



# **CPI(Maoist)Information Bulletin-5**

November 5, 2008

<b>Homage to Martyrs</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>News from the battle field</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>News from the Counter-Revolutionary camp</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Karl Marx's solution for the crisis</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>From News Papers</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>NHRC's clean chit to Chattisgarh government</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Review of the Report of the Human Rights Watch</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>A seminar on Indian Democracy at Berkeley, California</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>Political crisis in Nepal</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Statements issued by the Party</b>	<b>49</b>



**Hail the Martyrdom of comrades Mastan Rao and Ramchandar  
of AP State Committee & comrades Jaya and Ashok!**

**These comrades will continue to inspire the revolutionaries and  
the vast masses forever!!**

Comrade Valluri Venkat Rao alias Mastan Rao alias Kailasam, comrade Thota Gangadhar alias Ramchandar, comrade Jaya alias Aruna alias Sarita and comrade Ramathoti Jaya Kumar alias Ashok alias Ramana were arrested by the APSIB on the 26th of October, brutally tortured for more than 24 hours and were murdered in the early hours of 27th. They were separated into two batches and shot dead in two different regions of Nallamala and AOB. As usual, a fake encounter story was floated by the police that comrade Ramchandar and Jaya were killed in an exchange of fire in Ravulapalli forest area in Bollandapalli mandal of Guntur district which falls under Nallamala forest region, and comrades Mastan Rao and Ashok were killed near Ravikona Kothavalasa in Parvatipuram mandal in Vizianagaram district falling under Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zone. A few days prior to their arrest, another comrade of AP Special Committee and a former member of AOBSZC, comrade Gopu Sammi Reddy alias Jogal was arrested in Orissa but was produced in the court after arresting the other comrades.

Comrade MR hails from Guntur city and had joined the revolutionary movement three decades ago. He was actively involved in building the Radical Youth League (RYL) in Guntur and was working underground since 1982. He was initially involved actively in building the revolutionary movement in Guntur district. Anti-feudal struggles reached their peak in Dachepalli mandal in Guntur district under his leadership during the 1980s and 90s. He was also actively involved in building the movement in Prakasham district. He was elected to the state committee in 1999. Later he was transferred to Rayalaseema region where he provided leadership as a member of the AP state committee until 2004. During the period of talks between Maoists and AP state government comrade MR was shifted to AOB along with several other leaders and cadre of AP. From then on until the beginning of 2008 comrade MR worked as a member of AOBSZC as well as a member of its state secretariat and guided the movement in Koraput division. He was included in AP Special Committee and was elected as its secretary in which capacity he was working for the past ten months.

Comrade Thota Gangadhar alias Ramchandar belongs to Kuragallu village in Mangalagiri mandal in Guntur district. He worked in RSU in 1984, later served as a commander of Pedaveni squad in 1989-90, commander of Veligonda squad during 1990-95, became a member of Nallamala Forest Division and was elected as its secretary from 200-2004. He was elected to the AP State Committee in the state Plenum held in 2003. In March 2007, after a decision taken at the Unity Congress-9th Congress of the Party, a Special Committee was formed in Andhra Pradesh to organize and guide the movement in the plains and urban areas in the state. Comrade

Ramchandar became a member of the AP Special Committee. Towards the end of 2007 the Special Committee was reconstituted with comrade Mastan Ral as Secretary and comrades Ramchandar and Sammi Reddy as its members. Comrade Sammi Reddy was also arrested a few days before the arrest of the other two special committee members. He was produced in the Court on the 26th while the other four comrades were murdered the next day .

Comrade Jaya hails from Brahmanpalli village of Medak district and joined the Party in 1993. She worked as a member and later as a commander of the PLGA squad for some years. She was promoted as a DC member and began to work in that capacity under the Special Committee since the beginning of 2007. She is married to comrade Ramchandar.

Comrade Ashok alias Ramana hails from Alakurapadu village in Prakasham district. He was working as a courier for comrade Mastan Rao at the time of his martyrdom.

\* \* \*

### **Two Maoists martyred in Koraput**

Two Maoists were killed on October 11 in a fake encounter near Muliguda, Bandugam block, Koraput district, Orissa at the border of Parvatipuram mandal border. The killed were one woman and one man. As usual, the police floated the story that there was an encounter when Orissa-Andhra police were on a combing operation and after around a hundred rounds were fired they found the bodies of two Maoists.

It is suspected that the woman comrade is a Koraput Divisional committee member Comrade Lakshmi @ Jyoti @ Chinnammalu and the other comrade is militia member Vadaka Sanno @ Bidika Raju. Dead bodies were sent to Narayanapatnam. Comrade Chinnammalu belongs to Ganapavaram, Bhamini mandalam, Srikakulam district. AP government announced Rs. 3 lakhs for her. She was in Nagavali squad for three years and in Koraput squad since two years. Comrade Raju is from Thalalokho villagem Narayanapatma Samiti. When they were going for bringing provisions they were shot dead by the combing police.

In Chatra district of Jharkhand one maoist was killed in an encounter on September 17. Asusual police story is that they got information that Maoists will be gathering at Navdhama mountaneous area, under the leadership of Comrade Krishna Yadav. Maoists startd firing immediately after seeing the police and in firing Comrade Jitendra Ganjhu was martyred in this incident.

## News from the battle field

### 12 CRPF men wiped out in Chattisgarh Maoist ambush

In the first major attack by Maoist guerrillas after calling for a boycott of the November election to the state Assembly in Chattisgarh, at least twelve jawans of the Central Reserve Police Force were wiped out and an equal number were injured in an ambush laid by PLGA led by CPI (Maoist) near Kongupalli on the Bijapur-Bhupalapatnam highway in Chhattisgarh around 2 p.m. on Oct 20. The dead CRPF jawans belonged to the 170th Battalion which was deployed to provide protection to the BRO at Modakpal village in Bijapur district. Some of the injured belonged to Border Roads Organisation. Police claimed that one Maoist was also killed in retaliatory fire. This, however, is yet to be confirmed. The attack took place on the first day of filing nominations for the first phase of elections in the state.



The CRPF patrol was divided into two units for the operation. After one of the units was hit by the landmine, the other unit rushed to the spot resulting in heavy exchange of fire. Despite the presence of a large contingent of CRPF Maoist guerrillas managed to keep them at bay and seize eight weapons, including a light machine gun, two SLRs and five INSAS rifles from the CRPF personnel. According to newspaper reports, heavy firing continued in the stretch of forest alongside National Highway 16 till late in the evening.

Police intensified combing operations along the inter-State border of Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

The Khammam police put on alert all the police stations of Charla, Dummugudem Benkatapuram and Wajeedu – which are close to the Maoist-affected Pamedu area in Bijapur.

### 4 CRPF men annihilated in Dandakaranya

Four CRPF personnel, including a deputy commandant of 41st Battalion, were wiped out in a landmine blast in Bastar district of Chattisgarh which falls in Dandakaranya Special Zone. Three other CRPF men were severely injured in the ambush. The CRPF men were proceeding to Chitrakoot when their Bolero vehicle was blown up near Mardoom, 30 km from Chitrakoot on September 29. The President of India, Pratibha Patil, was on a visit to Chitrakoot on the same day and the CRPF team was on its way to provide protection to Mrs. Patil.

### West Bengal CM Fascist Buddhadeb survives Maoist landmine blast, 6 cops injured

At least six policemen were injured, three of them critically, in a landmine blast set off by Maoist guerillas targeting the convoy of chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee and steel minister Ram Vilas Paswan in West Bengal on November 2. The blast took place at a culvert in Kalaichandi near Baruakaali in West Midnapore district when the two leaders were returning after the foundation stone laying ceremony of a 10 million tonne steel plant of Jindal. The blast took place just after the VVIP convoy passed through that place. Witnesses said the last pilot car of the convoy was hit by the explosion. The convoy had several VVIPs like West Bengal's industries minister Nirupam Sen, industrialist Sajjan Jindal and others. A remote was used for triggering the mine which was connected by a two-kilometre-long electric wire which was hidden beneath the ground.

Buddhadeb has been a target of the Maoists and the people of West Bengal ever

since he began to unleash a brutal suppression campaign against not only the Maoist revolutionaries but also the masses of the state who dared to question and protest against his government's anti-people, proimperialist and pro-comprador capitalist policies. Buddhadeb went all out of the way to please comprador big business houses such as the Tatas and Jundals. After Tata was forced to beat a retreat from Singur despite the protection offered by Buddhadeb, the latter has been desperately trying to woo others to loot the wealth of the state. Competing with his counterparts in Gujarat, Orissa and other states, whatever be their colour, Buddhadeb had succeeded in persuading Jindal to set up a Rs.35,000-crore mega steel project which will be one of the biggest in Asia. Having entered the scene a bit late the CPI(M) has begun to act as a more loyal servant of the big business than other proven



imperialist agents like the Congress and BJP. Buddhadeb had transformed West Bengal into a police state and unleashed a reign of terror on the people as witnessed in Singur and Nandigram. The social-fascist gangs of the CPI(M) were used to murder, torture and harass anyone who questioned the government's policies that served the CBB, imperialists and the rich at the cost of the landless labour, poor and middle peasants, working class and other sections of people in the state. The atrocities perpetrated by these social-fascist gangs hand in glove with the police are indescribable. The Buddhadeb government had also murdered several Maoist leaders and cadre. In the areas where class struggle has become intense as in Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia, thousands of security forces have been deployed which had unleashed terror across the villages.

48 hours prior to the incident, a senior CPI-M leader, Indrajit Mura, of Banspahari area of Belpahari Block was annihilated by Maoists just ahead of chief minister Mr Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee's visit to adjoining Salboni. This was to set out signals to police, CPI-M and the Jindals together.

The Maoists called a bandh in Midnapore West, Bankura and Purulia district on 23 October protesting against "*setting up industries by the Jindals on agricultural land in Salboni without giving the farmers adequate compensation.*" Around 1,000 CRPF jawans were deployed in and around the site where foundation of the proposed steel plant was to be laid by the chief minister on November 2.

Special Task Force, headed by the CM's security officer, Mr Arvind Maliwal, who was engaged to ensure security of the CPI-M's high-risk politburo members, had already visited the area while other officials of DIG rank were keeping round-the-clock close watch on the spot with mine detector and sniffer dogs. Initially, the foundation of the mega steel project was to be laid by Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh but the programme was rescheduled following CPI-M's rift with the Congress over the nuke deal. The entire show was organized by the CP(M) cadre. A newspaper commented that the involvement of CPI(M) cadres and the arrangements made at the project site with red flags along the stretch of NH-60 from Midnapore Town to Salboni "*gave the impression that the programme was more of CPI-M than it is of the Jindals.*"

### **Maoist mine wipes out one policeman in Narayanpur district of DK**

There is a police camp in Kakorjhor area of the Narayanpur district of Raipur. On October 6, a contingent of 30 police men of the camp went to receive the policemen who were returning from leave. When they reached Achevahi canal under Narayanpur PS, Maoist guerrillas blew up a landmine in which Pilu Ram belonging to the district police force was instantaneously killed. Narayanpur Police SP informed that the naxals were in the disguise of villagers and the landmine was detonated from a distance of about 200 metres after which they could escape successfully.

## **SAP jawan killed in encounter with naxalites in Gaya**

A jawan of State Auxiliary Police (SAP) was killed in an encounter with Maoist guerrillas in the Tarchuan forests on Bihar-Jharkhand borders on October 19.

On specific information that Maoists had assembled in the forest, police teams of Gaya and Aurangabad districts along with CRPF jawans encircled two bunkers in which the naxalites were hiding, Gaya district Superintendent of Police R Mallar Vizzi told reporters in Gaya.

Ashok Kumar Jha, a SAP jawan, was killed in the indiscriminate firing of naxalites. The slain SAP jawan was posted at Aamas police station in the district, the SP said, adding police also retaliated fire but the naxalites managed to cross over to Jharkhand.

Deputy Inspector General of Police (Magadh range) Pravin Vashist and the SP had rushed to the encounter site with reinforcements.

## **Maoist guerrillas annihilate four policemen in Maharashtra: Home Minister desperately attempts to boost up police morale**

Four policemen, including a sub-inspector, were killed and five others sustained injuries in an encounter in Korepile forest in Aheri taluka of Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra which falls in Dandkaranya special zone on October 26. Maharashtra Deputy Chief Minister R R Patil, who also holds the Home portfolio, air dashed to the city and paid homage to the slain cops at Parade ground in Gadchiroli. This Nero, who had been fiddling when Mumbai was held to ransom by the MNS hooligans led by Raj Thackeray, and who is responsible for the killings, beatings and destruction of the property of poor people from UP and Bihar in Maharashtra for several months, boasted like a hero that his government would deal with the Maoists with an iron hand. To boost up the morale of his mercenary forces he claimed that over 140 naxalites, including some prominent members, had already laid down arms and that 10 Maoists were killed in recent months. Patil also said that the naxalites in eastern Vidarbha especially Gadchiroli were isolated by the social boycott by villagers who had imposed a ban on their entry in the area, and hence all these factors led to the frustration.

He also visited the five injured cops in a private nursing home here in Dhantoli. Reiterating the state government's strategy to tackle naxalism firmly, Patil said the DF government has committed to spend Rs 500 crores in phases in five years to carry out developmental activities in the district and ultimately overcome the naxal menace. He said Maharashtra will conduct joint flush out operation of naxals with counter parts in Andhra Pradesh and Chattisgarh soon.

To boost up the morale of the policemen in the district, especially in the backdrop of the desertion of several well-trained commandos in neighbouring Chattisgarh, Patil announced heavy amount as compensation to the dead policemen. He assured that the kin of PSI Suhas Parekar would get Rs 32 lakh while the families of police constables Ajay Maste, Vasant Madavi and Vinod Uike would be paid Rs 30 lakhs each. The families would also receive full salary till the slain policemen were to retire.

He met the family members of the slain policemen at the Police Parade ground. Patil was accompanied by Director General of Police, A N Roy. Police fired rounds in the air as a mark of respect to the departed souls. Maharashtra Ministers Anil Deshmukh (Public Works), Anees Ahmad (Dairy Development), Zilla Parishad President, Ashatai Pohankar, FDCM Chairman Anandrao Gedam, Chandrapur MP Hansraj Ahir, MLA Ashok Nete, Municipal President Ram Meshram, District Collector Niranjan Sudhanshu, Additional Director General of Police (ANO), Pankaj Gupta, Nagpur range IGP Shrikant Sawarkar and S P Gadchiroli Rajesh Pradhan were present at Parade ground. City Commissioner of Police, Praveen Dixit, Joint- Commissioner of Police, Babasaheb Kangale, NCP city President Ashok Dhawad and others were present when Patil met the injured cops in a private nursing home here. Meanwhile the condition of injured cops, PSI Sanjay Narwade, constables Gangaram Sidam, Diwakar Gawande, Ganpat Sayam and Vikram Thakur was reported to be stable and out of danger, official sources said.

## **18 Jawans injured in landmine blast in Narayanpur district**

18 jawans were injured when their truck was torn apart in a landmine blast triggered by the Maoists on KONDAGAON highway in Narayanpur district in Chattisgarh at about 8.30 am on 31st October. A contingent of 47 policemen, STF personnel and SPOs, had gone to Cheribanda area from Narayanpur to carry out anti-Naxal operations. After completing the operations a batch of 18 policemen headed towards Narayanpur from Benur PS. When the vehicle reached a place called Kulamkodo about 3 Km from Benur Police Station it was attacked by Maoist guerrillas. Condition of the ASI of STF, Prabhuram Komre was said to be critical. The mine blew apart the front part of the vehicle which saved the jawans from suffering severe casualties. A six-foot crater was formed in the middle of the road due to which the entire traffic on the road came to a standstill for a few hours.

## **Maoist guerrillas heroically counter the police raid and wipe out one BMP jawan in Muzaffarpur**

On October 4, a BMP jawan was wiped out in an encounter in Tarava Jahura Village of Parsouni Raisi Panchayat of Sahebganj PS area of Muzaffarpur district. Bullet had gone through right hand, chest and neck. After getting the news of Maoists entering the Tharava village, under the leadership of DSP Pankaj Rawat, district police force went there. Two Platoons of CRPF personnel were brought from Chakiya for the operation against the Maoists by the police in Motihari. DIG Aravind Pandey of Tirhut Range declared that a massive combing operation was launched to arrest around 40-50 Naxalites who were supposed to have assembled in the village.

One unit of the police entered Parasouni from Somgarh Chowk while second one entered from the Basatpur-Chainour road. Yet another unit entered the village from Biduriya chowk. The police batches began to fire indiscriminately at the houses where Maoists were supposed to have been hiding. Villagers were terrified as the police began to fire from four sides. Maoist guerrillas countered the police heroically killing one BMP jawan. Scared by the ferocity of the counter-attack the police called for reinforcements from surrounding eight police stations of Sahebganj, Paarur, Dewariya, Saraiya etc. A huge force was also sent from Muzaffarpur police lines and Motihari. After the massive operation the police claimed to have arrested a Maoist, Munna Ram, at about 11 in the night. According to the paper reports more than a dozen women guerrillas had also participated in the encounter with the police.

## **Land seizure in AOB**

On September 19, Maoists hoisted redflags and distributed 264 hectares of Kumkumpudi coffee Estate area to girijans. They threatened the official against recapturing the coffee gardens. They said girijans have the full rights over the forest and this distribution was done because of that. If officials dare to take any action they have to face the consequences. About 200 girijans participated in this programme.

## **Two CRPF men seriously injured in Maoist attack in Dandakaranya**

Maoists blasted a landmine on Thursday at Usuru block of Chattisgarh. Two CRPF personnel who were participating in the combing operation, seriously injured in this incident. Maoists triggered the landmine targeting police at Marinda village in Avupalli PS area. Dinesh Kolambe and Swarnajit were seriously injured in this incident.

## **One SAP jawan annihilated by Maoist guerrillas in Kaimur Hills**

**Sasaram:** Kaimoor hills – the *chapaamari* campaign started from 24 sept, Rohtas Kaimoor police, there was an encounter between Maoists and police in which one SAP jawan killed on the spot and three others were injured seriously.

## **Punishments to police informers and class enemies**

\*\* In Moulanagar village under Barachatti PS, Maoists seized the property and burnt down the house of Eswari Yadav, who was a police informer. On 15th September night PLGA squad reached the village to punish Eswari yadav but he was not at home. They left a pamphlet in which they warned to break links with SPM organization and stop working as a police informer. They also announced to impose restrictions on his fields.

\*\* Two Salwa Judum activists of Usuru village of Bijapur district situated in the borders of Charla, were annihilated by Maoists on September 27. These two were informing the police about the movements of the Maoists.

\*\* On October 11, CPI (Maoist) guerrillas annihilated the Sub-Zonal Commandar Nilesh @ Kariman Ganju and Devlal Bhuia of Trutiya Prastuti Committee. They were on the target of Maoists since long time. Once upon a time they called themselves as Maoists. After joining TPC, he has become a goonda and started beating up the villagers, collecting the levy from officials has become his profession. Maoists could kill him in his own area, Kunda.

Maoists fired at this Sub Zonal Commander of TPC who was dancing in a Orchestra Party's stage at Durga Mandap in the early hours of Friday, which was situated about 500 yards from Kunda PS. There was a xxx after hearing the firing sound in the Archestra and Nilesh was killed while trying to escape. After 3 Maoists were killed in a police encounter near Dantar village in Varisht Nagar PS, Devlal Bhuiya has become the target of Maoists as he was a police informer. He was killed by the Maoists who came on a motor cycle and fired at Devlal who was playing cards at the village choupal.

\*\* Munger: Two persons were killed by the members of CPI (Maoist) near Ghapri village in Bihar's Munger district.

\*\* Three police informers were annihilated in Jodepalli village in Bijapur district in Chattisgarh (Dandakaranya) on November 2. The village lies 18 Km from Bedere PS. A 100-strong guerrilla force visited Jodepalli and arrested several persons suspected to be acting as police informers. After enquiry three of the arrested—Majji Beja, Majji Nargo and Majji—were found to be actively involved in passing over information about the movements of Maoists to the police and these three were annihilated.

