



## **Maoist Information Bulletin - 13**

**December 5, 2009**

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**Let us Defeat the countrywide cruel offensive  
Unleashed by the exploitative ruling classes and  
Advance the people's war to a higher stage!**

**Let us fulfill the Call of our Unity Congress—9<sup>th</sup> Congress  
to establish Base Areas as the central, principal and immediate task!**



*---Message from the Central Military Commission to all PLGA fighters on the occasion of the 9<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of PLGA*

**Dear comrades and heroic PLGA fighters,**

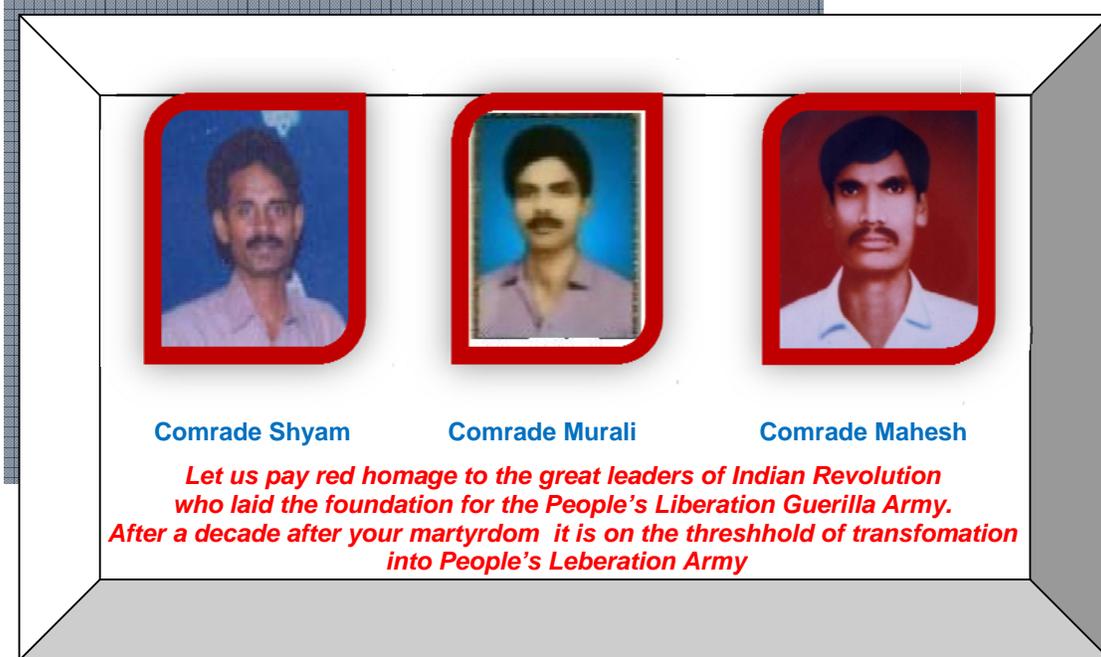
On 2 December, 2009 Our PLGA completes 9 years of its formation. On this occasion we will be organizing a week of festivities from Dec 2-9 to celebrate the 9<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. We take pledge to intensify the people's war by arming the people and carrying out more powerful offensives against the enemy.

Under the leadership of our Party, the CPI(Maoist), our PLGA is working with the immediate goal of overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism through protracted people's war and establish a new democratic state. Under the guidance of our Central Committee and the direct leadership of our Central Military Commission, our PLGA has fought with utmost courage and firm resolve, dealt blows to the enemy's armed forces, and intensified the guerrilla war with great effort in order to complete the political and military tasks set by our Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress. Ambushes such as Markegaon, Mugner, Dhanora, Vinjaram, Chintagufa, Risgaon, Kokawada, Geedam, Barhaniya, Khunti, Goelkera, Nawadih, Mahuliatand, Pikhgiri, Palur; and raids such as Nalco, are models of heroic struggles. The CMC conveys its hearty revolutionary greetings to the brave commanders and fighters at various levels, heroic people's militia, and the struggling masses.

A total of 232 comrades of our Party had laid down their lives between July 2008 and September 2009 throughout the country. In Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand-North Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zone, Orissa, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, 226 comrades had become martyrs in the cruel offensive of the enemy. Among these martyrs were a CCM com Patel Sudhakar aka Vikas; two state committee comrades of Andhra Pradesh—comrades Mastan rao and Ramchandar; 11 members of DC/DvC/ZC; 2 sub-zonal committee members; 20 ACMs/Platoon Commanders/section commanders; 79 Party members and PLGA fighters; 39 village-level activists and militia members; and 80 members from revolutionary masses. Several women comrades such as comrade Sashi from AP, Rinki from Orissa (Kandhamal), Jyoti from Koraput, and Mynabai from Gadchiroli (Maharashtra) were arrested and shot dead by the police after cruel tortures. These comrades had faced the inhuman atrocities by the enemy with great courage and guarded the secrets of the Party as the apple of their eyes. They preferred death rather than divulging the secrets of the Party. Their heroic sacrifice and their deep commitment towards the Party, people and revolution will remain as glorious examples ever. On this occasion let us pay our humble red salutes to these brave martyrs and take pledge to complete the unfulfilled tasks of these martyrs and to advance the people's war to greater heights.

In the TCOC this year, our PLGA has achieved three things in the main:

1. Destroying the enemy in a big number and seizing arms thereby further developing the guerrilla war and advancing a step towards mobile war;
2. Coordinating quite successfully the election boycott campaign with TCOC;
3. Securing the release of PB member comrade Sunirmal from enemy's hands through surprise raid.



Over the past one year, we had further intensified our guerrilla war in order to establish Base Areas, transform PLGA into PLA and guerrilla war into mobile war. Various commissions and commands under the leadership of the CMC had drawn up plans for carrying out several small and medium type of operations (along with a few big ones) against the enemy and successfully executed. Great achievements were made by learning and applying the principle of guerrilla war to fight a superior force with a small guerrilla force. There were a few failures too.

Immediately after assuming power for the second time following the Lok Sabha elections in May 2009, the Congress-led UPA government has intensified its attack on our Party. Within a month it imposed a country-wide ban on our Party. It declared our Party as a terrorist organization. In order to suppress the people's upsurge in Lalgah 6000 armed forces belonging to state police, central para-military led by the CoBRA commandos, were deployed. Our Party, PLGA and revolutionary people had given a fitting reply to the savage attacks by the central and various state governments. We had completed the campaign of TCOC successfully by wiping out the mercenary forces sent by the enemy into our areas. In the past one year, our PLGA, by displaying unparalleled courage and undaunted heroism, wiped out 270 enemy troops—special commandos and para-military forces—and seized more than 200 arms.

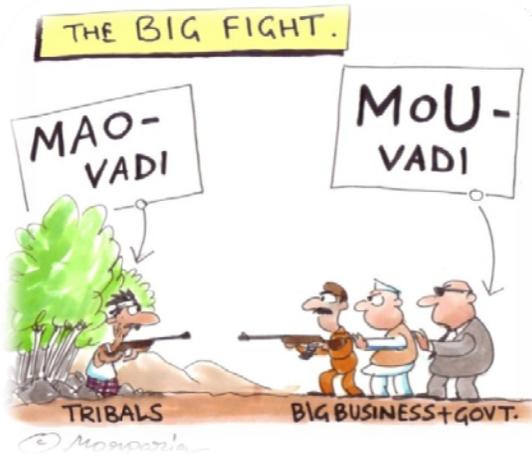
Some weaknesses too were seen during our military operations last year.

### **Preparations of the enemy:**

The imperialist pet-dog P. Chidambaram is sending central para-military forces on a huge scale to Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, and UP with the aim of suppressing our movement. He is making preparations to send central forces to other states too. Besides this, the Centre has assured the states that it would assist them by all means possible by providing massive financial assistance, arms and other war material, training, intelligence sharing, and coordination. The CPI(Maoist) is being focused as a bandit and terrorist.

The Lalgah upsurge had unnerved the ruling classes. This was also one reason for imposing the ban on the Party and mass organizations. This great people's upsurge, called as the Second Santhal

Rebellion, had become a nightmare to the social fascist CPI(M), the reactionary Indian ruling classes, and their master, American imperialism. By imposing ban on our Party, the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique has conspired to suppress the people's movements under our Party leadership and the entire Party itself. The areas in which our people's war is raging, are also the areas where mineral wealth is abundant. It is becoming extremely difficult for the imperialists and the comprador capitalists to loot this mineral wealth due to the presence of our Party, PLGA and revolutionary mass organisations which are putting up stiff resistance against the loot. The imperialist and comprador capitalist vultures can loot this wealth only by eliminating our Party and movement. Hence to achieve this, the reactionary rulers led by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique have unleashed a massive armed suppression campaign with the aid and active assistance of American imperialism.



Home Minister Chidambaram himself had been a member of the Board of Directors of the Vedanta Mining Company Ltd until he became a cabinet minister. This company, is ruining the lives of thousands of adivasis in Orissa through its mining operations. Tata, Birla, Mittal, Essar, Jindal, Vedanata, POSCO and other bandit companies have embarked on a conspiracy to loot the wealth of the entire country. These bandit companies have selected the vast stretch of land running over 1200 kms from West Bengal's Purulia-Nakura-Mednipur zone to Vishakhapatnam in North Andhra for their loot. This stretch is the fortress of people's war. In some areas of this vast stretch, people's revolutionary committees as alternative system of rule and embryonic forms of genuine people's democratic power have emerged. Higher forms of people's democratic power have also

emerged and are engaged in real development of the people. In this vast area the forces of our PLGA are marching ahead undeterred wiping out enemy's mercenary forces. The people in particular, are waging a relentless war against the enemy by arming themselves. Due to the presence of the Maoist party the difficulties of the imperialists and other bandit business houses in this area have increased.

Imperialist agent Manmohan Singh has been trying to paint the Maoist movement as the single biggest internal security threat in the country. The parties of the exploiting classes have been trying desperately to propagate that our Party is against development. All the bandit parliamentary parties have been shouting that as long as Maoist movement exists there can be no development. Chidambaram is repeating ad nauseum that for development to take place Maoists have to be first eliminated. He is making military offensive as the focus of all his plans. According to him, development can take place only in an atmosphere of peace that is brought about after turning the entire area into a graveyard through massive armed operations by the police and central forces. He is giving directions to the state governments to play their role in this massive brutal military campaign. It is as a part of this heinous conspiracy that he is carrying out vicious campaign against the Maoist movement on a massive scale.

The exploiting classes imagine that they can do anything once they gain power through fake elections. The UPA government thinks that since it has acquired "people's mandate", it is free to do anything in the name of people's verdict. Lakhs of people are being displaced as a result of the policy of plunder pursued by the imperialists. The people who are immersed in life-and-death problems are joining the people's war. It is by cruelly suppressing these militant people that the comprador rulers of India wish to hand over the mineral and forest wealth to their imperialist masters. Along with this, they aspire to eliminate the Maoist Party that is providing leadership to the oppressed, suppressed, exploited sections of the people.

Today, the enemy is coming forth with greater preparations than ever before and is resorting to several new tactics besides carrying out cruel and aggressive operations. In such a situation what are our tasks? Should we rest content with some past victories and watch with self-complacency? Or should we concentrate on defeating every tactic of the enemy by formulating appropriate counter-tactics and successfully executing them with utmost determination? Just as the enemy is advancing by changing his plans and tactics, and is hatching new plans and pursuing new methods, it is very much necessary for us to seriously study the changes in the situation, the enemy's plans and tactics,

and draw up counter-plans and tactics to defeat the enemy. If there is even the slightest lapse or carelessness in this regard, we will have to pay dearly. Therefore, all the leading Party committees, military commissions and commands have to pay special attention to the task of formulating appropriate counter-tactics to effectively defeat enemy's tactics. Otherwise, a situation similar to what we had faced in Andhra Pradesh and North Chhattisgarh, where we suffered heavy losses and were forced to adopt the tactics of retreat, might surface again.

#### **PLGA's Preparations:**

To take our people's war to a higher stage, we have to develop the Main and Secondary forces qualitatively and quantitatively and strengthen them in every sphere. For this our PLGA should unite more closely with the masses, organise them, participate in production and other activities. Through this, we should enhance the consciousness of the masses and strive to establish organs of people's democratic power at even higher levels. Only through the widest participation of the people can the PLGA ensure their protection.

To root out the revolutionary movement completely and implement his strategy and tactics based on the policy of LIC, enemy is preparing specially trained SIB, special commando forces such as Grey hounds, STF, Black Panthers, SOG, SAP, SAG, central CoBRA commando force etc. We cannot



advance the people's war without destroying these specially-trained forces and the fortified police stations and camps that are being established as part of the strategy of carpet security system. Hence, to destroy these, we have to affect changes in our fire-power and training, besides strengthening the PLGA formations like the squad, platoons and companies. Accordingly, we have to increase the strength and capabilities of the military commissions and commands. We have to develop the guerrilla tactics that can deal blows to the enemy forces. The principles of guerrilla war should be implemented firmly and creatively. We have to immediately come out of the weaknesses and legalist methods that are seen in PLGA. We have to become adept in confronting the harshest conditions; be prepared to undergo sacrifices; and to fight

with courage and determination. When in enemy hands we should not expose the secrets of the Party no matter how much torture the enemy inflicts on us. We have to display our class consciousness and a proletarian outlook. We have to enhance our resolve to fight under the most unfavourable and harsh conditions. Only by destroying the enemy we will be able to defeat his strategy and tactics of LIC. We have to grasp this truth.

In accordance with the situation we have to centralize or decentralize our forces and achieve the targets. Flexibility is essential in our tactics. We should not make mistakes by coming under enemy pressure. We should ensure that pessimistic, helpless and defeatist attitudes do not enter our minds. Struggle is decisive whether in victory or defeat. Likewise, when we achieve victories, we should not become victims of self-complacency and underestimating the enemy.

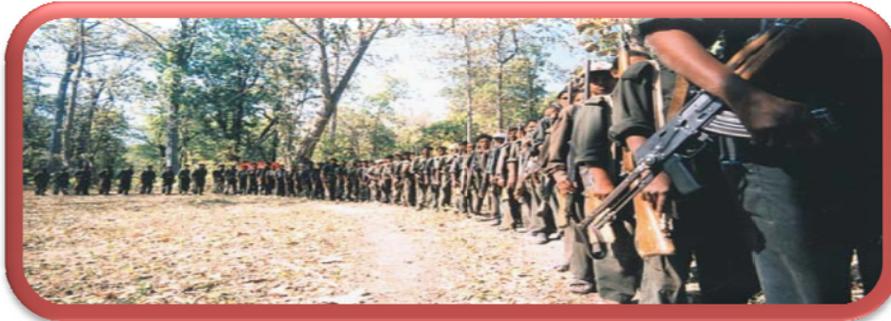
As part of our preparations it is also very essential to prepare the people's militia. Only by arming the people in a big way in the form of people's militia it is possible to defend the organs of people's power. For this, we have to concentrate specifically on building the people's militia units at various levels, arm them, and train them politically and militarily. We have to strengthen the discipline in the militia units and constantly increase their fighting abilities. Various committees, commissions and commands should concentrate on this aspect. If this is neglected, it will become an obstacle for the development of PLGA. As a result, PLGA will become isolated in the war. Hence it is necessary to concentrate on building the Base force and develop it as a strong force.

#### **Preparing the people:**

In order to prepare the people to become capable of defeating the enemy, and to defend themselves from enemy attacks we have to establish organs of people's political power (RPCs) at various levels. Our main task in the present situation is to enhance the consciousness of the fighting masses, organize them, arm them and train them. Party, PLGA and various mass organisations and organs of people's power should strive to educate the people about the nature of the enemy's strategy and tactics based on the policy of LIC being implemented under the guidance of the imperialists, the overt and covert forms of war, deceptive reforms, counseling, deployment of covert agents, vigilante

gangs, secret informer network, and other methods adopted by the enemy. The class hatred and anger of the people against the enemy should be enhanced. We have to train them to see the enemy as an enemy. If the people do not understand this truth then it cannot fight the enemy with full spirit. The people should be educated and trained in such a way that they realize their burning issues can be resolved and a bright future can be achieved only with the victory of the people's war. By consolidating the people in the various organizations conducting the people's war i.e., people's militia, PLGA, RPC and Party, we have to release their inherent initiative, courage and energy, and give them full play. We have to make the people conscious in order to foil the attempts by the enemy to isolate the Party and the PLGA from the masses by carrying out his programme of 'strategic hamlets' besides various kinds of reforms. We have to creatively develop such methods by which the enemy will not be able to get any support from the masses. And through such methods we should defeat all the conspiracies of the enemy. We have to safeguard the unity among the masses by enhancing their class consciousness. We have you to mobilize the people widely on their day-to-day issues, burning issues, basic issues and in anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggles.

