial best when he addressed a Seminar on 'Left-wing Extremism' at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), and spoke on several issues related to Naxalism and the government's war against the Maoists.



He predicted that Maoists are planning to overthrow the Indian state by 2050. *"The overthrow of the Indian state is not something they are willing to do tomorrow or the day after. Their strategy, according to a booklet they circulated, is that they are looking at 2050, some documents say 2060." "Government would have to brace up for a 7-10 year-long and bloody war against the Maoists." "the CPI(Maoist) did not plan to immediately overthrow the Indian State, but they have the capacity to bring many sectors of our economy to the knees."*

*"I am reminded of the example of a frog being cooked slowly in water. It will never jump out. But, if you put a frog into boiling water, it will immediately jump out. This is what is happening to the Indian state. The Naxals slowly built up their movement and India did not realize how much area it had lost to the Naxals."*

Mr. Pillai would, of course, be in soup if asked to prove which document of the CPI(Maoist) declares a dead-line for the Indian revolution. The fact is, no Maoists would predict a date for the completion of the ongoing revolution in the country and obviously the so-called documents of the Maoists that Pillai has referred to are manufactured by his own Home Ministry or by the Intelligence agencies under the control of the Home Ministry. The aim of Mr. Pillai is to create a sense of paranoia and insecurity among people who are from regions in the country not yet directly under the influence of the Maoists and who are not aware of the political programme and line of the CPI(Maoist), rally their support to the policies of brutal suppression pursued by the government, and step up their current armed offensive against the Maoists and the people they lead. He also said he was certain that Maoists were assisted by some ex-Army officers. *"I am quite certain that some ex-Army officers could be helping the Maoists, who are very well-trained and motivated."* And how did he arrive at this conclusion? In his own words:

*"The extremists did post-mortems after each attack. The analyses were as good as those done by armed forces. They were well-documented, like a book on military doctrine, and circulated among the cadres."* Then he cooks up fiction in his desperate attempt to prove that Maoists were extortionists. Without a shred of evidence this top bureaucrat in the country shamelessly goes on with the usual disinformation campaign let loose by the police and Intelligence officials against the Maoists: *"The CPI(Maoist) had a huge annual income of Rs. 1400 crore, which it collected through extortion."*

His remarks on Bihar brought serious retort from chief minister Nitish Kumar. According to Mr. Pillai: *"Bihar has elections coming up. So they want to be soft on the issue. We fear Naxals may take*

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sanctuary in Bihar and we may lose areas in Bihar as Naxals move there following pressure in Chhattisgarh. The Bihar chief minister has a view on how to tackle Naxals. But then, he should not ask for more paramilitary forces. That doesn't work."

Explaining the actual results of the State's armed operations in the past few months since the commencement of the Operation Green Hunt, he said: "After our ongoing operations, we have taken back 4000 sq km from the control of the Naxals. We are now bringing civil administration back to these areas. But we have not yet hit five per cent of the real hard-core naxal force yet. We have not yet hit the real fighting machine of the CPI(Maoist) which they do not want to bring in direct conflict with our forces yet." He agreed that the fight until date was only with the lower-level supporters of Maoists thereby indirectly accepting that all the so-called deaths of Maoists made by the top police officials and bureaucrats were only the cold-blooded murders of innocent people.

"..the fight so far is taking place against the Maoists at the second level—the militia and village supporters...it would take at least another two to three years for the security forces to turn the tide against the Maoists and gain an upper-hand. But it would take between seven and ten years to reclaim all areas lost to the Naxals."

"In 2009, there was a 42% increase in naxal incidents, 21% increase in civilian casualties and 37% increase in casualties among security men fighting Naxals. The total casualty figure for 2009 was the highest since 1971. But, this figure could rise in 2010 and 2011 when the government confronts the extremists and tries to take control of the so-called liberated areas."

"If you have a vacuum, someone will fill it up. It has been the Naxals for the huge parts of the country where government has not reached...in Orissa's Malkangiri district, there are 200 villages where the government has not gone since 1969. There is no access road. Naxals have indoctrinated these villagers."

Mr. Pillai spilled the beans by announcing that the new mining act would be introduced soon in the Parliament. The legalization envisages a fund in perpetuity for the development of the local villages; new power plants will have to give subsidized or free power to surrounding villages, and the government is in the process of withdrawing cases against tribals for accessing minor forest produce. But these measures will take a while to show up on the ground.

This war hawk thinks that Maoists will not come forward for talks until sufficient pressure is built up or, in other words, until more mass murders, illegal detentions, tortures, rapes, destruction of property and other police atrocities force them to surrender, as imagined by Pillai. Pillai described the Maoists as a formidable enemy, saying they had not come under any significant pressure yet, because their core armed cadres remained intact and out of reach of the Indian state. Dismissing the recent talk of talks, Pillai was sure the Maoists would only come for negotiations when they felt the heat, which they were not at present. He dismissed the Maoist offer for talks as a ploy to regroup and build their own army since security forces had not been able to build pressure on them. But the tide would turn in two to three years, he promised articulating a seven to eight year time-frame for restoring complete administrative control in all Naxal-hit districts.

Brushing aside the Maoist claim for a cease-fire and offer to talks, Pillai said: "Militant groups come for talks only when they are under pressure. I feel the Maoists will come to the table for talks only after a year or two." In another two years the security forces across the country will be in a position to overpower the Maoists. Of the 640 districts, naxal violence was reported from 91 districts last year—four districts more than the previous year—in which over 900 civilians and security men were killed. Naxals, however, wield influence in more than 220 districts.

"They have built up liberated areas and consolidated... They have taken advantage of the perceived neglect. The Indian state, its administrative lapses, and poor governance are largely to blame for the growth of Naxalism," he said. The Maoists had developed bases in remote forest areas,

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where they operated in a perceived administrative vacuum. There were many districts, Pillai said, where the government had not existed for decades. Pillai alleged that arms smuggled from China had boosted the fire-power of the CPI(Maoist). Speaking to *The Sunday Guardian* he said: “Arms are smuggled into India through Burma and Bangla Desh for the Maoists.” There is strong suspicion that the CPI(Maoist) is sourcing arms from a factory on the China-Burma border, he said adding that arms factories in China’s Yunnan province neighbouring Burma are also boosting the Maoists’ arsenal.

“During my visit to Burma (in January) officials told me that they had recently busted an arms factory manufacturing AK-47s. arms from here were also reaching the Maoists and militant groups in the North East.” He was careful enough to guard himself by saying there is no evidence to prove direct link between China and the Maoists in India but said that the outlawed group is in touch with ‘non-state actors’ in China.

According to Pillai, North East militant groups like the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), People’s Liberation Army (PLA) and United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) act as a conduit between the Maoists and arms suppliers in the neighbouring countries. He explained that the current strategy for the joint operations is to reclaim areas where the writ of the Maoists ran and to stay on there. Maintaining area domination by flushing out the Maoists is a key element in the operation by joint forces. This is being closely followed by development works in these areas.

### **Disaffection within the armed forces:**

News reports from Dantewada, Gadchiroli etc. where the Green Hunt is being carried out, say that the paramilitary personnel are unwilling to fight this war and become ‘sacrificial goats’. One of the CRPF soldiers posted in the Chintalnar camp in Dantewada asked a reporter, “Will you take our grief to Delhi? Tell them that this is the worst posting ever. Ask them why we were sent here to become sacrificial goats.” Another soldier asked the reporter to “Save us from this hell” (“Save us from this hell, beg CRPF jawans”, DNA, 18 April 2010).

To counter the disaffection within the rank and file of the armed forces, the Ministry of Home Affairs has been now forced to unofficially stall the operations for at least a month (“Crackdown on red rebels put on hold, unofficially”, DNA, 17 April 2010). Of course, such difficult questions even from the rank and file of the soldiers are being suppressed in the name of ‘patriotism’ and ‘sacrifice for the country’ by the warlords like Chidambaram and his friends sitting in different state capitals. Even the army and air chiefs have expressed their incapability and unwillingness to use their lethal weapons within the country and against their own people. But Chidambaram & co. does not agree with this view, and believes that the use of maximum force is justified in this war, a gag-order was immediately served on the high officials.

### **HOME MINISTRY’S DIRECTIVE**

It has come to the notice of the Government that some Maoist leaders have been directly contacting certain NGOs/intellectuals to propagate their ideology and persuade them to take steps as would provide support to the CPI (Maoist) ideology. It is brought to the notice of the general public that under Section 39 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, any person who commits the offence of supporting such a terrorist organization with inter alia intention to further the activities of such terrorist organizations would be liable to be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or with fine or with both. General public are informed to be extremely vigilant of the propaganda of CPI (Maoist) and not unwittingly become a victim of such propaganda.

This is being issued in public interest so that the general public are aware that the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and all its formations and front organizations are terrorist organizations whose sole aim is armed overthrow of the Indian State and that they have no place in India’s parliamentary democracy. CPI (Maoist) continues to kill innocent civilians including tribals in cold blood and destroy crucial infrastructure like roads, culverts, school buildings, gram panchayat buildings, etc. so as to prevent development from reaching these under-developed areas.

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# From News Papers

## Tribal unrest : Provider as marauder

**As the people of Junglemahal drift close to desperation, it is the state that is to blame**

Soumitra Basu

From THE SUNDAY INDIAN, 4 April 2010



An epic is being enacted, or an apology of it! Chidambaram started it, with a number -72 hours, Kishenji retorted with another unit – days.... Nothing came of it. Neither took it seriously. Both procrastinated. This is a fine management technique one that creates huge media hype and thus social capital is formed. Things did not change but perceptions did. Junglemahal is now a name, more than Nandigram.

People die or are dying, get raped, jailed, evicted and, of course, they are threatened on a quotidian basis. Lalmohan Tudu was bumped off in an encounter. His crime? A highly dangerous conspiracy against the state and the system – he was running a local hospital on the people's initiative. Compassion is extremely dangerous when people are the target. Police officers are disappearing too. Retaliation is often swift. The cycle goes on, on and on, the idyllic but somber rainforest is now bloodied. And procrastination is the response.

700 villages have been flattened and wiped out ostensibly for "development" – for mining important national resources. "National interest" serves city-dwelling billionaires who compete in the global arena. It will never serve the people in the nation-state. A rainforest does not have capital value and is, therefore, dispensable. People who live and who produce through their toil and let the wealthy live off their resources generated through indirect taxes, do not have a voice or opinion in a "in a democracy". The voice that matters is that of those whose "national interest" is served.

Liberals and "independent" think tanks are clamoring about a colossal breakdown of an ostensible perfect development regime. A haven of representational neurocracy that we advertise as the best liberal model laments that people of the rainforest are now mere victims of neglect and corruption! What a revelation! Ask Lalita Tudu, thoroughly determined daughter of Lalmohun. She does care a fig for "development" or "administration".

Ask those ladies who are either already raped or are preys of the future; ask the children whose parents are behind bars and do not know why; ask those who have lost their generations-old possession to some security mercenaries. Do they care about how many bore wells may be installed in some future time, or how many health centers and even schools? People have lived here on their own for millenniums. They expect nothing from the dikus (outsiders). So they do not appreciate their presence either. Adivasis have seen outsiders coming and going, and robbing them in every such new move and another thread of continuous stream of wealth outflow starts. These various streams of dikus of different races and people have now congealed into an all-powerful state. The state is now institutionalized diku. These people had to be subdued, imprisoned, strangled and dishonoured. "Development" follows the same track. The people of the rainforest and Junglemahal are fighting the war their predecessors had started millenniums back.

Dignity is all they want, dignity for the domiciled, dignity as human beings and dignity as producers. They are hardly swayed human beings and dignity as producers. They are hardly swayed by the lollipops of jobs, doles, "development" and, least of all, bore-wells. Binayak Sen, Himangshu Kumar, Anuradha Ghandy, Narayan Sanyal, Jayanta Bhattacharya, Naba Kumar Biswas are not dikus. They are kakus. The STATE is, the uniform-clad BABUs are, the *sahabs* in the white car are

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and definitely the security authorities are. An *Adivasi* mother knows who to watch out against and who to go to as friends. The state comprises of the liberal soothsayers as well, the think-tanks, the academicians, the NGOs, and all other "individuals" in addition to the four existing pillars we had known. Castes after castes, sections after sections are joining the ranks of the rebels. Previously Mundas were the rebels, then came the Santhals, then all other denominations of Vanvasis, then the Mahatos (Koiris) and now the domiciled Biharis and Bengalis. Marx conceived of withering away of the state. The means were rather mundane: build up mass organisations and render the government –sponsored institutions irrelevant. Now it is the state that is blasting itself off by unleashing a backlash. The state is the anarchist and terrorist here, it is pushing the whole populace into rebellion, it is losing all iota of credibility as provider and positing itself as a marauder.

The ruling establishment at the ~~Centre is not bothered.~~ The Congress has a long enough experience of wading through waters sullied by themselves. They know how to linger on without solving but creating more complex twists. Our Left parties have learnt how to parrot and even out-perform the Congress in their game. The people are now realizing this. There are two ways of looking at the same thing – a state way, and a people way.

## **The Inverted Logic and Vocabulary of Indian Rulers 'Humanity, Thou Art A Naxal Sympathiser'**

*The Supreme Court's warning to the Chhattisgarh government is a welcome gesture, writes Neha Dixit in Tehelka Magazine February 24, 2010*

**Question: Define a Naxal sympathizer.**

**Answer:** A person who offers free healthcare to tribals, opens ashram to shelter them, attends meetings to honour the kins of those killed in the naxal war, conducts independent enquiries on operation Greenhunt. For example, Binayak Sen, Himanshu Kumar, Sandeep Pandey, Nandini Sundar.

For over a year, the Chhattisgarh government has chosen to put on blinkers to distrust all those who have ever offered to be human in their approach towards tribals in the state. On February 23, the Supreme Court to finally broke its silence over this peculiar branding system. The court warned the Chhattisgarh government against blindly labeling human rights activists, concerned about the lives of tribals in Naxal-hit areas, as "Naxal sympathisers". A two-member Bench comprising of Justice B Sudershan Reddy and SS Nijjar asked, "*Suppose somebody fights their (victims) case, so what does that imply? First you say they are Naxals, then you say they are sympathisers, then you say they are sympathisers of sympathisers. Why do you resort to these innuendos?...Should everything ordered in the name of operations? Is there no concern for human or Fundamental Rights? We want to know why such incidents took place and how the security forces conducted themselves*"

The remark came in response to a comment by senior advocate Ranjit Kumar, representing the state government, that activist Himanshu Kumar, who had moved the Supreme Court for the protection of 12 tribals, was a Naxal sympathiser. The 12 tribals were allegedly eye-witnesses to the massacre of nine of their villagers by a group of people at Goompad village in Dhantewada district in the state. They had recently given statements to the Delhi District Judge confirming the killings. Senior counsel Colin Gonsalves, appearing for the petitioners, repeats what the bench says, "The government behaves as if those who do not agree with it have no right to live." No wonder those at the receiving end have faced destruction of their organisation. Says Himanshu Kumar, civil rights activist, whose ashram was razed on the allegation of sympathizing with the nazals, "The Supreme Court's response comes as a breather because the state government has been using the term 'naxal sympathiser' to dismiss all the questions raised against it and refuse to answer whether the nine tribals have been killed or not. Also, this trend is against democracy, where anyone who raises issues of misgovernance is discredited. The SC clearly saw that our queries are to strengthen the system and hence responded."

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The Supreme Court's response is a heartening. Infact, two weeks back too, the SC had significantly lashed the Chhattisgarh government. It refused to believe the state government's plea that Sodi Shambo, a witness in the case pertaining to the disappearance of 13 villagers who witnessed the police massacre of nine people on October 1, 2009 in Goompad village, in Chattisgarh's Dantewada district is missing, even when TEHELKA managed to trace her in a hospital. It ordered, "As a state, it is your responsibility that victims reach the court."

Hope arises. It may not be so easy to 'define' anymore in Chhattisgarh.

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## **"Ideology can't be wiped out by attacking tribals" Initiate back-channel talks with Maoists: Arundhati**

*Manisha Jha, The Hindu, 6 March 2010*

New Delhi: Dubbing the Centre's talk of ceasefire and talks with naxals "non-serious", members of democratic and civil rights organisations on Friday demanded that the State stop the military offensive, "operation Greenhunt", "against its own people" and initiate back-channel talks with the CPI(Maoist).

### **Natural Resources**

Addressing a press conference here, renowned writer and human rights activist Arundhati Roy said: "The government's use of the military to solve political problems is not new. The government has long since followed a policy of extermination against the Maoist movement. But each time the movement has come back stronger and better organized as it is not the people but an ideology under attack and this ideology cannot be wiped out by attacking tribals in the name of defeating Maoism. Moreover, considering the fact that no one has defined the word 'Maoist', if the government talks of wiping them out, then it refers to a genocidal language where it could be dispensing with lakhs of people who are anyway fragile and on the brink of survival."

## **The Silda attack: Understanding the role of the EFR camp in reoccupation strategies**

*February 23, 2010*

There has been a recent attack on a Eastern Frontier Rifles (EFR) camp in Silda in West Midnapur district, West Bengal, in which 24 EFR jawans have lost their lives. It is necessary to examine the function of this particular camp and its relation with local politics, to understand the tactical reasons behind the attack conducted by the Maoists.

The main function of the EFR has been to escort CPI(Marxist) harmads (local term for armed vigilante group of the CPIM) when they go on operations to "reoccupy" tribal villages in the Lalgadh belt and to provide protection to the 22 harmad camps that have been set up in the area over the past three months. Six of these camps have already shut down following the attack, and it has been reported that the CPI(M) is now afraid to provide security to these camps (a small press report on this from the Bengali daily Ekdin is given below).

These harmad camps, filled with mercenaries brought in by Sushanta Ghosh from the Goaltore-Garbata area, are wreaking havoc in the area in the name of "reoccupying" villages, in the same way as in Nandigram. And they are being provided security by the EFR and the West Bengal police, who are escorting the harmads when they are attacking villages or are working hand-in-gloves with the harmads. Sushanta Ghosh, it will be remembered, is the state minister in charge of the area, who has maintained a brutal stranglehold on the adivasis (the infamous "ghoskar bahini", the armed cadre force of the CPI(M), is named after him and Dipak Sarkar).

A recent incident may shed light on the protective role played by the EFR camp in the area. Kajal Soren was a PCAPA activist who was killed in a CRPF firing, with three others, while he was working in his field. Three days after his death, his wife Sabitri Soren, was on her way to lodge a complaint at the police station in Salboni, when she was waylaid by CPI(M) harmads who brutally raped her. Her



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senseless body was then handed over to EFR jawans in the Salboni camp, who killed her. There are eyewitnesses who saw her senseless body being dragged to the EFR camp, after which her raped and dead body was discovered lying in fields nearby. Activists are in the process of a judicial case on this incident, and the local press has reported it.

The EFR camp in Sildah was set up by occupying a government health centre, the only one in Sildah, because the CPI(M) party bosses demanded that the camp be set up near their office. This illustrates the protective role played by the EFR in relation to reoccupation strategies, as well as the continuing tradition of militarization of schools, hospitals, and other essential services in an area of already utter destitution.

As has been widely reported, the jawans were involved in rampant alcoholism and prostitution. There has been considerable local support in this particular action, and there have been no civilian deaths.

## **TOI Crest Interview with MP Mani Shankar Aiyar of the Congress:**

April 17, 2010

*You have been quite critical of the home ministry's so-called Operation Greenhunt against the Maoists. Has the recent massacre in Dantewada changed your views?*



I am more convinced than ever after Dantewada that focusing on security issues to the exclusion of all other relevant factors is a one-eyed policy. Nothing will succeed against the Maoists unless we open up our second eye. I organised Rajiv Gandhi's many tours to the peripheries of India. It is ironic that his very first tour was to the Dantewada area, further south towards Konta, which has now become inaccessible. Through those years, I saw the way in which he interacted with tribals and learned what their grievances were and how to resolve them.

***But don't you agree that the state must reclaim territories that are in Naxal hands before it can focus on development?***

Rajiv Gandhi has left two instruments to tackle the Naxalite menace which I believe will be more effective than AK-47s and Drones. One is the 73rd Amendment, now enshrined in the Constitution as the Panchayat Raj Act 1993. The other is PESA, which is Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996, and brings tribal areas under the Fifth Schedule into the panchayat system. The goal of both is to help tribal communities become self-governing republics as envisaged by Gandhiji.

Looking at the plight of the tribals, neither instrument seems to have been effective. Over the past two decades, neither the central government nor state governments have given any priority to the implementation of PESA. As Panchayat Raj minister in UPA-I, I repeatedly pleaded with PESA states, particularly Orissa and Chhattisgarh, to get on with it. But none of them aligned their state laws with PESA. As a result, tribals have no say in mining and other projects being carried out on their lands. This is the root cause of their disenchantment. The argument in favour of these mega projects is that they bring development to neglected tribal areas. If you conceive development as what the home minister describes as "aggressive development" - whereas what the people want is "participatory development" - then you've set the stage for people who believe in violence to take over these areas.

***What do you think the government should do?***

It should fast track participative development in conformity with PESA in areas that are not yet under Maoist control. If the central and state governments ensure devolution of huge quantities of functions, finances and functionaries to tribal communities for them to administer their lands through gram panchayats and gram sabhas, and if you deploy security forces on the periphery of areas that are still with you, you can keep the Maoists out. I hope Sonia Gandhi will step in to point the government in the right direction.

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## **Naxalism is the result of failing state: Govindacharya**

In a press release issued on April 22, the Patron of the Rashtriya Swabhiman Aandolan (RSA) KN Govindacharya said: 'Naxalism is not a problem in itself but is a reaction to insensitive and non performing state. Foreign assistance may be strengthening naxalism and making it more fatal. The nature of naxalite movement should be treated as an internal national issue to be tackled with a sense of urgency. It is neither merely a law and order issue not a foreign invasion.'

