



## Maoist Information Bulletin - 20

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## HOMAGE TO OUR GREAT MARTYRS

As Operation Green Hunt rages in the vast rural tracts of India, particularly in Central and Eastern India, many ordinary peasants, adivasis, women, old people and even children have been losing their lives at the hands of the cruel security forces. In some real and several fake encounters, PLGA soldiers, commanders and some party leaders have laid down their lives. Some comrades have lost their lives fighting the enemy bravely in PLGA operations on the enemy forces.

On 8-10-2010, ITBP jawans fired indiscriminately on an ashram school in Savargaon (Dhanora tehsil of Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra) and killed six people including two school children. Another eight of the villagers were seriously injured. This was just a continuation of the various types of atrocities perpetuated by ITBP since they were deployed one year back as part of OGH.

On 9-10-2010 500 enemy commando forces attacked a company force of PLGA guerillas near Padkipali village (Sankra PS limits) of Mahasamund district, Chattisgarh state. In the fierce battle that took place for four and a half hour, eight people were killed which included six brave PLGA guerillas and two innocent villagers. These comrades laid down their lives bravely fighting the enemy forces and defending the important leadership comrades present with them. Comrades Kosa (DVC member), Natasha (ACM, cultural front in CNM), Arjun, Parvati, Rajbatti and Lachhu were martyred along with Goutam Patel and his agriculture worker. These two villagers were caught by the police and were shot dead in cold blood in front of their family members. A company of PLGA had gone to Mahasamund district as part of expanding the revolutionary movement and has been propagating revolutionary politics and raising their consciousness when this encounter took place. When revolutionaries from Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Jharkhand and Bihar expanded their activities to various parts of India, several comrades had laid down their lives and it was with such sacrifices that movement has spread to new areas. Now too the expansion to other parts of Chhattisgarh and Odisha is paved with such sacrifices as those of Padikipali martyrs. Their sacrifices would not go in vain and would serve as inspiration to all extension efforts taken up by the party.

On 13-10-2010, two villagers were shot dead in Bijapur district by the police. On 15 October, 2010 comrades Nagesh (North Regional Committee member of Dandakaranya) and Pramila (PI-25 member) were caught unarmed from a village and were killed in a fake encounter near Jamul of Bhilai.

On 21-10-2010, Sanavu Kumeti, an anti-mining activist who was actively opposing mining in Raoghat area was picked up at 3 a.m. from his house by the BSF jawans and the Chhattisgarh police and was killed in a fake encounter in Madpa jungles. They made him wear a military uniform to pass him off as a Maoist. The people agitated against this fake encounter and relenting to the pressure the thanedar (Sub-Inspector) of Raoghat was suspended. But later Sanavu's wife, brother and other family members were arrested, tortured and sent to jail after booking them under false cases. Now his wife is in Kanker jail and brother is in Jagdalpur jail. The only 'crime' of Sanavu Kumeti was to try to save his village and the ecology of that area by preventing mining in Raoghat hills by the corporate vultures.

On 2-11-2010 the police fired indiscriminately on the villagers when they were conducting a meeting in Madded area and a woman squad member died in this attack. On 4-11-2010, four people's militia comrades were killed in an encounter near Nuvaguda of Balimela area (Odisha part which falls under the AOB Special Zone)

On 23-11-2010, nine Jan militia comrades who were on sentry duty defending the villagers who were reaping their harvest in fields were killed in an ambush by the Chhattisgarh state police and CRPF near Jagurugonda, Bijapur District. Their names were Uike Sannu, Uike Dula, Karpi Subba, Korsa Sukka, Kunjam Joga, Korsa Sudhakar, Emla Sagar, Hidma and Aitu. thousands of youth have joined the Jan militia in Dandakaranya to defend their villages, fields, properties, families since the days of the Salwa Judum and all these were ordinary villagers who had very inferior weapons and were just trying to bring home their harvest so that they and their children could eat.

Comrade Arun, a Regional Committee member from West Bengal was killed by the Joint forces on 23-11-2010 near Burli-Dampada. The rampage of the Harmad Bahini and the Joint Forces continue unabated in Lalgarh. Comrades Pradeep Mahato and Viswalal Mahato were killed by Harmad Bahini in Jhargram on 22-10-2010. Comrades Viplav Mukherji, Soren and Mahato lost their lives in Purulia in the hands of the Joint Forces in October, 2010.

Killing revolutionaries in covert operations has become a widely used tactics of the enemy forces in India and this is continuing as part of OGH now. Newspapers from Bihar reported that on 28-11-2010 ten Maoists were given poison in food and later their dead bodies were thrown into the Ganga river in Munger district. The police said that only four dead bodies were recovered from the river out of which three were naxalites and one was a villager. The CPI (Maoist) spokesperson of that area Comrade Avinash has declared that ten of their comrades were killed in a covert operation by giving them poison in food.

MIB pays humbly red homage to all these great martyrs of Indian revolution and vows to propagate their high ideals widely among the people so that all of us may emulate them in our lives.

## Interview with Com. Ganapathy

### **NOBODY CAN KILL THE IDEAS OF 'AZAD'! NOBODY CAN STOP THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION !!**

*- Comrade Ganapathy*

Recently some media persons sent some questions to Comrade Ganapathy, the General Secretary of CPI (Maoist). The martyrdom of Politburo member and party spokesperson Comrade Azad, the continuous losses to the Central leadership of the party, the issue of talks with the government, the deluge of militant mass movements in many areas, the situation of the revolutionary movement in the urban and plain areas, party stand on contemporary issues like Kashmir people's movement, Commonwealth games, judgment on Babri Masjid are some of the issues on which Comrade Ganapathy concentrated and gave his replies. We hope this interview would be useful to know about party's stand and understanding in the present situation.

*– Editor*

**1. Many people think that your party had suffered a severe backlash with Azad's death. What are the circumstances which led to his death? How would you assess the role played by Azad in Indian Revolution? How do you plan to overcome his loss?**

**Com. GANAPATHY :** True, our party has suffered a severe backlash with the death of Comrade Azad. Azad was one of the topmost leaders in our party. He has been leading the Indian revolution since a long time. In our country, People's War is intensifying with each passing day. With the aid and support of imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, the Indian exploiting ruling classes are trying to suppress the revolutionary movement and are carrying on ruthless atrocities in an unprecedented severe manner. In this war between the people and the ruling classes, the enemy had particularly concentrated on comrades like Azad who are leading the revolution and schemed to murder them. It is as part of that conspiracy that comrade Azad was caught and killed in the most brutal and cowardly manner. The Home minister Chidambaram, who is leading from the forefront the 'War on People' launched by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang, central intelligence agencies and Andhra Pradesh SIB are directly responsible for this gruesome murder.

Comrade Azad was leading the entire urban movement on behalf of our Central Committee and was also looking after political propaganda, party periodicals, party education and other such crucial responsibilities. He was a most reliable mass leader. He maintained close relations with many comrades at various levels and with the revolutionary masses. In the midst of severe repression, he worked selflessly and unflinchingly in spite of the many risks involved. It is under such circumstances that the enemy came to know about his whereabouts somewhere and could catch him by laying in wait.

In July, Azad was to go to Dandakaranya. He was to participate in the political education training program planned for the party leadership cadres there. He had a contact with the Dandakaranya comrades in Nagpur city on July 1. But he and a journalist named Hemchand who was traveling with him were caught even before they reached the contact place. Both of them were taken to Adilabad forests and were killed the same night. Those who have seen his dead body said that they seemed have given him some sedative injection as soon as they caught him. This means that the enemy had caught him in a planned manner with the clear aim of killing him. They killed Hemchand Pandey too so that the truth about his murder doesn't come out. Both their bodies were thrown in the Jogapur forests in the Wankidi mandal of Adilabad district and a fake encounter story was concocted as always.

Entire people along with our Party condemned in one voice this fake encounter and comrade Azad's

murder. Many revolutionary parties, democratic and civil rights organizations had demanded judicial enquiry on this fake encounter. Intellectuals, journalists, writers and students from many states along with those in Andhra Pradesh had accused that the Central and state governments were responsible for Azad's murder. Many wrote articles and gave statements. Thousands attended the funeral procession of comrade Azad which was held in Hyderabad on July 4th. Many Maoist parties from all over the world had condemned the murder of comrade Azad and written letters to our CC hailing his services to the Indian revolution. On this occasion, I send my revolutionary greetings and gratitude to all these organizations and individuals on behalf of our CC. It is such democratic and revolutionary consciousness which would help sustain people's movements.

Azad was attracted to the revolutionary movement while he was studying in the Warangal Regional Engineering College in 1972. Azad who was exceptionally brilliant in his studies had played a dynamic role in the revolutionary movement too. He played a role in the formation of the Radical Students Union (RSU) in 1974. He was elected as the state president of RSU in 1978. He was one of the founders of the All India revolutionary student's movement and guided it from its inception in 1985. He played a key role in conducting a seminar on Nationality Question in the then Madras city in 1981. Later he took up the responsibility of building the revolutionary movement in Karnataka and build up the Maoist party in Karnataka for the first time. He attracted many comrades like Saketh Rajan into the party. When opportunistic elements tried to split the party in 1985 and in 1991, comrade Azad had played a crucial role in keeping the party united and strong and in defeating their opportunist politics with a proletarian outlook. He worked tirelessly for twenty years as a CC member and Politburo member from 1990 till now. We cannot separate Azad's life from the revolutionary movement's history of the past forty years. Particularly, he played a key role in the ideological, political spheres, party education and running of periodicals and such. He fulfilled the responsibility of the party spokesperson since three years as 'Azad' in the most excellent and exemplary manner. He used his intellect and sharp pen outstandingly in fighting back the 'War on People' led by the Chidambaram gang. He stood as the voice of the people against the rulers and exploiters. In the development of the party's political line, in the development of the party, people's army and mass organizations, in extending the movement, in the emergence of new democratic power organs and in all the victories won, Azad's ideological, political work and practice played a key role. Unflinching commitment in face of any odds and during the ebb and flow of the movement, great sacrificing nature, selflessness, simple living, indefatigable work for the revolution and for the interests of the people, astounding study, study of changing phenomena in the society from time to time, being with the people always are some of the great proletariat ideals established by Comrade Azad. Though he is no more, it is undeniable that he would serve as a revolutionary role model to every revolutionary and particularly to the youth, students and intellectuals.

It is true that it would be very difficult to fulfill the loss because comrade Azad's life has been completely intertwined with the advancement of the revolutionary movement. He was a great revolutionary who was steeled in the ups and downs of the movement. Revolutionary movements give birth to leaders in this manner. In turn, these leaders lead the revolutionary movements down the path of victory. The sacrifice of many leaders is also inevitable in the revolutionary movement. **The very conditions which give birth to the revolutionary movements and help its advancement would give birth to its leadership too. This has been proven repeatedly in the world revolutionary history. So the material conditions which are favorable for the rapid advancement of the revolutionary movement in our country today would give birth to thousands of leaders like comrade Azad.** The ideological-political and practical work done by comrade Azad and the communist ideals he established have created the base for such an eventuality. The martyrdom of a Surapaneni Janardhan had placed an ideal in front of many comrades like Azad. Likewise many more revolutionaries would be born by taking the sacrifice of Azad as an ideal. They would lead the Indian revolution. The enemy could eliminate the physical presence of Azad but it would be impossible to stop the ideas he had spread in the party and among the people from turning into a material force.

In our history though we had lost important leaders many times and had faced many ups and downs, we had always stood up again and could advance the movement. We are still attracting educated cadres into our party from various parts of our country. We are confident that we would be able to fill the void created by Azad's death by training them up well in practice. The ruling classes are ecstatic that they had broken the jar of knowledge by killing Azad. But those fools do not understand that thousands of Azads would be

born from the land where that knowledge had been spilled. Azad had haunted the ruling classes with his political attacks when he was alive. Now even after his death he is haunting them. The ruling classes startle at the very mention of his name.

Before the death of Azad too, we had lost important leadership comrades in fake encounters and many more had been arrested. These losses are heavy too. But we would definitely overcome these losses and would definitely advance the revolutionary movement firmly.

**2. In the interview you gave to Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha you said that your party was ready for talks with the government. In the letter written by your spokesperson Azad to Agnivesh, he said your party was ready for simultaneous ceasefire from both sides. Now that the government had killed Azad in a conspiratorial manner, do you think it is possible to hold talks? Are you still reiterating the stand taken before the death of Azad?**

**Com. GP :** In fact, you should put this question to Chidambaram and Manmohan Singh. For the past one and half year, comrades Azad, Kishenji and I have been stating our party's stand regarding talks a number of times. The government has been hiding the endless brutal violence it had been perpetuating on the people and has been announcing each time that talks would be held only if Maoists abjure violence. Chidambaram has been repeatedly shouting these words from the roof top. Keeping in view the war declared on the people and the difficulties they are facing due to it, Azad had continued declaring till the end that our party would be ready for simultaneous cease fire if the government is ready for it. His intention was to lessen the travails of the people to any possible extent. He mentioned the same demand in the letter written to Swami Agnivesh. Chidambaram and Manmohan Singh had not only killed him in a conspiratorial manner but are shamelessly performing the same charade once again. The fact is that the government doesn't feel any actual need for holding talks. If the peace wished by intellectuals, democrats and the people is to be established, then the most meaningless thing would be to demand that the counter-violence by people should be stopped while the government continues with its killing spree. When Chidambaram announced that Maoists should stop violence for 72 hours and Kishenji responded by giving a time of 72 days, Chidambaram's answer was to target Kishenji and to intensify the attacks in order to kill him. Azad who had written the letter to Agnivesh was targeted and killed. As part of Operation Green Hunt nearly one lakh paramilitary forces and three lakh state forces have been deployed. Of these the major forces are Special Forces. Every day, every hour and every minute these forces are perpetuating countless atrocities on the people. They are targeting the people and democrats who are opposing this and putting them in jails under UAPA and other draconian laws of the states. Except for the reactionaries and their stooges in the media, nobody else is supporting this war on people in our country. Even if there are a few individuals who support it, it is not because they know the facts but because they innocently believe the false propaganda of the government. We feel that there is absolutely no conducive situation for holding talks now.

People like Agnivesh are asking us not to retreat from the dialogue process and to come forward for talks even after the cold-blooded murder of comrade Azad. We want to ask them if they would be able to stop such conspiracies and plots the government is hatching to kill our party leaders. Doubtless, comrade Azad was killed by the government in a conspiracy. The post-mortem and forensic reports too prove this beyond doubt. So we request all democrats, peace-loving intellectuals and human rights' organizations to come forward with the firm demand that judicial enquiry should be conducted on Azad's murder.

It is crystal clear that there is no conducive atmosphere for talks. In spite of this we request the people and democrats to demand the government to prove its commitment towards the process of talks by coming forward to implement the following steps.

- 1) Stop Operation Green Hunt. Withdraw the paramilitary forces. If the government stops its offensive on the people, then the counter-offensive of the people would also stop. As many intellectuals are saying, if the offensive of the government doesn't take place then there would be no need for the people to resist.
- 2) Ours is a political party like many other parties in this country and the world. Our party has an ideological, political and military line and aim and correct, clear-cut policies on matters relating to culture, caste, gender, nationality, ecology etc. Even according to the laws formulated by these ruling classes, democratic rights would apply to our party. So the ban on our party should be lifted. Ban on our mass organizations

should be lifted. Absolute democratic opportunities should be created for mass mobilization. Only in conditions where we could work democratically, we can come forward for talks.

- 3) In Andhra Pradesh, comrade Riyaz who had participated in talks with the government in 2004 was caught and murdered after torturing him brutally. Others who participated in talks were targeted and attempts were made to assassinate them. Now comrade Azad who was working to facilitate the process of talks was murdered. So, it is not possible to believe the government and send underground comrades for talks. Therefore if the government releases our leadership comrades from jails, then they would directly represent our party in the talks.

So, you people should think about these three demands and place them before the government. We want to make it clear once again that any questions regarding talks should be put to the government first and not to us.

GK Pillai, Prakash Singh, Chidambaram and such likes are saying that we would come into line only if pressure is built up on us through intensification of fascist military offensive on our party and massacring the people. They are living in a fools' paradise. Building pressure, creating illusions in the name of talks, deceiving and destroying the party - this is the strategy of the government. In fact, our party is fighting for peace too. They believe only in suppression and they are incompetent in facing us politically and ideologically. People are fighting under the leadership of our party with the lofty aim of establishing permanent peace by ending the exploitation, oppression, brutal suppression and violence in our country and in the whole human society. **We see the issue of 'talks' and 'peace' as part of class struggle too. When class struggle intensifies, it would be in an armed form. In other circumstances it would be conducted in peaceful methods too.** So it is completely false that our party would come for talks if pressure is built up.

And then, a false propaganda is being conducted through the media that there are differences in our party regarding talks and that they are mainly on the lines of erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile People's War. This is hundred percent false. This is nothing but false propaganda by the enemy to create doubts in peoples' minds about our party to carry on their aims. Our Unity Congress has taken a clear stand on the matter of talks. The struggle between correct ideas and wrong ideas is a continuous process in the party. We would solve our differences of opinion by abiding the principle of democratic centralism and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This would only lead to the development of the party. We achieved great unity with the merger of the two parties. Now any discussions or conflict of ideas which takes place in the party would be in the form of ideological and political discussions in a united party and not in the form of differences between erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War). We categorically state that the differences would never ever take the form of conflicts before the merger.

- 3. You are saying that the government has declared a war on the people. The government is saying that there is no war and that Operation Green Hunt is a figment of imagination of the media. It is very clear that coordinated attacks are carried on your party in all states. How is this offensive going on? How are you facing it and plan to face it?**

**Com. GP :** It is not just us who are saying that the government had declared a war on the people. All the people are saying so in one voice. All the people of the areas where this war is going on are saying so. All the democratic organizations, progressive forces and democrats of our country are saying very clearly that government is carrying a war on the people and are condemning it. The government is carrying on war on people and is blatantly lying that it is not the case. While Longkumer, Kalluri and Viswaranjan announce that the Operation Green Hunt is going on, on the other hand Chidambaram shamelessly declares that there is no such thing. It is increasingly getting exposed how terrible, how cruel fascist act this Green Hunt is and how dreadfully it is being carried on. In fact, in the various states where Maoist movement is present, nearly one lakh paramilitary forces are deployed. If we look at the number of police forces deployed in 9, 10 states against our movement it would be nearly three to four lakhs. What is the reason for deploying such a huge contingent of forces? What are these forces doing on a daily basis? Why are they increasing carpet security and construction of base camps, special training schools and jungle warfare schools? Why is the police budget of each state increased to such huge amounts and so rapidly? Why did the government release a package of thirteen and a half thousands of crores of rupees at once? Why huge sum of over one trillion rupees was allotted for internal security? Why are the central and state governments spending thousands of crores of rupees annually with the evil design of eliminating our movement? Why is the

government carrying on mopping up campaigns in our strong areas like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Maharashtra, North Andhra and North Telangana? Mopping up means destroying everything. Anybody can be killed, arrested, missed, raped and property, houses, harvest and everything can be destroyed. All this is nothing but fascist rule.

It is as part of this war that the enemy is concentrating on our leadership and killing them in the most brutal manner and putting them in jails by arresting them in an undemocratic and illegal manner. The government has chosen armed repression as the main form and carrying on this war. However, in support of this it is carrying on the offensive in all other spheres, i.e., political, ideological, psychological, cultural spheres in a multi-pronged attack.

That is why the people are consolidating themselves under our party leadership with a clear strategy, intensifying the people's war and establishing a new political power, new economy and new culture as an alternative to the present rule of the exploiting classes. Under our party's leadership our PLGA, our new power organs and people are fighting a life and death struggle against MoUs worth billions of rupees which the central and state governments had signed with MNCs and big comprador corporate houses in many states such as Odisha, Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh etc. That is why, people are saying that this callous government is lying when it says that this is not a war. People, democrats and revolutionary forces are strongly and unitedly opposing and equally strongly fighting back the war on people which the government is intensifying day by day. Democratic forces, anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary proletariat all over the world are also strongly opposing and protesting this war on the people waged by the ruling classes of our country.

**I want to clearly state one thing here. This war on the people is a brutal war launched by the government to suppress our just movement. This is an unjust war politically. This war by the ruling classes is carried on with a clear political aim. This would permanently continue the exploitation and oppression of the people. The self-defence war waged by the people also has a clear political aim. We are fighting with the aim of establishing a new society by destroying the exploitive and oppressive system. These two aims are completely at the opposite poles. At present revolutionary war is being waged in our country. The rulers are waging counter-revolutionary war against this revolutionary war. Both of these are seriously confronting each other. They represent the interests of two completely opposite classes.**

Firstly, we want to fight back this war politically. The political aim of our resistance war is very clear. Depending on how deeply the vast masses understand this, how much they consolidate themselves, how much they arm themselves, we will be able to end this war as soon as possible. We are striving hard for the same. That is why we are fighting the enemy in a multi-pronged manner in all spheres.

**4. Chidambaram and Manmohan Singh are repeatedly asking you to 'abjure violence'. But the attacks of your people's liberation guerilla army are continuing. Don't you think this is making it difficult to arrive at a solution? In the background of your recent attacks at Tadimetla (Dantewada), Kongera (Narayanpur), Silda (West Bengal) and Lakhisarai (Jharkhand), some people are expressing their anxiety that you are responding only with military means. They are saying that this would facilitate the deployment of army and that it would lead to more violence and greater loss of lives of ordinary citizens and adivasis. What do you say?**

**Com. GP :** Our central leadership has clearly stated our stand many times on this issue. I will do so one more time. It is nothing but a big deception and charade by the government to ask the people to abjure violence while the state continues its violence. It is violating its own laws and is massacring the people. So it is very necessary that every democrat and any politically conscious person questions the government on this and demands that it stop the violence and war on the people. They should demand that it is the government which should abjure violence. When the government says that we are practicing violence, it is just like a thief shouting 'thief, thief'. It is trying to divert attention from the real issue by doing so.

People whose consciousness has risen would not sit quiet and suffer these attacks carried on with the aim of looting their resources and to turn them into permanent slaves using the government mercenary armed forces. They would resist them by arming themselves. **All the members of our people's guerilla army are none other than masses who have armed themselves voluntarily. These masses who had**

**been exploited and oppressed like slaves since generations have understood the laws of historical development of society and are fighting by arming themselves. Our party is repeatedly making this clear – there is only one way for the people to achieve their liberation and that is the armed way. It means arming themselves, forming themselves into an army and waging an armed struggle.**

When crores of people of our country increase their political consciousness and build up a vast, strong army and when this army fights effectively, it would be possible to put an end to this exploitative rule. The soon this happens, the better for the people. That is why our party gives a call to the youngsters of this country every year on the occasion of the anniversary of the formation of our PLGA to arm themselves. This call is increasingly spreading widely among the people. The attacks carried on recently by our people's army under the leadership of the party and with the active support of the people at Tadimetla (Mukaram), Silda, Lakhisarai, Kongera etc., are all military attacks. Who is anxious about these attacks? Is it the ruling classes and its mercenaries or the people? People are celebrating each occasion of a successful raid like a festival. Each such attack is giving a political message in a practical manner and showing them the path of liberation. The people understand this exactly in this manner. On the contrary seeing all these, the ruling classes are trembling with fear.

However, people who do not understand our movement and those who are not clear about it are anguished about the losses on both sides. We can understand their anguish. But the people cannot stop their war and resistance just because they are anguished. What they should understand is why is such an intense war going on? Why are hundreds of people participating in each attack? Where are we getting the active support of the people? Why are we getting it? If they try to understand this it would become clear. Then they would realize the need for such big attacks, more such big attacks and the need for more such attacks to take place more frequently. Then even they would celebrate whenever such attacks take place. They would also wish whole heartedly that such attacks should take place. But enemies of the people would always oppose them and they would resort to bigger attacks on the people in a more reactionary manner. They would foolishly choose suppression as the only way and would be hated by the people. As a result, they would again become victims of bigger attacks by the people.

As to the question if our attacks are facilitating the deployment of army - if people do not fight back, if they silently bow their heads and suffer exploitation and oppression which are going on since centuries, then there is no need even for police and paramilitary, leave alone the army. Then there would be no need for the ruling classes to carry on attacks too. As people have gained consciousness and have understood the real story behind exploitation and oppression, the fraud of parliamentary system and fake democracy, as they are fighting for land to the genuine peasants and for genuine democracy for the people, the rulers are resorting to serious suppression fearing that their foundations are being shaken. These fools who do not realize that their policies would only lead to an intensification of the people's resistance, are making all preparations to deploy the army. In fact, the army had planned for counter-revolutionary Salwa Judum military campaign during Vajpayee's rule when Advani was the home minister. The home ministry approved it. The Congress which came to power after Vajpayee's government was toppled at the centre and the BJP which came to power in place of Congress in Chhattisgarh implemented this decision. From then onwards, the army has been very actively using all its commands (Northern, Central, Southern, Western and Eastern), has formed special structures in all of them and has been giving all kinds of advices to the state police departments through them. It formulated the strategy for the war on people and is providing all kinds of training, intelligence, technology and deployment plans to the central home ministry. It applied LIC policy formulated by the imperialists to suppress the Maoist movement in the concrete conditions of India and is implementing it with its own characteristic features and with increasing intensity. At present the army is not directly participating in attacks carrying guns. But army officers, some specialists and intelligence officers are directly giving guidance to the counter-guerilla operations in our strong areas. This has been happening since three, four years. So it is not true that they would be deploying the army because of us doing some attacks. They would deploy the army as part of their evil design to suppress the peoples' struggles. Counter-insurgency forces are built inside the army for this purpose. They are building new cantonments, air-bases and helipads, as if on the borders, on a war footing. They are restructuring the whole state system in accordance with their counter-insurgency policies. This means that the rulers had made all kinds of preparations to perpetuate unprecedented level of atrocities, massacres and destruction on the people of our country. Our party feels that all revolutionary parties, democratic organizations and intellectuals, nationality liberation organizations, anti-imperialist patriotic organizations and the entire Indian people should realize



this and resist this actively and intensely without any delay. The people of our movement areas are also thinking in similar terms and are hoping for it.

It is true that the deployment of the army would lead to more violence on the poor and the adivasis and would lead to greater loss of lives. When people are fighting in self-defence it is the exploiters and their stooges who constitute just five percent of the population that are suffering casualties. **But in the violence perpetuated by the state, it is vast masses of oppressed people who are facing losses. People who are in the form of PLGA, the Maoist party, mass organizations and Janathana Sarkars are losing their lives.** So one should understand this. When ordinary citizens and adivasis are suffering losses on such a large scale, one should firstly question as to why this is happening? It doesn't serve any purpose to make confused arguments, either innocently or deceptively, that innocent people are dying. In this background of loss of lives, the oppressed people and the vast masses are putting a straight question to everybody – are you on our side or on the side of the rulers? It means there is no neutral ground left in between. So we request all those who express anguish about loss of lives to rethink in the background of this question.

On this occasion I want to bring some things to your notice. On June 12th, 2,000 state police and central paramilitary forces had attacked a political camp being held by our party's Eastern Regional Bureau in Korhat forest of Jharkhand. Cobra forces, BSF and Jharkhand STF were involved in this attack. Three Air Force helicopters were used. Though the government said that 2,000 forces were involved, in fact more forces were involved. There were only two guerilla companies of our PLGA in that area. Our weapons were inferior. What was the reason for thousands of government forces to carry on this massive attack on our party and PLGA which are in that position? Is this war or not? Why are they hiding the glaring fact that this is a war? Why did they have to wage this war? Since the attack was done by mercenary forces, since it was done for the interests of a few exploiters, whether it was the commandos or Special Forces that had attacked, could not withstand the heroic resistance of our guerillas. Our comrades who have high political consciousness and sacrificing nature have fought back this attack bravely. In our counter-attack some Cobras have died and more were injured too. But the officers who led this attack do not even have the guts to announce how many of them were injured and how many had died. They are afraid that if the facts are announced, the morale of their forces would come down.

Between 25th and 27th of September, again in Jharkhand, the government forces attacked on a huge scale, a political camp being conducted by our Eastern Regional Bureau in Saranda forest with information. The police and paramilitary higher officials had themselves announced that five thousand (equivalent to a regiment) troops were deployed and helicopters were pressed into service. In fact, the number of troops which attacked would be much more. So one can understand how big a war the government is waging. What would you call this if not war? Once again, why are they hiding the fact that it is a war even after attacking at a regiment level? Would they perhaps agree when they attack with a division level force? On whom are they waging this war? Here too, like in Korhat, our comrades bravely retaliated this enemy attack. In Korhat comrade David lay down his life. In Saranda too a comrade was martyred. The enemy forces faced more losses. But to hide this fact, they resorted to false propaganda that three of their men were killed and ten to twelve Maoists were killed, huge quantities of weapons and other material were seized and training camps were destroyed by them.

Under the guidance of US imperialists, the number one enemy of the world people and taking the help of Israel, one of the cruelest governments of the world and a stooge of US, the Indian government is waging this war. Whatever the government may say, how much ever Sonia, Manmohan and Chidambaram gang and their boot-licking intellectuals may lie, the massive attacks in Korhat and Saranda were nothing but war. We are also candidly and clearly announcing that all our attacks have been carried out as part of our war of self-defence. Ordinary people are facing huge losses in the unjust war waged by the government. So we are once again appealing to all people to oppose and resist this unjust war.

**5. The ruling classes of our country are saying that Maoists are not sincere about people's issues and they are not bothered about people's welfare and that their only aim is to 'overthrow the democratically elected government using armed force and establish communist rule.' What is your explanation for this?**

**Com. GP :** The ruling classes are not at all morally qualified to hurl accusations against Maoists, who are

sacrificing their lives for the people or to comment on their concern and commitment regarding people's interests, people's welfare and people's development. Our aim is to overthrow this 'democracy' and 'parliamentary rule' which are nothing but means for the dictatorship of the feudals and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and which stand in complete opposition to 95% of the population's interests, using armed force and to establish new people's power. We feel it is wonder of the wonders to say that these elections and parliament are sacred and that the present rule is the highest form of democratic rule!

We are telling the people to overthrow this dictatorial government and build a government of their own which is genuine democracy of the four classes, i.e., workers, peasants, urban middle class and national bourgeoisie. People are consolidating themselves and fighting for it. Anybody who knows the ABC of politics would know this. But the rulers are saying that the constitution and parliament are sacred and above class interests. **This dictatorial and bourgeois parliament and state machinery which they had established by colluding with the imperialists would serve none else than those classes. They may be sacred for those classes but they are a big menace for the people. So it is their birth right to pull them down. It is their democratic right. They should establish a genuine democratic political system which constitutes new legislative bodies and a new constitution.**

And, we are not the ones who are obstructing development. It is the ruling classes who are doing so. People are performing agricultural tasks while fighting back the horrible violence and destruction perpetuated by fascist gangs like the Salwa Judum, police and paramilitary in Dandakaranya. The militia is doing sentry in defence near the fields and reaping the harvests. The People's Liberation Guerilla Army is safeguarding the harvest of the people. The mercenary forces of the government are attacking such units and killing them. The government forces are wreaking havoc in the adivasi areas by destroying their property, burning homes and whole villages, seizing hens, pigs, cattle and what not from the hapless poor people, destroying the fields and burning the harvest. This enormous destruction is the development policy of the rulers. Here, it is crystal clear that who are the bitter enemies of the people's welfare.

**Of course, we are calling upon the people to overthrow this unholy state. We are calling upon the people to destroy this menace of the people and to liberate themselves. Only through this liberation struggle the people would be able to establish new power and be able to achieve all-round development with an alternative line in all spheres. The development we are talking of is definitely not the one dictated by the IMF and the World Bank and also not the development policy proposed by Ahluwalias, Rangarajans, Manmohan Sings, Chidambarams and Pillais. The development policy we are proposing would change the relations of production qualitatively and thus would lead to the qualitative development of the productive forces. It is a real development policy which says that one should oppose placing the sovereignty of our country at the feet of foreign firms, that it should also be an independent and a self-reliant one, that the resources in our country should be used not for the imperialists but for the people.** Many intellectuals and researchers who have visited our areas had already written that an alternative political power is being established in our areas. Many are realizing that we are having an alternative line in all spheres like in ideological, political, organizational, military, economical, cultural, and ecological spheres. Observers have written clearly about the increasing development in all these spheres, though at a primary level.

**6. Many democrats had raised their voices against Operation Green Hunt. But don't you think that your party would lose sympathy with incidents such as beheading of Francis Induvar, Jamui massacre, blasting of bus in Dantewada and Gnaneshwari Express accident? What is your explanation about these incidents?**

**Com. GP:** Firstly, I am sending my revolutionary greetings to all the democratic forces which are opposing and protesting this cruel and unjust war on the people waged by the government. Now coming to bad propaganda and the accusations on us, we do not have any hand in the incident which led to the accident of Gnaneshwari Express. Already our West Bengal party has clearly issued statements in this matter. This incident occurred due to the conspiracy hatched by CPI (M) and the central intelligence agencies. Though judicial enquiry in this matter has been handed over to the CBI, Umakant Mahato who was portrayed as the main accused was caught and killed in a fake encounter. This is also a part of that whole conspiracy. **Our party which is fighting with the aim of liberation of the people had never conducted any raids or attacks targeting the people or with the aim of killing them and would never do so in future too.**

Our party had already clearly given a statement stating the facts which led to the bus blasting near Chingavaram in Dantewada district. Our party had issued an apology too for the mistake. In the case of Induvar's beheading Com. Azad had already answered clearly. Our party's stand on such issues is very clear. When exceptions occurred our party had given explanations. But the ruling classes are intentionally doing bad propaganda to defame the revolutionary movement and the people's resistance. The Gnaneshwari Express case is an evident example of this.

There is a lot of difference between the Induvar issue, Dantewada bus blast and the Gnaneshwari incident. Near Chingavaram, our targets were clearly the Koya Commandos and SPOs. These blood thirsty forces had raided a village named Kutrem, killed three adivasis, raped women and were returning. But we did not know that there were people inside the bus. The information we had was that SPOs had got into the bus after forcing the people to get down. On the roof top of the bus too it was these armed killer gangs who were traveling. So we considered it a military target and attacked it. **We do not have any hand in the Gnaneshwari accident. In Induvar's case, our party had given a clear explanation. While resisting the killer gangs and the endless cruel violence perpetuated on them, people may in some places, very rarely as an exception, resort to such acts as part of taking revenge. Unless we understand the uneven social conditions in our country, we will not understand this problem.** The conditions in urban areas are different in one sense. In the remote rural areas, where there is the cruelest feudal and upper caste oppression, where people are suffering from the inhuman violence perpetrated by Salwa Judum, Sendra, Harmad Bahini and such killer gangs, where they are victims of the huge destructive campaigns of the state, the resistance of the people may sometimes take such forms too. Even in the urban areas, in the bastis where people are victims of the notorious usurers, slum lords, politicians, mafia gangs and police officers hand in glove with the gangsters and politicians, the resistance of the people may take such forms too. The killing of the notorious rapist and goon in Nagpur by the basti women is just one instance out of many such incidents. This is just an explanation as to why such things happen and it is very clear that our party doesn't carry on such incidents as a policy. Our attitude is that we should educate our people and ranks in this matter. Some intellectuals who lick the boots of the corporations are doing such bad propaganda on us by making a mountain out of a molehill.

In the Jamui incident, a reactionary gang sponsored by the government had caught eight of our comrades in Phulwaria-Kodasi village and killed them in the most heinous, brutal manner by chopping off their limbs. When such incidents happen, we will never be able to safeguard our movement or our people if we keep quiet and do not act. That was why we were compelled to counter attack. In this attack, nine people died including three main *goonda* leaders. It is extremely sad that a woman and a child were caught in flames and had died accidentally. All the other seven were hard-core criminals, killers and lumpen elements. Our Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee had issued a clear statement on this. It was published in the Bihar papers and in the Maoist Information Bulletin-17.

On the whole, the governments and some paid intellectuals in their service who blow their trumpet are falsely implicating us and trying to defame us. In some incidents where we committed mistakes, they are not even bothering to listen to our explanation and are continuing the bad propaganda on us. So our request to the people and pro-people intellectuals is not to get deceived by the government's psy-war. **Our people's army which had been formed to defend the interests of the people would lay down lives for the people but would never try to harm the people.** So try to know the facts behind each incident. We are always prepared to accept any proper criticism and are always ready to correct our mistakes, if any.

**7. The police and paramilitary forces which are losing their lives in your attacks belong to the poor and middle class families. On the one hand you say that you have taken up arms for their liberation and on the other hand you annihilate persons from these classes who join the police and paramilitary forces. Does this not send the wrong message to poor and middle class families? How do you look at this problem?**

**Com. GP :** Any politically thinking person should understand that the state and state machinery are the means of the ruling classes for carrying on exploitation and oppression. The crucial components in these are the police, paramilitary and military. The number of the exploiters is always very limited. They would not even constitute five percent of our population. But they hold the means of production under their control and have built up the police and military to exploit and suppress the vast masses who constitute the majority. The rulers are recruiting them from among the people. That is why, the majority of these forces belong to

the poor and middle classes. These forces are waging war on the people on behalf of the exploiting classes. As these are the forces that stand in the forefront in the war, it is inevitable that they would die in the self-defensive war of the people. But if exploitation and oppression are to be ended, if oppressed people are to be liberated and this agonizing situation is to end, then this war of self-defence is inevitable.

In our areas some individuals from the police and paramilitary forces meet us. They help us and we help them too in various forms. Only when the government forces come to attack us carrying guns, we are attacking them in self-defence. **Our repeated appeal to the lower level personnel in the police and paramilitary forces is – please do not betray your own class, don't serve the exploiting classes, don't attack the people and revolutionaries on your own consciously in a revengeful manner, join hands with the masses and turn your guns against the real enemies and not on your class brothers and sisters. What you are doing is not service to the people but service to the exploiting classes. So stop serving the exploiting classes like slaves. Don't just think of your livelihood, please think about the people, think about the country.**

Our appeal to their families is that they should see to it that their family members do not serve this exploiting system for temporary interests; encourage them to be on the people's side. When these families reside in our areas, our people's governments will ensure that they get proper livelihood and necessary help as part of whatever the oppressed people get. We want to make this clear on this occasion to those families one more time.

**8. Your party had immense support of the people in the initial days in areas like Lalgadh and Narayanapatna. But these movements are facing severe state repression at present. What is your party's strategy to advance these movements and to build such movements in other areas?**

**Com. GP :** In Lalgadh and Narayanapatna, our party gained the vast support of the masses. When mass struggles erupted and spread like a prairie fire in these areas, they not only got the support of the people of those states but also attracted the democrats and people of our country. It is no exaggeration to say that our country had not seen struggles with such huge and vast support of the masses in the past 20 to 25 years. Our party is working in Lalgadh area since three and half decades. As the revisionists who were in power since three decades had been carrying on social fascist repression on the people, severe discontent and hatred simmered and finally erupted like a volcano. Most of the land lords, bad gentry, goons, contractors, traders and police officers who were exploiting the people at local level are the revisionist CPI (M) hoodlums. They had oppressed the people in all spheres. In the background of such a situation, the anti-people CPI (M) government had allowed the steel plant of Jindal in Salboni and this led to the Lalgadh movement. Later the atrocities of the police on the people of that area added fuel to the fire. The distinctive feature there is that people had been under the social fascist oppression of CPI (M) since decades.

The ruling class parties of Congress, Trinamool and CPI (M) have been clashing with each other in West Bengal. In some places clashes took place between CPI (M) and Trinamool and in some places between CPI (M) and Congress. During the Nandigram struggle, this contradiction between the ruling classes intensified more seriously. Its impact could be seen in Lalgadh too. The Lalgadh struggle started mainly as an anti-state movement and spread to all spheres of life. As it consolidated and spread vastly, it brought to a standstill the state machinery and by arming itself had established new political power though at a primary level. It established itself as a political power system in all spheres such as education, health, sanitation, irrigation facilities, transport, trade, economy, culture etc. This is one of the characteristic features of that struggle

And in the Narayanapatna struggle - from a class point of view, land lords, usurers and bad gentry drank the blood of the people there. The Narayanapatna peasantry consolidated and armed itself against their exploitation and oppression. They occupied thousands of acres of *patta* land. They fought most militantly on a vast scale and politically broke down the feudal-bad gentry, usurer system and started new democratic political power organs. As the right opportunism of fake revolutionaries like Kanu Sanyal and Ramachandran became a hindrance in this anti-feudal struggle and in getting the peasantry organized, it became inevitable for them to fight against it. So, when seen from an ideological point of view, this became possible as the peasantry raised its political consciousness and revolted against revisionism by rejecting their leadership.