The ruling classes are bringing not only their state-hired mercenary forces such as CRPF, BSF, ITBP, EFR, IRB, CISF, NSG, CoBRA, SSB, STF, SOG, Grey Hounds, C-60, etc into their armed suppression campaign against the Maoists, but also the state-sponsored armed vigilante gangs such as salwa judum, sendra, TPC, JPC, PLFI, JLT, SPM, NSS, Gram Raksha dal, Shanti Sena and other terrorist gangs. The more the exploiting ruling classes step up their repression on the people, the greater will be the resistance of the people. Our Party is engaged in recruiting thousands of youth into the PLGA and to transform it into PLA. The illegal, unconstitutional repressive actions on the people ordered by Manmohan and Chidambaram will be answered by the people by taking the law into their own hands. People's movements like Lalgah, Narayanpatna on the one hand, and heroic offensives by our PLGA like Madanwada, Goelkera, Damanjodi (Nalco), Palur, Geedam, Chintagufa, Risgaon, Markegaon, etc on the other, have given sleepless nights to the ruling classes and their chief representatives like Manmohan, Chidambaram and other *chamchas*—the offspring of Hitler and George Bush. PLGA offensives have added to the growing favourable revolutionary situation, people's frustration and their condition of poverty. While the people on one hand are suffering due to problems of water scarcity and shortage of food and other essential commodities, the ruling classes on the other are deploying the police force to suppress the people. In such a situation the anger of the people will explode, and thousands will join the Maoist movement in the coming days. Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique is planning to unleash a centralized offensive through the para-military forces and is also thinking of deploying the Army if required.



The above-mentioned situation will definitely take the people's war to a higher level. By waging war, our PLGA will certainly learn how to defeat not only with the para-military and the Indian Army, but also the American mercenaries if ever they dare to enter. Our PLGA had taken birth in the course of war and has developed to the present level only through waging war. It had learnt how to defeat the special commando forces only in the course of the war. In the same way, it will defeat the CoBRA force with the support and active participation of the people. People are participating in the war in all possible manner. By involving the broad masses in the war PLGA will foil the conspiracies of Chidambaram. PLGA will develop both in quantity and quality. By defeating salwa judum in Dandakaranya, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and Gram Raksha Dal in Jharkhand, and harmad vahini in West Bengal our PLGA has become steeled.

People and people alone are makers of history; not George Bush, Manmohan or Chidambaram. In the coming days they will rise up like a tsunami to wipe out imperialist monster from our soil.

**Call of the central military commission:**

We call upon the workers, peasants, adivasis, women, students, youth, intellectuals and the toiling masses to become part of the ongoing people's war in our country in order to destroy the semi-colonial semi-feudal system and establish in its place a new society, that is, democratic system of the people and a Union of People's Democratic Republics. We call upon them to extend all possible support and give advice. Our special call to the youth of the country is to come forward in large number and join the PLGA. It is only by your participation that victory is possible in this struggle for great transformation. History has taught us that if we do not destroy this system controlled by the imperialists, feudal forces and comprador bureaucratic capitalists, there can be no real development of the society. Hence a strong people's liberation army is essential for the people.

- Transform PLGA into PLA!
- Develop guerrilla war into mobile war in order to establish Base areas!
- Consolidate the people on a big scale in people's war that is surging with the aim of establishing people's power!
- Improve the fighting abilities and military skills of PLGA!
- Long Live CPI(Maoist)!

With Revolutionary Greetings,

Central Military Commission,  
CPI(Maoist)  
9-9-2009

## **The Endless Lies of Chidambaracharya**

**“Gajam Mithya, palayanam mithya”—**

**Can Chidambaracharya's Vedantist trick fool anyone?**

Eclecticism, subjective idealism and mysticism have been the age-old tricks of the reactionary Brahmanical ruling classes of India to obfuscate, divert, deceive and fool the oppressed masses of the country in order to perpetuate their Brahminical, elitist, authoritarian and autocratic rule. Under the garb of karma, God, etc the worst crimes against humanity are perpetrated. Shankaracharya was famous for putting forth the eclectic thesis that everything in the world is an illusion. When someone asked him if that be the truth why did he have to flee when confronted by a wild elephant, he cleverly replied: '*gajam mithya, palayanam mithya*' meaning the elephant was an illusion and his fleeing too was an illusion. **Our Union Home Minister Chidambaracharya too seems to say the same thing when he categorically denied that anything like Operation Green Hunt had ever existed. Moreover, he blamed the media for the invention.**

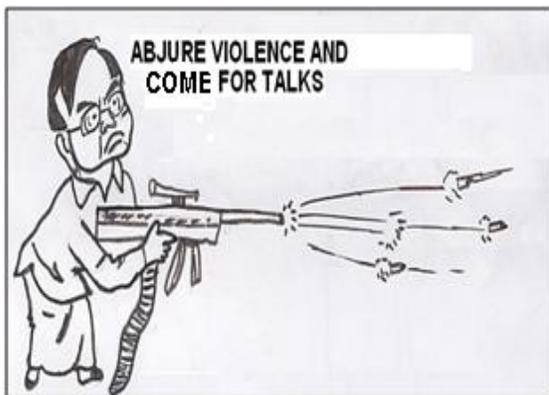
Speaking to *Tehelka* magazine (November 21, 2009), the new avatar of Shankaracharya emphatically denied that there was any such thing like Operation Green Hunt and that it was purely an invention of the media. He further asserted: "*Name me an officer who has said this and I will take action.*" He also disagreed that rhetoric was raised and then toned down.

Chidambaram, like George Bush, does not mind what the world would think of such white lies. And like a politician, who brags about everything but the truth, he knows that such rhetoric will have few takers but none would seriously challenge these lies so used are the people to these lies from time immemorial. Even as the incorrigible liar goes on yelling that there is nothing like Operation Green Hunt, his satraps in the states—Raman Singh, Buddhadeb, Naveen Patnaik and others—continue to talk boastfully about Operation Green Hunt and how it would finish off the Maoists once for all. And so do top bureaucrats like West Bengal's Chief Secretary Ardhendu Sen, DGP Vishwa Ranjan of Chhattisgarh, and a host of others. The media, of course, cares the least for Chidambaram's rhetoric and continues to graphically describe how the Centre is preparing for the final

offensive through Operation Green Hunt. Yet, Chidambaram is unrelenting and continues to utter the lies that there is no such operation on the anwil. Meanwhile during August-October, 36 adivasis are murdered by the forces sent by Chidambaram in Dantewada and Bijapur districts of Chhattisgarh alone. **Well, in a way, one can believe Chidambaram when he says there is no Operation Green Hunt: it is actually a more brutal Operation Tribal Hunt and should be correctly called so.**

Raman Singh first claimed the entire campaign (Operation Tribal Hunt) could take two years, then spoke of three years, and now has been barking that it would be five years to finish off the Naxalites in the state. His police chief and pseudo-intellectual Vishwa Ranjan, known for his eternal and irresistible bragging, had claimed on the day he resumed charge after the elections in the middle of this year that he would finish off the Maoists if the Centre gave him 60 or 70 battalions of central para-military forces. Now after the year-long offensive by his specially-trained police forces combined with the central forces and the salwa judum goons had failed to fetch any results worth the name, and on the contrary, had suffered severe losses in the hands of the Maoist revolutionaries, this wind-bag has changed his tone and now he says it will take another five years to clear the state of Maoists. The state home minister, Nankiram Kanwar, has proved to be the biggest joker of all by offering to resign if he could not control the Maoists within a year. With 8 months having passed by after he made that promise, and his boss himself as well as the police chief saying that it would take five years to clear the state of Maoists, he lay low for some time. But after Chidambaram became hyper-active and came to the aid of the beleaguered state government through massive injection of the central forces, Nankiram became active again. This minister, who is an adivasi by birth but has been assimilated into the comprador ruling elite, was quick to boast that the tide had turned against the Maoists since more Maoists (read innocent adivasis) had died in the past two months than the police. This was after the police and para-military had carried out mass murders of innocent adivasis in Dantewada as part of Operation Tribal Hunt in September-October this year and claimed that all those killed were Maoists. (See the statement issued by the Central Regional Bureau of CPI(Maoist) and the various reports by Shri Himanshu Kumar and others published in this issue).

Coming back to the Lies of our Chidambaracharya. His latest refrain is: **Abjure violence or else get exterminated!** This he has been repeating day in and day out tirelessly. Posing like a democrat, he says there is no place for violence and that what all he has been asking the Maoists is simply to halt violence and not to lay down arms. By this logic he thinks he can fool the people.



Our Chidambaracharya firmly believes that violence is the sole monopoly of the state and the ruling class parties. The oppressed people on the other hand should never ever think of violence even for their self-defence. Gandhi's so-called non-violence is meant for the poor, the oppressed, and the victims of feudal violence, imperialist violence, upper-caste violence, Hindu fascist violence, and structural violence in varied forms. The rule of law is meant for those who are compelled to fight the lawless goons. But for the state and the rulers, violence is a right. Hence what any agent of the ruling classes says is simply to abjure counter-violence by the oppressed.

*"I never asked the Maoists to lay down arms because I know they will not. It is against their ideology. I have merely asked them to abjure violence. Unfortunately, much of the media did not notice the difference."*

When asked that most of the violence by Maoists was in reaction to state violence and that those arrested were not produced in court within 24 hours as ordained by law, Chidmbaram dished out another BIG LIE.

*"For example, since I took over this ministry, I have made it very clear that anyone who is arrested by the police – State or Centre – must be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours. I am totally opposed to staged encounters. It's possible that in a gun battle between the police and those who take to the gun, people could get killed, but that's unfortunately a battle. But if you arrest a person, he must be produced before a magistrate. There's no question of tolerating an encounter, and*

*I can say with complete confidence that since December 1, 2008, no one who has been arrested by the police has died in an encounter."*

Who does the Home Minister want to fool? What does he say about the bloody massacre of 18 adivasis in Singaram on January 8, a month after he took over office? Has he done anything regarding this even after it was exposed in the media and hundred percent evidence is available for proving that the police had murdered these poor adivasis upon orders from the DGP Vishwa Ranjan, and Dantewada SP Rahul Sharma, who wanted to show "some casualties" on the side of the Maoists too in order to boost up the sagging morale of his forces?

What does Chidambaram say of the Minukupali murders where six adivasis were murdered in cold blood after abducting them from their villages?

What does Chidambaram say about the murder of 6 innocent adivasis in Mirtul area in Bhairamgarh and 4 in Gollagudem village in Jegurgonda area on August 9 and 11 respectively? What has Chidambaram to say about the murder of 5 adivasis in Gachanapalli, 3 in Gattapad, 3 in Palachelama one in Singanamadugu in the third week of September by his brave and law-enforcing CoBRAs?

What does Chidambaram say about the indiscriminate firing by his mercenaries on Gompad village killing 9 adivasis on September 30?



What does Chidambaram say about the series of murders, rapes and atrocities by the forces sent by his Congress-led UPA and Raman Singh's BJP which are so clearly revealed in the reports submitted by Shri Himanshu Kumar and others?

Is our Chidambaram so insensitive when a 65-year-old man and a ten-year-old girl are murdered by his forces or the breasts of an 80-year-old woman are chopped off by the SPOs of Raman Singh?

**Does he assert, like Shankaracharya, that just as the Operation Green Hunt is a myth, the cutting off of the breasts of 80-year-old is also a myth? That the chopping of the tongue of a two-year-old by his SPOs is a lie? Does he want people to believe everything is an illusion and hence not to waste out time in such mundane things as murders and rapes by his men? Is this the reason why he has shut his mouth, eyes and ears to whatever people say regarding the events in Dantewada and other parts of Chhattisgarh and elsewhere since everything is an illusion except his proposal to the Maoists for abjuring violence and coming for talks?**

From where does he get the facts? As Himanshu Kumar had sharply revealed, the Home Ministry wrote to the Chhattisgarh government regarding a rape of a young adivasi girl in the police station. The Chhattisgarh government enquired the police officials and when the latter denied such incident they wrote back to the Centre and the Supreme Court and that ended the matter. Chidambaram too is convinced by what the rapist policemen say and not by what the victim herself says. Similar is the enquiry into every allegation of murder. And he has the audacity to assert in public that there is not a single case of custodial death after his taking charge! Shame be on this liar who reminds us of the Nazi era. It should not anyway surprise us as he knows how the mightiest George Bush could get away by uttering white lies even when the people the world over knew he was lying about Iraq. What else will a bird of the same feather do?

Chidambaram knows very well that a Central Committee member of the CPI(Maoist), comrade Patel Sudhakar aka Suryam (Vikas), was abducted from the city of Nashik by the SIB of Andhra Pradesh on May 23, tortured the whole day and murdered by next morning. His body was thrown in the forests of Eturnagaram of Warangal some 1000 km away with the claim that he was killed in an encounter with the police. In fact, this heinous murder took place with the clear knowledge and approval of Home Minister Chidambaram who took over office for the second time following the UPA victory in the General Election. What should one say of such outright liars and how long can one tolerate such disgusting lies? Will the media continue to give credence to these liars or try to get the truth behind these false claims?

Further he asserts:

*"I have made a thorough investigation and, to my knowledge, there is not a single torture chamber under the control of the central agencies. If you think there is one, if you suspect there is one, let me know where it is, and I know how to locate it and dismantle it."*

Hear! Hear! Our Home Minister wants us to furnish information about the secret torture chambers and he assures that he would dismantle them!! Sounds as if he has nothing to do with these torture chambers! Firstly every police station is also a torture chamber. A visit to any police station would reveal illegal detention of people charged with petty crimes and tortured for days. It is only when people come out pelting stones and burning the police vehicles and stations after the death of someone in custody that it becomes known to the outside world. That is why no poor fellow would shed tears for a policeman if he is killed. Every policeman is an oppressor in the eyes of the poor.

Then coming to the secret torture chambers how can anyone give information about what is considered to be secret? What one can only say is that he/she was tortured in a desolate house after being taken blind-folded. And even if he/she recognizes the place it would be the height of foolishness to imagine that these torturers would keep the chamber? They keep on changing the torture chambers not because some honest-posing people like Chidambaram (who actually are hand in glove) will initiate some action but due to the fear that the victims could identify the location and organize an attack? Chidambaram will come to know about these torture chambers when they are blown up one day by Maoist revolutionaries or the so-called terrorists.



*"In the same way, in our coordinated strategy against the Maoists, I have given instructions that there should be no firing unless we are fired at, there should only be intelligence-based operations, not broad sweeping cordon-and-search operations that could alienate local populations."*

Yet another Lie from Chidambaram's basket of Lies! He had given instructions that there should be no firing unless they are fired at. This was repeated by his assistant GK Pillai on Nov 8, while participating in a discussion on "Insurgency, Human Rights and Media" organized by the South Asian Free Media Association (SAFMA) in New Delhi. He declared that the central para-military forces deployed in the Maoist areas would not "open fire if they are not fired upon." He outlined the government's strategy of securing an area by deploying a few battalions, posting good officers and demonstrating the efficacy of "secured development".

What does this Lie mean in actual practice? At its best, what Chidambaram and Pillai mean runs something like this:

The police and para-military would walk into a village or a forest and begin picking up people, murdering them, raping women, destroying entire villages and this would continue as long as there is no retaliation or resistance. Once the people or the Maoists begin to resist and hit back they would be fired upon. Why firing at all? The usual practice of the armed forces is to abduct people and murder them. Where is the need for opening fire? Even if we take the Home Minister's statement to be true, who in the world would know whether Chidambaram's men had opened fire first or the Maoists? Is he sending some neutral observers who would send back the actual reports on the ground? We all know the age-old moth-eaten police story that every so-called encounter in which a Maoist or an ordinary villager is killed is an act of self-defence by the policemen, that they had to open fire only when they were fired at by the Maoists. No matter if there is overwhelming incontrovertible evidence that the victim was picked up from his home or office or in the presence of several witnesses: the standard story remains the same: the police had to open fire on attackers and notwithstanding the surprise attack by the Maoists no policeman is killed but the attackers themselves get killed. By now we know of at least a hundred and fifty thousand people being killed in such encounters in self-defence in Kashmir, North East, Punjab and Maoist areas. No FIR is filed and no uniformed culprit or the khadi-clad political masters who had ordered such cold-blooded murders has ever been arrested. While this is the reality of India and the Indian security forces that generate nothing but insecurity among the people at large, our Home Minister wants us to believe his cock-and-bull stories about his men not firing first. Stop fooling yourself and the people, Mr. Chidambaram! The more you talk the more you begin to contradict yourself.