Addressing a press conference in New Delhi Govindacharya said, 'Important persons seated in power like Chhatisgarh chief minister, Honorable Home minister Mr P Chidambaram and Honorable Prime minister Dr Manmohan singh along with members of national security council are solely culprit and also responsible for the killings of nearly 76 CRPF men in ambush of Dantevada region. This act of ambush is no terrorism. It's to be understood that nearly 1000 locals implemented the ambush of which most of them were common poor citizens of the locality. A few days after this incident Shree Digvijay Singh, Former CM of MP and General Secretary of AICC, has expressed his opinion about the home minister Shri Chidambaram that the trait of intellectual arrogance of Shri Chidambaram is also an impediment in solving the naxal problem. A disciplined soldier of congress Shri Digvijay Singh could not have expressed his resentment in a better way. It is essential that the statement of Digvijay sing should be read in a wider context of naxal movement and should not be viewed as a posture or part of competitive politics.'

He said, 'Union government and state governments also should understand that naxal movement is not merely a law and order problem and cannot be vanquished by crass state or carpet bombing or drone air crafts.'

### **Shooting The Messenger**

#### **AKHIL GOGOI IS THE LATEST SOCIAL ACTIVIST TO BE DUBBED A 'MAOIST' BY THE GOVERNMENT**

*Sandeep Pandey, Magsaysay Award winner*

IT IS a familiar plot by now. If there is an activist or an organisation questioning the government's development policy (an euphemism for handing over precious public resources to corporate interests), or just exposes corruption — viewed as a necessary evil for the sustenance of mainstream political parties — the security agencies, at the behest of the government, will brand them as Naxalites. The latest victim is Akhil Gogoi of Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti (KMSS), Assam.

We've seen how Dr Binayak Sen spent two years in jail for allegedly being a Maoist. The Chhattisgarh government is yet to produce any concrete evidence, even though it has lined up over a hundred witnesses against Sen in the ongoing court case. Himanshu Kumar, the Gandhian activist working in Chhattisgarh for over 17 years, became an eyesore for the government, ever since he started taking up cases of human rights of ordinary tribals being violated by the security forces, Special Police Officers (SPOs) and the Salwa Judum. His ashram was demolished in May 2009 and all his colleagues, including Medha Patkar, were threatened. Similarly, the vicepresident of Karnataka People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), Dr E Rati Rao, was charged with sedition by the Mysore police for editing Varthapatra, the Kannada bulletin of PUCL. Meanwhile, the UP police have arrested Seema Azad, a joint secretary of PUCL and editor of another publication Dastak — needless to say, for being a Maoist.

The KMSS is a peasants' organisation fighting for the cause of 'land to the tiller'. It uses Constitutional provisions to access benefits for ordinary people, and to help them assert their fundamental rights. For example, the KMSS used the RTI Act to expose corruption in the Indira Awas Yojana. A list of fake beneficiaries was obtained, and siphoning of funds exposed.

KMSS' actions have mass appeal. They have grown from strength to strength, unearthing many a scam and forcing action to be taken against the guilty. KMSS and Akhil Gogoi were thus becoming a threat, not only to the corrupt and powerful, but also to the political parties, who used both

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threat and lure to try and contain him. But there was no stopping Gogoi or his band of activists, who are, meanwhile, also opposing the construction of dams in the Brahmaputra river basin.

#### USING STATUTORY PROVISIONS LIKE THE RTI, AKHIL GOGOI AND KMSS FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS OF FARMERS AND EXPOSE CORRUPTION

The government has undertaken a huge expansion plan for hydroelectricity, in this ecologically fragile and seismically sensitive area. Clearances have been obtained without proper studies of downstream impact. A team of experts from IIT (Guwahati) and Guwahati and Dibrugarh universities have recommended in their interim report that the construction of the 2,000 MW Lower Subansiri Dam be stalled until the studies are completed. However, the government ignores this report, putting the existence of both human communities and wildlife at stake. The KMSS' stand has been supported by the likes of Bhuban Pegu, MLA from Jonai — who too has been accused of having Maoist links.

That the political-administrative system is totally corrupt is an open secret. The people in charge of running it use violence to suppress dissent. But when it comes to countering Naxalites, the same system adopts a holier than thou approach. Suddenly, the government and the parties appear as non-violent, and Naxalites and terrorists the only violent groups. Thus, democratic people's movements are accused of being hand-in-glove with violent illegal forces. Actually, it is a ploy to divert people's attention from the misdeeds of the political-administrative system by tarnishing the image of those who raise uncomfortable questions.

### **Pro-Naxal Intellectuals May Face Legal Trouble**

**New Delhi: May 06, 2010**

Civil society representatives raising voices in favour of Naxals may find themselves in legal tangles as the Home Ministry has warned of action against them under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act.

"It has come to the notice of the Government that some Maoist leaders have been directly contacting certain NGOs and intellectuals to propagate their ideology and persuade them to take steps as would provide support to the CPI (Maoist) ideology," the Home Ministry said in a statement.

Making an appeal to the public to be beware of such propaganda, it said under Section 39 of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967, any person who commits the offence of supporting such a terrorist organisation with inter alia intention to further the activities of such groups would be liable to be punished with imprisonment for a term not exceeding ten years or with fine or with both.

"General public are informed to be extremely vigilant of the propaganda of CPI (Maoist) and not unwittingly become a victim of such propaganda...The Communist Party of India (Maoist) and all its formations and front organisations are terrorist organisations whose sole aim is armed overthrow of the Indian State and they have no place in India's parliamentary democracy," the Ministry said.

The CPI (Maoist) continues to kill innocent civilians, including tribals in cold blood and destroy crucial infrastructure like roads, culverts, school buildings, gram panchayat buildings so as to prevent development from reaching under-developed areas, it said.



#### **Following are some Excerpts from Tusha Mittal's article in *Tehelka Magazine***

At a time when the Home Minister is speaking of raising dozens of new paramilitary battalions, apart from Kang, hundreds of other men with real names and real fears and real grievances are queuing up to quit the services. In fact, according to official data, an unprecedented 14,422 jawans applied for premature voluntary retirement from service (VRS) in 2009 — up 85 percent from the previous year and 112 percent from 2007.

Kang (a CRPF havildar) speaks of his dread in being asked to go on an 'area domination' exercise in Chhattisgarh. "We hadn't slept for days. We landed, and our induction was cut short midway, because there were no policemen for patrolling. We had no clue about the local language, culture, terrain, and most importantly, we had no intelligence about the enemy. We were there

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physically but had to rely on local intelligence. The paramilitary does not even have its own intelligence. So if the input is good, we succeed; if not, we become sitting ducks.”

This idea of being a ‘sitting duck’ is a powerful and repetitive leitmotif. Another retired jawan who has seen service in J&K, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Jharkhand, says, “Naxalites fight with military precision. They commit mistakes but they never repeat them.”

His most recent tenure in Jangalmahal, West Bengal, has made Ray (a CRPF jawan) question the old ideas of patriotism. “I always wanted to be a sainik to serve my country,” he says, “but now I feel I will be dying for nothing. I have seen so many illegal things happening. We have to blindly follow orders. When we go for operations, we don’t know who a Maoist is. Poor Adivasis are being beaten and innocents are being killed. I don’t feel that I am doing anything for the nation. My patriotism is dead.”

Clearly disillusioned, Ray admits the morale of the forces is at the lowest. “What is this operation? What is success? What have we achieved in all these months of being here,” he asks. “There is no intelligence and we don’t know what the strategy is.”

The latest orders from the West Bengal DGP have perturbed him further. After the Silda attack, the jawans were told, “If you think he is a Maoist — kill him.”

“I have not yet beaten anyone yet because I don’t know if he is a Maoist,” Ray says. “All I can see is that he is poor and one of our known. But some of the villagers are also with the Maoists. If we sympathise, it’s a problem, if we don’t, it’s a problem. I don’t know what to do.”

In the words of another jawan who had served 16 years in the CRPF: *“This country got independence in 1947, but we still live like slaves. Our officers order us to do unauthorised things; we have no right to express ourselves. They tell us to barge into people’s homes and pick up bricks and cement and construct our quarters. They pocket lakhs of welfare money; they take commissions from ration shops.”*

## **POSCO From Ground Zero**

*Dilip Bisoi : Financial Express, February, 2010*

From Bhubaneswar, it takes us five hours to reach Patna village, at the heart of Posco-India’s planned 12-million tonne steel plant. We find children playing with pebbles, but they aren’t at an innocuous game—they arrange tiny stones across the road when they see an approaching vehicle, imitating elders who routinely put up road blockades or gates to prevent entry of unknown vehicles. Patna falls within the core area of the proposed 4,004 acre plant site, and villagers, who are against the project, keep round-the clock vigil on the movement of outsiders.

Orissa Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik may have assured South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak that the land acquisition process for the \$12-billion plant in Orissa’s Jagatsinghpur district will be speeded up, but at Ground Zero, things don’t look so easy. Posco-India still doesn’t have an inch of land, though the final forest clearance came through in December, on the eve of Lee’s visit to India as chief guest for Republic Day. Of the 4,004 acres identified for the project, 2,958.79 acres is forestland.

He was keen to visit the Posco site, but was told the ground situation wasn’t conducive. There’s stiff resistance to the project from locals, but Posco-India and the Orissa government is hoping to win over the opposition with the promise of a better rehabilitation and resettlement policy.

“The resettlement and rehabilitation package of Posco-India for the plant at Jagatsinghpur is in line with the Orissa government’s R&R Rules 2006, which is regarded as one of the best R&R policies in the country,” says Posco-India General Manager (external relations) Simanta Mohanty. “We are confident that everybody in our project area will be at an advantage with our package. Our package is specially oriented towards landless labour and we have made special provisions for employment of those needing jobs. We are compensating those who have planted betel vines on government land and we are sure they will see that we are giving them a fair deal,” he adds. Over the past three months, the Patnaik government, too, has given a push to the land acquisition process, but villagers will need a lot of convincing before they give up their land.

In neighbouring Govindpur, children play cricket, imagining the ball to be Posco-India. Every time a batsman hits the ball hard, a cheer goes up. The villagers of Govindpur are quite militant in their opposition to the project, considered to be the country’s largest FDI.

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Four years of agitation have changed the lives of villagers living in Posco's proposed site. For villagers, guarding the gates has become a daily chore. All their discussions revolve around the Posco project.

Womenfolk do their household work, but with an eye on the main street for Posco executives or government officials. Posco officials are often detained for a few hours by villagers.

The two villages of Govindpur and Dinkia are at the heart of the site and this is where the dictates of the Posco Pratirodha Sangaram Samiti (PPSS), the organisation that is spearheading the anti-project movement, runs. PPSS has virtually converted the 4,004 acres into a fort, with 17 gates plugging all the roads to the core area. No gates open without the permission of PPSS. The PPSS chief, Abhaya Sahoo, guards the main gate at Balitutha, the entry point to the Posco site. The PPSS network is quite strong. When government officials or Posco company executives start from Bhubaneswar for Jagatsinghpur, Sahoo gets the information, and villagers are alerted immediately.

With the forest clearance coming through, and Lee's visit putting the project onto the fast track, the Jagatsinghpur Collector has put out ads asking betel vine owners to claim compensation and give up the land. Interestingly, the 4,004 acres is part of a vast stretch of land that was added to the mainland when the sea receded, so the landscape is dotted with huge sand mounds. The government says the reclaimed land is government land but people have lived here for generations.

Over the years, the forests too have disappeared—first the mangroves and then the casuarina plantations, destroyed by a super cyclone. Now, villagers grow betel vines and cashew on the high lands and have converted the low laying areas to paddy fields. "The paddy field gives us rice for the whole year and the betel vines the cash to buy other items," says Ramesh Mohanty. "We will not allow the Posco project to come up on this site," says PPSS chief Abhaya Sahoo. "No rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) policy is acceptable to us," he points out.

When you argue that Posco-India has promised to give a better package than the R&R package announced by the state government, Dinkia sarpanch Sisira Mohapatra, who is also the general secretary of PPSS, shows you the R&R package of Indian Oil Corporation (IOC) for the oustees of Paradip Refinery project. A vacant plot of seven acres, earmarked with concrete pillars outside village Dinkia, is the so-called rehabilitation colony. The abandoned, dilapidated facility centre (hospitals, schools and temples) isn't assuring villagers.

"We have seen the R&R package of a public sector company. How do we trust a foreign private company?" Mohapatra shoots back. The stories of promises not kept and the success of people's movements like the anti-missile test range agitation of Baliapal have kept the resistance against Posco alive. But the Orissa government too has made a heap of promises to Posco-India which it will find very difficult to walk away from.

## **Statement by CDRO against Operation Green Hunt**

**Dear friends,**

Since the transfer of power in 1947 there has not been a single year when the Indian government has not fought against our people, starting with suppression of Telengana uprising (1946-51) followed by war against Jammu and Kashmir, Naga people, against people of Manipur, Assam, etc. Fact findings by Civil Liberties – Democratic Rights groups, including PUDR, have brought out the fact that such wars/ armed conflicts are intrinsically 'dirty war' where casualties occur in form of encounters, custodial killings, enforced disappearances, mortar shelling, search and cordon operations, arbitrary detentions, torture, and rape. The new war, we fear, in its scale and spread of the war against the Naxalites/Maoists will cover predominately nine states. The fact that the war zone covers primarily tribal areas of 'heartland' India, which is mineral rich and where the specter of land grabs, displacement from forests, privatization of water resources and attack on people's sources of livelihood looms large, makes this war particularly gruesome.

We are convinced that this war is nothing short of an attempt at weakening the formidable resistance offered by our people against Government of India's neo-liberal policy. The resistance comprises struggles not only led by Maoists/ Naxalites (from CPI(ML) New Democracy to CPI(ML)

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Liberation), other organisations like PSBJC of West Bengal, CMAS of Narayanpatna, workers' movement in Gorakhpur, dalit landless agricultural workers led by All India Kisan Mazdoor Sabha in rural districts around Allahabad (UP), the NBA and other constituents of NAPM led struggles, Kalinganagar struggle spearheaded by CPI amongst several other. Contribution of this plurality of struggles, different in nature and even intent, is what has sustained the resistance. We the undersigned are convinced that singling out Naxalites/Maoists is precisely because they have offered the most stubborn resistance against neo-liberal policies of the Indian government, and which has acted as a fillip for the overall resistance being offered by other groups and parties. The collective resistance has thwarted so far Indian and foreign corporations from implementing more than hundred MOUs in Chattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand etc. This war, we believe, is precisely to enable corporations to enforce the secret MOUs which they have signed with the various state governments. We support all forms of resistance against this savage war for corporate development unleashed by the state against our own people.

However, we urge all warring parties to declare their unequivocal adherence to Geneva Convention and other international laws in order to ensure that civilians/noncombatants are not harmed.

We believe, that ethics of war, as enshrined in Article 3, common to the four Geneva Convention of 1949, enjoins on the parties, even to an internal conflict, to respect some basic principles of humanitarian behavior during war/armed conflict, and it is binding not just on governments but also on the insurgents/rebels / revolutionaries. Moreover, additional Protocol II of 1977 of Geneva Convention supplements Article 3 with few specific provisions where wars take place within a country.

We wish to point out that issues of legality, reciprocity or applicability of the ethical principles underlying Geneva Conventions and Protocol II cannot be made an excuse to deny that these principles, which govern war/armed conflict, can be complied with and implemented, by all warring sides in so far as their own combat personnel are concerned.

**A P C L C , A P D R ( W e s t Bengal), Bandi Mukti Morcha, COHR, CPDR, MASS, NPMHR, PCHR, PUDR.**

## **The Dirty Psychological War of The Liars in Power**

The Operation Green Hunt or the brutal countrywide war unleashed by the reactionary rulers of India with the active assistance of the imperialists, particularly American imperialists, is not targeted just at the Maoists and the marginalized indigenous people or adivasis and other rural poor. It is a war consciously directed at burying the truth. Chidambaram's war cannot get even the minimal justification if it does not suppress truth and float white lies in the form of authoritative "news" said to have obtained from "reliable" sources. Mindless Violence, Extortion, Authoritarianism and lavish life-styles of the leadership, are the most commonly used accusations against the Maoists.

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**We are reproducing below an article by Partho Sarathi Ray in *sanhati* website which exposes the police stories of extortion by Maoists.**

### **The Rs. 1500 crore "Maoist empire" or How the Police Plant Stories in the Press**

***By Partho Sarathi Ray, Sanhati. April 16 2010.***

"Think of the press as a great keyboard on which the government can play." - Joseph Goebbels

Propaganda is one of the main weapons of the government of India's Operation Green Hunt. The propaganda war is being waged in order to mould public opinion and turn liberal voices against the enemy, the Maoists. As part of this propaganda campaign, the government has brought out large, full colour advertisements (paid for by taxpayers' money) in major newspapers which have portrayed the Maoists as "ruthless killers" and as destroyers of public property.

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However a more insidious, and clandestine, part of the propaganda war, is to plant stories in the mainstream media in the form of “news”, which the average reader, having faith in the objectivity of the media as the main source of information, will take at face value as the truth. It is quite difficult to identify a news item as a police plant (we might just be able to guess), but a news story which appeared recently in the press, and was widely circulated, is a good illustration of what might be a story planted by intelligence agencies, with the connivance of the press.

It is a news story about the “Maoist empire”, the ways and means by which the Maoists apparently function like a corporation to raise a huge amount of money by “extortion, drugs, looting, ransom and robbery” to the tune of Rs 1500 crore. The main, and most widely circulated story appeared in the Sunday Times of India of 11th April, 2010, as a Special Report titled “The Maoist empire Rs 1500 crore and counting” datelined Bhubaneswar/Ranchi/Kolkata and written by three named staff reporters of Times of India (<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/sunday-toi/special-report/The-Maoist-empire-Rs-1500cr-and-counting/articleshow/5783114.cms>).

It describes in considerable detail the financial operations of the Maoists, analyses state-wise earnings from extortion, levies on businesses, poppy cultivation etc. and also delves into how this money is channeled into various states to run Maoist operations therein. Overall, it appears to provide convincing evidence that the Maoists are running a mafia under an ideological disguise. On reading, it seems to be a well researched piece of investigative journalism exclusively done for Tol by staff reporters. However everything did not seem to be so straightforward when nearly the same news story (in many places a word to word translation) was found to have been published in Bangla in the newspaper Icore Ekdin on 11th April (thumbnail below). In Ekdin, the news was datelined New Delhi and described as “nijaswa pratibedan”, which means it was done by staff correspondents of Ekdin. On looking up on the internet, the thing became clearer.

The same report had appeared on 11th April

(1) in Central Chronicle (a Madhya Pradesh-based news portal) under the category News Flash, datelined Bhubaneswar and attributed to agencies

(<http://www.in.com/news/business/fullstory-maoist-empire-croses-rs-1500-crore134892116b172ad048c3faba267d7b2ad872188ad097ac0f-1.html>),

(2) in Asian Age as a news story by a named correspondent

([http://www.asianage.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=8571:extortion-turns-the-wheels-of-parallel-red-economy-&catid=35:india&Itemid=60](http://www.asianage.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8571:extortion-turns-the-wheels-of-parallel-red-economy-&catid=35:india&Itemid=60))

(3) and in the Mumbai Mirror as a news story datelined Kolkata and again by a named correspondent

(<http://www.mumbaimirror.com/article/3/201004112010041103494768066ee0ac4/Intelligence-agencies-believe-Maoists%E2%80%99-annual-turnover-is-almost-Rs-1500-crore.html?pageno=1>).

The game was given up by the Mumbai Mirror story which attributes the news, even in the title of the news item, to intelligence agencies.

Therefore, what we see is that the same news story, including many common phrases and sentences, appearing in at least four different newspapers on the same day, three in English and one in Bangla (and also possibly in the Hindi press), and all claiming (except the Central Chronicle which attributes it to Agencies) that it is a piece of investigative journalism written by their staff reporters.

It is not even the case that the news first appeared in the Times of India (in the most detailed form) and was later copied by other newspapers, because the news appeared in all the papers (including in print) on the same day.

A quick internet search traces the story about the Rs 1500 crore “empire” of the Maoists to an article that appeared in the intelligence agency-run blog Naxal Terror Watch on 6th June, 2009. It is clearly a news story that was planted by the intelligence agencies (which the Mumbai Mirror divulged) with the connivance of reputed national newspapers, as a piece of propaganda to malign their adversaries, the Maoists. Such plants, appearing innocuously as news stories, and then getting widely distributed, soon become “public wisdom” and provide fodder to talk show hosts and news

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channel anchors and to the internet-savvy chatterati to push their own viewpoints in different fora and mould public opinion.

### **“Mindless violence” of the Maoists: How the rulers spread venom against the Maoists—the case of Phulwaria-Kodasi (Jamui)**

*“Mindless violence” or indiscriminate killing of ordinary civilians is yet another charge leveled against the Maoists as part of the Psy-War of the reactionary rulers. This is hurled at the Maoists by the Prime Minister, Home Minister, other reactionary political leaders, Police-Intelligence agencies, and widely covered by the electronic and print media with their own typical masala to further sensationalise the issue and create public opinion against the Maoists. By employing these cheap tricks the rulers do gain some advantage for a while since most people outside the areas of struggle or the areas where such acts of “mindless violence” are said to have taken place, become an easy prey. Even well-meaning democrats, civil rights activists and other intellectuals are pushed into a situation where they have to take a position publicly in the face of the “overwhelming evidence” manufactured by the political analysts and media. The inherent bias against the Maoists and the lack of ethics on the part of the media is revealed in the depiction of the Maoist attack on the criminal gang of murderers in Phulwaria-Kodasi village in Jamui district of Bihar. Not a single media source has tried to find out what happened in the village and why it happened. We are reproducing later in this issue a statement by the Jamui-Munger-Banka-Bhagalpur-Lakkisarai Zonal Committee of CPI(Maoist) issued immediately after the Maoist attack on the village.*

#### **OPEN LETTER TO UNION HOME MINISTER CHIDAMBARAM**

**From:** angrywal@hotmail

**To:** [hm@nic.in](mailto:hm@nic.in)

**Subject: Re Interview on NDTV Response from a member of civil society**

**Dear Shri Chidambaram,**

This is in response to your repeated taunts on NDTV that the civil society must respond to the wanton killing by the Naxals. It appears that the interview was tailor made for getting the consent of the Cabinet for more firepower and airpower to combat the Maoist. The diabolic support of Arun Jaitley, be it by describing you an injured martyr, was designed to achieve his ambition through the support of the mining barons of the BJP ruled states.