### **School Building used as police camp blown up in Chatra**

**Chatra:** CPI (Maoists) blew up a school building used as a police camp in Chatra district of Jharkhand on October 3rd. A group of Maoist guerrillas arrived in the school with firearms and blew up the Satbahni Primary School, which was being used as a police camp. While one room of the school building was razed to ground, four class rooms were completely damaged. Other rooms of the building developed cracks. Maoists left three pamphlets at the place of incident. The slogans like "*police should not stay at schools, police-TPC have joined hands—let us smash both!*" (*police school me rahna band kar, police TPCse kiya gatjod-donoko maaro thabdthod*)

### **Several mobile towers blown up in Palamu, Gaya and Aurangabad**

Daltanganj/Aurangabad/Gaya: In Navaabjar under Vishrampur Thana of Palamudistrict and Aurangabad and Gaya districts of Bihar 5 mobile towers were blown up by Maoist guerrillas on October 4th. In Navabajar, Rs. 25 lakh worth of instruments of Reliance tower were burnt to ashes due to which communication system was completely stalled. Earlier, a BSNL tower was blown up in the same area. On the night of October 4th about 30-40 armed Maoists reached Navabajar and burnt down the instruments of Reliance tower which was situated in the midst of densely populated area.

On the same night, in Ketaki and Aroura under Dev PS area of Aurangabad district, Maoists blew up four mobile towers of Airtel and Reliance. Generator and BTS machine were also blown up. About two dozen of armed Maoists reached Ketaki bazaar at 10 pm and forced open the gates. They then planted a dynamite and blew up the towers. The loss was estimated to be around Rs. 2 crores.

Earlier on September 27, two towers of reliance communications in the villages of Bishanpur and Majhuliya of Palamu were blown up. In Imamganj area 4 towers—two of BSNL, one Airtel and one of Reliance were blown up. In Tisibar, Palamu's Pandu prakhand, reliance company's telephone tower's DG and controlroom were burnt down. In the midnight of 27th Roshangganj police station – Chougiyan village – one tower of airtel tower. Dumaria police station- Mygara village – generator of BSNL



# News from the Counter-Revolutionary Camp

## Cobra forces for six states

The decision of the Central Government to set up a 10,000-strong COBRA (Combat Battalions for Resolute Action) force to engage in counter-insurgency warfare to suppress the Naxalites was declared in the month of August last (see last issue of MIB). Now the Cabinet committee on security has worked out the details of deployment of the COBRA Battalions. It has decided to deploy three battalions in Chattisgadh (app.3000), 2 each for Jharkhand and UP, one each for Orissa, Maharashtra and Bihar. When asked for the reason for not sending the central commando force to AP and MP, official spokesperson said that *"In Maharashtra these forces will be deployed in Bhandara district. As this area is in the border of MP, these forces will engage in operations in both the states. Anyhow Grey Hounds in AP are already fighting the naxals, that's why there is no necessity of deploying cobras there."*



In Chattisgarh, the Head Office of the battalion of the COBRA force will be in Amgikapur instead of Raigadh as announced earlier. Two Battalions will be formed this year and 8 in next two years.

It was also decided to set up a special intelligence wing for each COBRA Battalion consisting of 30 members and headed by an Assistant Commandant. Without such an Intelligence wing of its own it is felt that it is impossible for the COBRA Battalions to fight the Maoists.

Central government has also given a green signal to expand the anti-terrorist school in silchar of Assam. After improving the basic facilities, every year, training will be given to 700 commandos of Cobra battalion, especially in jungle and raid warfare.

## Rs. 500-crore infrastructure to curb naxalism

NEW DELHI: On September 11, the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs approved a new Central scheme for providing special infrastructure in States affected by Left-wing extremism. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh presided over the meeting.

The Rs. 500-crore scheme will be launched during the 11th Plan. For the current financial year, Rs.100 crore has been earmarked, an official spokesperson said.

**The aim is to provide adequate infrastructure critical to policing and security needs on the field.** Over 70 districts in about a dozen States are affected by Left-wing extremism, which the Prime Minister has described as the biggest challenge to internal security. The government has recently approved the formation of a 10,000-strong, special anti-naxal force 'COBRA' — Combat Battalion for Resolute Action.

The Cabinet also approved creation of 48 new posts of Special Director-General, Additional Director-General and Inspector-General to strengthen the supervisory structure of Central police organisations for better command and control.

## Mosquitoes, cold sting cops fighting Maoists in Dhanbad

Pioneer News Service | Dhanbad September 12, 2008

With the police personnel moving on foot in the wilderness to counter the growing impact of the Maoists, it is all about bites.

If they don't bite a bullet in the Long Range Patrols (LRPs), it is the mosquitoes that bite them. And with sudden changes in the weather, during the nocturnal excursions, the chill bites into their bones.

At the worst of all things for some police personnel, during the marathon treks through Maoist-affected villages, if nothing else happens then they have their shoes biting them.

The situation, more or less, is similar with senior police officials, who have equally scant sources to thrive in the bivouacs, where only source of sustenance is the huge bonfires kept alive by the equally shivering Chowkidars (rural policemen).

"We were recently on an LRP near the foothills of Parasnath Hills, when one of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) jawans deputed on sentry duty came tottering towards the fire and before we could react, fell down," said constable Mahesh Kumar. He explained the CRPF personnel had been hit by a cold bout and only after 15 days in hospital, could regain his composure.

"There is always the danger of concealed land mines or claymores being triggered off through either wire connection or remote," reasoned Officer-in-Charge (OC) of Barwadda police station, Vinod Kumar.

"With top level officials heading the police contingent in highly Maoist-affected areas, it is not that the work is easy, it is, in fact all the more difficult and risky for us," admitted Topchanchi Officer-in-Charge (OC), Vinay Kumar.

He explained that with senior police officials in the contingent, "as the OC of the area, it is my prim duty to lay my life before anything untoward happens to my seniors and due to this, I often surge ahead of the contingent despite being rebuked by the senior."

For majority of the police and even the CRPF personnel, the absence of comfortable bedrolls is something avidly missed. "We are compelled to make do with hay stacks which are available aplenty in the rural areas," said sepoy Mukhtar Khan.

As the CRPF men carry their own water bottles, the scarcity hits the district policemen more and for this, other than banking on the settlements they visit and search (for Maoist cadres), there is no other alternative.

"Thank God, food is something which we get aplenty, though it is slightly less spicy and flavoured," admitted another constable Ratanji Singh.

With no grouses over the shortage of victuals, Dhanbad police personnel continue to fall prey to malaria while warding off the Maoist menace during repeated forays and sojourns in the wild areas of the district.

### **Life Insurance for Officials on Poll Duty**

The Election commission has decided to insure the lives of officials and employee on polling duty in Chattisgarh for Rs. 5 lakhs. On October 4, R.D Diwan, Deputy Chief Election Officer, has informed that if any official or worker dies while on duty, the relatives of the deceased will be given the insured money of Rs. 5 lakh as compensation. He also announced that for permanent disability Rs. 3 lakh and for temporary disability Rs. 1 lakh would be given as compensation. The period of insurance will be between the beginning of the election duty and returning from the polling centres. Insurance cover will be valid between the period of taking machinery to the polling booths and returning them, which will be maximum of three days. In difficult terrains it will be a bit longer.

Mainly this is because Bastar and Sarguja areas of Chattisgarh are under the influence of Naxals. More than 18 Assembly constituencies are under the heavy influence of naxals. Usually there will be attacks on electioneering parties also. Hence, keeping in view these possible dangers, it felt that this insurance plan has become very much necessary.

### **Balimela Syndrome grops AP Grey Hounds**

The memories of Balimela (the wiping out of 33 Grey Hounds personnel in an ambush by Maoists while the latter were crossing the reservoir near Chitrakonda in AOB Special Zone on June 29 this year) continue to haunt the Grey Hounds commandos like a nightmare. Grey Hounds in AP who lost 33 of their men is now facing a new problem.

The number of jawans who are leaving the Grey Hounds and returning to their own departments is increasing. Already more than 10 Inspector-level officers left for their own departments and many more have applied for transfer.

Personel from various police wings such as APSP, SPF, Armed Reserve etc are taken into the Grey Hounds on deputation basis, besides some permanent ones. The Balimela incident had pushed them into defence with growing pressure from families to seek transfer from Grey Hounds. In a department which was boasting of discipline, the personel have been openly expressing their dissatisfaction. It is reported that some of the Grey Hounds personnel had expressed dissatisfaction against the attitude of the higher officials. The government which had taken note of the looming danger is trying to mend the damage by changing the higher-level officers. Rajiv Tiwari was shifted out as IG and Mahendra Reddy was allotted to the post.

Several measures are being taken to boost up the morale of the Grey Hounds force and to retain them by dangling incentives. The government has declared that helicopters will be available to the Grey Hounds round-the-clock from now onwards. Special housing quarters are being constructed for the jawans in Vishakhapatnam and Gandipet in Hyderabad with facilities such as swimming pools. Moves are also underway to hike the pay and allowances of the forces by 10-20 % soon. Will the families of the Grey Hounds who do not want to see their sons return in the form of bodybags be satisfied by these incentives? Would these out of the way measures ensure that the elite commandos do not run away from the force?

Even the mightiest super power could not prevent its much-pampered Marines from deserting the war fields of Vietnam and now Iraq and Afghanistan. Can the Indian rulers ensure that their pet mercenary forces will not follow suit? A few more Balimelas and visuals of bodybags returning home would bring to nought all these desperate attempts of the reactionary rulers of India and lead to a mass exodus of personnel from the Grey Hounds.

### **Continuing demoralization among the police forces in Dandakaranya**

According to newsreports in the second week of October, Chattisgarh government has suspended at least 13 police officials who refused to join duty after being transferred to Bastar area. IG (administration) R.K Vij said there was no other option before them but to initiate disciplinary action against them. 13 police officials—six Inspectors and seven Sub-Inspectors—were transferred to the remote areas of Bastar in July and August. But these personnel had refused to accept the transfer orders. Some others have also preferred to get the suspension orders instead of accepting transfers. A list of four more DSP-level officers was also sent to the government to take stern action. He said this is the first round of suspensions and more are likely to follow.

### **Three police centres will be built on Kaimur Hills: IG**

**Dehri-on-Son(Rohtas):** In order to control the activities of the Naxalites three police centres will be formed on kaimoor hills and continuous combing operation will go on. Under '*Operation Vidhvans*' a big rally of naxals was said to have been destroyed near Banda village. Reviewing this operation, which was conducted for 3 days, police IG(Operation)S.K. Bharadwaj said on October 10 that under any circumstances adivasis will be liberated from the danger of extremists and preparations were completed for this. In Banda, Badhuva and Soli, police camps will be established to ensure continuous supervision. Extremists seized all the licensed weapons and by solving the family disputes they made their stronghold in the area.

### **Arrests of Maoists**

Area commander and 2 women comrades com. Ayesha Bibi @ Ranju, Sunita and Parvati at Nawadah Mayapur arrested in Palamu district on September 16 and were sent to jail.

On the same day, Comrade Kayil choudhury and Ramnath Singh were arrested from

Mahadipur village by the police belonging to Gohagoh and Uphara PS (Aurangabad).

**On October 9th** two Maoists were arrested in Dhugdha village of Aghora PS. Comrades Sikandar Urav of Gurmata village of Nauhatta PS of Rohtak dist and Pravesh Urav is from Chotka Budva village.

**On October 12:** Two naxals were arrested from Bardiha & Purahe villages in Gadwa district under Majhiaav PS limits. One is Manoj Paswan, son of sub-Zonal commander Prithvi Dusadh alias suman who is in Ambikapur jail at present, and the other Santosh Rajvar resident of Purahe village, Majhiaav PS.

**Gadwa:** Gadwa police arrested Sub-Zonal Commandar Rajendra Sinh Kharwar @ Shyam @ Umesh and two others. He was picked up from a rented house at Kishoreganj. He is a resident of Bhaisabedava tola of Udaypur of Ranka PS.

### **Two Maoists injured in encounter with police**

SASARAM: According to a delayed report which appeared in papers of September 5, two Maoists were injured in an encounter with the police on Kaimur hills at Soli village under Naxal-affected Nauhatta police station of Rohtas district in the wee hours of September 1st. The police recovered two rifles, 60 live cartridges and medicine in huge quantity.

Sources said that following a tip-off that the Maoists were organizing a medical camp in a residential Adivasi high school at Soli on Kaimur hills, a police team led by Rohtas SP Vikas Vaivabh rushed to the spot on the previous night.

The encounter took place for about one hour. In the exchange of fire, police fired about 150 rounds.

One Maoist - Mandey Uraon - of nearby Nagatoli village was arrested. Documents recovered from the spot revealed that the Maoists had organized a four-day medical camp under the banner of Jan Sahayog Health Samiti in different villages of Kaimur hills.

### **Maoist death due to negligence of the jail administration**

A Maoist prisoner, Katlen Satyam, who was undergoing a sentence in Jagdalpur central jail in Chattisgarh, died in Maharani Hospital. His case was referred by the doctors to be treated in Raipur ten months before but the jail authorities refused to take him to Raipur but was treated in Jagdalpur itself. In December 2007, comrade Satyam was shifted to Jagdalpur central jail from Dantewada where he was undergoing a sentence. He hails from Garraguda village falling under Madded PS limits in Bijapur district. When he was admitted in Jagdalpur hospital in January 2008, taking note of the serious condition of the patient the doctors team referred his case to raipur. But for the last ten months he was kept in Jagdalpur hospital which resulted in his death.



### **Show cause notices to IPS officers in AP for stealing gallantry awards**

Show cause Notices have been served on three IPS officers in Andhra Pradesh who had faked their presence during a so-called encounter in Koyyur in Karimnagar district in December 1999 in which three top leaders of the then CPI(ML)[People's War] were killed. We are giving a brief description of the incident to familiarise the readers with the historical background of this encounter. All the three leaders of erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW]—Nalla Adireddy alias Shyam, Santosh Reddy alias Mahesh and Seelam Naresh alias Murali—were in fact abducted from a safe house in Bangalore on December 1st basing on information provided to the APSIB by a renegade. Comrade Shyam was a member of the CC Secretariat, Mahesh was the secretary of AP State Committee



***Com. Shyam***



***Com. Mahesh***



***Com. Murali***

and Murali was secretary of North Telengana Special Zonal Committee. They were tortured cruelly and murdered the next day. Their bodies were thrown in the forests near Koyyur village in Karimnagar district in North Telangana.

The erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] had vowed to take revenge and on the same day the following year it formed the People's Guerrilla Army and decided to observe the day every year as Army formation day. After the merger of CPI(ML)[PW] and Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) and the formation of the CPI(Maoist), it was decided to continue this tradition and to observe the day of the martyrdom of these three beloved leaders of the Party and Indian revolution as PLGA Formation day. Thus every year Army formation week is being observed from December 2-8.

Not content with arresting unarmed comrades in the town and murdering them in a fake encounter, the khaki-clad IPS vultures that had tortured and murdered these comrades with the blessings of Chandrababu Naidu's TDP government in AP wanted to even obtain gallantry awards! These officers—the then SP of Karimnagar district, DIG of SIB and Chief of Intelligence—faked their presence at the site of the encounter and took the gallantry awards for their bravery using their influence with the ruling Party. At present one of them is IGP, another is a DG and the third had gone to central service on deputation. Later some rival IPS officers complained to the government in 2006 that these three officers were not physically present at the site of the encounter. (Even these IPS officers did not, of course, state the fact that there had been no encounter at all).

Now the central government had asked the state government to send show cause notices to the officers asking why their gallantry medals should not be taken back since they had not participated in the encounter. The chief secretary to the Government of Andhra Pradesh has finally issued notices to the three officers who are now in high positions. If this takes effect this will be the first case in which gallantry awards are returned for faking the bravery. Some government officials and top police officials and political leaders are shamelessly supporting the three officers saying that taking back the awards would lead to demoralization among the police officers. ■

## **Karl Marx's solution for the crisis**

### **Crisis drives economists and governments to study Karl Marx to find a way out**

As crisis across the world economies deepens by the hour belying all hopes for a recovery in near future, and as the lives of the people deteriorate at an alarming pace, there is growing interest in Karl Marx. Those who know the history of the Great Depression of the 1930s also know that only one country had withstood the crisis that had swept the entire world. That was Russia under comrade Stalin and the sole reason for Russia to withstand the crisis was the socialist economy. Marxist economic principles directed the economy in Russia which could weather the all-encompassing world crisis. This had been like a miracle to many and given the current crisis that brings to one's mind memories of the Great Depression, there is a renewed interest in Marx's Das Kapital.

According to Jörn Schütrumpf, manager of the Berlin publishing house Karl- Dietz which publishes the works of Marx and Engels in German. *"We're seeing a very distinct increase in demand for his books, a demand which we expect to rise even more steeply before the year's end."* He says that readers are *"those of a young academic generation, who have come to recognise that the neoliberal promises of happiness have not proved to be true."* Bookshops around the country are reporting that sales are up by 300%.

The following is a report published in a newspaper on the growing interest in Karl Marx:

With Wall Street teetering, Main Street teeming with people with pink slips in their hands and the government tightening its grip on credit, the common man is returning to the works of Karl Marx. It is understandable. He was the one who wrote to Friedrich Engels during the financial turmoil of 1857, *"the American Crash is a delight to behold and it's far from over"*.

He might have a point, yet again, in the 21st century. With no one, except for the unreconstructed left, even claiming to know what's going on or how to get out of this snafu, people are turning to books for answers, but not the ones written by the likes of Lee Iacocca. Instead, they're buying Marx, dead since 1883 and presumed to be out of fashion since the collapse of the USSR in 1989. [Market](#) analyst Rohit Sinha, who picked a copy of the Communist Manifesto a couple of weeks ago even as disparate governments intervened in the markets, says, *"I never knew that way back in 1848, Marx wrote that centralization of credit in the hands of state is an essential step for communism"*.

But, not all bankers are rushing to the market to pick a copy of Das Capital, Marx's seminal critique of capitalism. The new fashion for Marx is mainly run by young men and women, often students. They are visiting bookstores that sell Marxist literature. Booksellers have noticed the surge in sales. Ram Kumar Sharma of Delhi's People's Publishing House, says, *"There is a lot of demand for the Capital and it's out of print. But hundreds of titles written by Marx, Engels and Lenin are selling well"*. Sharma's store, which is well-known for selling leftist literature, earned roughly Rs 80,000 from the sale of Marx's books this year alone. It was a considerable achievement, considering its wares are never priced at anything over Rs 100.

Bookstores in both Delhi universities Jawaharlal Nehru and DU report a surge in the sale of books by Marx. *"Earlier, the sales were so low that we stopped keeping any of his books, but in the past few months, many students have come to us looking for them,"* says the owner of one campus bookstore, adding that he was trying to procure the full range for newly eager consumers.

But the story is slightly different in the swankier book shops. *"It's always young, academic types who buy Marxist books, but I am not sure if the sales of these books have increased because of the financial crisis,"* says Anuj Bahri of the Bahrasons in Khan Market, Delhi.

Even so, the new-found fascination with Marx is not restricted to sections of Indian readers. Das Capital has been flying off the shelves in Marx's native Germany, where the finance minister was heard admitting last week that *"certain parts of Marx's thinking are really not so bad."* European public figures such as French president Nicolas Sarkozy and Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams have recently been discovered to be viewing the founder of scientific socialism with unaccustomed compassion. Noted German film director Alexander Kluge is even planning a blockbuster based on Das Kapital.

It's back to the future. The credit crunch has spurred the young, discontented and dispossessed or those inquiring to dump Groucho's one-liners for the contested truths within the arduous paragraphs of the original Marx.