As regards Chidambaram's instructions to his men not to undertake broad cordon-and-search operations (which he says would alienate local populations), but to carry out operations based on specific intelligence, Chidambaram himself knows very well that local populations stand alienated since hundreds of years due to the oppression, exploitation, persecution and systematic extermination carried out by consecutive regimes right from the time of the British colonialists. And in the past five years the alienation is complete with the horrifying atrocities carried out by the state and central forces combined with the salwa judum goondas trained and pitted by the state against the adivasi community at large. Chidambaram might say that he is personally not in favour of salwa judum. But this makes no difference to the people. It was his own party that had begun the inhuman terrorist campaign called salwa judum. Mahendra Karma still boasts that salwa judum is a great achievement. Raman Singh says that salwa judum will continue as long as Naxalism exists. When vigilante gangs are mobilized in large number and carry out attacks with the help of the central and state police forces burning over 700 villages, murdering 500 adivasis, raping over a hundred women and destroying crores of rupees worth of property, then does Chidambaram still believe local population is not alienated? Stop this hypocrisy, Mr. Chidambaram! Speak out honestly without beating about the bush whether you will put an immediate stop to the practice of arming private gangs, whether you will disband the system of SPOs, and punish all those responsible for murdering, raping, maiming adivasis.

The reason why Chidambaram is now talking of intelligence-based operations is due to his own forces' refusal to undertake cordon-and-search operations fearing heavy casualties. The fact is, these mercenary forces do not have access to information regarding the movements of the Maoist guerrillas and all their desperate attempts to lure the adivasi people into their intelligence network had failed miserably. And those few who were inducted into their intelligence network through coercion and bribery were exposed and punished by the Maoists or people themselves. Faced with such a pathetic situation, the mercenary police and para-military forces along with the locally-recruited SPOs have gone berserk and are pouncing on the villages with the slogan of *'Kill all! Burn all! Destroy all!'*

They are, of course, trying desperately to convert some local people into their agents by abducting them during the weekly haats and intimidating them. But what will Chidambaram tell his forces when they can't obtain any information through their informers or cannot develop an informer

network itself? Needless to say, Chidambaram himself would instruct his men to carry out burning down villages and murdering people at will on a large scale so as to clear the area for the entry of the multi-national companies and the comprador big business houses. For, is this not Chidambaram's real intention in waging this war against the Maoists and adivasis, in the first place?

*"If you had a strong district judge and a set of very strong, fearless magistrates, very little would go wrong in the criminal justice system."*

Wishful thinking! Chidambaram once again tries to divert attention from the atrocities by the state and state-sponsored vigilante gangs by saying that a strong district judge and fearless magistrates could ensure an effective criminal justice system. Even supposing all his utopian and impracticable 'ifs' were to be met, how can a poor landless labourer, an illiterate adivasi, a poor dalit, an unorganized worker, a poor slum-dweller, a rickshawalla approach the court? Who will provide him the fee to engage a lawyer? Or bus fare to go to the court? Chidambaram, like most of the elite of our country, is totally divorced from the realities of life. Rather, he is trying in vain to refurbish the image of the judiciary and lend it some credibility.

Even more amusing is the response of our Chidambaracharya to a question placed by Tehelka.

**Thelka: The problem is things are going wrong. In Manipur apparently there have been 285 false encounters this year alone. Tehelka itself exposed one shocking one in July. In the offensive against Naxals too, civil activists like Himanshu Kumar have been trying to highlight the fact that Salwa Judum SPOs have been burning down tribal homes, stealing hens and goats, raping women. There is a complete breakdown of trust because tribals can't even get their FIRs filed. Civil rights groups are saying that for the peace talks to have any meaning, we have to restore people's faith in the justice system. Can't you send out a message to the administration that just because this is a conflict zone, excesses will not be tolerated? Arrest some of the SPOs against whom there are complaints...**

**Chidambaram:** *"I'm glad you think I have so much power and authority. Law and order is a state subject. All that you have spoken about in the last couple of minutes falls under the jurisdiction of the State governments, the Chief Minister and Home Minister of the state. You must take up cudgels with them. If I interfere too much they are likely to throw List II of the Constitution at me."*

When a critical question is asked see how our GREAT LIAR tries to place the ball in the states' courts. If innocents are murdered in cold blood in the name of so-called encounters, he bluffs that it is beyond the purview of the Centre since law and order is a state subject. If SPOs are murdering, raping, looting and destroying the property of the adivasis, he says the central government has no role to play in such a situation since law and order is a state subject. When people "take up cudgels with them" as per his own suggestion, he immediately sends huge contingents of his central forces to defend these rowdy SPOs and salwa judum goons and what is worse, his central forces too join the salwa judum goons in murdering, raping, looting and destroying people's property. There are hundreds of incidents where the forces sent by the Union Government had committed far heinous crimes than even the SPOs and salwa judum goons. The inhuman crimes committed by the Naga and Mizo Battalions and the CRPF and CoBRAs right before our eyes are conveniently evaded by our hypocritical Home Minister. Is he not adding fuel to the fire by sending the central forces who actually protect, train, and take along the SPOs and salwa judum goondas in all their operations against the Maoists and end up murdering innocent adivasis? How can he wash off his blood-stained hands by simply placing the blame on the state governments in the name of law and order? Would the SPOs and the murderous campaign of salwa judum have lasted so long had it not been for the protective umbrella provided by the central forces? Who does Chidambaram want to fool? And does he really think that he is able to fool the people with his cunning answers?

Chidambaram has a share in every atrocity committed by the local police, SPOs, state-sponsored vigilante gangs whether in West Bengal's Lalgarh or Chhattisgarh's Dantewada, Bijapur and elsewhere, Orissa's Malkangiri, Koraput, Rayagada and other regions. It is with the support of the Chidambaram that a social fascist Buddhadeb and his vigilante harmad gang are able to perpetrate inhuman crimes against the people in Purulia, Bankura, Mednipur and other places, lock up aged women on charges of waging war against the state, plunder and destroy the property of the adivasis. It is with the support of Chidambaram and the Central forces that BJP's Raman Singh regime is able to unleash the worst types of crimes against humanity in Chhattisgarh that curdle one's bowels. There would have been no salwa judum if there is no support by the Centre and the Congress party. Mahendra karma has not begun this murderous campaign all by himself. It was planned in Delhi directly under the leadership of Sonia and Manmohan.

Not content with these lies Chidambaracharya tries to further obfuscate the issue by saying in the most opportunistic manner that he does not approve salwa judum and non-state actors. He even tried to bluff that salwa judum activities have virtually wound down. Let us see these LIES OF CHIDAMBARACHARYA :

*"... when I took over, one of the first issues that came up was the Salwa Judum and I made myself very clear, publicly as well as privately to the chief minister, I do not approve of non-state actors taking things into their own hands. That's a function of the police. And to my knowledge, over time the activities of the Salwa Judum have virtually wound down.....If the SPO exceeds his authority or indulges in gratuitous violence, he should be punished. But law and order is a state subject and when there are duly elected governments, beyond prevailing upon the states to change their attitude towards law enforcement, beyond urging them, nudging them, prevailing upon them, there is not much I can do. It falls entirely within the jurisdiction of the state chief ministers to meet the requirements of the Constitution, justice and fair play."*

More lies--more blatant, more audacious, more shameless. Double-Speak of the worst kind. Chidambaram wants us to believe that he is opposed to salwa judum! That too, after all the support he and his government at the Centre have been providing to the terrorist salwa judum campaign initiated by his Party leader in Chhattisgarh, Mahendra Karma, who still boasts how effective it has been in dealing with the Maoists. And Chidambaram's saffron man in Chhattisgarh, Raman Singh, proudly asserts that salwa judum will last as long as Maoists exist in the state. If the Union Home Minister himself is helpless when an SPO exceeds his authority and indulges in 'gratuitous violence' (see how Chidambaram uses his words judiciously in describing the violence by his own tribe while the counter-violence of the Maoists is described as mindless violence), and the state government directly encourages such violence then is not the counter-violence by the adivasis and Maoists justified? Anyway, Chidambaram is hand in glove with Raman Singh in carrying out the atrocities against the adivasis. Or else, why can't the Home Minister prevail upon the state government to check the blatant violations of human rights in the state? And if the state government does not heed his advice, then is it not his minimum moral duty to desist from aiding that government in continuing such atrocities? When law and order is a state subject, then what is it that is driving Chidambaram to send the central para-military forces to the state, and even going so far as to involve the Army and the Air Force in crushing Maoists? Behind the apparent eclectic stand, i.e., showing as if he is opposed to salwa judum and non-state actors on the one hand and sending massive central forces to the state on the other, Chidambaram is actually trying to hide his ugly fascist features.

It is true that salwa judum has become weakened but not wound down as claimed by Chidambaram. The great liar knows that it is the Maoist resistance that had taken the wind out of the sails of salwa judum. The first year of salwa judum, 2005-06, witnessed a large number of casualties of the local-level activists and general masses of adivasis as the Maoists were not well prepared as they had not expected such a cruel onslaught by the combined conspiracy of the state and the Centre. But soon it organized heroic counter-attacks like the one at Ranibodili and Errabore which gradually weakened the advance of the salwa judum forces. **That is precisely why Chidambaram had stepped in to protect and continue the murderous campaign let loose by salwa judum through thousands of his central forces.** No amount of eclectic rhetoric can hide this stark fact.

Chidambaram has the audacity to defend his government's land acquisition and rehabilitation policy even after it has been conclusively and unequivocally proved how this entire process is a big hoax. A mere glance at the acquisition of adivasi land for the Lohandiguda steel plant would set to rest any doubts in this regard. Yet, he shamelessly asserts:

*"We think – and let me say this with a certain amount of caution – we think we have a good land acquisition and rehabilitation policy. Now private companies have to access 70 percent of land directly and only then can the State intervene to take over the remaining 30 percent."*

Further:

*"All of you know that I have a critical view on SEZs. Many of these SEZs are falling by the wayside now thanks to the global recession. In a sense, I am happy. So if you want a comprehensive review of the SEZs that have been licensed, I am prepared for that too. **But the starting point of that dialogue has to be that violence must stop. Otherwise that dialogue just gets derailed.**"*

Now who has to stop the violence? Does not Chidambaram know that it is state violence and state-sponsored violence that is creating havoc with the lives of the adivasis? That adivasis would be a happier if the state's forces are withdrawn from their areas? That Chhattisgarh was a far more

peaceful state prior to the entry of the central forces and the inauguration of the murderous salwa judum campaign by the state and central governments? Why is he maintaining criminal silence with regard to the scores of atrocities perpetrated against innocent adivasis by the state police, central para-military forces and salwa judum-SPO combine? When the fountain-head of violence in various states is his own armed forces then why is he going on shouting round-the-clock that Maoists should halt violence? Is there even an iota of sincerity and honesty in his much-trumpeted proposal for talks when his forces indulge in the worst kinds of brutal, sadistic attacks on innocent adivasis?

*"As far as police picking up wrong people goes, I ask, why did the judge remand them? The judge then failed in his duty." "The point is these women were obviously victims of circumstances, but I would fault the judge who remanded them to judicial custody. He should have released them on the same day when they were produced before him."*

At least Chidambaram has agreed that remanding the poor women in Lalgarth to judicial custody was a wrong act of the concerned judge. He claims that they should have been released on the same day when they were produced before the court. When the Maoists had set right this wrong act of the judge by capturing an OC of a PS and secured the release of the hapless women, then why should Chidambaram find fault? Is this not justifiable counter-violence in defence of the rights of the oppressed?

## News from the battlefield

### Maoist Guerrillas Wipe Out Four Jawans

November 8, 2009, Jhargram

On November 8, four jawans of Eastern Frontier Rifles were annihilated by Maoist guerrillas at Gidhni, near Jhargram in West Midnapore. The Maoists ambushed a jeep carrying the jawans of EFR and Indian Reserve Battalion (IRB) at around 5.30 pm. Another four jawans were also injured in the ambush. The ambush site was barely 500 metres from the Jamboni police camp. The Maoists carried away the weapons of the jawans. The ambush by the Maoists took place just 30 minutes after the West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya left amidst unprecedented security escort consisting of over 3000 policemen.



Earlier in the day, addressing a press conference social-facit chief minister Buddhadeb declared with much pomp that his government would intensify combat operations against the guerrillas. *"We are obtaining precise information on Maoist activity with the help of central agencies and have prepared a blueprint for counterattack. We are very much on the offensive,"* Buddhadeb said around noon, unveiling a two-pronged strategy of full-scale aggression and development. *"The situation is under control,"* he said. The Maoists delivered a befitting reply within five hours after this bombast of the chief minister.

CPI(Maoist) leader Koteswar Rao explained why the jawans were attacked: *"We have killed the four jawans as they tortured innocent school children who had taken out a rally in the area yesterday demanding the educational institutions be vacated by joint security forces and their classes resume at the earliest."*

*"We will win the war. Let the Centre deploy as much forces as they want,"* the top Maoist leader shot back. To a question if the attack was a challenge posed by the Maoists to West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee who left the district just two hours back, Kishanji retorted *"But we have long before challenged the central and state governments, and as I have just said, the war is on."*

Kuldip Singh, IG (Western Range), said the jawans of the Eastern Frontier Rifles were attacked when they were patrolling near a police camp close to a school in Gidhni Bazaar area under Jamboni police station. The bodies of all the four jawans were lying at the bazaar area. The Maoists escaped with arms seized from the slain jawans. The Maoists had killed three youths hours before the chief minister's arrival in the district. The guerrillas had also shot at and injured a former Marxist legislator.

### Three policemen wiped out by Maoist guerrillas in Orissa

Three CRPF troops including a Deputy Commandant were wiped out in a land-mine blast triggered by Maoist guerrillas in Malkangiri district of Orissa on November 13. The ambush took place on National Highway 25 near MV-66 village in Kalimela area, about 40 km from the district headquarter.

A huge posse of CRPF men belonging to the 8<sup>th</sup> Battalion, who were recently posted in MV-79 village, was moving in a convoy of 11 vehicles from MV-79 to Malkangiri at around 8.45 in the morning. The huge contingent of the mercenary force did not deter the Maoist guerrillas who carried out a sudden surprise attack on the forces. One of the 11 vehicles was blown up in the blast wiping out the Deputy commandant Bhupindar Singh and two others. This was the third attack by Maoists on enemy forces in less than a month. The daring attack by an inferior guerrilla force, both in terms of numbers and fire-power, showed the superiority of the principle of guerrilla warfare in the war against a mighty modern state. The success of the ambush against the CRPF personnel has sent shockwaves among the mercenary force that is sent to Orissa for carrying out a massive brutal operation against the Maoists called Operation Godavari. The daring ambush has inspired the people of the region whose confidence in taking on these forces sent by Manmohan and Chidambaram has further increased.



Pictures of the landmine blast



\* \* \* \* \*

### Three policemen injured in Maoist ambush in Gadchiroli

Three policemen were severely injured in a land-mine blast triggered by Maoist guerrillas on Nov 11 in Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra. The ambush took place in Chinchola forest and after the ambush the guerrillas opened fire but the policemen managed to flee. The incident acquires significance amidst reports of massive deployment of the central para-military forces besides the C-60 commandos and other police forces of the state in Gadchiroli district, reign of terror unleashed by these forces over the adivasis in the villages through flag marches and issue of threats of 'encounters' if they supported the Maoists in any manner.