These two struggles were waged with a clear political stand and with the aim of establishing new political power. They were very just struggles. They had mobilized huge majority of the people in those areas. They

had established new leadership. They were struggles with immediate aims which were waged in coordination with the higher aim. The people rose like a hurricane and these struggles had challenged the state, exploiting classes and the imperialists. So the state launched a massive attack on them. In these two areas, many changes occurred in struggle forms and organizational forms. In Narayanapatna right opportunist forces had also joined hands in the most reactionary fashion with the feudal forces and bad gentry and jointly carried on attacks on the people.

Seeing these growing struggles, the central and state governments schemed against them and deployed paramilitary forces on a large scale. In Bengal, Harmad Bahini, the neo-fascist force under the leadership of CPI (M) is conducting attacks along with the central paramilitary forces and the state police. As the central and state governments had jointly undertaken a massive attack on the Lalgadh movement, we had to make changes in the struggle forms and organizational forms which were in vogue till then. When continuous attacks are taking place without any respite, changes should necessarily be made in the mass struggle forms and organizational forms. Then sustaining the movement in the face of attacks becomes primary and the changes made would also be in accordance with this. It is not correct to assess that mass support for these struggle organizations has become less, by looking at this phenomena. If these movements sustain themselves, become more consolidated, more armed, gain more active support of the masses and extend to more new areas and strengthen the party and army, then they would be able to develop further. This process is underway under our leadership.

We would definitely strive to advance these movements and to build such movements in other areas. These struggles have given us great lessons. Taking them as a model we are trying to build movements in other parts of our country. The conditions which led to the eruption of these movements are exactly prevailing all over the country. Wherever the big corporate companies and MNCs are rushing forward to loot our resources, wherever feudal exploitation is severe there is every chance for struggles on the lines of Kalinganagar, Nandigram, Lalgadh and Narayanapatna to break out. We will lead these struggles.

**9. At present it looks as if your movement is confined to the remote forest areas and adivasis. You are not getting large scale recruits from urban areas and universities as you used to get in the past. Some people are also thinking that you can never extend to urban areas. Isn't this worrying you?**

**Com. GP :** After merger, we have emerged stronger in some areas and become weaker in some areas. Among the areas where we have become weaker, there are some plain areas and some urban areas. Among the areas where we strengthened ourselves, there are some remote areas and some plain areas. Such ups and downs may be inevitable in a protracted war. It is not true that we have been completely eliminated from the urban areas and plains as some people are propagating or as some others believe. As I had mentioned before, India is one of the countries where Maoist movements are on going in the world. Imperialists and the ruling classes of our country are together intensifying the offensive to suppress our movement. When they so concentrate and carry on attacks, we may suffer losses. And we have suffered losses. This is just one aspect of the problem.

We have gained many experiences in the urban areas. We have enriched our policy on urban work. We have studied the changes in the economic and political conditions of our country and the world and had formulated a program accordingly. Communists never work according to their wills and wishes. They work by studying objective conditions in the society. Basing on the positive and negative lessons we have learnt, we are trying to overcome the losses.

The second aspect of this problem is that we may suffer losses due to enemy attacks, but on the other hand due to their suppression campaigns, their pro-imperialist policies and anti-people acts they are getting more and more isolated from the people. This means that they themselves are creating the conditions for the people to turn against them. It is true that at present we are not able to mobilize workers, students and intellectuals as we had done in the 70s and 80s. There have been some considerable changes and phenomena in those conditions. It has become very complex to work in areas where the enemy is strong and in the trade union movement where the revisionists have entrenched themselves. This is not just the case in India. This condition is prevailing in the whole world. But revolutionaries would definitely overcome this. In order to liberate this country we have to concentrate on organizing the peasantry. At present we would strengthen

our movement among the peasantry and definitely extend to the urban areas. On the other hand, this peasant movement is inspiring the urban and people and is having a great impact on them. So, the days when we would vastly organize peasantry of plain areas, the suburban people and urban people are not that far off.

Today, the workers in our country are once again facing the conditions which the workers had faced in 19th century Europe. Most of the workers are turning into contract and casual labourers. They are forced to work for 12 to 16 hours in horrible conditions. Government is changing all labor laws to facilitate the imperialist exploitation. Workers' families are forced to live like slaves in the barracks built for them. Everything is being restructured. The enemy may be happy about the losses he has inflicted on us. But since people are suffering, they are fighting against them in various forms. Our party would definitely lead these struggles bravely and firmly. All the conditions required for the proletariat and the urban masses to rise like a storm and destroy the exploiting system are gradually ripening.

The Indian government has finished implementing the LPG policy of second generation reforms and is going to take up third generation reforms. Under these circumstances, it is bringing many kinds of changes in the education policy according to the needs of the imperialist capital. In the background of the imperialist-dictated changes taken up by the ruling classes in the education policy, education opportunities are diminishing for the poor children and for women belonging to working class, peasantry, adivasi, dalit and religious minority families. Privatization of education is decreasing the opportunities with each passing day. At present, education mainly means corporate-dominated education. This education system mainly caters to the interests of the domestic and foreign corporations. This is creating a big chasm with the students, teachers, parents on one side and the ruling classes on the other. Within a short period this would erupt. Our party is recognizing the need to study and lead this. We will do everything possible in this matter.

Allowing imperialist capital into retail market and the increasing grip of the imperialist and corporate companies over our country's economy in order to overcome the economic crises have led to the bankruptcy of the small traders and small and medium bourgeoisie in the urban areas. In the name of beautification of cities slums are evacuated and middle class people are chased away to the suburban areas. The life of the working class and slum population is in turmoil. Among these people, there are many people who had migrated to the cities from our movement areas. All this is speeding up the process of these cities and towns turning into gun powder centres. We are studying all these phenomena and trying to work among them with proper tactics.

All the riches between villages and mega cities have been produced by people from poor rural areas. It is the poor, dalit and adivasi labourers who are spilling their sweat and blood for the construction of huge mansions and infrastructure by Indian and foreign corporate lords. The majority of the workers and employees who work in the shopping malls and companies are from rural areas. **Either in terms of social, economic and cultural ties or in terms of movement relations villages and cities are not two unconnected islands as such. They both are influencing each other. This is creating a strong base for our extension. So it is ridiculous and unreal to say that we would never be able to extend to urban areas. If rural areas are liberated first, then basing on its strength and on the struggles of the working class in urban areas, cities would be liberated later. Along with the liberation of cities the comprador rule and imperialist control would also be forced to end in our country.**

**10. In the urban areas, the middle classes have many doubts and apprehensions about the Maoist movement. They fear that if the Maoists come to power, they would be annihilated and that their properties would be confiscated. Would you like to say anything to allay these fears?**

**Com. GP :** Our very revolution is concerned with the proletariat, peasantry, middle class and the national bourgeoisie. Among these classes we consider the middle class to be a reliable ally of the proletariat. They are completely affected by the pro-imperialist policies of the government. They are in fact facing great insecurity. **The lives and livelihood of middle classes are seriously threatened by the pro-imperialist policies of the ruling class and by the economic crises shaking the world and not at all due to us. The properties which we would confiscate as part of the new democratic revolution belong to the land lords, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialist corporations and none other.**

Only a very small percent of the upper crust in the middle classes join the upper classes and turn anti-people. But the entire middle class, the majority of the intellectuals and democrats who belong to the middle

class would either join the movement or would stand in support of the movement. Not only during the revolution but in a post-revolutionary society too, the role of the intellectuals in building a new society would be excellent. When they join their hands with the working people, we will be able to complete the revolution sooner and also build the new society at a rapid pace. Due to the prejudices propagated by the ruling classes and some of their stooges who lick their boots, a negligible number of them may have some fears but we want to clearly say that it is not at all the truth.

**11. The central government had recently cancelled the permission given to the Vedanta company for mining in Niyamgiri hills. Even in other states the government has itself cancelled some leases where rules were ignored. Some are commenting that there is no need for violent movements like the Maoists and problems can be solved by bringing pressure through peaceful and legal movements.**

**Com. GP :** This is a result of the determined, united struggle of the adivasis of Niyamgiri hills and a result of the impact of the struggles at Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram etc. People's movements are carried on in various forms. The determined struggle of the people is the main factor. In fact, the very permission given to Vedanta is against their so called laws and regulations, you know. The central government had to cancel the permission in an inevitable situation and now they are falling heads over heels to portray Jairam Ramesh, Rahul Gandhi and the likes as the saviors of the people. In fact, they should have arrested and punished the Vedanta management for gross violation of rules and regulations and the political leaders and government officials for their patronage. On the other hand, this same government had given permission to the massive Polavaram project at the same time when this permission was cancelled. This is one of the biggest multi-purpose projects in the whole world. This would lead to the biggest displacement in the whole of India. After permission was cancelled to Vedanta, the very next day Rahul Gandhi went to Kalahandi and said that he was on the side of the adivasis. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Just a few days before this, it was his very same Congress government which had fired upon and killed some people and injured a large number of people of Sompeta who were opposing the construction of a thermal power project. The people revolted because this project is being built by displacing people from their fertile agricultural lands. The ruling class gang of Jairam Ramesh, Sonia, Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram et al had signed MoUs worth billions of rupees with MNCs and big bourgeoisie. Movements are ongoing in several parts of our country against projects which are displacing millions of people. Movements have erupted and are still continuing in Kalinganagar, Singur, Bodhghat, Lohandiguda, Dumka, Kakinada, Polepalli, Rayagadha and other places against the various projects brought forward by the big comprador bourgeoisie and the MNCs. Among these, except in Nandigram, none took the armed form. Even where we are leading them, the resistance is not yet in the armed form in all the places. Struggle forms come to the fore according to demand of the movement and the level of consciousness of the people. **There is no doubt that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in people's war. But people's war doesn't mean fighting using guns alone. This is a form which would come to the fore depending on the level of consciousness of the people and the response of the state. We consider our people's war to be the consolidated and integrated whole of the entire stage of revolution which consists of many peaceful/violent, unarmed/armed forms of struggles and open/secret, legal/illegal forms of organization.**

If the adivasis of Niyamgiri hills think that they have won complete victory with this, it would be a mistake. They have to stand on their own feet and prepare themselves for a protracted armed struggle in a united and consolidated form. Instead of that, if they place their hopes and trust on Rahul or on the NGOs and have illusions about them, then another company may replace Vedanta, or we need not be surprised if Vedanta itself is given permission in some other form. In Odisha, in spite of serious violations of rules and regulations by the POSCO company, granting permission is a clear proof of its pro-corporate policy. Even Kalinganagar struggle has not been completely successful till now. Repression is being carried on again on a large scale there. Some people were murdered. There is no chance at all for the issue to be solved in a peaceful manner. If our country is to be protected from the imperialist exploitation and oppression or if Niyamgiri hills are to be protected, people need a people's army. It is a must. Even if some intellectuals or voluntary organizations take up these issues and fight, this won't be solved permanently. The world capitalist system is completely bogged down in economic crisis at present. If it has to come out of it, then it has to frantically seek cheap raw materials. So the problem would return to square one. Whether in Niyamgiri, Visakha, Sompeta, Lohandiguda or in all such places, people have to fight in a united, consolidated, militant and armed manner to solve the problems of displacement and loot of resources.

**12. What is your party's response to the recent deluge of people's movement in Kashmir and the repression carried on by the government armed forces on it? What is your solution to the Kashmir issue?**

**Com. GP :** Kashmir people have been fighting for their independence and right to self-determination for the past sixty years. Countless atrocities, massacres and violence are being perpetuated by the Indian government to suppress this struggle. More than 80,000 Kashmiris have been murdered. Though Indian rulers claim that they have eliminated militancy, the Kashmiri people have been rising in waves during various instances. Recently, in the protest marches held from June 11th, more than a hundred Kashmiri youth were killed in firings by police, paramilitary and military. With a deployment of 7 lakh military and paramilitary forces, Kashmir valley has been turned into the most militarized zone in the whole world.

Our Party strongly supports the just movement of the Kashmiri people. Their demand for 'Azadi' (independence) and right to self-determination is fully justified. Kashmir belongs to Kashmiris. It has never been an integral part of India. Neither India nor Pakistan has any right on it.

Our party condemns this horrible repression on the Kashmiri people in the most serious terms. Indian people should condemn in one voice the government massacres continuing in Kashmir. Our party is making it clear that without doing this, it is not possible to effectively fight back or defeat the ruthless offensive of the ruling classes on the fighting people of India. Our party is concretely putting forth the following demands to resolve the Kashmir issue.

1. The massacres by the Indian government's armed forces in Kashmir should be immediately stopped!
2. Withdraw paramilitary and military forces from Kashmir immediately!
3. Immediately annul the AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) which authorizes the military to indiscriminately kill people!
4. Conduct plebiscite in Kashmir and let the Kashmiris decide their future on their own!
5. Release all political prisoners unconditionally!

**13. Commonwealth games are creating a furor all over the country. What is your party's stand on these?**

**Com. GP :** The ruling classes conducted a big farce in the name of Commonwealth games by spending 70,000 crores of rupees in a callous manner with least bother or concern about the poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, homelessness, displacement, floods and other such unbearable problems of the majority of our population. While 77 percent of the people are living on less than 20 rupees per day they amassed crores of rupees under the pretense of games. The crores of rupees supposed to be spent on stadiums, roads, buildings that are built for the games and in buying various equipments found their way into the pockets of corrupt officials, ministers and contractors. The labourers worked in these construction works were exploited by giving them appalling wages.

On the other hand, the lives of working class and middle class people were in turmoil due to these games. In the name of beautification of Delhi, hundreds of thousands of slum people, roadside vendors and beggars were chased away. Daily movements of the people were restricted in the name of security. All this was nothing but an exercise carried out for profits of corporations and commissions of ministers and officials. Particularly, to divert the youth from their basic problems, to make them live in an illusory beautiful world and to douse their growing discontent too, these games were held. The people gained nothing from these games except heavy tax burden.

Moreover, these Commonwealth games are themselves a remnant of the colonial past which reeks of slavery. The past colonies of Britain join it. Except the comprador rulers who serve the neo-colonialists (imperialists) none of the citizens who aspire for the country's independence and none of the patriots could ever digest the fact that our country is a member of it. Any country with self-respect would reject membership of such an association. We appreciate the participation of players from various countries in games as part of some forums. But this could be supported only when they are held on an equal basis, without all this extravaganza and when it does not compromise the sovereignty of those respective countries.



**14. The Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court gave a judgment dividing the disputed site into three parts. What is your say on this? What is the solution you suggest for this dispute?**

**Com. GP :** Our party has stated very clearly our stand on the demolition of Babri Masjid many times in the past 18 years. Recently comrade Abhay, spokesperson of our CC has in a statement clearly stated our party's stand on this. It is really very sad that the Lucknow bench of Allahabad High Court distributed the disputed site into three parts. There is no scientific basis for this at all. Nor is there any historical evidence to support this. Our party has been consistently and clearly saying from the beginning that Babri Masjid should be rebuilt on the same place where it stood. It is a crime of Himalayan proportions to demolish it. Our party's stand is that the whole site should belong to the Muslim community. Through this judgment, injustice was done to the Muslim community.

On the question of arguments about the birth place of Rama which is supposed to be the spot where Babri Masjid was erected, when we look at the history of India, there were no Masjids at all at one time, you know! Just as Hinduism and Buddhism spread from the countries of India and Nepal to the entire Indian sub-continent and to some East Asian countries, all religions including Islam have spread to various parts of the world from their place of birth. So, by showing this reason and by making this judgment a model every Masjid can be turned into a disputed site, conflicts can be given birth to. Every minority community's praying site can be demolished. Now this danger has come to the fore more clearly. After this judgment there is every chance for the insecurity among the minority people to increase further. As our party spokesperson Abhay has stated, the people should stay alert with the fundamentalists, particularly, the Hindu fundamentalists. In Bhiwandi, Mumbai, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Gujarat and Odisha all the incidents which took place in the name of religious riots were plotted and perpetrated by the ruling classes, particularly the Hindu religious chauvinists. This judgment has given legitimacy to the demolition of Babri Masjid. Now this court judgment has created conditions for the aggressiveness of Hindu religious chauvinists to increase in various forms on the religious minorities. So we are opposing this court judgment. Our party opines that only when people of all religious minorities including Muslim minority, secular forces, democratic forces and oppressed people of our country fight unitedly and isolate the fundamentalist forces, particularly Hindu religious chauvinist forces, a proper solution could be found for this issue or other such issues.

**15. Mamata Banerjee had demanded judicial probe into Azad's murder. The CPI (M) party has been repeatedly hurling accusations about the close relations between Trinamool Congress and the Maoists? Are you having some undercover relations with Trinamool even while describing it as a bourgeois party? How do you justify this?**

**Com. GP :** We are not at all surprised that Mamata Banerjee had demanded judicial probe into Azad's murder. Anybody who is familiar with the political situation of Bengal would not be surprised with this. Democratic organizations and renowned personalities and mass organizations are demanding judicial probe and that the murderers of Azad should be held in trial for murder and punished. This demand represents the people's aspirations. She demanded judicial probe by taking this into consideration. Why would she have any respect or affection for Azad? Who would feel that Azad had been murdered in the most unjust manner? People only who think that the political aim for which Azad had fought is justified, only those who support it and only those who are committed to genuine democracy would sincerely condemn his murder. Others may condemn it for various reasons. Mamata is also one of them. They would do so for their own interests. Though she had made this demand taking into consideration her clashes with CPI (M), and the upcoming elections, it is a welcome demand. Her demand would to some extent help the struggle of the people.

Moreover, for the past fifteen years or more, severe clashes are going on between Trinamool and CPI (M). Sometimes in some places this is taking the form of armed clashes too. The CPI (M) formed armed social fascist gangs like Harnad Bahini and is attacking Trinamool, Maoists, democrats and people to suppress them. Trinamool took up arms to fight CPI (M). So, in order to fight back these attacks and to come to power in the next elections it is natural for Mamata to speak some words to attract the people. In our country, nearly for the past 30 to 35 years the characteristic feature which is continuing in the Bengal politics is that the ruling classes have set up armed clashes with each other. We don't find this in most of the other states. Though this contradiction between the ruling classes is very severe in various forms in other states, it is not at the level of armed clashes. This contradiction got reflected in Nandigram and it was useful for the people. In the parliament and municipal elections held later, Trinamool won more seats. Now in the

upcoming assembly elections the competition would be even more tough. If she has to come to power now, she is compelled to talk as if she is on the people's side. People who hate and abhor CPI (M) would definitely teach it a lesson. **Now the entire people and democrats of Bengal want to escape from the tiger they are facing on the front side. Now for them the tiger in the front is more dangerous than the bear which is at their back. But after they chase away the tiger they cannot escape the bear's hug. Our party would continue to caution the people about this danger too. We would ask them to chase away the bear too in the future. They would have to certainly fight against the bear too. Unless people get rid of these two menaces, any one of them would continue riding on the back of the people.**

Tomorrow, even if Mamata Banerjee comes to power, she would not seize the lands of land lords and distribute them to the poor peasantry nor would she seize the industries of the imperialists and big bourgeoisie. People would not have a chance to participate freely in the elections too. This means that even if she comes to power there won't be any fundamental change. However, if Trinamool comes to power after a long rule of social fascists, it would definitely try hard to gain a tight grip over the administration. During this period keeping in view the election promises she had made, she may temporarily stop attacks on the people. But this would be only temporary. Later, people would have to fight against her government too.

And our party doesn't have any open or undercover relations with Trinamool. But on some occasions even ruling classes may talk in the interest of the people. They would take up some pro-people demands on some occasions for mobilizing the support of the people and for votes. They would even conduct some struggles. Such struggles also exist though their scope is very limited. When such people talk in the interests of the people, we would examine them concretely. As the contradictions among the enemies are indirect reserves for the proletariat, depending on the concrete situation our party would clearly state its stand. Our party would never support or oppose such things blindly. But people should seriously try to understand their class nature and their political and economic policies and should not entertain any illusions about them. If such illusions exist, it would be a task of our party to bring them out of it.

When our stand is so clear, it is not at all proper to say as if we have relations with her party and as if we are justifying it.

**16. There is a criticism on you that your party has mainly only leadership from Andhra Pradesh and that there is no adivasi leadership. How factual is this assessment?**

**Com. GP :** This criticism is farther from the truth. Among the comrades who were elected into the CC in our Unity Congress-9th Congress there were comrades from various states. Majority of our leadership was elected from the states where our movement was strong and it is not true that they were elected from Andhra Pradesh alone. On the whole comrades from nine states who represent our party in 18 states were elected into the CC. It is very natural for more comrades to be elected where our movement is strong and from those who have led these movements since a long time. So, more comrades from Bihar, Jharkhand, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya were elected to the CC.

When we look at the Indian Communist Movement from 1925, for the first time three comrades from adivasi background were elected to the CC in our Unity Congress. Before the Congress, our CC member Comrade Shobha from adivasi background was arrested. When we take into consideration the class, caste and social conditions of our country, more of the comrades who were elected were from the background of basic classes and castes. There are comrades with long experience and efficient young comrades too among them. Our CC was formed with the three-in-one combination taught by Mao (belonging to the three generations). Some intellectuals who are not much associated with our movement or who do not know about us repeatedly question us as to why there are no women, dalits and adivasis in your leadership. This very revolutionary movement in India is carried out for the liberation of the oppressed people. The working class, peasantry and the middle class who are crushed under the exploiting classes and imperialists are the ones who are participating in the revolutionary movement. Our party has taken roots among the oppressed people and is extending among them. But from the days of Naxalbari till date, more than 12,000 comrades were killed by the state. Many of them were marvelous comrades. The vast majority of them, i.e., more than 80 percent belonged to the oppressed classes and castes. Comrades from rich peasants and upper middle class are less in number. Though we are striving to have more leadership from the oppressed

classes, we had lost a majority of them in the enemy offensive and we want to clearly say that it is becoming a hindrance in achieving this goal. For example, in Andhra Pradesh more than four hundred women comrades were killed by the fascist governments. Most of them were from the background of oppressed classes and castes. Many educated women comrades who came from a middle class background were killed too. Many martyred women comrades were quiet capable of developing and were supposed to come into state committees and central committee of the party.

Not just in the CC, but in the state committees too we have comrades from a background of oppressed class, caste, gender and tribe. As we go further down, the vast majority of the leaders are from a background of oppressed classes. It is obvious that it is these comrades who would be elected to the higher committees in the future. **We also have a goal of breaking down the monopoly which the exploiting classes and upper castes have over knowledge in a bourgeois society and handing it over to the people. After the completion of revolution, we would achieve this by generating working class intellectuals and experts in countless numbers. Today, with this understanding, we are striving very hard to educate and develop all our comrades.**

At present it is a known fact to all that the enemy is targeting the comrades from higher committees and killing them, but in the past 30 years, great, outstanding comrades and comrades who could develop were killed is a fact that you also should acknowledge.

And one more thing, when movements develop strongly in other states too, more number of oppressed people from all states would join the party and raise to the leadership ranks. This is a certainty.

Our Unity Congress has concluded that the caste-based feudalism entrenched and riding over the Indian society since centuries is built on the ideological basis of Brahmanism. Nothing can be more ridiculous than this state which has an upper caste, patriarchal, Hindu religious bias and which represents such a decadent system making false allegations against us in this matter. Some people innocently believe this false propaganda. The stooges of the ruling classes in the media are parroting the same and creating a uproar. However, our people do not have any doubts on us revolutionaries.

**17. There are even allegations that women activists are exploited sexually in your party. Recently a woman commander gave an interview in the Times of India that many senior Maoist leaders had sexually exploited her. Do you think these are rare occurrences?**

**Com. GP :** In the psychological war of the enemy on us, such allegations are an important part. The woman commander you mentioned was in fact kept in illegal custody by the West Bengal police for almost one year and later was asked to make this statement. The police bring lot of pressure and threaten in many ways the surrendered and arrested women comrades belonging to various states and make them issue such accusing statements and allegations on revolutionaries. This has been developed as a method by them after the 80s. So in this background one can assess how credible such allegations can be.

But we never said there are no shades of patriarchy in the party or that the men and women comrades haven't become its victims. We are fighting against the manifestations of patriarchy by increasing the political consciousness of our comrades and people, by taking up anti-patriarchal rectification campaigns and more than anything, increasing the consciousness, self-confidence and individuality of the women comrades and implementing pro-women policies firmly. It is a part of our practice to take disciplinary actions which include severe warning to expulsion from the party according to the severity of the mistake, on comrades who commit mistakes, however high they may be placed in the party.

In fact, in the ongoing revolutionary movement and people's war under our party's leadership women are participating on a large scale. The participation of women in the struggles against various forms of patriarchy, under our party's leadership is very inspiring to us. It is an undeniable fact that no where else in our country and under no other party is there such a huge mobilization of women as in our party. Women warriors in our PLGA are fighting the enemy very bravely. If the accusations made against us are true, then this would have been impossible. In fact, it is an irrefutable fact that women are finding only in our movement the security, respect and equal rights denied to them in the society or elsewhere.

On the other hand, the police and paramilitary forces, reactionary militias like Salwa Judum, Harnad Bahini, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and SPOs are resorting to countless atrocities and violence on women as

part of suppressing the revolutionary movement. Hundreds of village women were insulted, gang-raped, killed and tortured. They are languishing in jails under the burden of false cases. They are getting convicted. It is really surprising and sad that some organizations and individuals belonging to the civil society are making these allegations against us without bothering to speak or condemn this violence and atrocity on the women.

**18. The Home ministry has recently hurled accusations at you that you are getting weapons and money from foreign countries, especially from China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. They are also alleging that you are getting help from the separatist organizations in North-East. What is your explanation?**

**Com. GP :** This allegation is part of the psy-war against us by the ruling gangs to portray our Party as a terrorist and traitorous organization and isolate us from the people. Our weapons are mainly country-made. All the modern weapons we have are mainly seized from the government armed forces when we attack them. The enemy himself knows that seizure of arms is our main source for getting weapons. Our party supports the various nationality struggles waged for the liberation of their nationalities and their right to self-determination. We have political memoranda of understanding with some of the organizations which are leading the struggles there. We have published open statements about these in our magazines too. **As a revolutionary political party which represents the vast masses and as a party which would lead the government that would be completely responsible for this country after we come to power, we would establish relations with countries having different political systems in the world on the basis of Panchsheel policy. Now and later too we would decide about maintaining these relations with various organizations and parties in the world in the interests of the world revolution. This is one of our candid basic policies. We have announced this policy through our party programme long back.** We would also buy weapons to fulfill the needs of our people's war from domestic and international market. This is the third and last source for our weapons. And the allegations made by Chidambaram-GK Pillai about getting weapons and money from those countries are nothing but baseless rubbish.

In fact, it is the Indian government which is buying weapons, war material and modern technology from US, Russia, France and other imperialist countries, from Israel and other countries to suppress the people's democratic movements, nationality liberation struggles and revolutionary movements. With this huge arsenal the Indian expansionists are becoming a peril for the South Asian countries and this is also increasing the arms race with Pakistan. It is sending officers from here to notorious intelligence agencies like the Mossad and CIA for training in order to target the comrades leading the revolutionary movements and kill them. It is the ruling classes and their military higher officials who are wasting the people's money, filling their pockets with billions of rupees in the name of commissions in these transactions and betraying the country as traitors downright. Everybody should condemn this, question this.

**19. Recently there have been allegations that the Maoist leadership is getting funds on a large scale from mining industries and other corporate companies. What is your answer to these allegations?**

**Com. GP :** This is also part of the foul propaganda of the government on us. They are even alleging that we are collecting five thousand crores of rupees annually. GK, PC and Prakash Singh never tire of harping on our 'extortion'. This is the falsest allegation that has been made on us. We out rightly reject this. Perhaps their eyes are used to seeing commissions worth thousands of crores of rupees and out of habit they see our collections too in those terms. If we could have collected even one percent of that amount, we could have done so much for our people! In fact, our party mainly collects donations from the people and funds from the traders in our guerilla zones. We have a clear people's financial policy. And our party also collects rational levy from contractors who take up various works in our areas. A considerable part of these funds is spent for welfare of the people through our people's power organs. As for mining organizations, our people are fighting their best not to allow them into our strong areas. Our party is leading these struggles, it is supporting them. So the issue of collecting funds from them does not arise, you know. The police officers, government officials and ruling class parties who illegally collect crores of rupees from various organizations, pocket commissions and stack away their money in Swiss banks do not have any moral right to point a finger at us.

**20. What is your assessment about Obama's policies regarding withdrawal of US army from Iraq and Afghanistan, Indo-US nuclear deal and nuclear liability bill which was passed recently? How do you see Obama's visit to India who'll be coming next month?**

**Com. GP :** The economy of US broke down as US had to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to continue the war in Iraq and with thousands of US soldiers dying by getting bogged down in this war and Bush losing his face as he waged the war with the arrogance that he would be able to take hold of it within a few months and could not do so. Due to these reasons, leave alone Obama, even Bush had to talk about withdrawal of forces long back. The very attack on Iraq by US is a heinous crime against humanity. In fact, the US had not fought any heroic war there. US has superior force. But what it did was to rain lakhs of tonnes of bombs on Iraqi cities and towns, kill millions of Iraqis, create havoc and destroy one of the oldest civilizations of the world and its rich heritage, culture and society. So from the day it occupied Iraq, US has been continuously facing the resistance of the rebels, patriots and freedom-loving people of Iraq.

The US imperialist completely destroyed the state, army, judiciary, legislative bodies and administration machinery built by Saddam and is building a neo-colonial state by keeping their puppets in the front. It formed a new state with the puppet forces. It could destroy Saddam and his followers but it could not solve the new contradiction which had cropped up between the people and its puppets. They are unable to suppress the people's resistance. The army withdrawn by Obama is less and that which he is continuing is more. Recently when Iraqi national forces conducted a huge raid, the US army in Iraq barracks immediately stepped out.

After Obama came to power, more than 30,000 additional troops were sent to Afghanistan by him. A fake election farce was conducted amidst severe opposition of the Afghan people and he had his puppet Hamid Karzai elected. Ninety percent of the persons dying in US bombing are ordinary citizens. NATO troops under US leadership are indiscriminately killing Afghan citizens. The atrocities committed by US are so horrible that even their puppet Karzai was forced to open his mouth. In West Pakistan, they are killing hundreds of ordinary citizens in drone attacks. Till date, Karzai's power is confined to the cities. Afghan people have never bowed to the rule of any intruder in their whole history. They chased away the imperialists and occupiers from their land enduring all kinds of travails. Exactly as in the case of Russian imperialists, Afghan land would prove to be the graveyard of the US imperialists too. Obama is implementing the same diplomatic policies followed by Bush in Middle and South Asia, if not more callously. The US strategy for world hegemony to gain control of Caspian sea gas and establish permanent bases in Afghanistan to surround China is bound to fail.

During UPA-I, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh ignoring stiff opposition from the people, had civilian nuclear deal with the US passed proving himself a trustworthy servant of the US imperialists. The Nuclear Liability Bill which has been passed by the Parliament recently is nothing but a continuation of this servility. Regarding the Bhopal gas leak accident which led to gruesome death of thousands of people and disaster for hundreds of thousands of people in Bhopal, the wounds in the hearts and minds of the people of India continue to pain till this day. And now the UPA government has in a most shameless manner dared to prepare this Bill enabling many more 'Bhopals' to make their way and ensuring even if such holocausts take place, the foreign capitalists responsible for those would be set free with far less 'liability' (just like Warren Anderson and Dow Chemicals were set free). While BJP has helped UPA government in passing this Bill, the parliamentary Left parties who call themselves Communists, have once again proved their compromising nature by not opposing this traitorous Bill firmly and not initiating people's movement against this. Manmohan Singh worked hard to ensure this Bill passed before the arrival of Obama.

US imperialism, which has been plundering the poor countries across the world, suppressing the oppressed nationalities, pushing the notorious thugs and dictators into the power, bullying those countries who wouldn't cooperate, going to any extent to loot oil, minerals and all other natural wealth and sources, is the no. 1 enemy of world people. Its leader Barack Obama is such a person whom the entire humanity must hate. As his predecessor George Bush had accumulated the hate across the globe, US imperialist masters brought Barack Obama in a plan that people could be deceived with his skin color. Though Obama was so much rhetorical opposing the policies of Bush, after entering into the White House, all the policies and decisions taken by him till this day are nothing but continuation of the Bush administration. In fact the difference between George Bush and Barack Obama lies just in their color and in the name of their representing parties. There is no difference between them in exploiting and suppressing the world people, oppressed

nationalities, countries and working class of the US. It's an irrefutable fact that this black color President was selected by the most notorious white vultures of US monopolistic corporations.

The comprador ruling classes of India are busy laying red carpet to welcome Obama. Welcoming Obama means nothing but a betrayal to the values of sovereignty, freedom, independence, self-reliance, peace, justice and democracy. Inviting Obama to our beloved country means showing servility to its warmongering, invasive, exploitative and hegemonic policies. Therefore, on behalf of the Central Committee of Communist Party of India (Maoist), I call upon entire people, revolutionary and democratic organizations and all patriotic forces of India to register your protest in various forms and to raise the slogan 'OBAMA! GO BACK!!' loudly in one voice.

**21. How do you assess the revolutionary situation in the whole of South Asia? What do you think would be the impact of the recent changes in Nepal on it?**

**Com. GP :** According to our party's assessment, the revolutionary situation in the whole of South Asia is excellent. The assessment of the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) is also the same. In all the countries of South Asia the condition is more or less the same. Though the chauvinist Sinhala government may be arrogant that they had completely suppressed the Tamil Eelam movement under LTTE's leadership, it is impossible for them to permanently suppress the Tamil national aspirations. The conditions for it to raise its head within a short period in another form exist there. The struggle forms and organizational forms may vary. Tamil people have made immense sacrifices and have a long experience of struggle. Freedom-loving Tamil people would never rest. It would be an illusion of the chauvinist Sinhala government if it thinks that it had established permanent social peace by eliminating LTTE.

Severe revolutionary crisis is still continuing in Nepal. The state machinery has become paralyzed. All class forces are intensely clashing with each other. But the unfortunate thing is that, the Maoist party there let go the opportunity to seize political power using this excellent crisis situation. At a time when it should continue the people's war and seize political power, it wants to come to power through the parliamentary system instead. Our party's Central Committee wrote an open letter to that party in this matter and had issued statements too.

Though such excellent revolutionary situation exists, the Maoist party is not giving primary importance to the movement in rural areas, is not mobilizing peasantry, working class and middle class masses militantly against feudalism, imperialism and Indian expansionism and just whiling away its time. It adopted a right opportunist line. It won't be much long before it becomes clear if the Nepal Maoist party would utilize the present excellent revolutionary situation, train its people in struggle and plunge into the decisive battle for final victory or if it would get bogged down permanently in the parliamentary mire. Anyway, it would depend on whether they are ready to abandon their wrong line and adopt the correct line or not. It is a fact that internal struggle is going on in the Maoist party there.

Our party's analyzes the situation in our country to be excellent. All the social contradictions in our country are sharpening too. The people of India are fighting a bitter struggle against feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism under our party's leadership. We would be able to influence the situation in South Asia by defending ourselves against the enemy offensive and intensifying our People's War.

The situation in Bhutan is excellent. Though a so-called parliament was formed in Bhutan, it is a peculiar form of constitutional monarchy masquerading as parliamentary democracy. Even in the new government the members of the king's family are the main players. Bhutan is still under the grip of feudalism and Indian expansionists. But revolutionary party has already been formed there. The peasants there have to fight too.

The Pakistan society is facing the most severe crisis in its history. It has become a playground for the US super power's strategy for world hegemony. The phenomena in Afghanistan are intensifying the crisis too. Pakistan has become the centre point in the US plan to surround China. Oppression of nationalities is continuing severely there. Its contradictions with the Indian expansionists on the one hand and the horrible exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism on the other hand are continuing and intensifying further. So there is severe discontent among the people. But as there is no Maoist party there, it is not in a position to utilize it. This is a very unfavourable aspect.

Bangladesh is one of the most poor and backward countries in the world. The peasantry is living under the

yoke of feudalism, comprador capitalists and imperialists and is the victim of their terrible exploitation. Along with this, the pressure and threats of the Indian expansionist ruling classes are also continuing severely there. The Maoist party there is facing many losses but it is trying hard to overcome them and strengthen itself. On the whole, South Asia is facing severe social crisis in the present world conditions and is having favourable conditions for the revolution.

The Maoist communist party in another Asian country, the Philippines is developing day by day and is having a strong mass base. It is strengthening its New People's Army and is fighting back the biggest ever military offensive campaign of the enemy. The government's army there is taking along the US military advisers with it and is making large scale attacks on the Maoists with the support of military helicopters. But it is the government's troops that are suffering more casualties. The New People's Army is winning victories by bravely fighting back the attacks of the Special Forces.

In such circumstances, it is impossible for the Indian expansionists, the ruling classes of the respective countries or the imperialists to permanently suppress the Maoist, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and national liberation struggles in South Asia. The more they try to suppress it, the more they will rise up. Moreover, the world revolutionary situation is also excellent. The situation for the flaring up of revolutionary movements all over the world is developing further.

## **22. Finally, how do you assess the main successes and failures after you held your Unity Congress in 2007? What do you feel about the future of Indian revolution on the whole?**

**Com. GP :** Our Unity Congress held in January, 2007, took up the main, immediate and central task of intensifying the people's war all over the country, developing guerilla war into mobile war and developing the People's Liberation Guerilla Army into People's Liberation Army (regular army) with the aim of establishing Base Areas. As part of it, our Congress gave us many tasks such as intensifying mass struggles, extending the movement, building and strengthening the United Front. For the past three and half years, our entire party fought by keeping everything at stake to fulfill these tasks basing itself firmly among the people. In this process, we achieved some significant successes. We faced some serious failures. We gained many valuable experiences. We learnt some important lessons. On the whole, when we look at our successes, we can surely say that the necessary foundation for advancing the Indian revolution down the path of victory by gaining more successes in future has been strengthened further.

If we look at the successes....

1. In the past three and half years, in many areas of our country a deluge of mass struggles erupted under our party's leadership. Especially in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, people participated on a large scale in struggles against the loot of their resources by the Indian and foreign corporations and particularly against the displacement of adivasis. Though the Indian ruling classes formed *goonda* gangs like Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and Harmad Bahini and perpetrated terrible violence and atrocities on the people, they fought bravely under our party's leadership and with the support of our PLGA. In Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram, Lalgadh, Narayanapatna, Dumka, Polavaram, Lohandiguda, Raoghat, Pallamad and many other places people mobilized on a large scale and participated in struggles. Nandigram, Lalgadh and Narayanapatna came to the fore as new models of mass struggles. In the various programmes we took up on political issues, we mobilized lakhs of people. People responded greatly to our political programme of boycotting the elections to various state assemblies and the parliament. In our movement areas, people boycotted elections on a huge scale and brought to the fore very strongly the need for people's political power. As part of Operation Green Hunt carried on with coordination between the central and state governments since mid-2009, people were massacred. In spite of it, thousands of oppressed people, especially the adivasis and women participated in several programmes against state repression and on various political issues in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha and Andhra Pradesh.

2. Another important victory is the emergence of people's democratic political power at a primary level and its strengthening and extension as an alternative to the state system of the feudal, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, run with the support of the imperialists. In our main guerilla zones of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) have been formed and are functioning. They are strengthening and extending. In Lalgadh and Narayanapatna which have newly emerged on the political scene of our country, the people's power organizations which were formed at a primary level by having people's development at the core even amidst severe enemy offensive have attracted the attention of the people of our country. They overthrew the rule of the local exploiting classes and are running people's rule at a primary level. These new political power organs are working in the spheres of education, health, sanitation, water facilities and agriculture development etc having people's real development as their aim. They are a great inspiration to the oppressed people, the democratic organizations and intellectuals all over the country. They are coming to the fore as the genuine people's alternative system. As an answer to the fake development model of the exploiters, these new political power organs are bringing forth a genuine development model of the people.
3. In the past three and half years, the guerilla warfare intensified and is continuing at a higher level. Our people's guerillas conducted valiant attacks on the police, paramilitary and commando forces that are resorting to endless atrocities and violence and massacring people to accomplish the interests of the exploiting classes. Our guerillas eliminated hundreds of mercenary troops and seized hundreds of modern weapons and ammunition and improved our armoury. The guerilla war going on under our leadership is giving inspiration and self-confidence to the people. Defending the people's political power which is developing at a primary level and defending the lives and properties of the people, our people's army had emerged as the real saviour of the people. Though the enemy is carrying on many suppression campaigns, implementing carpet security by deploying lakhs of police and paramilitary forces and carrying on attacks continuously, with the active support of the people our PLGA is growing ever more.
4. Particularly, when we observe from our Unity Congress onwards, the emergence of our party on the political scene of the country as a major alternative political force is another significant success. People increasingly understand that our political line is correct. Now, citizens of our country are showing more interest in knowing about our stands and solutions regarding many problems faced by our country. For the past 63 years people are frustrated with the bankrupt politics of the various exploiting ruling class parties, revisionists who call themselves left parties and the Hindu religious chauvinists. It is now clearly seen that they are getting increasingly influenced by the politics of Maoists and moving nearer to it than in the past. We believe that this would serve as an assurance for the formation of a strong, broad and countrywide united front in the future.