# From the Newspapers

## ***“protect us from the cobras” – lawyers plea to the Chief Justice***

**Hyderabad, Newslines:**

The lawyers belongs to the Civil Liberties Commmittee appealed to the Chief Justice of the Andhra Pradesh Highcourt to provide protection to them as they were receiving threatening calls from the Cobras as they are defending the Maoists in cases. Mr. Bojja Tarakam, Balagopal etc met Justice Anil Ramesh Dave in this regard. They said they are getting threatening letters in the name of Black Cobras as they were arguing the cases in lower courts on behalf of Maoists. K. Srinivasa Choudhury, Markapuram , Prakasham dist., D. Narasimham of Nalgonda, Raghunath, Suresh Kumar and Tummala Jagadish were among them.

The defense lawyer Mr. Srinivas Choudhury said, the threatening he is getting are increased since he is defending Maoist top leader Comrade Sagar. He received a parcel of explosives with a threatening from the Black Cobras saying he will be killed if he argues in favour of Comrade Sagar. He complained to the police in this regard. Markapuram Bar Association boycotted the duties in protest against this.

However, Mr. Srinivasa Choudhury is accusing the police of sending the letters in the name of Cobras and says that the warnings given given to him through the phone call , alleging him as working as a bridge between Sagar and the Maoists, is a proof for this. But asusual police denied this allegation and said they will nab the culprits sooner.

### **DGP Vishwa Ranjan”s Vishwa Roop**

(We are reproducing two articles by Vishwa Ranjan, a self-styled intellectual and DGP of Chattisgarh. The underlined matter in the articles is the comment made by the editor. These articles which had appeared in a newspaper are quite amusing and reflect the political bankruptcy, irrational logic and poverty of the mind-set of the top police brass of Chattisgarh. In his desperation to defend the counter-revolutionary terrorist abhiyaan called salwa judum sponsored by BJP’s Raman Singh government in Chattisgarh and the Congress-led Manmohan Singh government in Delhi, and hush up the indescribable atrocities carried out by khaki-clad mercenaries, Vishwa Ranjan attacks every intellectual and democratic organization that had dared to raise a voice against state and state-sponsored terror. He tries to brand anyone who speaks against his tyrannical rule in Chattisgarh as members of Maoist network. This little tyrant believes in the philosophy of the universal tyrant George Bush that *“If you are not with us, then you are with them”*. *This progeny of Hitler doesn’t spare anyone who points a finger at the atrocities of his vigilante gangs in Chattisgarh: Nandini Sundar, Ramachandra Guha, Arundhati Roy, Asian Centre for Human Rights, Human Rights Forum, Committee Against Violence on Women, all those who do not support salwa judum are lebelled as Maoist sympathizers.*)

*It is universally known but for the petty police mind of Vishwa Ranjan, that none of the above-mentioned individuals or organizations have any sympathy for the Maoist ideology or politics. The debates between the Maoists and some of these intellectuals is also publicly known.*

*Notwithstanding all these facts, the mind of Chattisgarh’s DGP thrives on the sole logic that anyone who raises a voice against salwa judum must be part of Maoist network. The two articles, which reveal the mind-set of intolerance of the police establishment in Chattisgarh, will help one to understand the condition of those who dare to raise a voice agaist the police-goonda raj in Chattisgarh. When a DGP can write such nonsense and hurl accusations against democratic individuals and organizations outside his state, then what would be the fate of those in Chattisgarh who venture to point a finger at his despicable, despotic acts? Arbitrary arrest and*

*incarceration of intellectuals like Dr. Binayak Sen, Ajay TG and others had already shown how brutal and vengeful the police state could become when faced with serious dissent. The two articles are taken as they are from the newspapers and published here again as not many people will have access to these newspapers.)*

### **To help Maoists, activists criticise Salwa Judum**

#### **Intellectuals and human rights activists have been peddling fiction as fact about the tribals' movement against Maoist violence, says *Vishwa Ranjan***

In March 2006, the Asian Centre for Human Rights was the first organisation to castigate *Salwa Judum* and demanded that it should be closed down. It did not find it fit to mention what would be the fate of *Salwa Judum* activists after they returned to their villages. Would the Maoists spare them? They did not spare the activists of Jan Jagaran Abhiyan when they returned to their villages. *(Mr Vishwa Ranjan! If you glance through the Maoist movement you would find that Maoists had always punished only those who indulged in anti-people activities and acted as police informers. We would be glad if you can cite a few instances of innocent adivasis having been punished by Maoists. We can assure publicly that no salwa judum activist would be punished if he/she apologises in public and reprints for the crimes committed under your orders.)* During May 17-22, 2006, Independent Citizen's Initiative visited Bastar on a five-day tour and criticised *Salwa Judum*.

In June 2006, the Polit Bureau of the CPI (Maoist) described the *Salwa Judum* as the greatest setback which the revolutionary movement had faced since 1972. It also resolved to isolate and crush the movement at all levels. This was followed by a plethora of study teams visiting Bastar to castigate *Salwa Judum* at various levels. *(It is true that Maoists had decided at the highest level to isolate and crush salwa judum at all levels. We reaffirm our commitment to protect the adivasis from the savage attacks by salwa judum goons and the police-para-military forces. We shall exert all means to isolate and crush salwa judum and the state's armed hooligans who commit indescribable barbarities on the people of Dandakaranya. But my dear Vishwa Ranjan! Can a saner mind understand your conclusion regarding the relationship between the decision of CPI(Maoist) to isolate and crush your vigilante force and a plethora of study teams visiting Bastar? Or should one lose one's sanity to appreciate your illogical and senseless presumption?)*

Again in December 2006, a report, *Salwa Judum and Violence on Women in Dantewada*, prepared by a fact-finding women's team, was published. This team was constituted by the Committee Against Violence on Women of which Ms Soma Sen (wife of Maoist leader Tusharkanti Bhattacharya) is an active member. *(Is there anything wrong if a wife of a Maoist leader is a member of an organisation that takes up fact-finding of your gory deeds? Are you saying that such a person should not have the right to involve in democratic activity? Or that the report of the organization to which he/she belongs should be viewed with suspicion?)* Another report, *Death, Displacement and Deprivation in Dantewada* was published by Human Rights Forum.

The Maoist decision to isolate and crush the *Salwa Judum* movement at every level had started to bear results. All the reports try to make out a case that there has been accretion in violence in Bastar region because of *Salwa Judum*. *(This is yet another senseless and baseless allegation. Should one conclude that the brain of Mr. Vishwa Ranjan is so ill-developed that he jumps to the conclusion that there is a connection between the Maoist decision to isolate and crush salwa judum at every level and the observations of the reports of the fact-finding teams that there is accretion in violence in Bastar because of salwa judum? If so, it reflects upon the extremely poor mental faculties and irrational attitude of the top police officials of our country. Almost all the reports had also leveled several accusations against the Maoists and we are keen on entering into a debate with them on the question of revolutionary counter-violence. The real motive behind such an allegation by Vishwa Ranjan seems to be to pressurize the intellectuals and civil rights organizations to desist from criticizing his lumpen vigilante force and to come out against the Maoists.)*

But no one has bothered to notice that every organ of Government had receded from the areas which were under Maoist dominance for 10 to 15 years due to the violence. No one cared that doctors had run away from primary health centres and schools, roads, bridges, etc, were destroyed by the Maoists long before the *Salwa Judum* movement started. *(Who would you fool by such a pack of unblemished lies, Mr. Vishwa Ranjan? Entire world knows that "every organ of government" that you speak of had acted as an organ of oppression and exploitation of adivasis until the Maoists had arrived upon the scene. Your forest, revenue, police officials, along with rapacious contractors and unscrupulous traders, had made life a virtual hell for the adivasis. This is precisely the reason why adivasis chose to be on the side of the Maoists and aspire for a revolutionary change in their lives and the social system. They are only too glad that the vultures you speak of have been driven away from their areas. No school was destroyed by Maoists if it was not used by the police as its camp. You cannot show a single instance where we had destroyed a school that was really meant for education purpose. As for roads and bridges, wherever they are being constructed solely for the purpose of moving your troops as clearly planned at top-level meetings of ministers and bureaucracy, it is necessary to destroy them. You cannot deny the fact that most of the roads that are being constructed are not meant for transporting people, and that no bus service exists for years after the construction of roads in many areas of Dandakaranya, and that they are used solely for transporting the police and other armed forces of the state to suppress the Maoist movement.)*

In January 2007, the supporting network of the Maoists further stepped up their opposition to the *Salwa Judum* movement. The High Court and the Supreme Court were moved to ban *Salwa Judum*. A lie was spread across the country that relief camps are actually *Salwa Judum* camps. The truth that *Salwa Judum* supporters form only a small component of those who live in relief camps was glossed over. Another lie blown out of proportion was that villagers were forced into relief camps by security forces and *Salwa Judum* activists. *(How many more fact-finding teams will make you admit this stark fact, Mr. Vishwa Ranjan? When your vigilante gangs and khaki-clad mercenaries burn down houses, abduct a member of each family to coerce others to leave their villages, deny access to weekly market to all those who refuse to shift to the salwa judum camps, use brutal methods such as beating, murder, rape and destruction of property to force people to the camps, then how could anyone arrive at any other conclusion? The fact is, as you know very well, though you wouldn't dare to admit it, all the vultures who are itching to loot the mineral wealth of the region have conspired to create strategic hamlets in Vietnamese style under US occupation.)*

It was suggested that *Salwa Judum* had increased tribal strife. It's only natural that in a tribal area revolt against Maoist oppression would primarily be by the tribals. After all people from Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh or Haryana would not come to Bastar to revolt against the Maoist oppression in the area. (Well said! Mr. Vishwa Ranjan!

It was let out by the pro-Maoist network that tribals were being forced to live in the camps against their wishes. No one bothered to mention that the Maoists were killing relief camp dwellers when they went to the weekly market or visited their villages. The Maoists were also able to convince journalists and others that *Salwa Judum* is state-sponsored. *(And why did you fail to convince these intellectuals that salwa judum is a spontaneous movement when you assert that it is so? Are these intellectuals so blind-eyed dull-headed that they cannot see the facts? Anyway, we are indeed flattered by your comment that we are able to convince journalists and others that salwa judum is state-sponsored. This has given us more confidence regarding our abilities.)*

Is there any example anywhere in the world where 60,000 people have been sponsored by the Government to lead a movement for over three years? *(Hear! Hear! Goebbels would turn in his grave hearing this master bluffer. Are the 60,000 people in salwa judum camps leading the so-called movement or held captive by your brute state and vigilante gangs, Mr. Ranjan? Are they not living in concentration camps in the most*

unhygienic conditions tied up like cattle? Are you not ashamed to utter such a lie?)  
Yes, the state has a responsibility towards the displaced people who are in the 23 relief camps. Since the Maoists have been targeting them, the state has to protect them. The state is also within its rights to support the principles on which *Salwa Judum* is organised. (principles of "kill all, burn all, destroy all!")

Analysis of the reports of the various study teams makes it clear that a major part of the 'findings' is based on allegations and assertions. The purpose was to 'crush' the *Salwa Judum* movement at all levels as was decreed by the Maoist leadership. (Would the study teams write more against Maoists to please our little tyrant Vishwa Ranjan?)

— The writer is Director-General of Chhattisgarh Police. **Tomorrow: Facts versus fiction.** 5-09-08.

**Maoists adopt Goebbelsian tactics, repeat lies-  
Thus are they able to garner the sympathy and support of a gullible  
intelligentsia and urban elite, writes Vishwa Ranjan**

Recently I came across another funny logic in a book of interviews of Arundhati Roy. In one of the interviews, Roy said that she is aware of the atrocities committed by Communists and Maoists in the countries ruled by them but there are no reasons to believe that they would commit similar atrocities if they come to power in India. However, Roy said, if they actually start committing atrocities after they gain power, she would be one of the first to oppose them.

This is a queer logic which actually means — they were very bad in other countries but hopefully they will not be bad in India, but if they prove to be bad in India, she would oppose them and become a martyr. What happens to other people is of no concern to Ms Roy.

It is nearly two years since the Polit Bureau of CPI (Maoist) resolved to isolate *Salwa Judum* at all levels so that it can be crushed. The network continues its stepped up pressure tactics at every level. It petitioned the Supreme Court through Nandini Sunder and historian Ramchandra Guha to ban *Salwa Judum*. (Nandini Sunder and Ramachandra Guha should beware of the conspiracy underway to place them behind bars like Dr. Binayak Sen for being part of the outlawed Maoist network as alleged by Mr. Ranjan. And why these intellectuals in the Maoist network themselves level accusations against Maoists Mr. Ranjan himself would be able to explain. Mr. Ranjan should go through the Reply by our General Secretary, comrade Ganapathy, to the questions raised by the Independent Citizens' Initiative in Outlook magazine last year.)

Just before the Supreme Court commenced its hearing, a news item appeared in all the papers that the Administrative Reforms Commission has castigated *Salwa Judum* in its report. The fact is that the Administrative Reforms Commission had only stated in its report that *Salwa Judum* has been unsuccessful in containing Maoist expansion and violence and that the poor tribals are being crushed between the legal power of the State and illegal power of the Maoists. What the Maoist network did not project was that the same report talks of the necessity of employing a large number of tribal youth as Special Police Officers. But how could they have projected this? It would have knocked out a major portion of their argument in the Supreme Court. Further, the Maoists know that very few people will actually go through the report submitted by the Commission. (But do you agree with the conclusion of the Administrative Reforms Commission that *Salwa Judum* has failed in containing Maoist expansion and violence despite all your claims to the contrary?)

Soon another report was planted in media by the Maoist network stating that the expert committee of the Planning Commission has castigated *Salwa Judum*. The whole report was planted in a manner that it looked as if the Planning Commission itself had castigated the movement. No one noticed that this committee was constituted in 2006 and worked overtime to produce its report in April 2008 just before the Supreme Court commenced its hearing of the *Salwa Judum* petition.

An analysis of the reports and the members of the expert team would reveal that

most of the team members had strong Maoist leanings. Further, the report was primarily based on the written views submitted by the members in the areas in which they had specialisation. But the views of two members, who had long years of experience in matters of national security, was not accepted as they supported the *Salwa Judum* movement. Even their 'decent' notes were not incorporated. The report quoted secondary sources which were intelligently chosen to prove a particular point of view. It also displayed a lot of assertions and very little analysis. (So Mr. Ranjan has not spared even the expert committee of the Planning Commission for the simple reason that it had castigated salwa judum. And for committing this crime most of the members of the expert committee are branded as people with strong Maoist leanings. At this rate Mr. Ranjan is likely to increase the number of Maoists and people sympathetic to Maoist movement to a ridiculously huge figure! For, in his eyes, whoever talks against salwa judum or state terror will be part of Maoist network or possess strong Maoist leanings! If only this were true.....!! Revolution will not take that long to become victorious and Mr. Vishwa Ranjan and the likes would be forced to vomit the facts of their war crimes in the people's court!!)

The aim of the Maoist network was essentially to influence and pressurise the Supreme Court. But they failed to understand that the Indian judicial system is not affected by such pressure tactics. (By such flattery of the Indian judicial system, which his men hardly respect going by the spate of fake encounters and untold atrocities, this cunning jackal thinks he can turn it in favour of salwa judum.)

A senior Maoist, who was arrested in Patna a few years back, had told me: "We are not Gandhians. We are fighting a war and would not hesitate to use the weaknesses in the institutions of police, judiciary, bureaucracy, politics, and academics for our purpose." After going through thousands of secret Maoist documents, now I know that what he was saying then was what the Maoists actually believe in. (Vishwa Ranjan thinks he has discovered something like Newton's law. But this so-called discovery is nothing to boast about. Why will anyone hesitate to use the weaknesses in the various departments for advancing the revolution? In fact, advance of revolution also depends on how effectively one can use the weaknesses in the system. What is the point he is trying to prove is not clear)

When the team of National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) toured Bastar, the Maoist network operating in Chhattisgarh was already putting pressure on NHRC headquarters to give a report supporting Maoists' allegations. I have always felt that the problem with social activists especially of Maoist variety is that they think that pressure-tactics, lobbying, manipulation etc can get them anything they want. Nandini Sunder with her team and students from Delhi are touring villages of Dantewada to persuade people to oppose *Salwa Judum* give evidence against it when they meet the NHRC. The students are doing Press conferences demanding ban on *Salwa Judum*.

The Maoist psy-war experts still believe in Goebbels who believed that a lie repeated over and over again can acquire a ring of truth. (Should we say again and again that vishwa ranjan is not a murderer, not a despot and is a well-mannered gentleman so that it can acquire a ring of truth?) But they do not understand a simple truth that one cannot fool all the people all the time. (But Mr. Ranjan, you cannot even fool all the people some of the time, or some people all of the time, or worse still, some people some of the time. So poor is your logic, and so glaringly transparent are the facts that all your attempts to fool the people even for a short while have ended up in utter fiasco. When will you grow up Mr. Vishwa Ranjan?)

## **Maoists to face heat**

The Pioneer Edit Desk, September 12, 2008

### **Bullet-for-bullet policy on anvil**

Maoist violence has continued in spite of the Union Government's measures to curb the same. It is, therefore, welcome that the Centre is now planning to take strict steps to fight this problem. A fortnight ago the Government raised a 10,000 strong

special anti-Maoist force that is to be known as Combat Battalion for Resolute Action, or 'Cobra'. The Centre has also decided to provide a Rs 800-crore package to combat the Maoists. In this regard the Home Ministry has prepared a five-point agenda that is being put before the Cabinet for approval. Among the measures to be taken, providing mobility to police forces is of utmost importance. This will help security personnel access Maoist camps that are usually located in inhospitable terrain. The Government will also provide better security to police posts to prevent Maoist attacks. Districts prone to Maoist violence have been identified and plans for special police training in these areas are also being mooted. All these measures are necessary given the increased security threat from Maoist groups. Nonetheless, the security forces have done a commendable job this year in capturing a large number of Maoist fighters. There has been better coordination and intelligence-sharing between the Central and the State security forces. This has led to a flushing out of Maoists from their hideouts in many forest and hilly areas, particularly in central India. But it would be difficult to say that the Maoists are on the run. They have fought back with equal venom.

At least 470 people, including 160 security personnel, have been killed in Maoist violence this year. It was no different last year with 650 dead, of whom 218 were security personnel. Just a few days ago a landmine blast was triggered by Maoists close to the Burudih dam near Jamshedpur. This bombing claimed the lives of 11 policemen. Late in June, Maoists had attacked an anti-insurgency unit on a reservoir in Orissa that resulted in the death of 36 policemen. A shootout in July between the police and Maoists in Hazaribagh district left five dead. From all this it would appear that the Maoist infrastructure is still intact. Maoist fighters have been following a strategy of abandoning places where they have come under attack and regrouping in other areas. Additionally, they have access to funds and sophisticated weaponry and it is quite possible that they have international contacts. All this makes them a formidable enemy. They have established a presence in many towns and cities. There is no denying that they are the biggest threat, along with *jihadis*, to internal security and cannot be underestimated. It is hoped that the latest steps that the Government plans to take will help put an end to their activities. ●

### **On the situation in Kandhamal: Excerpts from an Interview by spokesperson of Orissa state committee of CPI (Maoist)**

***"Lakshmanananda was forcing tribals to convert to Hinduism and attacking Christians. Hence we annihilated him"*—Sabyasachi Panda, Spokesperson, Orissa state committee, CPI (Maoist)**

The spokesperson of Orissa State committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) explained in an Interview with journalists on October 4 that the PLGA had carried out the decision of the Party to annihilate Vishwa Hindu Parishad leader Swami Lakshmanananda in Kandhamal district on August 23.

Talking to a team of journalists from Bhubaneswar in a forest in Kandhamal, the spokesperson of the party's Orissa unit, Sabyasachi Panda, said it became necessary to eliminate the Swami as he was forcing tribals and Dalit Christians in Kandhamal to convert to Hinduism.

"After the December 2007 communal violence in Kandhamal, we threatened to kill him if he and his supporters did not refrain from harassing tribals and Dalit Christians to change their religion," said Mr. Panda. "We ordered the death penalty for Swami Laxmanananda. He was the main leader of the VHP. They used money from non-tribal traders to build up the Bajrang Dal and ran propoganda against Christians. They falsely accused Christians and attacked them. This is why we killed Laxamanananda," said Panda.