### Three CRPF jawns wiped out in Gumla ambush by Maoist guerrillas

On November 22 Maoist guerrillas triggered a land-mine near Lapu village in Gumla district of Jharkhand killing two CRPF troops and one police driver. Nine other jawans were also injured in the ambush. The dead CRPF men were part of the huge contingent of CRPF, BSF and other para-military forces that has been deployed in Jharkhand to enforce the farcical drama of elections to the state Assembly under the shadow of the gun. The election is being held in five phases from November 23 to December 19 so as to deploy these forces on a massive scale in every constituency. These forces have pounced on villages arresting hundreds of people with an aim to create terror and bring the voters to the polling stations. Maoists have carried out a series of bandhs and attacks on the police and central forces.

### Two IR Battalion jawans annihilated in Midnapore

An Assistant sub-inspector of police and a constable belonging to India Reserve Battalion were killed when Maoist guerrillas ambushed a police party which was returning to Pirakata outpost, 16 km from Lalgah, after a combing operation on Nov 27 in West Midnapore district of West Bengal. The land-mine was detonated on a village pathway between Buripal and Bhimsol villages about 2.5 km from the Pirakata camp when the team of 100 state and central personnel, were returning by the same route they had left in the morning. The Maoist guerrillas opened fire immediately after the blast. Three IRB personnel were seriously injured and were rushed to hospital. In the exchange of fire between the Maoists and the policemen a villager was reportedly injured. The Police Santrash Birodhi Janasadharaner Committee claimed that the injured, Ashwini Mahato, was their supporter.



This was the second major attack on the central para-military forces in the month. Earlier in the month, four Eastern Frontier Rifles jawans were wiped out in an ambush by Maoist guerrillas near the Jharkhand border. A team of CRPF, India Reserve Battalion and SAP personnel had left the camp at 10 am to patrol villages in Salboni. *“On our way back, we were walking through a dense sal forest when there were three deafening explosions ahead of us and bullets came flying from both sides,”* an IRB jawan said.

*“We rushed forward, took up position and returned fire. There was another explosion and five of our team were hit by splinters.”* The two incidents enthused the people of the entire region who have been continuously beaten up, arrested, illegally detained and tortured, and harassed by the state police and central para-military forces ever since the armed offensive by the state and centre began in June this year.

### Forest official punished in Chhattisgarh



A forest deputy ranger, Mike Tandi, was annihilated by Maoists on November 27 for his anti-people activities and oppression. The incident took place near Indagaon under Devbhog police station area about 90 km from Raipur. The ranger, along with two other forest employees, was taken away by the guerrillas and the punishment was meted out after interrogation. The other two forest employees, however, were released after due warning.

### Daman Virodhi Prachar Saptah in Dandakaranya sends nightmares to the Chidambaram-Raman Singh combine

Khadi-saffron fascist combine of Chidambaram and Raman Singh have been propagating that it is the ‘violence’ of the Maoists that has become the real threat to the country’s internal security. But what they are more scared of is the mass movement that the Maoists are spearheading from Lalgah in West Bengal to Vishakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh directed against the Tatas, Mittals, Jindals, Vedanta and other vultures who feed on the corpses of the poor. The social-fascist Karats, Yechuris and Buddhadebs too are scared of the vast mass support that the Maoists enjoy and hence they pretend that they are for a political and administrative solution to the Maoist ‘problem’. The Maoist movement is, of course, a problem for these corrupt, self-seeking, authoritarian, anti-people, comprador agents of imperialists while for the vast majority of the Indian population Maoist movement is a solution to their basic problems.

If you think that the rulers of this country are scared only by the counter-violence of the Maoists you are mistaken. They are no less scared by peaceful mass democratic movements and the propagation of democratic ideas by Maoists and democratic forces. That is why a peaceful democratic people's movement like that in Lalgah was sought to be suppressed through the barrel of the police gun. Thereby the reactionary fascist and social fascist rulers themselves had helped transform the Lalgah adivasi movement into a mass armed resistance movement.

The week-long anti-repression campaign (*Daman Virodhi Saptah*) from November 15-21, 2009 conducted by the Party, PLGA, organs of people's revolutionary democratic power, various revolutionary mass organizations and the masses at large throughout Dandakarnya zone in response to the call issued by the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee had shaken the Raman Singh



government and his repressive forces led by Vishwa Ranjan and Manmohan-Chidambaram's murderous bands like the CRPF, CoBRA and other central forces. The people, on the other hand, participated in the *daman virodhi saptah* with great enthusiasm and vowed to fight resolutely and bravely against the state's counter-revolutionary war on the people. Lakhs of leaflets were brought out, posters and banners were placed in thousands of villages and along the roads. Hundreds of PLGA squads, Party and mass organization units, janathana sarkars carries out propaganda among the people explaining why the

state is waging war against the poorest of the poor, how Sonia-Manmohan Singh-Chidambaram's Congress, Advani-Raman Singh's BJP, and Buddhadeb-Karat-Yechuri's CPI(M) are all united to turn the entire adivasi-inhabited region into the backyard of the imperialists and the comprador big business houses, how these parliamentary parties and their leaders represent the decadent and most corrupt, feudal, comprador classes who control the economic life-lines and the state structure in India, how they serve as the most loyal agents of the imperialists and pursue the most regressive policies that have become an impediment to the real progress and development of our country, and called upon everyone—young and old, men and women, even children—to prepare mentally, physically, politically and militarily to confront the brutal, inhuman onslaught unleashed by the Congress-led UPA at the Centre, the Congress-NCP government in Maharashtra and the BJP government in Chhattisgarh. In hundreds of meetings held at village and area level, people pledged displaying great determination and class hatred for the exploiters and oppressors that they will fight till the last drop of their blood to protect their *jal, jameen jungle*, and that they would never allow the corporate mining vultures to drive them out of the forest and plunder the rich forest and mineral resources. They declared that they would re-enact the anti-British *Bumkal* rebellion led by Gundadur, this time against the descendants of the British-American imperialists, and pay a fitting tribute to the centenary of the great, glorious *Bhumkal* that commences from February 2010.

Appeals were also made specifically to the police forces, para-military forces and those who were forced to join the *salwa judum* and also as SPOs. The appeals to the policemen had terrified the police top brass so much that the SP of Kanker filed a case of sedition against the DKSZC (!!) for inciting the police against the state. This foolish act also reveals the paranoia that has gripped the police officials of Chhattisgarh and their political bosses in Raipur. The media ran stories and showed visuals of how the Maoists were 'brain-washing' the adivasis, how the psychological war being waged by the Maoists is proving to be more dangerous to the state than its armed offensives. The increasing demoralization among the police, para-military and SPOs as reflected in the increasing refusal by a section of the forces to go to the areas of Maoist struggle, or to undergo jungle warfare training, coupled with the call by the Maoists that they have nothing against the policemen if the latter desisted from attacks on the people and appeals to them to refuse to go to the guerrilla zones and undertake operations against the Maoists, has created virtual paranoia among the rulers.

## Maoists foil attempts of the police to set up barracks and bunkers in the interior



Ever since the announcement of the central government-led Operation Green Hunt against the Maoists across seven states in the country, the police and para-military have begun to frantically occupy all available school buildings in the rural areas in the guerrilla zones and red resistance areas. However, with the Maoists taking up a campaign of targeting school buildings in order to prevent these from becoming fortified camps of the special police forces and the para-military troops, the repressive forces are left with no other option than to construct new barracks and bunkers. Even as they began hectic construction activity the people led by the Maoists are making it extremely difficult for them to complete their plans. On Nov 28, a truck carrying material for the construction of police barracks in Koylibeda was stopped and the material worth Rs. 35 lakhs was carried away by the Maoist guerrillas and people. The incident occurred near Gavdegaon village in Koylibeda area of Kanker district when the truck was proceeding from Anthagadh to Koylibeda. On the same day, the state DGP Vishwa Ranjan was on a visit to Kanker district to boost up the morale of his forces in the district.

In another incident, a police bunker under construction was destroyed and the entire material meant for the bunker worth Rs. 10 lakhs was burnt down. The bunker was meant for the central forces as part of their preparations for their brutal Operation Green Hunt. The entire material was burnt down near PV-34 in Pakhanjur tehsil in Kanker district. A leaflet was left at the site of the incident warning against the construction of the bunker and that Maoists will not allow its construction at any cost.

## Two-day bandh on Nov 29-30 in Jharkhand demanding the release of Maoist leader Ashok Mahato

Bandhs or general strikes have become an increasing phenomenon in states like Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, Orissa etc as a mark of protest against the lawlessness of the police and para-military forces who resort to illegal abductions and detentions without production in courts, carry out cold-blooded extra-judicial killings of unarmed innocent people, and indulge in the worst kinds of atrocities against the people and Maoists. While Manmohan, Chidambaram, Raman Singh, Buddhadeb, Naveen Patnaik and Co go on barking that Maoists are indulging in senseless violence and are causing inconvenience to people by organizing continuous bandhs, they hush up the truth that the bandhs are a result of the lawlessness of their own uniformed men. These refuse to assure publicly that their government would not indulge in extra-judicial murders, illegal detentions, destruction of people's property, burning down of villages, and other atrocities by their repressive forces. Thus the present situation in these states is purely the creation of Manmohan, Cidambaram, and their satraps in the states.

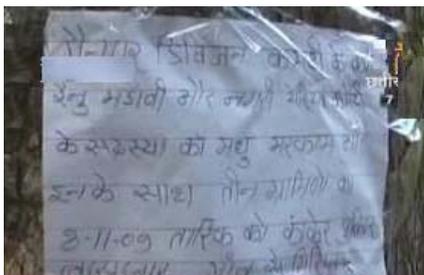


A two-day bandh was successfully observed in Jharkhand on Nov 29-30 demanding the production of Maoist leader Ashok Mahato, zonal committee member of South Chotanagpur Zone, in the court. The road and rail transport in the state was paralysed on the two days. Several school buildings, panchayat bhawans which are being used by the police and para-military for their camps, were blown up during the bandh. In Harihargunj block in Palamau district, five school buildings and two panchayat buildings used for lodging central para-military forces, were blown up. In East Singhbhum's Amjore village, the police forced some villagers to remove a tree-trunk on the road. When they tried to remove it a bomb exploded injuring the villagers. They protested against the police for forcing them to remove the tree trunk.



The election propaganda by various parliamentary parties had come to a stand-still on the two days. In Tamar, the vehicle used for the election campaigning by the Congress candidate Ram Dayal Munda was set afire on the first day of the bandh. Life was paralysed in all the 15 constituencies that were going for poll on December 1. The bandh was near-total in Palamau, Gumla, Khunti, Bokaro, Simdega and other districts. The loading and transportation of coal in the public sector coal companies, CCL, ECL and BCCL, came to a stand-still. Guerrillas blasted the Mahubuang railway station building and railway tracks in Simdega, railway track between Jageshwar and Dania stations in Bokaro district and also in Giridih district.

### North Bastar Bandh on Nov 27



A bandh was organized in North Bastar on Nov 27 demanding the immediate production of divisional committee comrade Renu Mandavi, and Area Committee member of Nagari, comrade Madhu Markam, who were arrested and kept in illegal detention for several days.

The bandh was observed totally in the entire division. Trees were placed across all roads. Leaflets, posters, banners were distributed widely.

### Tribal take to the streets against police atrocities



*Tribals took out a huge rally on October 20 at Bhubaneswar demanding amendment in land reforms Act and check in mining lease on forest lands.*

BHUBANESWAR: Amidst unprecedented security arrangements, hundreds of tribals gathered in Bhubaneswar and staged a demonstration near the Assembly on October 20. Led by Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh and 14 other organisations they warned the government against repressing democratic movements and that it must be ready to face consequences unless it changes policies.

At joint rally here, the tribals shouted slogans. The posters they were carrying read: "Kana kholi kari suna sarakar. Ama hak, adhikar amaku dia, na deba jabi mariba pai prastuta hua," (Government listen carefully. Give us our rights or be ready to die). The tribals, mostly from southern districts of

Koraput and Rayagada, asked the state government to stop police atrocities on the people in the name of curbing Maoist activities. They demanded that the government stop allotment of cultivable and forestlands to industrial houses and said they will continue their land-grabbing spree until their rights were restored. They also demanded inclusion of changes in the Land Act and full rights over forestland.

*"This is an integrated, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist movement against land lords, liquor mafia and multi-national companies, who have grabbed everything that belongs to the poor. This rally is a reminder to the government that time is running out,"* advisor of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS) Gananath Patra said. "The state should desist from repressive policy and release all those arrested in the name of Maoists," Patra added. Incidentally, tribal youths Sumanta Majhi and Andio Majhi were arrested from Berhampur station on their way to the rally on the suspicion that they were Maoists.

The CMAS has so far captured 2,000 acres of land from the people and have re-distributed them to the poor and landless tribals in the nine panchayats of the two districts. The movement has already spread its tentacles into Keonjhar, Dhenakanal and Mayurbhanj districts.

*"The government has admitted that there are at least three lakh landless people in the state. But the government still gives away hundreds of acres of land, rich forest and water to the MNCs,"* Raisun Habuda, a tribal from Narayan Patna block, said.

Claiming that more than 40 people have been killed in police action against democratic agitation, Prafulla Samantara of Lokshakti Abhiyan, asked the government to stop using police as a tool of exploitation. "People will be forced to take to streets and unseat the government," he threatened.

Samantara, an anti-displacement activist, spoke about the 2006 Kalinga Nagar firing which claimed 14 tribals while opposing a Tata Steel project.

Describing the Koraput-based peace committee as the second edition of Salwa Judum, Dandapani Mohanty of Orissa Forest Mazdoor Union, alleged that moneylenders, illicit liquor traders, land-grabbers and corporate houses were funding the committee. He demanded a ban on the organisation and a judicial probe into the "fascist" attack on a rally organised by sangh at Narayanpatna (Koraput) on May 5 and 8.

**News from the  
counter-revolutionary camp**

### **Mounting demoralisation among the para-military and police forces in the war against Maoist movement and the desperate tactics of the rulers**

In the ongoing counter-revolutionary war against the Maoist people's war and the poorest sections of the Indian society they lead, the reactionary rulers of India are finding it extremely difficult to boost up the ever-shrinking morale of the mercenary forces they have deployed and are planning to deploy in Maoist areas. Even their much-publicised and much-pappered CoBRA force is refusing to go to the interior areas without precise prior intelligence. In Lalgarh region, according to newsreports, the CoBRA force has been languishing in the camps over the past two months and is refusing to go deep into the jungle without the necessary intelligence inputs from the local sources. In Chhattisgarh the morale among the enemy forces is so low that it has even shaken the commander-in-chief Chidambaram who has instructed his forces to go slow in the operations against the Maoists.

According to a news report in the hindi daily *Dainik Bhaskar*, of the 34 policemen who were posted to Maoist areas as part of the Operation Green Hunt from Bilaspur district, most of the men have forwarded applications to the police HQ stating that they were not fit to participate in operations against Maoists citing reasons such as old age, ill-health, lack of physical fitness etc. among these were 5 TIs, 3 Sub-Inspectors, 6 Head Constables and 20 police constables. These policemen have been lobbying in SP office in a bid to remove their names from the list. The paper reports in a sarcastic manner that the hands and legs of these men had swollen on hearing that their names had appeared in the dreaded list and that a fear psychosis had set in among most.

Confronted with such a situation the various state governments are concentrating on the recruitment of poverty-stricken local adivasi youth whose lives are cheap and dispensable in the eyes of the rulers. In Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, the rulers suddenly discovered the talents and abilities of the hitherto neglected adivasi youth to serve them as cannon-fodder in their war against the Maoists. A special battalion of Koya Commando Force has been formed with 240 members with Sukma in Dantewada as the HQ. Physically and militarily able members from the SPOs and those lumpen elements who were punished by the Maoists and have a hatred for the Maoists, are carefully selected and posted in this commando force. They are provided sophisticated weapons like AK-47, SLR, Insas, LMG, 2" Mortars and grenades. They are also given Bolero vehicles and motorcycles. They are given training in the jungle warfare school in Kanker. These forces are directly answerable to the district SP, Rahul Sharma, and no other officer can give directions to them. The formation of this commando force consisting of adivasis is kept secret while providing all incentives to them. It was these forces which played the main part in murdering 19 adivasis in Singaram in January last. Having knowledge of the local terrain, speaking the native language and having local kin and links, these koya commandos are proving to be more dangerous than the CoBRAs or other central forces. It is clear that the reactionary rulers will increasingly recruit forces from the adivasi youth in their war against the very same adivasis. And, of course, raise a hue and cry and even publish advertisements in papers that the Maoists are killing 'innocent adivasis' by showing these adivasi SPOs and commandos who will be inevitably wiped out in the Maoist counter-offensives.