As a member of society I hope I am being civil in disagreeing with you on your hard line approach against the innocent tribal.. I also hope you will not find it too shocking for being accused of being largely responsible for the rise and growth of Naxalism, as the following happened on your watch as Finance minister.

Is it not true that Naxalism grew exponentially in the last ten years to become the present menace ? In fact you have yourself identified the time frame of the last ten years in your interview with NDTV.

Is it not true that the rise in popularity of Naxalism is also coincidental with the rise in iron ore mining profits which increased from around Rs50 per tonne to over Rs5000 per tonne in the last ten years?

Is it not true that the map of Naxalism is also the map of the Indian Minerals. These minerals belong to the people of India but have been handed over to mining barons and corporate in a relationship of mutual benefit, more appropriately described as crony capitalism. It is for this reason that Arun Jaitley is your staunchest supporter because the fate of four state government ruled by BJP is dependent on the money from the mining mafia..

**Is it not true that during your watch as Finance Minister for four and half years, corporate raked in a profit of over two lac crores through legal and illegal mining, mostly in the iron ore sector? How was this profit shared? Is it not true that during your entire tenure as FM the royalty on iron ore was not revised and remained at a ridiculous Rs 7 to 27/ tonne ( depending on the type and grade of iron ore) with the average of around Rs 15 per tonne.. This royalty**



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**was neither made ad valorem nor was it revised from year 2000 onwards when the international price of iron ore rose to dizzy levels.**

Is it not true that the minerals are owned by the people of the State? Is a meager 0.5 % royalty on iron ore profits adequate compensation to the owner of the resources? Would you sell your one crore property for Rs 50,000?

Did you fulfill the oath that you took as a Minister to abide by the Constitution, in particular Article 39 (b) and (c) of the constitution which directs the government to use natural resources owned by the people of the country are used to subserve the common good?

**Would the Naxal problem have been there if 25% of the mining profit was spent on the poor and the tribal living in the mining area and whose life was uprooted by the greedy corporate/mining mafia with active connivance of the law enforcers and policy makers ?**

What prevented the government from nationalizing the iron ore mine industry and handing it over to a PSU or NMDC whose shares of Re1/- was lapped at a premium of Rs300(30000% premium) and using the profit for benefit of the people? Are you aware that even a resource rich and affluent country like Australia with a low population base is imposing an additional 40% windfall tax on the mining profits? Can a poor country like India afford to forgo these windfall profits?

Will you reveal as to how many times you have defended public interest through PIL and how many times you have defended corporate interest during your professional career as a lawyer? The question is relevant because of your empathy for the corporate sector is in apparent conflict with that towards the toiling masses.

Is it wrong for the civil society to conclude that both as Home Minister and Finance Minister you have been protecting the corporate profiteers ( by first allowing them to loot the mineral wealth belonging to the people and now securing these mines for them) and not protecting the interest of the poor and tribal people who are victims of corporate greed and crony capitalism of the political parties? You in particular should have known better having been a Director of Vedanta Resources! In your appearance on NDTV you talked about the two prong approach and one of them having been weakened. It is the prong of development which has been weakened and is nonexistent. The royalty collected is not sufficient to pay for the various types of direct damages done by the mining industry ( health, environment, water, roads, rehabilitation etc) let alone the cost of security forces.

Is it not true that the killing of innocent security forces and tribal is the direct result of the policy of securing the mineral wealth for the corporate profiteers and political parties who share the loot? It was shocking to know that you were more concerned about your CV falling short by a few months of completing five years as Finance Minister when you met your maker) refer the NDTV interview) than about the blood of the innocent that has been spilled on both sides as a consequence of corporate profiteering.. It is not surprising that all the State government which get reelected on the money of the mining mafia are interested in using air cover to make mining safe and profitable ever after. You should know better the role of money in elections after having managed to squeak past the post while the DMK MPs romped home with handsome margin. Mr Raja retained his portfolio!. What is at stake is the credibility of the State : that it is using force to benefit the mining mafia and that it has a vested interest in the profiteering of the mining mafia which is prospering because of crony capitalism.

To restore its credibility the Government should resume all the mines which in any case belong to the people and give a solemn pledge that a minimum of 25% of the mining profits will be used for the benefit of the local people. The solution is not only just but one mandated by the Constitution. It is only after restoring its credibility that the State will have the right to act. That one hopes, will not be necessary because honest development based on the resources belonging to the people is the best contraceptive against the Maoist ideology .( One is happy to note that according to newspaper report the Mining Minister has made a similar proposal and not surprisingly facing resistance)

What happened Mr Chidambaram, you used to be a nice guy? You resigned over the Fairgrowth affair when you were not even guilty.

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Life is not about arguing a brief in Court for money. It is about arguing for what is right. You have wrongly accused us being “clever nor being devious “ ( refer interview with NDTV), because we are not capable of it. We cannot argue the way you do. Your arguments in Parliament over the oil for food programme while shielding Reliance from being referred to the Pathak Committee were indeed “brilliant.” Were you being clever or devious in your arguments? ( Refer the book Reliance the Real Natwar written by the undersigned for deciding the issue) Please do not use the civil society as an excuse for your omissions and commissions. We have no vested interest except that what belongs to the people should go to the people and that innocents, whether the security forces or the people forced to join the Maoist, should not die for corporate profits.. We are not powerful to tie the State governments with legal cases on police excesses. Those trying to uphold human right violations do so at considerable risk to their life and liberty and deserve our respect and not condemnation as misguided romantics.

On a personal note Sir, Will you resign and argue my PIL before the High Court involving three lac crores of iron ore being gifted by the State to Posco and Arcelormittal ( as Palkhivala did to argue the Minerva Mill case) . It will be difficult to lose the case because law, facts and most important you will be on the same side.

**If you agree to do so, Sir, I am sure He will give you far more credit than He would for the extra six months that you missed out as Finance Minister!**

In case you are interested I will send you a copy of the petition. Looking forward to hearing from you. For far too long you have been shifting the blame on the civil society. We too need answers..

With warm regards

A K Agrawal, E13/2 Vijaykiran Apartments, 32 Victoria Road, Bangalore 47

## **Muivah slams PC's 'suppression' Sympathy for Maoists**

NISHIT DHOLABHAI



Viswema (Nagaland), May 8: Naga leader Thuingaleng Muivah has hit out at P. Chidambaram's policy of “suppression” against Maoists and other dissenting groups, the attack coinciding with his anger at the Centre and Manipur's Congress-led government for refusing to let him enter the state by road.

In an interview with The Telegraph, the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (Isak-Muivah) general secretary dubbed the Union home minister “arrogant” and said the Maoist violence was a natural reaction to an exploitative state.

He, however, said he did not support the killing of ordinary people. In 2009, about 600 civilians and over 300 policemen were killed in Maoist violence across India.

“Whenever there is discrimination, whenever there is oppression and suppression, revolution is a matter of necessity. Discrimination is there. How can you ask Naxalites to obey Chidambaram? The one who has the arrogance of a Brahmin? Will you expect revolutionaries to follow that kind of approach? Stupid,” Muivah said.

Chidambaram is not a Brahmin, so Muivah may have been speaking figuratively. Muivah is angry with the home minister, the chief advocate of a nation-wide crackdown on Maoists, for saying the government would stamp out all terrorists, apparently including the NSCN-IM within that description.

“He thinks he can suppress by talking harsh words.... By containing the Naxalites, can he solve the problem? Impossible. By suppressing Nagas can he solve the problem?” Muivah said.

“Mr (Atal Bihari) Vajpayee respected (the) reality of the Nagas,” he added, suggesting Chidambaram did not want to understand the Nagas' history.

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Asked about the Brahmins within the Maoist leadership, however, Muivah said they had understood the ground reality.

What does he think of the Maoists' model of totalitarian rule?

"No, a time will come when they will adjust themselves but they will not surrender to democratic principles. The rich class is ruling, so you cannot say it is democracy. In the name of democracy there is exploitation. So your democracy is dangerous for you. Revolutions should not be ruled out," Muivah said.

Muivah had visited China in the 1960s and his outfit has had a Leftist leaning although it is based on a platform of Christianity. A few years ago, the CPI (Maoist) had approached his outfit, apparently to help them with arms.

Muivah did not specify why the Maoists had approached him but accepted that there was a meeting. "Sure, sure. I did not deny that (the meeting). I won't deny that. We had issued a statement also," he said.

The meeting had taken place at the NSCN-IM's camp in Hebron near Dimapur (on the Assam-Nagaland border).

The Maoists' methods, Muivah feels, could be justified in view of the prevailing circumstances. However, he said the killing of civilians was against Naga culture and his own conscience.

"Not a single innocent Indian individual or family was hurt (by the NSCN-IM). But the Government of India has failed to appreciate it... (it) refuses to understand us."

Ordinary people have been caught in the crossfire during battles between the NSCN-IM and rival outfits, but Muivah's group is not known to carry out ethnic cleansing or blasts at public places.

*(We are publishing the response of the CPI(Maoist) to an article entitled "Daylight At The Thousand-Star Hotel" written by Mr. B.G.Vergheese in the weekly magazine OUTLOOK dated May 03, 2010.)*

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## **Poverty of the Intellectual mind and Enlightened mind of the Backward Adivasi—**

### **A Response of CPI (Maoist) to BG Vergheese' article in Outlook**

After reading the "*Daylight At The Thousand-Star Hotel*" in *Outlook* magazine by Mr. BG Vergheese one is stunned by the abysmal poverty of thought and colonial mind-set of this renowned intellectual. How is it that the illiterate, seemingly uncivilized, backward half-naked adivasi thinks, analyses, and acts a lot better than our established, well-read, educationally highly qualified intellectual like BG Vergheese? One is, of course, not baffled if one looks at this from the point of view of the vast majority of the oppressed masses.

The history of freedom struggle in our country presents before us innumerable such contrasts: on the one side was the highly educated White man, with his vast, in-depth knowledge of the world and the natural and social sciences glorifying the British raj as a regime with a civilizing mission; while on the other was the half-naked, illiterate Indian who craved for freedom and independence. While the former, notwithstanding all his/her worldly knowledge and education, was basically a colonial oppressor, the latter was a just and zealous fighter for the legitimate basic human rights of an oppressed people. The freedom fighter was not impressed by the "development" brought into India by the British colonialists through their railways, roads, communication network, plantations, mines etc. Democracy for the colonialists, however much liberal and "democratic" their attitude might have seemed, stopped at the gates of their colony and all talk of democracy and liberal human values became mere trash and empty rhetoric. To justify their oppression of their subjects in the colonies the

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“educated” colonial intellectuals invented phrases such as “white man's burden”, “civilizing mission” of the White colonialist, and so on.

Verghese is a typical example of the self-proclaimed civilizers of modern-day India, akin to the white “civilizers” of yesteryears, who would have been the pride of a Rudyard Kipling. Through his article Verghese has revealed his colonial mind-set by vehemently arguing in favour of the civilizing mission of the corporate sharks and the Indian State to bring the poor backward adivasis from their dark ages and transform them from savages into civilized people. And how? Through their so-called development that destroys people’s economy, social life, culture and all the human values. Ironically, intellectual ignoramuses like Verghese imagine that adivasis are non-development’s casualties.

The corporate vultures and their police servants have said, through Verghese, what they think of a dialogue with the Maoists. Citing from my interview given to *The Hindu*, Mr. Verghese goes a step further than even some die-hard reactionaries and gives his own interpretation to my proposal for talks. He derides my statement that “*talks will give some respite to the people who are oppressed and suppressed under the jackboots of the Indian state...*” and interprets this as “*respite for the oppressed (cadres)*”. Such is the wishful imagination, cynicism, trivialization and vulgarization of a life-and-death question confronting millions of hapless people! Such pun on the part of this *sarkari* intellectual shows his sheer contempt for the poor adivasi masses and his callous indifference to the pathetic condition in which the adivasis live in the war zone.

One is astounded by the audacity with which he pooh-poohs the deep concern of our Party for the starving impoverished adivasis whose chronic famine conditions are so well-recorded by many reputed scholars and social activists, like Binayak Sen for instance, who is no admirer of Maoist politics and methods. One, of course, cannot expect every intellectual to be a Binayak Sen. But one at least expects an element of honesty and truthfulness from those who call themselves, or recognized by others, as intellectuals. The ease with which Mr. Verghese brushes aside our Party’s proposal for talks to provide a respite for the adivasi masses only reveals his utter inability to understand the pain of the millions of marginalized sections of the Indian society whose sweat, blood and tears had created the conditions for the existence of such intellectuals in the first place.

He also thinks that lifting the ban on our party, release of jailed leaders for the purpose of participating in talks, and respite for the oppressed (which he misinterprets as our party cadres) are unreasonable preconditions. He thus sums up our proposal to the extent his intellect grasps, or rather fails to grasp, and asks quite childishly: “*So the Maoists want the ban on the party lifted, detained leaders released, and respite for the “oppressed” (cadres) while planning to pursue “protracted war” with greater vigour. Is that a reasonable precondition that any state can accept without abdicating?*”

Would anyone, except our dear Mr. Verghese and other war-hungry hawks, imagine that the Maoists had placed respite as a precondition? We had only explained why we think a cease-fire is necessary to give respite to the oppressed and suppressed people in the war-torn zones. We had asked for a lifting of the ban and release of jailed leaders for participating in talks if at all talks materialize, which we had reiterated, was almost unlikely under the present dispensation since Chidambaram and his gang had a pre-programmed plan to wage war at any cost in order to loot the resources in the adivasi-inhabited areas. What is unreasonable in these demands? And how could an intellectual with access to knowledge of historical experiences in India and elsewhere talk like a philistine and display such a poor understanding about cease-fire and talks?

What is unreasonable when we openly declare that we adhere to our basic programme of new democratic revolution and to the means of achieving it even as we propose for a cease-fire and talks? We have no illusions that the rapacious Indian State, aided and assisted by imperialist plunderers, would fulfill the basic demands and democratic aspirations of the poorest sections of the people. No revolutionary organization will give up its long-term objective until it is fulfilled. None but an ignoramus would believe that the Indian State would reform itself, become pro-people, release itself from the clutches of imperialism and comprador business houses, seriously put an end to the endless corruption and solve the problems of the majority of the Indian people living in the most wretched conditions. Hence our Party firmly believes that revolution is the only solution. But does this basic premise contradict our proposal for a cease-fire and talks about which the government, particularly Chidambaram, have been talking endlessly? Would accepting our proposal mean abdication by the

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State, as asserted by Mr. Verghese? One who does not understand this simple thing has not understood the ABC of war and peace.

In any war there can be several periods of peace depending on many factors such as natural calamities which affect a significant chunk of the population and need relative peace for reconstruction and assistance to the victims; war of aggression by another country which calls for the united resistance of one and all; war fatigue among the people and even the belligerents; chronic famine conditions for a sizeable proportion of the people arising basically out of prolonged period of war; the needs of either side for a respite for various reasons, and so on. However, it is only when both sides in the war feel the need for peace that a mutual cease-fire and a situation for initiating a dialogue will arise. At times there could also be unilateral cease-fire by one side which could lead to the political mobilization of the masses for peace and put pressure on the other side to pursue the same. People of the intellectual genre such as Mr. BG Verghese should study the experiences of various types of war which had witnessed many interesting episodes, periods of peace and talks followed by renewed escalation of the war.

Verghese does not speak like an impartial observer but betrays his conscious motive of tarnishing the Maoists with his ideologically bankrupt and outdated rhetoric. His inherent bias is clear from several of his observations such as when he accuses the Maoists of posing like "*Robin Hoods but rule by fear and authoritarian command over cowed camp-followers*". He further says: "*Many comrades have broken rank in disgust over the Maoists' brutality and hubris.*" But can he cite any authentic source for his accusation leaving out the disinformation campaign unleashed by the reactionary rulers and their police-intelligence wings? How many comrades have broken rank in disgust over our "brutality and hubris"? We challenge him to prove what he had alleged and furnish his list of the "many comrades" who broke rank in disgust. In fact, it is the solid unity among the entire rank and file of the CPI(Maoist) that has rattled the reactionary rulers. Their attempts to sow dissensions or at least spread their vicious, fanciful imagination of differences within the Maoist leadership had ended up as miserable fiascos. Can intellectuals like Verghese, through their web of lies and false accusations, succeed in lending legitimacy and credibility to the rulers' attempts to paint the Maoists as authoritarian tyrants lording over their cowed "camp-followers"?

No wonder, for a person who sees nothing but a culture of fear and authoritarianism everywhere, in virtually every party led by one or two authoritarian individuals whether it be Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, LK Advani, Karunanidhi, YSR Reddy, Chandrababu Naidu, Jyoti Basu and so on, it is difficult to imagine genuine democracy and mutual trust that is the hall-mark of a proletarian Party like ours. Maoists never consider themselves as Robin Hoods and had even undertaken deep reviews of how the cult of the individual is part of the bourgeois culture, and how it is the people who are the real heroes. Besides a strong ideological-political unity, there is conscious effort to promote collective functioning right from the central committee to the mass organization committees which is one reason why every attempt to split the Party had failed right from the time of KG Sathya Murthy and Kondapalli Seetharamayya in erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] or Bharath and Badal in erstwhile MCCI.

One is dumb-struck to hear Mr. Verghese chide Arundhati Roy saying: "*Why scoff at a cancer hospital built near Raipur by Vedanta, the aluminum corporate, or the proposed Vedanta University in coastal Orissa? Are these by definition all wicked enterprises?*" Then he goes on repeating Ms Roy's observations on the pathetic health conditions and lack of any health care in Dandakaranya and asks: "*So where do we begin? By burning down the Vedanta hospital?*"

Should one think it is due to his innocence or due to his false consciousness derived from the non-stop propaganda by the corporate sharks, or due to his conscious partisanship in favour of the oppressors, that Mr. Verghese poses such a foolish question which is obvious to even an ordinary illiterate adivasi? While for Mr. Verghese, Vedanta appears as a benevolent enterprise that benefits the people, life has taught the adivasis what Vedanta stands for. **Even as Mr. Verghese comes forth as an apologist for the worst perpetrators of crimes against humanity and is swayed by the benevolence of these cultures, we find on the other hand organizations like the Church of England, and several shareholders in Vedanta exhibiting better rationale by withdrawing their shares from Vedanta and rightly criticizing it for its gross violation of human rights, destruction of environment and uprooting the adivasis.** Even the colonialists seem more humane and rational than the slavish intellectuals in their former colonies!! Moreover, even the Supreme Court of India and the Environment Ministry have raised objections to the proposed Vedanta University and

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mining venture. Only a Chidambaram, who served as a member of its Board of Directors until 2004, and Verghese, with his “compassionate” colonial mind-set of “civilizing” the backward people, can stand up in support of vultures like Vedanta, Tata, POSCO, Jindal...

The colonial mind-set of this modern-day civilizer is seen at its best when he says: “Yes, *there will be land acquisition and displacement—that is the story of civilisation; but there will also be resettlement, compensation and training for new vocations.*” The adivasis and poor peasants in our country can never imagine how people like Verghese can distort history so thoroughly and so shamelessly. Ask the 60 million people who had been displaced by the land acquisition by the “civilizers” for whom Verghese has only accolades. How and why such barbarism is called the story of civilization, only Mr. Verghese knows best. To convince the skeptics he further says: “*Admittedly, this (i.e resettlement, compensation..) has not always been done wisely or well. But times are changing. New legal frameworks, better norms, closer monitoring, improved R&R and livelihood packages have continuously been put in place.*”

**Mr. Verghese here comes out as an incarnation of the typical Indian bureaucrat, like a GK Pillai. All intellectual pretence is shed here and Verghese reveals himself as a loyal servant of the Indian comprador sharks by advocating that times are changing and everything is working out well for the rehabilitation of the displaced people.** So why all this hullabaloo about land acquisition and displacement is being raked up by people like Arundhati Roy and others? Why should people fight against development just because it displaces them? Why should people oppose the civilizing role of the corporates and their protector, the Indian State? Having come to the conclusion about the civilizing role of corporate development and admiring the corporate social responsibility (CSR) it is but natural and logical for this colonial intellectual to decry Maoists and every people’s struggle against corporate sharks and against displacement from their land. And hence the brutal suppression of the people’s movements by the Indian state is quite justified and legitimate for it is aimed at promoting civilization! So goes the logic of argument of Mr. Verghese.

He states his imagined virtues of the corporates without a sense of shame: “*There is much virtue in translating Gandhi’s concept of trusteeship in a new and evolving idiom of CSR to which corporates, the state and courts have variously given expression. The new deals being worked out by the POSCOs, Vedantas, Tatas, Mittals and others are greatly in advance of what was on offer even five years ago.*” What Mr. Verghese is trying to say is let the corporates enjoy the mineral wealth and loot the country at will as long as they throw some crumbs as charity or social responsibility to the poor helpless wretched beings who are thrown out of their homes and lands. **Why not Mr. Verghese visit Balitutha, Dhinkia, Nuagaon in Jagatsighpur district in Orissa and convince the anti-POSCO agitators to understand the new paradise that is being built for them by his corporate bosses? Or visit Baligotha, Chandia, Baragadia in Kaliganagar to make the “backward” adivasis protesting against Tata steel project see reason and the civilization that is brought forth to their midst by these corporates?** After centuries of rapacious plunder by capitalist gangs that had led to the monopoly control of the world’s resources by a handful of Corporations, this man still exhibits his stupidity by calling for trusteeship by corporates! In other words, he is calling the people to meekly accept whatever is thrown at them by the vultures in exchange for their lands and displacement. What better loyal servant can the corporate sharks find?