Along with these main successes, we had faced some serious failures and losses too. The main ones are...

1. As we had lost leadership forces in the enemy attack we faced serious losses. After completion of our party Congress, a considerable number of our CC members were caught by the enemy and were either killed in fake encounters or put in jails. This is the very big hindrance we are facing in achieving our goals. No doubt, this would have a grave impact on the Indian revolution.
2. Due to the severe offensive of the enemy and our failure in understanding it properly, formulating proper counter tactics and implementing them, we were weakened in some areas and we retreated from some areas.

These are our main successes and failures. Meanwhile, the living conditions of the working class in our country are increasingly becoming worse. The peasantry is increasingly becoming penniless due to the policies imposed by the feudal and imperialist exploiters and are resorting to suicides in lakhs. In the name of new policies, the penetration of foreign capital into the fields of education, health, industry, defence, transport, media, trade etc has intensified. The exploitation, oppression and control of the imperialists increased to an unprecedented level since 1947. Severe repression is continuing on the Kashmir and North-East people who are fighting for their national liberation and right to self-determination including the right to secession. Due to the policies followed by the Indian expansionists by colluding with the US imperialists, they are bitterly hated by the people of South Asia. The socially most oppressed sections of dalits, adivasis,



women and religious minorities that constitute are suffering from several problems. The state is unleashing terror on those forces which are fighting against these problems. Civil rights are becoming completely absent. None of the basic problems of the people are in a position to be solved in this present setup. **The announcement by the Prime Minister that we would become a strong economic force in the 21st century and would achieve a two-digit economic growth is a big sham. While corporations belonging to the likes of Ambani, Tata, Mittal, Jindal and Essar are amassing enormous wealth and increasing their ‘development’ rate at a rapid pace, they are throwing the vast masses into the whirlpool of insufferable poverty, hunger, unemployment etc.**

When we examine all these problems, it would become increasingly clear that the fundamental contradictions in our country, i.e., the contradiction between feudalism and the vast masses, between imperialism and Indian people, between capital and labour and the contradiction among the ruling classes are intensifying further. Our party is advancing forward with an attitude of taking up the problems of the people. Our political line lays emphasis on the solution to these problems. We believe that the Indian revolutionary movement would advance down the victory path only through the People’s War waged under our party leadership while strengthening our people’s army with the aim of establishing Base Areas and the United Front formed by uniting all these forces under the leadership of the proletariat. We also believe that its future would depend on how this process advances. On the whole we are looking at the future of the Indian revolutionary movement with great optimism.

Our party is serving as a beacon of hope for the oppressed masses of our country. In the midst of this decadent, corrupt and loathed system our party shines like a bright star. We are not at all saying that we have ready made solutions to all the complexities existing in the world revolution and the Indian revolution. But we have a correct political line. We are confident that we can solve all these problems in a process of making the new democratic revolution a success as the first step towards socialism and communism. We believe that all the problems faced by the society can be solved in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Likewise we will learn from international experiences too. We will apply Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology to the concrete practice of Indian revolution. We will fight dogmatism and empiricism which raise their head in practice. We will firmly adhere to mass line and dedicate ourselves to fulfill the aspirations and hopes of our people. We will determinedly fight the left and right opportunist trends and revisionism which may crop up in our party and in the international communist movement. However, there are chances for mistakes and accidents to happen in the process of revolution. So, we would accept our mistakes with a genuine self-critical attitude and humility. We will correct our mistakes. We will advance in the path of revolution till the final victory in this great war waged to establish a society where there is no scope for hunger, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, price rise, displacement, untouchability, discrimination, social evils etc by liberating our beloved country from the exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Our party has emerged out of the innumerable sacrifices of our cadres and leaders. They lay down their lives unflinchingly for people’s democracy and communism. These selfless, exemplary martyrs are the ray of hope in our society. We will definitely hold high their esteemed revolutionary tradition. We will establish their lofty human values in this society. We will steer clear of avoidable losses and display communist consciousness, courage, determination and sacrifice to fight back the cruel enemy. In this process, our party would steel itself in the flames of class struggle.

Many areas have already developed into guerilla zones in our country. In many areas people’s state power came into existence in an embryonic form. The PLGA is growing in strength and capacity. Guerilla war is intensifying. This new power is developing as the primary form of a new democratic state. But in comparison with the more than 110 crores of our population and the vastness of our country, our party is very small. We have to travel very far. True, the path is thorny. But if we continue in the revolutionary path, the future would brighten a lot.

**Contrary to the parliamentary parties and all kinds of reformist organizations, the CPI (Maoist) which is based on a cadre that has unflinching faith in their aim, a sacrificing nature and dedication is shining like a bright sun, lighting up all the darkness surrounding our country. Indian people want revolution. They are advancing in the path of People’s War for building a new society. The dawn of New Democratic revolution is unfolding. Let us march into the bright sunlight of the new society which is unfolding on the horizon. Lal Salaam !**

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# Unprecedented Genocide on Gnaneshwari Express

## A deep-rooted conspiracy hatched by the police and the CPI (M)

(Excerpts from a preliminary report placed by the CPI (Maoist) to the people of the whole of India on the sabotage of Gnaneshwari Express on 27 – 28 May, 2010)

Dear Countrymen,

On 28 May, you had woken up listening to the news of sabotage on Gnaneshwari Express. Never can a revolutionary party worker, not even a common village sympathizer can dream of such a ghastly, inhumane massacre. Turning the pages of the world history, several incidents could be found when the State itself had committed crimes and put the responsibilities on to the revolutionaries. Many people know, the incident of Germany's Reich-Stag fire which the Nazis had committed and held communist revolutionaries responsible.

We tried to collect information from the comrades shouldering responsibility in the Jhargram area about this ghastly incident. On 28.05.'10 morning itself the police officers, railway officers and the CPI (M) started propagating that two posters of PCAPA(People's Committee) was found at the sabotage site. Meanwhile DG Bhupinder Singh started citing two names as masterminds of this crime viz. Umakanta Mahato and Bapi Mahato.

On 28.05 our West Bengal State Committee member comrade Akash gave a press statement on all these issues. On that very day our state committee secretary comrade Kanchan issued a press statement condemning this incident. He was forthright to assert it that we could never be a party to such an incident.

Later, on the advice of the Central Committee a two-member investigation committee was set up. On this committee there were 1. comrade Akash, (member of the West Bengal State Committee), 2. comrade Sasadhar Mahato(member of the BJO-BRC). A concerted effort was made to ferret out facts by way of queries and deliberations with villagers, party activists and sympathizers of various mass organizations in the Jhargram area. We present before you this preliminary report, an outcome of this effort.

### What happened on 27 May

From 27 May our party launched the campaign against: Sale of PSUs 2-G spectrum scam IPL cricket scam, Liberalization, Privatisation, globalization. From 27 May we started observing *Kala Diwas*. On that very day about 1000 – 1200 joint operation forces fell upon 30 villages in Banstala in Manikpara. Surrounding the villages the armed forces resorted to large scale torture on the villagers. 27 May was the last day of propaganda campaign for the polls in areas under Kolkata Corporation along with 81 municipalities. 30 May was scheduled for the municipal elections.

On 27.05.2010 itself a mass meeting was convened near Muraboni Shiva temple to protest against savage attack of the police. Between 400 and 500 people gathered there. A decision emerged from this meeting to burn the CPI (M) office at Manikpara.

On that very day i.e. 27 May 2010 a conspiratorial meeting was held at Barjudhi village. Media report also referred to this secret meeting but it was written as Putushol village. Both names represent the same village. It is this Barjudhi village which was used for some days as a center to co-ordinate all activities of the Harmads. It is in this village where many leaders of the CPI (M) assembled on 27 May 2010. They called upon the villagers in a meeting. A threat was clearly held out to the villagers that if any of them passes the information about the goings on over there the consequence must be to reduce him or her to a corpse. Despite such threat of dire consequences some villagers dared to come forward before our investigation committee to disclose the names of the following persons they could identify.

Many others were in this secret meeting. From this meeting a total of 12 persons from the Harmad gang were selected and then they were dispatched by a pick-up van. In addition to those 12 persons some others were in the pick-up van. More or less there were about 25 to 30 persons.

After talking to the van driver it drove fast. In addition to them 12 more men who were waiting afar got together. Apart from all of them, 4 railway contractors played the main role. These fellows are associated with the CPI and CPI (M). These 4 men brought all the tools, loading them in the pick-up van.

## The conspirators implemented their plan

It is needed to name one more person in this genocide. Sameer Mahato was the link man to connect the meeting at Borojuri, pick-up van and gathering at the Shiva temple of Muraboni. This Sameer Mahato established a communication between Manik Mahato, Khagen Mahato, Belu Mahato, Laxman Ghosh, Anuj Pandey, Dahareswar Sen Sushanta Ghosh. According to their political identity Sameer Mahato (Forward Block), Belu Mahato (CPI) excluding these two others are all leaders and workers of the CPI (M). All the villagers are well aware of their political identity and there is no doubt about this. Few among them in the meanwhile have declared of leaving CPI (M) by putting up posters but none have done so in reality. All are somehow associated with the CPI (M) and involved with the Harnad camps.

150 to 200 persons came to Indraboni. The news of setting fire to the Manikpara CPI (M) party office reached CPI (M) leaders beforehand. Hence talking to the police personnel, they sent the police towards Sardiha station, Indraboni, The police of Manikpara camp were on the railway tracks on that night. People did not go ahead noticing the police rather they retreated.

It was their fixed belief that if they could manoeuvre Bapi into presenting himself at the fore front it would be easier for them to falsely implicate People's Committee Against Police Atrocities in this mass murder case. They themselves put up some posters in the name of People's Committee Against Police Atrocities written in blue ink on some white papers.

It is an incontrovertible fact that there is a close connection between Sushanta Ghosh, Laxman Ghosh with people like Sameer Mahato, Khagen Mahato and Belu Mahato. Those masterminds of the conspiracy arranged co-ordination with Khagen, Sameer and Belu Mahato. Manik was directly involved with the CPI (M) activities. It is common knowledge that the rail contractors who were on board the pick-up van knew it too well the points to unlock pandrol clips that could lead to such a disaster. And this happened too. They themselves were present at the sabotage site.

It is a well known fact SPs of Jhargram and West Midnapore are at the beck and call of Deepak Sarkar, the CPI (M) district committee secretary. Those two police superintendents took upon themselves to cook up the rumour and then let it do its rounds on 9 June that the Maoists had gathered in between Gidhni and Ghatkhura railway tracks for another sabotage. A section of media buys such stories marketed by police and the CPI (M).

Soon after this sabotage Chidambaram strongly held the brief for the CPI (M) by accusing the Maoists of such heinous crime. It was no coincidence that on 28.05.2010 morning Chidambaram held a tete-a-tete with the Army chief.

On 6 June our party activists and sympathizers made inroads into Bapi Mahato's hiding place and he was forcibly brought to our camp. On 6 and 7 June our investigating committee members met Bapi Mahato and started interrogation. Bapi Mahato clearly told the investigating committee that he was not directly involved in the act of sabotage on the railway tracks. Bapi was forthright to disclose the fact that CPI (M) leaders like Manik Mahato, Khagen Mahato, Amiyo Mahato and others were directly involved in this crime. It was Bapi's statement before us that it was Khagen Mahato along with 30-40 people (the number might be more) was found to proceed towards the railway tracks. CPI (M) leaders namely Dahareswar Sen and Sushanta Ghosh presided over the whole thing.

After having the final conversation with Khagen Mahato, Manik Mahato called for the pick-up van. As pre-planned they allowed some people to board the van and gave the go-ahead to proceed. Bapi could have a glimpse of the people on board the van and at that time Manik, Khagen, Belu, Sameer came together to tell Bapi that he did need to go with them. Bapi was sent to Indraboni accompanied by Manik Mahato. In the meantime the entire area around the railway tracks at Indraboni was besieged by the police. How could they emerge on the scene with such uncanny rapidity? The fact is that the police never left the area for a moment.

Bapi, Manik and all others heard the deafening sound after the sabotage. With the plan coming to fruition Manik Mahato immediately headed for the CPI (M) camp. The CPI (M) leaders made DG. Bhupinder Singh declare the names of Bapi and Umakanta as prime accused in this case. According to Bapi's disclosure before our investigating team, he could realize that the CPI (M) leaders, activists, etc. proceeded for snapping the railway tracks.

Soon after the sabotage Bapi did not inform anybody of this incident over telephone, as police version appeared in the media on 07.06.2010 Bapi escaped from our camp, taking advantage of our laxity in guarding him. The world in the entire Jangalmahal knows it that after his escape Bapi had taken shelter

in the CPI (M)'s harmad camp. Through our own investigation and Bapi's disclosure we place below the following facts in a clear way.

1. This sabotage is the handiwork of the combined effort of the joint forces, police and the CPI (M).
2. Bapi Mahato's name was used to implicate People's Committee Against Police Atrocities in this massacre.
3. Bapi was sent to Indraboni in a pre-planned way. The harmad forces, CPI (M) leaders, railway contractors and others made their way to the site of sabotage in a pick-up van and on cycles and motorcycles. The Gnaneshwari disaster was clearly masterminded by the CPI (M).
4. The entire plan received the active support of the police from the very beginning in a very planned way. With the sabotage committed with all precision the onus was all passed on the doors of the Maoists.
5. As a pre-meditated plan a tense situation was enforced in the area to put the blame on the Maoists by the joint forces, police and the CPI (M). Villagers of Muraboni and the neighbouring villages bore the brunt of no-holds-barred repression soon after the planned sabotage and this created a huge discontent among the people. This tense situation was created with a view to passing the buck of the massacre onto the Maoists and the People's Committee.

The propaganda carried on by the DG of police about Umakanta Mahato is down right falsehood. The propaganda that Umakanta Mahato and Bapi Mahato jointly committed such diabolical murders is devoid of any foundation. Our investigating team could meet Umakanta Mahato on 09.06.2010. The villages Umakanta had his sojourn at the time of this disaster were visited by our team and villagers there clearly testified to Umakanta's innocence as regards this sabotage. When Bapi Mahato was interrogated by our team on 6 and 7 June he too made it clear that Umakanta was by no means a party to this conspiracy, neither was he involved in this sabotage. Worthy it is to mention that Umakanta Mahato was never arrested under the UAPA as the top brass of police department propagated.

## Conclusion

1. The CPI (M) is trying to evade the responsibility to come out scot free by accusing the Maoists for the gravest type of crime it had committed.
2. The CPI (M) leaders who had fled their villages are rendered all types of assistance by the administration and it is directly siding with them. Now it is the duty of the administration to oust the Maoists in its desperate bid to bring back those CPI (M) leaders to their respective villages. Here lies the reason that led it to hatch such a conspiracy for mass murders.
3. This savagery springs from the dire need to brand the Maoists as terrorists with a view to tarnishing their image among the people.
4. The savage plan was synchronized with the election schedule (48 hrs. before the municipal polls) to wean the voters away from the TMC fold by the shrewd way of undermining Mamta Banerjee's image among them.
5. Bapi Mahato was put up as a shield by the CPI (M) leaders to commit such ghastly sabotage. It is beyond any doubt that all the suboteurs on the railway tracks were mainly leaders of the CPI (M) and some Left Front constituents.
6. Umakanta Mahato is not at all involved in this massacre.
7. Neither the Maoists party leaders of any level, nor its cadres or sympathizers are in any way involved in such sabotage.
8. The investigation team found no link of People's Committee to such mass killings. The decision emerging from the gathering near Shiva temple at Manikpara to burn out the CPI (M) party office could not be executed owing to the deployment of police on the railway tracks. People under the fold of People's Committee retreated for the deployment of huge police forces. People's Committee and its followers were never involved in this sabotage.
9. The CPI (M) is hell-bound to reenact such massacres in the coming days. In the period till 2011 elections and later the CPI (M) shall not digest the fact of getting turfed out completely from the Jangalmahal area. This social fascist party has been able to sneak its men from the top to the bottom into the police department. This party will spare no effort to let out rumour unremittingly as it did in the

recent case of Duronto Express. Now the notorious top brass of the police like Manoj Verma, Mandi (Jhargram), Tripathi (S.P, Jhargram), etc. are ever ready to serve the interests of the CPI (M).

10. Such murders of so vast numbers of innocent people must be tried in people's court. The existing laws of the state are not meant to punish them. The CBI conducted investigation into the cases of massacres of Muslim people after setting ablaze Sabarmati express, demolition of Babri Masjid, anti-sikh riot in 1984, Bhopal gas leak tragedy and also into such case of Chhoto Angaria murders. Such enquiries resulted in safeguarding the actual offenders. The CBI cannot but give clean chit to killers belonging to parties in power in Delhi or in the states.

### Call to the people

1. People living in villages on both sides of the railway tracks are asked to take recourse to all sorts of protection by resisting the inroads of social fascist CPI (M) and its harmful forces.
2. Keep watch over the railway staff and officers. Foil all attempts to stall the passage of trains by spreading cock and bull stories against the Maoists with the ulterior motive of destroying our glorious mass resistance struggle.
3. Get ready to launch movement against all pretexts to suspend railway services with the dirty plan to malign the Maoists by the railway minister and railway officials or the state governments and its bureaucrats. Pressure must be mounted on the concerned department to ensure free and smooth journey of the railway passengers.

The railway minister and officials are hereby requested not to take wrong steps heeding the false stories told by the state officials and the police department and they should instead look after the comfortable journey of the passengers. It was clearly an inadvertent decision to cancel all trains till 14 June on the Kharagpur-Tata routes at night.

We submit this primary report at this stage of our enquiry amidst extreme of repression. We are duty-bound to delve deeper into the conspiracy leading to the mass murders of Gnaneshwari Express passengers. Maoists can never resort to massacre of common people like the one committed on Gnaneshwari Express. It is the Maoists who remain unflinching in the struggle against Operation Green Hunt or the State repression by dedicating their lives in hundreds not only for saving the lives and livelihoods of the oppressed people, but also for a revolutionary change in the socio-economic structure for bringing in real democracy and people's power.

With thanks,

**Kishanji**

**Spokesperson**

**Eastern Regional Bureau**

**CPI (Maoist)**

12.06.2010

*\* This is a translated version slightly abridged from the original report in Bengali.*

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### **Adivasi rally in Narayanapatna demanding to stop anti-naxal operations**

The adivasis took out a massive rally in last week of November 2010 in Narayanapatna with the demand that the police stop anti-naxal operations in Koraput district. The police were combing their areas claiming that top leader Ramakrishna was hiding there. This rally was led by Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh. They also demanded the release of their kith and kin who were put in jail by the government. Nearly a hundred adivasis were put in Koraput jail in connection with two cases. Two of them died recently.

## Fact-Finding on the 14th July Sompeta Firing

July 27, 2010

The fact-find team (FFT), under the leadership of Justice P.K. Misra, former judge of the Orissa High Court, was an initiative of certain public-spirited individuals and organizations who were deeply concerned at the firing on the people protesting against the proposed thermal power plant by the Nagarjuna Construction Company (NCC) near Sompeta in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. The firing occurred on 14 July 2010 in which two persons died and five were injured by bullets (including a cameraman of TV-9 Telugu channel). In the events prior to the firing, about 300 people belonging to the neighbouring villages opposing the power plant and about 50-60 police personnel were injured.

During 24-25 July, the FFT visited Palasapuram, Lakkavaram, Isakalapalem and Ramaiahpatnam villages in Sompeta Mandal and talked to the local people who are resisting the proposed power plant to protect their life and livelihood. The Team met the District Collector, Mr. Srikanth (on the evening of 24 July), held discussions with the representatives and members of Sri Sri Sri Kanakadurga Taapi Mestri Sangam and Kalinga Vysya Sangam in Sompeta town, and visited the Government Community Hospital in Baruva Panchayat to meet some of the injured persons undergoing treatment. (Our effort to meet an injured police officer undergoing treatment in the Seven Hills Hospital in Vizag did not prove successful as he was discharged by the time we went there on the evening of 25 July).

The Team confined its enquiry to the 2-3 days prior to 14 July and also the incidents on 14 July including the firing. Some of our observations and recommendations are as follows:

1. Despite an Injunction Order by the Principal Junior Civil Judge, Sompeta (I.A. 116/2010 in O.S. 33/2010, C.A. No. 454/10) on 7 May 2010 restraining the NCC from entering into the properties of the petitioners (i.e. some of the villagers), the NCC tried to enter into the lands and perform certain works on 14 July. As a Respondent, the NCC is very much aware of the Injunction Order.

2. The police seem to have mobilized a disproportionately large force at the behest of the NCC and moved in the villages threatening the local people during 11-13 July. They even conducted flag marches in some villages. On 13 July the police have told in some villages to remain peaceful and unarmed if they want to protest. In some villages they distributed leaflets and threatened the villagers not to come towards NCC lands. (The leaflets of the police reflect an impression of it being the NCC's leaflet).

It should be mentioned that in the several months before July 2010 the police have been foisting false cases on the protesting leaders and villagers and harassing them in various ways. In the villagers, an impression has gained ground that the police have been behaving at the behest of the NCC rather than as protectors of law and justice.

We also would like to state that the allegations that this movement of the villagers is the handiwork of extremists is not found to be true. It is mostly led by the local individuals under the broad umbrella of Paryavarana Parirakshna Sangam. Its leaders enjoy high respect and credibility among the villagers and also the townfolk in Sompeta.

The Team has also noticed that the lives and livelihoods of the villages are intricately linked to the wetlands (Bela lands, in local parlance) and there is a strong determination to protect those lands at any cost. Further, there is a significant level of awareness on the negative effects of the proposed thermal power plant if located in the same area. Together, this situation has been rallying the villagers in an unprecedented show of unity against the proposed plant.

3. On 14 July the police mobilized the force in a big way. There were also private persons (estimated to be about 250 or) who were wearing blue scarves around their necks, travelled in police vehicles and were also staying in the fields under tents with lathi sticks close by along with the police. The villagers, apprehending that the NCC is about to start civil works, also gathered in groups at several villages and tried to proceed towards the proposed works. They were unarmed and peaceful. At some places there were arguments and the police allowed the protestors to have a dialogue with the concerned persons. At other places, the ladies were pleading with folded hands (some even touching the feet of police officers) not to take away their lands and livelihoods.

4. The police suddenly started lathicharge and severely beat up the women and men causing severe injuries to many. The private persons mentioned above also joined in beating up the protestors. The

protestors ran helter skelter in an attempt to escape. After sometime, the retreating men picked up the locally available sticks and attacked the policemen also causing injuries to the latter. As mentioned in the beginning, about 300 protestors and 50-60 policemen suffered injuries. Some vehicles were also burnt. Teargas shells were also fired but was not effective as the lands were marshy. The whole tension went on for about three hours or so beginning from 9.30 AM or so. After around 12.30 PM or so, the tension seemed to have subsided and the protesters as well as the police started withdrawing from the scene.

5. Firing: At this time, suddenly the firing was done from inside a police van on the road (Sompeta-Baruva road, the fields are located on either side of this road) and the police van started moving towards Sompeta while the man inside continued firing.

There was no warning. There was no provocation for firing. There was no apprehension of breach of peace. The firing was done from a close range (20-30 feet). The bullets hit the victims above waist level (except two who were hit on the thigh and the ankle). Two persons died on the spot (G. Joga Rao of Lakkavaram, and G. Krishna Murthy of Palasapuram). Five persons sustained bullet injuries (including a camera man of TV-9 channel). All of them were unarmed, scattered and very close to or on the road.

The Team visited the spot of the firing and talked to several people including eye-witnesses. They were emphatic in saying that the Sub-Inspector of Sompeta, Mr. Ashok Kumar, was the person who fired from inside the moving police van.

6. The Collector admitted that he was not aware of the Injunction Order issued by the local court. The Team tried to solicit some response from the Collector regarding –

- Who ordered the firing,
- Who were the people in civil dress with blue scarves along with police,
- Whether NCC made a request for police,
- What is the present state of affairs etc. etc.

The standard response from him was that all this will be known only after the magisterial enquiry (now seems to be going on by the Joint Collector). He was refusing to give a commitment on when the enquiry will be over. When we asked for a copy of the order of enquiry, he casually told us to file an application under the Right to Information Act. The Team is disappointed to note that throughout the conversation the attitude of the Collector, Mr. Srikanth, was casual and non-serious given the gravity of the situation.

7. The magisterial enquiry by a government officer has no credibility among the affected people. There is an urgent need for a higher level judicial enquiry for the purpose of expeditious interim relief and compensation to the affected people so that their lives and livelihoods are not affected. And also create a confidence in the government.

8. The Team feels that the following compensation package should be adopted: Rs. 20 lakh each for the dead, Rs. 5 lakh each to those hit by bullet injuries, Rs. 5 lakh each to those spinal injuries, Rs who suffered. 2 lakh each to those who suffered fractures, Rs. 1 lakh each to those who suffered serious injuries.

9. The government should take immediate steps to prevent the NCC from entering the area and disturb the peace and tranquility in the villages.

10. Keeping in view the Order of the National Environment Appellate Authority, New Delhi (dated 14 July 2010) the government should undertake a survey of all the wetlands in Srikakulam district “pending which no project should be cleared on such locations”.

Justice P.K. Misra, Former Judge of the Orissa High Court.

Prof. C. Ramachandraiah, Social Scientist, Hyderabad.

Mr. Clifton D’Rozario, Advocate and Alternative Law Forum, Bangalore.

Prof. Arun Patnaik, Political Scientist, University of Hyderabad.

Dr. K. Laxminaryana Reddy, Economist, University of Hyderabad.

Dr. M. Thimma Reddy, Peoples Monitoring Group, Power Sector, Hyderabad.

Ms. Saraswati Kavula, Documentary Film Maker, Hyderabad.

Mr. D. Suresh Kumar, Law Student, Hyderabad and Coordinator of the Team.

## Bullets, Bodies, Land, Corporations

July 26, 2010

Kunal Majumder in Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh, Tehelka

### “A big firm zeroes in on farm land for a thermal plant, and the villagers resist because it’s all they have”

**THIS IS** what happens when land, wetland at that, becomes the heart of battle, in this case the seaside village of Sompeta, 120 km from Srikakulam town. The Hyderabad-based Nagarjuna Construction Company (NCC) picks 1,100 acres of wetland here to build a thermal plant. The villagers object. On 14 July, they come to protest. Facing them are 200 NCC workers with blue ribbons and wielding lathis. Around 200 police personnel wait with batons, shields and helmets. The slogans begin: “Go back NCC”. Curses rent the air. The police respond with a lathicharge, and the blue ribbons join them. The villagers retreat, and return after two hours. Men and women, young and old, with bamboo sticks and tree branches. Teargas shells are fired, which are useless in the water-filled fields. The villagers surround the police and come charging, destroying tents, tearing banners and thrashing the constables who cannot run. In their rage, the villagers snatch at media cameras and pounce on reporters. Then, suddenly, there is gunfire. Sub-Inspectors aim their service revolvers at the villagers. Joga Rao, a 40-year-old farmer, falls, shot by Sub-Inspector K Ashoke Kumar. The villagers around Rao start yelling for help. A cameraperson from TV9, Anil Kumar, tries to put Rao on his motorcycle. Just then, someone hits Kumar on his head. Another villager, G Krishnamurthy, 54, is also shot. Later, at the mandal hospital, where the injured are being treated, a man suspected of being a police mole is beaten up. The crowd now starts targeting the media, whom they accuse of siding with the NCC. The madness continues into the night — an NCC office is burnt, and local politicians are attacked. The next day comes the news: environmental clearance to the NCC plant has been withdrawn.

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### Shut shops in villages, Maoists tell MFIs

WARANGAL: Taking a tough stand against Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs), the Maoists have asked MFI managements to close their operations in villages immediately in the wake of series of suicides by women.

Maoist party KKW (Karimnagar-Khammam-Warangal) secretary Sudhakar warned MFIs of dire consequences if they do not call it quits. In a statement here on Friday, he said agents and representatives of MFIs are humiliating rural women and insulting their family members because of which several villagers have committed suicide.

He termed the government ordinance on MFIs as a sham since agents continue to collect loan instalments from women forcibly. He also warned SKS Finance chief Vikram Akula, Share Finance company owner and member of Rajya Sabha V Hanumantha Rao, L&T, Swayamkrushi, Chaitanya MFIs’ owners of serious consequences. “Followers of Sonia Gandhi and Rahul Gandhi are responsible for the spate of suicides in the state,” he said in the statement.

Sudhakar said the government should grant five acres of agricultural land, an ex gratia of Rs 5 lakh and employment opportunity to a person from the families of the deceased.

Making an appeal to the youth and women associations to fight against the mushrooming liquor and belt shops in the state, he said the government must take necessary steps to cancel the licences of these shops.

**(November 2010)**



## 2 Naxals sentenced 10 years in jail

United News of India Raipur, July 30:

A fast track court has sentenced two naxals, including the wife of naxal spokesman Gudsa Usendi, to 10 years in jail for distributing naxal literature and CDs among Chhattisgarh legislators in the MLAs Rest House here four years ago. Announcing the verdict in a jam-packed court room yesterday, Additional Sessions Judge B P Pandey convicted Ms K S Priya alias Malti (40) and Surendra Kosaria (40) — both residents of Durg under various sections of IPC and Unlawful Activities Prevention Act. Two more accused — Pratik Jha and Shiddharth Sharma — arrested in connection with the case, were, however, acquitted by the trial court for lack of evidence. According to the prosecution, on February 22, 2006, an offence was registered at the Tikrapara police station against unidentified naxals after the state legislators staying at MLAs Rest House in the capital received naxal literature and CDs depicting Special Police Officers' (SPOs) alleged brutality and killing of innocent tribal folks in the name of anti-naxal 'Salwa Judum' movement. Even as members from both ruling BJP and opposition Congress made a hue and cry in the state Assembly, the case was closed in December 2006 as police failed to make any breakthrough after nine months investigation in the matter. The case was reopened in February 2008 after some arms and ammunition were recovered from the Charoda residence of accused Surendra Kosaria which led to the arrest of the four for allegedly running the naxals' urban network.

## Illegal detention of Padmakka

Padmakka w/o Balakrishna, resident of Ramnagar, Hyderabad was arrested in August 2007 in Bijapur, Chhattisgarh and was booked under section 302, 149 of the IPC, and 27 (1) of the Arms Act. No evidence was produced against her and she was acquitted of all charges on the 10th of August 2009, and the Bilaspur High Court had ordered her to be released from Central Jail, Raipur. She then disappeared from custody.

Her lawyer would wait the whole of 11th August for her and the jail authorities claimed she was released on the 12th of August, 2009. He would file a Writ Petition (Habeas Corpus) against the State of Chhattisgarh, fearing for her life, and demanding she be produced.

But in reality, two days after she was acquitted of all charges, she was re-arrested from Central Jail, Raipur, and booked under section 147, 148, 307 of the IPC, and section 25 and 27 of the Arms Act, and remanded to judicial custody.

Padma w/o Balakrishna, was now identified as Padma w/o Rajana, a resident of Bhopalpatnam, Bijapur, who was shot dead in an encounter on the 15th of October, 2006, in the Ballampalli forest. Padma w/o Rajana was a Mangi squad commander and was a known Maoist, and a warrant for her arrest was issued on the 4th of October, 2001 by the Chief Judicial Magistrate A.S. Chandel and was executed by ASI Ravindra Yadav on the 12th of August, 2009, when he arrested the recently-acquitted Padma w/o Balakrishna from Central Jail, Raipur.

On the 20th of August, Padma had gone on a hunger strike in prison, to demand her rights to inform her advocate and her family of her situation. She also demanded to write a letter to the magistrate who remanded her. She was granted those rights, and continued to languish in prison on a case against a long-dead Padma.

Later on the 10th of March, 2010, her new court date drew nearer. Yet Padma w/o Balakrishna, was not produced in court, as 'the authorities said there was no escort', according to her lawyer V.V Balakrishna, who was carrying evidence of the death of Padma w/o Rajana – the testimony of her son and husband, their photos in telegu dailies speaking about their Maoist-mother. But it didn't matter, two more Padma 'cases' were now attached to Padma w/o Balakrishna.

And why all of this? Was this just a simple case of mistaken identity? No – Her husband Balakrishna AKA Bhasker Rao is a known Maoist and the member of the Andhra-Orissa Border Committee.

Treatment meted out to family members of known-Maoists has had a long history in the Red Corridor, especially in Andhra Pradesh. Padma being just another instance in the abuse of a legal system that neither protects one's rights nor does it establish any Rule Of Law, as instances such as these give the Maoists arguments to challenge the legitimacy of the Indian state.

And you don't need the mainstream media to tell a Maoist-husband how his wife is kept in jails. Even then, every instance of state terror, they use frequently and vocally, to justify counter-violence.

(Excerpts from Javed Iqbal's article 5 Aug, 2010, Moonchasing blog)

## **Seema Azad : Nine Months Behind Bars Without Trial Now**

**Dear Friends,**

It is now nine months to the date that our dear comrade Seema Azad, editor of the leftist bi-monthly Dastak and a committed social activist was taken into custody on the the 6th of February 2010, along with her husband and fellow-activist Vishwadeepak and lodged in Naini jail. Despite all efforts of the PUCL, Allahabad whose office-bearer Ravi Kiran Jain is appearing on Seema's behalf, she has not been granted bail. Every fifteen days or so, for the last nine months, she is brought before the judge at Allahabad civil courts and sent back to jail on remand. Even after these long months of incarceration there seems to be no progress in the case.

Under Seema's able editorship the bi-monthly Dastak achieved a standard of its own, laying bare many injustices, exposing the devious designs of those who wish to perpetuate the exploitation of the common people and inspiring the readers of her journal to stand up and fight injustice. Seema had published some small tracts as well regarding the state of textile workers in Kanpur, the reality behind the Ganga Expressway and the sinister nature of Operation Greenhunt, which earned her the praise of her compatriots as well as the ire of Central and State Governments. So, it came as no surprise when she was arrested on trumped up charges while returning from the World Book Fair in February.

Silencing its critics by fake encounters, long imprisonments without trial and other draconian methods is the usual tactics adopted by tyrannical and anti-people governments all over the world. The Manmohan Singh government seems no different. Seema is fully aware of this. She has recently sent a note to me, through one of her visitors, reiterating her firm stand against all oppression, stating, "...we are both of us alright here and are gathering a whole lot of experiences while waiting for our release. The one thing which I have realised very clearly after coming here, is that oppression makes man stronger and more militant. In this respect governments of any country are operating under a great illusion. I have felt forcefully that suppressing the desire for social change by the government may seem negative at the surface, but it works like the story about Kalidas in which he was chopping off the very branch on which he was sitting....my salaam to all friends and well-wishers."

I would like to exhort all of you to oppose Seema's indefinite remand through whatever channels you have recourse to.

Yours sincerely

**NEELABH**

219, Gali No. 9, Block A-2, Bhagat Colony, West Sant Nagar,

Burari, DELHI -110084

## **Seven years imprisonment to four in Alipiri case**

Tirupati, Oct. 29

The Tirupati additional assistant sessions court judge, Justice D. Venkataramana, on Friday awarded seven years' imprisonment and a fine of '5,000 each to four of the prime accused in the Alipiri blast case.

It has taken exactly seven years for the hearing to be completed and the judgment to be finalized in the case in which the Maoists were suspected of engineering the blast to kill the then chief minister, Mr Chandrababu Naidu, on October 1, 2003.

Three of the four accused sentenced by the court — Ramaswamy Reddy, Gangi Reddy and Nagarjuna

— are from Kadapa and were engaged in small-time trade in explosives. The fourth was Panduranga Reddy alias Sagar, senior state secretary of the erstwhile PWG.

In the last seven years, 76 witnesses were examined in the case and 33 people were named as accused in the charge-sheet, though the cops only managed to catch four. According to the cops, the others named were prominent Maoist leaders who were killed in various encounters in the state. Top Maoist leaders Ganapathi, Kishanji and Akkiraju Harigopal alias Ramakrishna were mentioned as “absconders” in the list of the accused. Six Maoists had surrendered to the police, but their details were kept under wraps.

After the verdict came out, Sagar raised slogans against it. “Justice is once again defeated and has become a laughing stock. The judges have sold themselves out,” he shouted.

He was dragged out of the court and whisked away by the police. He will serve his sentence in the Ongole sub-jail, while the other three men were shifted to the Tirupati sub-jail. About 40 criminal cases are pending against Sagar, in Prakasam, Chittoor and other districts.

## Hunger strike in jail to demand reduced ‘life’ term

December 4th, 2010

NAGPUR: The alleged Naxals, who describe themselves as political prisoners, undertook a token daylong hunger strike in the Nagpur Central Jail on Friday, demanding early release of the convicts facing life imprisonment. They demanded a curtailment of the prison term from the minimum 18 years to eight, as in other states.

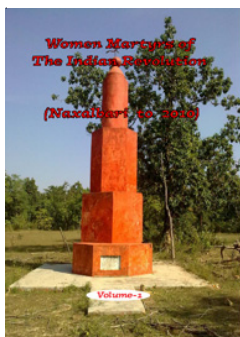
The rebel activists are trying to draw the attention of the ongoing Winter Assembly session to ensure steps for immediate implementation of the recommendations of the All India Committee on Jail Reforms prepared in 1980-83. The committee had suggested reducing the jail term of life imprisonment.

Highlighting instances in other states, the protesting inmates have demanded that Maharashtra too should follow the progressive trend and allow convicts to revert to the mainstream as quickly as possible.★

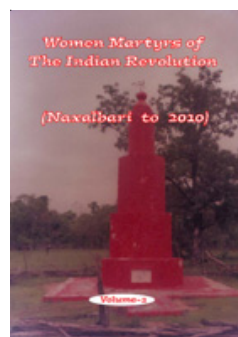


Protest of JNU Forum Against War on People when CEO of OGH Chidambaram visited the campus on May 6, 2010

*Just Released .....*



Volume-1



Volume-2

## Women Martyrs of Indian Revolution (Naxalbari to 2010)

### Oppose Piecemeal Changes to AFSPA!!

21 August 2010, Jantar Mantar, New Delhi

Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) continues to be used rampantly to crush democratic rights. With many years of the Act being used to arbitrarily detain, search, disappear and even kill people has given rise to a culture of impunity that has pervaded even the state police forces. Despite years of evidence that repression let loose by the central security forces has led to rampant violation of human rights, the government of India has not heeded the demand for repeal of AFSPA.

AFSPA has its genesis in a colonial ordinance promulgated to suppress the Quit India Movement in 1942. The law in the present form was enacted by the Parliament as the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act in 1958. The same in a different name was extended to Jammu and Kashmir as the The Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act in July 1990.

Section 4 (a) of the Act empowers even a Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO) of the Armed forces to fire or otherwise use force *to the extent of causing death* of any person who contravenes an order prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or is carrying a weapon or *a thing capable of being used as a weapon* or fire-arm. This power represents a drastic departure from the general law. Under ordinary law, the violation of an order under Section 144 CrPC prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons is punishable with one months' imprisonment, while under the AFSPA a person can be killed for the same violation. It essentially criminalizes any assembly, even a peaceful one.

Section 6 of the Act says: 'No prosecution, suit or other legal proceedings shall be instituted, except with the previous sanction of the Central Government against any person in respect of anything done or purported to be done in exercise of powers conferred by this Act.' The Central Government invariably does not give sanction even in grave cases of rape and murder. This culture of impunity is reflected in the barbaric way protestors in Kashmir have been killed by the security forces. More than 50 persons, many of them under 20, have been killed since June this year.