## **BSF battalions for anti-naxal operations**

The Border security Force has committed 13 battalions for anti-Maoist operations, which are likely to begin anytime in December. Talking to reporters here on Saturday, BSF Director General Raman Srivastava said five battalions had already been trained and positioned in Chhattisgarh, while the other eight were deployed for election duties in Jharkhand where Assembly polls are under way.

' The BSF battalions will be deployed, along with those of other Central paramilitary forces, in a Special Task force (STF) being commanded by Vijay Raman, Special Director –General, Central Reserve Police Force. It is up to the STF commander to decide on the timing, duration and location of the operations, but I think such operations will be launched at the junction or tri-junction or the worst – affected States such as Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. However, Mr.Sivastava made it clear that the Central forces would assist the state police, which would remain the mainstay of the anti-naxal operation.

## **CRPF asks for BSF choppers:**

### **50 battalions of paramilitary forces to be deployed soon after Jharkhand elections**

*Manish Tiwari, Hindustan Times, 3 December 2009*

The Central Reserve Police Force has asked for Border Security Force helicopters for the war against Maoists, especially after the assembly polls in Jharkhand end on December 18.

India's largest paramilitary force, the CRPF, will deploy more forces in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand and has requested the government for as many as 10 helicopters during the operations. The BSF, which guards the 3,268-km-long Indo-Pak and 4,096-km-long Indo-Bangladesh borders, will press into service most of its helicopters for the job.

"We have planned to use BSF helicopters for deployment, air-lifting and evacuation of our troops during the operations. We may also take help of the Air Force," said CRPF director general A.S. Gill.

Till a few months ago, the BSF had a fleet of six M-17 helicopters and two Embraer aircraft. By March 2010, the force will induct eight more helicopters and three other aircraft for transporting men and material and patrolling the borders. The BSF will acquire eight Dhruv Advanced Light Helicopters from Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, besides a big transport plane and two small aircraft.

Asked whether the paramilitary forces would use Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) for surveillance and gathering intelligence on Maoist movements, the CRPF chief said, "We'll be using whatever equipment we can. That may include UAVs as well."

In Jharkhand on Wednesday, a landmine blast suspected to have been triggered by Naxalites killed a CISF jawan during the second round of polling. Soon after the Jharkhand polls, nearly 50 battalions of paramilitary forces, including the CRPF (41 battalions), BSF (5 battalions) and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (4 battalions) will be deployed along with state police, especially in Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh.

## No reserves, entire CRPF out in the field

Manish Tiwari, HT, 2 December 2009

**The CRPF may be India's largest reserve police force, but it does not have a single battalion in "reserve".**

*The CRPF, the largest paramilitary force, has been compelled to deploy its entire strength of men and women – 210,000 personnel of 210 battalions.*

*Of the 210 battalions, around 110 battalions are deployed in Jammu & Kashmir and the Northeast for counter-insurgency operations.*

*About 41 battalions are engaged in anti-Naxalite operations.*

*The force plans to raise 30 more battalions in a few years.*

With the surge against the Maoist insurgency in the country and the growing law and order commitments, the 60 year old Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the largest para-military force with 210 battalions (210,000 personnel), has been compelled to deploy its entire strength of men and women.

"We don't have a single battalion in reserve. But we'll overcome the (problem) as the force plans to raise 30 more battalions in the next few years," CRPF Director-General A.S. Gill told Hindustan Times.

The CRPF is an armed reserve force of the central government. Its basic role is assisting state governments in maintaining law and order and containing insurgency. The force's mandate is to return to the barracks once this objective is achieved.

However, with the Union home ministry giving a lead role to the CRPF in the country's fight against Red terror, and its excessive use in counter insurgency and operations to check terrorism, communal tensions, election duty, disaster relief and guarding VIPs and important installations, the force has no personnel to spare for any other job.

"Today, we are left with just three companies (300 personnel) and one Mahila (female) company in our reserve. The CRPF's strength is its versatility. No other force in the world does this," said a senior CRPF officer. According to a home ministry official, the

surge against the Maoist insurgency will peak after the Jharkhand polls, which will be over by mid-December.

"A full fledged operation would have started in some states by now, but it got delayed due to the Maharashtra and Jharkhand elections. Soon after the Jharkhand polls, the forces will be pulled out (of election duty) and be deployed in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand especially to focus on the Naxals," he added.

The home ministry has asked the Naxalite-hit states to fill more than 100,000 vacancies in their police forces to reduce their heavy reliance on paramilitary forces.

## Interview with Comrade Katakam Sudarshan, Secretary, Central Regional Bureau, CPI (Maoist)

(We are publishing below parts of an Interview by our MIB correspondent with comrade Katakam Sudarshan aka Anand, Polit Bureau member and the secretary of Central regional Bureau, CPI(Maoist). He is incharge of one of the two major regions under the CPI(Maoist) where people's war is raging with great intensity. For almost three decades he has been in the field leading the struggle of the oppressed in the flaming fields of North Telangana to the adivasi-inhabited regions of Dandakaranya. A few years ago, he lost his life-partner, fiery, vocal and highly-talented comrade Sadhana, when she was the secretary of Adilabad district in North Telangana.

Short and soft-spoken, comrade Anand answered all the questions very patiently in his native tongue of Telugu. The questions were mainly related to the stand of the CPI(Maoist) regarding the proposal of talks by Union Home Minister Chidambaram, on the question of violence, and the other issues related to the Centre's war against the Maoists and adivasis.)

**MIB: You, as the Secretary of a very important zone of armed struggle in the country, must be studying the policies, plans and tactics of the enemy. How do you look at the Centre's preparations for the final offensive or war on the Maoists?**

**Anand:** To be frank enough, this is not something unexpected for our Party. In fact, we are in the midst of a cruel bitter war since several years. In fact, we had extended to Dandakaranya with a clear vision in the early 1980s as we were expecting a massive offensive in North Telangana in the course of the intensification of the class struggle in the region. Thus we made preparations to retreat to Dandakaranya when the need arose. And the course of development proved what precisely we had foreseen. Though we had put up a stiff fight and initiated a wave of armed mass resistance and mass struggles in North Telangana and throughout the state of Andhra Pradesh, at one point of time we had to retreat a large chunk of our forces to DK. In DK, the brutal state offensive had entered a new phase with the launching of the murderous terrorist armed campaign of salwa judum in June 2005 under the leadership of the Congress chieftain Mahendra Karma and the Hindu fascist Raman Singh government in Chhattisgarh.

Right from the time salwa judum received severe beating in our hands and was virtually on a backfoot after our heroic acts of resistance such as Ranibodili and Errabore, the reactionary rulers were preparing to intervene in a big army if needed. Brigadier Jungle Warfare School in since 2006 that salwa judum commando forces have to This view is shared by several police establishments. We have enemy's imperialist sponsored counter-revolutionary strategy, after our serious losses in entirely an unexpected thing for and the comprador business severe crisis and there is acute market. Hence cheap sources essential for these vultures in market and amass super enter the mineral-rich, adivasi-areas in West Bengal bordering North Telangana. And these

*"Lies and statistics, facts and fiction, were combined dexterously and with great cunning to generate a Maoist monster devouring ordinary innocent people, obstructing development, extorting money, indulging in mindless violence, and what not."*

people's war led by the CPI(Maoist) is raging intensely. Hence we expected that after we defeated the murderous campaign by salwa judum, the Centre would get into its foot-steps and continue the murderous campaign (**salwa judum II** or **Operation Tribal Hunt**) on a far greater scale by sending huge contingents of central forces. How much the vultures—the corporate houses that are itching to lay their hands on the irresistible mineral wealth in the region—might have paid to the Congress, BJP, CPI(M), and other political parties, top police officials, bureaucrats and a big section of the media will remain a million-dollar guess. That these corporate houses had poured in huge sums is clear and that

is why as soon as the UPA came to power for the second time the tempo was built up quite fast. Lies and statistics, facts and fiction, were combined dexterously and with great cunning to generate a Maoist monster devouring ordinary innocent people, obstructing development, extorting money, indulging in mindless violence, and what not. The Home Ministry prepared the ground for the massive offensive by first declaring the CPI(Maoist) as a terrorist organisation and imposing an All India ban. Simultaneously, 26 companies of central forces were sent to Lalgarh to crush a peaceful people's movement. Whatever be the differences between various sections of the ruling classes, however intense their dog-fights, one thing is crystal-clear: all these reactionaries—whether Gandhian Congress, swadeshi BJP or Marxist CPI(M)—are all united when it is a question of defending and advancing their common class interests vis-à-vis the revolutionary toiling masses.

It is because we had been preparing for this eventuality, the enemy could not cause much damage to the people's war or the various revolutionary organisations in this entire belt in spite of his best efforts and mobilising his best troops. In the first half of June i.e., within a fortnight after the UPA assumed office, our Polit Bureau came out with a concrete assessment of the situation, what measures the enemy was most likely to take, and how we should counter his tactics. This circular has been already quoted by many news analysts and so-called defence experts in their analysis. As you can see, things have been moving exactly as we had predicted. So to put simply, the war moves by the reactionary rulers are on expected lines. And fascist ruling classes have always followed similar course in the entire human history. They cannot think in terms other than brute force and genocides, and dirty psychological war of white lies and malicious slander.

Lastly, it would be entirely misplaced to describe the current offensive by the reactionary rulers as the final offensive. The final battle by the Indian people led by the Maoist revolutionaries will have to be perhaps fought with the American imperialists. The present move by Chidambaram & Co will go down history as a foolish misadventure by the ruling classes. They will be tied down in an endless war and will be forced to continuously inject more forces as is being witnessed with every passing day. The entire region inhabited by the adivasis will prove to be India's Vietnam. We are certain that this would also aggravate the economic and political crises and lead to country-wide conflagration. Operation Green Hunt will end up in a terrible disaster for the reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist masters, particularly the US imperialists.

**MIB: But Chidambaram has gone on record that there is no such thing as Operation Green Hunt and that it is purely an invention of the media..?**

**Com Anand:** (*smiles scoffingly*). Perhaps he is right. The hunt is meant to exterminate and drive out the adivasis from the entire region so as to hand over the region's wealth to the corporate houses. It would be more appropriate to re-christen it as Operation Adivasi Hunt or Operation Tribal Hunt. So let us agree with Chidambaram on that. What he wants to do is to resettle the adivasis in what could be called 'strategic hamlets' as in Vietnam. But just as 'strategic hamlets' could not save the mightiest American troops in Vietnam, the strategic hamlets in DK or elsewhere too cannot save Chidambaram's forces and the reactionary, parasitic Indian ruling classes.

By saying that there is no big operation by the Centre and that it is only helping the states in dealing with Maoists, Chidambaram has proved to the world how big a liar he is. By continuously mobilising the central forces while pretending there is no big offensive he has revealed his ugly fascist features of a Hitler or George Bush. In fact, the vocabulary of the rulers is bizarre, to say the least. It is inverted and is always different from that of the people. When they say peace it should be understood as war. Likewise, encounter would mean cold-blooded murder. It has become so much a part of the rulers' vocabulary that the police directly threaten a person that he would be encountered. Mahendra Karma and Raman Singh describe salwa judum as peace campaign which actually means a campaign of murder, rape, arson and destruction. Relief camps set up by the government in Chhattisgarh mean strategic hamlets or nazi concentration camps. Development in the vocabulary of the rulers means displacement for the people. Rule of law means complete submission of the people to oppression and exploitation. *Aam aadmi* means 'looting the aam aadmi'. Even Barack Obama was given Nobel peace prize for escalating war in Afghanistan and Pakistan, for murdering civilians through aerial bombardment in those countries and displacing millions of people. There is no end to the hypocrisy of language uttered by the ruling classes and imperialists. Thus the golden rule is to take the opposite of what the rulers say. More often than not, this turns out to be nearer to the truth.

Thus Chidambaram's denial of any big operation against the Maoists means he is certainly preparing for an all-out brutal counter-revolutionary war.

**MIB: Chidambaram says he is ready to talk with the Maoists on all issues provided they halt violence. Are the Maoists ready to abjure violence and receive the olive branch offered by Chidambaram?**

**Anand:** This endless chatter of Chidambaram could perhaps go down as the cruellest joke of this decade. You send thousands of troops to the adivasi areas, abduct innocent adivasis, torture them, murder them in the most inhuman way one could ever think of, gang-rape women at gun-point, slash out the tongue of a two-year-old child, chop off the breasts of a 80-year-old woman, burn down houses and entire villages, steal hens, pigs, goats and what not from the poor, helpless adivasis, commit indescribable atrocities through your armed vigilante gangs, and yet, you have the audacity to ask Maoists to stop the violence. Shame be upon this wretched man calling himself the soft-spoken Home Minister! He is soft to the murderers, rapists, bandits and dacoits in police uniform. He would not allow a single case to be filed against these uniformed goondas whatever be their inhuman crimes. He had even pledged that he would fight till the last drop of his blood to defend the rotten status quo and the interests of his class.

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*"It is ironic to see how a man, who has a knife stuck deep into the body of the adivasis, calls on them to halt violence. It is like a tiger with its claws stung into the sheep's flesh asking the sheep to stop struggling against it. If Chidambaram has even an iota of sincerity he should first ask his uniformed men to stop murdering, torturing, raping adivasis, stop looting and destroying their property, and to withdraw these lawless rowdies in uniform."*

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By repeating that he is ready to resolve all issues within 72 hours if the Maoists first abjured violence, what he is trying to do is to find justification for his cruel savage offensive on the people in the Maoist-dominated regions. He knows that as long as the salwa judum goondas, the SPOs, the state police forces, the CRPF, BSF, CoBRA forces continue to murder, rape and destroy the property of the people, Maoists will have no option but to retaliate in self-defence. He plans to use this situation to justify his blood-bath. Create a situation where the Maoists and the adivasis cannot but fight back in self-defence, then focus on this 'violence' of the Maoists, and launch a massive blood-bath on the plea that Maoists are continuing with their 'senseless' violence notwithstanding the generous offer of talks by the government. Like George Bush in Iraq, once the reactionary rulers of our country have decided to clear up the mineral-rich forest regions, they will leave no stone unturned for achieving this dirty objective. Their modus operandi is simple and the proven track traversed by fascists all the world over.

Step up state violence and state-sponsored violence. Do not allow the media to visit the areas where the central and state forces are carrying out the worst forms of crimes against the adivasis. But when one police informer is punished by the Maoists, organise an official tour of media personnel to paint the Maoists as murderers of innocent people. Also arrange meetings of media personnel with vigilante gangs and the lumpen elements punished by the Maoists. With this fake build up aided by the loyal sections in the biased media, unleash the long-planned offensive to flush out the Maoists by resettling the adivasis in strategic hamlets—such is the hideous plan of Chidambaram which anyone with a little common sense cannot fail to grasp.

So it is not a question of our not responding to the so-called olive branch said to be offered by the government. There is nothing like a sincere offer for talks from the side of the government. It is ironic to see how a man, who has a knife stuck deep into the body of the adivasis, calls on them to halt violence. It is like a tiger with its claws stung into the sheep's flesh asking the sheep to stop struggling against it. If Chidambaram has even an iota of sincerity he should first ask his uniformed men to stop murdering, torturing, raping adivasis, stop looting and destroying their property, and to withdraw these lawless rowdies in uniform. He should instruct Raman Singh to call off the salwa judum and initiate action against the crimes perpetrated by these goondas. To say that he has no power to control the inhuman atrocities by the police and state-sponsored vigilante gangs in the states on the plea that law and order is a state subject is the worst form of opportunism, escapism and hypocrisy. It is a heinous way of evading responsibility as a Home Minister while sending his forces to escalate the violence by Raman Singh's goons. If Chidambaram has not lent his helping hand to Raman Singh's saffron fascist government by sending massive forces from the Centre the people led by our Party would have long back taught a fitting lesson to Raman Singh's goons. In fact, precisely when salwa judum is tottering and is under attack from all sides, and the state policemen are refusing to fight against Maoists and

innocent adivasis, Chidambaram had stepped in to strengthen the state's rowdies with those of the Centre and continue the blood-bath in Chhattisgarh. Chidambaram has absolutely no moral right to call on the Maoists to halt violence so long as the repressive forces of the state continue to indulge in the worst forms of violence against the people.