Another interesting instance where our renowned intellectual distorts facts is regarding growth in population of the tribals. In his attempt to disprove the apprehension of Ms Roy about a probable genocide of the tribals as a result of the war waged by the Indian State, Mr. Verghese completely distorts and seeks to divert the real issue by saying in a cavalier manner that “*the tribal population of India was 19.1 million in 1951, rose to 84.3 mn according to 2001 census and is estimated to be just short of 100 mn (8.1 per cent of the population) today.*” **Had he exerted a little effort he would have known that the seemingly huge growth in the population figures of scheduled tribes in India is not because there has been an increase in the population of the tribes as such but because of the inclusion of several hitherto non-tribals into the category of tribes.**

The status quoist, anti-communist bias and hatred of this bourgeois intellectual is a running thread throughout his article. He acts as an apologist for the reactionary deeds of the rulers and at times his language is indistinguishable from that of Chidambaram. For instance, his attitude towards the occupation of schools by the security forces is criminally casual. He says: “*Yes, schools in Naxal-*

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*affected areas are often occupied by security forces, not to prevent education but because schooling and other developmental activities, such as they are, have come to a halt."*

Even worse, he targets the Maoists by accusing them of opposing schools and as being interested only in setting up indoctrination centres! This statement reveals the extent of indoctrination this intellectual mind has been subjected to by the omni-potent omni-present imperialist media and the servile education system of which he is a product. He charges: "*The Maoists, for their part, don't want schools but only agitprop centres to indoctrinate the young.*"

Then he goes on to speak in a language that is indistinguishable from Chidambaram's: "*Development and connectivity threaten them. Hence they destroy roads, culverts, bridges. Hence the wanton attacks on railway and highway projects that would, if completed, connect and open up remote, backward areas. If education, health services, roads, irrigation, markets and communications are provided and poverty rolled back, the Maoists would be out of business.*"

**Can one find any difference between what Mr. Verghese says with that of Chidambaram who hurled a similar charge against the Maoists.** Speaking at JNU recently Chidambaram said:

*"Maoists want to ensure the tribals were inaccessible and incommunicado (from mainstream) by blowing up buildings, railway tracks and targeting developmental projects.*

*"Are they trying to create an archaeological museum in the tribal areas by keeping the tribals away from development," he asked.*

While one can understand Chidambaram, as a loyal representative of the corporate sharks, uttering such trash, it is really amusing to see intellectuals like Verghese imagining such weird things and drawing fantastic subjective conclusions. If our adivasis hear this they would laugh at the bankruptcy and ignorance of these intellectual minds. On several occasions, we had clarified these questions. We explained why we are targeting roads, bridges etc. Let alone opposing, our Party had even led people's struggles demanding the setting up of schools, appointment of teachers, health services, markets, irrigation and so on. In fact, seeing the utter apathy of the rulers we ourselves had set up schools, dug wells, dug tanks and developed irrigation to an extent, increased the productivity and yields of the crops, organized co-operatives, trained local doctors, built roads, and even bridges deep inside the forest.

Yet Verghese concludes that development and connectivity threaten the Maoists! And that hence they go about destroying roads, bridges etc.!!

Why would the Maoists be threatened by development and connectivity? If Mr. Verghese and his brand of intellectuals think that concrete roads are the barometer of development they are living in a fool's paradise. Instead of talking of providing the people with safe drinking water, health care etc, Verghese falls prey to the ruling class scheme of development that displaces the adivasis and destroys their lives, lands and culture. **He says roads and railways open up remote backward areas. True. But for whom are these opened up? Is it for the benefit of the people or for the narrow class interests of a handful of mining and industrial companies, forest contractors, and police tormentors who make the life of the adivasi a veritable hell? It doesn't need much intellect to grasp this fact. However, it indeed requires great courage to break oneself from the shackles of the colonial mind-set that bind us from birth.**

Even more amusing is the imagination of poor Mr. Verghese that the Maoists are working only among the adivasis and that they will be "out of business" once the adivasi areas become developed. **He does not even know the programme of the Maoists which is to mobilise the vast majority of the suffering people throughout the country. Can the Maoists seize power and establish the "totalitarian state" Mr. Verghese is talking of without organizing the non-adivasi majority living in the advanced regions of the country?**

Another interesting thing is Mr. Verghese thinks the rulers can "develop" the adivasi region, and provide all the basic necessities. His concept of development is indeed amusing. The class-biased, anti-people viewpoint of the writer becomes clear in his dogmatic assumption that "*the Maoists have their sights on nothing less than reconstructing India as a totalitarian state.*" Enjoying a privileged life

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as an intellectual, Verghese wants the status quo to continue which reduces almost three-quarters of the population to a life of abject poverty, hunger and starvation, fosters the most obscurantist, reactionary undemocratic values and culture to flourish. For an intellectual like him even the cruelest oppression and suppression of the majority of the Indian people is tolerable when compared to his imagined “totalitarianism” of a Maoist-led State. Hence he says he can tolerate steel kings, aluminum kings, mafia gangs and other corporate sharks but dreads to see the Maoists “reconstructing India as a totalitarian state”! With such shameless apologists around, no wonder Vedanta, POSCO, Tata, Mittal, Essar and the like get a boost for their illegitimate anti-people activities.

Verghese also refers to salwa judum as a savage blot but concludes that “strategic hamleting” was confined to one district and was prevented from being extended to any other district, even in Chhattisgarh. But who had prevented it and how was it prevented from extending to other districts he prefers to be silent. **If he has any honesty he should admit that it is the heroic resistance, both armed and unarmed, by the adivasi masses led by the Maoists since the end of 2005 that had upset the devious plans of the reactionary rulers to uproot the entire adivasi population; that Salwa Judum was defeated and prevented from creating havoc in newer areas because the Maoists and the adivasi masses had dealt a death-blow to this state-sponsored terrorist gang by carrying out daring militant offensives such as Ranibodili and Errabore; that the rulers had never given up their fond wish to drive the entire adivasi population into strategic hamlets and that the current salwa judum part II unleashed by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang is precisely to achieve that unfinished goal.** With a little bit of objectivity Mr. Verghese could never have missed the fact that it is the people’s revolutionary resistance alone that had stopped salwa judum’s murderous campaign.

Lastly, Herr Verghese fondly hopes: *“The Maoists will fade away, democratic India and the Constitution will prevail, despite the time it takes and the pain involved.”* **If the Maoists fade away by the superiority of your development model then why are the advocates of your development keen on brutally suppressing the Maoists and the adivasis they are leading?** In which part of India is the Constitution prevailing, my dear Verghese? In Dantewada, Bijapur, Kanker, Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon? In Jharkhand, Orissa? In Lalgah, Jungal Mahal? Is it prevailing in the Kashmir Valley? Manipur? Where is your Constitution hiding for 25 long years after thousands of Sikhs were massacred? When thousands of Muslims were decimated? When lakhs of peasants are compelled to commit suicides? When thousands of people are murdered by state-sponsored salwa judum gangs? When adivasi women are gang-raped? When people are simply abducted by uniformed goons? Where is your Constitution for the majority of the people who cannot fight legally against the atrocities by the rich and powerful forces? Your Constitution is a piece of paper that does not even have the value of a toilet paper for the vast majority of the Indian people.

Finally, his comment *‘People’s Tribunals’ keep mouthing yesterday’s tired slogans. They do not see tomorrow; may be they even fear it*” applies more to people like him. He keeps mouthing yesterday’s outdated, monotonous slogans like “end of history”, “there-is-no-alternative”, “demise of communism”, “totalitarian state” under the communists, and so on. He does not see tomorrow. He even fears it. The spectre of communism sends shivers down his spine.

# VOICES AGAINST WAR

**A Briefing to the International and All-India Media  
based on Press Reports in the Local Languages involved,  
Fact-finding Reports of teams of Democratic and Civil Rights Organisations  
and the Statements issued by the CPI (Maoist)**

**5 March 2010**



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***(Press Note released in a Press Conference held at Foreign Correspondents' Club, New Delhi on 5<sup>th</sup> March 2010)***

The last quarter of 2009 has been quite significant in the annals of history of the Indian subcontinent with the much publicised war, euphemistically called as Operation Green Hunt, of the Government of India on the Adivasis—the poorest of the poor— of the region ostensibly to usher in, what is being time and again termed as Progress, Prosperity and Peace. The tragedy unfolding behind the smokescreen of this media blitz of the Government of India should be brought to the notice of one and all for its alleged intentions, and the real, concrete fallout of this campaign that is taking place under the direct guidance of the learned, erudite Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the lawyer/politician/finance minister turned Home Minister P Chidambaram.

### **An unprecedented military offensive**

If the total number of government forces presently engaged in this operation is taken in its entirety (including the paramilitary forces and the state elite police) it comes close to a quarter of a million. This is more than double the US forces presently deployed in the occupation of Iraq—approximately 120 thousand in September 2009—and bigger than the armies of Australia, Netherlands and South Africa put together. The preparations speak volumes about the real intentions of the government as Indian Air Force helicopters turned into gun ships are being used against adivasis, airstrips constructed in Raipur and Jagdalpur, jungle-warfare schools opened to train the forces in special operations, new barracks and bases to station armed forces are established all over the war zone, public buildings including schools and panchayat houses are converted to paramilitary and police camps and torture chambers. To top it all, army commanders are overseeing the war operations while US is providing 'advisors', military intelligence, satellite surveillance and 'guidance'—in one word called logistic support.

Contrary to the claims of the government, to secure the land against “the single largest internal security threat”—Naxalism—to this country, what is unfolding to the concern and anguish of every democratic and progressive mind is the calculated assault on the tribal people inhabiting the forests of Jharkhand, West Bengal stretching from Paschimi Midnapur-Bankura-Purulia in West Bengal to Srikakulam-Vishakhapatnam-Vizianagaram-East Godavari in North Andhra Pradesh and Khammam-Warangal-Adilabad in North Telangana as well as the eastern districts of Maharashtra – Gadchiroli and Chandrapur. The war zone under the blue-print of the Operation Green Hunt slated by the Government of India includes the Southern districts of Orissa – Koraput, Gajapati, Ganjam and Mulkangiri.

This has added yet another sordid chapter to the continuing assault on the tribals of the subcontinent in the form of Destruction, Destitution, Displacement and Death (four dreaded Ds of the Indian state's policy). Thus the campaign for Prosperity, Progress and Peace by the Government of India under the UPA government is bringing in untold miseries to the adivasis in the form of Destruction of their lives and livelihoods, growing Destitution among them, massive Displacement running into hundreds of thousands due to increasing atrocities of barbaric dimensions by the paramilitary and security personnel, and last but not the least Deaths and Disappearances of tribals who have refused to leave the forest areas which are their natural habitats. Thousands of paramilitary, CoBRA, Greyhounds, C-60 and other elite armed police forces reared for this purpose by the state governments are being deployed in each and every part of Dandakaranya and other regions under this operation. These forces are entering forests, hills and village settlements unleashing immense brutality on unarmed and defenceless adivasis.

Adding intrigue to this murderous exercise, the Home Minister, who has been, and is still travelling the length and breadth of this country, announcing the various facets of this US inspired war on the poorest of the poor of this land, is the sudden and audacious denial by the minister himself about the presence of any such operation termed as the Operation Green Hunt. What provokes any discerning mind into consternation is the total blackout in the media of continuing atrocities on the tribals while P Chidambaram who had earlier graphically explained the various manifests of the Operation goes on a denial mode of such a massive military exercise—with the paramilitary belonging to the CRPF, BSF, CoBRA, Grey Hounds, C-60, SPOs and what not deployed in the forest tracts of Central and East India—unheard or untold in the history of this region.

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## The terror of development

While this massive operation is taking place in the rural interiors of Central and Eastern India, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh spoke with a forked tongue at the *Chief Minister's Conference on Implementation of the Forest Rights Act 2006*, on 4 November 2009 in New Delhi. To quote: "There has been a systemic failure in giving the tribals a stake in the modern economic processes that inexorably intrude into their living spaces. The alienation built over decades is now taking a dangerous turn in some parts of our country. The systematic exploitation and social and economic abuse of our tribal communities can no longer be tolerated." But the Prime Minister was quick to add while stressing the need to make tribals "the primary beneficiaries of the development process", the need to win the "the battle for their hearts and their minds".

What is worth mentioning here is that the geographical terrain, where the government's military offensive is planned, is very well-endowed with natural resources like minerals, forest wealth, biodiversity and water resources, and has been the target of systematic usurpation by several large, both Indian and foreign, corporations. So far, the resistance of the local indigenous people against their displacement and dispossession has prevented the government-backed corporates from exploiting the natural resources for their own profits and without regard to ecological and social concerns. As hundreds of MoUs have been signed by the various state governments under the auspices of the Central Government and the foreign and domestic corporations the government is deliberately hiding the truth behind this unprecedented military offensive as an attempt to crush democratic and popular resistance against dispossession and impoverishment. Significantly the Prime Minister himself is on record talking about the need to make way for the vast mineral and other forest wealth in these forest lands to be exploited to facilitate the march to progress. This is corroborated by the statement of the Home Minister about the need to 'secure the whole area' first so as to usher in 'development'. Operation Green Hunt thus is unequivocally a calculated move towards facilitating the entry and operation of these large corporations and paving the way for unbridled exploitation of the natural resources and people of these regions.

### Operation Green Hunt—a euphemism for genocide of the tribals



Policemen in Gadchiroli on their daily patrol

Of significance is the number of killings that has happened ever since the commencement of the Operation Green Hunt, say from the third week of September under the gaze of the 'Reality Show' driven sensation hungry media wherein more than 4000 CRPF and 600 anti-Naxal CoBRA commandos entered Dantewada's Chintagufa area. People resisted this intrusion by the government's armed forces, and in the battles six soldiers, including two commanding officers were killed.

To avenge the death of the armed forces, the troops 'managed' a massacre of adivasis while resorting to arson of their villages, in which at least nine villagers were murdered in cold blood and four villages got totally gutted leaving nothing behind. The government claimed that all those killed were Maoists, while the eye-witness accounts, local media reports and independent fact-finding visits have confirmed that it was yet another stage-managed genocide of adivasi villagers, who were picked up and killed. Starting from the incident of 9 August 2009 in Vechhapal under Bhairamgarh police station (Bijapur district) to the one near Kistaram (Dantewada district) on 10 November 2009, all have been fake-encounters. Seventy adivasis in total have been killed in these fake encounters in this period. It should be noted that not a single one among them was a Maoist!

The government's claim of killing 7 'Naxals' in an encounter on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 2009 near Kistaram is incorrect as the CPI (Maoist) issued a statement stating that none of their cadres died in the incident. It must be registered here that even if one of their cadres get killed, the CPI (Maoist) declares it openly apropos the normal conduct of CPI (Maoist) is observed. On 9 December, more than 500 paramilitary and policemen entered the area under Kistaram police station from Cherla Dommaguda police station area in Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh. They reached Tetemadgu village through Dokpad and Kurigundam, and encircled it. From morning to evening of that day, the police burnt down houses, women were particularly targeted through sexual violence while the rest of the villagers got brutally tortured. They took away four persons from the village. Two more villagers

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from Dokpad who came to visit their relatives in Tetemadgu were also abducted in this manner. After spending the night in the forests, the police force reached Palodi village in the morning of 10 December; they detained yet another adivasi while completely burning down the village. The police then took all the seven captives near Kistaram and riddled them with bullets. The government is quick to claim this to be an 'encounter' with the Maoists. The police took away a few more adivasi villagers with them. Till date they are untraceable.

Between 7-9 November hundreds of CRPF, CoBRA, SPOs and police forces unleashed a reign of terror in the adivasi villages under Chintagufa police station. They attacked the villagers of Burkopal on 7 November, Elma Gonda on 8 November, Minpa on 9 November, and forcibly abducted 24 persons. Their whereabouts or their fate is still unknown even after two months. Given the track record of the security personnel operating with impunity there is every reason to apprehend that the police has murdered many of them and disposed of the dead bodies.

At least seven adivasis were murdered by the paramilitary-Salwa Judum forces in different villages under Kistaram police station between 9 and 10 November 2009. Of them six were abducted from Tetemadgu and Dogpadu villages on 9 November while the other was picked up the next day from Palodi village. As the recent Tehelka field investigation with eyewitness accounts confirms, the two villagers from Dogpadu—Madkam Budra and Vando Mangdu—were dragged from their villages and shot dead. Similarly, eight adivasi villagers were killed on a single day on 9 January 2010 to be branded later as 'Maoists'. While four were murdered in Sarpanguda under Jegurgonda police station in Dantewada, the other four were killed in Farasgaon under Benur police station in Narayanpur district of Chhattisgarh.

The body count of the adivasis is mounting day by day with intensification of the Operation Green Hunt. According to the government's own admission 107 'Maoists' have been killed during the joint operations under Green Hunt till mid-January. As more and more information pour in from local reporters and facts collected by activists braving heavy repression and threat to their lives, there are reasons to believe that as much as four-fifth of them were unarmed and defenceless adivasi villagers who have been killed in cold blood in fake encounters.

Operation Green Hunt has replaced the Salwa Judum—one of the worst murderous campaigns on the adivasis—with much more brutality as is evident from what is unfolding in the poor tribal hamlets in this mineral rich forest tracts. If in Salwa Judum more than a thousand adivasis lost their lives in Dantewada and Bijapur districts alone, in the hands of the 4500 SPOs created by the government, the present onslaught reaching fascist proportions is adding to those statistics of the growing casualties of adivasis. More than 700 villages were burnt down and close to three hundred thousand people were displaced from their homes in the worst days of Salwa Judum. In all the places where the Operation Green Hunt is on, the police, paramilitary and SPOs are resorting to large scale arson, rape, torture, illegal detention, destruction of property, burning down of villages apart from regularly gunning down adivasis in so-called encounters claiming them as Maoists. The print media has reported that an additional two hundred thousand adivasis have left their homes and took refuge in the neighbouring Andhra Pradesh in the last three months fearing atrocities during Operation Green Hunt. Moreover, the Chhattisgarh government is planning to make strategic hamlets out of the displaced population forced to live in government-run camps, thereby permanently dispossessing them of their ancestral land.

In Maharashtra, Operation Green Hunt was launched in the second week of October from the Gadchiroli district, in which 10,000 troops took part. M17 helicopters of the Air Force gave surveillance and logistical support. 18 bases have been established by the paramilitary forces from where they are launching combing operations and extermination campaigns. Large scale repression of people are reported from in the eastern districts of the state, where the police and Anti-Naxal forces like the C-60 have a long history of committing atrocities and terror on the adivasi people in the name of curbing Maoism/Naxalism. In March 2009, policemen from the C-60 force gang-raped a 13 year old girl in the Pavarvel village in Dhanora tehsil. In the Kosimi village of the same tehsil, policemen from Gyarapatti police station raped and killed Mynaben, a 52 year old adivasi villager in May last year. In the latest assault on the people, the paramilitary forces are given a license to kill and torture by the government.

In Jharkhand too, the initial rhetoric of peace talks and negotiations by the newly-elected chief minister Shibu Soren has now taken a u-turn for support to the Operation Green Hunt. The

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government has stepped up the mobilisation of its armed forces by bringing in CRPF battalions from Asom and Tripura. The unleashing of state terror on the people of Jharkhand is not new, particularly on those sections who have resisted the state-sponsored corporate attack on jal-jangal-jameen. In fact, the police and paramilitary forces along with the vigilante gangs propped up by them like the Nagarik Suraksha Samiti, Tiritiya Prastuti Committee, Sunlight Sena etc. have long been a byname for repression, torture, rape and murder. Like Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, Jharkhand too has recently raised a special 'anti-Naxal' force called the Jharkhand Jaguars in order to crush any voice of dissent against the government's policy of destruction in the name of development. Anyone and everyone who dares to stand up against the attack on the lives and livelihood of the oppressed, is branded as a Maoist or a Maoist sympathiser, and persecuted. Various people's movements against the displacement of adivasis, civil rights organisations, etc. are facing state repression for a long time in Jharkhand, the scale and brutality of which is going to go up during the fascist extermination campaign of Operation Green Hunt. We can already see the inevitable fallouts of this war on people as exemplified by the murder of Rajendra Yadav who was picked up on the night of 31st December 2009 by Jharkhand police, tortured in the name of interrogation, and killed in custody. Similarly in Orissa there are several cases of rape, arson and killing reported from Narayanpatna ever since the commencement of the operation. In fact the president of the Chhasi Adivasi Muliya Sangha was shot dead while in a demonstration before the police and the paramilitary.

### **Draconian Laws and blanket ban on any form of dissent**

Despite the rhetoric of the battle for the hearts and minds from none other than the Prime Minister the manner in which the security and paramilitary forces have wreaked havoc in the lives of the adivasis stand testimony to the utter disregard for the laws and procedures of the land. In fact several laws like the UAPA and the Chhattisgarh Special Areas Act are being conveniently used on anyone and everyone who dares to raise the voice against the policies of the government. The recent arrest and booking of KN Pandit, veteran trade unionist and anti-displacement activist in Ranchi and Gananath Patra, former professor and veteran communist leader who is also the official advisor of Chhasi Adivasi Muliya Sangha of Narayanpatna at Bhubaneswar are fresh examples of the increasing lawlessness of the police and paramilitary in their desperate attempts to browbeat the people into submission. In fact any effort to make independent fact findings into these areas have become next to impossible with the police and the murderous goons of the local parties join hands to humiliate and assault the civil rights activists and intellectuals who took care to visit these areas. The recent case of the humiliation and assault on the all women fact finding team that went to the villages in Narayanpatna to record the testimonies of the rape victims in the police stations let alone in public by the police and the goons speaks volumes of how the Government of India would want to browbeat the hearts and minds of the people into submission. Another case was the detention of the 30 member fact finding team that was trying to visit the areas of atrocities in Dantewada and Bijapur districts.

What is evident from the increasing arrests, incarceration of activists of people's movements fighting for the rights to lives and livelihoods is a clear cut case of the government bringing in 'development' through the barrel of the gun. As is evident from the protests and various submissions made to the governments at the Centre and the states it is evident that these talk about development is nothing but a total loot and plunder of the local people and their resources. The fact that all these areas that are under the cross hairs of the war machine of the government come under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution has hardly deterred the local administration, police and the paramilitary to break laws and provisions with impunity.

Despite the heavy militarisation and the terror unleashed by the governments the protests from the people against such anti-people pro-corporate/multinational policies of sell-out have only increased. The efforts of the centre and the states to handle the situation as a pure 'law and order question' have further deteriorated the situation. The Indian government's proposed military offensive will repeat that story all over again. Instead of addressing the source of the conflict, instead of addressing the genuine grievances of the marginalized people the Indian state seems to have decided to opt for the extremely myopic option of launching a military offensive. As conscious citizens of this country and sensitive to the questions of inclusive growth, justice and equality for all we strongly demand the government at the centre and the states to immediately stop this extermination of the adivasis reminiscent to the days of the US genocide of the Red Indians.