The action was taken as he continued with his activities in different parts of the district. Mr. Panda claimed that the members of the People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) left two letters at the spot at Jalaspata ashram, claiming responsibility for

killing the Swami. "The government, however, suppressed the letters to help rioters continue with their attacks on the minority community," he said.

Comrade Panda said the VHP, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Bharatiya Janata Party had unleashed the anti-Christian violence in the state in their attempt to strengthen their vote bank among the Hindus. In the resulting attacks against the minority Christian community at least 35 people have been killed and thousands were forced to flee to the jungles to escape the rampaging mobs. More than 15,000 people, mainly Christians, have taken shelter in relief camps after their houses were torched by rampaging Hindu mobs.

He accused Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik of supporting the 'RSS-VHP-Sangh' which killed Christians and destroyed their property in the wake of the murder of the VHP leader.

"After communal violence broke out in Kandhamal, we called up media houses and issued statements claiming responsibility for killing the Swami but the communal forces refused to accept our claim. Naveen Patnaik should immediately step down as Chief Minister for his government's failure to protect the life and property of innocent people," Com. Panda said. He criticised other political parties for not raising their voice against the communal violence for fear of losing their majority vote bank.

Stating that their party was against all religions, including Hinduism, he accused the 'VHP-RSS-Sangh' of poisoning the minds of members of the majority community. He explained that Kui, Savara, Koya were not Hindus and had their own religious practices. The sangh parivar has been falsely trying to project these adivasis as Hindus.

### **Kandhamal violence not communal, says Justice Mohapatra**

*(We mention below a report from a newspaper on the observation of Justice Mohapatra on the violence in Kandhamal. Needless to say, this is yet another state-managed report following the pattern of Justice Nanavati in Gujarat and NHRC in Chattisgarh. Are there any takers for this gross travesty of truth doled out by Naveen Patnaik's state-sponsored Commission of Enquiry?)*

#### **PTI/Bubhaneswar**

Former Lokpal Justice Sarat Chandra Mohapatra, who has been empowered by the State Government to investigate the Kandhamal violence, said the violence was not communal and no particular religious group can be held responsible for it.

The recent violence that erupted in the aftermath of the killing of Swami Laxmanananda and four of his followers on August 23 in the district was a manifestation of administrative, social and political dissatisfactions over years together, he added. He, however, invited public affidavits to be submitted by November 15 to make the investigation factual and impartial.

### **Tribals demand withdrawal of CRPF companies**

Staff Reporter

#### ***CRPF personnel accused of misbehaving with women***

#### ***'State has done nothing to protect dignity of women'***

BHUBANESWAR: A group of women here on Sunday said male members in their families fled to jungles and their source of earning was fast drying up as personnel of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) allegedly unleashed terror in villages of strife-torn Kandhamal district.

They demanded CRPF companies stationed near their villages be immediately withdrawn or shifted to some other places as villagers were subjected to different types of torture due to unnecessary intervention of the paramilitary force.

#### **'Villagers terrorised'**

"For last couple of months, my husband has been leading a nomadic life. He surfaces when there are no police personnel around. This is not the lone case. A large number

of villagers have fled to jungles fearing indiscriminate arrests," charged Bulima Mallick, of Pajimah village . Arrests were being made based on imaginative descriptions being made by people , Ms. Mallick alleged.

"As no male member is found in tribal villages, CRPF personnel are forcing their entry into the houses and misbehaving with women in the night. There are instances that women had been beaten up by policemen. Some women were molested and rapes were attempted by the personnel," alleged Laxmidhar Dash, general secretary of Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram, here. Addressing a press conference, Mr. Dash said despite several complaints, State government had done nothing to protect dignity of women.

"Tribal people are slowly coming forward to resist the torture. They were in process of lodging complaints with police stations protesting the torture being meted out by CRPF personnel in their villages," he said. Reacting to news of possible government assistance for re-construction of Churches, the VKA general secretary said tribals had no problem if those Churches came up on legal lands. ●

## **NHRC's clean chit to Chattisgarh government**

NHRC's Logo:

Justice will always be out of reach  
for the common man



That the state-sponsored Human Rights Commission (NHRC) would give a clean chit to the Chattisgarh government is a foregone conclusion. The Supreme Court, responding to a petition filed by Nandini Sundar and Ramachandra Guha calling for disbanding salwa judum, had ordered the NHRC on April 15, 2008 to investigate into the human rights violations in Chattisgarh and submit a report on the role of salwa judum.

According to newspaper reports of October 7, 2008 the three-member NHRC panel headed by Sudhir Choudhary (Upa nireekshak), in its 118-page report on the situation in Chattisgarh, had given a clean chit to the BJP government in Chattisgarh on its use of salwa judum to contain the Naxalites. The NHRC team observed that one cannot refuse the right to provide arms to adivasis to defend themselves when the police is not in a position to reach out to them in time.

According to the report, which was submitted to the Supreme Court in a sealed cover and which was released on October 23 as per the Court's order, 550 complaints against salwa judum cadre were received by the NHRC team. 168 of these were looked into by the panel and found that all these were false. It found that those villagers who were said to have been killed by salwa judum or security forces according to the complaints were actually murdered by Naxalites. Worse still, the police-led Human Rights Commission also observed that the state government had given arms to villagers, particularly to the adivasis, to defend themselves against Naxalites and that the responsibility for transforming the non-violent salwa judum into a violent one lies entirely with the Naxalites. To show itself as a democratic body here and there it also held salwa judum responsible for some of the murders and violence on the people and said that there is evidence to prove that salwa judum members had forced people to the rallies and government-run camps. It however did not think it necessary to disband the vigilante gang.

The NHRC members also tried to save the police and the fascist Raman Singh government by claiming that several people who were reported killed by salwa judum cadre were actually alive and even those who had died of natural causes were included in the list of the victims of salwa judum campaign. Even if NHRC's panel head Sudhir Choudhary is dead one can say he is still alive by showing another Sudhir Choudhary as there is no dearth of people with such names in our country. There are so many adivasis with the same names that it is easy to confuse the likes of Sudhir Choudharys (of course, if he hasn't distorted the facts intentionally) and convince him that a

certain person is still alive by showing a person with a similar name. It also praised salwa judum and stated that Naxalites had been killing salwa judum cadre and have been attacking the rallies of salwa judum leaders. This, of course, is true and our Party will step up its counter-attacks on these murderous gangs whose savagery our NHRC intellectuals of Hitlerite progeny so willingly relish.

The entire exercise, like that by Nanavti Commission (read Narendra Modi Commission for it looks as if Modi had judged himself), is conducted with the pre-hatched malintention of exonerating the murderers by distorting facts. After the Nanavti commission report in Gujarat and NHRC report on salwa judum in Chattisgarh there will be hardly any people left barring the police and government officials and the reactionary rulers who will believe in such reports any more. NHRC is long known to be an arm of the establishment that occasionally raises a voice selectively on cases of violations of human rights in order to retain at least a modicum of credibility. But with its deliberate distortion of all available evidence and all-out desperate attempt to prove the murderous salwa judum terror campaign as legitimate and necessary to protect the adivasis it has proved itself to be a Nazi body that justified Hitler's programme of ethnic cleansing by providing intellectual rationale for the genocide. The haste with which it had released the report without even enquiring a third of the complaints shows that it had drawn up conclusions long before it had taken up its so-called investigation, that it had written its report first and then taken up the so-called enquiry as a formality.

This is not surprising as the NHRC team was accompanied by salwa judum activists wherever they went for their so-called investigation. Police officers too accompanied the team in most places. One can imagine what sort of response the already scared adivasis would give when police-led NHRC interrogates them. One of the petitioners had, in fact, complained to the supreme court that NHRC team should not take the police officials and SPOs with them during interrogation of the victims and camp residents. But these appeals went unheeded.

As usual, the NHRC tried to explain the old rubbish that the causes for increasing Naxal violence is unemployment among the adivasis and denial of social and economic development. And it recommends an allround strategy to address this issue. It condemned in harsh words the allegations made in the public interest petition filed in the Supreme Court.

No wonder, Maoists had carried out three attacks on this team of mercenary intellectuals of the NHRC during their so-called fact-finding visits to Dadakaranya. Just as Nanavati report gave solace to butcher Narendra Modi in Gujarat, his counterpart in Chattisgarh, Raman Singh, too was naturally overjoyed at the conclusions drawn by the NHRC report. Soon after the release of the report he stated on October 8 that the malicious propaganda against salwa judum should stop after seeing the NHRC report. He claimed that the report had separated milk and water so as none shall be left in doubt whatsoever. He said that the report had proved the utility of the peaceful salwa judum campaign and the aspirations of the participants in this campaign were upheld. By castigating Naxal violence the report had shown their real nature and exposed the hollowness of their propaganda against salwa judum. He said that the report has given strength to the state government and others who had been supporting the salwa judum campaign. Raman Singh got a big boost with the support it received from NHRC for his murderous terror campaign. He justified the state government's decision to arm the SPOs by saying that the measure was necessary for self-defence.

The NHRC report, submitted to the Supreme Court, will no doubt lead to a further escalation of the brutal atrocities and murder campaign by salwa judum-police combine as the state and central governments find a justification in the report for their violations of all fundamental rights in Chattisgarh. Maoists have to prepare themselves to intensify their war on the salwa judum gangs and their patrons in Raipur and Delhi by creating more Ranibodilis. All democratic organizations and individuals should come forward to condemn such fake human rights commission that justify human rights violations by the state and contribute to further escalation of state and state-sponsored violence.

## **A Review of the Report of Human Rights Watch on human rights violations in Dantewara and Bijapur**

Setting up, training, funding and unleashing vigilante gangs to carry out cruel atrocities on the struggling masses, national liberation fighters and Maoist revolutionaries has been an integral part of the counter-insurgency strategy of Low Intensity Conflict implemented by the reactionary rulers and imperialists all over the world ever since the end of second world war. In India, this dirty tactic has been used against the national liberation fighters in the North Eastern region and Kashmir, Maoist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and other parts of the country. Counter-revolutionary vigilante gangs of Salwa Judum in Chattisgarh have been in the news since June 2005 earning notoriety for their murderous assaults, rapes, burning down of villages and property of adivasis, and so on. Several fact-finding teams had visited the worst affected districts of Dantewara and Bijapur in the Maoist guerrilla zone of Dandakaranya in Chattisgarh and released reports all of which had called for the immediate disbanding of the salwa judum terrorist gangs and demanding judicial probe into the atrocities carried out by these state-sponsored vigilante groups accompanied by the police forces. In response to the petition filed by some activists in the Supreme Court in 2007, the latter ordered the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in April 2008 to investigate allegations of human rights abuses by both sides. It is in this background that another fact-finding team consisting of members of the Human Rights Watch (HRW) an International human rights organization based in the US, undertook investigation into the allegations against the salwa judum, police and the Maoists.

After completing its investigation Human Rights Watch had released a 172-page Report entitled "*Being Neutral is our Biggest Crime*" Government, Vigilante, and Naxalite abuses in India's Chattisgarh State, in July 2008. The report also contains Recommendations from the HRW to the central government of India, Governments of Chattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, CPI(Maoist) Party and Foreign Governments, Intergovernmental bodies and International Financial Institutions. Besides, it has an Appendix containing letters from HRW's Advocacy General, Mr. Jo Becker, to the Governor of Chattisgarh, Governor of Andhra Pradesh, Chief Minister of Chattisgarh and Justice Rajendra Babu, Chairperson, National Human Rights Commission.

The Report cites extensively from the reports released by some earlier fact-finding teams such as Human Rights Forum's "*Death, Displacement and Deprivation: The War in Dantewara: A Report*", People's Union for Civil Liberties' Report entitled "*Where the State Makes War on its Own People*", Independent Citizens' Initiative's "*War in the Heart of India*", the two Writ Petitions "*Nandini Sundar and others vs State of Chattisgarh*" and "*Kartam Joga and others Vs State of Chattisgarh and Union of India*", filed in the Supreme Court in 2007, etc.

For those who do not find time to go through the entire report, reading the 10-page summary would give a fairly good idea about the essence of the Report. The summary deals with '*Government and Salwa Judum abuses*', '*Abuses by Naxalites*', and '*Key Recommendations: The Need for protection and accountability*'. The rest of the Report is only an elaboration of these points.

This report, HRW claims, is "*based on research conducted by Human Rights Watch in Khammam and Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh, and Bijapur, Dantewada, and Bastar districts of Chhattisgarh between November 2007 and February 2008*" since "*these locations are most affected by the conflict between Naxalites, Salwa Judum, and government security forces, and were chosen based on literature review and background interviews with independent researchers, local NGOs, journalists, and lawyers who had either studied the conflict in Chhattisgarh or assisted victims of the conflict.*"

According to HRW's own admission, during the course of investigation, it had conducted interviews with 235 persons, of whom 69 were displaced persons who fled from 18 villages in Bijapur and Dantewara districts, and settled in Khammam and Warangal districts in Andhra Pradesh; 71 camp residents including 18 SPOs, three salwa judum leaders; 10 former Naxalites including two former child dalam (armed wing) members. It had also interviewed government and police officials, lawyers, representatives from local and international NGOs, and so on. However, the glaring weakness of the investigation is that

HRW had not conducted interviews with the Maoist revolutionaries or the adivasis who live in the interior areas of the forests. Thus the report suffers from one-sidedness in presenting the version of the Maoist revolutionaries and the adivasis in the remote regions as the HRW had not gone to the actual theatre of war and interviewed the participants who have been actively fighting this state-sponsored terrorist campaign.

As it had admitted: *"Due to security concerns, Human Rights Watch was unable to conduct interviews with villagers living in jungles and interior villages in Dantewada and Bijapur districts, and members of the CPI (Maoist) party. This report however incorporates the CPI (Maoist) party's position on the conflict by citing its press releases and its October 2006 letter to the Independent Citizen's Initiative, a fact-finding team from India."*

One can easily imagine what sort of reports one would get from the camp residents, salwa judum leaders, SPOs, former Naxalites, government and police officials, representatives of foreign-funded NGOs and the like. If one genuinely wants to capture the ground realities and present an objective picture, then it is imperative that one talks to the actual participants in this war against state and state-sponsored terror and find out why they had to eliminate the salwa judum goons, SPOs, rapists, police parties, political leaders, police informers and other reactionary elements. **Without talking to them and collecting their views it is impossible to come to grips with the reality of counter-violence and to come out of one's long-nurtured elitist prejudices against violence of the oppressed and suppressed.** One would have appreciated the efforts of the HRW team had it gone into the ground-realities and analysed the reasons for the retaliatory acts and counter-violence by the affected masses and the Maoist revolutionaries who lead them.

### **Being Neutral is the Biggest Crime**

The title of the Report is thought-provoking but it is also misleading as it tries to equate state violence with revolutionary counter-violence and presents the usual story of innocent people maintaining a neutral stance being caught in the cross-fire. The Report tries to maintain the neutrality of a referee treating the two sides of the war on par. It wants to judge the acts of the participants in accordance with the laws set by the state and quite naturally finds that Maoists too have violated human rights of the salwa judum members, SPOs and other civilians. HRW tries to equate state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorist violence with the revolutionary counter-violence of the Maoists. It tries to take on the don of a referee by condemning in the same tenor the violence unleashed to oppress, exploit and suppress the masses and counter-violence to defend oneself.

In fact, the tone of neutrality is set in the very first paragraph of the Report. It starts with a quote from a resident in a government-run camp in Errabore in January 2008. It runs:

*"We often wonder what sins we committed to be born at this time. Our lives are impossible. Naxalites come and threaten us. They demand food and ask us to help them with information about police movements. Then the police come. They beat us and ask us for information. We are caught between these people. There is no way out."*

One does not require much brain to understand the psyche of the adivasis who had been forcibly displaced from their homes and driven like cattle to the so-called relief camps set by the Chattisgarh government that resemble more like Nazi concentration camps. None of the camp-dwellers would survive the day if he/she says anything that might be in any way favourable to the Maoists. These hapless adivasis herded into the strategic hamlets called camps live under the shadow of the guns wielded by the salwa judum goons and the police forces. Here, even a hardcore supporter of the Maoists would be forced to speak against the Maoists—at gun point. However, our friends from the HRW fail to grasp this simple reality, and naively cite the narrative of the camp residents. Or have they done this with a deliberate intention?

One tends to get such doubts when one reads the next few lines following the above quote. Here HRW states its views in unambiguous terms:

*"Caught in a deadly tug-of-war between an armed Maoist movement on one side, and government security forces and a vigilante group called Salwa Judum on the other, civilians have suffered a host of human rights abuses, including killings, torture, and forced displacement."*

*And: "Neither the government nor Naxalites leave any room for civilian neutrality. Seeking protection from one side leaves area inhabitants at risk of attack by the other."*

It further says:

*"Although many indigenous tribal communities living in these areas support Naxalite interventions against economic exploitation, an escalating pattern of Naxalite abuses, including extortion of money and food, coerced recruitment of civilians, and killings of perceived police informants or "traitors," has gradually alienated many villagers."*

In a way, the resident of Errabore seems to reflect the outlook and philosophy of the HRW itself. And those who had contributed to the report are known to be NEUTRAL in this war between the oppressed adivasis led by the Maoist revolutionaries and the state's armed forces and vigilante organizations. K. Balagopal of Human Rights Forum, Andhra Pradesh, Sitara organization, Vanavasi Chetna Ashram and some other NGOs—all of whom are known to take a neutral stand—had actively assisted HRW in its research and preparation of the report, as acknowledged by the latter at the end of the report. And the financial support for the research work, as acknowledged by the HRW towards the end of the Report, was from Cordaid, the Countess Moira Charitable Foundation, the Oak Foundation, the Independence Foundation, the Malcolm Hewitt Wiener Foundation, and the Isenberg Family Charitable Trust.

What is missing from this elaborate report prepared on the basis of interviews with hundreds of people, police officers and government officials is obviously the class angle, or simply put, the viewpoint of the actual suffering, oppressed people.

The report does not even go into the actual reasons behind the creation of salwa judum. Analysing the origins of salwa judum, it says: *"In June 2005 popular protests against Naxalites in Bijapur district in southern Chhattisgarh sparked the creation of Salwa Judum, a state-supported vigilante group aimed at eliminating Naxalites."*

Further, under the sub-heading entitled, **'Salwa Judum: Vigilantes to oust Naxalites'**, it says:

*"Since 2005 Dantewada and Bijapur districts have been the center of Naxalite-related violence in Chhattisgarh. In June 2005 some local protest meetings against Naxalites in Bijapur district sparked the creation of what is now known as Salwa Judum (literally "peace mission" or "purification hunt"). The Indian central and Chhattisgarh state governments saw the protests as an opportune moment to*

*challenge the Naxalite influence in the area. They provided support primarily through their security forces, dramatically scaling up these local protest meetings into raids against villages believed to be pro-Naxalite, and permitted the protestors to function as a vigilante group aimed at eliminating Naxalites."*

From where they got the information regarding *"popular protests against the Naxalites in Bijapur district"* remains a mystery.

HRW does not, or refuses to, see or understand the class nature of the war that is going on in the state of Chattisgarh. That on one side of the war are people who wish to liberate themselves from the tyranny, oppression and exploitation of the non-advansi landlords, moneylenders, rapacious traders, forest contractors, forest and government officials, and policemen—all of who have made the lives of adivasis most miserable. And that on the other side are rapacious exploiters, MNCs and CBB houses such as Tatas, Mittals, Essar, Jindals and others who would not hesitate to convert the entire adivasi belt into a graveyard in order to loot the abundant mineral wealth. That salwa judum is the result of a conspiracy hatched at the highest level both in Chattisgarh and Delhi to unleash a massacre and create strategic hamlets to drive out the Maoists and thus pave way for unbridled plunder of the mineral wealth by the big comprador and imperialist business houses. Describing the mobilization of the reactionary elements of the adivasi society by Mahendra Karma in accordance with a well-hatched plan as popular protests is a clever ploy to render legitimacy to this state-sponsored terrorist salwa judum campaign.