The so-called mindless violence by Maoists is nothing but legitimate and just counter-violence in the defence of the poor and helpless adivasis and other oppressed sections who have been at the receiving end since decades and even centuries. If Chidambaram ends the indiscriminate, sadistic,

*"The present move by Chidambaram & Co will go down history as a foolish misadventure by the ruling classes. They will be tied down in an endless war and will be forced to continuously inject more forces as is being witnessed with every passing day. The entire region inhabited by the adivasis will prove to be India's Vietnam. We are certain that this would also aggravate the economic and political crises and lead to country-wide conflagration."*

ghastly, terrifying, spine-chilling, blood-curdling, savage and macabre violence by his uniformed men on the unarmed, poor, helpless adivasi men, women and children, then peace will prevail without much difficulty. From our side, we assure the civil society that the need for counter-violence would automatically end once the brutal state violence comes to a halt. We reiterate that the violence of the Maoists and the oppressed is only counter-violence to defend oneself from the unbridled state violence. And this counter-violence of the oppressed is justified by any count. Chidambaram's desperate attempts to isolate us in the name of unleashing 'mindless violence' will end up in smoke. Bush was able to fool and dupe the American people for a while by manipulating the media and manufacturing consent for his despicable lies against Saddam. Today his successor Obama is doing the same thing by showing the ghost of Al Qaeda and creating a blood-bath in Afghanistan and its extension to Pakistan. Every reactionary and fascist ruler invents an enemy to carry out his ulterior aims. If the greed for oil drove George Bush to weave absurd lies and unleash a heart-rending blood-bath in Iraq and Afghanistan, the greed for minerals drives our Chidambaram to weave a web of lies about Maoist violence. Some sections of the media that are in the pay-roll of the corporate big business

houses sing in chorus without any compunction.

**MIB: Then do you see any possibility in foreseeable future of an end to state violence and some sort of a dialogue between the Maoists and the state?**

**Anand:** This depends on a multiplicity of factors and not on the wishes of the Maoists or a Chidambaram. Just as a Bush went ahead to bomb and invade Iraq egged on by a tiny military-industrial complex ruling America, notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the world's nations were opposed to this imperialist act, the tiny corporate elite of India—the billionaires club—would push their political representatives Manmohan, Chidambaram et al, to go ahead to clear up and hand over the region's wealth to them. But it is the extent of people's protests and Maoist resistance that would ultimately set the limits to the onslaught of the rulers.

If the protests mount throughout the country and other battle-fronts open up, I mean not just armed resistance struggles and offensives by Maoists, but also movements against price-rise, corruption, displacement, separate statehoods like Telangana, Gorkhaland, Bundelkhand and others, against climate destruction, unemployment, land-acquisition or snatching of land by the bureaucrat-corporate-criminal mafia, police atrocities, atrocities against dalits, women, religious minorities and so on, Chidambaram will find it impossible to carry out his brutal aggression on the people. Peace movement by genuine democratic forces and the civil society with a clear, uncompromising, and principled stand against state violence, and in defence of the oppressed, would contribute much to dissuade Chidambaram and his band of vultures to unleash a blood-bath in the areas of armed struggle led by the CPI(Maoist).

Last but not the least, the heroic resistance of the oppressed in areas invaded by the state's rowdy forces and the victories achieved by the people led by our Party would lead to a fear psychosis among the mercenary troops similar to the Vietnam syndrome among the American mercenary troops during the Vietnam war. This could precipitate revolts and desertions among the forces and compel Chidambaram and Raman Singh to reconsider their aggressive and abominable strategy of strategic

hamlets and decimation of the local adivasi population. By turning the vast area stretching from West Bengal to Andhra Pradesh into a flaming field of intense armed struggle and spreading the armed resistance of the people to newer areas we can pin down the enemy forces into a Vietnam-like situation and push them into the defensive. Our Party is leaving no stone unturned to create such a situation. Only then, will Manmohan, Chidambaram or whoever is in the fore-front in unleashing the brutal counter-revolutionary war, will stop talking meaningless trash and begin placing serious proposals for talks by first putting a stop to state violence. There is no short-cut method.

**MIB: So the CPI(Maoist), its PLGA, and the people are prepared for a long-drawn war against the invading forces..?**

**Anand:** Of course, we are. At the outset, let me clarify that our strategy is the strategy of protracted people's war. This is the only correct and appropriate strategy in India for dealing with a superior enemy by taking advantage of the vast terrain, weak infrastructure in backward areas, a huge agrarian population, and the dog-fights among the ruling classes. We are prepared for a protracted

*"If the government does not obstruct peaceful activities and struggles of the Maoists, lifts the ban on the legitimate organisations of the people, then violence would automatically come down. The entire responsibility for the escalation of violence lies with the obstinacy and repressive stand of the rulers."*

people's war. If the enemy wants to wipe us out in 2, 3 or 5 years, as their various representatives and spokespersons have been saying at different times, and if he concentrates on selected pockets to clear us out, our strategy is to extend the areas of armed and other forms of struggle to yet wider areas, extending to even the heart of the enemy, i.e., his hitherto urban citadels. It is impossible for the enemy to prevent this from happening however much he might improve his intelligence network and repressive apparatus in the urban areas where a huge population that is more than the population of entire Europe is seething with unrest.

If the enemy thinks he has taken hold of a certain area from the hands of the guerrillas he will be perplexed to find he has lost some other areas from his hands in other places. It will be a see-saw battle with the enemy seizing our territories here and there, and we seizing the territories hitherto under his control elsewhere besides re-capturing our former strong-holds. Try as he might, the enemy cannot succeed even in his dreams to wipe out the Maoist movement which will culminate in the total liberation of our country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. As long as hunger and starvation, poverty

and misery, deprivation and destitution, unemployment and disease, discrimination and oppression, and exploitation in various forms exist, Maoist movement will continue to thrive and make big strides. Our entire strategy revolves around the concept of bringing the vast majority of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces into the people's war to overthrow the state of the exploiters and oppressors. So our preparations are in accordance with this clear vision and strategy.

**MIB: Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram and a host of spokespersons of the ruling classes have been saying that the Maoists would never sit for talks and can never think in terms of peaceful resolution of people's issues. They say that if at all Maoists come to talks it will be with an ulterior motive to strengthen their Party and army since their ultimate aim is to capture state power through armed struggle. Then how do you think the state can ever think of talks? Can there ever be a piece-meal solution to a problem that is related to the capture of state power?**

**Anand:** I am glad you placed this very important question before me. At the outset, let me clarify that there are grave misgivings even among a sincere section of the people (I am not speaking of the deliberate distortions indulged in by the paid agents of the ruling classes) that, since the Maoists believe in armed revolution, they can never think in terms of peaceful resolution of people's issues. If that were the case, the Maoists would not take up people's issues such as minimum wages, retrenchments, wage cuts, subsidy for essential commodities, schools and hospitals, irrigation facilities, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, anti-price hike and anti-fee hike agitations, demands for separate statehood, and so on. If people's issues are not

*"As long as hunger and starvation, poverty and misery, deprivation and destitution, unemployment and disease, discrimination and oppression, and exploitation in various forms exist, Maoist movement will continue to thrive and make big strides."*

the concern of the Maoists, then there is no reason for their existence.

However, the Maoists firmly believe, and is proved by historical experience, that the reactionary rulers would never solve the basic problems of the people since the problems are directly related to the exploitation and oppression by these very rulers. On the contrary, the rulers would resort to brutal, fascist suppression of the democratic and peaceful movements of the various sections of the oppressed people. It is in the course of fighting for the issues of the people that the Maoists aim to capture political power. If the people's real problems are resolved peacefully then why would they wage armed revolution for capturing power risking their lives?

*“Arms are for the self-defence of the people and are used only when the state obstructs all avenues of peaceful struggle and resorts to brutal violence on democratic struggles of the people. We see this everywhere from Nagaland, Assam to Kashmir. If the demand raised by the majority of the people—whatever the demand may be, including secession from India—is conceded, then where is the need for armed confrontation?”*

Our clear understanding is that the exploitation and oppression by the imperialist, feudal and comprador rulers are the root cause for the problems faced by the people and hence these can never be resolved by the rulers. However, people can achieve significant gains through organized mass movements and we organise such mass struggles on every problem faced by the people to make living conditions better for them. For those who survive with one meal a day even the slightest increase in their incomes means a lot to their lives. Ad when it comes to issues like displacement you can imagine the enormous significance to the lives of the people. We are prepared to discuss with the government on ways to resolve all those people's issues that can be resolved within the present system. But we have absolutely no illusions that the

government would really implement even its own laws and constitutional provisions as we had witnessed in the case of land reforms drama, without fierce resistance by the people. The central and various state governments have been implementing all the anti-people policies and plans with full knowledge of their disastrous consequences. Bandits and plunderers do not think of the consequences of their acts.

Having said that, I also think that the government would be compelled to resolve at least some issues of the people depending on the heat it faces from mass movements and all-round pressure. We are always prepared to do whatever possible in the basic interests of the people. We have no interests of our own apart from those of the oppressed people. Unless this is grasped thoroughly and looked at through glasses not tainted with bias against the Maoists, one cannot understand the reason for the existence of the Maoist party itself.

If the reactionary governments do not place restrictions on the legal activities of the Maoists, if they do not obstruct the peaceful meetings, rallies, mass strikes and struggles organised by the oppressed people led by the Maoists, then where is the need for them to take up arms? Arms are for the self-defence of the people and are used only when the state obstructs all avenues of peaceful struggle and resorts to brutal violence on democratic struggles of the people. We see this everywhere from Nagaland, Assam to Kashmir. If the demand raised by the majority of the people—whatever the demand may be, including secession from India—is conceded, then where is the need for armed confrontation? If the police did not go about beating up adivasi men, women and children, blinding them, destroying their property, letting loose vigilante harmad gangs of the social fascists on the people, why would the people of Lalgah come out as one fighting fist demanding apology by the police chief? And if the SP got rid of his arrogance and apologised for the high-handedness, instead of sending in more repressive forces to the area, then why would the Lalgah people's movement assume armed form?

The story is the same everywhere. People generally resort to peaceful struggles on their issues, right from submitting petitions, sitting on hunger-strikes, organising dharnas and rallies, but these are crushed with an iron hand by the rulers through their police forces. It is at that point of time that people begin to pursue more militant forms including armed form of struggle.

As an advanced detachment of the working class in India, our Party formed the PLGA for defending the rights and just struggles of the oppressed people and advance their struggle to the culmination of capture of state power without which it is impossible to resolve any of their basic issues. Thus, the ultimate aim of our revolution and the means to achieve it are non-negotiable. However, it is possible to resolve some issues if there is sincerity on the part of the government. If the government does not obstruct peaceful activities and struggles of the Maoists, lifts the ban on the legitimate organisations of the people, then violence would automatically come down. The entire responsibility for the escalation of violence lies with the obstinacy and repressive stand of the rulers. We are always for a peaceful resolution of every issue but we are also prepared to take up arms for self-defence when compelled by the enemy. Chidambaram cannot confuse people by saying that Maoists are not serious to resolve people's issues. But the first and foremost issue of the people is an end to unbridled state violence. Only when this is done, there would be any progress in the de-escalation of violence.

**MIB: And you had some experience in Andhra Pradesh in this regard?**

**Anand:** Yes. That is why I can confidently say that levels of violence will rapidly come down if the state puts an end to its unbridled violence on unarmed innocent people. Impartial observers of the period of talks in Andhra Pradesh can see how counter-violence by Maoists had come down to absolute zero for over six months inspite of frequent provocations by the police to break the cease-fire. Eventually, it was the YSR Reddy's government which broke off from the talks and broke the cease-fire when it found it impossible to solve any of the demands raised by the Maoists. Interestingly, all the demands placed by the Maoist delegation were within the constitutional framework! After seeing the hypocrisy and ulterior motives of the Congress government in Andhra Pradesh which launched a brutal offensive after breaking off from the talks, would anyone believe Chidambaram's rhetoric about talks? Our experience in Andhra Pradesh has shown that revolutionaries should not go for talks with such enemies who use it only as a pretext for unleashing more brutal attacks. But there could be a cease-fire if the state first ends its cruel violence.

**MIB: You had once worked as the Secretary of the North Telangana Special Zonal Committee. Recent reports in the media point to a revival of the Maoist movement in Andhra Pradesh, particularly in North Telangana (NT). What is the precise situation there on the ground?**

**Anand:** At present I cannot say more than the fact that there has been some revival of our activity in parts of NT. We have changed our methods and tactics in the zone keeping in view our relatively weaker subjective forces and the extensive informer network and heavy deployment of the enemy force. In the north Andhra districts which fall under the Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zone, the activity of our Party, PLGA and revolutionary mass organisations, has always been there. The wiping out of 38 Grey Hounds and some other offensives carried out by our PLGA in North Andhra and in the bordering areas of Orissa has created a favourable situation for the movement of our forces and have also aroused the people to a good extent.

**MIB: There are strong opinions among some sections of people that the Maoists had unduly intervened in the culture, customs, traditions etc of the adivasis besides opposing development works by the government and this had angered the adivasis. This is cited as the main reason why the adivasis had joined salwa judum.**

**Anand:** This is a white lie fabricated by the reactionary rulers, the police top brass and bureaucrats as part of their psychological war meant to justify the state-sponsored terrorist campaign of salwa judum. Through such totally baseless lies they have been trying to project their armed vigilante goons of salwa judum as spontaneous mobilization of the adivasis and as a rebellion of the local people against the Maoists. Paid agents of the corporate business houses have been trying to din into the ears of the gullible people that it is because of the materialistic outlook and impatience of the Maoists that they are getting isolated from the local adivasi population which is increasingly turning towards the government. Besides Chhattisgarh chief minister Raman Singh and other BJP ministers and leaders, Congress leaders like Mahendra Karma, there are others like retired DG of BSF, Prakash Singh, former chief of IB, Doval, and others who have been carrying out this malicious propaganda without citing a single instance of interference by the Maoists into the cultural lives and traditions of adivasis. Maoists have been in Dandakaranya for almost three decades now. And today 90 % of the Party membership, most of the members in the various leading Party committees, PLGA fighters, and the leadership of all mass organizations, organs of people's democratic power or janathana sarkars hail from local adivasis. The adivasis constitute the life-blood of the Maoist movement in entire DK as well as Jharkhand, Orissa and other states at the present stage. In all the nearly three decades of our existence there was never any friction with the adivasi population but some of the heads of the tribes

or tribal elders who had been lording over the general adivasi masses, have some grouse since the ongoing class struggle had replaced them with young militant leadership. But even among these elders a significant section is with the Party. Maoists had tried to instill new content to adivasi traditions, culture, songs etc., while fighting against patriarchy, blind belief and other evils. In fact, even this struggle against the evils was waged through the local adivasi leadership and hence revolutionary change became possible. Their collective life and customs were not only preserved but also strengthened and extended to new spheres like co-operatives. It is this further consolidation of their collective life that has made their resistance to the state and state-sponsored terrorism too into a collective movement and has angered the parliamentary political parties, police, the bureaucrats and the non-adivasi exploiters and oppressors who find it almost impossible to pick up informers from the areas where the adivasis are consolidated. And that is why their houses and entire villages are burned down by the police, para-military and salwa judum goondas, their women raped and men murdered. It is these vultures who had uprooted the adivasis and destroyed their culture. It is a shame that people like Prakash Singh and Ajit Doval are spreading such malicious slander. These were the only two dissenters in the entire fact-finding team which visited Dantewada in 2006. They were parroting the stories of the SPOs and salwa judum goons whom they met in government-run camps and they did not even bother to meet the thousands of real victims who had fled to the forests or remained in the villages. However much the reactionary rulers and their paid agents cry, they cannot hide the fact that Maoists enjoy immense support of the vast adivasi population, and that after the state had unleashed the savage salwa judum the support for the Maoists had further increased. The vultures that are waiting greedily to plunder the wealth in the adivasi areas cannot hide the true fascist nature of the salwa judum by spreading canards against the Maoists.