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### **'Rights activists get Maoist tag'**

The Hindu, 1 March 2010

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## War on terror has degenerated into war against tribals : Prashant Bhushan

Human rights activists, journalists and fact finding committee were being targeted to intimidate them so that there could be no dissenting voices against the State's alleged war on terror, which had degenerated into a war against the tribals, advocate Prashant Bhushan alleged here over the week-end.

He was speaking at a press conference held to protest against the alleged labeling of civil rights groups and peoples' movements as Maoist front organisations.

### Charge-sheet against Ghandy

Reading from the charge-sheet filed against Maoist leader Kobad Ghandy by the Special Cell of the Delhi Police, Mr. Bhushan said: "Their other front organisations like RDF, PDFIm Committee for Release of Political Prisoners, Indian Association of People's Lawyers took up the issues of human rights violations, civil liberties, atrocities by the police... Other civil liberties and human rights organisations i.e. PUDR, PUCL, Association for Protection of Democratic Rights also take up the issues of their outfits – CPI (Maoist). These organizations play a very important role to broaden the base of the outfit."

People, who expressed sympathy with human rights activists or exposed and criticized government actions, were accused of being front organisations of the Maoists he added.

### Tribals harassed

Mr. Bhushan said: "The government has done little for the tribals and now they are trying to snatch their land, when tribals agitate peacefully in the State security forces descend on them, harass them and burn their villages.

"About 700 villages have been burnt in the past two years in Chhattisgarh. People are bound to protest and take up arms. For every 100 Maoists eliminated, thousands are created through collateral damage."

The country was turning into a fascist State through suppression of dissent and this would lead to an escalating state of violence resulting in civil war, he added.

### Talks favored

Stressing that the State could not use illegal means to curb violence, retired Justice Rajender Sachar said: "The State cannot be a terrorist. It is the ultimate repository of law and order.

"Talks should happen between the government and the Maoists in an open atmosphere where there is no fear. Both sides should cease hostilities for dialogue to take place. The Maoist representative should be granted immunity for the period of talks. In case the talks fail, both sides should be able to return to their respective areas."

### To approach Court

"PUCL will go to court to remove its name from the charge-sheet," he added. Concurring that the government and Maoists should have talks amid a ceasefire, writer Arundhati Roy said: "Fight for civil liberties, prisoners' rights and mere thoughts are being criminalized. If those who support human rights activists in their struggle are considered front organisations of the Maoists, by the same argument the Home Ministry too should be considered the over ground representatives of big corporations."



"We are in a situation," said Ms. Roy, "wherein corporatization of natural resources such as coal and iron ore has led to scandals galore and it is this money which can buy governments, elections, courts and media, making our democracy the best democracy that money can buy today. Despite a large number of farmer suicides and a majority of the population living below poverty line, we have the most expensive elections in the world and the money for the same comes from the iron ores of Karnataka and Chhattisgarh and bauxite in Orissa which is then issued to cleverly subvert democracy and wage war against its own people."



Sumit Chakravarty, Editor, *Mainstream* magazine, said: "The Union government has undertaken the task of launching a full-scale war against the indigenous tribal population in the vast tribal heartlands. The most important thing for talks to be successful between the CPI(Maoist) and the government is that it has to be a mutual

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affair of cessation of hostilities. It cannot be one-sided. While asking the Maoists to abjure violence, the Centre should also do the same and initiate back-channel talks, but so far this seriousness and initiative on the part of the government has been lacking.”

Alluding to the treatment meted out to social activists working in naxal-affected areas of Chhattisgarh, he said: “The government’s allegation that the Maoists are not allowing development works to take was true, then why would civil society and voluntary organization representatives working for the uplift of the Maoists be targeted? Since the government is not interested in the development of tribals, a large number of them have joined the Maoists as it is a question of survival for them.”

### **In a blind alley**

By opting to settle the issue militarily, instead of finding a political solution, “the government has already entered a blind alley and there is no win-win situation here as you cannot destroy the tribal’s resolve for survival”.

### **Resolution**

#### **STOP KILLING PEOPLE AND SELLING OUR NATURAL RESOURCES TO INDIAN OR FOREIGN MULTINATIONALS IN THE GUISE OF OPERATION GREEN HUNT**

More than 100 representatives of various people’s movements and social organizations meeting at Swaraj Vidyapeeth, Allahabad on March 27-28, 2010, expressed grave concern on violence spreading in the country and on the counter-violence of the state to stop it and after deep discussions passed the following resolution. Among those present were eminent personalities like Kuldip Nayar ( Senior Journalist ) , Justice Rajendra Sachchar, Dr. Brahmdev Sharma ( Bharat Jan Andolan), Medha Patkar ( Narmada Bachao Andolan), Swami Agnivesh ( Bandhua Mukti Morcha), Chuni Bhai Vaid (Gujarat Lok Samiti), Amarnath Bhai ( Sarva Seva Sangh), Prof. Banwari Lal Sharma (Azadi Bachao Andolan), Dr. V N Sharma, Dr. Ramesh Patnaik (Akhil Bharatiya Shiksha Adhikar Manch), Anand Majhgaonkar (NAPM), Lingaraj, Sunil, Joshi Jacob, Dr. Somnath Tripathi ( Samajwadi Jan Parishad), Arvind Kejriwal (Swaraj Abhiyan), Geeta Ramakrishnan (Women Organisation), Ulka Mahajan ( Jagatikaran Virodhi Manch), Dr. Shamsher Singh Bhisht ( Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini), Prof. Ram ji Singh, Radha Bhatt ( Gandhi Peace Foundation), Janak Lal Thakur ( Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha), Er. Neeraj Jain (Lokayat Pune), Prof. Devendra Singh ( Haryana Sampurna Kranti Manch) and Er. R Elango ( Tamil Nadu Panchayat Raj Andolan).

This meeting of people’s movements and social campaigns from all over the country wish to draw the attention of the entire nation on the pitiable condition of natural resources, farmers’ land and the entire labour community. In the opinion of this convention the power establishment of the country, in collaboration with the Indian and foreign corporate giants, has created an atmosphere of loot. The plunder of our natural resources has rendered the common man helpless in the name of liberalization and industrialization of water, forests and land on one hand while on the other hand the policies of economic exploitation have caused deep anger among the common man, especially among the adivasis and small farmers. This anger has been bursting out at various places. Different governments have ignored non-violent protest campaigns during the last 20 years and this has caused great despair.

It is due to this undemocratic stance of the government that people’s anger has spread in various areas in violent ways. Instead of finding a solution of people’s plight, the state and central governments have launched Operation Green Hunt declaring that such people’s protests are the biggest challenge. This is an open conspiracy to hand over the natural wealth of the entire forest area to Indian attempt to favour domestic and foreign companies by trampling local protests. The most dreadful example of these oppressive measures is the arrest of Sarvodaya activist, Himanshu Kumar (whose ashram was destroyed and whose repeated pleas were ignored by the government) on the pretext that he was a Maoist supporter.

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It seems that this government and its economic-political policies are moving towards violent oppressions of the suffering people. In its reaction and due to the government's negligence of the democratic means, the inclination towards violent means is increasing. This convention believes that the confrontation between the government's violence and non-government's violence is eventually increasing the barbarism and the helplessness of the innocent people. We express our disagreement with this vicious circle and make the following demands to the parliament and the government:

1. Stop unconditionally Operation Green Hunt started to eliminate the Maoists, respecting the discontentment of people and their movements.
2. Our policy makers should refrain from the economic exploitation continuing for the last twenty years for the sake of liberalization, globalization and privatization and give priority to the ownership of gramsamaj over land, forest, and water.
3. Our power system should renounce the suicidal and antidemocratic policy of indifference towards people's democratic movements. Otherwise the whole onus of the extension of social and political violence will be on the government. By becoming murderous the government is making itself anti-national and we denounce it with all our might.

We appeal to all to renounce the path of violence as this will not solve our problems but rather complicate them.

***(NOTE from the EDITOR: This is to inform the readers of a mistake that had crept into a statement issued by the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee (DKSZC) in Issue number 14 of the Maoist Information Bulletin. It was mentioned that comrade Ramanna was the Secretary of DKSZC. He is a member of the Secretariat of the SZC and not the Secretary. The present Secretary is comrade Kosa. The error is deeply regretted. We thank the comrades for pointing out the mistake.)***

**Oppose the xenophobic war-mongers inside and outside the campus!**  
18.4.2010

**There is an attempt in the last few days to create war hysteria by a section of the ruling parties with the help of the corporate media.** They are demanding that more force must immediately be deployed along with army, air-force, UAVs and sophisticated weapons to wipe out the 'Maoists/Naxalites'. Setting aside the differences, the main political parties like Congress, BJP and CPM have come together to support the UPA government and its home minister Chidambaram in this all-out war against the people. Anyone who questions or disagrees with the militaristic approach of the government, are being branded as 'Maoists', 'half-Maoists' or as their 'sympathisers'. Civil rights activists, social workers and journalists like Binayak Sen, Himanshu Kumar, Mahasweta Devi, Arundhati Roy, Sandeep Pandey, Seema Azad and many more have long been in the government's ever-expanding list of Maoist 'sympathisers'. Now political leaders like Digvijay Singh, Mani Shankar Iyer, Siby Soren, Nitish Kumar etc. are also being termed as 'half-Maoists' by their adversaries within the Congress and BJP! To scuttle differences of opinion emerging within the government, a directive was recently issued by the government that Chidambaram and the home ministry alone will be authorized to speak on the anti-Naxal strategy. Despite such repressive measures, the opposition to Green Hunt is only growing everywhere.

**The protests against Green Hunt in India and abroad:** The democratic and progressive sections of the society have opposed Operation Green Hunt from the very beginning, when it was first launched by the central government in south Chhattisgarh and eastern Maharashtra in September 2009. From the adivasis, the peasants and workers of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and Bengal to a considerable section of the urban middle class, intellectuals, students, writers, artists, social activists, journalists have been protesting against Green Hunt. Opposition has also come from abroad, when hundreds of writers and intellectuals including Naom Chomsky, David Harvey, Gayatri Spivak, James Scott, Mahmood Mamdani wrote to the prime

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minister last year condemning the war on the people. Protest demonstrations have been organized in England, Italy, Greece, Germany, Canada, Belgium, Philippines etc. The Indian government, however have been ignoring the public opinion against Green Hunt, the demand to withdraw the armed forces, freeze all the MoUs with the big corporations, and to go for dialogue with various people's movements. Rather, riding on the hype of the corporate media, it has intensified the operations in the last few months, extending it to several other states and increasing the number of paramilitary forces.

### **The attempts to stifle all voices of opposition against Green Hunt:**

There has been an undeclared emergency in the wake of Operation Green Hunt, particularly in the areas covered by Operation Green Hunt. Fact-finding teams, independent media and social activists are being prevented from visiting the war zone. Writers and activists have been charged under draconian laws like UAPA, NSA, Chhattisgarh Public Securities Act etc, and many have been put behind bars. What is it that the government wants to hide by doing this? The government does not want the outside world to know about the truth of this war. It does not want that the atrocities committed by the government's forces on the adivasi people in the name of 'national security' and 'national interest' comes out to the public view. The government and its supporters are scared that if the truth is known, it will not be able to justify this genocide of people.

**Operation Green Hunt in JNU:** Those who are shouting the slogan today that "Start Operation Green Hunt in JNU" represents the xenophobic and anti-people approach of Chidambaram. The ABVP-NSUI-YFE who unleashed violence and hooliganism on 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> April claims themselves to be the true 'patriots'. But their 'patriotism' never comes out when lakhs of peasants commit suicide due to the neo-liberal policies of the government, when dalits are routinely lynched by upper caste landlords, when millions of children die of malnutrition, when hundreds of lives are lost due to hunger, when adivasis are forcibly dispossessed from their land and livelihood in the name of 'development' and 'national interest'. The killers of Sikhs in North India and the killers of Muslims in Gujarat have now got united for carrying out another genocide, and this time the target is the adivasis in central and eastern India. In the campus, the same forces are trying to stifle the voices of dissent by acts of violence and hooliganism, and by inviting police and administrative crackdown on the students.

### **JNU students have always voiced their opposition to injustice and oppression.**

Whether against the anti-Sikh pogrom or emergency, Gujarat genocide or the killings in Kahirlanji, Nandigram or Kalinganagar, etc. students and teachers of JNU have raised their voice inside and outside the campus. In the past too, there has been attempts to scuttle the voices of dissent within the campus, but the campus community has successfully resisted such attacks with unity and collective action. At a time when there is a multi-pronged assault on our shared democratic culture in the campus and on the oppressed sections of the society outside, the need is to unite the struggle for defending campus democracy with the resistance against Operation Green Hunt.

## **JNU FORUM AGAINST WAR ON PEOPLE**

### **Press statement by 'Campaign against War on People'**

On 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2010, 'JNU Forum against War on People' organised a cultural programme titled 'A Cultural Evening of Protest against Operation Green Hunt' at Godavari Dhaba in JNU to oppose the state-military offensive on tribals of Eastern and Central India. The programme included, as its pamphlet clearly states, a play called 'Sadak' written by Habib Tanvir, screening of documentary and songs, poetry, performances by students from JNU, Jamia and Delhi University. As soon as the programme started, a group of miscreants led by ABVP and NSUI leaders tried to disrupt the event by shouting slogans and abusing the organisers. Apprehending an attack on the performers, students present in the audience formed a human chain around the stage. However, the ABVP and NSUI hooligans broke this human chain forcefully, physically assaulting and injuring students, to clear their way to the stage. They disconnected the electricity, destroyed audio-visual equipments, vandalised the dais and beat-up anyone, who dared to come on their way. Number of students were injured in this attack and had to be taken to AIIMS for medical help. While ABVP-NSUI-YFE goons went on the rampage, the chief security officer of JNU, who was present at the spot, remained a mute spectator.



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The next day, when students were protesting against this incident, once again some ABVP-NSUI-YFE miscreants started pelting stones at the protesters and tore down the posters of 'JNU Forum against War on People'.

In Delhi University we have seen similar attacks by fascist forces on students' events as well. Two months ago, a mobile book store by 'Janchetna' was attacked by ABVP hooligans, where they tore books and damaged the van before students came out in numbers in protection of their own space. It is evident from these incidents that the fascist forces are afraid of any kind of pro people programme. They want to rob our democratic spaces by force. They want to silence any voice, which raises question on people's misery, state repression and dismantling of democracy.

The JNU administration, instead of taking steps against these lumpens, is trying to propagate all sorts of misinformation about the incident. First, the administration raised the issue of prior permission for holding a meeting, knowing fully well that the cultural programme was held at a 'dhaba' and there is no provision for and precedence of administrative permission for such events. We have experienced similar selective administrative harassment in Delhi University as well. It has become a standard practice of the university administration not to clamp down on the perpetrators of such incident. Instead these incidents have been used as an excuse to snatch away the remaining limited democratic space through official-legal measures. JNU administration has gone a step farther on this occasion by joining the ABVP-BJP-NSUI-YFE chorus of branding the event as an 'anti-national' protest. It is perhaps a cruel joke (and indeed a fascist strategy) that the architects of Operation Green Hunt, which has resulted in loss of life and livelihoods of millions of people, are claiming to be 'patriots' today!

Worldwide, universities have traditionally been a crucial space for freedom of expression, the exploration of ideas and critical debate. They have always been, and should always be, sites where even the strongest critique of the state can be – in fact, must and should be – made possible. This is an essential character, not just of the university as an institution, but of the democratic principles of the society it exists in. The JNU incident, once again, reveals the systematic way in which the democratic spaces are taken away by a nexus of fascist goons and the university administration.

We, 'Campaign against War on People', a community of students and teachers of Delhi University, unequivocally condemn ABVP-NSUI-YFE for the attack. We also condemn the JNU administration for their vicious propaganda campaign and for failing to take steps against the miscreants. We demand the following measures be taken immediately

- 1) Disciplinary actions must be taken against these goons, who are destroying the democratic fabric of our universities.
- 2) JNU administration must apologise for their misinformation campaign.

**Campaign Against War on People Delhi University**  
**[opposethehunters@gmail.com](mailto:opposethehunters@gmail.com), 19 April 2010**

## **Stop Operation Green Hunt, Start Dialogue with the Local People**

### **Interim Observations of the Jury of Independent People's Tribunal on Land Acquisition, Resource Grab and Operation Green Hunt**



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The Independent People's Tribunal on Land Acquisition, Resource Grab and Operation Green hunt (organized by a collective of civil society groups, social movements, activists, academics and concerned citizens) was held in New Delhi from April 9 to 11, 2010. Its jury comprised retired Supreme Court judge P.B. Sawant, Retire d Bombay High Court Judge Justice Hosbet Suresh, former UGC Chairman Yashpal, Dr. P.M. Bhargava, former member of the National Security Advisory Board, former National Commission for Women Chairperson Dr. V. Mohini Giri, former Director General of Police Dr. K.S. Subramanian. The jury heard testimonies of civil society activists and local tribals from Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa. They included Sudha Bhardwaj, Binayak Sen, Himanshu Kumar, Harish Dhawan, Pravin Patel, Gladson Dungdung, Sujato Bhadra, Partho Sarathi Ray, Abhay Sahu, Praful Samantarai. Other who spoke included Bianca Jagger, Arundhati Roy, Vandana Shiva, B.D. Sharma, Prashant Bhushan, Shoma Choudhury, Kavita Srivastava, Arun Agarwal, Pranav Sachdeva. The following are the interim observations of the jury presented to the press at a press conference at the end of the tribunal on April 11.

The jury heard the testimonies of a large number of witnesses over three days from the States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa as well as some expert witnesses on land acquisition, mining and human rights violations of Operation Green Hunt. The immediate observations of the jury are as follows:

Tribal communities represent a substantial and important proportion of the Indian population and heritage. Not even ten countries in the world have more people than we have tribals in India. Not only are they crucial components of the country's human biodiversity, which is greater than in the rest of the world put together, but they are also an important source of social, political and economic wisdom that would be currently relevant and can give India an edge. In addition, they understand the language of Nature better than anyone else, and have been the most successful custodian of our environment, including forests. There is also a great deal to learn from them in areas as diverse as art, culture, resource management, waste management, medicine and metallurgy. They have been also far more humane and committed to universally accepted values than our urban society.

It is clear that the country has been witnessing gross violation of the rights of the poor, particularly tribal rights, which have reached unprecedented levels since the new economic policies of the nineties. The Fifth Schedule rights of the tribals in particular the Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act and the Forest Rights Act, have been grossly violated. These violations have now gone to the extent where fully tribal villages have been declared to be non-tribal. The entire executive and judicial administration appear to have been totally apathetic to their plight.

The development model which has been adopted and which is sharply embodied in the new economic policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization, have led in recent years to a huge drive by the state to transfer resources, particularly land and forests which are critical for the livelihood and the survival of the tribal people, to corporations for exploitation of mineral resources, SEZs and other industries most of which have been enormously destructive to the environment. These industries have critically polluted water bodies, land, trees, plants, and have had a devastating impact on the health and livelihoods of the people. The consultation with the Gram Sabhas required by the PESA Act has been rendered a farce as has the process of Environment Impact Assessment of these industries. This has resulted in leaving the tribals in a state of acute malnutrition and hunger which has pushed them to the very brink of survival. *It could well be the severest indictment of the State in the history of democracy anywhere, on account of the sheer number of people (tribals) affected and the diabolic nature of the atrocities committed on them by the State, especially the police, leave aside the enormous and irreversible damage to the environment.* It is also a glaring example of corruption – financial, intellectual and moral – sponsored and/or abetted by the State, the characterizes today's India, cutting across all party lines.

Peaceful resistance movements of tribal communities against their forced displacement and the corporate grab of their resources is being sought to be violently crushed by the use of police and security forces and state and corporate funded and armed militias. The state violence has been accentuated by Operation Green Hunt in which a huge number of paramilitary forces are being used mostly on the tribals. The militarization, of the State has reached a level where schools are occupied by security forces. Even peaceful activists opposing these violent actions of the State against the tribals are being targeted by the State and victimized. This has led to a total alienation of the people from the State as well as their loss of faith in the government and the security forces. The

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Government – both at the Centre and in the States – must realize that its above-mentioned actions, combined with total apathy, could very well be sowing the seeds of a violent revolution demanding justice and rule of law that would engulf the entire country. We should not forget the French, Russian and American history, leave aside our own.

**Recommendations:**

1. Stop operation Green Hunt and start a dialogue with the local people.
2. Immediately stop all compulsory acquisition of agricultural or forest land and the forced displacement of the tribal people.
3. Declare the details of all MOUs, industrial and infrastructural projects proposed in these areas and freeze all MOUs and lease for non-agricultural use of such land, which the Home Minister has proposed.
4. Rehabilitate and reinstate the tribals forcibly displaced back to their land and forests.
5. Stop all environmentally destructive industries as well as those on land acquired without the consent of the Gram Sabhas in these areas.
6. Withdraw the paramilitary and police forces from schools and health centres which must be effectuated with adequate teachers and infrastructure.
7. Stop victimizing dissenters and those who question the actions of the State.
8. Replace the model of development which is exploitative, environmentally destructive, completely different model which is participatory, gives importance to agriculture and the rural sector, and respects equity and the environment.
9. It must be ensured that all development, especially use of land and natural resources, is with the consent and participation of the tribal communities as guaranteed by the Constitution, Credible Citizen's Commissions must be constituted to monitor and ensure this.
10. Constitute an Empowered Citizen's Commission to investigative and recommend action against persons responsible for human rights violations of the tribal communities. This Commission must also be empowered to ensure that tribals actually receive the benefit of whatever government schemes exist for them.

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**Civil society groups condemn proposed action against Arundhati Roy**  
*Avijit Ghosh, TNN, Apr 23, 2010,*

NEW DELHI: Any attempt to prosecute Arundhati Roy for an article she wrote on Maoists would confirm the government's determination to choke off dissenting voices from coming out from the south Chhattisgarh theatre of 'war', say leading activists.