## **A Good Exposure of State and State-sponsored Terrorism**

However, despite all its limitations and lack of class angle, one can still say that the Report is a good documentation of the atrocities committed by the salwa judum goons

and state's security forces on hapless adivasi villages, arbitrary detention, torture, murders, rape and burning and destruction of villages, houses and property of all those who refused to join the salwa judum and shift to the government-run relief camps that are a euphemism for concentration camps. It vividly describes the methods used by salwa judum goons and state's security forces to evacuate the villages and relocate the people in the government-run camps, herding the people to salwa judum meetings at gun-point or heavy fines for not attending meetings, carrying out reprisals against camp residents who dared to leave the camps and return to their villages, cutting off the villagers' access to the weekly market, and so on.

The report exposes the government claims that salwa judum is a "*voluntary and peaceful initiative by local people against Naxalites.*", that "*salwa judum is not a vigilante force but a spontaneous people's resistance group comprising of local tribals*", and several such lies. It states that there is "*overwhelming evidence of direct state involvement in Salwa Judum and the group's involvement in numerous violent abuses.*"

It writes: '*Even though the Indian central and Chhattisgarh state governments contend that Salwa Judum is a "people's campaign," there is evidence they actively promoted the creation of the groups. For instance, the 2005-2006 annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs states: "The States have also been advised to encourage formation of Local Resistance Groups/Village Defence Committees/Nagrik Suraksha Samitis [Civilian Protection Committees] in Naxalite affected areas. In the year 2005, Chhattisgarh witnessed significant local resistance against the Naxalites in some areas."*

It describes how families were forced to shift to the camps by abducting some of the family members. "*Sometimes people who were forcibly taken to attend meetings were prevented from returning—to force the family to relocate to Salwa Judum camps.*"

Kaskul Naiyya, an adivasi woman from Nayapara, recounts: "*They [Salwa Judum and CRPF] forced all the men to go with them [for the meeting], including boys. Judum took away boys his age [pointing to a boy who said he was about age 13] as well. If there were no male members in the house, then they would take the woman from that house. The people they took did not return home.*"

A former resident of Mirtur camp describes the trauma of camp residents:

*"All able-bodied men had to participate in all Salwa Judum's processions—even 12-year-olds had to participate in Salwa Judum's meetings.... We had to also go with them to burn our own village. We could not say no because then we would get beaten brutally. We were very scared of them and were sure that we will be beaten if we refused to go with them on such processions. They used to also force us to carry weapons on these processions. And the people who did not go got beaten severely."*

Likewise, the residents of Geedam camp, Errabore camp, Jailbada camp, describe their sorrowful tales. But the liars who don police uniforms such as SP of Dantewada, Rahul Sharma, continue to churn out lies shamelessly that people stay in the camps voluntarily. He tells the HRW team:

*"It [the camp] is not a concentration camp and no one is forced to come here. People have been living in the camps for the last two years, but hardly anyone has gone back to their villages. It's all free. Anyone who wants to, can leave. They stay because of the government services."*

The Report vividly describes the atrocities by salwa judum and police on the adivasis in some villages such as Etagatta.

*The experience of some villagers from Etagatta illustrates the nature of the Salwa Judum campaign and its impact. Government security forces and Salwa Judum members raided Etagatta, a 50-household village in Dantewada district, in the summer of 2006. One eyewitness told Human Rights Watch that the attackers came without warning, beat villagers, and took away their belongings, including their livestock. Salwa Judum members and government security forces then burned all the 50 houses in the village. According to the eyewitness, Salwa Judum people and police killed about 15 people from the village—5 women and 10 men. All of them were adults, about my age—in their 30s. They slit the throats of five people, one was a woman. I knew these five people well ... There was no reason why they should have killed them. They attacked whoever fell into their hands ...*

*I cremated two of them. They raped and killed Ungi who was about 13 years old. They also repeatedly raped [name withheld]. First they raped her in the village and then they took her to the police station, raped her, and then released her.*

*The same villager reported that Salwa Judum members and government security forces also forcibly took about four men and ten women from his village. He said that while all the women later returned, the men did not. He never learned what happened to them.*

Lohit Rao's account of how the state's security forces raided his village of Boreguda, raped and killed his sister, murdered his father and two others makes heart-chilling reading and shows the extreme brutalization of the police and central forces deployed in Chattisgarh. He recounts: *"They took her [sister] to the fields and raped her. She was 18 years old. I could hear her screaming. I was so scared I didn't come out of my hiding place. I knew that if I came out, they would kill me also. Later, we found her body near the fields. They had put a gun in her mouth and shot her...."*

Such heart-rending stories of murders, rapes, arbitrary detention, tortures, disappearances, and other atrocities by salwa judum goondas and state security forces run into several pages in the Report. The disappearance of 10 men after having been whisked away by the CRPF to the Errabore PS, firing on unarmed civilians in Nayapara killing two and weaving the story of exchange of fire with Naxalites, burning of huts in Surpanguda by security forces who landed in helicopters, incidents of brutalities in Kamarguda, Mukudtong, Nendra, Kothacheru, Tolnai, etc.

The Report also describes the attacks by the state on journalists, lawyers, NGOs, the abuses by the authorities in Andhra Pradesh on hamlets of IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) in Khammam and Warangal districts, forcible evacuation of these hamlets, arrests and beatings of the displaced people, and so on.

### **Looking at punishments by Maoists with the same glasses**

While describing the atrocities and abuses by salwa judum and police forces in a detailed manner, the Report also tries to distort the punishments given by the Maoists to reactionary elements and police informers and describes these as atrocities on the people. Under the heading **"abuses by Naxalites"** it hurls many false accusations and state-fabricated lies against the Maoists.

Surprisingly, even after describing the brutalities and savagery by salwa judum gangs and police forces on innocent adivasis and revolutionaries, HRW does not consider counter-violence by the victims and by Maoists in defence of the ordinary adivasis as justified. It seems to be perturbed by Maoist attacks on even the police and salwa judum goondas who had made the very survival of adivasis extremely difficult without retaliation. It says:

*"The Naxalites use landmines and IEDs frequently to attack government security forces. These attacks escalated after Salwa Judum began in June 2005. Between June 2005 and December 2007, Naxalites carried out at least 30 landmine and IED explosions, often using remote trigger mechanisms. Although these explosions are largely targeted against government security forces, they also killed and injured civilians on numerous occasions.*

*"Naxalites have retaliated violently against the operation of Salwa Judum. They have attacked Salwa Judum camps, killing many civilians. Individuals who participate in Salwa Judum, particularly Salwa Judum leaders and camp residents appointed as SPOs, are also vulnerable to Naxalite reprisals. Naxalite retribution against SPOs is particularly vicious. In some cases, Naxalites have reportedly mutilated the eyes and genitals of SPOs killed during their attacks.*

Would the brutal violence and reactionary terror unleashed by the salwa judum-police-central forces have subsided without violent retaliation and counter-violence by the Maoists? Has HRW given a thought as to how the campaign to wipe out all resistance in the region and clear the way for the multinational mining companies and comprador bourgeoisie within one year as claimed by Mahendra Karma and Raman Singh had failed not only to achieve its objective even after more than three years but also led to further strengthening of the people's forces and PLGA? Does it think that there is any other way for the adivasis than retaliating when attacked by the enemies who behave like savage beasts, murdering, torturing, raping, destroying? Would it suggest what should the people and the

revolutionaries do when they are pitted against a merciless mercenary force and the entire state machinery that has the least regard for the law of the land? To whom would the people appeal? And would there be anyone left to appeal without retaliation? Does it not sound amusing if someone says that a pack of sheep should appeal to the wolf instead of resisting it by all means possible? What would the HRW members do if their own houses were set on fire, their family members murdered and raped by armed goons along with the police and there is no recourse to law? Do they justify the violence by the Nationalists of the Northern states against the slave-holders and their armed goons during the American Civil War? Do they condemn the resistance carried out by brave Iraqi national liberation fighters against the brutalities unleashed daily by US aggressors and their puppet regime in Iraq? Do they place Iraqi resistance and the atrocities committed by war-monger and wealth-grabber butcher Bush on an equal par? Do they condemn all kinds of violence including that by the oppressed and suppressed? In fact, the anger of the people is so much that in some cases the adivasi militia had even mutilated the limbs of the SPOs killed in Maoist attacks. These acts may seem barbaric to the "civilized", but if one positions oneself in the place of the adivasis who had suffered indescribable atrocities as the Report had described in the village of Etagatta, such acts of retaliation would not make one paranoid or hysterical. Though it is necessary to educate the people concerning the methods of punishing the enemies, such spontaneous actions born out of pent up anger and hatred against the vigilantes should not be cited to condemn resistance by the masses. HRW should keep in mind that these acts are not carried out on instructions from Maoists but are a spontaneous reaction of the masses to the unending atrocities by salwa judum gangs.

Then there are lies and accusations against the Maoists that run like a chapter out of the official records which are fabricated with the aim of gaining legitimacy to the campaign against the Maoist movement. Has the HRW fact-finding team tried to verify these accusations with an objective mind and to bring out the actual happenings? If so, what had been its efforts? Nothing of the sort is found after gleaming through the voluminous report. With the assurance from the investigating team to keep the names of the SPOs, salwa judum goons, former Naxalites and almost all civilian interviewees secret it becomes all the more difficult to verify the veracity of the claims made and accusations hurled against the Naxalites as anyone under anonymity could utter purely fabricated lies without fear of any retribution.

The most widely covered topic under the so-called abuses by Naxalites is concerning recruitment of children and punishments to informers, SPOs, police and other anti-people forces. The Report makes a big fuss over the policy of the Maoists to fix the minimum age for recruitment of children as 16 years. The Report also accuses the Maoists of violations of international norms with regard to recruitment of children, and states that Naxalites force people to send one family member into the PLGA. None of this is based on any empirical evidence but on reports collected from deserters from the Naxalite movement and from those who serve as police informers.

For instance, the Report cites the example of Tarrem Kosa, a target of Naxalites and a police informer, and gives credence to his anti-Naxal views without bothering to verify the veracity of the allegations he makes against Naxalites. Almost all the sources of information obtained by HRW are deserters who had left because of their weaknesses and refusal to be disciplined or transformed into police informers after they were arrested or their family members threatened by the police. The Report repeats what some former Naxalites like former dalam commander Subba Atish, former dalam members, Satyam David, Tarrem Kosa and some others alleged that Naxalites recruit children forcibly into the dalams. It tries to assert that Naxalites visit schools regularly and ask children to join the dalam.

Destruction of school buildings by Naxalites is another issue that HRW gets concerned about. It asks Naxalites not to destroy school buildings despite its own recognition of the fact of police occupation of school buildings and using these as camps for carrying out combing operations against Naxalites. In fact, never before has school building activity taken up on such a grand scale and fast pace in the remote areas of Dantewada, Bijapur and other Maoist stronghold areas of Chattisgarh as after the launching of salwa judum. This is with the sole intention of setting up police camps under the government policy of carpet security system. School buildings are like military fortresses providing defence for

the security forces. Maoist attacks on school buildings should be seen in this specific context instead of blaming them of disrupting education to children when the very purpose of these buildings is different. In fact, Maoists had explained in 2006 itself why they were destroying the school buildings.

*"As for destroying schools used by the CRPF as their camps, neither the people nor our Party think it is wrong. The schools, once they are occupied by these forces, are transformed into torture chambers and concentration camps and there is no hope that they will once again be used as schools in the near future.... Education of the adivasis [tribal communities] is not affected by destruction of school buildings used by the security forces but by the destruction of entire villages (up to*

*900 villages had been uprooted since June 2005) by the state police, para-military forces and Salwa Judum goondas with active police support.... We are curious to hear what you would say of hundreds of other villages which do not have schools although "Maoist threat" does not exist in those villages?"*

The only answer to these allegations is to repeat the answer given by comrade Ganapathy, General Secretary of CPI(Maoist), to the accusations raised by the Independent Citizens' Initiative in late 2006, which, incidentally, the Report itself had quoted:

*"As regards training minors under 18 years in the use of arms, we wish to make it clear that our policy and the PLGA [People's Liberation Guerrilla Army] constitution stipulate that no one should be taken into the army without attaining 16 years of age. And this age limit is strictly followed while recruiting. In the specific conditions prevailing in the war zone [Dantewada and Bijapur districts of Chhattisgarh] children attain mental and political maturity by the time they complete 16 because they are directly or indirectly involved in the revolutionary activity from their very childhood. They receive basic education and political training early in their lives and have organisational experience as members of balala sangam (children's associations).... When the enemy [Salwa Judum and police] is erasing every norm of international law, the oppressed people have the full right to arm themselves and fight. Making a fuss over age makes no meaning in a situation where the enemies of the people are targeting children too without any mercy. If the boys and girls do not do resist with arms they will be eliminated completely. The intellectuals of the civil society should understand this most inhumane and cruel situation created by the enemy and take the side of the people instead of pushing them more into defensive by raising all sorts of idealistic objections."*

HRW's Report made some key recommendations to the governments which, of course, is like blowing a trumpet into a deaf man's ears. The recommendations, if implemented, could lead to increased security for the adivasi lives but to expect the reactionary ruling classes to implement these would be like asking for the impossible. Following is a summary of the recommendations mentioned in the Report:

### ***In keeping with its international human rights obligations:***

- *The Indian central and Chhattisgarh state governments should take all necessary and appropriate measures to end unlawful Salwa Judum activities, end all government support to Salwa Judum, including the provision of weapons, and end all participation by government security forces in Salwa Judum operations, including raids and reprisals.*

- *The Chhattisgarh state government should initiate serious and independent investigations of individuals responsible for carrying out or ordering human rights abuses, regardless of rank, and prosecute as appropriate.*

- *Consistent with its constitutional obligation to ensure state compliance with the Constitution, the Indian central government should call upon the Chhattisgarh state government to immediately investigate and prosecute individuals, including senior government officials, implicated in serious human rights abuses in Dantewada and Bijapur districts. The Indian central government should also express its willingness to conduct an investigation upon a request by the Chhattisgarh state government.*

- *The Chhattisgarh state government should end deployment of special police officers for paramilitary operations against Naxalites.*

- *The Indian central, Chhattisgarh, and Andhra Pradesh state governments should ensure, in accordance with the UN Guiding Principles, that internally displaced persons are protected*

against attacks or other acts of violence, and that they are provided without discrimination, safe access to essential food and potable water, basic shelter and clothing, and essential medical services and sanitation.

- The Indian central, Chhattisgarh, and Andhra Pradesh state governments should establish conditions for and facilitate the safe return or resettlement of camp residents and other displaced persons who voluntarily choose to return to their villages or relocate to another part of the country, and restore or provide government facilities in these villages.

- The Indian central government should ensure that Andhra Pradesh government officials immediately stop the destruction of IDP hamlets, illegal forced evictions, forced relocation of displaced persons, and confiscation of their property.

- The Indian central government should immediately develop a national scheme for identification, release, and reintegration of children recruited by armed groups or police, in consultation with governmental, nongovernmental, and intergovernmental organizations, and in accordance with the Paris Principles and Guidelines on Children Associated with Armed Forces or Armed Groups.

It also recommends to the CPI(Maoist) that it should immediately:

- End abuses—such as killings, threats, extortion, and the indiscriminate use of landmines and IEDs—against civilians, including individuals who have participated in Salwa Judum, camp residents who served as SPOs, and police informers.

- Issue and implement policies guaranteeing safe return for villagers who wish to leave Salwa Judum camps and return to their villages.

- Stop recruitment of children under age 18 into Naxalite wings including armed wings. Release all children and give those recruited before age 18 the option to leave.

In conclusion we can say that for investigating teams like those of HRW **“Being Neutral Is the Biggest Crime”**. It is not expected from organisations that claim to be concerned about the well-being of the oppressed and suppressed people. ○

## Seminar on Indian Democracy in Berkeley, California, condemns salwa judum, witnesses protests against DGP Vishwa Ranjan

A Seminar on Indian democracy was held in Berkeley, California on 27 September. DGP of Chattisgarh, Vishwa Ranjan, delivered a speech at the seminar inviting loud protests from the students and community of Berkeley. Posters and banners on salwa judum were displayed in the seminar hall and Berkeley community questioned the DGP on human rights violations in Chattisgarh under his regime.

### Note of protest against DGP Vishwa Ranjan issued by

Students for Justice in Chhattisgarh - Association for India's Development, Berkeley Friends of South Asia - Alliance of South Asians Taking Action Campaign to Stop Funding Hate - Hesperian Foundation, Berkeley - People's Health Movement, USA - & Sanhati.



PROTEST



DGP Vishwa Ranjan

## **DGP VISHWA RANJAN:**

### **Why Are *Justice And The Law* Being Trampled Into Dirt By The Police In Chhattisgarh?**

In the Indian State of Chhattisgarh, tribal communities are being forced off their ancestral lands by the state in the name of fighting a violent Maoist insurgency. Government security forces and a state-supported civilian militia, the Salwa Judum, have destroyed hundreds of villages and uprooted several hundred thousand people from their homes over the last three years.

We, a coalition of individuals and organizations desiring peace, justice, and human rights for the people of Chhattisgarh, condemn violence in all forms by all parties involved—the State, the Salwa Judum, and the Maoist insurgency. The state has a particular responsibility to ensure not only that it stays within legal bounds, but also that it does not enable proxies to perform extra-judicial acts. But in Chhattisgarh, Mr. Vishwa Ranjan, as the Director-General of Police (DGP) of Chhattisgarh, not only heads a police force responsible for widespread violence and brutality against tribal communities [1], but also one which supports, enables, arms, and legitimizes the Salwa Judum.

Mr. Vishwa Ranjan goes after anyone who speaks out against the Salwa Judum, or questions the high-handed, brutal and illegal actions of the police in its purported drive to put down the insurgency. Ranjan labels all those who oppose him or question his actions as “Maoist sympathizers,” and if they continue to speak out, they are likely to end up in prison, charged with “anti-national” activities—as has happened to Dr. Binayak Sen, a distinguished doctor, public health activist, and civil rights leader.

*Now Mr. Vishwa Ranjan is to speak at a seminar on Indian Democracy at the University of California, Berkeley, the birthplace of the Free Speech Movement, while simultaneously denying freedom of speech for journalists, human rights activists, and the people of Chhattisgarh.*

## **Questions for DGP Mr Vishwaranjan**

A Roster of Crimes Against Chhattisgarh State and DGP Vishwaranjan

### **Cases of Dr. Binayak Sen and Mr. T.G.Ajay: Terrorizing Human Rights Defenders / Development Activists.**

#### **1. Why is the State Afraid of the Good Doctor?**

**Question:** Why does the State NOT specify charges against Dr. Binayak Sen NOR produce any evidence regarding his actions and yet keep him in jail for 534 days?

The chargesheet against Dr. Sen under CSPSA intentionally uses “vague” terms such as “sedition,” “waging war against the state” and “abetting unlawful activities.” He is charged with helping an illegal organization as a member by participating in it OR as a non-member by funding OR receiving funds OR by “hatching a conspiracy.” Dates, time or places of these “activities” are often not specified. This allows police to endlessly drag the trial by producing long list of witnesses without specifying their relevance.

#### **2. Dr. Sen, Can We Presume?**

**Question:** On what basis has the police determined that Dr. Sen is a “doctor in name only”?

The chargesheet against Dr. Sen says that he is certainly a doctor: but is a big zero in terms of actual practice of medicine.” Does a gold medal from CMC Vellore, the 2004 Paul Harrison Award, Global Health Council’s Jonathan Mann Award 2008, and founding Shaheed Hospital in Chhattisgarh not matter?

Join us in challenging Vishwa Ranjan as he defends police-state tactics at this open forum

Justice and the Law: Case Study of Chhattisgarh

**SATURDAY 09/27, 2.30 PM**

**Barrows Hall, 8th Floor, Lipman Room**

**University of California, Berkeley**

**Ask the DGP**

Why do you justify state brutality and repression of the citizenry?