In a 1997 judgment, the Supreme Court upheld the Act as constitutional but said complaints of human rights violations should be investigated and sanctions should be given by the central government. However this has never happened. The Jeevan Reddy Committee constituted by the government of India recommended repeal of the Act. In Kashmir a working group on confidence building measure set up by the

Prime Minister also recommended repeal of the Act in J&K. Similarly the Second Administrative Reforms Commission also recommended repeal of the Act. Last year the UN Commissioner for Human Rights asked India to repeal AFSPA. She described it as a 'dated and colonial-era law that breaches contemporary international human rights standards.'

Following these reports and the recommendations by the UN agencies government of India's ministers have been giving statements to media regarding amendments to the Act. It is not clear what amendments are these and in what ways any amendment will change the ground situation in AFSPA areas.

We the student groups, civil liberty and democratic rights groups, women's groups and trade unions are clear that no amount of amendments to this Act would ease the tensions in the affected areas. Therefore we demand that:

- The Act must go lock, stock and barrel.
- No part of this law be put into any other law
- The central government must give sanctions in all cases where the security personnel have been accused by a court of law, judicial commissions and magisterial inquiries. A thorough investigation must be launched into all pending complaints against central security personnel as well as police personnel.
- The government must withdraw central security forces if it is serious about resolving the outstanding issues in the AFSPA imposed areas and restore peace.

Repeal AFSPA !  
Withdraw Central Forces !  
Punish Guilty Security Personnel !  
Long Live Democracy !

**Endorsed by:** All India Students' Association (AISA), Asha Parivar, Campaign for Peace & Democracy (Manipur), Delhi Tamil Students Union, INSAF, Intercultural Resources (Delhi), Jamia Teachers & Solidarity Association, Janpaksh, Krantikari Yuva Sangathan, Lok Raj Sangathan, Manipur Students' Association Delhi, National Alliance of People's Movement, NPMHR, NTUI, PDFI (Delhi), Peoples Union for Democratic Rights, Progressive Democratic Students' Union, PUCL, Repeal AFSPA Alliance, Revolutionary Democracy, Saheli, The Other Media, Anand Chakravarti, Anuradha Chenoy, Bipin Kumar, Dr Walter Fernandes Gowhar Fazili, Kamal Chenoy, Pushkar, Rita Manchanda, Tapan Bose, Uma Chakravarti, Vasanthi Raman & several other individuals

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## **All India Convention against the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act**

### **RESOLUTION**

In the wake of the widespread use of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act [UAPA], the Coordination of Democratic Rights Organizations (CDRO) organized a day-long convention on 24 July 2010 at Delhi. Representatives of civil liberties and democratic rights organizations from Rajasthan, West Bengal, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Delhi, Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Manipur and Jharkhand shared the facts about the implementation of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) in their respective states.

#### **The Convention ended with the adoption of the following Resolution:**

The UAPA is a piece of legislation whose purpose is far removed from any notion of justice. This law is designed to give the state limitless power to choose the group, the section, the political opinion that it wishes to describe as criminal and to attack it with legislated violence. Hence the UAPA is merely a weapon in the hands of governments masquerading as a statute of the judicial system. Through this law governments have obtained the power to label whatever organisation they find uncomfortable as unlawful and terrorist.

The UAPA overturns every tenet of a democracy, violates the fundamental rights enshrined in the constitution, violates every provision in the criminal justice system meant to safeguard the innocent, and every international covenant and declaration concerning rights of the individual.

It is an especially miserable juncture of our history that such legislation finds no opposition from parliamentary political parties. The support of the Left Front government to the UAPA amendment marks this consensus. That such an undemocratic and hated legislation finds total support in legislatures, speaks volumes about the state of our political establishment.

The continued operation of the UAPA and its predecessors like the TADA, POTA and similar state laws over the last 25 years has slowly and silently eroded legal procedures and constrained democratic spaces through provisions which curb the formation of associations, collective expression of dissent, and finally attack the life and liberty of the individual and their right to free expression. Its logical outcome is to silence people at large when government policies threaten their land, resources, and livelihood.

The UAPA defines "Unlawful Activities" and "Terrorist acts" in such vague manner as to make its application wholly dependent on the discretion of the government. A glaring example of this is the recent omnibus FIR by the Gujarat police. The FIR does not describe the commission of any offence. Its vague language has already led to arrests of unconnected persons from different states and this threatens to clamp down on all kinds of peoples movements throughout the state.

The impact of the UAPA thus extends to every part of the country. The non-existence of an armed

opposition in a state does not prevent its use. There are numerous instances of the use of the UAPA and arrest of people under the Act from regions that have no violent activity. These include many cases being filed and arrests made under this Act in Punjab, Uttarakhand, Gujarat and Haryana.

The provision of banning organizations and provisions that criminalize all forms of association with a banned organization cast the net so wide that every form of political opposition to the government can be proscribed and such persons prosecuted under the Act. Once banned, an organization is denied the right to engage in legitimate mass organization activities, leaving it no option but to carry on its struggles through violent and armed means. Activities of organisations such as the PCAPA were limited to mass protests against police atrocities. Police claims that PCAPA is associated with a banned organization has today forced its activists to be on the run. The Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, and Mathangini Mahila Samiti and many civil rights organizations are being targeted in this manner. Thus UAPA defeats its own stated purpose – it encourages the expression of dissent in the same form that it ostensibly set out to contain.

The impact of UAPA goes well beyond the text of the law. Propaganda machinery of the governments project those charged under this Act as an especially dangerous category of criminals, based on half truths and outright lies. The public misinformation then feeds the judicial mind and vice versa. So that independent of the UAPA provisions and the untenable charges, bail can be routinely refused and torture and illegal detention of the accused by the police can be conveniently overlooked. The BKU President in Punjab faced brutal torture while on police remand. Glaring wounds on his head and doctor's reports could not get the court to take action against the errant police officials. This kind of brazen behavior of the police and the apathy of the courts is an outcome of the UAPA. Most dangerously, in West Bengal the prosecution has begun demanding that trials in such cases be held within the jail.

Such illegal behaviour by the law enforcing agencies extends to frustrating the will of the court. In the rare instance that the court decides to set an accused free, the police re-arrests by fabricating another case.

And this continues repeatedly, till the sheer number of such fake charges prevents the judge from setting the accused free. UAPA, in this manner, not only ensures the admissibility of lies, but forces the court to uphold them.

Long periods of police remand are routinely provided to people charged under the UAPA. Police remand being a euphemism for torture, threats and confessions under duress, policemen are interested in increasing this period to bolster the fake charges. The courts have been a willing ally and such examples abound. Repeated registration of the same FIR in different districts in Punjab leading to repeated police remand, and the police remand to Seema Azad beyond the legally permitted period are cases in point.

Denial of medical help to those arrested under the UAPA is becoming a norm. Police use the specious argument claiming inability to reach the accused to the hospital, while the courts stand by watching their orders being flouted. The death of Swapan Dasgupta, editor of the Bengali People's March, is directly the result of the callous approach of the executive and the courts towards those accused under this Act.

The arbitrariness built into the UAPA permits the governments to use the law to suit their vested interests. This leads to a targeting of those sections which are most vulnerable. Banning of Muslim organizations that have no recorded history of violent activity is a case in point. Similarly, the overwhelming majority of the arrested in Haryana are dalits protesting against upper caste oppression and forcible denial of access to community resources. In many instances the use of UAPA is directly related to pushing through anti people development policies by the government and to quell people's opposition to it. In this fashion, the UAPA has become a weapon in the hands of the elite to forcibly dispossess the weak.

The CDRO resolves to intensify the struggle for the repeal of the UAPA and to decriminalize legitimate democratic activity. It resolves to organize protests against the law throughout the country. The CDRO shall also collect and disseminate the truth about the operations of UAPA.

Sd/-

**Asish Gupta (PUDR) and Kranti Chaitanya (APCLC)**

**Coordinators of CDRO**

### **The brave resistance of PLGA in Mamayil (Porhat) – Gallant Guerillas give a fitting reply to the conspiracy of the enemy to annihilate the top Maoist leadership**

A political camp was underway near Mamayil village in the Porhat area of Jharkhand on which thousands of enemy security forces conducted a massive attack on June 12, 2010. This village falls under the Sonwa police station limits in West Singhbhum district. Our brave PLGA fighters fought back this attack in the most valiant manner and chased the enemy away. This attack was conducted with the evil design of annihilating our top leadership by destroying the camp in the name of 'Operation Green Hunt' but the enemy had utterly failed in this mission due to the fierce resistance offered by the PLGA fighters. Moreover, it was the enemy who had to bite the dust with three of his mercenary Cobra jawans dying and six more of them getting injured. The guerillas had fired three rounds on the helicopters which had come to take the injured jawans and they bore holes in them.

One of our fighters Comrade David had laid down his life in this heroic resistance. Comrade David would forever be remembered as a model comrade who was martyred in the process of saving the leadership by putting his life at stake. The enemy had falsely propagated that ten Maoists were killed in this attack to lift the sagging morale of his forces but the revolutionary people of that area who knew the truth celebrated this victory of the people's forces. MIB salutes all the PLGA forces and the revolutionary masses that participated in this heroic resistance and humbly pays homage to Comrade David.

The chronology of events on that day is as follows. The PLGA is guarding this camp fully prepared to face any kind of attack by the enemy. The comrades were more alert as top leadership is also present and the soldiers are well aware of the importance of defending the leadership comrades. On June 12, in the morning our comrades got the news from the neighbouring village that the enemy is approaching. Immediately the forces were instructed to go into their posts and get ready to fire according to their arcs. Just as our forces were reaching their posts the enemy had reached the sentry post in the east. Our forces took the initiative and fired on the enemy and the battle started. In the first round of firing itself at least two Cobras had died. In the second and third rounds of firing nearly 8 to 10 police were injured of whom 2, 3 policemen were seriously injured. These policemen seemed to have died later.

As the PLGA had good grip over the terrain, they were in a fairly favorable position. Our comrades were on top of the mountain and on all the four sides there were mounds of hillocks. There were several sentry posts on all the four sides and all of them were on top of hills.

Our comrades got the information that the enemy is coming in the western direction. But the enemy had at once approached the sentry post from the east and we knew about this only later. The enemy in the western direction did not move and stayed far. The enemy attacked three sentry posts from the east. The enemy was chased away from two of the posts. From the third post also the enemy's attempts were failed three times but in the fourth attempt the enemy could occupy the sentry post as the comrades there had to retreat due to some technical reasons. This information was given to the Commander-in-Chief and immediately all the comrades were sent for flank attack and the post was liberated by annihilating and chasing away the enemy.

The encounter started at 10.45 a.m. and went on till 11.30 in the night. For 13 hours the PLGA soldiers fought back the enemy attack and did not allow him to enter the camp. After this, one batch went to the nearby hamlet from where the SP was directing this attack. Our guerillas conducted an attack there too but as it was already dark our forces retreated after the attack. Some of the comrades were sent to carry the camp materials to safety. They went to the camp and were packing the material when the enemy attacked that post at 11.30 in the night. The guerillas resisted this attack too and stopped them in his tracks. By then, our comrades were dog tired but they did not give it a damn and fought back the enemy.

Our PLGA comrades were tired and there was no arrangement for food or drinks and the enemy was increasing his forces from outside too. So the decision was taken to retreat and our comrades retreated from here. But the enemy forces did not dare to advance at night from the sentry post. They built a bunker

there and stayed in it the whole night. Early in the morning the police entered the camp and burnt three motorcycles, two generators, some screen printing materials, printer ink bottles and some food materials. One of our batches which had advanced and was keeping an eye on the activities of the enemy was ready to pounce on them as soon as they get a chance. This batch was on one side of the Mamayil village. The enemy decided to search the camp area on the second day one more time. Our comrades got this information and a plan was made to attack the enemy wherever there was a chance and one squad was sent with this purpose. This squad advanced and met the batch which was already present and the whole day it followed the enemy forces and harassed them. In this manner not only had the brave soldiers of PLGA fought a battle continuously for 13 hours but had also followed and harassed the enemy for 18-19 hours.

The enemy had conducted a massive attack on our camp with a huge plan. His main goal was to annihilate the leadership comrades in the camp. With this purpose, the Commander-in-Chief of the 'Operation Green Hunt' Task Force Vijay Raman sat in the district headquarters in Chaibasa and was directing this while IG Reji Dungdung and DIG Manoj Kumar Misra were coordinating from Bandgaon village. Four battalions of Cobra which had higher level training, 12 CRPF battalions - two from Khunti, six from Chaibasa, four from Ranchi and Jharkhand Jaguar forces participated in this attack. On June 13, 2010 'Dainik Jagaran' printed a news item that a total of 7,000 forces had been deployed for this attack. Apart from these forces, keeping the operation at the center, 4 to 5 hundreds of forces were deployed at the borders with other states. Modern GPS equipment was used in this attack.

In this battle the brave PLGA soldiers had presented an excellent example in battling the enemy. They had fought back the enemy who was fully equipped with modern gadgets like GPS, two helicopters and modern weapons for 13 long hours and gave a fitting reply. Many jawans were killed, injured and their helicopters were damaged. Finally the enemy had to bite the dust and their plan failed miserably. By implementing the guerilla principle of Comrade Mao that at the strategic level one person should be deployed against ten and at the tactical level that ten persons should be deployed against one, the PLGA had finally defeated the enemy by surrounding a part of the enemy force, defeating it and then advancing to another part. Let us wholeheartedly send our revolutionary greetings to the heroic comrades of Mamayil battle and vow to defend the leadership, party, RPCs and the people in replica of this laudable resistance.

## **Kongera Attack is an expression to the fury in the hearts of the oppressed people against State Terror**

On June 29, 2010 the red soldiers of PLGA under the leadership of their brave commanders and with the active support of the militant masses had conducted a valiant attack on the murderous forces of CRPF near Kongera village in Narayanpur district. The fierce battle went on for four hours and 27 mercenary forces were annihilated and eight injured in this attack. A total of 26 weapons were seized which included 9 Ak-47s, 10 – Insas, 3 – SLRs, 2 – two inch mortars, 2 – Insas LMGs. A lot of ammunition and many military equipment were also seized. Particularly, under 'Operation Green Hunt' in ten months time (till July) in Dandakaranya more than 150 people were killed, many villages were razed down and several women were raped and this attack was conducted in response to these. After the Singaram massacre on January 8, 2009, massacres of adivasis continued in Kokavada, Vechchapad, Palachelima, Gompad, Gumiapal, Kutrem, Ongnar, Takilod etc. The victims of police atrocities included two year old children to 80 year old persons. Nearby the place where this attack was conducted, these forces had unleashed terror through indiscriminate firings, razing down of houses and other atrocities in Ongnar, Chinari (Innar), Rajubeda, Kajjum and other villages.

The most glaring barbarities perpetrated by these forces in the nearby villages are as follows – in 2009, in the village Innar (Chinari in Hindi) two young men named Dilip and Sonaru were killed in cold-blood; on February 3, 7 adivasis were massacred by hacking them to pieces in Takilod village; on February 5, in Ongnar village people were chased and fired upon with the clear intention to kill. Five of them including two women died. On 10 February in Dumnar, a 22 year old agricultural activist was killed by hacking her neck after callously gang raping her. On 4 May two young men, one of them named Lal Singh, were killed in the name of an 'encounter'. On April 3, five houses were razed down in Innar and in May five houses were razed down in Kajjum. Kidnapping people from weekly markets, torturing them for days together in police stations and foisting false cases on them has become a daily routine.

This is a just a glimpse of their barbarities in a limited area. If we look at the number of atrocities



perpetrated by these forces all over the country it would make one's blood boil. Particularly in the areas of Maoist movement and in Kashmir and North-East where the security forces have been deployed on a huge scale the daily routine of these forces is to spread terror among the people through such acts of violence. As far as the oppressed peoples and nations are concerned there is no other bigger 'terrorist' than the state in their lives.

The people of the area were burning with rage against these forces. This attack was conducted in defence of the people, with their demand and as an expression to the fury in their hearts. It was the people who provided the support base for conducting the attack.

In this valiant attack three brave commander comrades Bandu (company party committee member/platoon commander), Sankar (company party committee member/company deputy commander) and Ramesh (section commander/LMG man) had laid down their lives while fighting the enemy. The people and the guerillas attended the funeral of these comrades in huge numbers and paid rich tributes to them. They were cremated with all revolutionary honors. Stupas were built in their memory in many villages and their home villages while observing martyrs week from July 28 to August 3. MIB salutes these brave sons of the soil of Bastar and pays red homage to the martyrs.

## **Why did Narayanapatna revolutionary masses annihilate Kendruka Arjun?**

On August 9, 2010 the revolutionary masses of Narayanapatna (NP) had annihilated the betrayer Kendruka Arjun, who masquerading as a leader of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangam, CMAS (affiliated to the CPI (ML) Kanu Sanyal group) tried to harm in many ways the Narayanapatna adivasi revolutionary peasant movement.

This CMAS functioned in the Bandugaon and NP blocks and Parvatipuram mandal. In this area the Brahmans, Sahukars and Sondis who came from AP occupied the lands of the adivasis by deception and horribly exploited the adivasis. The violence of Bihar liquor traders was also not any less. The Kanu Sanyal group colluded with the land lords and Bihar liquor traders. Arjun and another woman leader Pydamma of this group collected funds from the land lords and liquor traders. They tried to contain the consciousness of the people to the struggle for occupation of forest and fallow lands while in actuality they who were eager to fight for seizure of their lands from land lords. Arjun and Pydamma swallowed the sangam funds and behaved in an authoritarian manner with the members. If any of the members opposed them and fought the landlords they used to get them arrested.

Comrade Linga led the CMAS in NP block while Arjun and Pydamma were based in the neighboring Bandugaon block. The people of NP under the leadership of Linga had from the beginning opposed the land lords and Bihar liquor traders and taken up struggles. People in this area were mobilized into militant struggles. Another significant feature is that they had helped and supported the PLGA forces, even though they were under the leadership of their party right from the historic Koraput multi-raid to the Nalco raid. They were influenced by the politics of armed agrarian revolution.

Arjun's gang severely opposed these activities in NP and was particularly against extending support to Maoists. Repression continued from 2004 and in 2006 local land lords and liquor traders got Linga and a few others arrested through local police who foisted false cases on them. One of the cases was about having links with Maoists. Hundreds of CRPF were deployed in NP. Patrolling, attacks and arrests became the norm.

Linga prepared the people for continuing class struggle even from jail. The opportunists Arjun and Pydamma swallowed thousands of rupees collected from the people in the name of getting Linga released. They even collected five thousand rupees in the name of releasing him from jail from Linga's wife who was living in dire circumstances.

After Linga was released from jail, he took up struggles against liquor traders who became a menace to the people. Thousands of women participated in these struggles and destroyed liquor dens. But these struggles left a bad taste on Arjun's tongue as he would no longer be able to collect funds from the traders. So he resorted to false propaganda against Linga and the NP sangam. Meanwhile, the Kanu Sanyal group decided to let Arjun contest as a MLA in the 2009 assembly elections. The peasants of NP opposed this decision as they were readying themselves for occupying land lords' lands. Arjun's gang opposed this vehemently. It advised that the adivasi peasants should confine themselves to occupying

the forest and fallow lands. As party leaders Gananath Patro, Tapan Misra and some other comrades including Linga opposed this decision the Arjun gang expelled them from the party and the sangam. This was a boon in disguise as the adivasis were liberated from the hurdles created by this gang to advance the class struggle.

Arch opportunist Kanu group utilized the favorable revolutionary condition of this area and built up the Sangam there. But it betrayed the class struggle and went to the enemy camp. Thus it turned into an organization of class collaborationist leadership in the guise of revolutionary party. The Kanu Sanyal group was trying to keep people under the influence of the present system in spite of all the rhetoric about revolution they utter in public. This group had the same stand since they betrayed Naxalbari and their betrayal in Odisha people's struggles is a classic case of their class collaborationist politics.

CMAS of NP intensified its struggles since January 2009 and within four months implemented complete ban on liquor. Thousands of villagers belonging to 100 villages in nine Panchayats mobilized and occupied 2,500 acres of land and did collective farming. All the bad gentry, land lords and liquor traders who blocked their path of struggle were chased away. Though the people had been demanding land since five years it fell on deaf ears and so the people boycotted the sham elections in 2009. Arjun was badly defeated in the elections and his ire over Linga and the sangam increased manifold.

The Congress, BJP, land lords, tribal chiefs and the non-adivasis (Paidis) who lost their lands, which originally belonged to the adivasis, formed a Santi Sangam on May 5, 2009 under the guidance of the police and state administration and later changed the name to 'Nagrik Suraksha Samiti'. This was nothing but a counterrevolutionary organization on the lines of Salwa Judum and such. The aim of this Samiti is to reoccupy the lands occupied by the adivasi peasants and crush the revolutionary movement to establish their previous barbarous raj. Their demand before the government was to ban CMAS and to send Linga to gallows. Their reactionary attacks on villages began immediately from May 2009. Arjun's gang also participated actively in these attacks. They conducted massive attacks on villages Dunsidi, Podipodro and Dekkapara and razed down the huts. They fired on the people with cape guns. They looted the villages. They had to step back temporarily with the organized resistance of the people under the leadership of Com. Singanna (martyred later) and the Ghenua Bahini militia.

Enthused by this success, thousands of peasantry occupied 2,500 acres of land on June 12. The land was distributed not only to the Kuvvi adivasis but also to the poor Dumba people and poor laborers in NP. The sahuikars, land lords and liquor traders ran away to the towns fearing this deluge of people's struggles. Inspired by the NP struggles the peasantry in Bandugaon block also joined their path. Arjun shuddered as he was losing his base.

When five thousand peasants belonging to Kaurubadi, Alamanda and Vallada panchayats falling under Bandugaon block prepared themselves to occupy lands under the leadership of Linga, Arjun hurried and made some of his followers plant red flags in the lands occupied under Linga's leadership. His compromising nature can be gauged from the fact that he made an agreement with the sahuikars that the scent grass on these lands would belong to the landlords and that they would occupy the land only after the sahuikars take the harvest! The peasantry was deceived one more time.

As Linga's sangam was gaining ground even in his native village Kesubadra, Arjun's gang attacked many houses in the village, razed them to ground and chased away those families from the village. Not stopping at that he conspired to kill Singanna who was leading the Ghenua Bahini and was a popular leader of CMAS. He called Singanna to a village in Bandugaon block and attacked him with a thousand people. Most of these persons were called in the name of a meeting. But they could not withstand the powerful counter-attack of Ghenua Bahini and ran away. Otherwise Singanna would have died on that day along with his men.

In this process, Linga, Singanna and other members under their leadership decided to work under the guidance of CPI (Maoist) and joined it. In order not to let them enter the Bandugaon block, Arjun sought the help of Andhra Pradesh (AP) police. AP Police pasted posters with the pictures of Linga, Singanna and Rampadh and said that they would arrest them and encounter them if they entered that area. Foul propaganda was coupled with this ('Linga's sangam would destroy whole villages', 'Linga could eat an ox in one meal' etc). Arjun's gang stopped people on their way to meet Linga and threatened them not to meet him.

The CPI (Maoist) continuously exposed all these wicked deeds of Arjun through posters, pamphlets, statements, meetings etc. In spite of his wanton activities, the Maoist party tried to meet Arjun and talk to him. It invited Arjun and Pydamma for talks to decrease the skirmishes. But they rejected this proposal and

continued their aggressive stance. The Maoists annihilated Lokanadham who had gang raped (along with 17 of his gang members) Kirmamma belonging to Arjun's sangam. After this, Arjun went to the AP police and got the other members of Lokanadham's gang arrested. Simultaneously he went on a propaganda spree threatening Maoist sympathizers that they would be arrested for killing Lokanadham. He sent Prakash to kill Comrade Rampadh and planned to put the blame on sangam people who worked with Comrade Linga. He wrote a letter beforehand saying that members of 'Linga's sangam' had killed Rampadh by mistake and put it in Prakash's pocket to keep it aside Rampadh's body after killing him! Such was the height of his meanness. Prakash was caught by the children of the village and the whole conspiracy was exposed. His attempts to kill the people's leaders Singanna and Rampadh earned the wrath of the adivasis.

Recently Arjun completely joined hands with the AP and Odisha police and issued various forms of threats to the sangam members and tried to entice them to surrender to the police saying that there would be no cases on them if they do so. All attempts to bring him to his senses failed and so the revolutionary masses of NP punished him with the help of PLGA after propagating widely in the area about his counterrevolutionary role and thus ended the menace.

The opportunist leadership of Kanu Sanyal group should take sole responsibility for this incident. If people did not fight against and remove hurdles like betrayer Kendruka Arjun, the genuine people's movement was bound to suffer seriously in many ways including losing its leadership.

CPI (Maoist) wishes to settle any dispute with any ML or Maoist party in the interest of people and revolution and gives a long rope patiently persuading them to break their links with the class enemies or the state before resorting to severe steps. But when such attempts fail, it does not compromise with any counterrevolutionary activity of anyone of them because it harms the very interests of the people by joining hands with the enemy.

Achieving unity of revolutionary forces to fight the enemy forces is very much there when the state is waging war on the people, so these groups should also rethink about their anti-people activities and not join hands with the enemy.

## **Heroic Ambush by PLGA in Lakhisarai District**

On August 29, 2010 the PLGA conducted a heroic ambush near Rampalgaon (Ramtal Nagar) situated in Shitalkodachi hills under the Kajra police station limits in Lakhisarai district of Bihar when BMP and SAF together entered the hilly tracts of Kazra-Shitalkodashi forest area. The encounter started around about 5 p.m. and continued for 8 to 10 hours. In this battle 12 BMP and SAF police were wounded and 7 BMP were killed. Forty weapons were seized in this ambush which included SLRs – 24, Insas – 6, Carbine Pistols – 5 and other modern weapons. This attack had not only diminished the initiative of the enemy forces but had also damaged their morale. Comrade Ratan Yadav, section commander of a company under Jharkhand Regional Command laid down his life in this ambush while heroically fighting the enemy and inflicting losses on them. This ambush was conducted under the leadership of the Lakhisarai-Munger-Jamui-Banka-Bhagalpur zone comrades.

After the ambush, two ASIs, one DSP's special body guard and one BMP were taken as war prisoners from the ambush site. PLGA comrades demanded the release of eight area and sub-zone level comrades within 36 hours. The Nitish and central government did not care to respond to the plight of the four policemen and on the contrary mobilized special Cobra, BSF and special commando force of CRPF in a huge number and started severe combing operations. They began to beat and torture the village people indiscriminately. For the first time they also used some BSF and Air Force gunship helicopters for searching and attacking our guerilla forces. After the deadlines expired the DSP's main body guard Lucas Tette was killed. Lucas used to beat and harass the people when he came to the villages on combing operations along with the DSP. On the 9th day the demand for the release of eight comrades was withdrawn as the government callously did not to respond to save the lives of its jawans and the PLGA released all the other three war prisoners. The cold-heartedness of the government towards its own jawans was exposed thoroughly in this incident. This should be an eye-opener to the police and paramilitary that the government is only using them as cannon-fodder in the War on People carried on in the name of OGH. That is why most of the policemen are getting frustrated and resorting killing their higher officers or themselves and many are resigning to their jobs too.

## **The counter-attack of the PLGA Guerillas foils the much-hyped “Operation Saranda” of the enemy forces**

### **Hail the brave PLGA soldiers who defended the top leadership with their exemplary resistance**

The Kolkata-Mumbai railway line runs adjacent to the Saranda forest area. Large police camps were established at Rourkela, Manoharpur and Kiriburu keeping Saranda forest at the centre. In these three centres, 500 to 600 policemen are always present. The Saranda forest is situated in between them. In this forest area there are several iron ore mines. Apart from Chadia mines, Kalta mines, Kiriburu mines, Gua mines and Bada Jamda mines there are several more like them. Except for one or two of them, all these have railway line links. These railway lines were built to carry raw iron ore outside. Passenger and Express trains too run from Kolkata via Jamshedpur up to Kiriburu-Gua. But all these police camps are situated far away from one another. The Manoharpur camp lies adjacent to the Saranda area. But to come inside the forest from there, it would be a distance of about 40 to 50 kilometers. It would be a distance of 70 KMs from Kiriburu and about 80 to 90 KMs from Rourkela. The mines are also situated far away from one another. There are one or two mines inside the forest and police camps were established there too.

The Saranda forest is spread over an area of one thousand square kilometers. This forest area is spread widely from Kalahandi district in Odisha to the river flowing adjacent to Rourkela. The Mayurbhanj forest, Gudaban forest of East Singbhum district and the Badam hills of Odisha are also adjacent to this forest area. However, several large mines are situated in between. But forest cover is also there near these.

The Maoist leadership got prior information about one week before that the enemy is making preparations for “Operation Saranda”. So the PLGA too made preparations to resist this offensive. These preparations were made both outside and inside the forest. The preparations outside included blocking the railway lines and digging up of roads etc. At least 2000 Jan Militia comrades and a thousand revolutionary masses were mobilized into this resistance.

The comrades got prior information generally as to how many forces of the enemy are to be engaged in this operation. The information was that 15 to 20 thousand forces would be engaged in this. In the papers the news was that about five thousand police forces were engaged in the “Saranda Operation”. But in fact, if one takes into consideration the police forces mobilized even in far off places it would amount to about 12 to 13 thousands. Nearly five thousand police forces came inside the forest after the operation was launched.

The forces which were to be engaged inside the forest for this operation first reached Manoharpur. The operation was conducted with Manoharpur as the Headquarters. The enemy can enter the Saranda forest from two sides. The enemy entered the forest from both the sides. In other places police forces numbering 200, 500 and 1000 were deployed. The comrades got the information that the enemy forces entered the forest and that they were climbing the hills. There are many valleys too inside the forest. So the enemy was using the road ways. The comrades alerted everybody that the enemy was approaching.

The preparations to resist them outside have been made as mentioned earlier. To resist the enemy forces which have entered the forest, a company force moved out. Apart from this a force of two more companies was present at the camp.

As soon as the enemy entered inside, operations of the comrades began outside too. The comrades cut off the road ways. Pillars were demolished and put on the roads to block them. Railway lines were blasted. A railway engine was torched. Trucks carrying raw materials were torched. Attempts were made to cut off other roads too. All through this counter-operation not a single police could enter the forest from outside due to this resistance outside.

Inside the forest, the PLGA continuously harassed the enemy from September 20 to 27. At the Digha village which was about three hours distance from the administrative camp of the Maoists, near Barwadiah which was at a distance about two and half hours and near Tirilposi which was at a distance of about two hours, the PLGA red soldiers conducted three ambushes on the enemy forces. Four to five police men were wiped out in these ambushes. In these ambushes the PLGA soldiers fought head on with the police

forces. So they could not damage the enemy forces much. But they could seize an Insas rifle and 200 rounds of ammunition. They chased the police away. The police had to face lot of difficulties in this one week due to lack of food and water. The PLGA comrades cooked and ate but the police could not do so and had faced a lot of difficulty due to hunger.

The PLGA forces went on harassing the police forces for three days after the incident and so the enemy could not even take the dead bodies of the policemen. Only on 27th could the enemy take the dead bodies. Some dead bodies were taken in pathways by walk while some more dead bodies and injured policemen were taken in helicopters. As the place of incident was far away and the PLGA was ambushing the police everywhere, the enemy immediately took away the bodies and the PLGA could not inflict more blows to these forces. Thus this counter-operation went on for about three days in a wide area and better command, control and coordination was achieved as Maoist top leadership led this directly.

There were no casualties to the PLGA forces in this operation. But people come inside the forest for various works. Gold is also found in the soil there. So people come to search for it. The police killed a man and a woman who had come to the forest searching for gold. A Jan Militia comrade was also caught by the police and killed in cold blood.

The counter-operation of the PLGA forces at Saranda will go down in history as one of the finest resistances offered to the enemy forces which were hell bent on decimating the top leadership of the Maoist party inside the forest areas too. It not only completely foiled their evil designs but had also dealt a big blow to the morale of the police forces as they suffered casualties apart from failing in their avowed aim. Let us hail the brave soldiers of PLGA and condemn the brutal offensives of the enemy launched to suppress the fighting people and the Party and Army which are defending their interests.

## **Attacks of PLGA soldiers on Government mercenary troops and notorious SPO goons between July and November 2010**

### **Dandakaranya**

On June 13, ASI Shiv Kumar Mandavi belonging to Bande police station was wiped out in a bazaar by the PLGA. This was situated just three km away from the PS. On June 23, the PLGA forces got information about the civil police coming to the villages on a daily basis from Gollapalli PS and they conducted an ambush inside the village annihilating three DF police. On July 1, PLGA fired upon Udanpur BSF base camp in Kanker district. On July 8, PLGA fired on three CRPF camps in Narayanpur, Dantewada and Bijapur districts. On July 10, PLGA fired upon Pamed police station in Bijapur district. The PLGA annihilated a police constable named Harnarayan in Erraguda village of Bijapur district. On July 13, PLGA attacked six Salwa Judum camps in Dantewada district. On August 29, in a medium level ambush conducted by PLGA near Buskigaon early in the morning at 6.30 a.m. which is located 8.5 kilometres from the Durgkondal PS in Kanker district, five policemen died and one police was injured. This attack was conducted on a road opening party. Among the dead were three BSF jawans, one district policeman and a SPO. The PLGA seized two AK-47s, two Insas and one LMG in this incident.

On August 14, 2010 PLGA action team attacked two SPOs at 1 pm in a bazaar under Badgaon PS centre (Pakhanjur block in Kanker district). One of the SPOs Dhanesh (25) died and another SPO named Rai Singh was injured. But a trader also died in this firing. This site was at a distance of about 50 metres from the PS. On August 20, in Medpalli village in Gadchiroli the PLGA guerillas destroyed a police *sibir* which stood in support of the Border Road Organization. There was nobody in that *sibir* on that day.

On September 3, a police constable named Nobel Khalko was annihilated in Katekalyan weekly market in Datewada district. On September 5, PLGA conducted an attack on a road opening party near Etebalki village in Kanker district and two BSF jawans were injured in this attack. On September 13, in a daring attack PLGA sat in ambush and attacked the police who were coming out of the Bejji PS on patrolling duty. Two policemen were wiped out here. This coincided with the 48-hour 6 states bandh call on September 13-14, given by the party demanding an independent enquiry into the killing of Comrade Azad, Politburo member and spokesperson of CPI (Maoist). On September 20, the PLGA arrested seven policemen near Jama village under Bhadrakali PS limits (Bhopalpatnam block, Bijapur district). After conducting a trial three of them including an assistant inspector of police were annihilated. Rest of them was released. All the seven weapons with them were seized by the PLGA. On September 20,

2010, an ex-SPO Mirna Munda (25) was annihilated in Bangapal village under the Kodali PS. On September 21, in an ambush conducted near a culvert which was under construction between Usur and Avapalli in Bijapur district, a SPO was wiped out and five policemen including an assistant sub-inspector were injured. In the exchange of fire, enemy forces launched a mortar shell which resulted in the martyrdom of two militia comrades and four others sustained injuries. PLGA conducted this attack when they all fell in the ditch dug by the militia. On September 24, 2010 - PLGA comrades torched a commander jeep belonging to Dunga Seth of Bandepara village in Kutru area. He is a notorious goon, one of the founder members of Salwa Judum (SJ) in Kutru area, and was directly responsible for the killing of our comrade Raju in Karkeli village in 2005 after inhuman torture. Till this day, he has been an active SJ member. At present, he is involved in initiating SJ once again with a new name Dandakaranya Shanti Sangharsh Morcha (DKSSM) and his jeep was being used to organize the reactionary elements in that area.

On October 1, PLGA attacked two policemen who had come to buy vegetables in the market in Sukma block of Dantewada district but they escaped with injuries. One of them was a CRPF constable while another was a police officer. On October 4, a police vehicle was blasted with mines near Perimili market in Gadchiroli district. A CRPF inspector, CRPF constable and two Maharashtra SIs died. On the next day a mine proof vehicle coming to the site of blast was blasted by the PLGA and another six policemen were injured. This incident occurred in protest when on October 3 the police illegally arrested 20 villagers.

On October 8, a police vehicle was damaged in a mine blast in Manpur area (Rajnandgaon district). Three ITBP jawans were wiped out here and another was seriously injured. PLGA conducted this attack on a police vehicle which was going to the Maharashtra border to bring a police officer. The maddened police fired mortar shells indiscriminately on an ashram school near the site and six people including two school children died. Another eight were seriously injured. To cover up this massacre, the police shamelessly began a foul propaganda that these people died in a naxalite attack. But the people of the area who knew the facts did not believe one word of it. The people would never forgive this massacre and would certainly avenge it.

On October 12, PLGA annihilated two police coming back from Durga Puja at a distance of one km from the Pamed PS in Bijapur district. On October 15, three government officials were arrested in Bijapur district and later let off. On October 17, PLGA attacked an iron mine in the Bailadilla hills and arrested four CISF police and seized their grenades. On October 20, PLGA conducted an ambush on a police patrolling party near Gapmarka hills under Manpur PS limits in Rajnandgaon district in which a police died and another was injured. On October 22, PLGA arrested five persons from a SPO family. Three of them were let off after two days. On October 23, five young men trying to join as SPOs were arrested by the PLGA from Avapalli in Bijapur district. A SPO was annihilated near Loded in Madded area in Bijapur district on October 26. On October 31, SPO Irpa Dinesh was arrested in Basaguda of Bijapur district by the PLGA. He was annihilated later.

On November 3, a SJ leader was annihilated by the PLGA. On November 4, PLGA attacked the police party near Mankeli village and a CRPF jawan died. On November 19, a SPO was annihilated in the Chintalnar weekly bazaar in Dantewada district. On November 20, 2010, two policemen who were captured by PLGA a week ago were freed today at Antagarh. It's reported that 2 INSAS rifles along with ammunition were seized from them.

On November 21, 2010, a Salwa Judum leader was killed by PLGA in Kotrapal village of Bijapur district in West Bastar.

On November 23, 2010 two CRPF jawans of the 168th battalion were killed when their bulletproof vehicle was blown in a landmine blast between Awapalli and Timapur in Bijapur district on Tuesday afternoon. Driver constable Rama Rao of Maharashtra and Onkar Sinha, a head constable from Chhattisgarh, were part of a road opening party. They were attacked while returning to their base. On November 28, the PLGA action team annihilated a police constable near Sonabal village in Kondagaon area in Bastar district.

## **Bihar - Jharkhand**

On June 16, 2010, PLGA guerillas attacked the State Bank India in Khadigram of Jamui district and confiscated 92,000 rupees. Later they blasted the building. On July 16, 2010 PLGA blasted a police vehicle in which five policemen were wiped out and five more were injured. On September 10, 2010 in an ambush

in Dumka district of Jharkhand a police officer died and four policemen were injured. In an ambush conducted on the CPRF, Jharkhand Jaguar and JAF joint forces in Talpahadi under Kathikunda PS limits of Dumka district in Jharkhand on September 10 one police officer died and four policemen were injured.

### **PLGA resistance during Bihar assembly elections**

On October 22, 2010, while the police officers were boasting that they had peacefully completed the first phase of Bihar assembly elections, PLGA conducted a night ambush in which six policemen died including a SI. PLGA had targeted two police vehicles which were coming for road opening as a security for the election personnel under the limits of Syampur Bhatta PS. At 8.45 pm, the first vehicle was blasted on a culvert nearby Jhatkana village. One policeman was also injured in this. The terrified police in the second vehicle turned back the vehicle and fled away. On November 5, 2010 PLGA attacked two anti-people elements in a village in Banka district of Bihar and annihilated them. Two more were seriously injured in this.

On November 8, two police died and two were injured in a booby trap blast. On November 10, in the Tekari assembly segment of Gaya district of Bihar a RJD office was razed down in Madhurapur under Guraru PS limits. On November 18, in an attack by Maoists near Barhat in Ranchi district of Jharkhand four anti-people elements had died. Unfortunately an eight year old girl also died in this and PLGA apologized for this mishap.

During the last phase of assembly elections on November 20, a booby trap was blasted in Gaya district and two security personnel died in that. Seven were injured including seven policemen. This incident happened near Lodha village under Dumaria PS limits of Imamgunj assembly segment. The police tried to diffuse a mine which was found under a culvert and the booby trap went off.

During Bihar elections, the police tried to diffuse a mine they found as part of their search, but as it was a booby trap kept by the PLGA it went off killing two police and injuring two.