"Whether or not one agrees with the writer, a country which prides itself as a democracy must allow the free and honest expression of such views," says the public statement, condemning Chattisgarh police's threatened action against writer-activist Roy whose essay "Walking with the Comrades" was published in a national newsmagazine recently.

The 36 signatories include activist Aruna Roy, advocate Prashant Bhushan, economist Jean Drez, former navy chief R H Tahiliani, RTI activist Arvind Kejriwal, environmentalist Vandana Shiva among others. For her 'insider' account of days spent with Maoist groups in Dantewada district, the DGP Chattisgarh apparently received a complaint which he referred to the law department to see whether the writer can be booked under Chattisgarh Special Public Security Act.

"When a complaint is as absurd, should it not be rejected outright?" questions senior advocate Prashant Bhushan adding that the fact that they're even considering such an action shows how unwilling the State is to consider any other point of view. "Instead of trying to understand these people, who they are, you just show you want to go in and kill them."

A large number of people support Roy, says activist-advocate Colin Gonsalves - also a signatory -- because the possible police action is seen as a an attempt to stifle voice of dissent; dissent from the government's point of view. "The government gets rattled when an alternate point of view is articulated intellectually. Roy has been able to articulate that point of collective self-defense: that when poor people are attacked with guns, they do have a right to defend themselves. Usually, human rights activists are pushed on the back-foot on that point, but Roy articulated it well." The statement says, "It is important for the people to be as well informed as possible about the phenomenon of Maoism and how it has arisen so that a properly informed decision can be taken about how to deal

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with its challenges.... in a holistic and sensitive manner." To that end, the attempt towards action against Roy smacks of fascism. "Criminalising this kind of writing is a clear sign of fascism," says Bhushan.

## PRESS RELEASE

04.05.10

### Protest Dharna against assault on Democratic Rights

In protest against the mounting atrocities and assaults on people and their democratic rights ever since the UPA-2 Government came into power at the Centre almost a year ago with Manmohan Singh as the Prime Minister, a dharna was organized by civil and democratic rights organizations, people's organizations, students organizations, trade unions at the Jantar Mantar on the 4<sup>th</sup> May 2010.

While addressing the dharna many of the speakers talked about the increasing detention, incarceration and witch hunt of various activists and leaders of people's organizations. Many of the speakers pointed about the complicity of the media in this vicious campaign of the Indian state to stifle all voices of dissent. Among the speakers who addressed included Neelabh, progressive writer, GN Saibaba Forum Against War on People, Mrigank of the Nav Jawan Bharat Sabha, Shoma Sen CAVOW, Arjun Prasad Singh, PDFI, advocate Rajesh Tyagi, Anees Campus Front of India, Vijendra JNU Forum Against War on People, Munishwar CPDM etc.

All struggles in defence of land, of mineral resources, for defense of democratic rights are the targets of the government. Anyone who are daring to raise their voice against the anti-people, pro-corporate, policies of the government have become the target of state repression in the form of an undeclared emergency. In this context what is of significance is the concerted effort of the government in the form of a legislated ban followed by a media blitz of the banning of the CPI (Maoist) and naming every protest or movement against the anti-people policies of the government as Naxalite/Maoist. Day by day the jails are being filled with more and more people who are raising their voice for their right to livelihood, against displacement and destitution.

Even the news that is coming out in the form of atrocities constitutes only the tip of the iceberg. Some of the instances that have come to the notice as per media reports in the last four months are the killing of scores of adivasis in the villages in Chhattisgarh; the death in custody on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2010 of Swapan Das Gupta, the Editor of *Bangla People's March* who was arrested under UAPA; Lalmohan Tudu, President of PCAPA who was picked up and shot dead by the paramilitary forces on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2010; the incarceration of thousands of adivasi people from Jharkhand, Jangalmahal, Orissa, Gadchiroli and Chhattisgarh; the cold blooded murder of Wadeka Singana the President of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sanghathan by the police on 20<sup>th</sup> November 2009, in Narayanpatna; the framing of Gananath Patra and Tapan Mallick two leaders associated with the struggle.

In Kalinga Nagar, 28 platoons of the police moved against the struggle of Visthapan Virodhi Jan Manch, and 16 adivasis were injured in police firing on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2010. The police atrocities are continuing in this area. Three districts near Allahabad in UP have been declared 'Naxalite infested' and no mass activity is allowed. 17 leaders of AIKMS have been arrested under the Gangster Act in UP. Over 600 peasant and agriculture worker leaders in Punjab, fighting on the issue of electricity were arrested in the last week of March 2010. Thousands are in jails across the country and are being tortured for allegedly being Naxalite/ Maoist sympathisers. People's organisations like the PUCL, IAPL, PUDR, RDF, PDFI, CRPP, APDR, DSU, etc. and their activists have been falsely implicated by the government.

An undeclared emergency now prevails in the country in the wake of this war on people, which has been named Operation Green Hunt, and the Indian State's aggressive assault on democratic spaces and people's resistance. All the speakers stressed about the need to further strengthen the people's movement against such vilification campaign and every attempt of the state to stifle every democratic voice.

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A number trade unions and people's organizations participated in the dharna and spoke against the indiscriminate arrests of trade unionists like Gopal Mishra, and Anu, women's activists in Delhi and all parts of the country in voice.

**Organisations participated:**

Campaign for Peace & Democracy Manipur (CPDM), Campus Front of India, Committee Against Violence On Women (CAVOW), Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP), CPI (ML) (New Proletarian), Delhi General Mazdoor Front (DGMF), Democratic Students' Union (DSU), International Association of People's Lawyers India, Kashipur Solidarity Group, Krantikari Lok Adhikar Sanghatan (KLAS), Krantikari Yuva Sanghathan (KYS), Manipur Students' Association Delhi, Mazdoor Ekta Manch (MEM), Mehanatkash Mazdoor Morcha (MMM), Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), Naga Students Union, Delhi (NSUD), Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS), Navjawan Bharat Sabha (NBS), PCC CPI(ML), PDSU, People's Front (PF), Popular Front of India, Pratidhwani, People's Democratic Front of India (PDFI), Peoples' Democratic Front of India (PUDR), PUCL, Radical Notes, Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF).

## **FORUM AGAINST WAR ON PEOPLE**

### **Public Meeting on**

### **Indian State's War on People and the Assault on Democratic Voices 3pm, 24 April 2010, Gandhi Peace Foundation, New Delhi**

**PRESS RELEASE**

**24<sup>th</sup> April 2010**

In a public meeting organised by the **Forum Against War on People** at the **Gandhi Peace Foundation on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2010**, various organisations and individuals unequivocally demanded an immediate and unconditional stop to Operation Green Hunt and the plunder of people's resources. **Prof. Randhir Singh**, prominent political thinker and former Head of the Department of Political Science in University of Delhi, noted that "the present government has armed itself with all kinds of armed forces in its war against people. In many parts of the country the behaviour of the Indian state can only be described as a terrorist state. Much has been made of the recent killing of 76 CRPF personnel in Dantewada. But what were they doing in that place? Is it not to repress the people and take away their land and resources to make way for the big corporations? People's democratic verdict has been repeatedly flouted by the ruling classes. So the people need extra-parliamentary sanctions to pursue the democratic aspirations of the people. Without extra-parliamentary sanction to defend, the people will not be able to fight for democracy. What is happening in this country is part of a much larger story unfolding. Whether it is Congress or BJP, they are part of furthering the neo-liberal capitalist path of development. In contrast, the people's alternative path of development has to be pursued and struggled for."

**Badshah Mandi** from Jangalmahal (Lalgarh) in his speech stated that "Police is resorting to indiscriminate firing, torture, imprisonment and killing of the people of Lalgarh. Rape and torture is being used, people's health centers built by the PCPA have been occupied by the paramilitary forces, the medicines have been taken away. Lalgarh has created an alternative to the governments run by the CPM, UPA or NDA, since the development policy of these governments is nothing but the policy of genocide. The sufferings of the adivasi people are the result of these government's policies. The people of this country are suffering from state violence for more than last 60 years. The question of violence should not be reduced to armed struggle alone; the question is much deeper. The struggle is not between the Maoists and the paramilitary forces, but between the people and the Indian govt., between the 'development' policies of the government and people's alternative development." **Aparna** of the CPIML (New Democracy), gave more instances of atrocities on the people's struggles all over the country in the name of fighting Naxalism/Maoism. People fighting for even their constitutionally mandated rights in Kosambi and Ghoorpur in Uttar Pradesh, Kalinganagar, Narayanpatna, Jagat Singhpur and Niyamgiri in Orissa are facing the brunt of this war on people. When people raise their voices against government's pro-corporate policies, the government led by the Union Home Minister P Chidambaram sends armed forces to crush them.



**Dr. B D Sharma**, the former Commissioner of SC/STs, Govt. of India and ex-Vice Chancellor of North Eastern Hills University, Shillong, who has been working among the adivasis of Bastar and other regions, noted that we must change our perceptions of and attitude towards the adivasis. We must not consider them as poor, ignorant and lacking in understanding. The adivasis are fighting for establishing their claim over common resources, for each and every inch of their land against the marauding army of the government. After 1947, in the name of industrialisation and development, the resources of the adivasis have been plundered continuously. The Samata Judgment of the Supreme Court says that the government does not have the right to hand over adivasi land to the non-adivasis and corporations. But this judgment has been conveniently set aside by the government while concluding hundreds of MoUs with foreign and Indian companies. Dr. Sharma quoted the President of India, who said that, "Let this not be known to the future generations that the edifice of the Republic of India was built on the blood and sweat of the adivasis."

The meeting also raised its opposition to the wars waged by the Indian state on the people of Kashmir and the North East. **Malem** of Committee for the Protection of Democracy, Manipur (CPDM) said, "We have been raising our voice against the Indian state's war on people for a long time. The people's struggle for freedom in Kashmir, Manipur, Nagalim, Asom and other places against the state is going on for many decades. The people's democratic aspiration for freedom is being crushed by the brutal armed forces of the Indian state violently. These struggles can never be crushed by military means. The military offensive waged by the Indian state must be immediately stopped." **Prof. Jagmohan** the nephew of Shaheed Bhagat Singh pointed out that this war of the people against the anti-people policies against the anti-people character of the Indian government has reached Delhi through Kashmir, North East and the rest of the country as people have risen in revolt. The disparities between the rich and the poor have become so intense and sharp that the genuine anger of the people cannot be held back for long.

**Varvara Rao**, the revolutionary poet reminded the audience of the violation of its constitutional obligations by the government. He said that the Naxalites have always showed keenness from 1987 till today to sit for talks with the government to address people's basic issues like land, irrigation, education and health. But the government's policies have failed to address the problems faced by the oppressed sections of the society. In comparison, the Naxalites/Maoists have established a pro-people alternative model of development. In Dandakaranya region, the Naxalites have distributed lakhs of acres of land to the landless peasants, created alternative forms of agriculture and irrigation, healthcare and education. Naxalites are fighting alongwith the masses and for the masses, unlike Chidambaram and others who are sitting in ivory towers and sending paramilitary forces to the adivasi areas. Now the Indian government is waging a war to crush this alternative form of development following the 'Andhra model'. None, including those who differs with the Naxalites/Maoists, do not support the structural violence perpetuated by the Indian government. When the question of justice to the people has been firmly put on the agenda by the Maoists, the absurd and unheard-of condition of 'abjuring violence' has been forwarded by Chidambaram. When Chidambaram offered to resign, BJP on ne hand and CPM on the other, said that we are with you. This shows the bankruptcy of the parliamentary parties in India today. Talks must take place immediately, but it should take place on the question of justice and not on violence. For this, a conducive atmosphere needs to be created. The democratic forces, the media and the civil society have a crucial responsibility in creating this atmosphere for talks.

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**Arundhati Roy** asked, is the government ready for talks? The government is claiming that it is ready for talks, only the Naxalites are not interested. However the reality is that the government badly needs war, not peace. The money generated by the mining industry can buy off the government, the political parties, the judiciary, everything. This war is waged by Mr. Chidambaram on behalf of them. Who are the Maoists? They are the malnourished, hungry and poverty-stricken adivasis going through an acute struggle for survival. The government is using two guns to repress the people: 'development' and the media. The government is confident that similar to Telangana, Mizoram, Nagaland, Manipur or Kashmir, it will be able to crush the ongoing movements of the adivasis as well. But the government needs to be reminded that it has got embroiled in wars in Kashmir and North East like the USA has got entrapped in Afghanistan and Iraq. We are saddened by the death of CRPF personnel. But what of those adivasis who were brutally massacred by the government's armed forces in places like Gompad? It is simply possible for the government to kill of all the Maoists. Will the people be killed for dreaming of justice? There needs to be talks, but it is going to be difficult unless pressure is exerted by all of us on the government to sit for negotiations. We must demand that there has to be an immediate cease-fire. Operation Green Hunt must be stopped immediately. The MoUs must be scrapped. The lakhs of adivasis displaced by the war and by the mining projects must be rehabilitated.

Apart from the above, the public meeting was also addressed by speakers representing many organisations, including **Jan Hastakshep**, and also by prominent activists and intellectuals. The meeting reaffirmed the demand that Operation Green Hunt be immediately stopped, all armed forces (special police, paramilitary, etc) be immediately withdrawn, the MoUs concluded with various corporations in the adivasi regions be immediately scrapped, the grievances and issues of the people be addressed and settled politically and not militarily. The government's increasing practice of crushing democratic dissent and branding of people's organisations and civil rights activists as Maoist/Naxalite sympathisers was also condemned. The gathering demanded that an immediate stop be put to such intimidatory tactics.

**The following Resolution was passed in the Public Meeting:**

A barbaric, bloody and unprecedented war has been let loose by the central government against the common people of India. Paramilitary forces, helicopters, are already in operation against the people; the government is now actively preparing to use military under the name of 'special force', Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs), etc. Successive governments of India have anyway been at war with the people of Kashmir and the North East for decades; now the attack is engulfing all parts of the country. In various garbs and in various names all forms of people's struggles, all struggles in defence of land, of mineral resources, for defence of democratic rights are the targets of the government.

The objective of this unprecedented armed offensive against the people is to crush all forms of struggle and revolutionary movements so as to clear the way for giant MNCs and big corporates with whom hundreds of MoUs have to be signed by the government. This ongoing war is leaving a trail of devastation and death. Adivasis in scores of villages in Chhattisgarh have been killed, democratic voices are under attack. Swapan Das Gupta, the editor of *Bangla People's March* and arrested under UAPA died in custody on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2010. Lalmohan Tudu, president of PCPA was picked up and shot dead by the paramilitary forces on 23<sup>rd</sup> February 2010. General terror on the fighting people of Lalgarh is ever increasing. On 20<sup>th</sup> November 2009, Wadeka Singana, the President of CMAS in Narayanpatna was shot dead by the police. Two leaders associated with the struggle, Ganath Patra and Tapan Mallick have been arrested on trumped up charges. In Kalinga Nagar, 28 platoons of the police moved against the struggle of Visthapan Virodhi Jan Manch, and 16 adivasis were injured in police firing on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2010. The police is continuing its atrocities. In three districts near Allahabad in UP, no mass activity is allowed declaring these areas as 'Naxalite infested'. 17 leaders of AIKMS stand arrested under the Gangster Act. Over 450 peasant leaders in Punjab were arrested to prevent joining a peasant demonstration on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2010. Thousands are in jail and are being tortured for allegedly being Naxalite/ Maoist sympathisers. People's organisations like the PUCL, IAPL, PUDR, RDF, PDFI, CRPP, APDR, DSU etc, and their activists have been falsely implicated by the government.

Welcoming and saluting the resistance of the fighting people in various forms in various parts of the country, we call for Stop war on people, stop Operation Green Hunt, and hold dialogue with the organisations of the struggling people.

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All India Students Association (AISA), Campaign for Peace & Democracy Manipur (CPDM), Committee Against Violence On Women (CAVOW), Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP), Correspondence, CPI (ML) (Liberation), CPI (ML) (New Democracy), CPI (ML) (New Proletarian), Delhi General Mazdoor Front (DGMF), Delhi University Campaign Against War on People, Democratic Students' Union (DSU), International Association of People's Lawyers India, Jatisoshan Virodhi Samithi, JNU Forum Against War on People, Kashipur Solidarity Group, KRALOS, Krantikari Lok Adhikar Sanghatan (KLAS), Krantikari Yuva Sanghathan (KYS), Left Democratic Teacher's Front (LDTF), Mazdoor Ekta Manch (MEM), Mazdoor Kranti Parishad (MKP), Mehanatkash Mazdoor Morcha (MMM), Naga People's Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), Naga Students Union Delhi (NSUD), Nari Mukti Sangh (NMS), Navjawan Bharat Sabha (NBS), People's Front (PF), PFD, Popular Front of India, Progressive Democratic Front of India (PDFI), Radical Notes, Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), Individuals: Randhir Singh, Arundhati Roy, BD Sharma, Neshat Quaiser, Prashant Bhushan, Tripta Wahi, Vijay Singh and others. For further contact: [stopwaroncitizens@gmail.com](mailto:stopwaroncitizens@gmail.com), Visit the site: [www.icawpi.org](http://www.icawpi.org)

### **Mahasweta Devi Challenges Chidambaram to arrest her for supporting the just struggle of adivasis**

With the Centre warning of action under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act against civil society representatives speaking in favour of naxals, social activist and writer Mahasweta Devi today dared Union Home Minister P Chidambaram to arrest her. "I invite Chidambaram to arrest and jail me for 10 years if the central government thinks I am a Maoist," the Magsaysay award winner told *PTI* here. The renowned writer who has spent most of her life projecting the plight of the tribals and promoting their rights said, "I condemned police atrocities against the Naxalites in the '70s and iam not scared that by supporting the right cause I will be labeled a Maoist."

Controversial Trinamool Congress MP Kabir Suman, whose statements supporting Maoists embarrassed party supremo Mamata said, "I have been advocating the cause of tribals all through. If I am branded a Maoist for it, iam helpless. But iam not a Maoist." He said he would continue to compose songs to promote the cause of tribals. "I have seen the indescribable sufferings of tribals and iam now speaking to uphold their rights but am against violence of any kind," he told a TV channel. Suman said it was unfortunate that supporting the rights of tribals over forests would earn one the wrath of the government.

"I will compose a song on tribal leader Lalmohan Tudu, the president of the People's Committee against Police Atrocities who died in an encounter with the joint forces near Lalgah."

### **Chidambaram greeted with Black Flags in JNU**

Union Home Minister P Chidambaram was tonight greeted with slogans and black flags by a group of students at the Jawaharlal Nehru University here over the government's approach to combat the Maoists. Chidambaram arrived at the JNU campus at around 9:30 pm to attend an anti-Maoist programme organised by NSUI, the students' wing of Congress, at the School of Social Sciences auditorium.

Activists belonging to All India Students Association (AISA) and Democratic Students Union (DSU) shouted slogans against the Home Minister outside the auditorium as he reached the venue. They also waved black flags protesting against the government's approach to the Maoists.



### **Statement by the Communist Party of the Philippines on Operation Green Hunt and the Revolution in India**



The armed movement in India inspires the people throughout the world to stand up and fight. The CPP is ready to extend any help and support to the Indian revolutionaries in order to further advance their struggle. This is a part of the proletarian internationalist duty of Filipino communists."



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**Ang Bayan, April 7, 2010**

**Operation Green Hunt and the revolution in India; Genocidal war against the people's revolutionary movement**

The Communist Party of the Philippines, the Filipino people and the revolutionary movement worldwide condemn "Operation Green Hunt", a counterrevolutionary war launched by the reactionary government of India against the armed revolutionary movement and the national minorities within the country. This conflict is part of the terrorist war led by the US in various parts of the world, mostly in areas where the people are waging courageous resistance.

Operation Green Hunt's principal target are mineral-rich areas like West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Maharashtra. These places are also known as the "Red Corridor", because it is here that the broad and advancing revolutionary war led by the Communist Party of India (CPI)-Maoist can be found. In the past couple of years, numerous projects and operations in mining and other industries were delayed, if not outrightly cancelled due to the staunch people's resistance in the area supported by the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army and CPI-Maoist.

In these locations, iron, coal, gold, diamond, bauxite and uranium deposits can be found. These areas have also been cited as ideal sites for setting up special economic zones. Several mining agreements with local and foreign capitalists have been approved by the reactionary Indian regime for these sites.

Many more areas already have companies operating there such as Vedanta, Rio Tinto and Posco, companies that have long been plundering the country's natural resources.

In the past five years alone, the governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal have secretly made deals with local and foreign companies for billions of dollars worth of contracts to construct steel, iron and aluminum factories, power plants, dams and mines. In order to clear the way for these projects, the people who are largely national minorities, are being driven out and their organizations destroyed.

**Operation Green Hunt**

To counter the guerrillas' strength, India's central reactionary government has begun the massive deployment of military forces to extensive areas in the states of West Bengal and Orissa where it has been conducting widespread aerial bombings and using high-tech military equipment from the US and Israel. The collusion between the reactionary regime in India and US imperialism in Operation Green Hunt is crystal clear.

Under Operation Green Hunt, there have been worsening attacks on the livelihoods and rights of the people in the affected areas. Already as many as 20 million peasants have been driven from their farms as a result of hamletting and zoning. Abuses such as torture and rape are rampant. Many communities have been razed to the ground in order to banish residents accused of being CPI-Maoist members or supporters. A large number of the residents have been forced to live in guarded communities called "security camps" where their mobility is restricted. They are also prohibited from going to their farms and fields. Those who violate these rules are automatically shot.

The victims are denied access to all legal means including the courts. The media are also banned from entering and reporting what is transpiring in the area.

Organizations, media people, intellectuals, writers, cultural workers and other progressive forces opposed to Operation Green Hunt and supportive of the people's resistance are persecuted and threatened.

In response, the CPI-Maoist is helping the people to organize and strengthen themselves. They launch literacy and education campaigns by establishing schools. They provide much-needed medical services. They set up self-defense units and core forces to fight and overcome the attacks and brutality of the state's military and paramilitary forces being deployed to their communities.