**Demand that the DGP**

**STOP** supporting Salwa Judum

**STOP** imprisoning human rights activists

**STOP** silencing voices of dissent in Chhattisgarh

**DROP CHARGES** against and **RELEASE** Political Prisoners

### **3. No Evidence? Doesn' Matter, Plant Some**

**Question:** Why did the police try to fabricate evidence against Dr. Sen?

Even though the seizure memo in Dr. Sen's case lists 10 items obtained from his premises signed by the Investigating Officer (IO), Dr. Sen and witnesses, the sealed bag of evidence opened in court had 11 objects, the extra one bearing only the signatures of the IO and prosecution witness.

### **4. Now, who is a threat to who?**

**Question:** Can you explain why there is a consistent attempt to harass Dr. Ilina Sen (Binayak Sen's wife and co-activist) -neither an accused nor a witness- both in and outside the court room?

On July 2nd, 2008, during the trial, the public prosecutor tried to implicate Dr. Ilina Sen by asking leading questions to a witness asking him to "identify" Ilina in court. On another occasion, the same prosecutor publicly threatened to falsely implicate Ilina by boasting that "if the defence wished they could make the wife of the accused an accused in the present case at anytime."

### **5.No Chargesheet, But Imprisoned; Released, But Not Free**

**Question:** Why was Mr. T.G. Ajay, an independent film maker jailed for 93 days under CSPA, and with no chargesheet produced by the police at the end? Why is Ajay's case not yet withdrawn?

**Question:** Why were police personnel threatening the women and children of the slum where Ajay's school, *Drksakshi* operates despite all odds on issues of malnutrition, illiteracy and livelihood?

### **6. Entrapment?**

**Question:** Why was Ajay being pressurized to sign a letter falsely implicating Binayak Sen and the PUCL as a condition for his release?

Despite efforts to try and frame him, Ajay had to be released on statutory bail. The police could not find any evidence of his wrong-doing. Yet, as shockingly revealed by PUCL legal team, Ajay was also being forced by the police to sign a statement against PUCL, Binayak and Ilina Sen as a condition for his release.

## **Salwa Judum: Democracy Chhattisgarh-Style, State Impunity For State Violence Against Citizens?**

1. When Report after Report Documents State Sponsored Violence...Can The Emperor Have Any Clothes?

Question: Will the DGP (as the senior most police officer in the State) be liable for murder? Since the State and its police dept. gives logistic and monetary support to Salwa Judum, shouldn't they be considered accomplices?

In September 2008, a Bench comprising Chief Justice K G Balakrishnan, and Justices P Sathasivam and J M Panchal after perusing the National Human Rights Commission report on violence in Chhattisgarh said, "The allegation is that the state is arming private persons. You can deploy as many police personnel or armed forces to tackle the menace. But, if private persons, so armed by the state government, kill other persons, then the state is also liable to be prosecuted as abettor of the murder." Chief Justice Balakrishnan added "It is very painful to read the report. It says there is arson and looting, people are armed and they [Salwa Judum] are committing serious offences. It says people who are subjected to serious problems are still afraid of coming out."

Question: What kind of police force has more than 85% of its officers commit crimes that got them "discharged"?

In a recent interview in Pioneer, the DGP admitted that 3,250 Special Police Officers (SPOs, the official title for Salwa Judum employees) were "discharged on various grounds of indiscipline." The DGP has also claimed (to HRW) that there are 3800 SPOs altogether (the SP Dantewada claimed 3500). If this is the admission of the top police officer, then is it difficult to see why SPOs murder, rape, & forcibly displace?

Question: Will the DGP now include the Supreme Court justices in his list of "Maoist sympathizers" who are demoralizing the Indian state?

The DGP is fond of calling anyone who condemns the Salwa Judum as "maoist sympathizer". This list includes so far Shankar Guha Niyogi—labour leader founder of India's largest mass organization, the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha; sociologist Nandini Sundar, historian Ramachandra Guha, author Arundhati Roy, journalist Shubhranshu Choudhary, human rights groups such as PUCL, Gandhians such as Kanak Tiwari, Himanshu Kumar and Sandeep Pandey, the entire Planning Commission Experts Committee—in short he includes anyone who dares to dissent in his terrorized state.

### **2. How to Make a Terrorist? A State Primer**

Question: Why does the Chhattisgarh police arm children under 18 years? Does the DGP know that "Conscripting or enlisting children under the age of fifteen years into armed forces or groups or using them to participate actively in hostilities" constitutes a war crime under the "Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, 1998"?

"The police asked me also to become an SPO [special police officer] but I refused because I did not want to become an SPO and commit heinous crimes. I did not want to shoot and kill people. ... They do not ask anyone how old they are. Even 14-year-olds can become SPOs if the police want them to become SPOs."

– Poosam Kanya (pseudonym), former resident of Errabore camp, December 2007 (Human Rights Watch)

### **3. Deny First Information Reports (FIRs), Claim no Evidence, No Atrocities**

Question: Why are FIRs not filed for cases when victims have requested that they be filed?

On 18th March 2008, three tribals in Matwada Salwa Judum camp in Bijapur district were brutally killed by the Salwa Judum/police. On August 11th, 2008, Salwa Judum/police killed 5 people at the Arlampalli village. The police refused to file any FIRs in both cases despite constant requests by Himanshu Kumar of the Vanvasi Chetna Ashram. On March 31, 2007 the Salwa Judum/police killed six or more aboriginals in Santoshpur/Ponjer, a fact that was testified later by the "team leader of SPOs" to a journalist.

#### **4. Meritocracy in the Bureaucracy: Murder, Rape, Torture as Credentials**

Question: Why has no action been taken against former SP Kalluri for his crimes?

S.R.P. Kalluri, (Former) SP, Balrampur has been implicated in Custodial rape of Ledha Bai and murder of her husband, Police beatings in Ambikapur, Lathicharge of Rozgar Adhikar Yatra (March for Right to Employment), custodial torture, fake encounters and Intimidation of Lawyers. Kalluri has been promoted and made DIG, Anti-naxal operations, in the capital city of Raipur.

#### **5. Who is in charge in Chhattisgarh?**

Question: Why does the Chhattisgarh government harass NGOs by speaking in two voices?

In August 2007, Chhattisgarh state tried to ban NGOs, including Medicine Sans Borders (MSF or Doctors without Borders). Why did a local DC (Dantewada) and SP (Bijapur) claim that NGO's (and MSF) are assisting Maoists, whilst the State government in Raipur expressed full cooperation with MSF? Why did the media rush to declare MSF as banned, leading to harassment of MSF personnel by Salwa Judum?

- How can the DG claim that the Salwa Judum is a "peace movement"?
- Will the findings of multiple reports make the Chhattisgarh state stop supporting the Salwa Judum?
- Is this Roster not proof of the inability of the DGP as the highest ranking police officer in the state to perform his job? Why should he not be asked to resign?

### **Letter of protest to DGP from faculty**

September 27, 2008  
Berkeley, California

**To: Mr. Vishwa Ranjan**

**Director-General of Police, Chhattisgarh**

We, concerned members of university and college faculties, write to condemn the ongoing violations of the human and civil rights of its citizens by the state of Chhattisgarh, primarily through the agency of your department, the Chhattisgarh police force. These violations include the arbitrary arrest and indefinite detention of hundreds of people, including Dr. Binayak Sen, an internationally respected provider of medical services to Chhattisgarh's tribal communities, threats and assaults against civil liberties activists, lawyers and journalists, and most egregious of all, the growing depredations of the state-sponsored violent militia known as the Salwa Judum. We regret to note that not only have you been unsuccessful in halting these violations of human rights, but you have actively justified them and accused anyone opposing them as "demoralis[ing] the state machinery."

In a report released this past July, Human Rights Watch (HRW) has documented in detail the human rights abuses committed by the Salwa Judum against civilians in Chhattisgarh. HRW's report gives the lie to your oft repeated claim that the Salwa Judum is a spontaneous unarmed peaceful anti-Naxalite movement by documenting eyewitness accounts of police participating in violent Salwa Judum raids on villages, killing, looting, and burning their hamlets.[1] Similar to earlier investigative reports by the People's Union of Civil Liberties (PUCI) and People's Union for Democratic Rights, among others, the HRW report also documents the arbitrary detentions and torture of villagers by the Chhattisgarh police. Reporters without Borders noted with concern that [journalists] are prevented from reporting and investigating by corrupt politicians, police and Salwa Judum members, many receiving harassment, intimidation and beating ... Currently journalists report from press releases produced by the government or risk their life and career by reporting objectively both sides of the struggle.[2]

Perhaps the best-known case of a non-violent dissenter being arrested and jailed in Chhattisgarh is that of Dr. Binayak Sen, a prominent and early critic of the Salwa Judum and of state violence. Dr. Sen, a physician serving the poorest and most marginalized communities in the interior and tribal areas of Chhattisgarh for more than 25 years, has been a guiding light for peace and community health. He has won many awards for his work, including the Paul Harrison Award in 2004 from CMC Vellore, his alma mater, from which he had been graduated over 30 years ago following a most distinguished academic career, and most recently the Jonathan Mann Award from the Global Health Council in May 2008. Binayak Sen appears to have earned the government's ire by being a vocal critic of the high-handed and illegal ways adopted by the state in the name of suppressing the Maoist insurgency in Chhattisgarh. For instance, Dr. Sen's and PUCL's investigations had exposed that 12 alleged Maoists, killed by the police in Santoshpur village in a supposed gunfight on March 31, 2007, were unarmed tribals executed at close range. The State Human Rights Commission took note of this investigation, and ordered the bodies of the victims exhumed. Shortly afterward, Dr. Sen was arrested.[3] Not only have you and the state prosecutor failed to present any legally valid evidence against Dr. Sen, the responsible police officers appear to be blatantly concocting fables and planting false evidence.[4]

Other citizens who have been harassed by the police include: Amarnath Pandey and DP Yadav, two lawyers who had filed lawsuits regarding the encounter killing of one Narayan Khairwar and the custodial rape of one Ledha Bai; filmmaker Ajay TG, a member of the State Executive Committee of the Chhattisgarh Unit of PUCL, and journalist Sai Reddy, both of whom had to be released on bail when the police failed to file a chargesheet even after ninety days; Himanshu Kumar of the Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, an NGO that implements government programs on health, nutrition, and education, for the crime of assisting fact-finding teams investigating human rights abuses; journalists Santosh Poonyem and Kamlesh Paikra for daring to write about the violence committed by Salwa Judum; and even the participants at the third annual meeting of Chhattisgarh Net ([www.cgnet.in](http://www.cgnet.in)), an online citizen journalism initiative.

It bears noting that such actions by the law enforcement machinery of any state are not only in violation of the laws of India, but also run counter to India's international treaty obligations. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (CCPR), which India acceded to in 1979, declares in relevant part that:

- All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development. (Article 1.1)
- Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life. (Article (6.1)
- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. (Article 7)
- Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. (Article 9.1)
- Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation. (Article 9.5)
- All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person. (Article 10.1)[5]

**We strongly urge you, as the highest police official in the state of Chhattisgarh, to:**

- Follow in letter and spirit, the values enshrined in the Indian Constitution and the CCPR.
- Stop encouraging an all-out civil war in Chhattisgarh in the name of Salwa Judum, an organization whose violent activities are so distasteful and blatant that the Supreme Court of India recently noted that support of Salwa Judum by the state amounts to

abetment of murder by state officials, and whose excesses as documented in a recent NHRC report were deemed very painful to read by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India.

- Drop all charges against political prisoners, including Dr Binayak Sen, filmmaker Mr. Ajay TG, journalist Mr. Sai Reddy, release them unconditionally, pay compensation for the harassment and loss of liberty they have suffered due to their unwarranted detention, and arrest and prosecute all police officers involved in arresting and holding all these political prisoners.

- Stop victimizing dissenters in Chhattisgarh;

- Ensure a just and honest governance that improves the lives of millions of desperately poor people in Chhattisgarh.

**REPEAL the Black Laws! DISBAND the Salwa Judum!**

**RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, Including Dr. Binayak Sen!**

**RESTORE DEMOCRACY!**

Signed,

Concerned Faculty of Universities and Academic Institutes

139 eminent academics from various universities across the world had signed the above Letter of Protest addressed to DGP Vishwa Ranjan

Itty Abraham, Associate Professor of Government, Director of South Asia Institute, University of Texas at Austin

Bernardo Attias, Professor and Chair of Communication Studies, California State University, Northridge

Niharika Banerjea, Assistant Professor, Sociology, University of Southern Indiana

Pranab Bardhan, Professor of Economics, University of California at Berkeley

Dilip Basu, Professor and Founding Director, Satyajit Ray Film and Study Center, University of California at Santa Cruz

Amitabh Behar, Executive Director, National Centre for Advocacy Studies, Pune

Kim Berry, Associate Professor of Women's Studies, Humboldt State University, Arcata, California

Satindar Mohan Bhagat, Professor of Physics, University of Maryland College Park

Nirveek Bhattacharjee, Senior Research Fellow, University of Washington

Arabinda Bhattacharya, Reader in Statistics & Business Management, Calcutta University

Purnima Bose, Associate Professor of English, Indiana University, Peter E. Caines, Professor of Electrical & Computer Engineering

McGill University, Montreal, Canada

Mia Carter, Associate Professor of English, University of Texas at Austin

Rabin Chakraborty, Reader in Applied Physics, Calcutta University

Nandini Chandra, Visiting Assistant Professor of Asian, Languages and Literature, University of Minnesota

Shefali Chandra, Assistant Professor of South Asian History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Sharad Chari, Assistant Professor of Geography, London School of Economics

Angana Chatterji, Associate Professor of Anthropology, California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco

Indrani Chatterjee, Associate Professor of History, Rutgers University, New Jersey

Kalyan Chatterjee, Distinguished Professor of Economics and Management Science, Pennsylvania State University

Kumkum Chatterjee, Associate Professor of History, Pennsylvania State University

P.S. Chauhan, Professor of English, Arcadia University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

B. J. Cherayil, Associate Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard Medical School, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lawrence Cohen, Associate Professor of Anthropology and South & Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley

Dia Da Costa, Assistant Professor, Queens University, Kingston, Canada

Om Prakash Damani, Associate Professor of Computer Science, Indian Institute of Technology Bombay

Veena Das, Professor of Anthropology, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland

Soumya Datta, Lecturer in Economics, University of Delhi

Monimalika Day, Assistant Professor of Education and Human Development, George Mason University, Washington, DC

Mara de Gennaro, Assistant Professor of English, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Hemang Desai, Robert B. Cullum Professor of Accounting, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

Parijat Desai, Fellow, Institute for Diversity in the Arts, Stanford University

Amiya Dev, Professor of Comparative Literature (Retired), Jadavpur University, Kolkata

J. Devika, Associate Professor, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum

Ganesh Devy, Professor of Humanities, Dhirubhai Ambani Institute of Information and Communication Technology, Gandhinagar, Gujarat

Aparna Dharwadker, Associate Professor of English, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Vinay Dharwadker, Professor, Languages and Cultures of Asia, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Pawan Dhingra, Associate Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College, Ohio

Anuradha Dingwaney Needham, Longman Professor of English, Oberlin College, Ohio

Shahnaz Duara, Professor of Pediatrics, Obstetrics &, Gynecology, University of Miami Miller School of Medicine

Arindam Dutta, Associate Professor of Architectural History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Indranil Dutta, Lecturer, Center for the Study of Languages, Rice University, Houston, Texas

Meher Engineer, President-Elect, Indian Academy of Social Sciences

Mary Ganguli, Professor of Psychiatry, Neurology, and Epidemiology, University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine

M.K. George S J, International Visiting Jesuit Fellow College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts

Anuradha Ghosh, Lecturer in English, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

Kaushik Ghosh, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin

Saroj Giri, Lecturer in Political Science, University of Delhi

Michael Goldman, Professor of Sociology and Global Studies, University of Minnesota

Sumanth Gopinath, Assistant Professor of Music Theory, University of Minnesota

Patricia Gruben, Associate Professor of Film, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada

Jeanette Herman, Lecturer, Asian American Studies, The University of Texas at Austin

Robert Jensen, Associate Professor of Journalism, University of Texas at Austin

Manas Joardar, Reader in Applied Physics, Calcutta University

Mary E. John, Director and Senior Fellow, Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi

Vinod John, Assistant Professor of Electrical Engineering, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

Sreevidya Kalaramadam, Assistant Professor of Women's Studies, William Paterson University of New Jersey

Sangeeta Kamat, Associate Professor of International, Education & Educational Policy, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Suvir Kaul, A. M. Rosenthal Professor and Chair, Department of English, University of Pennsylvania

Nadia Y. Kim, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles, California

Jesse Ross Knutson, Visiting Lecturer in Sanskrit, Department of Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Minnesota

Vinay Lal, Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles

Vincent A. Lapomarda, College of the Holy Cross, Associate Professor of History, Worcester, Massachusetts

Jinee Lokaneeta, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey

Amman Madan, Professor of Humanities & Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur  
Mokshay Madiman, Associate Professor of Statistics, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
Sunaina Maira, Associate Professor of Asian American Studies, University of California at Davis  
Biju Mathew, Associate Professor of Information Systems, Rider University New Jersey  
Mary Jo Maynes, Professor of History, University of Minnesota  
Sharmistha Majumdar, Research Scholar of Molecular & Cell Biology, University of California at Berkeley  
Ernestine McHugh, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Religion, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York  
Nivedita Menon, Professor of Political Thought, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University  
Ali Mir, Professor of Management, William Paterson University of New Jersey  
Raza Mir, Associate Professor of Management, William Paterson University of New Jersey  
Ish Mishra, Professor of Political Science, Hindu College, University of Delhi  
Amitabha Mukerjee, Professor of Computer Science, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur, Richa Nagar, Professor of Women's Studies, University of Minnesota  
C. M. Naim, Professor Emeritus, South Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago  
N.K. Nandan, Professor of Hindi, BBA Bihar University  
Dev Nathan, Visiting Professor, Indian Institute of Public Administration  
Balmurli Natrajan, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Director, Gandhian Forum for Peace and Justice, William Paterson University of New Jersey  
James Nye, Director, South Asia Language and Area Center, University of Chicago  
Rupal Oza, Director, Women and Gender Studies, Hunter College, City University of New York  
Gyanendra Pandey, Distinguished Professor of History, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia  
Kavita Philip, Associate Professor, Women's Studies, University of California at Irvine  
Shiv Pillai, Associate Professor of Medicine, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
Veena R Poonacha, Director, Research Center for Women's Studies, SNDT Women's University, Mumbai  
Gyan Prakash, Dayton-Stockton Professor of History, Princeton University  
Ashok Prasad, Research Scientist in Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
Gautam Premnath, Assistant Professor of English, University of California at Berkeley  
Jyoti Puri, Chair and Professor of Sociology, Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts  
Bandana Purkayastha, Associate Professor of Sociology and Asian American Studies, University of Connecticut  
Imrana Qadeeroy, Emeritus Professor of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi  
Mridu Rai, Associate Professor of History, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
Bhagavati Ramamurthy, Associate Research Scientist, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut  
Bhaskaran Raman, Assistant Professor of Computer Science, Indian Institute of Technology Bombay  
Ashwini Rao, Assistant Professor of Physical Therapy, Columbia University, New York, New York  
Nagesh Rao, Assistant Professor of English, The College of New Jersey  
Velcheru Narayana Rao, Professor, Languages and Cultures of Asia, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Raka Ray, Professor and Chair, South Asia Studies, University of California at Berkeley  
Chandan Reddy, Assistant Professor of English, University of Washington Seattle  
Modhumita Roy, Professor of English, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts  
Sharmila Rudrappa, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin  
P. Sainath, Lecturer in Journalism, University of California at Berkeley  
Mahua Sarkar, Associate Professor of Sociology, State University of New York Binghamton  
Sumit Sarkar, Professor of History (Retired), University of Delhi  
Tanika Sarkar, Professor of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Simona Sawhney, Associate Professor of Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Minnesota  
Meera Sehgal, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota  
Sagaree Sengupta, Translator and Lecturer in Asian Studies, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine  
Manisha Sethi, Lecturer in Comparative Religion, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi  
Hemant Shah, Professor of Journalism, University of Wisconsin-Madison  
Aradhana Sharma, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut  
Hari P. Sharma, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada  
Jayeeta Sharma, Assistant Professor, History and Global Asia Studies, University of Toronto  
Magid Shihade, Visiting Scholar, Middle East & South Asia Studies, University of California at Davis  
Amritjit Singh, Langston Hughes Professor of English, Ohio University  
Harjinder Singh (Laltu), Professor of Computational Natural Sciences, International Institute of Information Technology, Hyderabad  
Subir Sinha, Sr. Lecturer in Development Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London  
Ramesh Sitaraman, Professor of Computer Science, University of Massachusetts Amherst  
Ajay Skaria, Associate Professor of History and Global Studies, University of Minnesota  
Nigamanth Sridhar, Assistant Professor of Electrical & Computer Engineering, Cleveland State University  
Nidhi Srinivas, Assistant Professor of Management, The New School of Management and Policy, New York, New York  
Aparna Sundar, Assistant Professor of Politics and Public Administration, Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada  
Lisa Sun-Hee Park, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota  
Abha Sur, Lecturer in Women & Gender Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
Mriganka Sur, Newton Professor and Chair of, Neurosciences, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts  
Gitam Tiwari, Professor of Transportation Engineering, Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi  
Achin Vanaik, Professor and Chair of Political Science, Delhi University  
Ajit Varki, Distinguished Professor of Medicine and, Cellular & Molecular Medicine, Associate Dean for Physician-Scientist Training, University of California San Diego  
Rashmi Varma, Associate Professor in English, University of Warwick, UK  
Supriya Varma, Associate Professor of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi  
Rahul Varman, Professor of Industrial Engineering, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur  
Ramaa Vasudevan, Assistant Professor of Economics, Colorado State University  
Mahendra K. Verma, Professor of Physics, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur  
Kamala Visweswaran, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Texas at Austin  
Chetan Sethi Zaidi, Associate Professor of English, University of Delhi  
Stephen Zavestoski, Associate Professor and Chair, Sociology and Environmental Studies, University of San Francisco

[1] <http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2008/07/14/india19345.htm>

[2] [http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/Report\\_Chhattisgarh-2.pdf](http://www.rsf.org/IMG/pdf/Report_Chhattisgarh-2.pdf)

[3] <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA20/013/2007/en/dom-ASA200132007en.html>

[4] <http://www.phmovement.org/cms/en/node/751>

[5] [http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/a\\_ccpr.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_ccpr.htm)

## Continuing political crisis in Nepal affects the ruling CPN(Maoist)



According to newspaper reports appearing in the last week of October the ruling CPN(M) is embroiled in a severe inner-Party struggle. A serious debate was said to have taken place at a CC meeting held in October on issues concerning the future direction of the Party and the State. Majority of the leading body were said to be opposing the line pursued by Prachanda and Bhattarai. The Party will hold a national conference from November 10 to decide the issues by majority vote.