### **Odisha**

In August 2010, a culvert was blasted near Sonumbaru Ghati on the Rakshi-K. Balanga road between K. Balanga and Lohanipada PS in Rourkela district of Odisha. Later, employees who were taking money to the Borosuva State Bank of India branch from Bonei branch were arrested by the PLGA and 49 lakhs of rupees were confiscated from them.

## **PLGA Action Teams target cruel political leaders**

### **Dandakaranya**

On July 7, the main and secondary forces together conducted an attack on a state level Congress activist Avudesh Singh Gautam in Nakulnar village. Gautam Singh and his gunmen escaped. A person who is working as a Munsif and one of Gautam Singh's brother-in-law died in this attack. An 8 mm rifle and a bullet-proof jacket were seized by our forces. In the firings done by the gunmen, Comrade Manoj (party member and a member of Battalion died. A Congress activist named Malinger Madavi Manoj was annihilated by the PLGA in Dantewada.

On July 22, a prominent Salwa Judum leader Raghu Singh (55) was annihilated by the PLGA. He is leading the Salwa Judum in Bhopalpatnam of Bijapur district. He is a close associate of Mahendra Karma, the chief of Salwa Judum. Mirtur village is a centre for the Salwa Judum goons. On August 13, PLGA attacked Lachuram Hemla, the leader of Judum in Mirtur village, while he was going to Bairamghad weekly market. He was seriously injured in this attack. He was the ex-sarpanch of Tadkel village.

### **Bihar-Jharkhand**

On August 18, the PLGA action team conducted a daring attack and annihilated a Congress leader in Gandharia market in Ghatsila district of Jharkhand. PLGA had wiped out three Congress leaders in this month. On September 13, PLGA annihilated a Congress leader in Gadhwad district.

### **AOB**

The panchayat bhavans in Tellarayi, Bodigatta of Kalimela block and in Kangurkonda situated in Potteru area were useful for the police to establish camps in them. In November 2009, the police had even surveyed the Potteru panchayat bhavan for this purpose. It was hugely propagated among the people that they were going to establish a police camp here. So PLGA and the people blasted these bhavans as part of TCOC in May 2010.

## Third Zonal Conference of KAMS calls upon the women of Dandakaranya to defeat the fascist enemy offensive “Operation Green Hunt”

Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS) successfully conducted its third Special Zonal (Dandakaranya) level conference in a stronghold area of Dandakaranya (DK) amidst the fascist offensive of the government, strangely named the “Operation Green Hunt” (OGH). Strange because it almost aptly describes it. Yes, it is aimed to wipe away all the greenery of the beautiful forest and also any trace of ‘greenery’ (well-being) from the lives of the adivasis. The women of Dandakaranya threw a challenge to the enemy forces by conducting conferences of KAMS from the Panchayat level to the Dandakaranya level amidst severe repressive conditions and just before news started coming about deployment of army in Bastar jungles.

The third zonal conference was conducted from November 8 to 13, 2010 and was attended by scores of delegates who represented the nearly one lakh membership of KAMS. The conference was conducted with the aim of strengthening the organization, to expand it, to increase women’s active role in all spheres of revolutionary movement, particularly struggle against patriarchy, consolidation and expansion of Janathana Sarkar (Revolutionary People’s Committees, and intensifying People’s War and to enhance the role of women in liberating Dandakaranya along with the immediate task of defeating the OGH.

The conference reviewed the past three years experiences gained in practice since the previous conference and assessed the positive and negative aspects of them. The reviews of the division level activities were presented and deep discussions followed. The salient points which came to the fore were –

Whether it was during Salwa Judum or during the present OGH, resistance of women formed the main component of the *sangam* activity. Particularly it became common place for women to offer united and unarmed resistance to the enemy when the armed enemy forces try to arrest their husbands and sons and daughters. Another common occurrence was women sitting on *dharnas* and taking up agitations to get the dead bodies of their kith and kin or their neighbours in front of police stations and camps.

The conference noted with alarm that where the KAMS (*mahila sangam*) has become weak due to enemy repression, patriarchal norms are gaining ground again. It has practically proven one more time that patriarchy is propped up by the ruling classes and that only revolutionary activities could put a check on it. So it was decided to strengthen the *mahila sangam* fighting back the enemy offensive. The conference has also cautioned its members not to neglect the fight against patriarchy as fighting the state has become the main agenda due to OGH. It pointed out the interrelation between the state and patriarchy and discussed on how to integrate the fight against patriarchy with the fight against the state offensive. It noted that some of the patriarchal norms previously prevalent in the adivasi society are getting weakened due to the revolutionary war in DK. For example, women were not allowed to sow or enter the threshing ground previously and there has been a consistent education campaign against it by the Janathana Sarkars and the revolutionary mass organizations. Now it is difficult to survive without women participating in all kinds of works by overcoming these taboos. Many such interesting debates and discussions took place after the division reviews were presented.

The conference passed with some amendments the zonal review, manifesto-constitution and the political resolution after they were explained by the Special Zonal Executive Committee (EC) members and after debating them in the hall.

The conference discussed in detail the problems faced by them in advancing the women’s movement. The functioning problems of the *sangam* from the village level to the higher levels, problems in committee functioning, what steps to be taken to strengthen the *sangams* and committees, how to spread the movement to the urban areas around the DK, how to function and expand secretly amidst carpet security, the impact of imperialist culture on youth migrating to far away places in search of livelihood, the role of government reforms, Hindu religion and imperialist culture in weakening and diverting the women’s movement, stand towards government sponsored women organizations etc



were all discussed concretely and in detail. The delegates made some good amendments to the documents to strengthen the movement and it was finally concluded by the steering committee.

The conference took a determined vow to advance the women's movement in DK in the background of the increasingly favorable revolutionary conditions all over the world and inside the country. It seriously put its heart and mind to get rid off the weaknesses continuing in the DK women's movement to achieve the goals set by the conference for the next three years.

The conference passed seventeen resolutions on various issues including paying homage to martyrs and sending revolutionary greeting to comrades in jails. The conference elected a new executive committee, the EC elected its President and other office bearers and the new EC took their oath in front of the KAMS flag.

The conference gave a call to the women of Dandakaranya to defeat the OGH and foil the attempts of the corporate sharks to loot their natural resources with the connivance of the central and state governments. It appealed to all the oppressed women of DK and India to join the People's War for their liberation from exploitation, oppression and from patriarchy. It appealed to all the democratic women organizations, women intellectuals and democrats to stand in support of their just struggle for liberation and lend their voice to the chorus of resistance raised by the women of Dandakaranya. It expressed solidarity to the women's struggles waging in various states of the country and also across the world.

The conference was conducted with jubilation and enthusiasm and it enhanced the self-confidence of the delegates as deep reviews had been made about their work and practical solutions have been finalized which they could go and implement in their respective areas. The conference would not have been so successful without the excellent support of the Janathana Sarkar, People's militia and the people not to mention the PLGA forces who had all guarded the conference camp day and night and did the innumerable jobs associated with the practical conducting of such a crucial and higher level conference.



**Glimpses of 3rd Zonal Conference of KAMS**

## **Democrats apprehensive that ‘inconvenient’ activists may be targeted after Jamul fake encounter**

Two Maoists, Nagesh and Tarabai (Pramila), were shot dead sometime between 14th and 15th October 2010. The IG (Durg Range) claimed that the incident happened near Shivpur village, 45 kms from Raipur and that 14 rounds were fired throughout the night. “Police fired on three Maoists when they were waiting at Jamul area to strike an arms deal, Maoist commander Nagesh and his wife Pramila were killed on the spot while another Maoist managed to escape” claimed Durg district police chief Amit Kumar. Chhattisgarh’s Director General of Police Vishwa Ranjan termed the killings a major success and announced an award for the policemen.

Contrary to the IG’s claim about the encounter, local residents of Jamul, a semi urban area adjoining the Bhilai industrial area, have an entirely different version to tell. According to them, the bodies were found lying on 15th early morning close to a railway over bridge at Jamul. Moreover, there wasn’t significant police presence around the bodies. The number of police personnel started increasing only after 5 a.m. almost an hour after local boys first spotted the bodies. The ‘discovery’ of the bodies by local residents, the lack of police presence at that time, the fact that residents had not heard any gunshots in the intervening night, raised several questions.

The DKSZC issued a statement that Nagesh, a regional committee member and Pramila, member of Platoon-25 were caught unarmed by the police using the information given by an informer and murdered them in cold-blood after severely torturing them. It rubbished the claims of the police that two pistols and some other weapons were found on them and that both of them were part of the urban network of the Maoists. It stated that they had no connection whatsoever with the urban work and that the police chose to kill them in working class area to terrorize the urban poor people and to make them feel insecure.

The Press statement issued by People’s Union for Democratic Rights and Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha (Mazdoor Karyakarta Committee) dealt with all these questions and thoroughly exposed the ‘police story’ and proved beyond doubt that this ‘encounter’ was fake. PUDR and CMM (Mazdoor Karyakarta Committee) expressed apprehensions that by ‘planting’ the bodies near urban working class localities, the police may try to harass residents for information. With the Chhattisgarh police talking of taking on the “Urban Network of Naxalites”, such strategic ‘encounters’ in urban places can become convenient ways for harassing ‘inconvenient’ activists. The fact that the area has a very strong and militant working class movement under the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha (Mazdoor Karyakarta Committee) against the Swiss multinational cement giant Holcim is significant. The organization is an eyesore for big companies and its participation in the anti-displacement movement, campaign for the release of Dr Binayak Sen and against human rights violations of adivasis has earned it the wrath of the State. They demanded an immediate registration of FIR into the given incident and an immediate inquiry by an independent agency into the incident.

This is not the only such incident in the plains areas or urban areas of Chhattisgarh. Recently in the course of an “encounter” in Sankra Police Station of Mahasamund district, widow Himadri Patel accused the police having burst into her house and killed her elderly husband and his dumb farmhand in cold blood. In Rajnandgaon a girl student was shot in the leg while bathing at the village pond. 9 CPI activists including elected representatives in the Janpad Panchayat, a disabled person, and the petitioner in the Salwa Judum case in the Supreme Court - Kartam Joga - have been foisted with false cases under the Chhattisgarh Vishesh Jan Suraksha Adhiniyam. With the Chhattisgarh police talking of taking on the “Urban Network of Naxalites”, there are great chances that every dissenter would be dealt with in this manner.

## **Desperate attempts by CRPF as part of Psy-war to boost the morale of its forces**

### **Kills nine militia members in cold-blood and claims that 20 Maoists were killed in a “major ambush” ?!!**

In Delhi, a CRPF Press release stated that around 20 Maoists were reportedly killed in a fierce encounter with the 111th Battalion and State police under Jagargunda police station area in Dantewada district. “More than 15 Naxals were injured. The bodies of nine Naxals and arms and ammunitions have been recovered. More than 150 Naxals opened fire on a CRPF party, which was conducting the area-domination operation. In the ensuing encounter, around 20 Maoists were killed. No casualty has been reported from the CRPF’s side. The appearance and combat fatigues of the dead Maoists showed that they were well trained,” the release added.

The bourgeois media reports termed this a “successful operation” (killing large numbers of adivasis is ‘successful’ in their eyes and a matter to rejoice!) in the and without verifying facts further gloated shamelessly – “Notably, the killing of Maoists in large numbers has come as a morale booster for the CRPF, which has suffered several big reverses this year in the fight against Maoists”.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has confirmed the death of nine of their cadre in the hands of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) on November 23 in Chhattisgarh’s Dantewada district, but has contradicted the nature of the operation as described by the CRPF.

In a telephonic conversation, Secretary of the South Bastar Regional Committee of the CPI (Maoist), Ramanna told the media that the nine men were part-time members of the CPI (Maoist) and were on sentry duty when they were ambushed by the CRPF.



“Cadres from our village-level base force were providing security to farmers harvesting their rice crops when they were surrounded by the police and CRPF and gunned down,” said Mr. Ramanna. Mr Ramanna said that it was common practice for the Jan Militia to provide security cover for farmers from interior villages as the villagers were routinely harassed by security forces since the days of Salwa Judum. Without such minimum security they could not even harvest or eat. They had to die of hunger. The inferior weapons they had were purely for self-defence in such inevitable circumstances. The police had just surrounded them and killed them in a one-sided firing. “Reports that 100 Maoists participated in a one hour long attack are untrue. Only nine cadres were on sentry duty and they were all martyred in the ambush. They did not

fire a single shot,” he said. Mr. Ramanna said that the police and the CRPF had laid an elaborate plan based on prior knowledge of Jan Militia movements. Mr. Ramanna identified the nine Maoist casualties as Uieke Sannu, Ueike Dula, Karpi Subba, Korsa Sukka, Korsa Sudhakar, Emla Sagar, Begami Hidma, Kunjam Joga and Aitu.

In September this year, a PTI report had quoted Chhattisgarh Director General of Police, Mr. Vishwaranjan as saying that Maoist leader Ganesh Uieke had died of malaria. This story was widely circulated by the police in Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh using the media as part of Psy-war operations. The police (Alas unsuccessfully!) hoped to hit the morale of the people by falsely propagating that their beloved leader had died. Contradicting Mr. Vishwaranjan’s statement, Mr. Ramanna said that Ganesh Uieke was alive and well.

## **Who is targeting Schools – Maoists or the security forces of the government?**

Even while the courts are giving judgments over judgments that the security forces should vacate the schools in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and other such movement areas, the security forces are going on a rampage and burning down schools run by the people and are even killing school children by launching rockets on the schools. Looking at all the hullabaloo raised by the government as part of Psy-war quarters about Maoists targeting schools one wonders if it is the most common practice for them to just blame the Maoists with every atrocity they perpetuate. It looks more than true especially in the matter of schools. Just look at what they had done in Bastar –

On November 23, 2010, more than five hundred police and CRPF jawans from 4, 5 stations descended on Tirkanar village in Narayanpur district and burnt down a primary school run by the Janatana Sarkar. It had a modest twenty adivasi students studying in it. Bastar SP Sundarraj boasted to the media on November 25 that they had destroyed a huge Maoist camp. This is in fact a ashram school where children from the neighbouring two or three villagers stayed and learnt to read and write. People are paying two teachers who stay there to educate the children. The villagers got wind of the police raid beforehand and the children along with their teachers and villagers ran away into the forests. Three villagers were caught by the police and they are being falsely portrayed as Maoists. The jawans burnt down the whole school and all the food materials stored there for feeding the children.

In October 2008 too the police had attacked a school run by Janatana Sarkar in Kumudgunda village (Narayanpur district) and destroyed it. There have been scores of attacks on schools run by Janatana Sarkars in Chattisgarh and attempts to kill the children studying there and the teachers teaching there. Many a times they had to change the venue of these schools and it has become common for the children and teachers to run into the forests to escape from impending attacks of the security forces. One can imagine what would be the psychological effect on children not to say anything of “Right to education” of the hapless adivasi children !! The governments have long ago freed themselves from the responsibility of running schools for them and when finally the adivasi people took things into their hands and tried in some modest ways to educate their children, this is the response of the state.

But wait, there are more ghastly things to come. The ITBP jawans had directly launched rockets on a ashram school in Savargaon and killed six people which included two school children. Eight more persons were seriously injured in this attack which happened on October 8, 2010. The government had deployed the ITBP in Manpur Division (Rajnandgaon district) since one year. There was no end to the atrocities perpetrated by these jawans on the poor people of this area. Don’t wonder what the Indo-Tibetan Border police is doing in the heart of India instead of being deployed on the borders with Tibet. It is obvious that the government sees the fighting adivasi people of this region as the “enemies”. That is why the ‘brave soldiers’ attack these enemies and destroy them and their ‘bunkers’ which may be surreptitiously situated in such places such as ‘ashram schools’. The immediate reason for this attack was an attack by the PLGA forces on the ITBP jawans on the borders of Manpur (Chhattisgarh) and Gadchiroli (Maharashtra). Three jawans died in this mine blast. This was done in response to the innemerable atrocities perpetrated by these forces on the poor people of this region. The ITBP jawans coming in other vehicles got mad and vented their ire on the ordinary villagers of Savargaon (which falls under Dhanora tehsil of Gadchiroli) situated nearby. The result is this massacre !

**We leave it to the readers to judge for themselves as to “Who is targeting schools?”**

### Chidambaram's speech at meeting of Chief Ministers of Left Wing Extremism affected States

Union Home Minister P.Chidambaram made the following opening remarks at the meeting of Governor/Chief Ministers of Left Wing Extremism affected States, convened by the Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh. at the meeting.

"I welcome you to this meeting to review the situation in the States most affected by Left Wing Extremism. I am grateful to the Prime Minister for agreeing to chair this meeting."

The last meeting of Chief Ministers on Internal Security was held on February 7, 2010. In my opening remarks at that meeting, I had cautioned that there was a rise in the number of incidents of violence in 2009 and that "it is possible that this trend will continue in 2010 too."



During the period January to June, 2010, there have been 1103 incidents of violence perpetrated by Left Wing Extremists. While 97 extremists were killed and 1,341 apprehended, 209 members of the security forces also lost their lives. These figures underscore the gravity of the challenge posed by Left Wing Extremism.

You are aware that the CPI (Maoist) is the principal Left Wing Extremist organisation. As long as the CPI (Maoist) was not challenged effectively, it expanded its area of activity, recruited more cadres, kidnapped more persons, extorted more money, acquired or looted more weapons, asserted its dominance in more areas, and targeted the security forces as well as civilians. Among the civilians, the CPI (Maoist) specially targeted civilians who it named as 'police informers'. Between 2004 and 2008, on an average, 500 civilians were killed every year and many of them were killed after being named 'police informers'.

In 2009, 591 civilians were killed, of which 211 were named as 'police informers'. This trend has continued in the first half of 2010 too, with 325 civilians killed, of which 142 were named as 'police informers'. We are especially concerned that ordinary citizens should be labelled as 'police informers' and killed by the CPI (Maoist). The CPI (Maoist) has no right to set itself up as judge, jury and executioner. In fact, it has no right to carry arms. It is a banned organisation and functions outside the pale of the law.

The State Governments and the Central Government cannot ignore these self-evident facts. Since the first meeting of Chief Ministers on Internal Security held on January 6, 2009, we have agreed upon a two pronged strategy, namely, development and police action. Since then we have remained on course and, in subsequent meetings at New Delhi and in the State capitals, we fine-tuned the strategy in accordance with State-specific requirements.

The efforts of the State Governments, assisted by Central Para-Military Forces, have met with mixed results. Key leaders of the CPI (Maoist) have been apprehended. Many attacks were repulsed. Security forces have asserted their control over some areas in the districts of Gadchiroli and Kanker. However, there have been setbacks too. The most serious setbacks were in Silda (West Bengal) and in Tarmetla, Chingawaram and Dhaudhai (all in Chhattisgarh). Besides, there was the derailment of the Gnaneswari Express that claimed the lives of 149 innocent civilians.

While there have been some lapses on the part of the security forces in failing to follow standard operating procedure, there can be no gainsaying that the attacks by the CPI (Maoist) were pre-meditated and carried out with the object of inflicting maximum damage on the security forces and overawing the people and the elected governments. We would do well to remember that the attacks by the CPI (Maoist), whether opportunistic or pre-planned, are part of their strategy of 'armed liberation struggle' and in furtherance of their goal of 'seizure of political power through protracted people's war'.

The Central Government acknowledges the primary role and responsibility of the State Governments

in enforcing law and order and in confronting the challenge of Left Wing Extremism. We also acknowledge the role and responsibility of the Central Government to assist the State Governments in every way – deploying central para-military forces, sharing intelligence, funding the modernization of police forces and providing logistics and other support. In the light of the experience gained in the last six months, we have reviewed the level of support that we can provide to the State Governments and we have taken the following decisions:

- (i) To provide more helicopters for logistics support, troop movement, supplies and evacuation;
- (ii) To fund the establishment/strengthening of 400 police stations in the affected districts at the rate of Rs.2 crore per police station on 80:20 basis over a period of two years;
- (iii) To sanction additional SPOs to the States;
- (iv) To request the State Governments of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal to create a Unified Command for anti-naxal operations; to appoint a retired Major General of the Army as a member of the Unified Command; to request the four State Governments to appoint an IG as IG (anti-naxal operations) for that State; and to appoint an IG, CRPF as IG (Operations) for that State to work in close coordination with the IG (anti-naxal operations) of that State;
- (v) To set up an empowered group chaired by Member-Secretary, Planning Commission to modify existing norms/guidelines in the implementation of various development schemes having regard to the local needs and conditions in the affected districts;
- (vi) To advise the State Governments to implement PESA strictly and vigorously; in particular, to ensure that rights over minor forest produce are assigned to the Gram Sabhas and the interposition of Government controlled departments/ corporations/cooperatives are removed;
- (vii) To improve road connectivity in 34 districts most affected by Left Wing Extremism. A number of roads and bridges are proposed to be included, at a cost of Rs.950 crore, by the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways under RRP-I.
- (viii) The Planning Commission is considering a Special Development Plan for the affected districts/ States with emphasis on road connectivity, primary education, primary health care and drinking water. Consultations have been held with the State Governments and it is expected that the Plan will be placed before the competent authority, shortly, for approval.

In the course of your interventions, I would request each one of you – the Governor and the Chief Ministers – to give your views on the measures that I have outlined above. I would also request you to tell us what more measures are required to be taken to curb the menace of Left Wing Extremism. I hope that each one of you will bring to the table the things that we are doing right and the things that we are doing wrong and that we can have a free and frank discussion on this very serious subject.

With these words I welcome you once again to this meeting. I shall now request the Hon'ble Prime Minister to kindly chair the meeting and guide our deliberations.

Thank you.”

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## **Enemy camp responds with alarm to the Kongera ambush in Narayanpur district**

### **Chhattisgarh agrees to 'redeploy' central forces**

**Vishwa Mohan, TNN, Jul 2, 2010**

NEW DELHI: A day after Union home minister P Chidambaram suggested that Chhattisgarh “revisit” the deployment plan of central forces in the wake of the Narayanpur incident which exposed vulnerability of CRPF men in the naxal stronghold, the state on Thursday quickly agreed to “redeploy” the central forces taking in view the operational objective. The other three naxal-hit states — Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa — will also go for reconfiguration and relocation of the paramilitary forces in due course.

Besides, the CRPF — which saw the killing of over 100 of its personnel in the past three months in the Red Zone — has decided to put in place one inspector-general (operations) each in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa to look after their anti-Maoist operations in a much more effective manner.

“The decision on redeployment of forces in Chhattisgarh was taken by the state police in consultation with top CRPF officials, including its chief Vikram Srivastava, who have been camping there since Wednesday,” said a senior home ministry official.

Admitting that the forces have “learnt lessons in a hard way”, the official said the preliminary report of the Narayanpur incident — in which 27 security personnel were killed on Tuesday — showed that the personnel also ignored Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) to the extent that the group of 63 personnel used the same road for their movement after the road opening exercises which they had been using for months.

## **Anti Naxal Ops: Govt Plans to Redeploy Central Forces**

In the wake of repeated attacks by Maoists on CRPF, the government is working out a plan for the redeployment of paramilitary forces engaged in anti-Naxal operations in states.

A plan is being worked out for reconfiguration, redeployment and strengthening of the paramilitary forces in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal phasewise in consultation with the state governments.

“It has become necessary to review the deployment of forces and a suitable decision will be taken according to the operational requirement and developmental reasons,” a Home Ministry official said.

However, no central forces deployed in a particular state will be moved out from that state.

According to the plan, which will be implemented first in Chhattisgarh where CRPF has faced maximum casualties in the recent past, the distances of troop posts will be reduced and in some cases the number of personnel will be increased while in other cases the posts will be relocated.

After Chhattisgarh, the plan will be implemented in Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal.

Home Minister P Chidambaram had yesterday said that “relocation and reconfiguration” of paramilitary forces in Chhattisgarh may be required as some of them were not operationally viable.

“These deployments have been made in 2007 and 2008. So, I have asked the Chhattisgarh government to examine the deployments in 2010,” he had said.

## **Chhattisgarh to Adopt Aggressive Strategy Against Naxals**

In a change of strategy, Chhattisgarh police will adopt an aggressive strategy while dealing with Naxalites and try to eliminate them in the wake of increasing attacks by the ultra-Left activists, State Home Minister Nanki Ram Kanwar said today.

The police will adopt an aggressive stance against Naxals and will try to eliminate them rather than risking their lives, Kanwar told reporters here.

A change in strategy has been necessitated following three major strikes in the state in which the lives of many jawans were lost, he said.

Kanwar said Chief Minister Raman Singh held a high-level meeting to discuss the issue but refused to divulge details.

## **2 New Officers for Anti-Naxal Operations**

Government has appointed two senior officers to new specialised posts within the CRPF for anti-Naxal operations in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand as part of steps to effectively deal with the Maoist challenge following the Dantewada massacre.

Official sources said the Ministry of Home Affairs has appointed A Ponnuswamy as Inspector General (Operations) for Chhattisgarh and M P Nathanael in Jharkhand under the same capacity.

Both officers, who belong to the CRPF cadre, would exclusively deal with the anti-Naxal operations in the state. The duo would not be given any administrative charge.

The orders were issued yesterday, a day after Naxals struck in Narayanpur district of Chhattisgarh killing 27 CRPF personnel.

Ponnuswamy, who was earlier DIG in Chennai, has been promoted while Nathanael is currently posted in the North-east.

As per the E N Rammohan committee that went into the circumstances of the April 6 Dantewada massacre that left 76 security personnel dead, there was lack of coordination and violation of Standard Operating Procedures.

The Ministry had decided to replicate the Jammu and Kashmir set up in Naxal affected areas after the

Under the new system, Pankaj Kumar Singh, an IPS officer of the Rajasthan cadre, has already taken over as Inspector General (Operations) in West Bengal.

Similarly, CRPF Eastern Sector IG Nageshwar Rao, an IPS officer of Orissa cadre, has been moved to Orissa to take over the operations there in a similar capacity.

The new system is a drastic shift from the earlier where there was only one IG level officer in the headquarters to look after operations of the entire force.

Jammu and Kashmir was the only state earlier where the force had a separate IG level officer to look after the operations.

Also on the anvil is a process for greater coordination between the central and state police forces, the need for which was also mentioned by Rammohan, the former BSF chief who led a one-man inquiry into the Dantewada incident.

## CoBRA squad joins combing operations in Chhattisgarh

Aman Sethi

NARAYANPUR: A company of 100 soldiers from the specialised Combat Battalion for Resolute Action (CoBRA) squad of the Central Reserve Police Force was deployed in the forests surrounding the Dhaudai police station as combing operations intensified in Chhattisgarh's Narayanpur district after Tuesday's ambush by Maoists killed 27 CRPF personnel.

"The toll has risen from 26 fatalities to 27," Superintendent of Police Rahul Bhagat said.

On Wednesday afternoon, search parties located the body of Neeraj Kumar, a CRPF jawan, who went missing after the ambush.

"The ambush occurred at 1.30 p.m.," Mr. Bhagat said. "We lost one assistant commandant of the CRPF, two sub-inspectors and eight head constables."

The police are yet to ascertain the exact number of weapons lost, but sources told The Hindu that "it is expected to cross 20." The sources said most of the personnel were carrying INSAS and Self Loading Rifles.

The sources said 59 men of the CRPF's 39th Battalion and one Special Police Officer of the Chhattisgarh police left the Dhaudai camp at 5.00 a.m. on Tuesday.

"The company was directed to secure the common ambush points along a seven-km stretch along the Narayanpur-Orcha road as the CRPF was conducting 'logistics operations'."

### Public buses used

A police source revealed that the 'logistical operations' involved using four public buses to transport personnel from Dhaudai to Narayanpur. "The buses were used to ferry those going on leave, and their replacements."

The CRPF's decision to transport them by a public bus could prove controversial as the Maoists blew up a civilian bus in Dantewada last month in an attempt to target the Special Police Officers travelling on its roof.

While public buses were not targeted in Tuesday's ambush, the Maoists attacked the road-opening party, as the men were returning to their base.

## India at war with itself in Chhattisgarh

Wednesday, 30 June 2010

By Chris Morris, BBC News, Dantewada, Chhattisgarh

"It was the worst example I've ever seen. A fiasco. They didn't stand a chance."

Thus runs retired Brigadier BK Ponwar's brutal assessment of an ambush by Maoist rebels - known locally as Naxalites - which killed 76 paramilitary policemen in Dantewada earlier this year.





A similar attack was staged on Tuesday, when a further 26 policemen were killed in another attack in the same region.

The attack which killed the 76 was the highest loss of life for the security forces in any single attack during the insurgency, which the government calls India's "biggest internal security challenge".

Brig Ponwar runs Chhattisgarh's Counter Terrorism and Jungle Warfare College, which is teaching thousands of police personnel how to fight in the remote forests where the Maoists hold sway.

None of the 76 men who died had been on one of his courses.

But it is the police who are leading the fight against the insurgency.

And over the last few months the government has gone on the offensive against the Maoists.

## **Kongera ambush bares the divide among the various enemy forces**

### **If CRPF keeps getting ambushed, what can we do: Chhattisgarh DGP**

Two days after 27 security personnel, including 25 from the CRPF, were killed in a Maoist ambush in Narayanpur district of the Bastar region, Chhattisgarh DGP Vishwaranjan said the state police had shared intelligence inputs with the CRPF regarding the presence and movement of Maoist cadres in the area.

"It is our responsibility to deploy the Central forces. If the CRPF is frequently getting caught in ambush, can we do anything? Can we teach them how to go about it?" Vishwaranjan told reporters after a high-level meeting in Raipur today.

The DGP made the remarks a day after Union Home Minister P Chidambaram asked state governments to revisit plans relating to deployment of Central forces and suggested that the CRPF be limited to executing specific operational objectives rather than routine functions.

Stating that the Chhattisgarh police would submit a detailed report to the Union Home Ministry regarding the circumstances that led to the incident, Vishwaranjan said police had information that 11 Maoists were killed in the encounter that followed the ambush at Dhaudai in Narayanpur district.

### **We Can't Teach CRPF How to Walk: Chhattisgarh DGP**

Raipur , Jul 01, 2010

A day after Union Home Minister P Chidambaram had suggested Chhattisgarh government redeploy CRPF in Naxal-hit areas, the state's police chief tonight shot back by saying "we cannot teach the paramilitary personnel how to walk".

DGP Vishwa Ranjan said the state police does not have an answer why CRPF was being repeatedly ambushed by Maoists.

"If CRPF is being repeatedly ambushed, are we to answer for that? What does responsibility mean? Responsibility means making available whatever facilities possible. Responsibility means we together deploy the forces. Responsibility does not mean we will teach them how to walk", the DGP told a TV channel.

Chidambaram had yesterday said "relocation and reconfiguration" of paramilitary forces in Chhattisgarh may be required as some of them were not operationally viable.

"These deployments have been made in 2007 and 2008. So, I have asked the Chhattisgarh government to examine the deployments in 2010," he had said.

In the wake of repeated attacks by Maoists on CRPF, the government is working out a plan for the redeployment of paramilitary forces engaged in anti-Naxal operations in states.

### **IAF, cops squabble in Maoist corridor**

**Calcutta Telegraph/Sujan Dutta**

**Bastar/Raipur, Aug. 11:** The Indian Air Force, Chhattisgarh police and central paramilitary forces are bickering over responsibilities claimed and shed in the fog of fighting counter-Maoist operations.

The air force is now at the centre of the row because police officers on the ground have alleged in official reports that pilots' refusal to fly when most needed resulted in the death of injured troopers, inquiries by **The Telegraph** over the past week have revealed.

One central paramilitary officer said up to 15 CRPF troopers may have bled to death because the IAF refused to fly to Dhaurai in Narainpur district on June 29 when Maoists ambushed a company. Twenty-seven CRPF and state police troopers were killed in the encounter. The report has been forwarded to the Union home ministry.

The casualties in the Dhaurai encounter were finally evacuated in a civilian helicopter chartered by Chhattisgarh police.

The latest round in the bickering started in the thick of action last week. In blinding rain on Wednesday, a state police officer who had lost touch with base in the middle of a firefight climbed a hillock near Kirandul, about 30km from Dantewada, and over a weak signal radioed his superiors for reinforcements.

More than two companies of security forces comprising Chhattisgarh police's Special Task Force and special police officers called the Koya commandos were on a mission to hit a Maoist hideout near the National Mineral Development Corporation's facilities.

"We asked for the CRPF Cobras (the special action teams of the Central Reserve Police Force) but they refused and said they will come only if Indian Air Force helicopters were ready to take them," a senior Chhattisgarh police officer said.

The officer admitted that the state administration was panicky because 25 policemen who had returned to base had reported that another 75 troopers of their party, tasked to carry out a multi-directional assault on a hill, were missing. The forces were led by the deputy inspector-general, Dantewada, S.R.P. Kalluri. The two columns had lost radio contact in the rain.

A senior CRPF officer said: "We had readied two teams of Cobras at Polampalli (in Dantewada district) and in Jagdalpur (in Bastar) but the Indian Air Force refused to fly."

The air force has four helicopters assigned for the counter-Naxalite operations in Bastar — two Mi-17s, each capable of carrying more than 20 fully-equipped troops, and two Dhruv advanced light helicopters. But in a peculiar arrangement, the helicopters have been placed at the disposal of the central forces for 80 hours of flying time for all four choppers in a month.

This means each helicopter can fly only 20 hours in a month — or that each is permitted to fly sorties that last less than an hour a day.

Contrary to reports from air headquarters in New Delhi, too, the IAF helicopters on counter-Maoist deployment are neither armed nor armoured. Officially, each of the helicopters has been assigned two Garud (IAF special forces) personnel. But often they cannot be taken on board to make space for either casualties, VIPs or security personnel of the central paramilitary forces.

The security establishment also concluded that if the helicopters are armoured (armour-plated at the bottom) to withstand small-arms fire, they cannot carry enough personnel. Armour-plating increases the weight of the machine and makes it less manoeuvrable.

The IAF doubts that the state and central forces in Chhattisgarh have sanitised helipads to ensure that they are beyond the range of small-arms firing by the Maoists.

These reasons are unacceptable to the police who complain that the "air warriors" lead a life of relative luxury.

"Do you know, that unlike my men who live in the jungles battling not only Maoists but also a shortage of supplies and malaria, the IAF personnel get to live in air-conditioned quarters?" an incredulous CRPF officer complained.

An IAF officer in New Delhi cited two reasons for limiting the flying hours. First, the IAF views its counter-Maoist deployment as a secondary task, its primary one being on the borders and in states where the military is involved in counter-insurgency (in Jammu and Kashmir and in the Northeast) and where the Armed Forces Special Powers Act is in force.

For high-altitude border duties — such as in Siachen (and currently to give relief in Leh) — the helicopters have to be kept at maximum serviceability. The officer said the copters have to be "rotated", meaning that the same machine cannot be kept flying for multiple sorties.

The IAF's helicopter fleet is less than fully operational. A report by the Comptroller and Auditor General last week found that the force was able to meet only 74 per cent of its operational requirement.

The fleet is ageing and about 78 per cent of the helicopters were being flown beyond their prescribed life. Between 2002 and 2007, the force has not inducted a single helicopter.

The upshot was that “serviceability” (availability for sorties) was low and fluctuated between 45 per cent and 75 per cent.

The IAF is currently recalling its helicopters on UN missions in Africa to bridge the gap.

In Chhattisgarh and in the counter-Maoist operations that gap is translating into bodybags.

## AP extends ban on CPI-Maoist, its outfits

2010-09-20

Hyderabad: The Andhra Pradesh government on Monday extended the ban on the Communist Party of India-Maoist and its six frontal organisations for a further period of one year.

The state cabinet, at a meeting chaired by Chief Minister K Rosaiah, decided to extend the ban on CPI-Maoist and its frontal organisations under the Andhra Pradesh Public Security Act. The ban lapsed Aug 16.

State Information Minister J. Geeta Reddy told reporters after the cabinet meet that the frontal organisations of the outfit that are banned are: Radical Youth League, Rythu Coolie Sangham, Radical Students Union, Singareni Karmika Samakhya, Viplava Karmika Samakhya and All India Revolutionary Students Federation.

It may be recalled that the state government had lifted the ban on then People’s War Group (PWG) in 2004 to facilitate a ceasefire and the first-ever direct peace talks between the government and the Maoists. During the talks, PWG merged with Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) to form CPI-Maoist.

The ban on CPI-Maoist and its frontal organisations was reimposed Aug 17, 2005, following the killing of then Congress legislator C. Narsi Reddy and nine others by Maoists in Mahabubnagar district on the Independence Day. The killings followed the failure of peace talks and the collapse of a nine-month long ceasefire.

CPI-Maoist, the most powerful of Maoists groups in the country, has considerably weakened in Andhra Pradesh during the last five years as it lost its top leaders in anti-Maoist operations by police and the elite anti-Maoist force Greyhounds.

The central government banned CPI-Maoist in June last year by branding it a terrorist organisation.

## Maoist threat dominates discussions at police conference

August 26, 2010 16:01 IST

The importance of the ongoing three-day conference of police chiefs in the capital can be gauged by the fact that the home minister and the prime minister have addressed it. Vicky Nanjappa reports on the meeting which will decide the fate of police work in the country.

Self reliance in tackling the Maoist problem was the major topic of discussion during the three-day annual conference of police chiefs in New Delhi [ Images ].

One of the state police chiefs, who is attending the three-day conference told *rediff.com* that the two biggest issues that were debated during the conference were the Naxal problem, and the turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir [ Images ]. Saffron terror and the regrouping of Sikh militant groups was also discussed.

The conference discussed the setting up of unified commands in the states of Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand and West Bengal [ Images ]. However the other officers drew the example of Punjab [ Images ] where militancy was tackled by the state police and suggested that the Naxal menace would be countered in this fashion. While most officers of the Naxal-affected states agreed with this solution, they however pointed out that other states which faced a Naxal problem could help out with intelligence since they feel that a lot of important leaders are hiding in other states to ensure that the cadres regroup. To fight the Naxal menace, it was also decided that the internal capacity of the police force should be augmented.

Many police chiefs were of the opinion that the Naxal menace should be tackled internally and not with the help of external support. The internal force would be more accustomed to the terrain and also find it easier to deal with the local population. Moreover the advantage of the local language would help. The language factor is very important since the Naxal movement survives on the local support.

**Saffron terror:** Reports that trickled in from various states indicated that ‘saffron terror’ was on the rise. Home Minister P Chidambaram [ Images ] warned all police chiefs have to watch out for this problem.

Some police chiefs said that it would be easier to crack down on saffron terror, if the intelligence

available was good. It was said that there was a need to rely more on the state intelligence for this issue. Since the intelligence inputs pertaining to this issue were not up to the mark, they were unable to deal with this threat in an effective manner.

A section even complained of political interference in some states which made it difficult to counter the problem. The police chiefs decided to have meetings with their respective intelligence cells and also have more regular intelligence sharing between states to address this issue.

**Sikh terrorism:** The Intelligence Bureau had indicated that the Babbar Khalsa International which was kept quiet for nearly two decades is ready to re-enter India [ Images ], with help of the ISI. Although major concerns were raised by the Punjab police, the IB said that states up north have to gear up to face this problem.

Delhi will face the brunt of this threat, if it is not curbed. An advisory was also given to the Punjab police to have constant and thorough checks apart from beefing up the local intelligence wing to keep a watch on the movements of possible Sikh militants. There was also a passing mention made regarding the threat these militants posed to the Commonwealth Games [ Images ].

**Unrest in the northeast:** The police chiefs of the north eastern states expressed concern over the trouble that has been brewing in their states. They said that there was an expansion of the left wing extremists into the northeast. Intelligence reports stated that these groups were reaching out to other terrorist groups in Pakistan and Bangladesh to further their cause.

**Maritime security:** The police chiefs decided that there was a lot of cooperation that was required on this front and all police forces needed to work closely to safeguard the 7,200 kilometre coastline which has become hunting ground both for the mafia and terror groups.

In addition to this the conference will also discuss issues pertaining to modernisation of the force and police reforms. There will also be a session on human rights and how police need to deal with this problem.

## Chhattisgarh DGP Vishwaranjan issues veiled threat to encounter Journalists

Several Journalists from Tehelka ,The Hindu, Indian express and other news channels who have interviewed Maoist leaders along website owners who post articles about Maoists are on the hit list of Security Agencies. Hem Chandra Pandey who was kidnapped from Nagpur and murdered by the APSIB was deliberately murdered along with Com Azad to send a strong message to the journalist fraternity some of whom had been giving balanced reports on the Maoist movement in India.