**Inspiration to the CPP and whole world**

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Revolutionaries and the CPP closely follow and laud the guerrilla war and revolutionary movement in India. They hail their victories. Each of their successes is a contribution to the struggle of the international proletariat, and the CPP recognizes their complementary role in the development of armed struggle in the Philippines and other communist and revolutionary movements worldwide.

The armed movement in India inspires the people throughout the world to stand up and fight. The CPP is ready to extend any help and support to the Indian revolutionaries in order to further advance their struggle. This is a part of the proletarian internationalist duty of Filipino communists.

From the CPP's standpoint, the revolutionaries and communists in India will likely be a major force in the advancement of the international proletarian struggle due to the country's size and the intensity that their people's war has already achieved. Chiefly, it is significant because it is under the correct proletarian revolutionary guidance of a genuine communist party.

It has the potential to bring the international communist movement to a new and higher level, as Russia did after World War I until the 1950s and China after World War II until 1970.

The CPP considers the CPI-Maoist a fraternal party. There is a high level of ideological unity between the two parties. These past few years, they have had many opportunities to share ideas and practical experiences. Also, they have attended many conferences where they both carried out important tasks for the promotion of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism.

## **Interview with Gopalji-Spokesperson of the Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in a Forest in Jharkhand, Eastern India**

**by Alpa Shah, Monthly Review, MAY 15, 2010**

**Communism in the rest of the world seems to have collapsed. What hope do you have of achieving a socialist state in India?**

The claim that there is no hope for socialism and communism, that they are dead, is mere propaganda unleashed by the imperialists and the apologists of capitalism. The 20th century saw the first round of revolutions led by the working classes and the toiling masses of the communist parties in various parts of the world — the Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Revolution in Vietnam and many more. The 21st century will see a new wave of revolutions led by communist parties such as ours in India.

Massive socio-economic and political transformation takes time. The bourgeoisie took at least 400 years to achieve victory over feudalism and even then they entered into unholy alliances with the feudals in order to fight the working classes. These alliances are still prevalent today in many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to stop the revolutions of the toiling masses led by the communist parties.

After the Great Depression II, the recent economic crisis, there are very few takers of the bourgeois philosophy TINA, 'There is No Alternative,' to capitalism. Many intellectuals, many people in the developed countries, in the capitalist countries, have turned to Marx's Das Kapital. Recent developments in the world have proved the theory of Marx, the invincibility of Marxism and the inevitability of socialism and communism. Only socialism and communism can eradicate hunger, poverty and inequality and solve problems, such as that of climate change, which our planet is facing. In India we are trying to achieve a New Democratic Revolution as part of the world's socialist revolutions.

**What stage are you at in the Indian revolution?**

In general we are in the phase of guerilla warfare. This means that the armed struggle against the state is the principal form of struggle and armed organization is the principal form of organization.

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In some places, such as in Dandakaranya and in some parts of Jharkhand, we have formed Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) which are the organs of alternative people's power. If this continues, we will be able to build base areas. Base areas are places where the enemy, the ruling classes (that is the Indian big-bourgeoisie and the landlords) do not have any organ of power — any military, any police force, or any administrative apparatus — and where people develop their own organs of power, their own army and their own administrative apparatus to implement economic policies of the people by the people's government. Our immediate target is to build base areas in certain pockets of our country.

**What are the strategies you are using to achieve a base area?**

Our guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Our strategy is 'protracted people's war'. Comrade Mao taught us that the poor nations, the nations where semi-colonial, semi-feudal systems are in existence, should take the path of protracted people's war — making bases in the countryside and then encircling the towns from the countryside. This is the strategy taken by the communist party here in India and it is the strategy taken by Maoists in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries all over the world. In India, there are certain changes; it is not exactly similar to pre-revolution China. So we have made certain changes in our tactics to suit the changes in our concrete conditions.

**What are the main differences between the conditions that existed at the time of the protracted people's war in China and the conditions in India now?**

Internationally we are operating in a world where there is no socialist country or bases to seek help from. After the WWII, various national liberation struggles forced the imperialists to renounce the old form of direct colonial rule. So they resorted to neocolonial forms of exploitation. Internally, India now has a centralized and militarized state which has reached the remotest parts of the country. Transport and communications are far more developed. Chieftains who had their own armies dominated the Chinese countryside. In India we don't have such a situation. The loathsome caste hierarchy with a strict Brahminical order is the backbone of Indian feudalism and there is uneven development in every aspect of the socio-economic and cultural realms. The Indian ruling classes ruled this country for over 60 years in a so-called 'democratic' framework. India has a much bigger urban petty bourgeois class and a huge working class force. It is a county of numerous nationalities at varying degrees of development. India has a long history of revisionist practice that still has considerable influence over the toiling masses and these revisionists have proved themselves an apologist of this reactionary rule.

There are also big differences in the process of building the army and the base areas. In China they already had a base area and an army. Even before the formation of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang was leading a bourgeois democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. We had neither a base area nor an army when we began. We started with a small squad and have been able to form a People's Liberation Guerilla Army. So our struggle will be longer and different. Additionally, we have vast plain areas which need a somewhat different treatment than hilly and forested regions. The importance of urban work and the need for organizing the working class is greater in our country. Apart from organizing a strategic united front of the four classes, we are also making a special effort to organize adivasis, dalits, women, minorities and various nationalities.

The Indian bourgeoisie exists in some form even in remote parts of India. We see the effects of capitalism in all the nooks and crannies of remote villages here — people who want motorbikes, mobile phones, notions of private property, individualism. What hope do you have of creating an alternative set of values in the world?

The people know that our party is fighting for an India structured around principles of equality. We want an India where individuals cannot amass capital and private property while simultaneously driving large sections of the society into poverty. We are here to make a corruption-free India where corruption, dishonesty and lies have no place; and where honesty, labour and truth are rewarded. They also know that we are fighting against discrimination based on gender, caste, religion and other sectarian identities. For instance we encourage inter-caste marriages. We want a society where no one is bigger or greater on the basis of his or her birth.

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While the effects of capitalism and its affiliated values are certainly in the rural countryside, a vast section of the society is against their corrupting and deteriorating effects. By and large the peasants and the workers support the values that we are fighting for. They participate in the struggles, based on these values, that our party organizes. They are fond of our cultural troops, read magazines and listen to the audio-cassettes and the CDs that we release. Our supporters also appreciate and promote the values that are perpetuated within the party. For instance, caste hierarchy has no place in our community. People from different castes eat from the same plate amongst our cadres: a concept that is generally unthinkable for many people outside our party. Women are treated equally to men and there is no division of labour based on gender roles within the party. Our cadres are not paid a salary; they live a simple life which meets basic needs without unnecessary luxuries. They appreciate the values and visions of living that are being created within the party and are here to promote them beyond the party. There is much hope that these values will spread like fire across the Indian countryside, despite the efforts to trample them out by the Indian big bourgeoisie, because our supporters are increasing on a daily basis.

### **Why are you boycotting elections in your strongholds?**

The Indian parliament and constitution actually represent the big bourgeoisie class and the big landlord class — not the people, not the toiling masses or the middle classes of India. So for any basic change, if you want to bring any basic change in the lives of the ordinary masses, you must first bring a new constitution and a parliament based on that new constitution. So any action like participation in elections will actually strengthen the same reactionary parliament which is causing havoc, which is causing tragedy to the lives of the ordinary people. That is why we call upon people to boycott the elections. They must boycott the parliament itself which is reactionary and anti-people.

### **India is often declared one of the world's largest democracies. Clearly you disagree?**

India is not even a bourgeois democracy. It is actually a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state. The vast majority of people in India do not have any democratic rights. The transfer of power from the British in 1947 went into the hands of the comprador Indian bourgeoisie and the big landlords — the tested servants of the colonialists. In fact these two classes served the British imperialists in pre-independence British India. The vast majority of the people did not get any rights. The new government talked of land reform but in practice they did not give land to the actual cultivators. People did not acquire equal opportunities in the case of jobs, or in access to health and educational facilities. Corruption has become a way of life in India. Now crores of people are dying of hunger and diseases. People are not allowed to speak openly and to organize, although they have written provision for so many things in their constitution. In fact the constitution carried majority of acts from colonial rule and has been prepared under their instructions. How can a bureaucracy, which was serving colonialism till yesterday, become democratic, pro-people and patriotic overnight? So this claim of independence of 1947 is actually not for large sections of the Indian people who achieved no democratic rights. Moreover, today the Indian parliament obeys the dictates of the WTO and the World Bank. It is actually carrying out the instructions of US imperialism — the chieftain of world imperialism.

The Indian ruling classes claim that India is a federal and secular republic. But how federal are they? The Kashmiri people are fighting for the implementation of the provision of the plebiscite for a separate Kashmir and the people of the Northeast are fighting for their cause, for their own nations. Observe how brutally the Indian government is treating them. Analyse the centre-state relations. They claim that the provincial governments have so many powers. But actually the power is centred in Delhi and centre-state relations are very feudal. The central government is least interested in decentralizing power to the state governments. When capital is concentrated in the hands of the comprador big bourgeoisie, backed by imperialists, how can you expect the decentralization of power? As far as the claim of being a secular country is concerned, you have seen the state initiated and promoted massacres of the minorities over the years. Their claims that India is a democratic, federal and a secular republic are a big farce.

### **What does democracy mean for you?**

Our immediate aim is to achieve a New Democratic Revolution. In a New Democratic India, power will be in the hands of a four-class alliance — a strategic united front where no one class is in power — the workers, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. This new

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state will liberate the peasants from the clutches of feudalism. It will liberate national capital from finance and comprador capital, confiscate finance and big capital and assets, and write off the foreign loans. It will seize the surplus land from the landowners and distribute it among the landless and poor peasants. It will eradicate each and every instance of imperialism and feudalism in the realm of economy, culture and politics.

The New Democratic Revolution will thus bring a truly federal and secular democratic republic of India that will give the oppressed nationalities a right to self-determination and even to secede. That India will not favour any religion: religion will be a private affair. It will bring an India in which people have not only equal opportunities in jobs, medical and educational facilities but also the objective conditions for everyone to avail of them.

The united front of the four-class alliance will be organized under a decentralized organ of power of the people called Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs). RPCs will represent the majority of the people of India and will be elected by a truly representative body of the people. In fact in the countryside where our struggle is currently strong, particularly in Dandakaranya and Jharkhand, this united front, whatever classes we have in the villages, are already being organized under Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs). In Dandakaranya we have RPCs at a village level, at a block level, and in one or two places at the district level too. These are in rudimentary form at present, they are just emerging.

**In the last elections you blew up schools and hospitals in the areas where you have a strong presence. Why?**

In our areas of struggle, the state's paramilitary forces are establishing police camps in the schools. You will find hundreds of schools in the struggling areas where the enemy forces have built up camps. We blow up only those schools where the police regularly establish military camps for their combing operations — not all the schools. The case of blowing up a hospital is rare. It is in fact very rare to have hospital buildings in the countryside and even in those cases where there may be hospital buildings, they are not functioning as hospitals: the doctors never visit them and there are no medicines. As far as schools are concerned, this government is least interested in educating the boys and girls of the toiling masses. You can see the conditions of the education system, the way in which they are privatizing the whole education system and how the boys and girls of the ordinary people of India are unable to have advanced studies. In some places where we have blown up schools, we talked to the villagers, to the supporters and sympathizers of the movement, before blowing them up. And in some places we are rebuilding the schools. Please be clear that when we blow up schools we make sure there is no one in the school and that we are also running many of our own schools in the countryside. If the government stopped using the schools as military camps, there would be no need to blow up the schools. The High Court recently passed a verdict that schools should not be used as police camps. But even after this verdict the security forces have not vacated the schools. Many schools in the countryside are actually being built for military purpose, and the police humiliate the students and hamper the studies there. That is why we are forced to blow up a few schools.

**India has made huge investments in developing the nation. Why are you so critical of the government's development programme agenda?**

There are two things. First is the development programmes of the government and second is more broadly their concept of development.

All these development programmes are actually a part of their strategy of Low Intensity Conflict (LIC). This is a reform and dole programme. The Indian government is least interested in the development of the common people. Even according to their own estimates, 77% of Indians do not have a daily earning of Rs20. This means more than 800 million people are living under dire conditions. They are people Below Poverty Line. This is the case after 62 years of so-called Independence! In 2000-2001, the average availability of food grains for an Indian was 157 kilograms, now it is hardly 140 kilograms. So this is the pathetic condition we have. On the other hand, a few Indians are becoming billionaires and the Indian state is boasting of that.

What the Indian government is actually trying to do through these developmental works is to create their social base in the form of petty contractors and other middlemen — becholia, we call

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them. Their aim is to divert youth who are naturally coming towards the revolution. So many youths are being diverted to petty contracts. These are sugarcoated bullets. Just observe the development projects in the countryside.

Even today, more than 65% of the Indian population is engaged in agriculture. But see the condition of agriculture. They have forgotten land reform — no one talks of that now. There is no programme for the implementation of land reform in the countryside. What are they doing in fact? They are making roads and they are making bridges in order to facilitate the mobility of their armed forces. Even this much-publicized NAREGA, National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, is a big flop because it has so many lacunae in it. Corruption is everywhere. People are not getting wages. The claim is to give employment for 100 days per person. But people are not getting employment even for 10 days. Moreover, NAREGA neither provides a permanent and stable form of employment nor does it challenge the power structure of inequality in our countryside.

So what they are trying to claim as developmental projects are not developmental at all. They are part of their strategy of Low Intensity Conflict to fight the armed struggle, the struggle of the people of India.

More broadly, there is much to criticize in their concept of development. The development of the country should not be related to Sensex and GDP growth rates. The government thinks that the development of the comprador big bourgeoisie, landlords, a few bureaucrats and multinationals is the development of the country. For us the development of the people is actually the development of the country. They are least interested in solving the fundamental problems of the people. Their development is dependent on imperialism which just prevents our country from becoming self-dependent. Following the instructions of the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation, the government is promoting the policies of globalization, privatization and liberalization. They are trying to sell out our natural resources, our land, our forests, to the Indian big bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters.

Coincidentally, the natural resources are mainly concentrated in the areas of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Orissa where the Maoists have a strong presence. More than 80% of India's natural resources are there. They know that unless and until they remove the Maoists, they suppress the Maoists there, they won't be able to sell out our land, sell out our natural resources, openly and nakedly to their imperialist masters. I will give you some examples. In Singur they sold land with the help of the so-called left government to the Tatas. In Nandigram they sold it to an Indonesian bourgeoisie, the Salem group. And in Lalgarh they sold it to Jindals. And in all the three places, we organized movements against this naked selling of cultivable lands of the peasants and against the displacement of the peasants. And in all the three places they were forced to withdraw.

In Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh we are fighting against the plunder by the comprador big bourgeoisie of iron ore and coal. And in these areas, the adivasis, mainly the adivasis but also the nonadivasis, the moolvasis, will be forced to vacate their homes and villages. They will be displaced in great numbers as they have been in the past for the sake of so many 'development' projects. So now we are fighting against this plunder. We are fighting this implementation of liberalization and privatization. That is why they are saying that we are against this kind of development. Now it is for the people to see who is against the development of ordinary citizens.

### **So are you against the development of mines altogether?**

No, we are not against the development of mines or the installation of plants and factories. We are against the plunder of our natural resources, our motherland, by the Indian big bourgeoisie and their imperialist masters who are plundering them only for their own profit. The Indian government is not interested in opening plants and mines for the betterment of the people. The people in these areas — they will be forced to vacate their areas. The people will be thrown out. They will become wage earners in towns. They will be displaced in great numbers as they have been in many development projects earlier. In earlier cases where they built mega projects in Bokaro, Tata, and other places, people couldn't get sufficient compensation — most people did not get land or homes or proper jobs in the plants which were built. Hundred and thousands of people, adivasis and moolvasis, were displaced. So what is the guarantee that this will not happen again? That is why we are organizing people against such plunder and such loot of our natural resources. We won't allow the

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plunder of our land and our natural resources by the imperialists and their allies, the Indian big bourgeoisie.

Under a Maoist government a few things will be kept in mind before opening plants and mines in these areas. First, such plants and mines are nationalized and must be used for interest of the country. They must not be open for the profit of certain capitalists, bourgeoisie and multinational corporations. Second, in general the cultivable lands should not be taken for mining and other things. Third, if taking such land is unavoidable, then proper compensation must be given to the affected families. They should be given appropriate compensation for the land. They should be given jobs, they should be given homes, and some lands for cultivation. The New Democratic state will look after the welfare of the displaced people. Fourth, these mines and plants must be eco-friendly. You must consider the ecological factors while opening these plants and mega projects as this is becoming a vital thing in our lives, in the lives of the human civilization. And fifth, people must be taken into confidence before you start such projects; they should be taken into the management of such plants and mines. In our state, when we will build a New Democratic India, we will take into account all these things.

**You say you are against the corruption. However, it is widely reported that you fund yourself through the black economy of development schemes coming in through the state. How do you justify participation in the very systems of corruption that you are against?**

This is not corruption. This is taxation. In the areas of our struggle, we are the authority that is serving the people. We therefore tax those who are amassing wealth through major development programmes and their contractorship in order to use this wealth for the service of our masses. We are using the funds to accelerate our struggles and we are using them in radical reform programmes under the leadership of RPCs. We have rules and norms around how we tax people. For instance large schemes and operations are taxed more than smaller ones. We don't tax the building of schools, hospitals, small tanks, tube wells etc. We also have rules and norms around how we use the fund collected. So we are not simply collecting money for private gain — that would be corruption. We are collecting money for the service of our toiling masses.

**Your struggles against corruption, against caste discrimination, against feudal values are also the struggles of human rights organizations and NGOs. How do you differentiate yourself from such organizations?**

Social, political and cultural values are based on the economic structure. Unless you change the economic system any talk of reforming social-cultural and political values is just a farce. The NGOs and the government human rights organization fight cases on an individual basis and from within the system. Feudal and imperialist values are part of their system. These organisations are being nourished by the system itself. Unless you eradicate the system, you overthrow the system, you can't have another system that will promote an alternative set of values, the democratic values. Fighting individual cases of caste discrimination or discrimination against women, or discrimination against dalits and adivasis, won't take us far; it won't eradicate the system. You must eradicate the whole system. And in order to eradicate the whole system of feudal and imperial values, you must seize power. The NGOs and the human rights organizations don't go for the seizure of power. They fight within the confines of India's pro-elite constitution. In most cases they work only as safety-valves for the state whose credibility is eroding fast. That is the limitations of their conception.

**In areas of Jharkhand where the party has been around for 20 odd years, what are the concrete achievements of the Maoists?**

The first and foremost achievement is that the toiling masses, the landless labourer and the poor peasants, have emerged as a political and military force in India. In our struggling areas feudal authority has been demolished to a great extent. The struggling people have developed a guerilla army of their own in the form of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army.

The second important achievement is the dignity and place in society which the dalits and adivasis have attained in the face of the historic discrimination they have endured. Wrong practices such as abuses against women, abuses against dalits and adivasis, and the dominance of the upper castes and outsiders in the forest areas are all changing now.

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The third is the emancipation of forests which were under the control of the forest department, the corrupt and repressive forest officials. Even the lower level staff were quite repressive and they were controlled by the forest mafias and landlords. The forests are now completely liberated and the people are free to use the forests according to their needs. We have been able to control deforestation.

The fourth is the achievements of the antifeudal struggle. People in our struggling areas are enjoying democratic rights. We have seized thousands of acres of the lands of landlords and in many places, most of the places, the landlords have been ousted from the villages. In many places we have implemented land ceilings — sometimes radical ceilings.

## **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

### **JAMUI-MUNGER-BANKA-BHAGALPUR-LAKKISARAI ZONAL COMMITTEE**



*Press Release:*

*FEBRUARY 17, 2010*

**Punishing the murderers of eight revolutionary comrades—the beloved sons of the oppressed people—is a legitimate and just act!**

**Let us intensify people's counter-offensive to eliminate the state-sponsored blood-thirsty counter-revolutionary gangs!!**

Dear comrades and friends!

On 17 February 2010, over 200 brave and heroic fighters of our PLGA attacked the bastion of the counter-revolutionary gang in Phulwaria-Kodasi village falling under Sikandra PS limits in Jamui district and punished 9 members of the gang including its chief who were responsible for the murder of eight of our beloved comrades. One woman and a child died when they were caught in flames inside a house. In the wake of this incident the state government and the police unleashed a vicious campaign of lies and false accusations against CPI(Maoist).

It is natural that the question as to why the Maoists have carried out such an action and what do they achieve by this. Let us examine the answers to all questions being raised in this context.

The first question is: who were the people punished by the Maoists? The people of the entire area falling under Sikandra PS limits and those in the surrounding villages know very well since long that those punished in Phulwaria-Kodasi were notorious as members of the criminal gang that indulged in anti-people criminal acts like kidnapping, rapes and extortion. These bad elements were part of the criminal gangs maintained by the feudal forces in East Bihar which had created a reign of terror in the region by suppressing the common people. It is true these people belonged to oppressed castes i.e. dalits and adivasis. However, due to their long period of involvement in criminal activity and their close association with the reactionary feudal gangs they had completely lost their class character of the dalits and adivasis. On the contrary, robbery, goondaism, mafia activity has become their traits. In the past few years, according to our knowledge, these lumpen elements had murdered at least a dozen people. There could be even more. The list of their other misdeeds like beating up people, raping women, stealing property, etc runs quite long. These were past activities but are cited here in order to understand their lumpen class character.

Second question is: what was their present activity that had compelled us to resort to such extreme action?

Everyone knows that CPI(Maoist) has been organizing the people of Jamui-Banka-Bhagalpur-Munger-Lakkisarai and other districts against feudal oppression and exploitation overcoming several hardships and hurdles and undergoing sacrifices. Some comrades became martyrs in the course of this heroic struggle waged by the oppressed people led by our Party. It is also universally known that our Party's mass base lies among the basic revolutionary classes of dalits and adivasis.



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Ever since our Party initiated the earth-shaking struggles against feudal oppression and exploitation in these districts, it has been appealing to the people of Phulwaria-Kodasi to give up their criminal activity and anti-people acts and to join the struggle of the oppressed masses. When they did not heed our advice we issued warnings at least four times but to of no avail. They persisted in their wrong path and criminal activity.