According to reports, one of the senior most leaders of the Party, comrade Mohan Baidhya, popularly known by the name of Kiran, is leading the struggle against Prachanda's line. The struggle between the two factions in the CPN(M)—one described as that of moderates led by Finance Minister Baburam Bhattarai and the other termed as hardliners led by Mohan Baidhya—was said to have erupted openly in last July itself when a group of cadres loyal to Bhattarai attacked Netra Bikram Chand alias Biplav, a prominent member of Baidhya faction. Baidhya faction alleged that the attack was organised by Prabhu Shah, a staunch supporter of Bhattarai. After the incident the two factions drifted further apart. Two meetings were organised in Birgunj by the two factions separately to commemorate the death anniversary of the party leader Ram Brikshya Yadav.



On August 6, Bhattarai issued a statement condemning attempts at his character assassination from within and outside the party. CPN-UML's accusation that Bhattarai was being close to the Indian intelligence agency, RAW, prompted him to issue the statement. There were allegations that senior party leaders did not defend Bhattarai in this matter.

According to newspaper reports, the Baidhya faction is supported by CP Gajurel, Krishna Bahadur Mahara (Minister for Information and Communications), Dev Gurung (Minister for Law and Constituent Assembly Affairs), Haribhakta Kandel, Kul Bahadur KC, Netra Bahadur Chand alias Biplav, Gopal Khumbhu (Minister for State Restructuring) and Khadga Bahadur Biswokarma while Bhattarai's faction has the support of Hisila Yami, Dinanath Sharma, Devendra Poudel alias Sunil, Prabhu Shah and Ram Karki alias Partha Chhetri.

In this inner-Party struggle Prachanda is said to have not taken any side yet. Likewise Defence Minister Ram Bahadur Thapa alias Badal, Peace Minister Janardhan Sharma, Matrika Yadav, Pampha Bhusal, Lekhraj Bhatta, Barsa Man Pun alias Ananta too were said to be away from the two factions.

Mohan Baidhya had resigned from the Constituent Assembly. Answering a query about comrade Kiran's resignation, Matrika Yadav, another CC member, said that Baidhya had resigned so as to concentrate on Party affairs.

Prime minister of Nepal and leader of the CPN(M), Prachanda, admitted that an inner-party crisis had broken out over the issues of people's democracy and change of party's name. According to *The Himalayan Times*, Prachanda, while addressing party workers in Nepalgunj, said that it was natural for inner-party differences to arise on various political issues. He also said that he had assured the international community that when Maoists come to power their main concern should be the interests of their own country. The Finance Minister and another senior ideologue of the party, Baburam Bhattarai, had assured the international community that he would ensure that the party's name would be changed. The abandoning of people's democracy and deletion of Maoist from the name of the party had given rise to serious dissent within the Party

and, according to Nepali media, some comrades within the party have begun attacking Prachanda as a revisionist who had deviated from the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninsim-Maoism.

Such a development is not surprising to keen observers of the events unfolding in Nepal following the electoral victory of the Maoists in April last.

Ever since their victory in the April 10 elections, the Maoists were caught in a situation where they had to play the game in accordance with the rules of parliamentary democracy set by a state whose very existence rested on the basis of a class-divided society. As they had no majority of their own in spite of emerging as the single largest Party in Parliament, they had to depend on the support extended to it by other parties. This, they had anticipated due to the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) forged in November 2006 at a meeting in New Delhi hosted by the Indian political establishment. The NC and UML, the two principal Parties in the SPA, emerged as the second and third largest parties in the elections. These two, combined with the strength of the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum, could topple the tables and defeat the candidate of the CPN(M) in the Presidential election.

The delay in the formation of the new government has been unprecedented. Contradictions among the various constituents of the SPA came to the fore very sharply soon after the election results were announced. Koirala continued in the office of prime minister for almost four months. Finally in August CPN(M) could muster the support of the two major constituents of the SPA—Madhav Kumar Nepal's UML and Upendra Yadav's Madhesi Janadhikar Forum—and 14 other smaller parties and formed the government by sharing the ministerial portfolios with these two parties. Koirala's Nepali



Congress refused to participate in the government when the CPN(M) did not agree to the NC's demand for the Defence portfolio. Koirala wanted to have the coveted post for his party so as to oversee the integration of the two armies in accordance with their plan under the guidance of its mentor India. As part of adjustments to form the government, some crucial portfolios had to be given to MJF and UML such as the ministry of foreign affairs. Maoists retained some important portfolios like Defence. Ram Bahadur Thapa (Badal), the deputy commander of the PLA, has been appointed Defence Minister. It is doubtful how far the COAS Gen Rukmangad Katawal will cooperate with his former arch-enemy. The squabbles for portfolios had assumed such serious dimension that UML ministers absented themselves from the swearing-in as UML's demand for the number two slot in the government remained unfulfilled.

The first list of ministers to the Cabinet was released on August 22. Another 15 ministers were taken ten days later taking the total number of ministers to 24. For the first time Nepal has three deputy prime ministers. Now the cabinet has 11 ministers from the CPN(Maoist) including the Prime Minister, six from CPN-UML, four from Madhesi Janadhikar Forum and one each from four different small parties. The expanded cabinet includes Girirajmani Pokhrel of the People's Front Nepal and Rajendra Mahato of the Sadbhawana Party and Ganesh Sah of the CPN-United.

When the CPN-UML began haggling for the second position in the Cabinet senior leaders like CP Gajurel, Dev Gurung and Mahara who were all said to be with Baidhya, publicly stated that there was no problem in giving the second-rankin gposition in the Cabinet to CPN-UML thus not endorsing the CC Secretariat's proposal to award the position to Bhattarai. Bhattarai was said to have tendered his resignation to Prachanda after the latter's return from Beijing Olympics but agreed to Prachanda's request to continue until the fiscal budget was presented.

The formation of the coalition government did not end the woes of the CPN(M)-led government. The allies in the government have been openly expressing their dissatisfaction with the policies of the Maoists. The chief bone of contention continues to be the integration of the two armies. Other major issues of difference are the future of Young Communist League (YCL), handing back the properties of the landlords

and moneylenders and other exploiters that were seized by the masses led by the revolutionaries during the 10-year people's war, autonomy to madhesi region, and so on. Contradictions and fissures among the various ruling coalition partners are making headlines news in the media. For instance, Madhav Kumar Nepal of UML, speaking to a TV channel, said: "I hear that the YCL is collecting donations even today. How can I, then, say that the alliance is strong?" Another ally, MJF, had called for an indefinite transportation strike in Siraha district. Protestors said the Maoists had not fulfilled their promises made in the Common Minimum Programme.

The most contentious issue of reintegration of the two armies was sought to be resolved by constituting a special committee. It was to be headed by Home Minister and UML leader Bam Dev Gautam, two members from CPN (Maoist) and one each from Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJF) and the main opposition Nepali Congress party. The NC, however, has been blackmailing by saying that it will not join the special committee unless it was reconstituted.

NC has been saying that AISC was unilaterally formed by the Maoists without any consultation with other parties and have demanded that it be dismantled as the Terms of Reference (ToR) for it is against the past pacts and understanding reached on army integration.

CPN(M) leaders like Minister for Law and Constituent Assembly Dev Gurung and Dinanath Sharma had called for amendment of the interim constitution so that a referendum could be held to settle the issue of army integration.

Maoists are also facing a tough situation as they have to fulfill several promises they had made during the elections. For instance, they had earlier vowed to stop the recruitment for young Nepalis in the armies of India and Britain. However, facing threat of a revolt by the same Gorkha community as there is no alternative employment opportunity for the Gorkhas, Prachanda did not raise the issue during his visit to India in mid-September.

## **CPN(Maoist) to remove Maoist from its name**



In what seems to be a shocking news for the revolutionary camp the CPN(Maoist) is planning to delete Maoist from its name and to rename the party as just CPN. What were the reasons that had prompted the leadership of the party to take this sudden and drastic decision is unclear. For those who had close relations with the leadership of the CPN(M) before they came to power through elections in April it has come as a big surprise. The leaders of CPN(M) had, for years, sworn by Maoism and had branded any revolutionary who dared to deviate from their MLM phraseology as a revisionist or right opportunist. They had even claimed to have further enriched and developed Maoism and added a tail—prachanda path—to MLM to show the contributions of their party. A newspaper reported that the leadership's decision was meant to please

the US and other imperialists as well as countries like India from whom it aspires to take assistance of all kinds. Another paper analysed the reason for change as the dominance of nationalist thinking and interest of the CPN(M), particularly its hitherto undisputed leader Prachanda, who now thinks that using the term Maoist would jeopardise relations with the other countries and thereby harms the interests of Nepal. Nationalism seems to supercede everything else including the ideology!

Almost simultaneously, its major ally in the ruling coalition in Nepal—CPN-UML—had also declared that it would delete ML from its Party's name. It too wants to be called as simply CPN. These two Communist parties which do not wish to be called as Marxist-Leninists and Maoists respectively are now in competition as both want to be called as CPN. Who will win at the end one has to only wait and watch!

## **I**nterim changes in CPN(M): New Head for PLA

Just on the eve of his visit to India, Prachanda chose to step down from the post of supreme commander of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) setting an end to the controversies over the issue within his party. 28-year-old Nand Kishore Pun, an ex-school teacher, was chosen by the central secretariat of the CPN(M) to head the PLA. There has been intense pressure from various imperialist countries and India, various political parties of Nepal that those PLA officials who had entered politics should quit their posts. Pun, also known as Pasang, is the seniormost deputy commander of the guerrilla army after two of his seniors had contested the elections in April and won. The decision was taken in the central committee secretariat meeting in Baluwatar on the 15th September.

The party has newly divided its responsibilities among the secretariat members. According to the decision, Mohan Baidhya 'Kiran' is now the in-charge of the party organization bureau, Post Bahadur Bogati 'Diwakar' is the in charge for the parliament-legislature bureau, Barshaman Pun 'Ananta' is the in charge of the military bureau and Nanda Kishor Pun 'Pasang', the commander in-chief of the People's Liberation Army.

*{ We are reproducing below two articles that had appeared in 'The Red Star' Issue No 17 October 24-November 7, 2008 which was published as part of the party debate on the political line of the CPN(M). }*

### **The party debate : revolution or reform**

**by Kul Prasad KC 'Sonam'**

**Nepal is still in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state. No drastic change has occurred; there can be no change in contradiction in the political situation until there is a fundamental change in the mode of production.** Therefore, in this type of political situation, there are still the same solutions; national and sovereign independence against semi-colonial domination. So, this is the situation of the Democratic People's Movement.

Only the monarchy, the leader of feudalism, has ceased to exist. However, the feudalistic mechanism still exists under a different color. In some places, it exists organizationally, institutionally and in some places through the ownership of land and capital. This is why there is not a change in its essence and in the character of the contradiction. Internationally, the world proletarian revolution is in the defensive position. It is natural. Now there is global hegemony in the world. The hegemony prevails in every sector of society.

Although they have put out the slogan of 'liberalization' and 'privatization', everything is taking place under the global programme of imperialism. Therefore, **we should make an effort to build an anti-imperialist front by bringing all the struggles and the movements against imperialism from every part of the world. . We should expand and strengthen the concept of Coordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) in the context of South Asia to control the bullying of Indian expansionism.**

We must polarize the parties, organizations and the struggle by analyzing the situation existing in South Asia. All the people of the countries bordering India and the exploited people of India can struggle jointly against the expansionist bullying of the Indian rulers. Now, it has become compulsory to build a front in South Asia against Indian intervention and for a comprehensive front against American Imperialism in the world. Only after that can we have freedom, independence and guarantee the fundamental rights of the exploited people.

In the developing countries and even in the 'developed' countries, struggles for national liberation are going on. We should respect their spirit, aspiration and the fight for freedom; and should form joint fronts as far as possible. This is the

responsibility of the proletariat class today. **The Nepalese proletarian class should fulfill this responsibility and develop the concept of struggle for national liberation.**

The present crisis in the economy of global imperialism should be analyzed in a new way. It shows that the creation of united front should not only be from the point of view of building a united front, but also from the point of view of an ideological and political united front. The crisis in the economy of global imperialism has matured the objective conditions for the world revolution. It is a favorable condition for proletarian revolution. However, this matured and favorable situation should be addressed by the ideology and leadership of the proletariat class. It is not only the continuation of a decade crisis in a global economy of imperialism; this crisis in global economy helps us to solve the contradiction through the solution- Revolution.

In Nepal, a type of reform has been done, but it is not a drastic change. In our political analysis, **we have established the Federal Republic of Nepal. However, it is not clear whom the republic serves? Does it serve the bourgeoisie or the proletarian class? Now the debate is on which class does this republic serve?** The increasing role of foreign powers and the high demands of people in the nation show that the contradictions are not being solved; rather they are sharpening.

The favorable objective situation has demanded a matured subjective force. **It means that the debate conducted ideologically and politically as the two line struggle in the party and its expression in class struggle will play an important strategic influence in the history of class struggle. Mainly, the centre of the debate in our party is over the leadership of the proletarian class. We have to evaluate whether we are able to maintain the leadership of proletarian class or not, and how we can maintain the leadership of the proletarian class.** We have already reached the theoretical decision that the proletarian class cannot be victorious until and unless it develops the best military and ideological tactics.

**The debate is on ideology. The debate is over Marxism or reformism. Have we only one alternative to make agreements or have we any other alternatives of struggle and revolt?** We are in a debate about ideology, politics, policy, programs and the forms of tactics because the previous movements of the proletarian class have slipped away, collapsed or weakened when they have obtained power. Therefore we consider that the importance of the debate to analyze and synthesize it from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Basically, does it fit with Marxism and **has our method of work and style of work served the interests of revolution or has it served reformism. This is the major principle debate.**

We can say that the debate is the continuation of the great debate between China and the USSR after the death of Stalin. Because the debate is on similar issues; how to accomplish the revolution in a country in the world and how to protect the achievements gained from the revolution. **The debate is between a pragmatic eclecticism and revolutionary Marxism. We are debating over revolution or reformism.**

In this debate, because it is a great debate, we welcome those comrades who take part in the proletarian spirit. They should be allowed to react and complain. We should appreciate and analyze their reactions. If there are illusions, we should clarify them and if there are principle issues, we should finalize those through ideological debate. This is because the proletarian debate has been created on the foundation of a decade long proletarian class struggle. They have their own share in the Nepalese revolution. So, they will welcome the chance to take part in the debate in the proletarian spirit. We are expecting helping hands to bring maturity to the revolution of Nepal, along with the world proletarian revolution.

Criticism for criticism and creativity for creativity is not dialectics. This type of tradition that has developed within the communist parties of the world should be rejected and the dialectical process and method should be applied. We are sharing and ready to share the experiences and suggestions of comrades internationally; and give a new experience for the birth of a new proletarian world.

# On strategy and tactics

Indramohan Sigdel 'Basanta'

The success of 19 days mass movement that had stood upon the foundation of 10 years of great people's war waged under the leadership of our party, the CPN (Maoist), and the support of 12-point agreement has brought the monarchy, which ruled for about 250 years, to an end and Nepal has entered into federal democratic republic. The establishment of federal democratic republic of Nepal is the result of persistent struggle waged by the Nepali people against monarchy since decades, and it is not an ordinary achievement. **It is a significant tactical achievement; it is not and cannot be a strategic accomplishment. However, there have been differences on the question of understanding this achievement in the party and the broad masses as well. If this tactical achievement is comprehended as the strategic one, that can be nothing other than following status quo.**

The strategic goal of any revolution waged under the leadership of the party of the proletariat is to resolve the fundamental contradictions prevailing in the then society. Among those fundamental contradictions, one of them becomes principal at a certain juncture of class struggle and the party decides the immediate tactic to resolve that principal contradiction. The instantaneous political slogan and the specific form of struggle are decided on the basis of very political tactic. The contradictions related to class, region, nation and sex in the Nepalese society are the basic contradictions originated as a result of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic condition of Nepal. Therefore, without getting rid of feudalism and imperialism and Indian expansionism in our particular situation can in no way be achieved the minimum strategic goal of the Nepalese people's revolution.

**Our party's formulation in Unity Congress that only by achieving decisive victory upon the domestic reaction comprised of feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class protected by Indian expansionism can the minimum strategic goal of Nepalese people's revolution be achieved is equally relevant even today. Although the monarchy that had been leading the domestic reaction has been ended and establishment of federal democratic republic has brought about significant changes in the power balance of the reactionary and revolutionary classes in Nepal, but it has not given rise to any change in the strategy of Nepalese people's revolution.** However, the change in the power balance within the reactionary and revolutionary classes has demanded the need to develop tactic on the basis of concrete analysis of the concrete condition but not to apply the old tactic in the same way as before. In this situation, whether or not our party can develop tactic on the basis of concrete analysis of the concrete condition decides on whether or not it can lead revolution to decisive victory.

In general, communist party does not make any mistake in determining the strategy of proletarian revolution. To establish people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat after feudalism and imperialism is brought to an end in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries and to establish dictatorship of the proletariat after decisive victory upon the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries are the basic strategies of the proletariat. Those who do not agree with these basic strategies in accordance with the socio-economic condition of the given country cannot basically be communist parties. In this sense, the ideological and political debate, which takes place in the communist movement and a certain communist party, is centred always not in strategy but in tactic. Again, the tactic of a party cannot be an outcome of the academic exercise of a certain leader. It is a question that is decided by concrete analysis of the concrete condition based on dialectical materialism.