### Journalists sympathising with Naxals under watch

Intelligence agencies monitoring the Naxal activities have started keeping tabs on journalists sympathising with Naxals on information provided by Andhra Pradesh police after the killing of a mediaperson with Naxal leader Cherukhuri Rajkumar alias Azad in an encounter recently. **The surveillance includes electronic snooping, phone tapping and even physical monitoring of the movements of journalists and sympathizers in both the real and virtual worlds.**

Confirming the development to UNI, highly-placed official sources here said the details gathered from Azad after the encounter have been forwarded to all the Naxal-affected states besides Chhattisgarh by the Andhra Pradesh police.

The names of mediapersons in the list of Naxal sympathisers are those who frequent the Naxal-dominated areas on the state's border with four other Naxal-affected states while also meeting the Maoist leaders.

“We cannot share everything with the media. Those mediapersons who are working for Naxals are already under watch by the intelligence agencies and action would be initiated when substantial proof is gathered against them,” Chhattisgarh Director General of Police Vishwaranjan said.

He said one cannot stop the mediapersons from entering the jungles and interviewing the Maoist leaders but it is certainly dangerous to enter the jungle during an anti-naxal operation being carried out by the security forces.



“Nothing can be done about mediapersons who take the risk of entering the jungles during an operation and get stuck inside, they might become victims of draculas who like to feast on their blood “ Mr Vishwaranjan added.

## Chidambaram hopeful on Kashmir, pessimistic on Maoist violence

25-8-2010

**New Delhi:** Home Minister P. Chidambaram Wednesday expressed the hope that the government would be able to reach out to protesters in Jammu and Kashmir soon to pull the state out of ‘the vicious cycle of stone-pelting’, but admitted that it would take several years to contain Maoist violence.

‘I am afraid Jammu and Kashmir is now caught in a vicious cycle of stone pelting, lathicharge, teargassing and firing, leading to casualties and resulting in more stone pelting,’ Chidambaram said in his inaugural address to a three-day meet of police chiefs of various states and security agencies.

‘It is, however, my hope that in the next few days, we would be able to find that elusive starting point from where we could reach out to the protesters, reassure them of their rights and dignity, restore peace and order redeem the promises made and restart the process of dialogue that will lead to a solution,’ he said.

We are concerned that we have not been able to stop the vicious cycle in which the state is caught,’ said the home minister. ‘The security forces, however, have been instructed to act with great restraint.’

Observing that the conflict with Maoists would be a long-drawn one, the home minister pointed out that ‘patience is the key’ to resolution of the conflict.

‘We made it clear (to the states in November 2009) that it would take several years before we were able to contain the CPI (Maoists) and roll back their offensive,’ said Chidambaram.

‘I think the people of India understand - even if the critics do not - that the conflict will be a long drawn one, that patience is the key, that mistakes will be made and the security forces need material and moral support to carry out their tasks,’ said the home minister.

He regretted the fact that the Maoists had refused to respond to the central government’s call to abjure violence and begin talks.

‘We have called upon the CPI (Maoists) to abjure violence and come for talks. I regret to say that there has been no direct and credible response to our offers of talks,’ he added.

## Chhattisgarh opens three Counter-Insurgency Schools

July 18, 2010

(Calcutta Tube) Chhattisgarh, the state worst hit by Maoist violence, Friday announced the opening of three counter-insurgency and anti-terrorism schools to train policemen to take on the left wing rebels.

The three schools have come up at Mana area on outskirts of state capital Raipur, at Rajnandgaon bordering Maharashtra, and Jagdalpur, considered the nerve centre of Maoist insurgents, a statement said.

The statement informed that the schools were opened Thursday and ‘experts drawn from the army, central paramilitary forces and police will train Chhattisgarh Police ‘jawans’ on how to take effective steps against insurgency and terrorism’.

Chhattisgarh already has a Counter Terrorism and Jungle Warfare College (CTJWC) in Kanker that has trained nearly 7,000 policemen from various states since mid-2005. The school’s motto is to ‘take on guerrilla like a guerrilla’.

Officials at the police headquarters here say that over 2,000 people, including 1,000 civilians, have been killed in Maoist violence since the state was carved out of Madhya Pradesh in November 2000.

## Chhattisgarh sweetens rehab package for Tata steel project

R Krishna Das / Kolkata/ Raipur May 03, 2010, 0:08 IST

To step up land acquisition for the proposed Tata Steel plant in Bastar, Chhattisgarh government has come out with a proposal to give subsistence allowance to the villagers losing their land to the project.

“The project-affected-people will get subsistence allowance of Rs 4,000 per month till the steel plant comes up in the area,” Bastar district collector Manohar Singh Paraste said. A senior Tata official in Bastar confirmed the development.

Paraste said the allowance would be paid by the company to 1,707 account holders enrolled by the district administration who would be giving their land for the project. The Tata management had already assured to give job to the affected people, he added.

“We would appeal to the villagers to avail the benefit of the package,” the district collector said. The administration had taken the initiative to open zero balance bank accounts for the villagers in two nationalised banks where the allowance would be deposited, he added.

The district administration, however, has put a condition for withdrawal of the subsistence allowance. The affected villagers have been asked to install pillar on the boundary of the land they would be handing over to the administration for the project, Paraste said, adding that once the villagers installed pillars and handed over the land, they would be eligible to withdraw the allowance.

Besides subsistence allowance, the villager would get Rs 200 per pillar for demarking the land. The pillars would be provided by the company. Sources said this would help the administration in demarking the land that had been a big challenge for the administration after protests from some sections. Villagers possess a major share of land for the proposed 5-million tonnes per annum greenfield integrated steel plant of Tatas coming up in Lohandiguda area of Bastar district. Of the 2,160 hectares spread over 10 villages, 1,707 affected people possess 1764.61 hectares.

Under the rehabilitation norms, the company had deposited Rs 70 crore with the district administration for compensation. The administration had disbursed about Rs 42 crore to more than 70 per cent affected people. The remaining 30 per cent villagers are still opposing the project.

## 22 coal blocks allotted in Chhattisgarh

RAIPUR: As many as 22 coal blocks have been allotted to private companies in mineral-rich Chhattisgarh in the last 10 years.

“Twenty-eight coal blocks have been identified for private firms. Till date 22 have been allotted,” a mining department official told IANS here. Of the 22 blocks, mining has begun in just six.

The state government has signed 71 agreements with power companies in the last 10 years to set up thermal plants. Two companies - Jindal Steel and Power Ltd (JSPL) and Lanco Amarkantak Power Pvt Ltd - have commissioned their plants, the official said.

Chhattisgarh has nearly 20 percent of country's total coal deposits.

## Chidambaram picks 33 MPs for Naxal lessons

Friday April 30, 2010, New Delhi

The government has identified MPs from 33 Naxal-hit districts, who shall be briefed by Home Minister P Chidambaram on the national strategy to deal with Naxals. Chidambaram will seek their cooperation.

The Home Minister is also expected to discuss hurdles in the implementation of various development plans in Naxal-hit districts.

A Planning Commission task force had reported after the Dantewada massacre that development plans had been slowest in the areas with big Naxal presence.

The report found that in Dantewada, claims for the land allocated under the Forest Rights Act had not been given.

Only 35 per cent of the funds meant for roads had been used and only 16 per cent of the healthcare money had been spent.

The government is focusing on connectivity in these terrains as that has been the biggest disadvantage security forces face during anti-Naxal operations.

## War against Maoists will be long-drawn: Raman Singh

2010-07-21

**Raipur:** His state is the worst to be hit by Maoist insurgency in India. But despite a series of deadly attacks in 2010, Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh is confident that his government is 'capable of

finishing' the rebels although the war will be 'long-drawn'.

'The Chhattisgarh government is not losing the war against Maoists. The government is well capable of finishing them,' says Raman Singh, who has been heading the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government in the mineral-rich but largely impoverished state since December 2003.

'The Maoist problem in Chhattisgarh dates back some 25-30 years. There was some violence in the state all these years but in recent years, it has surged,' Singh told IANS in an interview.

'That has put the state in the news even though we have several remarkable achievements in the development sector besides a role-model food security scheme for 3.7 million poor families. But these achievements have been overshadowed by Maoist violence-related news,' the chief minister added.

Maoist violence has claimed over 2,000 lives, including those of nearly 1,000 civilians, in Chhattisgarh since November 2000 when the state came into existence after being carved out of Madhya Pradesh.

When asked why Chhattisgarh was failing to emulate the success story of neighbouring Andhra Pradesh in the war against Maoists, the 57-year-old politician said: 'Modernisation of the police force in Chhattisgarh, a new state, began just four years back while Andhra Pradesh began it more than a decade ago.'

'The war against Maoists is long-drawn. We should have patience. I am sure Chhattisgarh will repeat Andhra Pradesh's success story with several steps, including police modernisation as well as a massive all-round development of troubled areas,' Raman Singh said.

Officials at the police headquarters here say roughly 40,000 troopers, with about 50 percent drawn from the central paramilitary forces, are fighting Maoist insurgency in Chhattisgarh.

The controversial civil militia movement Salwa Judum was also launched in June 2005 to counter the rebels. The state government maintains that it is 'a spontaneous public outburst against Maoists' while civil rights activists say it is 'a fully government-funded movement'. However, it has held no public meetings for the past 18 months.

Raman Singh hit out at Congress general secretary Digvijay Singh for what he called a sustained campaign against Chhattisgarh to portray that the state is mishandling the Maoist issue.

'The union home minister (P. Chidambaram) held several meetings with the Chhattisgarh government on the Maoist issue and this month home secretary (G.K. Pillai) too had a meeting with us in the state,' Raman Singh said.

'They (Chidambaram and Pillai) did not criticise us for any mishandling. So why is an extra player desperate to make goals?' he asked referring to Digvijay Singh.

In 2010 alone, over 200 people, mostly paramilitary troopers, have been killed in the Maoist insurgency. This includes the massacre of 76 security personnel in a single attack April 6 in Dantewada district.

Dantewada along with Bijapur, Narayanpur, Bastar and Kanker districts forms the 40,000 sq km Bastar region. The entire forested hamlet of the region has been considered the nerve centre of Maoist militancy in India since the late 1980s. Up to 25,000 sq km of Bastar are believed to be intensively mined by Maoists.

## **Eurocopter unveils Indian subsidiary**

NEW DELHI — Eurocopter, a unit of European aerospace giant EADS, Wednesday unveiled an Indian subsidiary that will aim for contracts in the local market worth 138 million dollars over the next five years.

Eurocopter India Pvt Ltd. said military contracts would be dealt directly by the parent company.

"We are looking only at the civilian and paramilitary markets," subsidiary CEO Marie-Agnes Veve told a news conference.

Veve said the subsidiary hoped to grab half of India's helicopter market, which has been growing at an annual rate of 20 percent.

"Our target is to pick up 50 percent of India's market share with the sale of 25 helicopters each year until 2015," she said, adding the projected sales would be worth more than 100 million euros (138 million dollars).

Eurocopter is also back in the race to sell 197 helicopters to the Indian military.

India in 2007 scrapped Eurocopter's successful bid for the contract worth 600 million dollars following

allegations it violated an Indian ban on using middlemen in defence deals.

The allegations were denied and Eurocopter re-bid for the contract after India floated fresh global tenders in 2008.

Veve said the company hoped to sell helicopters to Indian states looking for new hardware to combat Maoist guerrillas as well as to the energy, private and medical sectors.

“The Indian helicopter industry has great potential for expansion, given the country’s expanding economy, its size and challenging terrain, as well as the industrial potential,” she added.

## Chhattisgarh to step up Maoist offensive

Raipur, Oct 12 (IANS) Chhattisgarh has decided to step up the offensive against Maoist guerrillas.

The offensive against the banned Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist) had slackened since July as the security forces found it difficult to operate in the thick jungles that serve as Maoist hideouts.

‘After a let up during monsoon, we will now step up the offensive in Maoist pockets,’ an official at the police headquarters told IANS.

Chhattisgarh’s 40,000 sq km Bastar region, a long-time stronghold of the Maoists, is ringed by landmines placed by the guerrillas to prevent the movement of security forces.

The official said that roughly 40,000 personnel drawn from the state police and paramilitary forces including the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) and Border Security Force (BSF) have been deployed in the five districts of Bastar region.

These include Dantewada, Bijapur, Bastar, Narayanpur and Kanker.

The state police force will also intensify operations in parts of Mahasamund and Raipur districts where rebels have made inroads in recent months.

Maoists have a presence in 13 of state’s 18 districts, with a dominating presence in seven.

Officials say roughly 2,100 people have been killed in Maoist violence in the state since it was born in November 2000.

## CRPF DG to discuss anti-Maoist ops with state officials

TNN, Nov 22, 2010, 11.19pm IST

RANCHI: Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) director general K Vijay Kumar arrived here on Monday. During his two-day visit, Kumar will interact with senior government and police officers on plans to tackle the Maoist menace and launch operations against the rebels in remote area of the state.

Sources said Kumar would also visit the CRPF camps and interact with the jawans and officers posted in remote areas to discuss the strategy for future operation. Recently, a CRPF jawan was killed and about half-a-dozen were injured in Jhumra hills of Bokaro district during combing operation.

Jharkhand police spokesperson R K Mallik, who is also IG (operation), said the CRPF DG would meet top brass of the state police on Tuesday. However, he declined to speak anything on the agenda of the meeting.

The CRPF DG will also discuss with the state police plans to ensure peaceful panchayat elections in the state which begins on November 27. In fact, over 80 per cent of the 4432 panchayats in the state fall in Maoist-affected areas.

“Since the Maoists have already given a call to boycott the elections, the CRPF and police will have to prepare a special strategy to tackle the situation,” a source said.

The Maoists had created havoc and killed over a dozen jawans and junior officers of central paramilitary forces during the last parliamentary and assembly elections last year. “We need a very effective strategy this time as jawans will need to venture deep inside Maoist areas to ensure peaceful panchayat elections. This will give an opportunity to the rebels to attack the security forces at will,” said a source.

## Cabinet approves special plan for Naxal-hit districts

Published: Thursday, Nov 25, 2010, 23:22 IST

Place: New Delhi | Agency: PIB

The Union cabinet tonight approved a special plan for development of 35 districts affected by Naxalism to address issues like healthcare, schooling and drinking water.



Under the special plan, each of the 35 Naxal-affected districts would get Rs25 crore every year for undertaking developmental work in healthcare, schooling, sanitation and drinking water sectors.

The implementation of the plan, approved at a meeting of the cabinet chaired by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, will be monitored at the levels of district, state and the planning commission to ensure proper results, sources said.

The development work would be identified by a committee comprising the district collector, the deputy superintendent of police and forest development officer.

The committee would be authorised to carry out implementation of development work for which Panchyati Raj institutions would also be mobilised.

## Rs 3,300 cr plan for Maoist zones

HT Correspondent, Hindustan Times

New Delhi, November 27, 2010

The Centre cleared an ambitious plan on Friday to give Rs 3,300 crore directly to 60 Naxal-affected districts to create basic facilities for the millions living on the fringes of existence and try to make up for decades of alienation and misgovernance. Home Minister P. Chidambaram said Rs 25 crore was being sent to each of the 60 districts for the next four months, and another Rs 30 crore next year to build facilities such as schools, health care centres, roads, and improve food distribution.

A district-level panel headed by the collector — the district police chief and forest officer would be members — would decide where to spend the money, depending on local priorities. In this, they would also have to consult other district officials such as those handling education and health.

Chidambaram, however, made it clear that they were looking at projects with a short turnaround time: that can be completed within weeks or months.

“We want to see visible, concrete and completed projects,” the home minister, who had earlier been criticised for focusing too much on police action, said, announcing the integrated action plan that had been reported first by HT.

Chidambaram will soon convene a meeting of development commissioners of the nine affected states such as Orissa, Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh to send the message that the district collectors “must hit the road, running”.

In the past, the home minister has echoed concerns that funds allocated to state governments were not being adequately spent.

Last year, they had been able to spend only about 65 per cent of the allocated funds.

## Action Plan for 60 Naxal-hit districts

Vinay Kumar

The Integrated Action Plan aims at quick resolution of problems concerning healthcare, drinking water, education and roads in the Naxal-hit backward regions. Photo: Arunangsu Roy Chowdhury

With the aim of giving a fillip to development schemes in tribal and backward regions, mostly affected by Naxal violence, the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs (CCEA) on Friday approved the commencement of an Integrated Action Plan (IAP) in 60 selected districts.

The IAP would be an additional central assistance scheme on a 100 per cent grant basis. It is aimed at quick resolution of problems concerning healthcare, drinking water, education and roads.

In 2010-11 alone, each of the 60 districts will be given a block grant of Rs. 25 crore, with the total coming to a whopping Rs. 1,500 crore. In 2011-12, the grant will go up to Rs. 30 crore each.

“This is in pursuance of the Finance Minister’s announcement in his budget speech of 2010-11 and the Prime Minister’s address to the National Development Council on July 24. The scheme, to begin with, will be implemented over two years — 2010-11 to 2011-12,” Home Minister P. Chidambaram told journalists. .

Schemes would be decided by a committee, headed by the District Collector. The Superintendent of Police and the District Forest Officer would be its members. The IAP would be reviewed for implementation in the 12th Plan at a later stage, Mr. Chidambaram said.

### **KBK plan**

The existing Kalahand-Bolangir-Koraput (KBK) plan would continue, with an annual allocation of Rs. 130 crore for all the eight districts in Orissa put together. The eight KBK districts have been included in the IAP. They would get an additional block grant of Rs. 25 crore each in the current year and a suitable additional amount under both State and district components of the IAP in the subsequent years.

The IAP would focus on improvements in governance and the States would have to comply with specific preconditions before availing themselves of the second tranche of the additional financial assistance in 2011-12 under the State component of the IAP. However, these conditionalities would not apply to the district component of the IAP, according to the CCEA decision.

The scheme would focus on effective implementation of the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, and the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006.

While the district component would be administered by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj, the State component would be administered by the Planning Commission.

## **Govt taps about 5,000 people's phones on average**

NEW DELHI: Telephone calls of about 5,000 people are being recorded by central security agencies daily as part of security and preventive measures.

Government sources said on an average telephones of about 5,000 people are being kept under surveillance by intelligence agencies suspecting their linkages with terror activities, hawala operators and members of banned organisations.

Telephones of a number of people involved in various economic offences are also being monitored.

Sources said that conversations of terrorists and insurgent outfits in Jammu and Kashmir, Northeast and the banned CPI (Maoist) are mostly under the scanner of intelligence agencies.

"A lot of times the phone tapping is done for only sixty days. But when it involves persons who are facing any criminal case or are under the scanner of investigating agencies, their phones are kept under surveillance for a longer period," a senior Home Ministry official said.

As per official procedures, the phone tapping by intelligence agencies is done with the consent of the Union Home Secretary. The government can authorise tapping for 60 days which can be extended again as per needs.

The sources said that emails are also being monitored by government agencies after getting the consent of the service providers.

Sources said that tapping of telephone conversations of leading corporate lobbyist Niira Radia, whose name has cropped up in the 2G Spectrum row, with several influential persons were authorised by the government.

July 28, 2010

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**The Minister of State for Home Ajay Maken disclosed in Rajya Sabha on November 3, 2010 that in the past four years 216 BSF and CRPF jawans have committed suicide. It explained that economic reasons, marriage related problems and mental agony are the reasons for this.**

## Historians' Statement on Ayodhya Verdict

The judgement delivered by the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court in the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid Dispute on 30 September 2010 has raised serious concerns because of the way history, reason and secular values have been treated in it. First of all, the view that the Babri Masjid was built at the site of a Hindu temple, which has been maintained by two of the three judges, takes no account of all the evidence contrary to this fact turned up by the Archaeological Survey of India's own excavations: the presence of animal bones throughout as well as of the use of 'surkhi' and lime mortar (all characteristic of Muslim presence) rule out the possibility of a Hindu temple having been there beneath the mosque. The ASI's controversial Report which claimed otherwise on the basis of 'pillar bases' was manifestly fraudulent in its assertions since no pillars were found, and the alleged existence of 'pillar bases' has been debated by archaeologists. It is now imperative that the site notebooks, artifacts and other material evidence relating to the ASI's excavation be made available for scrutiny by scholars, historians and archaeologists.

No proof has been offered even of the fact that a Hindu belief in Lord Rama's birth-site being the same as the site of the mosque had at all existed before very recent times, let alone since 'time immemorial'. Not only is the judgement wrong in accepting the antiquity of this belief, but it is gravely disturbing that such acceptance should then be converted into an argument for deciding property entitlement. This seems to be against all principles of law and equity.

The most objectionable part of the judgement is the legitimization it provides to violence and muscle-power. While it recognizes the forcible break-in of 1949 which led to placing the idols under the mosque-dome, it now recognizes, without any rational basis, that the transfer put the idols in their rightful place. Even more astonishingly, it accepts the destruction of the mosque in 1992 (in defiance, let it be remembered, of the Supreme Court's own orders) as an act whose consequences are to be accepted, by transferring the main parts of the mosque to those clamouring for a temple to be built.

For all these reasons we cannot but see the judgement as yet another blow to the secular fabric of our country and the repute of our judiciary. Whatever happens next in the case cannot, unfortunately, make good what the country has lost.

**Signed by the following historians:** A. Murali, Amar Farooqui, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Anil Chandra, Aniruddha Ray, Archana Prasad, Arjun Dev, Arun Bandopadhyaya, B.P. Sahu, Biswamoy Pati, C.P. Chandrasekhar, D.Mandal, D.N. Jha, Farhat Hasan, G.P. Sharma, Geeta Kapur, H.C. Satyarthi, Indira Arjun Dev, Indira Chandrasekhar, Iqtidar Alam Khan, Irfan Habib, Jaya Menon, Jayati Ghosh, K.K. Sharma, K.M. Shrimali, K.N. Panikkar, Kesavan Veluthat, Lata Singh, M.K. Raina, Madan Gopal Singh, Madhu Prasad, Mahendra Pratap Singh, N.K. Sharma, Najaf Haider, O.P. Jaiswal, Parthiv Shah, Prabhat Patnaik, Prabhat Shukla, R. Gopinath, R.C. Thakran, R.P. Bahuguna, Rahul Verma, Rajendra Prasad, Ram Rahman, Ramakrishna Chatterjee, Romila Thapar, S.Z.H. Jafri, Santosh Rai, Shakti Kak, Shalini Jain, Shireen Moosvi, Sitaram Roy, Sohail Hashmi, Sukumar Muralidharan, Supriya Verma, Suvira Jaiswal, Utsa Patnaik, V. Ramakrishna, V.M. Jha, Vivan Sundaram, Zoya Hasan.

### Land Grab For POSCO Project Begins

Today the Odisha government initiated “acquisition” of land in the proposed POSCO project area of Jagatsinghpur District, Odisha. The project is in complete violation of the law and this “acquisition” is part of an illegal land grab. We reiterate the following:

1. 3000 of 4000 acres in the POSCO area are forest land.
2. The people of the three affected gram *panchayats* have rights over this forest land under the Forest Rights Act of 2006. They are eligible; they have written proof of their presence in the area for a century.
3. As per the requirements of the Act the forest land cannot be taken for any other purpose without 1) fully recording and recognising all individual and community rights; 2) the communities of the area granting their consent in the form of a resolution.
4. Out of the four palli sabhas (gram sabhas) of the area, three have rejected consent.
5. No implementation of the Act has been done.
6. The forest clearance granted for the project is therefore illegal.

Moreover the Odisha government was also sent a “clarification” by the Environment Ministry that stated that the “project cannot go ahead” unless the legal requirements of the Forest Rights Act are met.

As such the attempt to remove people is in direct violation of the law. The illegal collusion of the Odisha government and the Environment Ministry with POSCO has already been exposed. Please see here for a full set of documents proving these facts and for more details: [http:// www.forestrightsact.com/corporate-projects/item/12-the-posco-project](http://www.forestrightsact.com/corporate-projects/item/12-the-posco-project).

The ongoing take over of the land is evidence of the utter contempt in which both governments and corporates hold the law, and of how the government always uses force not to defend the “rule of law” but to defend the rule of money and resource grabbers.

Campaign for Survival and Dignity

27 July 2010

### Orissa - Anti-Vedanta Dongria Kondh leader Lado Sikaka abducted

By Surya Shankar Dash. (Source : forestrights listserv)

August 10, 2010

#### Note 1

Last evening Lado Sikaka and Sana Sikaka were returning from Lanjigarh when a police team attacked and arrested them near Ijrupa village in the Niyamgiri forest. It seems Lado and Sana have been taken to an undisclosed location as they are neither in the Lanjigarh P.S. or Muniguda P.S. which are the nearest Police Stations. A third person who was also accompanying Lado and Sana was not arrested. Lado is one of the strongest Dongria Kondh protestors against Vedanta and he hails from Lakhpadar village that is closest to the mining lease area. A month ago 2 platoons of para-military had carried out a combing operation in Lakhpadar village and had beaten up Sana but were essentially looking for Lado who was not present in the village then. The general fear amongst the people there is that he will be framed as a Maoist and tortured. Also, taking Lado out of Niyamgiri means to deliver a severe blow on the anti-mining movement of the Dongria Kondh. Sources say the next person being targeted is Arjun Chandi of Kadamguda village. Essentially the police and company are targetting local leaders who are uncompromising and incorruptible. My sincere appeal to everyone to stand with the Dongria Kondh as the darkest period in their struggle has arrived.

## Note 2

The story of Lado's disappearance might not be as simple as we have assumed. This is what Bhawanipatna based activist Sidharth Naik (President of Green Kalahandi) has to say - About 15 Dongria Kondh people along with Sidharth Naik, Kumti Majhi, etc. were travelling in two vehicles to eventually go to Raipur from where they were to catch a train to Delhi in order to attend a meeting on 12 August. Before leaving Niyamgiri forest they were intercepted by another two vehicles with gunmen in it. Sidharth Naik says they were more likely to be goons and not police or CRPF - some of the gunmen spoke in Hindi and some in Telugu. At gunpoint, they made Sidharth Naik hand over Lado and Sana to them. Sidharth Naik has registered a FIR with Lanjigarh police station.

## In Chhattisgarh's war zone, no value on an Adivasi's life

Aman Sethi, (excerpts from *The Hindu*)

After 'encounter', police try to buy villagers' silence with money and snacks

A cloud of doubt looms large over the scene of last week's bloody encounter

Kutrem (CHHATTISGARH): The monsoon skies have cleared over this village in Dantewada district, but a cloud of doubt still lingers over the site of last week's encounter between the police and suspected cadres of the CPI (Maoist).

On August 4, according to the official version, the Koya commandos spent 18 hours combing through the rain-soaked forests near Kutrem, during which they broke through a Maoist ambush, engaged in a fierce gun battle lasting several hours and ultimately recovered the body of a uniformed Maoist fighter, a 12 bore shotgun and two improvised explosive devices.

The Koya commandos are a specialised police team largely comprising surrendered Maoists or Adivasis whose families have been targets of Maoist violence.

"We were ambushed deep in the jungle and fought the Maoists for about four hours," said a policeman who was part of the operation, "We fired hundreds of rounds of ammunition ... and killed six Maoists, but could recover only one body." The corpse was identified as Kunjami Joga, a 23-year-old resident of Kutrem.

### Villagers' account

At Kutrem, however, the villagers have a very different account of the circumstances that led to Joga's death.

About 11.30 a.m. on August 4, the villagers say, a party of the Koya commandos cordoned off Kutrem and took positions outside several houses in its Kotwalpara neighbourhood. Kunjam Hidme, 40, sat quietly in her house when she suddenly heard a policeman scream, "Hold your fire, don't shoot!" followed by a burst of automatic fire.

"Kunjami Joga was stepping out of his sister, Karti Budri's house, when he was shot," said Hidme. He was unarmed, and was wearing a blue shirt. "I could hear him shouting 'Ma, Ma' as he lay on the path." Hidme says the commandos hurriedly dumped the body on a wooden cot they took from one of the houses and left the village soon after.

On August 5, the Chhattisgarh police conducted post-mortem, initiated a magisterial inquiry and handed over the body to Joga's parents. "When I got back his body, Joga was naked except for his underclothes," said Joga's father, Kunjami Lakhma, "He had a bullet here [pointing to the small of the back near the kidneys] and knife marks on his chest." As per custom, the body was cremated the same day.

On August 7, the villagers say, the Koya commandos visited Kutrem again, this time with a carton of biscuits and sachets of Haldiram's mixture. "The force called a public meeting outside the primary school," said Kunjami Aiyte, Joga's aunt, "They said, 'If the press comes, tell them that Joga was killed in the forest, not in the village.'" Aiyte says the police then gave Rs. 1,100 to the gathered villagers for "food and alcohol." The biscuits and mixture were distributed among the children.

"The Koyas gave me Rs. 2,000 and told me to keep quiet about Joga's death," said Kunjami Lakhma when asked whether he had been given any compensation.

## NHRC seeks BSF, Chhattisgarh police reply on villagers torture

The NHRC has sought a reply from BSF and Chhattisgarh Police on a complaint alleging that their personnel tortured villagers, molested women, including a minor, and arrested six schoolgirls on false charges of aiding a recent Naxal attack in Kanker district. Taking cognizance of the matter, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) issued notices to the BSF Director General and Kanker district SP directing them to submit a “factual report” within six weeks.

The complaint was filed by a rights activist and lawyer Radhakanta Tripathy who alleged that security forces raided Panchangi and Aalor village in Kanker district on September 5-6 and tortured villagers asking them to give whereabouts of Maoists.

They not only beat up innocent villagers but carted some villagers, including women, to their camp and gave electric shocks to some of them during interrogation, Tripathy charged.

Six school girls were later arrested and charged with aiding a Maoist ambush that left three BSF personnel and two policemen dead on August 29.

“The youngest among the arrested girls is a student of class 10th,” Tripathy alleged and sought NHRC intervention into the matter.

## Maoists told freed policemen to quit their jobs

After twelve nerve-wracking days, the Chhattisgarh police held a press conference in Raipur to confirm the safe return of Sukluram Bhagat, Narendra Khosle, Subhash Patra and B. Toppo who were abducted by the Maoists.

On September 19, seven policemen were captured by the Maoists as they travelled between Bhopalpatnam and Bhadrakali in the forests of Bijapur district.

While the corpses of three policemen were found the next day, the fate of the remaining four remained uncertain till late on Thursday night when they arrived at a police camp in Dantewada district.

A pregnant woman, Kursam Jyoti who was travelling with her brother Krishna Erpa, was also reported missing. Police said Ms. Jyoti was freed a few days ago and she had returned to her village.

Police sources said one of the conditions set for the release was that all the four men would resign from the police service. It is understood that four local television journalists escorted the men back to safety.

At his press conference, Director General of Police Vishwarajan sought to dispel some of the confusion surrounding the hostage crisis.

Clarifying that the freed policemen were yet to be debriefed after their ordeal, Mr. Vishwaranjan said the Maoist demands suggested that the men had been abducted by lower-level cadres, thereby complicating hostage negotiations. Maoist posters recovered in Bijapur demanded that the police call off Operation Green Hunt, withdraw Central paramilitary forces from Chhattisgarh, release unnamed Maoist leaders and stop police atrocities on villagers in Bijapur. The police said the lack of specificity made it impossible to meet these demands.

Mr. Vishwarajan’s observations were supported by information gleaned from Maoist sources.

In a telephone conversation on September 26, CPI (Maoist) spokesperson Gudsa Usendi told this correspondent that he had not received any information regarding the kidnapping, implying that top Maoist leadership was also struggling to ascertain the events surrounding the kidnapping.

Mr. Usendi said that the monsoon and poor cellular connectivity had made it difficult to keep track of the events in Bijapur, but felt that the men would be released soon.

The men were finally released after nearly two weeks of search operations, background conversations between the police and Maoists using the local press as mediators and public appeals by the families of the abducted policemen, Chief Minister Raman Singh, Maoist ideologue Varavara Rao, the Chhattisgarh chapter of the People’s Union for Civil Liberties and social activist Swami Agnivesh.

## 58 % in AP say Naxalism is good, finds TOI poll

Sep 28

India's biggest internal security threat, as the Prime Minister famously described it, may be worse than you thought. That's because even in Andhra Pradesh, where the battle against the Maoists has apparently been won, it turns out that the government is losing the battle for the minds and hearts of the people.

It's a debate that's been raging within the Congress, and outside it. Should the government adopt a largely law-and-order attitude towards the Maoists and deal with them like criminals or should the focus be more on cutting the ground from under their feet through a development agenda that wins over the population of the affected areas?

An exclusive survey of the once Maoist-dominated districts of the Telengana region by IMRB, well-known market research organisation, for The Times of India has found that while attitudes towards the rebels are ambivalent, the condemnation of the government and its means of tackling the problem is quite clear.

The findings raise disturbing questions about whether focusing largely on the policing aspects of the problem may be a flawed strategy in the long run. They also throw up another poser: Has the battle in AP truly been won or can the Maoists stage a comeback in a few years?

Tied to this is the question of how the Maoists are viewed by the populace of these parts. Are they perceived essentially as a bloodthirsty, extortionist bunch or as rebels standing up for people's rights?

TOI decided to do an opinion poll of the affected areas to find out. The problem, however, was that this was a region where pollsters found very difficult to enter. We finally decided to conduct the survey in those areas of Andhra Pradesh which were till not too long ago strongholds of the Naxalites but where their activities have been checked. The survey was conducted, therefore, in five districts of the Telengana region Adilabad, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Warangal and Khammam. These districts were chosen not only because they were till recently severely Naxal-affected, but also because of their proximity to current hotbeds in Chattisgarh and Maharashtra.

To tap into the mood of the aam admi in these areas, the survey was restricted to the not so well off socio-economic categories, SEC B and SEC C and to men and women between the ages of 25 and 50. What we found has come as an eye-opener for us and should be worrying for everybody. The state may have won the battle of the guns, but the Maoists are clearly ahead in the perception game. This is particularly true in the districts of Warangal and Nizamabad as the accompanying charts show only too clearly.

The root cause of the disaffection is the overwhelming feeling of neglect of the areas by the government. About two-thirds expressed this view and in Warangal the figure was as high as 81%. That, you might say, is hardly alarming. Similar figures would probably be thrown up anywhere in India. True. But when two-thirds also say that the Maoists are right in choosing the methods they have to highlight the neglect, it is difficult to dismiss it as normal.

Perhaps the most revealing answers are in response to questions on whether the Maoists — still better known as Naxalites in this belt — were good or bad for the region and whether their defeat by the AP police has made matters better or worse.

Almost 60% said the Naxalites were good for the area and only 34% felt life had improved since they were beaten back. As for whether exploitation has increased after the Naxalite influence waned, 48% said it had against 38% who said it hadn't, the rest offering no opinion.

Those answers are buttressed by the responses to three other questions. The first of these was on whether the characterization of the Naxals as extortionists and mafia was accurate. Two-thirds disagreed. An elaboration of this came in response to a slightly more open-ended question. Over half said the Naxalites worked for the good of the area, another one-third said they had the right intentions but the wrong means. Only 15% were willing to describe them as just goondas.

Equally importantly, 50% of the respondents felt the Naxalites had forced the government to focus on development work in the affected areas. What these responses show is just how negative the perception of the government is in these parts.

That the people here are not entirely comfortable with Naxalite methods is also quite clear. Even a

question on what explained their strength in these parts showed that very few attributed it to popularity alone, a majority saying either that it was due to fear or that it was a combination of approval and fear. That despite this ambivalence there is a sympathetic view of the Naxals only betrays the people's desperate search for any means to shake shaking up the state.

Given these findings it is hardly surprising that killings by Maoists are looked upon more leniently than those by the government and that the state's claims about encounters are viewed with extreme suspicion.

The government may say, and with some justification, that the Maoists represent the biggest threat to India's internal security, but what this poll shows is that the aam admi in these parts views government apathy as the biggest threat to his wellbeing.

The towns in which the poll was conducted were Kamareddy in Nizamabad district, Gudi Hathnoor in Adilabad, Sirsilla in Karimnagar, Mahbubabad in Warangal and Palwancha in Khammam. A total of 521 people were polled in these five towns, a statistically robust sample size.

## **Fresh allegations of sexual assault by security forces surface in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district**

A young woman carries a torn blouse and an undergarment and a lock of her hair in a clear plastic bag that rarely leaves her side. Kunjami Mangli (name changed) of the Bade Bidme panchayat in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district preserves these items as evidence of the events of the night of October 12.

"Four uniformed policemen burst into my house at 2 a.m.," said Mangli, speaking through a translator. "They ripped off my blouse and brassiere and sexually assaulted me."

"I was sleeping on the floor, one policeman put his foot on my head, pulled my hair and cut off a lock with a knife," said Mangli. "The three others pulled up my petticoat and tried to rape me." Mangli said her ordeal lasted about 15 minutes, even as her mother pleaded with the men to spare her daughter.

Mangli and her mother said the assault was perpetrated by the Koya Commando wing of the Chhattisgarh police. The Koyas are a commando unit raised from Adivasi special police officers, a tribal police corps recruited in the aftermath of the 2005 Salwa Judum, and is at the forefront of the Chhattisgarh police's battle against the CPI (Maoist), a banned organisation committed to the overthrow of the Indian state.

Villagers say the October 12 raid began with an eight-hour blackout in which the adjoining panchayats of Bade Bidme and Phulpar were plunged into darkness. The police raid continued through the night during which, villagers say, policemen assaulted Kunjami Mangali and arrested Kunjami Bhima from Bade Bidme's Kunjamipara village and picked another five men from Phulpar panchayat's Domarpara and Koyalipara villages. In the last month, 12 residents of Bade Bidme have been arrested on the suspicion of aiding Maoists.

Villagers also accused the Koya commandos of breaking into houses and stealing utensils and jewellery. Kunjami Hidme, 26, of Kunjamipara said the search party had stolen Rs. 3,000, a pair of golden earrings, a necklace and silver anklets from her home.

The raid ended at 4 a.m. Electricity returned a few hours later.

The sexual assault on Kunjami Mangali is one of an increasing number of cases in which Adivasi women have allegedly been targeted by the security forces; both State and Central paramilitary forces stand accused of assaulting and raping young women during search operations.

In a June 8 report in The Hindu, three teenaged girls from Mukram village in Dantewada district stated that they were brutally assaulted by SPOs attached to the 62nd battalion of the CRPF. The National Human Rights Commission directed the Chhattisgarh police to conduct an inquiry and submit a report on October 1. A spokesperson for the NHRC said the police were yet to file a reply, and that the deadline for the inquiry had been extended to November 9.

On September 11, The Hindu published the testimony of two girls from Pachangi village in Kanker district, in which they accused personnel of the Border Security Force of sexual assault. BSF Director-General Raman Srivastav ordered a prompt internal inquiry.



When contacted on Sunday, BSF DIG Ram Avtaar said witness statements had been collected and the inquiry report would be submitted “soon.”

The Chhattisgarh police have consistently maintained that all such accusations are taken very seriously and inquiries are under way.

## The Judum is dead, long live the Judum

**The Hindu, Aman Sethi**

**Soldier Farmer:** Salva Judum leader Chinnaram Gotta is one of the key members of the newly launched Dandakaranya Shanti Sangharsh Samiti, a successor movement to the controversial Salva Judum. Photo: Aman Sethi

Chinnaram Gotta ploughs his fields with a tractor, three bodyguards and five guns: two ancient Lee Enfield .303 bolt action rifles, a modern Self Loading Rifle, a 0.315 sports rifle and a double-barrel 12 bore shotgun. While the bodyguards, .303's and SLR are courtesy the Chhattisgarh police, the sports rifle and shotgun are Gotta's personal weapons.

“The Maoists have made 29 attempts on my life,” said Mr Gotta, at his home in Pharsegarh village in Chhattisgarh's Bijapur district, “I carry a gun when I go to the toilet.”

A wealthy adivasi farmer with more than 200 acres of family land, Mr Gotta is one of the Salva Judum's earliest leaders, and played a crucial role in transforming a small anti-Maoist protest in 2005 in Karkeli village, Bijapur, into a controversial programme that turned south Bastar into a battlefield.

Five years on, Mr Gotta is one of the founding members of the Dandakaranya Shanti Sangharsh Samiti (DKSSS), an organization unveiled on October 2 this year in Kutru, Bijapur in the presence of Bijapur District Collector Rajat Kumar and Superintendent of Police R.N. Das.