Another question that comes up in this context is: how had these people continued to indulge in anti-Party and anti-people activity in die-hard manner even after repeated warnings by the Party? The fact is, they received complete protection from the police and state government which approached them being aware of their anti-Party character. From then onwards, they began to act as state-sponsored vigilante gang, indulged in anti-Party activity like die-hards, and caused much damage to the revolutionary movement. Now their role is that of serving as the eyes and ears of the police i.e. acting as police informants. Their main task was to gather information about the party members in each village and pass it on to the police, get them arrested and murder some secretly and hide the bodies etc.

The counter-revolutionary activity of these people reached its climax on January 31 last when these goondas and informers caught hold of three of our comrades who had gone to contact the villagers and handed them to the police. When the remaining eight comrades following the three a few steps behind heard the news of their arrest and tried to retreat from there they were caught by the goondas and police informers of Phulwaria-Kodasi village. Later, under the direct supervision of Jamui SP Rakesh Rathi and assistance of the police, these goondas murdered our eight comrades in the most gruesome and inhuman manner. Their hands, legs and other limbs were chopped off, heads were separated from their bodies, and after these horrifying acts a big ditch was dug and all the bodies of our beloved comrades were thrown into the ditch. In this manner eight of our comrades were murdered brutally by the police-goonda-informer gang. The eight comrades who became martyrs were comrade Akash aka Prakash Marandi aged 27, comrade Vijay aka Sourav Tudu (24), comrade Susheel aka Sumarshal (23), comrade Sanjay Varnaival (28), comrade Sonu Hembram (25), comrade Veerendra (23), comrade Ramlal Soren (25), and comrade Rajesh Saav (35). All these martyrs belong to the most oppressed adivasis and dalits.

When the news of the brutal murder of the eight comrades by the counter-revolutionary gang in Phulwaria-Kodasi with the direct support of the police reached the Party ranks and the revolutionary masses they were filled with deep anguish and extreme grief. They naturally vowed to punish the murderers belonging to the criminal gang. As calls for revenge and punishment to these brutal murderers became louder the Party and PLGA decided to teach a lesson to these state-sponsored gangsters.

On 17 February 2010 around 200 revolutionaries belonging to PLGA as well as common people carried out a campaign of suppressing the counter-revolutionary murderous gang of Phulwaria-Kodasi. The entire village was encircled in accordance with a well laid-out plan. But the armed goondas opened fire from all directions at our people. Our PLGA heroically fought back and gradually took control of the village. Then they selected only the die-hard reactionary elements—nine in all including three leaders of the gang—and gave them death sentence. A huge cache of arms were seized from the gang. Two houses of the gang leaders were blasted with dynamite after calling the inmates out. The houses of three other goondas were burnt down. A woman and child died when they were caught in the flames. This was an unfortunate incident in the entire action which occurred without our knowledge and our Zonal committee expresses its deep regrets for this lapse on our part. The state-sponsored counter-revolutionary gang was thus eliminated thereby taking revenge for the brutal murder of 8 of our comrades just a fortnight earlier.

Third question is: when the Maoists call themselves saviours of the dalits and adivasis why had they killed those very dalits? Just as explained earlier those punished by us had no dalit character. In spite of being dalits, they indulged in anti-people, anti-party and counter-revolutionary activity. The eight Maoist cadre they had murdered brutally also belonged to poor adivasi-dalit families. They did not carry out their brutal acts from a class outlook but from their counter-revolutionary viewpoint only. It is clear that the police and administration in Bihar had been using these forces as informers and SPOs as in Chhattisgarh without declaring them so.

One should look at them not as dalits and adivasis but as members of the counter-revolutionary gangs run by the reactionary ruling classes. This is the reason why death punishment was given to them. Hence this counter-offensive is just and completely correct.

The fourth question is: who is responsible for their deaths? Those officers who had converted them into informers and undeclared SPOs, imparted training, supplied arms, used them in anti-people, anti-Party, counter-revolutionary misdeeds through monetary and other incentives are

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responsible for this. Now after the punishment given by our PLGA to the informers and goondas, these police officers are barking like mad dogs and spreading lies against Maoists.

To sum up, the counter-offensive carried out by the revolutionary masses on the counter-revolutionary gang of Phulwaria-Kodasi is a correct revolutionary act. If the exploiting ruling classes and the top officers of the police force protecting them, continue to set up and encourage counter-revolutionary gangs, use these to arrest and murder Party comrades and members of revolutionary masses, carry out atrocities against the Party and people, then our counter-offensive will be like Phulwaria-Kodasi only.

Hence Jamui-Munger-Banka-Bhagalpur-Lakkisarai Zonal Committee appeals to the toiling peasantry, toiling masses, women, intellectuals and all the justice-seeking, progressive and democratic forces to hail and extend full support to the heroic counter-offensive by our PLGA on the state-backed counter-revolutionary gang that had murdered eight of our beloved comrades. Along with this, we appeal to them to expose the nexus between the police-administration-counter-revolutionary gangs and to actively oppose the evil acts perpetrated by this alliance.

Let us join the ongoing anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle; resist and defeat the barbaric campaign in the name of Operation Green Hunt through people's war. Let us build the Party, Red Army, united front and revolutionary people's power in every village and area and transform them into fortresses of people's revolutionary resistance.

The road to revolution is full of challenges and zig zag. Yet, by relying firmly on the correct line, policy, style and method, and accepting all the challenges, we can certainly cross the zig zag path and advance towards the goal of liberation. Final victory is ours.

### **Long Live Revolution!**

With revolutionary greetings,  
Jamui-Munger-Banka-Bhagalpur-Lakkisarai  
Zonal Committee, CPI(Maoist)  
19-2-2010.

## **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE**



*Press Release:*

*MAY 19, 2010*

**THE MAOIST ATTACK IN CHINGAVARAM IS AN ATTACK AGAINST KOYA COMMANDOS,  
NOT CIVILIANS!**

**THE CHIDAMBARAM-RAMAN SIGH GANG IS ENTIRELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEATHS  
OF CIVILIANS, CONDEMN THE DISINFORMATION CAMPAIGN BY CHIDAMBARAM AND HIS  
GANG OF WAR-MONGERS!!**

Soon after the Maoist ambush near Chingavaram in Dantewada on May 16, the Home Ministry led by the biggest war-monger P. Chidambaram, had unleashed a disinformation campaign of the most vicious kind. Chidambaram and his cohort GK Pillai went to the extent of accusing the Maoists of not discriminating between the central paramilitary, local police, SPOs and ordinary civilians. This only reveals their ideological-political bankruptcy, their utter lack of understanding of the Naxal movement and the vicious motives behind their disinformation campaign against the Maoists. They cannot gain legitimacy to their brutal unjust war through such blatant lies.

These vultures have become cheap salesmen of the government's bankrupt policy and approach towards the issues raised by the Naxals. Soon after the daring ambush by the Maoist PLGA, these hawks in the Union Home Ministry first propagated the lie that Maoists had targeted civilians. But as news of Koya Commando SPOs and policemen being the majority among the dead spread, they changed tack and floated another lie that SPOs are also civilians and that the Maoists

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showed no discrimination towards policemen and civilians. The fascist mindset of the hawkish Home Minister was revealed for the umpteenth time when he said he has a limited mandate in dealing with the Naxals and that his earlier proposal before the cabinet committee on dealing with the Naxals was not endorsed. He claimed that people wanted harder measures to be adopted against Naxals such as the use of air power and even army. When this fascist, with his so-called limited mandate, is able to devastate vast stretches of land in Chhattisgarh, decimate hundreds of adivasis and unleash atrocities of the worst kind, one can imagine what would be the scenario if he is given a blank cheque or unlimited mandate in his war against the Maoists and the poorest people of the country. It is clear that if Chidambaram is allowed to have his way he would carry out a terrifying genocide in the adivasi-inhabited regions, convert these into grave yards and hand over the land to the imperialists and comprador business houses over the corpses of people. Amusingly, this incorrigible die-hard liar changed tack within hours and claimed that he never said that he was given limited mandate and what he meant was that the states had unlimited mandate! Through such amusing political acrobatics and Vedantist tricks Chidambaram has proved himself to be a Don Quixote of Indian politics.

The recent punishments given to police informers by Maoists in West Bengal and Chhattisgarh are misinterpreted by Chidambaram and his gang as attacks against civilians. None but the war-hungry hawks would believe Maoists would target the very people in whose interests they have taken up arms in the first place. It is also a fact that poor SPOs, salwa judum activists and poor policemen are becoming casualties in this war. And the sole responsibility for these casualties is Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang itself which has absolutely no qualms in using them as cannon-fodder to achieve its heinous goals of placing the country's resources at the feet of its masters.

We deeply regret the unfortunate deaths of 15 civilians in Dantewada and assure to do our best to compensate the victims' families and ensure that civilian deaths are kept to a bare minimum in future offensives. We declare in unambiguous terms that the death of even a single civilian is regrettable and our Party will strive its best to avoid casualties of non-combatants in the ongoing war. It was an unintended yet serious lapse on our part in not recognizing the existence of civilians in the bus as we were misled by the koya commandos occupying the roof of the bus. It is the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang at the Centre and the various reactionary parties wielding power in the states that have absolutely no respect for the lives of the people and their fundamental rights. It is these reactionaries who are responsible for the gruesome murder of over 250 innocent unarmed people and abducted Maoist revolutionaries in the past ten months since the launching of Operation Green Hunt all over the country. We condemn the heinous attempts by the paramilitary, policemen and SPOs to use civilians as a human shield to protect themselves from attacks by Maoist guerrillas. In this specific instance, the notorious lawless koya commandos had forced themselves into the civilian bus unheeding of the protests of the driver and the passengers thereby pushing the lives of civilians into danger. We once again appeal to the people not to travel in vehicles used by the armed mercenaries and the owners of private vehicles not to provide their vehicles to these uniformed armed goons.

We call upon all democratic-minded organizations and individuals, and the entire people of the country to understand the circumstances in which civilian deaths had occurred in the recent ambush in Dantewada. We assure that we will carry out strikes against the paramilitary, commando forces, local policemen, SPOs, and policy makers in the various parliamentary parties and bureaucracy with greater precision and avoid civilian casualties. We appeal to all well-wishers of the revolution and pro-people organisations and intellectuals not to be swayed by the disinformation campaign let loose by the reactionary rulers who use every unintended mistake committed by the Maoists to defame and discredit the revolutionary movement. Let us not fall prey to the dirty ploys of the ruling classes to obfuscate the real issues of land alienation and displacement of the adivasis and other poor peasants, brutal state terrorist and state-sponsored terrorist attacks against the people, violation of their basic human rights, the game-plan of the rulers to hand over large tracts of Indian territory to their imperialist masters and comprador business houses, and to destroy the newly emerging organs of revolutionary people's power in the countryside.

Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee, CPI(Maoist)

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## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



*Press Release:*

*MAY 20, 2010*

### **AJMER, MALEGAON, HYDERABAD, GOA...REVEAL THE UGLY FACE OF HINDUTVA FASCIST TERROR AND THE ANTI-MUSLIM BIAS OF THE INDIAN STATE!**

### **WHO IS TO BE PUNISHED FOR THE TERRIBLE ATROCITIES SUFFERED BY INOCENT MUSLIMS FOR THE CRIMES COMMITTED BY SAFRON TERRORISTS AND THE INDIAN STATE?**

The ugly hideous face of Hindutva fascist terrorism, which had been hiding for decades behind the protective umbrella of the pro-Hindutva Indian State, has been openly exposed after irrefutable direct evidence of the involvement of various saffron outfits in Ajmer Shareif Dargah, Mecca Masjid, Malegaon, Modasa, Goa and various other bomb blasts that were carried out across the country over the years. In spite of attempts by the biased investigating agencies to cover up it is clear that even the Samjhauta Express blast was the handiwork of the saffron terrorists as the train carried a majority of Muslims. If the damning evidence of Hindutva terrorism had shocked the country, what is even more shocking is the spread and reach of these fascist forces which masquerade as non-violent patriotic forces of the saffron variety or as Gandhian secular forces of the khadi variety and hide behind the façade of a so-called democratic or progressive alliance.

**The ever-increasing persecution of innocent Muslims all over the country, implicating them in false cases after horrifying tortures, and the malicious campaign of disinformation on the so-called threat from Islamic terrorism prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the Congress and the BJP as well as other smaller parties are equally culpable in committing these heinous crimes against an entire community.** While the BJP, wherever it was or is in power such as Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka has hunted the Muslims and Christians guided by its ideology of establishing a theocratic Hindu State in India, the Congress fared no better in the states where it ruled as its record of persecution of Muslims in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Delhi clearly shows. Smaller parties like the DMK, AIDMK, Telugu Desam too pursued similar policies towards Muslims. Without any evidence whatsoever, the Congress regimes too arrested or abducted Muslim youth, shot them dead in fake encounters, carried out indescribable tortures and pushed hundreds of Muslims into jails under false cases. And all these were carried out under the supervision of a YSR Reddy, a Sheila Dixit, a Vilasrao Deshmukh or other Congress stalwarts while the actual perpetrators of these crimes—the lumpen gangsters of Abhinav Bharat, Sanathan Sanstha, Bajrang Dal, RSS, VHP Sri Ram Sene, Hindu Munnani etc—were allowed to roam freely to carry out more crimes. This should not come as a surprise since all these parties and organizations are but the representatives of various sections of the very same reactionary ruling classes. Under the patronage and direction of these communal political forces it is not surprising to see the so-called law-enforcing officials themselves breaking the laws, hushing up evidences of involvement of members of the saffron brigade, and forcing Muslim youth to confess crimes with which they had no relation whatsoever. **The common goal of all these forces is to whip up anti-Pak hysteria by pointing to the fetish of cross-border terrorism, divert the attention of the people from their real burning issues, arm the Indian State with ever-increasing repressive powers by enacting draconian acts, and to keep the people eternally divided along religious lines.** Parties also rouse religious chauvinist passions for garnering votes.

In fact, evidence of the involvement of Saadhuis, Sadhvis, Swamis, Babas, military and police officials, top bureaucrats, and political big-wigs was not difficult to come by if objective and unprejudiced investigations were made by the concerned law-enforcing agencies. However, when these very agencies are communal in character and are under the control of the Hindutva fascists or

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the pro-Hindu forces in the Congress and other political parties, such investigation was ruled out. Worse still, the Hindutva terrorists are allowed to roam scot-free even after their involvement was proved in Malegaon and Modasa blasts, after bombs went off in Nanded, and witch-hunting of Christians by Bajrang Dal, VHP, Sri Ram Sene goes on unhindered. But Muslim organizations like SIMI are outlawed even without an iota of evidence. Thus the professed secularism of the Congress or other parliamentary parties is only sham and differs very little from that of the Hindutva fascists.

The CC, CPI(Maoist) calls upon all secular and democratic forces of our country to resist the terrorist activities of the Hindutva fascists as well as the anti-Muslim activities of the Congress and other parties. It calls upon the people to demand the arrest and trial of the Hindutva leaders, top police officials and bureaucrats involved in the persecution of innocent Muslims by linking them to the bomb blasts carried out by the saffron terrorists. It is these communal fascist monsters who pose a great threat to the country but for the pseudo-secularists like Sonia, Manmohan, Chidambaram and the like these fascist forces pose no law and order problem and even go to bed with them in states like Chhattisgarh.

Neither the parliamentary political parties nor the Indian State and its various wings can provide justice to the persecuted Muslims and other religious minorities. They will never punish the real culprits as it means punishing themselves. It is only through the revolutionary seizure of power and establishment of a genuine people's democratic state that the menace of Hindutva fascists, pseudo-secular parties, pro-Hindu Judiciary and Executive can be done away forever. Let us unite and struggle to establish a genuinely secular, democratic people's democratic state by completing the ongoing new democratic revolution in the country to ultimate victory.

Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee, CPI(Maoist)



## **COORDINATION COMMITTEE OF MAOIST PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS OF SOUTH ASIA (CCOMPOSA)**



*Press Release*

**April 30th, 2010**

**Unite to Oppose the Unprecedented Brutal War – The Operation Green Hunt-  
by the Indian reactionary rulers against Maoist revolutionaries  
and the oppressed people of India!**

**Hail the heroic resistance by the revolutionary people of India led by the CPI(Maoist) to  
the most barbaric attack unleashed by the Indian State in the interests of the imperialists and a  
tiny elite of parasitic corporate plunderers!!**

The reactionary rulers of India have unleashed the cruelest war on the oppressed toiling people, particularly the indigenous adivasi masses inhabiting the vast region stretching from West Midnapore-Purulia-Bankura in West Bengal to North Andhra and North Telangana. The war on the poorest of poor of India is called the Operation Green Hunt. The troop mobilization in this region is mind-boggling. The total number of central forces is over 66,000 and the state's police forces deployed for the anti-Maoist operations in the seven states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh is close to two hundred thousand. Thus almost a quarter of a million troops of the central and state governments are engaged in military operations against the Maoists and the indigenous people. This number is more than the US troops deployed in Iraq and Afghanistan or the combined armies of Sri Lanka and Nepal. **Encompassing over a third of the**

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**territory of India, it is the biggest ever war zone in the Indian sub-continent till date that surpasses the total area and populations of several countries in the world.**

Everywhere in this vast war zone one finds police and paramilitary camps; fortified stations and concrete bunkers with heavily armed uniformed personnel aiming at whoever comes their way; construction of airstrips and helipads on a war-footing; mine-proof and bullet-proof vehicles; jungle warfare schools; laying of roads, communication towers and school buildings for accommodating the swarming hordes of policemen; and helicopters hovering over the forests for air-dropping the central forces and preparing satellite imagery of the region; conspicuous presence of the Indian Army for imparting training and giving logistical support; and such other war-related activity.

On the other side are hundreds upon hundreds of empty villages evacuated by the inhabitants after being burnt down by the police or fearing brutal attacks by the invading mercenaries of the Indian State. Everywhere one finds cold-blooded murders of men, women and children; abductions and illegal detention of innocent adivasis for indefinite periods; mutilation of the dead bodies and refusal to hand over the dead to their kith and kin; rapes and gruesome murders of hapless women; burning of food grains and destruction of property; closing down weekly bazaars and preventing adivasis from going to markets to fetch their minimum needs; occupation of schools and all government and panchayat buildings by the police forces depriving children of education; in short, leading to conditions of genocide of the indigenous people of India. Despite being a signatory to the Geneva Convention and other International Conventions, Indian government shows the least concern for implementing the provisions of these Conventions and violation has become the general rule. The Indian Constitution too has become a scrap of paper signifying absolutely nothing for the vast masses in the war zone. The rulers are using the Constitution and the rhetoric of "rule of law" as a fig-leaf for perpetrating the worst violations of human rights. The arson and mayhem, death and destruction, caused by the armed goons sent by the Indian State mock at the so-called democracy of India. These crimes against the people under the direct supervision of the Union Home Minister Chidambaram are comparable to the crimes of the Nazis under Hitler, or the crimes of a Pinochet in Chile, or the military dictatorships in Latin America of the 70s and 80s.

This unprecedented cruel attack on the Maoist revolutionaries and the poorest of the poor is being carried out with the twin-objective of destroying the emerging alternative models of people's power in the form of organs of revolutionary people's power in the remote countryside that have also become alternative models of genuine development basing on people's needs on one hand; and snatching away the lands, forest wealth and mineral wealth of this vast region on the other. Towards this end, **MOUs worth around Rs. 35 lakh crore** have been signed with various imperialist companies and the comprador corporate houses of India by just three state governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa.

Today the deepening global economic crisis has a devastating impact on the Indian economy due to its total dependence and servitude to the imperialists. To offset the effects of the crisis the international capitalist class is keen on seeking new pastures for ensuring profits. Its eyes are set on the alluring abundant cheap raw materials and other natural resources in the adivasi regions. Some of these regions remain hitherto unexploited due to the presence of Maoist revolutionaries and militant resistance from the masses.

The all-out war unleashed by the imperialists and the reactionary rulers of India is not only to eliminate the Maoist revolutionaries who are providing leadership to the people's struggles but also to crush every form of democratic movement and suppress every form of dissent in the name of a looming Maoist threat. This McCarthyism practiced by the Indian State under the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang is leading to a fascist atmosphere in all spheres and bringing into one's mind the bitter days of Emergency under the same fascist Congress party.

The CCOMPOSA warns the Indian ruling classes that no revolution can be crushed by the brute force however they appear to be mightier today. It is people and people that who can decide the history. All unjust wars are destined to face their waterloos. Indian ruling classes have thrust this brutal war to facilitate the smooth plunder to the Indian compradors and Imperilists. People raise like toranadoes and smash this counter revolutionary offensive. More Dantewadas are bound to happen.

The CCOMPOSA calls upon the people of entire South Asia to rally against this unjust war,

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thrust upon the indigenous people and the Maoist revolutionaries, by the imperialist-backed Indian State. Let us express our solidarity to the fighting people of India, particularly in the vast Maoist guerrilla zones and guerrilla bases where the people led by PLGA are waging heroic battles against the massive armed offensive of the enemy. Indian expansionism is the common enemy of the people of all countries of South Asia. Defending the Maoist movement in India, the organs of revolutionary people's power or the embryonic forms of people's democratic governments and condemning the blood-bath unleashed by the rulers on the people is a foremost task before all revolutionary, democratic forces and the people of entire South Asia.

**Let us transform South Asia having one quarter of the world population, into a grave-yard for imperialism, particularly American imperialism and Indian expansionsim!**

**Let us unite to defeat the imperialist-sponsored blood-bath in the Maoist areas in India and strengthen the ongoing people's war by extending support in multifarious forms!**

Promod,  
Convenor,  
Standing Committee  
CCOMPOSA  
(Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia)

**Constituent Parties**

United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Poorba Bangladesh Sarvahara Party (CC)  
Communist Party of East Bengal (ML) Red Flag Communist Party of Bhutan(MLM)  
Communist Party of India (MLM), Communist Party of India (ML) (Naxalbari),  
Communist Party of India (Maoist)  
April 30th, 2010



**Bhumkal Divas  
February 10**

**International Women's Day  
March 8**