In our own context, the tactic of democratic republic that the Second National Conference had indicated to in general and Chunwang Meeting had concretised in particular has been accomplished successfully. This success, establishing our party as the largest one through the Constituent Assembly election, has made us reach to the position of leading the coalition government. The example of a communist party leading revolution from the government is found nowhere in the history of the world communist

movement. Protecting the achievements acquired in this situation, to make the revolution reach to a decisive victory, is in itself a mammoth ideological challenge also.

On the one hand, we have said that the Nepalese revolution is in the stage of strategic offensive and, on the other, we are leading the government also. From this situation, which in itself seems contradictory, it is necessary to develop a series of scientific tactic that can make the Nepalese revolution reach to victory by bringing the feudalism and imperialism to an end.

Only by developing tactic that agrees with international power balance and the domestic ground reality can we reach to the strategic goal of people's revolution. In order to develop that kind of tactic, we have to refrain from two kinds of dangers. First is the danger of going towards reformism that can arise because of the objective situation in which there is intensive and extensive encirclement of imperialism and Indian expansionism, the international communist movement is in defensive condition and right revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement and our own obligatory situation in which we have to implement reformist programmes to fulfill people's expectations to some extent because our party is leading the government. Second is the dogmatic left-sectarian danger that may go, in the name of protecting from the danger of reformism, towards formulating insurrectionary tactic of Lenin's or Mao's style by forgetting the aforesaid ground reality. **In the present situation, the first one is the main danger. However, refraining from these two kinds of dangers we can develop objective tactic that can help us seize the central power by means of people's rebellion of Nepalese originality from the present stage of strategic offensive.**

We have arrived at a very much piercing and sensitive state of Nepalese revolution. Now, on the one hand, the imperialist plunderers and reactionary forces the world over are encircling from all around to sabotage people's revolution and, on the other, the oppressed classes are looking forward the success of revolution in Nepal to open the door of world proletarian revolution in the first decade of the 21st century. Only by developing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tactic based on concrete analysis of the concrete condition can we accomplish Nepalese people's revolution and by so doing can the expectation from us of the international proletariat be fulfilled.

## Prachanda's visit to India—An Analysis

Prachanda's visit to India after assuming the office of the Prime Minister of Nepal was watched with interest by the ruling classes of both India and Nepal, by various political parties as well as the revolutionaries. From September 14-18 Prachanda was in India accompanied by four ministers—Upendra Yadav, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Krishna Bahadur Mahara, Minister for Information and Communication, Bishnu Prasad Poudel, Minister for Water Resources and Rajendra Mahato, Minister for Commerce and Supplies. The delegation also included four members of the Constituent Assembly, senior officials of the Government of Nepal, a business delegation and a delegation of media representatives.

During his visit to India Prachanda not only had personal as well as delegation-level talks with the Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, and a meeting with Sonia Gandhi, Chairperson of the UPA and President of the Congress party, but also met leaders of several parties including LK Advani, BJP president Rajnath Singh, Sharad Yadav, CPI(M) leaders Prakash Karat and Sitaram Yechuri among others. He also visited Rajghat and paid homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi—the British imperialist agent who is projected as an icon of non-violence by the reactionaries all over the world. An interaction with the Indian business community was jointly hosted by ASSOCHAM, CII and FICCI in honour of the visiting dignitary. And in the final leg of his tour Prachanda visited Bangalore on September 17-18.



According to the Joint Press statement issued by the Prime Ministers of Nepal and India, the Prime Minister of Nepal appreciated the positive support extended by the people and Government of India throughout the peaceful political democratic transformation in the country, the two Prime Ministers agreed to review, adjust and update the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship and other agreements, while giving due recognition to the special features of the bilateral relationship, both sides agreed to further enhance the pace of economic development between the two countries by extending support for the preparation and execution of mega projects, including infrastructure development such as road, rail and hydel-power projects.

As a gesture of goodwill of the Government and people of India, Government of India agreed to implement the Naumure Hydro-electric Project on Rapti river. While the Nepalese side assured that Government of Nepal will take further necessary measures for the promotion of investor friendly, enabling business environment to encourage Indian public and private sector investments in Nepal, the Government of India assured that it will continue to assist the Government and people of Nepal in its peaceful, democratic transition; its economic development and reconstruction. The areas of assistance would include infrastructure, human resource development, health and education, and so on. GOI also promised that it will remove bans on the export of rice, wheat, maize, sugar and sucrose, and that it will provide a credit of upto Rs. 150 crores to Government of Nepal for the next three months to ensure uninterrupted supplies to Nepal. ... .

.What had surprised observers was the warmth with which Prachanda was trying to interact with the Hindu communal-fascist leaders like BJP President Rajnath Singh. Mr. Prachanda is reported to have said: *"There may be certain ideological and political differences but we have great respect for the shared cultural heritage of both the countries."* He also referred to the cultural bond between Ayodhya in India and Janakpur in Nepal and added *no one could break such strong emotional bonds."*



**Prachanda's tactic seemed to be to offend none and to befriend all.** He had meetings with leaders of most of the parliamentary parties. Indian expansionism had not just temporarily receded but altogether vanished from Prachanda's vision as he began to praise the assistance and cooperation provided by the Indian government to the anti-monarchy struggle in Nepal. India had helped in the peace process because the '12 point understanding' between the Maoists and Nepal's other parties was reached in Delhi, he said. Prachanda said the country's new Constitution would be drafted within a year and a half by consensus of all political parties. He said **Kathmandu would seek New Delhi's help in drafting of the Constitution as also to give boost to the landlocked country's economy.** This proposal seeking India's help in drafting Nepal's Constitution came as a big shock to the democratic and progressive sections not to speak of revolutionaries. In India revolutionaries had from the beginning exposed the farce of the drafting of the Indian Constitution by the so-called Constituent Assembly. Any Marxist Leninist knows that the Constitution is meant to protect the rich ruling elites and to suppress the people. Even from the nationalist point of view is it not undermining Nepal's sovereignty by seeking the help of India in drafting the Constitution?

"We believe formal democracy, such as what prevails in India, does not empower the people. But it is a step towards the goal of total empowerment of the masses. Till the people own the system and have equal stakes in it, democracy cannot deliver. Our struggle today is for the institutionalisation of empowerment, which means going beyond formal democracy," he asserted.

"If we Nepalis fail, its repercussions will also be in India. So we have a collective responsibility to ensure success." He even offered a bit of an advice to the Maoists in India by saying that they should take the experiences of Nepal. Asked about his party's links with the Indian naxalites, he said there are "ideological relations." But when the Maoists in Nepal spoke of taking part in elections, their Indian counterparts spoke of a "rightist deviation," he said. "When we won, they congratulated us but warned us not to take part in government. Now, of course, we are leading the government." The historic transformation in Nepal could serve as a reference for revolutionaries and Maoists elsewhere, he said. "A serious debate has already begun in India and the world on our experience and in time you will see the results of this," he said.

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

Press Release:

September 19, 2008

**Condemn the gruesome killing of innocent people in the  
New Delhi bomb blasts !  
Resist the moves of the rulers to enact draconian acts  
to suppress the people**

The Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) strongly condemns the gruesome and dastardly killing of innocent people in the New Delhi serial bomb blasts on the evening of 13th of this month. This is a senseless act as the victims are innocent citizens. If any Muslim organizations are really involved, as alleged by the police, then it is high time these organizations realize that they cannot fight Hindu fascist forces by carrying out such bomb blasts in public places thereby harming ordinary civilians but they should concentrate their attacks on the saffron leaders and the policemen and officials who are hand in glove with them in unleashing terror on innocent people belonging to the Muslim community.

The police and the government representatives are making desperate attempts to frame the Muslim organizations such as SIMI after having utterly failed to furnish any substantial evidence to justify its re-imposition of ban on SIMI. Utilising the allegations of the police, leaders of Hindu fanatical parties like BJP's Advani, Narendra Modi, VHP's Praveen Togadia and Ashok Singhal, Bajrang Dal's Vinay Katiyar and others are raising a hue and cry that the UPA government is "soft on terror" while remaining conspicuously silent on the attacks on churches, convents, property and lives of Christian community by their saffron goons such as the lumpen elements of Bajrang Dal in Orissa, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh etc. They are clamouring for re-enacting the draconian POTA so as to target the Muslim community as done by their Hindu fascist leader, Narendra Modi in Gujarat. The UPA government is, no doubt, soft on terror unleashed by the saffron brigade. Like Neros, Manmohan Singh and Shivraj Patil have been fiddling in Delhi as Orissa was burning for almost a month and the Hindu fanatical fire spread to Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh. At the same time these Neros act as Hitlers in the case of Muslims showing bomb blasts as pretexts. Innocent Muslims are arrested, false cases are filed against Muslims without any evidence. Worse still, Muslim youth are illegally detained, tortured and murdered, and entire Muslim community is persecuted by the khaki-clad hoodlums in the name of fighting terror. The media is playing the most dubious role in whipping up frenzy against the Muslims by circulating the lies dished out by the police and fabricating its own chain of false stories against Muslim organizations.

By pointing out an accusing finger against SIMI and other Muslim organizations the rulers are consciously trying to downplay the brutal murders and attacks against the religious minorities by the Indian state and the Hindu fanatical saffron terrorists. The burning down of Churches, burning alive nuns and murdering and beating up the people belonging to religious minorities by organized saffron gangs are acts are no less dangerous and ghastly than bomb blasts. In fact, they pose even greater danger as they tend to polarize the society along communal lines and take on a large-scale character. The entire media and the political establishment are, however, trying to blow up the incidents of bomb blasts out of proportion and projecting these as the biggest threat while brushing aside the larger conflagration of Hindi fascist attacks that affect lakhs of people.

The CPI (Maoist) calls upon the people of our country to fight against the moves of the government to bring in more draconian legislation in the name of containing terrorism. These draconian acts will be used not against the saffron terrorists who are already in power in several states and have their men in the state machinery, but

against hapless Muslims and Christians who take up arms in self-defence, against the people of Kashmir fighting for self-determination, against the Maoists who are fighting for the liberation of the country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador capitalism, and against all struggling nationalities and people. anti-people policies of the government and the fascist attacks on people's struggles and on their democratic rights. The CC, CPI (Maoist) calls upon the fighting people and organizations of oppressed nationalities, religious minorities, and other toiling masses not to get diverted by indiscriminate violence, like killing or causing injuries to the innocent people, and instead, to direct their wrath against the oppressive state, Hindu fascist leaders, cruel oppressors and exploiters who protect and perpetuate this inhuman oppressive and exploitative system.

signed/  
Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee,  
CPI (Maoist)

\* \* \*

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

*Press Release:*

*September 19, 2008*

**Condemn the continuing brutal attacks on the Christian community  
by the saffron terrorists aided by the state!**

**All secular and democratic forces! Unite to fight back VHP-Bajrang  
Dal-RSS-BJP fascist neo-Nazi gangs who are bent upon ethnic  
cleansing!!**

The saffron terrorists have unleashed the worst kind of attacks on the Christian community across the country which have assumed gory savage forms in Orissa, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh. The police and the state machinery in these states not only failed to protect the lives and property of the religious minority but also became direct accomplices by aiding and abetting these Hindu fascist criminals and terrorists. The Chief Minister of Karnataka, Yediyurappa, has revealed his ugly Hindu fascist nature by saying that the attacks on the Christian churches and houses in Mangalore, Chikmagalore, Kolar and elsewhere in the state is a natural reaction to the "forced conversions" indulged in by the Christian organizations. He had even accused that Christian missionaries get foreign funds for the purpose. The Home Minister, Acharya, gave a clean chit to the lumpen goons of Bajrang Dal without even bothering to conduct an enquiry in spite of visual evidence of the Bajrangis who had led the attacks. Worse still, adding insult to the injury inflicted on the Christian community, Yediyurappa's policemen had entered churches and convents brutally beating up nuns and other Christian women.

The CC, CPI (Maoist) condemns the communal fascist terror unleashed by the neo-Nazi thugs of sangh parivar and calls upon the secular and democratic forces to unite to protect the religious minorities and to isolate the Hindu fanatics. Yediyurappa, who has already earned notoriety as Karnataka's Narendra Modi in a span of few months,

should be arrested for inflaming communal passions and justifying the brutal attacks on the Christian minority. It is shameful that the so-called judiciary which passes verdicts against bandhs and strikes, has chosen to remain silent as Hindu fanatics and police unleash attacks on the minorities.

It is crystal-clear that a conspiracy has been hatched by the saffron terrorists to decimate the religious minorities and force the Christians to reconvert to Hindu religion. The leaders of the saffron brigade have openly declared that they would not rest until all non-Hindus are converted back into Hinduism.

In Orissa the atrocities against Christian community continues unabated with the blessings of the Naveen Patnaik government. The saffron fanatic leaders like Ashok Singhal, Vinay Katiyar, Praveen Togadia, Subhash Chouhan and others have been declaring repeatedly that Laxmanananda was killed by Christian missionary organizations even after our Party had categorically declared that our PLGA guerrillas had carried out the punishment on Laxmanananda in Jalespet ashram for his brutal attacks on the Christian community. These Hitlerite gangs had even put up posters in the name of our Party that Maoists were not responsible for the attack in Jalespeta ashram. Like Hitler setting fire to the Reichstag to step up the suppression of the social democrats and seize power and enact fascist rule, the Hitler's progeny in India—the saffron fanatical terrorists—stage bomb blasts blaming it on the religious minorities.

**Our CC makes it clear once again that the annihilation of Laxmananda has been carried out by our squads for his indescribable misdeeds and fanatical attacks on the Christian minority. Every Indian citizen has the right to choose his/her religion and to convert to any religion of choice. The Hindu fascist forces cannot suppress this freedom by coercion and intimidation of the religious minorities.** We warn the saffron terrorists that our PLGA will continue to punish their leaders as long as they persist in attacks against religious minorities and continue to rake up communal frenzy and hatred.

The CC, CPI (Maoist), calls upon all secular and democratic forces to unite and fight back the brutal attacks on the religious minorities by the Hindu fascist forces. **The responsibility falls more on the shoulders of the Hindu majority to protect the rights of the religious minorities and to isolate and ostracise the terrorists in the guise of VHP-Bajrang Dal-RSS-BJP who utilize Hindu religion to whip up communal passions and attacks on minorities.**

Let us build a broad-based mass movement to isolate the saffron fascists and to bring pressure on the government to arrest and punish all those who have committed atrocities and brutal attacks on the Christian community in Karnataka, Orissa and elsewhere. Advanis, Modis, Yediyurappas, Singhals, Katiyars, Togadias Naveen Patnaiks are enemies of the people. The present system will never punish these vultures but they will certainly be punished in the people's court ultimately. Let us defend the rights of the religious minorities and strive to build a secular, truly democratic India assuring religious freedom, security and equality of all religions in India.

Signed/  
Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee,  
CPI (Maoist)

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

*Press Release:*

*November 5, 2008*

**Boycott the upcoming Assembly elections in the six states!  
Fight back state terror and state-sponsored terror, the reactionary  
anti-people policies of the Congress and its UPA allies,  
Hindu fascist terror of the neo-Nazi BJP-RSS-VHP-Bajrang Dal-BJD,  
& the social-fascist offensive of the so-called Left front led by the CPI (M)!!  
Advance the people's war in the country and establish people's  
revolutionary power!!**

Elections to Assemblies in the six states of Kashmir, Chattisgarh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Mizoram, which are to be held in November/ December this year, are a big fraud and hoax enacted to dupe the people and divert them from the real path of their liberation. Seen as a rehearsal to the General Elections being held a few months later, every parliamentary Party is trying to mould people's opinion, whip up prejudices of all sorts, divert people's attention from the real issues, rig the election results, and win by hook or by crook

These elections, as any other elections to the legislative bodies in the present semi-colonial semi-feudal India, cannot bring even an iota of change in people's lives but will only further enslave the masses. They are merely a safety valve to let out the fury and frustration of the masses by giving them the option of choosing between various bands of dacoits. The CC, CPI(Maoist), calls upon the vast masses of the country to boycott the elections which bring nothing but greater misery and destitution to the vast majority of the population and merely replace one band of dacoits with another.

Both the Congress-led UPA and the BJP-led NDA are the biggest enemies of the people and the worst traitors of our country. They are competing with one another to sell the country's interests to imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, and to loot the vast natural wealth of the country. They are birds of the same feather in pursuing anti-people, pro-imperialist policies and imposing draconian acts on the people; in persecuting and suppressing the Muslim community, decimating the Kashmiri population and trampling down the national aspirations of the Kashmiris; organizing vicious, blood-thirsty vigilante salwa judum gangs in Chattisgarh and letting loose the police and central armed forces to murder and maim adivasis and Maoist revolutionaries, rape adivasi women, destroy their houses and burn down entire villages, all with the sole aim of paving the way for unbridled loot and plunder of the region's mineral wealth by big business houses.

The lives of the common people had deteriorated to an unheard of level under the Congress-led UPA regime in the country as a whole. Spiralling prices of essential commodities, soaring inflation, closure of industries and retrenchment of workers, growing unemployment, worsening levels of malnutrition and ever-spreading diseases have become the order of the day. Several thousand peasants had committed suicides. On the other hand, the growth in the wealth of a handful of millionaires and billionaires is really mind-boggling.

BJP-led saffron fascist gangs are whipping up communal frenzy and unleashing murderous attacks on Muslims and Christians all over the country. And the states ruled by the BJP and its allies such as Orissa, MP, Karnataka, have become Hindutva laboratories where all other minorities are systematically eliminated. While BJP is campaigning for brutal suppression of the entire Muslim community by bringing in

more draconian acts like POTA, the Congress-ruled states too are not lagging behind in unleashing attacks on innocent Muslims in the name of war against terror. These comprador-feudal parties are the greatest threat to the lives and security of the people. The so-called Left parties such as CPI and CPI(M) have earned notoriety for the brutal suppression of the people's struggle in Nandigram, Singur and other places and are shamelessly serving as trusted managers for imperialist and comprador capital.

In the BJP-ruled states of Chattisgarh, Rajasthan and MP, where elections are being held, the incumbent BJP governments had unleashed the most savage assaults on the people at large. In Chattisgarh, in particular, the fascist Raman Singh government had carried out the most savage war on the adivasis and the Maoist revolutionaries eliminating over 600 people, burning and destroying over 700 villages, displacing over 1.5 lakh adivasis from their homes, raping hundreds of hapless adivasi women, and snatching away all the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. The Congress is a part and parcel of this brutal campaign.

And the most shameful acts have been committed in Kashmir by the central forces where the entire Muslim population is targeted with vengeance. Arrests, torture and murder of Kashmiri youth, rape of women by the Indian Army and other state security forces have become the order of the day. Even peaceful protests are banned, curfew imposed, and those who dare to defy this military rule in Kashmir are shot dead without any compunction. While holding the entire Kashmiri population captive at gun-point by over five lakh-strong armed troops, the reactionary rulers have shamelessly declared that they would impose the election farce on an unwilling population, no matter if the majority boycotts the poll. Enforce elections over the corpses of Kashmiris in order to legitimize Delhi' durbar's rule over the state, in true Iraqi style. Such is the real face of Indian parliamentary democracy. And to push through the election hoax at gun-point the entire drama is being staged in seven phases spread out over a five-week period so as to overwhelm the voters with brute force.

The CC, CPI(Maoist), calls upon the people to boycott the elections and to support and actively participate in the ongoing people's war led by our Party to overthrow this exploitative system and establish people's democratic power in place of the dictatorship of a tiny feudal-comprador elite. We call upon the entire Party ranks, the heroic fighters of PLGA, and the members of all revolutionary mass organizations to actively organize the masses to boycott the elections and to throw out the reactionary parliamentary party leaders who come for votes in the areas of our armed struggle. They should also work out plans to deal effective blows against the police and para-military forces that are sent to enforce the election farce on the masses.

Signed/  
Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee,  
CPI(Maoist)