According to a press note in Hindi, the DKSSS “is separate from all prior agitations” and is a peace movement that urges the state administration and CPI (Maoist) to arrive at a solution for the betterment of the adivasis of Bijapur. However, the DKSSS leadership comprises almost entirely of men who shot to prominence at the height of the Salva Judum: Madhukar Rao, Chinnaram Gotta, Vikram Mandavi, Balaram Nag, Jyotiram Azad all made their careers as Judum leaders and have now migrated to the new outfit.

For its supporters, the Salva Judum, variously translated as ‘peace march’ or ‘purification march’ was a spontaneous, peaceful adivasi upsurge against the banned CPI (Maoist) that demonstrated that Chhattisgarh's tribal population did not support the Maoists. For its detractors, the Judum was a movement of government backed vigilantism that resulted in the forcible displacement of over 60,000 adivasis. Public interest litigations filed in the Supreme Court (Writ Petition (Civil) 250/2007 and Writ Petition (Criminal) 119/2007) accuse Judum members over 500 murders, 99 rapes, and 103 acts of arson.

“It is true that there was some violence during the Judum years,” said Madhukar Rao, “That was because the Judum was infiltrated by the Maoists who carried out atrocities to defame our peaceful movement.” Both Mr Rao and Mr Gotta insist that the DKSSS has learnt from its mistakes and shall carefully vet every individual before offering them membership.

The DKSSS shall also shun all political patronage, according to its founders who believe that the Judum was hijacked by political parties, used for electoral gains and then abandoned when the programme became too controversial. “The administration has abandoned us,” said Mr Gotta, who specifically stated that Mahendra Karma, former leader of opposition and the public face of the Judum, would not be allowed to join the DKSSS.

“Karmaji is free to use our platform to deliver his message, but he shall have no decision making powers,” said Mr Gotta. Mr Karma was not available for comment.

But what about the Judum? “You can say that the Judum has stalled. It is neither stopped, nor is it functioning. Which is why we have started a parallel movement.” said Mr Rao.

According to its leaders, the DKSSS shall peacefully agitate for employment, construction of roads, education and shall play a leading role in ‘convincing’ suspected Maoist sympathizers to give up their allegiance to the party and join the state administration. Mr Gotta said that the state police should recruit as many adivasi youth as possible and make them Special Police Officers (SPO) – a move, he believes, shall provide employment and also assist the state in anti-Maoist operations.

In its pamphlets, the DKSSS explicitly attempts to drive a wedge between the Maoist cadres and leadership. “Maoist leaders are all Reddys from Andhra. We have received information that the rank and file in Chhattisgarh is disillusioned and is looking for avenues to surrender,” Mr Gotta said.

While the movement has thus far stayed below the radar, there are indications that the DKSSS might trigger off a spiral of violence similar to that observed from 2005 to 2007. The CPI (Maoist) has taken note of the formation of organization and has made its opposition clear. “The CPI (Maoist) has called for a 48-hour Dandakaranya bandh on 22 and 23 October with the demand to disband the ... new avatar of the fascist Salva Judum,” said CPI (Maoist) spokesperson Gudsa Usendi in a press note sent to this correspondent.

In a throwback to 2005, Bijapur town has also seen the arrival of 87 families from Adhed, an interior village in the Gudipal panchayat, suggesting that the battle-lines between the police and Maoists may be drawn afresh. Pardham Pandu, an SPO from Adhed said that the Maoists had threatened the villagers. Inquires revealed that Adhed has long been a point of contestation between the Maoists and Judum supporters.

While the villagers of Adhed attended anti-Maoist rallies during the Judum, the Maoists allowed them to stay in the village. However, in March this year, the Bijapur police arrested 6 suspected Maoist Sangham members from Adhed and neighbouring Gudipal. “This convinced the Maoists that there were police informers in the village,” said Pandu. In August 16, Pandu said that the Maoists killed sarpanch Phulse Bhima in retaliation. Soon after, villagers from Adhed began to leave their homes, at least ten of whom are planning to join the police force.

## Chhattisgarh Govt says anti-Naxal group SJ infructuous

October 29th, 2010

Chhattisgarh Government on Thursday told the Supreme Court that Maoist outfits and Naxalites were targeting buildings of schools, panchayats and hospitals and that anti-Naxal vigilante group Salva Judum (SJ) has become infructuous. However, the petitioners, who have sought a direction to the state government to refrain from allegedly supporting and encouraging Salva Judum, said though it is in animated suspension, it has been revived under new name which the state government has never acknowledged.

These claims were made by the contesting parties in their affidavits filed before a bench comprising Justices B Sudershan Reddy and S S Nijjar which has been monitoring the steps taken by the authorities to tackle the Naxal problem and Chhattisgarh Government’s stand on disbanding of Salva Judum.

The bench posted the matter for further hearing on November 18.

The state government, which was earlier pulled up for not filing proper affidavit, said in the first nine month of the year, there were 134 encounters between Maoist and security forces in which 160 security personnel have been killed.

“From January to September this year there have been 134 encounters between Maoists and security forces in which 160 security personnel have been killed,” the affidavit filed by advocate Atul Jha, the standing counsel for the Chhattisgarh Government, said.

It said, “One of the key components of the Maoist strategy is to destroy the infrastructure and the Maoist outfits and the Naxalites have destroyed 110 school buildings, 74 panchayat buildings and three hospitals”.

On the issue of arrest of another petitioner in the matter, Kartam Joga, a Leftist leader on September 14, the affidavit said he was arrested in connection with April 6 incident when 76 CRPF personnel were killed in an ambush by Maoists.

However, sociologist Nandini Sunder, one of the petitioners, said she visited the Naxal-hit areas in the state and maintained that though Salva Judum is in “animated suspension”, it has been revived under new name, “Dandakaranya Shanti Sangharsh Samiti”, which the state government has never acknowledged or punished its members for their illegal acts.

Further, villagers also refers to Special Police Officers (SPOs) as Judum when they carry out arson or killings under the guise of ‘Operation Green Hunt’.

Chhattisgarh Government filed a comprehensive affidavit about the steps being taken by it in Maoist-affected areas on various issues as per the August 31 direction of the court.

## Maoists call for bandh against new Bastar peace campaign

Outlawed Communist Party of India (Maoist) has given a call for a 48 hour 'Dandakaranya' bandh from September 22, demanding disbanding of Bastar's newly formed "Shanti Sangharsh Morcha", alleging that it was a new avatar of "fascist Salwa Judum" — the anti-Naxalite campaign which was launched in June 2005.

The Maoist call for a two day bandh came after a group of tribals, who met on Gandhi Jayanti day in Bijapur district, formed 'Dandakaranya Shanti Sangharsh Morcha' for launching a 'non-violent' people's campaign to restore peace in the strife-torn Bastar region.

"Maoists will be observing a 48 hour DK bandh on September 22 and 23 to protest against the newly formed organization as it is a new avatar of Salwa Judum", CPI (Maoist) Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee spokesman Gudsa Usendi said in a communiqué sent to the media in Bastar.

The so-called Dandakaranya region — which the rebels term as "DK" state — forms part of forest areas of Bastar, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. Maoists claim it as their 'Liberated zone' while the the civil administration's consider it as areas dominated by the rebels.

The initiative for a new peace campaign began last month when a group of people, including a few of those who were associated with the Salwa Judum, met at Karkeli village and decided to formulate strategies to take the campaign ahead for establishing peace in the area. Later, they met again at Kutroo village in Bijapur district on October 2 and resolved to work for peace without carrying any weapons by following the Gandhian path of non-violence.

Salwa Judum, which began as a small protest from Karkeli village in Bijapur district on June 2005, had turned into frenzy in South Bastar, once the cherished zone of the Maoists. The movement, which the state government described as a spontaneous peoples campaign against the Naxalites, spread far and wide and turned the entire South Bastar into a battle field. The Naxalites unleashed attacks on Salwa Judum cadres, who went on a prowl against Maoist sympathizers, and the conflict led to police and Para-military forces swarming the region.

Maoist call for two day bandh against the newly formed Dandakaranya Shanti Sangharsh Samiti is being seen as an attempt to thwart the possibility of new campaign spreading into the remote areas where the rebel have their base.

## Maoist posters call for boycott of Bihar assembly polls

**October 20**

Maoist posters calling for boycott of the coming Bihar assembly polls were found pasted at several places in Bihar's Munger district on Wednesday despite deployment of security personnel in large numbers to instill confidence in the people. "The posters have been recovered from public places and state-owned buildings in Maoist-affected Haveli Kharagpur and Dharhara police station areas," Superintendent of Police M.Sunil Naik said.

Around 7.74 lakh people will exercise their franchise at 795 polling stations, including 161 sensitive ones, in the Maoist-hit constituencies of Tarapur, Munger and Jamalpur in the fourth phase on November 1, he said.

Naik said parallel phone line racking machines and Google earth search were coming in handy to keep a watch on the Maoists movement in the forests and hilly areas in the district.

Munger assembly segment had recorded only 31 per cent polling in the 2005 assembly polls, official sources said.

"We have intensified campaign for increasing voter turnout this time," official sources said.

## Maoists burn three campaign vehicles in Bihar

**Munger, Oct 26 (PTI)**

Maoists today torched three campaign vehicles at Badakihathiya in Bihar's Munger district, police said here. Over 45 heavily-armed ultras stopped the vehicles belonging to RJD, Congress and Janvadi Samajwadi Party in a forest area, pulled the occupants out and thrashed them before torching the vehicles,

they said. The vehicles were used for campaigning by party candidates for Tarapur Assembly constituency in Bihar, which would go to poll in the fourth phase on November One. Maoists have given a poll boycott call for the six-phase on-going elections in Bihar.

## Man dies in Bengal in police firing

2010-10-01

Kolkata: A man was killed and another injured in firing by security forces in West Bengal's Purulia district early Friday, triggering protests and a 12-hour shutdown in the area, officials said.

Bikas Mishra was killed and Ganesh Kar Gupta injured when a security picket opened fire after the duo did not stop their vehicle at a checkpost in Chawkbazar area. The two were residents of Bokaro in Bankura.

"Troopers of the Nagaland Indian Reserve Battalion (NIRB) were patrolling around 1.30 a.m. and when the vehicle flouted orders, the security personnel opened fire. One person died and one was injured," Purulia Superintendent of Police Rajesh Yadav said.

Two companies of NIRB troopers have been deployed in and around Ayodhya Hills of Purulia district to flush out Maoists from the area which has been identified as Maoist-hit.

"As the two persons were travelling during night and refused to stop their vehicle even after being directed to, the NIRB personnel suspected them to be miscreants or Maoists and opened fire," Yadav said.

However, the local people challenge the official version of the incident. They allege that there were three people in the vehicle and the incident took place around 9.30 p.m. Besides, the NIRB personnel did not ask them to stop.

The travellers, the local people say, were going to Tatanagar in Jharkhand, when the NIRB personnel indiscriminately fired at them. They also alleged that the NIRB personnel "are carrying out atrocities on the common people and even misbehaving with the women."

## PCPA backs 'massacre' claim

Oct 1, 2010

KOLKATA: The Maoist-backed People's Committee against Police Atrocities (PCPA), on Thursday welcomed Trinamool Congress chief Mamata Banerjee's demand for a CBI probe into the 'mass killings' at Jhargram villages by armed CPM cadres. PCPA even said they would help the probe team if needed.

PCPA spokesman Joydev Mahato said this in response to Mamata's claims that armed CPM cadres in police uniform carried out a Nandigram-style operation in the outskirts of Jhargram to capture several villages between September 25 and 27.

A few days ago, PCPA had made the same allegation when joint forces raided Chheraboni and Bandarboni villages of Binpur. A CRPF jawan and a suspected Maoist were killed during that raid. Police claimed that the raid was conducted to nab top Maoist leader Sashadhar Mahato who was reportedly camping there. The PCPA, however, denied the police statement.

"Guarded by joint forces, CPM cadres opened fire on unarmed villagers and killed at least 10 people, including Khokon Mahato, whose body was recovered. The CPM cadres ransacked several villages and forced villagers to flee," said Mahato.

PCPA called a 48-hour strike in Jangalmahal to protest the incident. And Mamata's statement has endorsed the same allegation.

On Thursday, the PCPA spokesman said, "We are happy that Mamata Banerjee has raised the issue and demanded a probe. If she comes to Jangalmahal, we will help her find out the truth. People will tell her how armed cadres of CPM are capturing villages. PCPA is even ready to help if any probe team arrives here."

Joydev Mahato alleged that CPM is continuing its armed operation in other parts of Jangalmahal. Two women, Basanti Murmu and Ghurmoni Mandi, sustained injuries and several others are missing from some villages in Binpur, alleged PCPA. In protest against this CPM-led violence, PCPA has decided to observe October 2 as Black Day. Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee is scheduled to visit Midnapore

on that day.

The PCPA found Mamata's comment handy to justify its stance. "For long we have been saying the same thing," said Mahato.

Jhargram SP Praveen Tripathi refused to comment on the issue. CPM, however, came down heavily on Mamata. "It now becomes clear that Trinamool has a nexus with the Maoists. As the Maoists and their frontal organisation PCPA are cornered by the resistance of common people and joint forces, Mamata is trying to make the situation more complicated," said Dahareswar Sen, CPM district committee member in Midnapore. All her allegations are baseless, he said.

## Villager killed, 17 cops hurt in Midnapore clash

**November 5th, 2010**

A villager was killed and 17 policemen were critically injured after a clash broke out between them at Chunapara village in Bengal's West Midnapore district on Thursday morning.

The villagers gheraoed the officer in charge of Sankrail police station, assaulted him and looted an AK-47 rifle. One villager was killed and eight injured in police firing.

According to a senior police official, a team of security personnel raided the village late Wednesday night after getting specific information about some PCAPA members and Maoists holding a secret meeting there.

The villagers put up stiff resistance after which the security forces had to beat a hasty retreat. Early Thursday morning, a large police contingent led by Uttam Debnath, OC of Sankrail police station, conducted an operation in the area and started raiding some houses.

"Immediately after our men raided three houses in the village, a large group of women gheraoed them and within minutes, a mob of thousands of villagers gathered at the spot," said Manoj Verma, SP, West Midnapore.

"The villagers started pelting stones on our officers. They surrounded our OC and started assaulting him. They snatched his AK-47 rifle also."

The police force opened fire, killing one villager and injuring eight others. "Seventeen of our personnel, including four lady constables, were critically injured. The OC is very critical and has been shifted to Kolkata. He received a severe head injury. The attack was pre-planned and the looted AK-47 is in the possession of Maoists," said Verma. The police have arrested eight people in connection with the incident.

West Midnapore district Trinamool Congress president Pranab Basu claimed the victim was a Trinamool supporter. "He was shot dead and eight other party supporters were injured when the police indiscriminately fired at them. The Trinamool supporters had gone there to inquire into the incident."

## Maoists call for one-day strike in Orissa

**November 11th, 2010**

**Bhubaneswar, Nov 11 (IANS)**

Protesting the killing of four Maoists in a gun battle, the Left rebels have called for a 24-hour strike Monday in Orissa's Malkangiri and Koraput districts, police said Thursday.

Claiming that those killed by the police were innocent villagers, the outlawed Communist Party of India-Maoist distributed leaflets and put out posters in the region, a police officer told IANS. At least four Maoists were killed in a gun battle with police near Karlakuta village in Malkangiri district, over 600 km from here, during combing operation Nov 4.

The rebels have asked people in Malkangiri district and Laxmiput and Baipariguda blocks of neighbouring Koraput district to cooperate in the strike by keeping their vehicles off roads and closing down shops.

'Police are framing innocent tribals and arresting them on false charges,' said a poster signed by Poonam Chand, who claimed to be the secretary of a local Maoists outfit, according to the police.

## CG tight-lipped over security forces vacating schools

2010-11-19 20:40:00

Raipur, Nov 19 (IANS) A day after the apex court asked the state government to remove security forces from schools, Chhattisgarh Friday chose to remain tightlipped about when it will begin the process.

‘It’s a very complex issue and I can’t comment on it... vacating these schools needs a lot of thought,’ a senior official at the police headquarters who co-ordinates anti-Maoist operation in the state, told IANS.

A Supreme Court bench made a tough remark Thursday against the state government while going through its submission that since central forces were stationed in schools, it has made alternative arrangements for running schools in the Maoist-hit villages.

The bench comprising Justices B. Sudershan Reddy and S.S. Nijjar dismissed the state submission and said ‘we are not going to buy this argument. You have to vacate the schools’.

‘Since the Supreme Court had clearly asked for security forces to vacate the schools, the state government hardly has any option left now. But it will be a very difficult process to shift central troopers in alternatives places in thickly forested Maoist-stronghold areas where only a few building structures are available for the forces to take shelter,’ the official added.

The school education has been severely hit in the troubled regions of the state as rebels had bombed dozens of schools in Chhattisgarh, mainly in remote pockets of Bijapur, Narayanpur, Kanker and Dantewada districts in the post-2005 period, because the state government allowed para-military troopers to station themselves in these buildings for carrying out anti-Maoist offensives.

## Security forces to be moved out of govt schools in Bastar

Published: Friday, Nov 26, 2010, 1:56 IST, Place: Raipur | Agency: PTI

Security forces will be soon moved out of government schools in the Naxal-affected Bastar region of Chhattisgarh, official sources said today.

The step is being taken to prevent Naxal attacks on these schools, which house security personnel engaged in anti-Maoist operations, they said.

Besides schools, the personnel reside in state-run hostels and other government buildings, which are often targeted by the Naxals, the sources said.

The security forces will be shifted out of these government facilities and accommodated in safer dwellings which will be built soon, they said.

Meanwhile, the government will remove hurdles coming in the way of filling up long-pending vacancies in Bastar, and if necessary, relax appointment rules, the sources said.

Bastar Development Group has been set up by the government to ensure faster growth in the tribal-dominated region, they added.

## Bihar polls: 59% of new MLAs have a criminal background

TNN, Nov 26, 2010, 01.33am IST

NEW DELHI: A cold reality check for the exultant voices from Bihar is hard statistics that show that criminals and money power continue to dominate electoral politics.

A total of 141 out of 241 or 59% newly-elected MLAs have criminal backgrounds according to data analysed by National Election Watch (NEW) and Association of Democratic Reforms (ADR). This is a marked increase from 117 or 35% MLAs with pending criminal cases against them in the 2005 assembly elections.

About 85 MLAs of the 141 analysed have serious criminal charges pending against them, including murder, kidnapping, abduction and illegal payments, in connection with elections as opposed to 68 MLAs with similar charges five years ago.

All parties are equally culpable in giving tickets to representatives with questionable backgrounds, and the figure has gone up as compared to last assembly polls.

For instance, the winning horse JD(U) has 58 out of 114 or 51% legislators with pending criminal cases. This is an increase from 2005 elections when 45% or 39 out of 86 MLAs had criminal background. The number of MLAs with “serious” criminal cases pending cases in 2010 is 38%.

Similarly this time around, BJP has 64% or 58 out of 90 winning candidates with criminal cases against them as compared to 58% in 2005. RJD’s record was only marginally better — with 59% of its legislators boasting criminal cases as compared to 40% in the last polls. LJP that won three seats had a 100% record with police cases against all elected representatives.

A total of 47 MLAs or 20% of the legislators are crorepatis in the Bihar polls. On the contrary, there were only eight crorepatis in 2005.

## **AP cops raid dead Journalists flat - seize computers and books**

The Andhra Pradesh Police on Saturday recovered two night-vision enabled binoculars, three Maoist central committee secret letters and other propaganda literature during a raid at the rented North Delhi house of journalist Hemchandra Pandey, an alleged Maoist shot dead in an encounter four months ago.

Pandey, a Hindi journalist, was killed along with Maoist central committee member and spokesperson Cherukuri Rajkumar, alias Azad, in an encounter within the Adilabad forests near Hyderabad, on July 1.

A five-member team of the Special Investigation Team (SIT) of the Andhra Pradesh police raided Pandey’s rented house in A-96 Shastri Nagar where he and wife Babita had been staying since February 7.

A senior AP Police officer said the team broke into the house with help from the local police and other witnesses after obtaining a search warrant from a court in Tis Hazari on Friday.

Babita had tried to mislead the Adilabad police by giving them an address the couple had vacated a year ago, the AP Police said. The address she gave was that of a house in Dev Nagar.

However, when she was questioned at the office of Swami Agnivesh in New Delhi about a month ago, Babita accepted that she had been staying at Shastri Nagar and that she had left the place on July 2, after her husband’s death.

Babita had told the landlady that she was leaving the house as her mother-in-law had taken ill and did not return. The landlady Rajbala corroborated Babita’s version, the police said . In addition to the binoculars and central committee documents, the police have seized about 1,000 books, a computer, a laptop, a scanner, a fax machine and four letters addressed to top leaders of the Maoists.

Although the investigators are yet to access the information contained in the laptops and computers, sources said the three documents of the central committee meeting recovered from the house were crucial.

They throw light on the war strategy, weapons training and indoctrination campaigns being adopted by the rebels, the police said.

Out of the letters seized, two have been written by top Maoist leader codenamed Ajith to central committee member Comrade Sitapathi. Portions of this letter dated December 22, 2009, are in code, an AP police officer said.

Similarly, copies of a press release Azad had issued two days after the Gyaneshwari train blast on May 28, were also recovered from Pandey’s house.

Interestingly, many of the nearly 1,000 books in Hindi and English recovered from Pandey’s house are not available in the market. These books espouse an ultra left ideology, cover its history and discuss ways to usurp power by the means of an armed struggle.

Sources said multiple copies of different titles were seized from Pandey’s residence. These include: 246 copies of Communist Party of India, Maoists Central Committee Ideology and Preface , 16 copies of Hold High The Bright Red Banner of Maoism , 509 copies of Saheri Kam Ke Bari and 63 copies of Political Resolution 2007 Maoists .

Before conducting raids in New Delhi, the SIT team from Andhra Pradesh had been to Uttaranchal in a bid to unravel the network of Pandey and Azad.

# Indian State's War on People and the Assault on Democratic Voices

- Forum Against War on People

24 April 2010, Delhi

It has been seven months since the Government's war on the people named 'Operation Green Hunt' was launched in September 2009. The war has been further intensified by the government, expanding it to ever new regions during this period. The operations started with a deployment of paramilitary forces on the tri-junction of Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh on one side and on Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh borders on the other, has now been extended to cover the states of Jharkhand, Bihar and Bengal as well. The Union Home Minister P Chidambaram is travelling the length and breadth of the country to sell the war to the state governments. The 'security' forces are moving deeper into the forests wielding sophisticated weapons and with Air Force back-up, leaving behind a trail of destruction and death of adivasis and their villages. Going by the government's own admission, around 107 adivasis have been killed during this Operation till mid-January. Most of them have been killed in a cold-blooded manner in fake encounters. What is going on today in the adivasi-inhabited regions of central and eastern India is nothing less than a calculated genocide of our own people; a war of extermination in the heart of the country.

**Operation Green Hunt is an unprecedented military offensive on the people:** Indian government has been at war with the people of Kashmir and the North East for decades. In the name of 'national security' and 'national interest', the government has been trying to crush the democratic aspirations of these oppressed nationalities with state terror. Through Operation Green Hunt, the government has brought its war on people to the heart of India. If the total number of government forces presently engaged in this Operation is taken in its entirety (including the paramilitary forces and the state police) it comes close to a quarter of a million (2.5 lakh). This is more than double the US forces presently deployed in the occupation of Iraq—approximately 1.2 lakh—and bigger than the armies of Australia, Netherlands and South Africa put together. The war preparations alone speak volumes about the real intentions of the government. Air Force helicopters equipped with guns are used against the adivasis, airstrips are constructed in Raipur and Jagdalpur, tens of Jungle-Warfare schools are established to train the forces in special operations, new barracks and bases to station armed forces are prepared all over the war zone, and public buildings such as schools, panchayat houses and health centres are converted to camps for the Security Forces and torture chambers. In the name of fighting Naxalites/Maoists, new armed forces such as the CoBRA, Jharkhand Jaguar, C-60, etc are raised with public money to unleash terror on the adivasis. With a heinous intent, special emphasis is given by the government to recruit adivasi youths into government forces and state-sponsored vigilante gangs to instigate a bloody internecine war. To top it all, army commanders are deputed to oversee the war operations while the US is providing 'advisors', military intelligence, satellite surveillance and overall 'tactical guidance'.

**The hidden objective behind this unprecedented military offensive** is to crush all forms of people's struggles and revolutionary movements so as to clear the way for the giant multinational companies, with whom hundreds of MoUs have been signed by the government. Till September 2009, MoUs worth of Rs.6,69,338 crores have been signed in the adivasi regions of these states (which is 14 percent of the total pledged private investment in the entire country). Arcelor Mittal alone is planning to invest \$24 billion for the production of iron-ore in the mineral-rich regions of Jharkhand and Orissa. Likewise, the financial worth of the unexplored bauxite deposits of Orissa alone is estimated to exceed \$4 trillion. The powerful foreign and Indian corporations are lying in wait for the government clears the land of the adivasis and smash their resistance, so that they can move into the land with earth-diggers and empty the land out of its minerals. The stage has been set to undertake what has been termed by a Government-appointed committee as the "biggest land-grab after Columbus". The target this time is not the indigenous inhabitants of North America, but the adivasis of central and eastern India.

**The ongoing War on People leaves a trail of devastation and death:** In the wake of this war imposed by the government on our own people the death-count is mounting. In a region where 40 people are said to be killed every week on an average (Outlook, 22 February 2010), what the corporate media has missed or has deliberately overlooked is the sheer number of adivasis who died in the hand of the government's armed forces. Whereas the government has claimed success in killing around 170 'Maoists'/'Naxalites' during the joint operations under Operation Green Hunt till now, whereas the media quoted the Maoists saying that none of the killed were



the members of their organisation. There are reasons to believe that a great part of the dead were unarmed and defenceless villagers killed in cold blood by the joint forces in fake encounters. The killing of adivasis in Gompad, Singanmadugu, Tetemadugu, Dogpadu, Palachelim, Palad, Kachalaram and scores of other villages in Chhattisgarh seems to have followed such a pattern.

**An attack on democratic voices:** By these acts of fascist repression, the government has made it very clear that the Naxalite movement is not the only target of its war operations. Any movement, organisation or individual that fights for people's demands and against government policies, is to be branded as a part of the Naxalite/Maoist movement and suppressed by the government through Operation Green Hunt. Swapan Dasgupta, the editor of the journal *People's March* in Bengali and owner of Radical Publications was arrested. He died in police custody on 2nd February 2010 even before his trial began due to police torture. He has become the first martyr to fall under the draconian UAPA. Lalmohan Tudu, president of People's Committee against Police Atrocities (PCAPA) in Lalgurh was picked up from his house and shot dead by the paramilitary forces on 23rd February, 2010. On 20th November 2009, Wadeka Singana, the president of the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS), Narayanpatna in Orissa along with another activist was shot dead by the police during a rally to protest against the atrocities committed on women by the government's armed forces. Two of the CPI(ML) leaders Ganapati Patro and Tapan Malik have been arrested on numerous trumped up charges. In Kalinganagar 28 platoons of special police were used to attempt to forcibly acquire land for a road in service of Tatas. When the Bisthapan Birodhi Janmanch Sukinda led adivasis protested, police firing on 30th March 2010 led to bullet injuries to 16 tribal people. Repression is intensifying in the anti-land acquisition movements of Niyamgiri and Jagatsinghpur and against movements under Lok Sangram Manch in Rayagada of Orissa.

The Vanavasi Chetna Ashram of Himanshu Kumar, a Gandhian social activist working in Dantewada for the past 18 years among the adivasis and fighting against the atrocities of Salwa Judum, was razed to the ground on 17th May 2009. In three eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh no mass activity is allowed by declaring these districts as 'Naxal-infested.' Two PUCL activists, Sheema and Vishwa Vijay were arrested in Uttar Pradesh. Hundreds of leaders of farmers' organisations in Punjab were arrested to prevent their democratic right to protest against state killings of farmers and other leaders. Thousands have been imprisoned in jails all over the country and tortured for allegedly being Naxalite/Maoist 'sympathizers'. People's organisations like PUCL, IAPL, PUDR, RDF, PDFI, CRPP, APDR, DSU, etc. and their activists have been falsely implicated by the government. This is an attempt to unleash state terror in order to curtail our democratic rights and to silence all voices of dissent against this genocidal Hunt of the Adivasis. A climate of undeclared emergency now prevails in the country in the wake of this undeclared war on people and the assault on democratic space by the Indian State.

The Home Minister, who has been campaigning desperately to mobilise support for this US-dictated war on the poorest of the poor, has even gone to the extent of denying the existence of Operation Green Hunt! Similarly, he continues to utter the rhetoric of 'Talks' while refusing to take a single step towards creating a conducive atmosphere for any negotiation to take place. Such, lies, hypocrisy and double-talk by Chidambaram with the support of the Arnab Goswamis, Rajdeep Sardesai and his other wily allies in the corporate media, has not been able to hide the truth of this war. Even the Supreme Court of India, while hearing a petition on the 'disappearance' of 12 adivasis from Gompad village of Dantewada district during Green Hunt, castigated the government's offensive. The court observed, "Some of the reports appearing in the media are disturbing. Over two lakh people have been displaced in this fight... Where will they go? What will they grow?" (IBN Live, 17 February 2010).

**The resistance to the government's war on people is growing:** The millions of adivasis under direct attack from the state's offensive are using all means to defend themselves and their jal-jangal-jameen. The democratic and progressive sections of the country have also come out against the government's war on the people in the last few months. Individuals and organisations within India and abroad have in one voice condemned the government's genocidal war. Hundreds of protest rallies, dharnas and demonstrations are being organised in different parts of the country and outside. Peasants, workers, employees, intellectuals, artists, writers, civil rights activists, students etc. have registered their strong protest against the government, and demanded an immediate halt to the Operation Green Hunt. The need of the hour therefore is to unite and build the broadest possible solidarity among the people against this war and intensify the resistance. Only an unceasing wave of mass resistance can stop government's assault on struggles against sale of the country and plunder of resources and suppression of democratic struggles to the extermination of the most oppressed and exploited millions of our own people.

# Illegal detention of Human Rights Activists, Writer and Photographer

- *Jharkhand Indigenous People's Forum*

*17 May 2010*

Jharkhand is known for its mineral resources and people's movement against the land acquisition for the corporate houses. However, a Corporate House "Bhushan Steel and Power Limited" has purchased 135 acres of private land secretly from the villagers belonging to the business community of Potka comes under East Singhbhum district in Jharkhand. The company has started levelling the land and already established 3 portable ITI centre (moving house) at Potka village. The initial work of establishment has resulted in a sense of insecurity and tension among the villagers of entire Potka region.

Needless to say that the company has signed a MoU with the Jharkhand government on 7 September, 2006 for establishing an integrated steel plant of 3 Mt and 900 MW power plant with the estimated investment of 10,500 crore. Consequently, there would be mass displacement and the local people especially the Adivasis have been protesting against the land acquisition for steel and power plants since 2006. So far, the company has failed to implement its plan.

The company had announced a formal Bhumi Pujan (inauguration) programme to be conducted on May 16. Consequently, the situation was completely tense. There were series of meetings going on in the villages under the banner of "Bisthapan Virodhi Ekta Manchi" a pioneer organization of the displacement movement supported by many people's organizations and movements. The organization had decided to impose an indefinite "Janta Curfew" (People Curfew) at Potka, which had begun at 6 PM on May 15.

Gladson Dungdung Human Rights Activist, writer and convener of Jharkhand Indigenous people's forum, Joy Raj Tudu Programme Head Jharkhand Initiatives, Vijay Munda - DBSS, Arvind Kishku volunteer Jharkhand Initiatives of CNI-SBSS, Photographer Gopal Paswan and Badal Sardar convener of Khutkati Raiyat Bhumi Raksha Samity were taken to police custody at 10 PM in the night on May 15 while they were coming back to Roladih village after attending a preparation meeting at Khariasai village. The OC of Potka Police Station, Mr. Mahesh Prasad arrested them near Potka village. After some time, SP of Jamshedpur rural Mr. Shashikant Kujur reached on the spot. After verifying identity cards, vehicle papers and checking, all 6 people were taken to Potka police station.

The OC Mr. Mahesh Prasad questioned why you people are protesting against the Bhushan Company. He said that you have seen women going to Jamshedpur for job. If the plant is established, they will get job at Potka itself. He threatened that if the protesters do not allow establishing the plants of Bhushan Company then their kids would face a serious problem during the verification for their jobs. The Superintendent of Police Mr. Shashikant Kujur said that if you want to talk to the officials of the Bhushan Company we would connect you with them. You can get job, tender and money from the company, which would lead you to a good life. You have to just convince people to withdraw the people's curfew and let the Bhumi Pujan to be conducted.

All 6 people were illegally detained for 6 hours alleging that being the outsiders; they have come to instigate the villagers against the Bhushan Company. They were released at 4'O clock in the morning on May 16 with the condition to leave Potka immediately. The OC of Potka Mr. Mahesh Prasad threatened that if they take part in the protest against the Bhushan Steel they would be facing a dire consequence and booked under IPC 144 and other serious offence. The acts of the OC and the SP are serious violation of the Human rights guaranteed through the Indian Constitution Article 19, 21 and 22.

Therefore, we demand for:

A high level inquiry should be done on the case of illegal detaining and the police officers role in the establishment of the Bhushan Company.

A legal action against the OC of Potka police station Mr. Mahesh Prasad and the Rural Superintendent of Police Mr. Shashikant Kujur who illegally detained Human Rights Activists, Writer and Photographer for 6 hours in Potka Police Station.

The OC of Potka police station Mr. Mahesh Prasad and the Superintendent of Police (Jamshedpur – Rural) Mr. Shashikant Kujur should be immediately transferred from their posts precisely because instead of maintaining the law and order they are influencing the villagers on behalf of the Bhushan Steel and Power Ltd. 4. The MoU of the Bhushan Steel and Power Ltd. should be immediately cancelled and a case should be filed against the company to creating tense, insecurity and clash among the communities.

5. The villagers should be given protection and their livelihood resources should not be allowed to be taken away by any of the corporate criminals including the state.

# **Selling India by the Pound the hidden story of OGH**

*-Joint statement of civil societies in Delhi*

*3 April 2010*

Operation Green Hunt was launched in the latter half of 2009 and a large contingent of paramilitary and military forces aided and abetted by mercenaries were deployed in large parts of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal. It is a war supposedly to free the people of these areas from Maoist influence. By repeated declarations and one-sided media statements the Government has made Maoists “the single largest internal security threat to the country”.

Advertisements are regularly appearing in all major newspapers which call Maoists nothing but cold-blooded murderers. They are being accused of terrorizing the poor, killing men and rendering women widows, destroying school buildings, as criminals who indulge in extortion. The Home Ministry then exhorts the common people to stop violence and become prosperous. According to government sources 203 districts are affected by Maoists. What we should ask is: are people prospering in the remaining 400 districts? Do people have enough employment there? Do children go to schools? Do innocent people not die untimely deaths there?

Let's take the case of Delhi which is not affected by Maoists. Prices of basic food items have skyrocketed. One day it is sugar, another day milk, on the third the price of cooking gas or public transport – the government keeps increasing prices under one pretext or the other, or many a time without giving any reasons. While the common citizens pay ever-rising prices the benefits go increasingly to big companies. Sugar mills and traders make windfall profits by importing sugar and selling it at uncontrolled prices; Petrol fills the coffers of the likes of Ambanis.

We have witnessed many innocent people being killed in the last thirty years. Gas leak in Bhopal killed thousands but no punitive action has yet been taken against the management. In the case of the proposed Nuclear Civil Liability Bill, instead of protecting its citizens, the government has been trying to cap the damages to be paid by nuclear companies of US regardless of the destruction they cause. The killing of innocents is not acceptable to anyone, but why have the guilty of the 1984 riots belonging to Congress not been punished as yet? By inciting people to break down the Babri Masjid, BJP caused riots all over the country; why use the army against one set of supposed killers (Maoists and other “insurgents”) but set up tedious commissions for communal riots against another?

The other charge against the Maoists is that they are luring people by making false promises of prosperity. But one must not forget that the Maoist party and their predecessors came into existence long after ruling parties had made these promises to people for decades to garner their votes. It is the false promises of development which lacked any real will that gave opportunity to new forces and parties. At any rate the real reason to send the army to these states is not to flush out Maoists.

The reality is that our government is subservient to domestic and foreign capital. Today, these masters are not satisfied with control over the market—whether it is retail, whole sale, rural, urban, high end or of those that cater to basic necessities. They are desperate for the real estate, water, and minerals and other natural resources. The regions and states where the Operation Green Hunt is being carried out have a large proportion of tribal population who have been living under dismal conditions for decades. The only outreach of the government to them has comprised of the Forest Department and the police and neither has lost any opportunity to intimidate them. Unfortunately for the tribals, their land has vast mineral treasures hidden under their feet. To mine these and to process them, the concerned governments have signed unprecedented numbers of MoUs with Indian as well as foreign companies during the last five years. In this period another opportunity has also been created for real estate speculation and take-over with the SEZs Act.

If the MoUs have to be honoured then the government is under compulsion to remove the present inhabitants. Crores of people will be affected in this exercise. While the government is eager to implement the MoUs it has thrown to winds all the constitutional guarantees under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution which acknowledge the traditional rights of the tribals to the forest land. Notwithstanding the tall claims of Rehabilitation and Resettlement there has not been a single case so far of proper rehabilitation of the people who have been affected. All the ‘Modern Temples’—as Nehru used to call it—of ‘Development’ like Mega dams, Steel factories, mining establishments till date have been built on the graveyards of people who were never part of that much abused word, ‘development’. The poorest of the poor people of these regions are facing perhaps the worst ever murderous campaign, called “the biggest land grab since Columbus” by none other than the Ministry of Rural

Development report of the Government of India! In the state of Chhattisgarh 644 villages have been vacated in the district of Dantewada alone by burning and looting. The residents are forced to live in inhuman conditions in refugee camps which lack basic facilities and are no more than night shelters. Lakhs are hiding in the jungles without any support system and lakhs have migrated to districts like Khammam in the neighbouring states. This eviction was carried out using a private army called Salwa Judum. But when this operation was not adequate as it met with stiff resistance from the local people as well as the civil society and a sizeable section of the media provoking worldwide indignation then further operations were planned using the pretext of Maoist threat. The people of India is time and again being informed and reassured by a suave, erudite, Mining Company Director-turned Lawyer- turned Finance Minister-turned Home Minister that the army will move in, clear the area of the Maoist 'menace', and development will follow closely on its heels.

Today it has become a crime to take the side of the tribals. Whether it is the Gandhians who provide them with rations, or the doctors who reach out for treating the tribals where the government has abandoned them, or the democratic rights organizations who expose the violence committed by the state or Salwa Judum. Such supporters have their Ashrams demolished, doctors and civil rights activists are thrown in jail, even fact finding teams are not allowed in the area. The tribals themselves are in a much worse shape. Complaints of rape are not filed, witnesses of police firing and atrocities are made to disappear and the Salwa Judum crosses over to Andhra Pradesh to intimidate the internally displaced tribals. Opposing the government and its excesses has been made the synonym of support to Maoists. Now, well known civil rights groups and leaders have been named explicitly in Kobad Ghandy's charge sheet. They are being called the fronts of Maoists. This act of association has been carried to such extremes that even the Supreme Court has warned the Chhattisgarh police to refrain from using "Maoist supporter" as an "innuendo". Not just in Chhattisgarh but in other states as well people are struggling against oppression and exploitation. To term all protest as Maoist has become the standard response of the government.

Does it mean that sooner than later the army will be called to deal with all resistance? Will prisons be filled up with the voices of dissent? The government's own reports acknowledge that Naxalism has grown on account of neglect and miseries of the people. The response then calls for social and economic justice and not of military attacks under the guidance of American and Israeli specialists. Violence will evoke counter-violence because peaceful protests are facing firing everywhere leaving them little option. Whether we look at Tamil Nadu or UP or Karnataka or Maharashtra we find that freedom of expression is largely abridged and leafletting is also termed as sedition. Draconian laws follow each other with urgency to crush dissent, terming everything into a crime at the whim of those in power and bringing incarceration without trials in their wake. Media is run as a profit making venture by large corporations and it gives weightage and coverage to those in power.