## Voices against war on the people

### **A Pretext to Impose Brutal Repression: The Government's "Offensive" Is a Formula for Bloodshed and Injustice**

***---Statement from national platform of adivasi and forest dwellers' mass organisations (Campaign for Survival and Dignity) on Government offensive***

*October 12 2009*

The Campaign for Survival and Dignity, a national platform of adivasi and forest dwellers' mass organisations from ten States, unequivocally condemns the reported plans for a military "offensive" by the government in the country's major forest and tribal areas. This offensive, ostensibly targeted against the CPI (Maoist), is a smoke screen for an assault against the people, especially adivasis, aimed at suppressing all dissent, all resistance and engineering the takeover of their resources. Certain facts make this clear:

- The government tells us that this offensive will make it possible for the "state to function" in these areas and fill the "vacuum of governance." This is grossly misleading. The Indian state is very, very active in these areas, often in its most brutal and violent form. A vivid example is the illegal eviction of more than 3,00,000 families by the Forest Departments a few years ago. Laws have been totally disregarded; Constitutional protections for adivasi rights blatantly ignored and their rights over water, forest and land (jal, jangal, jamin) glaringly violated. Every month an increasing number of people are jailed, beaten and killed by the police. If this is the picture of what "absence" of the state means, people are terrified of what the "presence" of the state will mean. It can only mean converting brutalized governance into militarized rule, a total negation of democracy.
- This is not a war over "development." People's struggles in India today are over democracy and dignity - Meaningful development must contribute to strengthening the right of all people

to their resources and their production, and thereby to control over their own destiny. For generations, adivasis have fought for their Constitutional rights and entitlements. More recently, mass democratic movements have fought for new laws and policies, such as the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), the Forest Rights Act, the right to work and the right to food, in addition to earlier laws like the Minimum Wages Act, the Restoration of Alienated Lands Acts, and land reform and money-lending laws. These laws make it possible for people to fight for greater control over their lives, their livelihoods, their lands and their forests. However these laws are respected more in the breach; if the government wants “development”, let it first stop the blatant disregard of its own laws. Let people determine the path of their own development, in accordance with their rights over their resources and the type of infrastructure they desire. The Constitution itself requires this kind of planning. The claim that “development” can be provided through military force is both absurd and ridiculous.

- This war is not about “national security”; it is about ‘securing’ the interests of global and Indian capital and big business. Any government worried about security would send its troops against mining mafias, the forest mafias, violent vigilante groups like the salwa judum and others. Rather than being curbed, these killers are in fact supported by the police. Have the security forces ever been deployed to defend the people struggling to protect themselves, their forests, their livelihoods and their futures? The answer is no. The notion of “security” being advanced by the government clearly has nothing to do with the people. Rather, it is to enable big business to engage in robbery and expropriation of resources, which they have decided will be one of their main sources of accumulation. Hence, mining, “infrastructure”, real estate, land grabbing, all aimed at super-profits, are being projected as “development” needed by the people. Huge amounts of international and government money are being pumped into so-called “forestry projects” which displace people from their lands and destroy biodiversity (even while they are trumpeted as a strategy for climate change). The UPA is rushing into agreements with the US and other imperial countries to throw open mining and land to international exploitation. But where do the forests, land, water and minerals lie? They are found in the forest and tribal areas, where people - some organised under the CPI (Maoist), some organized under democratic movements, some in spontaneous local struggles, some simply fighting in whatever manner they can – are resisting the destruction of their homes, resources and their lives. The “offensive against the Maoists” is only a subterfuge to crush this citizens’ resistance and to provide an excuse for more abuse of power, more brutality and more injustice.
- The government knows perfectly well that it cannot destroy the CPI (Maoist), or any people’s struggle, through military action. How can the armed forces identify who is a “Maoist” and who is not? The use of brute military force will result in the slaughter of thousands of people in prolonged, bloody and brutal guerrilla warfare. This has been the result of every “security offensive” in India’s history from Kashmir to Nagaland. So why do this? And why now? Unless the goal has nothing to do with “wiping out the Maoists” and everything to do with having an excuse for the permanent presence of lakhs of troops, arms and equipment in these areas. To protect and serve whom?
- Hence the need for fear mongering and hysteria about Maoist “sympathisers” and their “infiltration” into “civil society.” The government has a very long history of labeling any form of dissent as “Naxalite” or “Maoist.” The Maoists’ politics are known; their positions are public; the only secret aspect of their work is their personal identities and military tactics. We who work in these areas do not fear this bogey of “infiltration” in our groups by Maoists, for the different stands taken by our organizations and theirs are clear, and in some areas there are open disputes. This scaremongering is just an excuse to justify a crackdown on all forms of dissent and democratic protest in these areas, a crushing of all people’s resistance, and the branding of any questioning, any demand for justice, as “Maoist.”

In the final analysis, peace and justice will only come to India’s workers, peasants, adivasis, dalits and other oppressed sections through the mass democratic struggle of the people. A democratic struggle requires democratic space. The conversion of a region into a war zone, by anyone, is unacceptable. In the forest areas in particular, there is now a need for a new peace, one that can only be achieved through a genuine democratic dialogue between the political forces involved. For this to happen, this horrific “offensive” must first be called off. If the government really wishes to claim that it is committed to protecting people and their rights, let its actions comply with the requirements of law, justice and democracy.

## Endorsing organisations

Bharat Jan Andolan, National Front for Tribal Self Rule, Jangal Adhikar Sangharsh Samiti (Mah) Adivasi Mahasabha (Guj). Adivasi Jangal Janjeevan Andolan (D&NH), Jangal Jameen Jan Andolan (Raj), Madhya Pradesh Jangal Jeevan Adhikar Bachao Andolan, Jan Shakti Sanghatan (Chat), Peoples Alliance for Livelihood Rights, Chattisgarh Mukti Morcha, Orissa Jan Sangharsh Morcha, Campaign for Survival & Dignity (Ori), Orissa Jan Adhikar Morcha, Adivasi Aikya Vedike (AP), Campaign for Survival and Dignity – TN, Bharat Jan Andolan (Jhar).



## A Message of Solidarity from Cordillera Peoples Alliance, the Philippines

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The for the Defense of the Ancestral Domain and for Self Determination, an independent federation of progressive peoples' organizations, mostly grassroots-based organizations among indigenous communities in Northern Luzon Cordillera, Philippines, hereby endorses the statement against the Indian government's plans for launching an unprecedented military offensive by army and paramilitary forces in the adivasi (indigenous people)-populated regions of Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal states.

We are in solidarity with the indigenous peoples and movements opposing this plan which would result in massive human rights violations and oppression of the advasi and democratic sectors if this plan is pushed through. What is happening there in India especially in indigenous territories is very real here as militarization and military terrorism in indigenous communities in the Philippines and political repression continue under the US-Arroyo regime's Oplan Bantay Laya ("operation plan defend freedom") resulting in the killing of more than a thousand activists and human rights advocates, hundreds of victims of enforced disappearance, and thousands of people and communities affected. Our situation is the same, hence, our solidarity has become more urgent and strengthened.

We are with you in your struggle against state terrorism and fascism.

In solidarity,

Mr. Windel Bolinget  
Secretary General, Cordillera Peoples Alliance



## Dipanjan Rai Chaudhuri's column in Sanhati

### The possibilities of civil society reaction to Chidambaram's war and Lalgah

Nov 7 2009

The Government of India is declaring a war, under the generalship of Chidambaram, on the population of what it describes as Maoist-infested areas, a population comprising the poorest of the poor of this unfortunate country. The stated target of Chidambaram's adventure is the Maoists, but apart from sporadic exchange of fire with these elusive guerrillas, the main thrust of the state will be oppression, torture, mass arrests, rape and murder let loose on the general population most of whom cannot tell butt from muzzle of an AK 47.

The crime of the people is their protest against (a) systematic embezzlement of funds, originating from the taxpayer's money and earmarked for the poor, (b) complete disregard of the state's responsibility for ensuring a livelihood for all, (c) perennial oppression by a politician-official-trader nexus, and, above all, (d) police atrocities and harassment. The crime of the people is that they live on lands coveted by foreign and domestic big capital for their water, minerals, forests and crops. Predatory development was to have displaced them from these lands, but they had the temerity to protest. Finally, the greatest crime of the people is that they look on the Maoists as a friendly political party and not terrorists.

The mini-Chidambarams in West Bengal have also declared a synchronous escalation in the joint occupation forces' activity, which means protecting the CPI(M) armed Harnad gangs and systematic torture of villagers living deeper into the forest, tales of which are creeping out, in spite of closing the whole area to the rest of India by clamping Sec 144.

In this situation, civil society in West Bengal continues to be disunited and confused.

The now violent conflict between the armed forces of the state and the CPI(M) Harnad gangs, on the one hand, and the Maoist guerrillas and the armed people's militia, on the other, has put a question mark on the support of civil society to the people's movement.

However, questioners must not forget that the immediate origin of the conflict lies in police atrocities and the dispatch of the joint armed forces into the jangal mahal. That the people have taken up arms in self-defence against the forces of the state and the Harnad is the result of the response of the state. Had the state listened to the complaints of the people such a situation would not have arisen. Because of the obstinacy of the state in the face of the demands raised by the people of the jangal mahal, the situation is going from bad to worse.

How many of the people involved in the movement are ideologically Maoists? That they, too, bear arms today is the direct responsibility of Chidambaram and Buddhadeb Bhattacharya. All that the people wanted were apologies for police atrocities and guarantees that they wouldn't recur. Up to this stage, the movement was peaceful. The response of the state after starting talks was to withdraw from them unilaterally and send armed forces into the area, into houses, in fact, torturing, molesting and foisting false cases, to raise a bevy of protest and now an armed militia. The opposition to such state terror on a people's movement must be unconditional, irrespective of the nature of the movement.

Democratic opinion cannot take the stand that the state is justified in unleashing terror unless the movement is avowedly non-violent.

Having said this, one must indicate that this opposition to state terror does not imply acceptance of any other kind of terror. The oppressed have the right to fight back but civil society cannot accept methods involving terrorizing adversaries and their supporters, for example, killing people just because they belong to the adversary's political organization, and forbidding other political formations from carrying on political work.

In particular, if a party declares that they will administer justice in regions where their writ runs, that is if they want people to believe that they are taking up some powers of the state, and if we accept this contention for the sake of argument, they must be prepared to have the acts of this state power of theirs to be judged by civil society as stringently as civil society judges the acts of the Indian state.

Civil society cannot accept the cruel and, occasionally, deliberately terror-inspiring way people are being killed in the jangal mahal on the charge of spying for the police. The way the courts are set up, charges framed, and often quite poor people meted out sentences of death, cannot be said to be a great improvement on the judicial practice of the Indian state. The deliberate taking of a life is a serious thing and it should not be easy to do this in any sort of a power structure. Also, if there are so many police spies and enemy agents, one wonders if there is something in the politics which drives so many people away to do something quite perilous.

The state and the media have pilloried the Maoists exclusively for what they call acts of terror, disregarding such acts of other political players. In fact, there is little doubt that the most violent party and one which has carried out intimidation, murder and arson quite deliberately to create terror for the last 32 years is the CPI(M). The regions served by the police stations of Keshpur and Garhbeta are run like penal settlements by Sushanta Ghosh, a CPI(M) minister, no dissident voices being tolerated. To achieve this enviable status the CPI(M) created terror through wanton killings, the most notorious of the massacres bearing the name of the village of Chhoto Angaria. Here, the CPI(M) has raised the Ghoshkar Harnad army in addition to the vigilante assassination squads of the Gana Pratirodh Bahini in Lalgah and Belpahari. Armed camps with bunkers and ordnance stores were set up on the three sides of Lalgah, exposed when the Maoists attacked the camps at Enayetpur, Teshkona, Hanrimara, and Porbandh,

All over West Bengal, in fact, all opposition parties including the TMC are facing the terror tactics of the CPI(M). People of segments which voted against the CPI(M) in the recent Lok Sabha polls are

being attacked, after immobilizing the police either physically or politically. Leading elements of opposition parties have been singled out for murder.

The moral high ground taken by Chidambaram crumbles when we see him unwilling to declare the CPI(M) to be a terrorist party, or send an expeditionary force to Garhbeta and Keshpur. (Civil society does not, of course, believe in sending expeditions against the people anywhere, or declaring any political party to be terrorist and thereby banning it under the UAPA and preventing it from functioning normally, normal functioning being defined to include propagation of its political views.)

So, the basic position of civil society should be unchanged: withdraw the joint armed forces and start talks.

A word on talks. Chidambaram raises the question of the Maoists abjuring violence. It seems that both sides are rigid on the right to use violence. The state will not apologise for its use of violence on the tribal women of Chhotopelia in Lalgah (Chitamoni Murmu lost an eye and Panmoni Hansda's ribs were broken) and will not guarantee that force will not be used on ordinary villagers, and the Maoists are unlikely to announce that they will abjure violence because this will entail surrender of arms, which even the Nepali Maoists have not done. With these present positions, all that is possible is an armistice. But civil society should fight even for that limited objective to prevent the bloody civil war which faces the country due to Chidambaram's adventure.

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## **'India must change the discourse from violence to democracy'**

by **Manoranjan Mohanty**,

an excerpt from *Hindustan Times*, 27 Oct. 2009

The elites, celebrating the rising of India, are now alive to the concern that the movements, both armed and unarmed, are taking place in resource-rich regions. Therefore, the central government's military offensive in Chhattishgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal and elsewhere has been seriously questioned. The Citizens Initiative for Peace and many other civil society groups have strongly advocated dialogue with Maoists and other movement groups without preconditions. The home ministry's anti-Maoist strategy, focusing on armed operations against Naxalite groups, has replaced a two-pronged strategy that the Indian state had pursued thus far.

The Naxalite challenge was considered both a "developmental issue" and "a law and order problem". In practice, however, in many states the police and paramilitary forces targeted Naxalite groups, staging false encounters and killing Naxalites and their alleged supporters, engaging in combing operations and arresting large numbers of people under various laws. During the 10 years after the Naxalbari uprising in 1967 in West Bengal, Congress leaders characterised it as an essentially agrarian movement warranting land reforms, poverty eradication and rural development. Some of the measures such as the statutory panchayati raj, the Integrated Rural Development Programme and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme may have been the result of the past approaches of the government leadership.

The current response of the Indian state that the home ministry has articulated heralds a new phase in Indian politics. Unless the causes of alienation of the masses are addressed, no amount of state repression can wipe out the phenomenon.

Undoubtedly the CPI (Maoist) has the largest base and has engaged the attention of the state. But because of the political-ideological character of the movements, the phenomenon cannot be crushed by physically eliminating some individuals and guerrilla groups. It has to be addressed politically through a series of developmental and democratic measures. The fact that the Naxalite movement has grown in strength during the past four decades is not because of the so-called laxity in police operations by the state. It is time to recognise that the movement has grown in the tribal areas because there is a new consciousness among the tribal people about their rights over their resources. Attitudes were one of compassion for the "primitive" tribals during the colonial period while plundering their forest products and minerals. Independent India sought to change that attitude to "tribal welfare" and had many schemes under that name. But it too continued the exploitation of the forest resources in the name of national interest. This process got a huge boost after India adopted the path of liberalisation and globalisation.

If the reality on the ground is appreciated, the first step is for the national leadership to change the discourse from violence to democracy. There are many serious challenges to the Indian state

ranging from the alienation of the poor, minorities and nationalities to communal mobilisation. Home Minister P. Chidambaram has put the cart before the horse by saying that "unless the areas are cleared of the Naxalites, no development can take place". It is the persistence of poverty and exploitation of the tribals that have created the Maoist base.

The real challenge in places where the Maoists are active is to allow the local people to formulate their own development strategies through their gram sabhas (village councils) and people's committees. The current debate is about an alternative paradigm of development that is not only oriented to achieve higher growth but also fulfils people's right to social justice, cultural dignity, environmental sustainability and, above all, self-governance.