No amount of force or use of army is likely to bring lasting peace. We should not forget that army has been used extensively in Kashmir and the Northeast. For sixty years these areas are under siege. In Manipur, for every citizen there are forty men in uniform – the result is false encounters, rapes and disappearances. The Home ministry states that at the height of insurgency there were 3000 extremists in Kashmir. The violence unleashed to contain them led to human right violations, rapes and disappearances – all leaving deep scars in the psyche of Kashmiris which still breed hatred and mistrust. UN figures suggest that the victims of army atrocities far outnumber those of the militants. But this has not taught any lesson to the government and it persists in repeating military offensive in large parts of the country. The problem cannot be solved by combat and will lend itself only to a political and economic solution.

In the light of this, we call upon all concerned citizens to come together and join the struggle for people's rights to life, livelihood and resources.

**We demand:**

*Immediate and complete withdrawal of military and paramilitary forces.*

*Allow independent observers to visit the affected areas.*

*Make public all MOUs concerned with natural resource extraction and industrial production, 2005-09.*

**The statement was endorsed by:** Campaign against Genocide of Adivasis; Campaign for Peace & Democracy (Manipur); Campaign for Peace and Justice in Chhattisgarh; Citizens Initiative for Peace; Delhi Solidarity Group; Delhi University Campaign against War on People; Forum against War on People; Janmadhyam; Jawaharlal Nehru University Forum against War on People; Manipur Students' Association, Delhi; People's Union for Democratic Rights; Saheli; and others.

# The Adivasi Voice

By KS Subramanian

In the frequent debates on government and civil society response to Maoist violence in central India where Operation Green Hunt has been launched, the views of the adivasi communities themselves are missing. A recent people's hearing in New Delhi on the impact of land acquisition and resource grab on adivasis allowed their voices to be heard.

Central India is home to the adivasis and dalits, India's first people. It is also home to the richest concentration of natural resources in the country. Powerful Indian and global corporations race for control of the land, water, forest and mineral wealth of the region. In the process, the customary rights of the marginalised people are disregarded and crushed. Human rights abuses by the police, paramilitary forces and state sponsored militia are perpetrated in the name of Operation Green Hunt, which wars against the very adivasi communities that the Constitution promises to protect. In the name of the Maoists, wider communities of adivasis are being attacked and killed. A virtual information blockade prevents the people of India from gaining knowledge of the truth about the massive war of the state against its own people.

The recently concluded meeting of the Independent People's Tribunal (IPT) on land acquisition, resource grab and Operation Green Hunt in the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal in New Delhi (April 9-11) issued a powerful call for an end to the ongoing war in tribal India and the initiation of a dialogue with the victims of violence. Students, activists, scholars and others participated in large numbers. The presentations were interspersed with documentaries and moving testimonies by adivasi victims of 'development' and 'state terrorism'. A six-member jury (former Justice P B Sawant, former Justice H Suresh, Dr V Mohini Giri, Professor Yash Pal, Dr P M Bhargava and former IPS officer K S Subramanian) made interim recommendations at a press conference at the end of the meeting. This article highlights the issues thrown up in the testimonies and lists the main recommendations.

The adivasis spoke eloquently, with courage and clarity. Though differing in details their narratives focused on a single issue: atrocities by the police and Special Police Officers (SPOs); torture, rape, destruction and loot of villages and properties, murder of innocents; infliction of severe bodily harm; interrogations and illegal detentions and other acts of unspeakable cruelty and pain.

We may begin with Lingaram, tortured and forced to join the Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh. He spoke about how the gram panchayat, dominated by non-adivasis, was a mute witness to the problems of the adivasi people and even posed a threat to their existence. Questioning the enormous funds spent on 'adivasis welfare' by government, he noted that no real progress actually took place at the grassroots. Lacking education and health services, the adivasis needed development on their own terms and not on those imposed by others. Himanshu Kumar, a Gandhian activist from Dantewada in Chhattisgarh, spoke about the advisory, legal and rehabilitation services rendered by his Vanvasi Chetna Ashram and the way authorities tried to crush him and his organisation and terrorise the villagers. Dr Binayak Sen brought out the structural violence embedded in the medical condition of the adivasis: statistics on malnutrition revealed a severe hunger crisis emblematic of prolonged neglect. The state used development rhetoric but the masses were dying of hunger and malaria.

Speakers from Jharkhand and Orissa testified to numerous violations of laws relating to land acquisition, tribal protection, and pollution by corporate and state authorities. Prem Verma from Jharkhand said that social movements and their powerful grassroots support had led in some cases to the success of adivasi struggles to keep their land.

Alex Ekka referred to the umbilical relationship between tribal people and forests. He said: "Our worldview is cosmocentric. Every being has a place in this worldview, whether it is a rock, a bird, or a person. This is the worldview that will lead to a sustainable and peaceful life on what we adivasis call our mother earth." James Topo spoke forcefully on the pathetic state of education in tribal areas. The content of textbooks is completely irrelevant to the needs and context of adivasi children with the content-writers unable or unwilling to grasp that difference. The failure of education is exploited by officials; an example was given of a land acquisition officer giving a cheque to an adivasi assuring him that it was only a record of their conversation!

Tribal rights activist Gladson Dungdung spoke of the atrocities on civilians under Operation Green Hunt in Jharkhand. Adivasis experienced the operation in the form of harassment, detention, looting and beatings. The result was that the village economy had ground to a halt, threatening the delicate balance of sustenance on which the adivasis survived. Fear had set in and villagers were unwilling to go into the forest to collect minor forest produce. Rural markets were empty and democratic spaces for protest by the adivasis had ceased to exist. Migration out of the forests was going on. Dungdung stated: "Operation Green Hunt is not for clearing out the Maoists but for establishing corporate houses in the 'mineral corridor', which had been labelled the 'red corridor' only after authorities realised that corporations were not signing MoUs for certain areas because of protest movements. However, the adivasis were determined never to give up their land: 'we tell the steel corporations that we don't want to eat steel, we want to eat foodgrain'."

Dr Bani of the Azadi Bachao Andolan (ABA) spoke of the many hurdles which were overcome in the course of the struggle to stop the huge NTPC thermal power plant, ruining thousands of acres of prime agricultural land. Most members of the Andolan claimed they had false criminal cases filed against them. Often, a farce was enacted in the name of public hearings for approval of projects. In one case, the hearing scheduled for a particular date at a distance of 20 km from the site of construction (in violation of the law) was arbitrarily and secretly held on an earlier day to prevent people from attending

and participating.

Emphasising alternatives in development, Dr Bani referred to power production. While the government bought land for huge projects cheaply from poor farmers, the ABA had started small power plants, fully owned by the villagers, utilising local coal resources to generate power for 50-60 households with all revenues being split evenly among the villagers. Thus, development could indeed be locally conceived and locally beneficial. Radha Krishna Munda of the Jharkhand Jungle Bachao Andolan spoke of the ground realities in the implementation (or lack thereof) of the Forest Rights Act in Jharkhand. He referred to the harassment the adivasis faced, creating an “atmosphere of suspicion and intimidation”. Instead of implementing the beneficial provisions of the Forest Rights Act, the police, the civil administration and the forest bureaucracy colluded with corporations to appropriate adivasi land.

Adivasis and activists from West Bengal described how peoples’ movements and protests were dubbed Maoist in Lalgarh and elsewhere as happened in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

Sujato Bhadro stated that in Lalgarh, a day after the explosion involving the state chief minister’s convoy in November 2008, the local police attacked villages 40 km away and mistreated the local people. A village woman’s eyes were brutally gouged out; another woman had had a miscarriage. The joint forces in the conflict areas ran amuck, violating the rule of law and constitutional and international norms. People were abducted without production before magistrates as per law. And night raids were still going on. He added that since June 2009, the entire area of Lalgarh has been indefinitely under the sway of Section 144 of the CrPC.

Anup Mandal, a marathon runner at the national level, spoke of police torture in spite of his not being a Maoist. He was rescued by a journalist after receiving serious physical injuries. Confined to bed for four months, his dream of competing at the international level had been shattered and his life and career ruined.

Activists Montu Lal and Gajen Singh also testified on atrocities in Lalgarh. Government has set aside funds for the joint forces and the Harmad Vahini of the police but not for the welfare of the poor.

Speakers from Orissa dealt with people’s resistance against displacement and dispossession. Activists Praveen Patel, Praful Samantra, Abhay Sahu and photographer Sanjit Das, pointed out how corporate greed in collusion with the government was bleeding the adivasis. Praveen Patel pointed out that foreign companies were getting away with virtual robbery, making huge profits, paying very little taxes and exacting a huge price by displacing the poor adivasis and making them suffer severe health and livelihood impacts resulting from pollution.

Praful Samantra pointed out that the sites containing bauxite ore were located atop mountains and were near the sources of many streams. Mining of the ore affected water supply for the adivasis in the area with no liability for the company concerned. He said that protests are suppressed violently. People were prevented from leaving their villages and could not even visit the local hospital. In September 2009, many innocent villagers were jailed as Maoists. They were not released though the administration promised that they would be released. Their families were still starving.

Arun Aggarwal said that the revenue from mining activities to the government accounted for a measly 1.4% of total profits while the rest was pocketed by the mining corporation. The politics of mining was complicated and corrupt; a nexus existed between corporations, corrupt politicians and the police. The Maoist movement arose in areas of mineral wealth only to stop the exploitation of the local people, he claimed. All mining activity should be conducted by government-owned enterprises and the profits distributed equitably, in his opinion.

Justice PB Sawant, presenting the interim report of the jury, clarified that the purpose of the tribunal was not to support the Maoists or to endorse violence but to speak on behalf of the adivasi victims of structural and physical violence. The recommendations of the tribunal were read out by Prashant Bhushan: i) Call off Operation Green Hunt and initiate dialogue with the local community; ii) Stop compulsory acquisition of agricultural or forest land and forcible displacement of the adivasi people; iii) Publish details of all MOUs, industrial and infrastructure projects and cancel leases for nonagricultural use of land; iv) Repatriate forcibly displaced adivasi people and fully rehabilitate them; v) Drop environmentally destructive industrial projects; vi) Return land acquired without the formal approval of gram sabhas; vii) Withdraw paramilitary and police forces from schools and health centres and provide adequate teachers and infrastructure; viii) Stop victimising dissenters who questioned actions of the state; ix) Replace exploitative, environmentally destructive and inequitable model of development with a participatory, people-friendly model giving importance to agriculture and the rural sector, respecting equity and the adivasi environment; x) Respect mandatory constitutional provisions on the consent and participation of the adivasi communities in the use of natural resources; and xi) Constitute an Empowered Citizens Commission to investigate and recommend action against persons responsible for human rights violations against adivasi communities and to ensure that the adivasis actually receive the benefit of government schemes meant for them.

The impact of the deliberations at the Tribunal is expected to be far-reaching. Eminent speakers included Sudha Bharadwaj, Goldy M George, Harish Dhawan, Pravin Patel, BD Sharma, Arundhati Roy, Vandana Shiva, Prashant Bhushan, SP Shukla, Shoma Chaudhury, Shanti Bhushan, Ajit Bhattacharjea, Kavita Srivastava and others.

(The author was a member of the jury of the Independent People’s Tribunal on Land Acquisition, Resource Grab and Operation Green Hunt in New Delhi)



# REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S FRONT

## PRESS RELEASE

**No. PR -10011 Date: 2010-03-06**

### **RPF'S STAND ON NON-MANIPURIS**

**“Who is our enemy and who is our friend? Are the 630 million people of India our enemy? No. The starving people of India, who live from hand to mouth, the peasants and the working class, the exploited and the downtrodden, are not our enemy. They are our friends. Because, the poor in India have no home, no food, no clothing that is to say, the poor have no motherland of their own in India.**

**(DAWN; Volume I, September 25, 1978 )**

Of the many countries of South East Asia, Manipur is one sovereign nation which has written history for more than 2000 years. Not only it has its own distinctive culture, tradition and religion but the Manipuri nation has also gifted the game of Polo in the field of sports and Meetei Jagoi in the realm of art and culture to the human civilization. Really, Manipuris are proud to have born in this wonderful land. Through coercion and under duress, Manipur was forced to sign the Merger Agreement in 1949, subsequently pushing the once sovereign nation to the status of a colony of India. Even as Manipur was defeated in the Anglo-Manipuri War of 1891, the British rulers never merged the nation into the then British India. Rather, Manipur was allowed to retain the status of a separate kingdom though under the supervision of British agents. But subsequent upon the forced annexation by India, all the political rights of Manipur were snatched by India. With that, all the resources of Manipur became exclusive rights of New Delhi. Earlier, invaluable sacred texts or Puyas were destroyed in bulk. Following the annexation, a disastrous process of Indianization began steadily removing the Manipuris from their cultural and ethical roots. After a prolonged stupor under the spell of alien Indian culture and social practices, Manipuri patriots woke up at a stage when Manipur, the land of Manipuris, was on the verge of total disappearance.

By the time Manipuris woke up, a large number of outsiders, mostly from India have already made their settlements in Manipur. Starting from cobblers to bureaucrats, these outsiders have penetrated into all available fields of occupation. In short, they have gained control over the socio-economic and political life of Manipuri nation. Domination and subjugation of Manipuris by Non-Manipuris (Indians) bred widespread resentment, dissent and anguish among the indigenous people. By the time, freedom-fighters started targetting Indian Occupation Forces in late 1970s, the IOFs set on a cycle of oppression and murder of innocent people of Manipur. There is every possibility that this added fuel to the fire raging within the hearts of Manipuri people against the colonial rule. Perhaps, this might also cause the victimised, innocent Manipuris to turn their wrath to any non-Manipuri within their surroundings when they cannot fight back IOFs and bureaucrats. Because of all these reasons, non-Manipuris were the principal targets during the agitated period of “Foreigners Issue” of 1980. There were instances when an individual or a group assaulted or killed non-Manipuris.

Still, there are reports of sporadic killings of non-Manipuris from different corners of the state. In the backdrop of these attacks, the Government of Manipur, functioning at the mercy of the Government of

India, instructed the non-Manipuris not to venture outside Imphal city. Despite these measures, there are reports of assault on and killing non-Manipuris.

As a matter of policy and principle, non-Manipuris are not enemies of the RPF. This was declared since the PLA took birth on the soil of Manipur (DAWN: Vol-I) and the party has been strictly adhering to this principle. After fostering a fast relationship with the Maoists who are fighting for the downtrodden and oppressed people of India, the RPF has been working together with the Maoists to take on the common enemy, the Government of India. Non-Manipuris coming to Manipur to earn their livelihood for a square meal a day are small fraction of the 23 crore under privileged people of India who cannot afford a full meal. To the RPF, they are products of the Government of India's oppressive regime, and they are friends of the party.

However, non-Manipuris are now facing extreme hatred in Manipur. Given this scenario, the Government of Manipur, in their attempt to keep their weaknesses and misdeeds under wraps, has been working hard to blame and indict revolutionary groups for the threat and challenge to non-Manipuris. The Government has been consistently trying to poison the conscience of non-Manipuris with waves after waves of false propaganda against revolutionary groups. On the other hand, the IOFs and RAW are bringing in many IOF/Police/Spy agents to Manipur in the guise of innocent labourers to make Manipur a buzzing nest for espionage activities and intelligence agents. In view of all these designs and activities of the Government of India, RPF is impelled to take a definite stance of its own.

Considering the hatred of non-Manipuris by the local people, coupled with the activities of the Government of India aimed at capitalising on such situation, it would not be possible for non-Manipuris to live a secure and peaceful life in Manipur. The Government of Manipur is unable to prevent unwanted incidents. Nor is the RPF in any condition to help the non-Manipuris, even though they are friends of the party. In the light of this helpless condition, the RPF is of the view that it would be prudent on the part of non-Manipuris to leave Manipur for safer places. "With due regards and concern for your welfare, the RPF appeals to all non-Manipuris to leave Manipur".

To RPF's understanding, all outsiders who came to Manipur after 1949 are non-Manipuris.

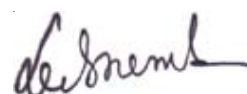
Once again, the RPF lays down the following appeals to the people of Manipur so as to avoid unnecessary troubles in matters related to non-Manipuris;

- 1) As there is every possibility of numerous agents swarming Manipur, inter-state buses, trucks and other transporters should not bring non-Manipuris to Manipur.
- 2) Please, don't rent out rooms to non-Manipuris.
- 3) Don't sell plot/land to non-Manipuris.
- 4) Don't allow them become business proprietors/heads.
- 5) Don't hire them as labourers.

Excepting those who come for education related purposes for temporary period; experts/scholars coming for temporary works, tourists, players and those coming for art and culture related activities, all other outsiders coming to Manipur are illegal in the view of the RPF, and hence entry of non-Manipuris into Manipur is prohibited considering their welfare. Further, all non-Manipuris who entered Manipur already and have been living in the state are informed to leave Manipur by **May 31, 2010**.

RPF prays for public support and co-operation towards this stance of the party.

**Date: 2010-03-06**



**(T. Leisemba)**  
**Secy. Publicity**  
**Revolutionary People's Front.**



## **KCP Supports the 24-Hour AI Bandh Call Of the CPI (Maoist)**

Kangleipak Communist Party will extend unconditional support to the 24 hours All India Bandh on 8th November called by our fraternal group Communist Party of India (Maoist) but it can not be effect in Manipur because Manipur is going to celebrate Ningol Chakouba on the same day, a traditional largest festival of Manipuri Society. So KCP apologized for that reason.

India is not the “shining” example of globalization and capitalism its publicists claim. Indeed today there are more Indians living in poverty (456 million) than the entire population of India in 1947 (345 million).

Independent India inherited a semi-feudal agrarian system from the British. Land ownership was highly concentrated in a few landlords Zamindars and their intermediaries whose main objective was to extract maximum rent, either in cash or kind from peasants. Congress under Nehru, for all its reformist socialist rhetoric and its state capitalist measures, never carried out a radical agrarian reform let alone a rural revolution. It is noteworthy that the most far reaching (though gradual) land reform has been in the states ruled by Communist Party governments or coalitions, i.e. in West Bengal, Manipur and Kerala. Recent studies prove that rural inequalities have increased, rather than decreased. The number of landless laborers has gone up and the top ten percent of landowners monopolizes more land now than in 1951.

But there are strategic weaknesses within the Indian communist movement. The Indian working class and peasantry are struggling to improve their living conditions and demanding social justice, but the reformist leaderships of the CPI and CPM hold them back. The CPI and CPM are both reformist parties, concentrating on parliamentary elections. When in power in different regions they act in the interests of capital against the interests of the workers and peasantry - most scandalously in West Bengal when the CPM sent in party cadres to intimidate, rape and harass villagers resisting privatization and in Manipur CPI Manipur state Committee directly involved to suppress the Peoples movement against the rape and brutal killing of Thangjam Chanu Manorama. Now the Indian peasantry and working people need an alternative force.

**W. Malemnganba Meitei**

**Secretary Publicity and Propaganda**

**Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP)**

**Manipur**

**Nov. 3, 2010**

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### **Bandh protesting Obama’s tour to India**

On November 8, 2010, responding to a call by CPI (Maoist) a bandh was observed in Bihar-Jharkhand, West Bengal, Dandakaranya and Odisha protesting Obama’s tour to India. Several government properties were destroyed. A two-storey school building was blasted by PLGA in Gampakonda of Malkangiri district. Two anti-people elements were wiped out near Rayagadha in Naurangpur district which falls under Mainpur division of DK. A railway station and a block office were blasted by the PLGA in Palamau district of Jharkhand.

## **CPI (Maoist) Statements**

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

#### **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

*October 31, 2010*

### **Oppose Firmly Barack Obama's Visit to India, Who is the Gang Leader of US Imperialism and the No.1 Enemy of the World People !**

### **Raise the Slogan in one voice 'Obama! Go Back!!' Loudly Throughout the Country !!**

US President Barack Obama will be coming to our country on November 6. The comprador rulers of India are busy laying red carpet to welcome him and trying to beautify Mumbai and Delhi. This is a great insult to democracy-loving, peace-loving and patriotic people of our country. US imperialism, which has been plundering the poor countries across the world, suppressing the oppressed nationalities, pushing the notorious thugs and dictators into the power, bullying those countries who wouldn't cooperate, going to any extent to loot oil, minerals and all other natural wealth and sources, is the no. 1 enemy of world people. Its leader Barack Obama is such a person whom the entire humanity must hate. As his predecessor George Bush had accumulated the hate across the globe, US imperialist masters brought Barack Obama in a plan that people could be deceived with his skin color. Though Obama was so much rhetorical opposing the policies of Bush, after entering into the White House, all the policies and decisions taken by him till this day are nothing but continuation of the Bush administration. In fact the difference between George Bush and Barack Obama lies just in their color and in the name of their representing parties. There is no difference between them in exploiting and suppressing the world people, oppressed nationalities, countries and working class of the US. It's an irrefutable fact that this black color President was selected by the most notorious white vultures of US monopolistic corporations.

The US imperialists are killing innocent people everyday in Afghanistan and western Pakistan by indiscriminate bombing and drone attacks. The endless massacres are still going on in Iraq. Obama has proved himself a warmonger by sending 30 thousand more US troops to Afghanistan. The US imperialism, which has stood upon the huge mountains of most destructive arms which could smash this globe at least for ten times, has been instigating wars and waging wars itself so as to keep away its war industry getting caught in crisis which constitutes the mammoth of its economy. On the other hand, it's been issuing threats to Iran and North Korea in the pretext that they were acquiring nuclear capabilities. Now it's targeting Yemen alleging that it had become a hub for Al Qaeda. 'War on terror', initiated by George Bush after 9/11 attacks, is now being continued without any letting by Democratic Barack Obama with indiscriminate attacks in the name of dealing with Al Qaeda, Talibans and so-called Islamic terrorists. Obama did not try to stop or condemn the inhuman attacks of Israeli Zionists on Gaza, which had become a hell on the ground, and the conspired assassinations of notorious Mosad. Thus Obama holds responsibility for the death of hundreds of Palestine people.

A significant phenomenon that has come to the fore in Obama's rule, is that the US intelligence agency FBI has been provoking the innocent American Muslims, particularly the American youths of Pakistani origin, for attacks and then by covert operations it's arresting them with all evidences and propagating its victory in a big way. Thus it's has been able to keep the insecurity feeling alive among the masses of America and to divert huge amounts of people's money into its 'war on terror'. By this, the Obama administration is creating endless waves of hopelessness and despair among the Muslim community in America in particular and among entire toiling masses of the US on the whole.

Today, the US economy is caught in a quagmire of severe economic crisis. Present crisis which was initially ignited as a sub-prime crisis, now has taken such a severe form that was never seen after 1930s. Unemployment rate in US is 10% now which is unprecedented. But Obama has been pouring hundreds of

billions of dollars of money collected from tax-paying people into the huge bellies of greedy monopolistic corporate lords by pushing American people, particularly working class and middle class people into a state of agony. He cut so many schemes meant for the welfare of the people. Despite all these steps, as there seems no ray of hope of getting out of this cyclone of crisis, he's been trying to intensify the plunder of resources from backward and poor nations so as to revitalize his economy. Now Obama along with the host of rapacious corporate bosses is not going to come here to enjoy the beauty of Mumbai or Delhi. They're going to visit our country only to push more capital here and to sign many more agreements which would plunder our country's wealth further more. Thus, they are eager to plan to push their burden of their crisis onto the shoulders of India even more. They are coming here only to give suggestions to suppress the Maoist movement which is the biggest obstacle in robbing away the resources of this country indiscriminately, along with all other people's movements, with more barbarity.

During UPA-I, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh ignoring stiff opposition from the people, had civilian nuclear deal with the US passed proving himself a trustworthy servant of the US imperialists. The Nuclear Liability Bill which has been passed by the Parliament recently is nothing but a continuation of this servility. Regarding the Bhopal gas leak accident which led to gruesome death of thousands of people and disaster for hundreds of thousands of people in Bhopal, the wounds in the hearts and minds of the people of India continue to pain till this day. And now the UPA government has in a most shameless manner dared to prepare this Bill enabling many more 'Bhopals' to make their way and ensuring even if such holocausts take place, the foreign capitalists responsible for those would be set free with far less 'liability' (just like Warren Anderson and Dow Chemicals were set free). While BJP has helped UPA government in passing this Bill, the parliamentary Left parties who call themselves Communists, have once again proved their compromising nature by not opposing this traitorous Bill firmly and not initiating people's movement against this. Manmohan Singh worked hard to ensure this Bill passed before the arrival of Obama.

Indian government is acting as a tool in the hands of the US in its geo-political strategy of encircling China which has been rising recently as a new player in the arena of international capitalism. The US is one hand keeping both India and Pakistan of this region in its firm grip and on the other hand, ensuring the enmity between these countries sustained. It's been selling arms to both of these countries and plundering the markets of both countries. It's been implementing its strategy of global hegemony by tightening the grip over this region on the whole. Indian ruling classes are not at all dissenting and thus supporting the regular bombings and drone attacks of the US on Afghanistan and western Pakistan. In response to this, US is supporting India's policies of intervention and plunder in south Asia region. Now, the Obama's visit and the warm welcome being offered by these comprador rulers and other opposition parties are an integral part of this collusion.

Instead of opposing Obama's visit firmly, the parliamentary Left parties are so showing their eagerness and glad to listen this warmonger. They are cheating the people by saying Obama is not Bush. They are trying to hide the fact that the difference between these two would be equivalent only to the difference between a monster and a beast. BJP is singing the welcome tunes along with Congress showing to its comprador nature as well.

Dear people of India! Democrats!! Welcoming Obama means nothing but a betrayal to the values of sovereignty, freedom, independence, self-reliance, peace, justice and democracy. Inviting Obama to our beloved country means showing servility to its warmongering, invasive, exploitative and hegemonic policies. That's why the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is calling upon entire people, revolutionary and democratic organizations and all patriotic forces of India to register your protest in various forms and to raise the slogan 'OBAMA! GO BACK!!' loudly in one voice. On this occasion through distributing leaflets, posters and banners and conducting meetings and seminars, we also call upon the people to register your protest to Obama's visit to India and to oppose the UPA government and other bankrupt parliamentary parties who're ridiculing the sovereignty of our country by bowing their heads before the US imperialists.



**(Abhay)**  
**Spokesperson,**  
**Central Committee,**  
**CPI (Maoist)**

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

## CENTRAL REGIONAL BUREAU

*November 25, 2010*

### **Army recruitment campaigns should be immediately stopped in areas of 'Naxal influence'!**

Our party, the CPI (Maoist) severely condemns the army recruitment campaigns in areas of 'Naxal influence'. Rosaiah, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh stated that the army recruitment campaigns carried out in Warangal and Karimnagar districts should be extended to all areas of naxal influence in the state as these campaigns would be very useful in pulling out the youth from under naxal influence. This very clearly shows what the stance of the central and state governments is towards the naxal issue.

Already army headquarters and Air Force headquarters were established in Raipur, the capital of Chhattisgarh. In states of naxal influence unified commands have been formed and it was decided that army officers should lead them. The paramilitary and special forces deployed in these areas are being trained under the leadership of the army officers and then sent. All the anti-naxal operations are guided closely by the army experts. In the background of the Mukaram (Tadimetla) ambush where 76 security personnel were wiped out in the valiant attack of our PLGA, the central government had come to the understanding that none of forces other than the army are sufficient for solving the naxal problem and has intensified the preparations to deploy the army. These army recruitment campaigns taken up by the defence ministry are also a part of this.

The central defence ministry which is at present facing a shortage in forces to deploy army in areas of naxal influence, is trying to fill up the deficit by recruiting as many as possible into the army in the next two to three years. The defence ministry is taking up these recruitment campaigns in a scheming manner as it had come to the conclusion that in order to decimate the naxalite movement completely local youth familiar with the local terrain, language and culture of the people are very much necessary and that they could not fight back the naxalite movement without increasing recruitment from them. As part of the LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) strategy and tactics it is trying to continue army recruitments by luring the youth born in areas of revolutionary movement with the 'promise of jobs' in order to damage the unity among the people through bringing a divide and making them fight each other. The Indian ruling classes want to solve the naxal problem thus through the army.

In 2005 as part of the counter-revolutionary 'Salwa Judum' taken up with the same goal, thousands of SPOs were recruited from local adivasis by the government of Chhattisgarh and ignited the 'civil war' among the people. Now all the people of our country know how 'Salwa Judum' was defeated. The adivasi people had vehemently opposed the white terror created by the Salwa Judum and had defeated it through large scale attacks on the SPO system it had given birth to. The youth had strongly voiced their opposition to the 'SPO job' which creates a divide between the people.

But the central and state governments which have not taken any lessons from this are following the bankrupt policies of recruiting youth into the army by luring with the promise of a job without solving the basic problems of the people who are fighting for 'Jal-Jungle-Zameen' and for the liberation of the country. Our party is giving a call to all sections of people in our country including the democrats, patriotic forces and adivasi mass organizations to oppose this recruitment campaign. The governments have signed hundreds of MoUs to hand over for peanuts the abundant forest and mineral resources in areas where adivasi population lives in large numbers to the MNCs and the Indian comprador big bourgeoisie. The goal of these army recruitment campaigns is to decimate the revolutionary movement which is very strong in exactly the same adivasi areas. Their ultimate aim is to carry on unrestrained offensive on people and revolutionaries in those areas by using the locally recruited youth as a shield and destroy the naxalite movement, chase away the adivasis from the forests and carry on their exploitation without any hindrance. Every citizen should oppose the attempt to build the army from sections of the oppressed people to suppress and annihilate the adivasis and the oppressed people.

Our party is calling upon the youth to boycott these army recruitment campaigns. If they had already

been selected, we appeal to them to take the interests of their people and their class to heart and cancel the selections. In the name of patriotism and by propagating that Maoists are the 'biggest threat to internal security' the Indian ruling classes are filling the brains of the youth with poison and are trying to realize their interests by making them cannon fodder. The people of Kashmir and North-East states would tell you what would happen if army is deployed. People would be killed, tortured, incarcerated in *sibirs*, women would be raped and become victims of innumerable atrocities, thousands would be arrested and put in jails – this is what would happen if the army is deployed and it has been proven in history that this had never ensured security for the people. So our party is appealing to the youth not to join the army which leads to the destruction of property and dignity and lives of their parents, brothers and sisters. Please do not become the enemies to your own people.

Our party is calling upon the unemployed youth, their organizations, students and student-youth organizations to resort to united action to solve the unemployment problem. Our party is appealing to the people to fight with the slogans 'Provide us with jobs other than the jobs of police, home-guard and army' and 'Jobs to all the deserving'. They should fight against unemployment, hunger, ill-health, illiteracy, poverty, corruption and displacement problems. The youth should realize the solution to several basic issues like right to land, water and forest is linked to the liberation of the country and should join the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) in thousands.

**Pratap,  
Official spokesperson,  
Central Regional Bureau,  
CPI (Maoist)**

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

### **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

*November 27, 2010*

**Unified Action Plan to 'Develop' Maoist Stronghold Districts  
Is Not Aimed to Solve Any Basic Problems of The People,  
But to Crush The Revolutionary Movement!**

**Punish Traitors Severely, Who Are Involved In  
Scams of Billions of Rupees of Hard Earned People's Money!!**

Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs, yesterday on 26th November, has approved Central Planning Commission's Rs 137.42 billion 'Unified Action Plan' to 'develop' naxal affected areas. Two year long, Rs. 33 billion package of the first phase announced by Home Minister is to spend Rs 250 millions in each of the districts of the 9 naxal affected states in the year 2010-11 and Rs. 300 millions for each of the districts in the year 2011-12. He said cabinet committee will review it after 2 years. These rulers claim that, by providing basic amenities in these poor tribal districts, where more than 50% of the population live below poverty line, want to achieve 'development' and thus aim to solve naxal 'problem'. As per them, basic 'amenities' include primarily roads, later panchayat buildings, electricity, school buildings, education and health. On the one hand, since one year these rulers, in the name of Operation Green Hunt, have deployed more than 200 thousands of paramilitary forces and massacred hundreds of tribal people, now on the other hand, in these same areas want to spend millions of rupees. Is it for the benefit of people? Or is it to further its

repression on the people? It is easy to understand. While making this announcement, Home Minister P. Chidambaram insisted to spend all the money by end of the March next and show 'development'. Involving police department in the programme and placing district superintendents of police in these committees is nothing but an effort to put a 'developmental' mask to their fascist repressive measures. Is construction of roads and buildings for 'people living below poverty line'? Or is it to facilitate state's armed forces, which are carrying out killings at will and crushing their right to live. Any *adivasi* living in these areas can answer this question. Hiding the fact that, by occupying the buildings of educational institutions, armed forces have themselves become a great hindrance to the very education, want to spend billions of rupees to improve educational facilities is an outright deceit. These rulers never bothered, at the loss of lives of *adivasis* every year for minor diseases like diarrhea and fevers can not be trusted, when want to improve medical facilities under these packages.

In fact, since the last two months not a single day passed without the news of scams. People are witnessing, how tens of billions of people's money is being whacked away by corrupt political leaders, ministers, big bureaucrats, corporate bosses and noted media barons. These rulers, who shout on top of their voice that Maoists are the biggest internal security threat and their bankrupt intellectuals who beat the drums in unison are the real big dacoits. This can be easily realised without referring history. Commonwealth Games scam (nearly one billion rupees), 2G spectrum scam (above one billion rupees), Adarsh housing society scandal, Karnataka land scams etc. are enough of evidence. Congress, BJP, DMK, Janata Dal like exploitative ruling class parties are all, without exception, part of this outright plunder. All these scams are more nakedly and blatantly getting exposed before the people. Maoist understanding that the only way out is to smash this deep-rooted, corrupt, exploitative system completely is day by day getting more people's acceptance. This is what is threatening these exploitative ruling classes.

By all these scams, which are visible to naked eye, one can easily guess to where and in whose pockets millions of rupees of money by these economic packages would end up. It's worth noting that these rulers are not afraid of the people that they will mock at them, when they say that 'development' will take place by these economic packages. If we note the fact that Montek Singh Ahluwalia, vice-chairperson of the planning commission, who, designed this economic package, Chidambaram, who approved it, both of them have sincerely and reliably served in imperialist financial institutions and imperialist corporate houses and the leader of this ruling clique, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who himself spent most of his life in the service of imperialist financial and monetary institutions, then it is easy to understand who will be the end beneficiary. On the one hand, signing hundreds of billions of rupees of MOUs with corporations, facilitating the plunder of country's resources in tribal areas, threatening the very existence of tribal populations, turning a deaf ear to the demand by the people and democratic forces to make all MOUs public and cancel them all, on the other hand, talking of 'Development' is a big joke.

We, the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) severely oppose this anti-people 'Unified Action Plan'. Our CC feels that this is a part of the fascist repressive campaign by the centre and state government-sponsored Operation Green Hunt and facilitate it further. The claim that, backward areas will be developed is a farce, a deceit. The governments, if at all sincere, should first give all rights over *Jal-Jungle-Jameen* to *adivasis* and poor people; cancel all MOUs signed with MNCs and big corporate companies; stop all those projects of big dams, mines, sanctuaries, big steel plants and SEZs which would displace hundreds of thousands of people; and stop Operation Green Hunt immediately under which *adivasis* are being massacred.

On this occasion, our Central Committee demand to arrest and punish severely all those political leaders, ministers and corporate houses' heads involved in Commonwealth Games scam, Adarsh housing society scam, Karnataka land scams etc.; and all those saffron terrorist leaders involved in Malegaon, Ajmer Sharif, Mecca Masjid etc. bomb explosions.



**(Abhay)**  
**Spokesperson,**  
**Central Committee,**  
**CPI (Maoist)**

## **Azadi : the only solution for Kashmir**

### **Case registered against 7 for “Anti-India” Speeches**

NEW DELHI: Following a court order, the Delhi Police on Monday registered a case of sedition against writer Arundhati Roy, hardline Hurriyat leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani, revolutionary poet Varavara Rao and others on charges of giving “anti-India” speeches at a convention on Kashmir, “Azadi: The Only Way”, held here on Oct. 21.

The case has been registered at Tilak Marg police station under Sections 124 A (sedition), 153 A (promoting enmity between different groups and doing acts prejudicial to maintenance of harmony), 153 B (imputations, assertions, prejudicial to national integration), 504 (insult intended to provoke breach of peace) and 505 (statements conducing to public mischief) of the IPC and Section 13 of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act.

Joint Commissioner of Police (New Delhi Range) Dharmendra Kumar said the complaint filed by Sushil Pandit in the court under Section 156 (3) of the Criminal Procedure Code has been converted into the First Information Report FIR after taking legal opinion on the matter. With the registration of the case, the police have initiated investigations. They have already obtained footage of the speeches made at the convention. “We will closely examine the speeches and file a report in the court by January 6, 2011 (the next date of hearing),” said Mr. Kumar.

The others named in the complaint include Delhi University professor S. A. R. Geelani who was acquitted in the Parliament attack case, Kashmir University law professor Sheikh Shaukat Hussain, Shuddhabrata Sengupta and Sujato Bhadra.

### **Varavara Rao Interview**

**\* Why did you attend the conference demanding secession of Kashmir? What connects the Kashmiri separatists to Maoists?**

*I feel azadi is the only way for Kashmir. Self-determination is the right of every nationality. Being a Maoist, I support revolutionary and independent movements of people. On that Marxist-Leninist principle, I support the nationality struggle of Kashmir and of the Northeast. I come from the Hyderabad riyasat. Both Hyderabad and Kashmir were invaded by India. Even the Indian Union uses the word ‘accession’ in both cases. They annexed Hyderabad on the pretext that the rulers are Muslims and the ruled are Hindus. In Kashmir, they said the king is Hindu. In both places, they played the Hindu card.*

**\* Going by your argument, should India then be split into 28 different countries?**

We support nationalistic aspirations. Only those princely states that were under Delhi till 1947 and those who agreed to join the Indian Union should be in India. Nehru had even taken the Kashmir issue to the United Nations. If Kashmir was like any other state after 1950, then what is the need for Article 370? If it is a part of the Indian Union, why do you have to send the army? Why do you have AFSPA? From Nehru to Vajpayee, there have been talks on Kashmir with Pakistan, because the government knows it is a disputed issue.

**\* How do you define azadi? Pakistan calls the part of Kashmir occupied by it as azad Kashmir.**

*Kashmir belongs to the people of Kashmir. Even Syed Ali Shah Geelani is asking for the right of self-determination for Kashmiris. Who is India or Pakistan to decide about what Kashmir wants? As a Maoist, I say that Kashmir should be liberated, but if the people of Kashmir decide otherwise, we will accept it.*

**\* Doesn't asking for secession of Kashmir amount to sedition?**

*The right to secede is recognised by the Geneva Convention. Many countries have attained independence through plebiscite. It is not unconstitutional. I believe the only way forward for Kashmir is azadi.*

**\* What about the views of the Kashmiri Pandits? They even protested at the conference.**

*There were around 700 people at the conference, most of them supporting azadi. Around 200 of them were Kashmiris. The Sangh Parivar people, including Kashmiri Pandits, were not more than 70. That means the people of Kashmir are not alone in their struggle. Delhi is the common enemy of Kashmir and the struggling people of this country. Those people even threw shoes. What kind of culture is this? This is nothing but Hindu fascism.*

**\* Some reports suggest that the ISI is trying to link up Kashmiri separatists with Maoists. Is there any truth in this?**

This has been around for long. There is no truth in it.

**\* What about tie-ups between the Maoists and the separatists?**

*Right from the days of Charu Mazumdar, we have supported the struggle for azadi in Kashmir and the Northeast. That support remains.*

**\* Will the Maoist movement expand into Kashmir?**

I can't say. It all depends on the strength of the Maoists. We will support their nationalist movement as we see it as an anti-imperialist movement. **Delhi, like I said, is the common enemy.** (From Tehelka)

## We Want Azadi



**Tufail Matoo**



**Fida Nabi**

*Along that solitary gravelled path  
Into a crimson evening,  
My eyes chase you and chase you  
Until you ask them:  
'Where do these boys go after they kill them?'  
'What happens to their hearts, the love-lakes,  
now mad with the tempests of freedom?'  
In Kashmir, in my village, Bumthan,  
A cold summer morning  
Whispers into the leaves of an elm,  
Why the dearest ones have to leave us before autumn?  
Ah! You have taken away the summer rain,  
And the news of our own death smashes us  
under the glaring sun.*

*(From the "Shining Stars of My Sky" by Feroz Rather)*



*I am incarcerated, in these  
dark walls  
I see nothing, coerced to smell  
Filthy, dirty, plagued floors  
You caught me by my collar  
Dragged me to these walls  
Which I won't call a "place"  
Some days ago  
Just the sore words I whispered  
"We Want Freedom!"*

*(From "As I Die" by Jasim Malik)*