## From "Confronting Guns of Peace: Bastar Faces its Worst Crisis"

– Himanshu Kumar, Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, *Dantewada*,

an excerpt from *Hindustan Times*, October 17, 2009

In June 2005, as part of a larger plan to tighten control over the rich mineral and forest resources of Bastar, the State, backed by private capital, launched a major offensive on tribals of this region and called it ironically Salwa Judum or peace movement. .... The sum total of four years of Salwa Judum has been the internal and forced displacement of more than 3.5 lakh people from their villages, a 30 fold escalation of violence and a 22 time swell in support base and area under control by the very Naxals whom the Judum aimed at decimating! But the State never learns from failures – even after unleashing the loosing battle of horrifying violence on tribals of Bastar in name of Salwa Judum, it has launched a phase two in the name of Operation Green Hunt and Operation Godavari in Bastar and adjacent districts of Malkangiri (Orissa). This confrontation of Bastar's tribals with the 'guns of peace' will unleash the worst crisis this region has ever seen or will ever see ... but that is only if remaining tribals ever survive these 'guns of peace'.

The State forcefully evicted tribals from 700 villages and dumped them in 30 odd camps built for them and cordoned by security forces – it was protecting people from Naxal violence ! It was following the American counter insurgency strategy of 'draining the water and killing the fish' ... State forgot that tribals are not fish and villages are not fish bowls!

But freedom loving and nature-dependent tribals refused to move into camps and fled for fear of being captured, tortured and then deported to camps – reminds one of the Jewish Holocaust. While a meager 50,000 population shifted to camps, about 50,000 fled to the adjacent district in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa where they had relatives and clan families and remaining 2.5 lakh people hid deeper in jungles living a life of fear, hunger and death.



Himanshu among the ruins of his ashram

Human rights and civil society groups watching over the State's warfare, challenged its American copy of counter insurgency. And when they were tried to be silenced, they went up to State High Courts and Indian Supreme Court challenging the notions and strategies of mitigating Naxal violence and restoring peace.

The State retaliated by creating an imaginary divider, obviously through corporate media houses, in the minds of the middle class. If you are in its camps, you are with the State and if you are in the jungles, then you are Naxalite .... thus declaring the 2.5 lakh tribals hiding in the jungles as Naxalites and thereby justifying training its guns of peace on them ! And another divider declared anyone supporting the 'Naxal tribals' as Maoist sympathizers or informers and liable to imprisonment and torture under the draconian Public Securities Act.

The Indian Supreme Court, hearing out petitioners against Salwa Judum ordered the State to reconsider its civil defense strategy and stop evicting tribals from villages. Instead it asked the State to launch a rehabilitation drive to resettle tribals, provide them with basic services and entitlements and asses damages to life and property. This damage assessment was to be followed by compensation and registering of criminal cases against the offenders, in particular Salwa Judum and para-military forces. This was aimed at cleaning up the mess of Salwa Judum and starting afresh all attempts at just and democratic governance. The State responded by blatantly violating the Supreme Court orders, speaking white lies before Court when questioned about its inaction.

It neither attempted rehabilitation efforts nor set up district and State committees to look into damage assessment or filing of cases against offenders and also it did not make any attempts at rethinking its strategies. Rather it continued its forced evictions, its looting, burning, rape, kidnap and murder and printed in bold letters its justification of continuing Salwa Judum. In fact it even went a step further by sabotaging and blocking any civil society attempts at rehabilitation, damage assessment and filing of cases against offenders. It used the Public Securities Act against volunteers working for the rehabilitation of internally displaced tribals!

Tribals who fled their villages and hid in jungles are still living nomadic and terrorized lives. In the face of an inhuman onslaught on them, they clung to the only support they got in the forests ... that of the Maoists who appeared more human to them than persecuting State forces. Their attempts at seeking justice and dignity as citizens of this country were met with arrests and abuses. Their faith in the State dwindled and converted into anger and despair. It was therefore natural for them to pick up their traditional weapons in their self-defence because the State had left no option before them.

How did the State respond? Whenever tribals came seeking justice through democratic and legal means, their FIRs were not registered, their court cases were dismissed without a hearing and they were arrested for being Naxalites. And any sympathetic judge or officer to the tribal cause was either sent on forced leave or transferred out. No one was ready to listen .... not even local mediapersons who benefited from State dole outs of contracts, advertisements and general patronage. National media too ignored the Bastar question or made half-hearted attempts at covering truth because they were bankrolled by corporates eyeing the mineral and forest resources of Bastar ! How could they let the cat out of the bag and lock out opportunities of profiteering? Tribals were isolated and rendered helpless.



The State talks of loyalty when it has itself distrusted its own tribal citizens and branded them Naxals when they have come seeking justice at its doors ... State talks of abiding by its laws when it has itself made a mockery of its own laws – holding Gram Sabhas at gun point to coerce tribals into giving away their lands to mining corporations, subverting laws protecting the tribals' rights to land and forests as stated in PESA, disrespecting Supreme Court's orders to rehabilitate villages, deliver entitlements and services, co-opting judiciary, executive and legislature to ratify and justify violence and terror by its forces and so on. In fact the State has been attacking its poor to secure the interests

of the rich and still it expects the poor to abide by, put faith in it and support it? There are thousands of cases where the law of the land has been bent backwards to accommodate corporate interests but when it comes to tribals State puts on false pretence of legal systems and democracy!

The State wants tribals to help it in restoring peace – but when did the State believe that peace was possible without justice or that tribals could make peace with guns firing around them – does the State believe that tribals will confront its guns of peace without first arming themselves in their self-defence? And what peace is the State talking of restoring – had it wanted peace it would have allowed rehabilitation, it would have allowed the nation to know the truth of Bastar, it would have respected its laws and would have adhered to the democratic governance systems it has put in place?

Despite all that I have stated above (not that people in the State do not know what I have stated?), the State has launched its second Salwa Judum through its strategic military operations called Green Hunt (hunting whom ?) and Godavari. But what will be the net impact of this Salwa Judum II ? The same, if not worse. The crisis will just deepen, the tribals will get further terrorized, Naxals will further consolidate their support base and area under control and voices of sanity among civil society and human rights groups will further get silenced and decimated. This military offensive will only isolate the tribals more and they will begin to look upon every non-tribal as an aggressor. And do we believe that in such a situation peace and democracy can prevail? Thus military operation will simply push democracy further away and endanger the Indian socio-political system.

Thus, as tribals continue resisting corporate grab of land and resources in the garb of Salwa Judum and Operation Green Hunt, State repression will just rise manifold. One must remember that it is not as if repression never happened but it has got heightened with dash of corporates to set up mining and industrial units while the great global market goes booming. Corporates are just making hay while the sun is shining and all this at expenses of the State! And Governments have also readily complied by disposing off their socialist agenda to follow routes tread by private capital. And to make this a reality, these proxy wars are being fought on tribal territory. But who really will be targeted ? Not Naxals who are deft at guerilla warfare and will escape bullets of Salwa Judum and para military forces. It will be the tribals who will be caught in the crossfire.

Salwa Judum (Phase I) resulted in a near civil war that destroyed over 644 villages and displaced 3.5 lakh tribals in one way or the other and filled the lives of tribals with fake encounters, gangrape of tribal women, looting and burning of livestock and belongings of poor tribals, brutal suppression of any resistance or protest has become the order of the day in the name of combating Naxals. This makes us wonder whether they are still bonafide denizens of this country or have they been obliterated as people of India!?

We have gone to villages to understand the truth behind encounters, have interviewed dozens of tribal women gangraped or enslaved for months by Salwa Judum and para military forces and witnessed the total demolition of my house and office premises because we dared to expose these acts of violence through several cases filed in Chhattisgarh High Court. Is this the democracy and tribal development our Governments want us to espouse? I shudder to think what will be the outcome of Salwa Judum (Phase II) ..... yet more fake encounters, yet more gangrapes and yet more souls gone down fighting injustice and repression in the name of peace and democracy?



### **The state will fail if the Army and the Air Force are used against the Maoists— Aruna Roy**



Aruna Roy, a political and social activist, gave up her career in the Indian Administrative Service in 1975 to devote her time to social work and social reform. She has focused her energies on Rajasthan, where she helped establish the Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan in 1990, a grass roots people's organization that works for the empowerment of workers and peasants. In 2000, Ms. Roy won the Ramon Magsaysay award for community leadership and for her role in empowering Indian villagers to claim what is rightfully theirs by upholding and exercising the people's right to information. As Maoist violence continues unabated in the country, Ms. Roy spoke exclusively to Jyoti Malhotra for the *Wall Street Journal*. Excerpts from the interview.

**WSJ: In recent weeks, India's Maoists rebels have unleashed a reign of terror across the countryside, especially in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand, murdering people and damaging public property. As someone who has worked as an activist for many decades in rural India, what is the reason for this sudden violence?**

**AR:** It is now widely accepted that development has not reached people in Chattisgarh and other parts of the country. The Adivasis, or tribals who live here, are delinked from other parts of the country socially, culturally and politically, they are really like an island. Since Independence, most government officials have treated these areas as punishment postings. Few have wanted to live and work there and those who have gone have not treated the tribals as their equals. It's been a sort of sahib-servant relationship. Several activists and those in the development sector did work there, but always came under surveillance like Binayak Sen. With Sen, as you know, he was arrested and put behind bars and accused of sympathizing with the Maoists. An important group which reached the tribal areas were the Christian missionaries who set up schools there, followed by Hindu right-wing groups who decided that the tribals must be "saved" from the Christians. These religious tensions usually ended in violence. In the meantime, the tribal belt, which is really the mineral belt of India, became the focus of interest of multinational companies...

**WSJ: Tell me the geographical extent of the tribal belt?**

**AR:** It's huge, from Bihar and Bengal to Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, via Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and parts of Maharashtra. Maoist rebels claim they control 182 districts out of 604 districts in the country. Because of this overwhelming mineral wealth and the desire of the MNCs to tap it, the government, very often, are in hand in glove with these MNCs, and rode roughshod over all democratic norms and principles of political equality and equity to acquire the land. The government tried to use the laws to clear the forests of the tribals who opposed the taking over of their lands. It didn't work because the law also empowers the tribals to rights over land. When you touch a raw nerve like land, the people rise up. In fact, there is this contradiction today in India, where we talk about the right to property as a fundamental right. But that should also mean that the right to property of the tribals is equally valid and important. So the "persuasion" tried by government and MNCs didn't work. Alternative employment was offered, but it was so meager that there was an uncomfortable impasse for some time. Meanwhile, there remains no system of governance, no delivery, no sympathy or understanding on the part of the government per se.

**WSJ: But there were several infrastructure projects that came up, dams and roads and bridges, surely they were made to help the people?**

**AR:** If you've been to any dam site you'll realize that once dams are constructed, they often don't benefit the oustees. Often the land gets sold to outsiders. I saw an interesting pamphlet the other day about "Jat land" in Chhattisgarh. Now the Jats are a community in faraway Haryana and Punjab and they've been sold land in Chhattisgarh! It's illegal because it's a violation of the rights of tribals who cannot be alienated from their land. So it's a 'benami' transaction (carried out in someone else's name).

**WSJ: How did the Chhattisgarh tribals end up selling their land to the Jats?**

**AR:** The tribals are still not only needy but also very naïve, they don't know what their rights are, they often make uninformed choices and can be persuaded to mortgage their land and when they can't repay their loans, well, they sell it. In fact, the rest of India has allowed them to remain primitive in their responses. We have not done anything to offer proper opportunities for education or given them a meaningful stake in the mainstream.

**WSJ: So how did the Maoists get involved?**

**AR:** This fertile ground offered the Maoists the perfect opportunity because the state was seen as the villain in every way possible. Of course, the state reacted too. With violence it wasn't going to take things lying down. So they created, at least in Chhattisgarh, the 'Salwa Judum' or a people's army. They armed people, including children, with guns to fight the Maoists. Several people opposed the creation of such a vigilante army, set up and supported by both the Congress and the BJP.

Now an army is mandated to fight an outside, invading force, but how can it fight its own people? The need to seek political and developmental solutions remains on top of the agenda. But the State of Chhattisgarh has become a police state. All those who protested against the 'Salwa Judum' were and are being silenced and jailed. So in a situation where the tribals are beaten up by the forest guards, fired upon by policemen and even set upon by the Salwa Judum, what is their recourse without access to democracy? We have now set up a group called the 'Citizens for Peace' and our stand is that all peaceful means must be explored and political negotiations must take place.

**WSJ: Home minister P. Chidambaram has said that you should negotiate on behalf of the tribals...**

**AR:** We have offered to come up with new ideas, and help set up a dialogue. But we are clear that we can't negotiate on behalf of the tribals or with the government. It is the government's business to negotiate, not ours.

**WSJ : So what is your group going to do?**

**AR:** We want to create public opinion that tells both sides of the story. Those of us who live in the big cities know the power of the media and how the media has access only to one kind of thought. But people need to know both sides.

**WSJ: Do you think Mr. Chidambaram's offer to negotiate with the tribals is an acknowledgement that the state has failed?**

**AR:** The government has failed, yes! But the state will fail if the Army and Air Force are used to crackdown against the Maoists. The Air Force is already supposed to have done a survey of the entire area. If the Army and the Air Force do go in, it's war. That is what we want to avoid. We have openly said that anybody who indulges in violence or kills is a murderer, be it a policeman or a tribal

person. However, I also want to make one thing clear. The law must be fair, there must be good governance and the state must allow independent monitoring teams into the area.

**WSJ: Do you think good governance will solve the problem? Isn't there an ideological underpinning to the Maoist violence?**

**AR:** Good governance may not resolve it, but it will prepare some space for resolution.

**WSJ: But you don't think it's an ideological struggle?**

**AR:** The ideological struggle is for the Maoists. For the people it's different; they are fighting for succor. The people have taken to this ideology because there is no alternative, or they see it as their best alternative. If you give them a better alternative, the people will go there. I would like to quote the Bolivian Prime Minister Evo Morales here who said, there is the Left and there is the Right, but we are the people. In our country, the way it often works is that when we vote for a particular political party, the vote is the most reasonable choice from the vast set of negative choices that we face. For the tribals, the truth is that there is no choice, or very little.

**WSJ: Are you saying that there is little alternative for the tribals but to follow the Maoists in taking up arms because the government doesn't exist?**

**AR:** Yes. The truth is that the government doesn't exist in any of these areas, or hardly. It has only existed to exploit them.

**WSJ: So why the violence? Do you think the violence is justified?**

**AR:** These are two separate questions. Violence from either side cannot be justified, but it occurs due to many reasons. It's a failure of listening to the people. If the state consistently doesn't listen to the people who are the sovereign, then what results may seem like "irrationality." Although I don't think it's irrational, the fact that the tribal is taking up arms to defend his life, his family, his land. If a man dies fighting for his country against Pakistan he is considered a hero. But if a tribal dies fighting for his land, why don't we call him a hero? Isn't it the same thing? As for the violence, we can't justify it, but we have to understand the circumstances that lead people to choose violence over other means to fight for their lives and livelihood.

*"...the question also is, what is "development"? If I don't have food in my belly and my land has been taken away for a big project, is that "development?" How am I going to gauge it? Does 8% or 9% growth every year constitute "development"? Should we measure it by the property we own in the cities or the amount of gold that is bought and sold or whether the people of India have access to food, shelter and health?"*

**WSJ: What about a state like West Bengal which have been run by the Left parties for several decades, why are the Maoists rebelling against them?**

**AR:** There again, MNCs were brought in without consulting the people, which is why they rose up against the Left in Bengal. This has had a direct impact in the elections. Nandigram and Singur, two sites in Bengal where large tracts of land were sought to be given to MNCs are an example of the alienation from people. Truth is, the people who have gone to the "other side," who became Maoists, were once with the Left, they were supporters of the party. A party which used to consistently listen to the people and were its voice has, somewhere, not listened to them.

**WSJ: You say that MNCs grabbed land in the name of development, but several MNCs like the Tatas in Singur in West Bengal, Posco in Orissa are trying to build industry, improve per capita income and socio-economic indicators...?**

**AR:** Let us say that most of the projects grab more land than they need and come in without any democratic process of consultation with people. The government has given large tracts of land to Special Economic Zones and to MNCs in the name of boosting export, but I would like to know whether exports have really gone up. Moreover, they hardly employ local people...We have to ask ourselves, who is benefiting from this industrialization. Who is losing?

**WSJ: Aren't we romanticizing this? After all, industrialization is the way forward...**

**AR:** This is the voice of the people, not a few romantic young people with revolutionary ideals. There is no transparency, that's the problem. Nobody knows whether the MNC is telling the truth when they demand a certain acreage for developing a project. Or whether the people have really been consulted

and whether the government has the people in mind when it agrees to certain terms and conditions. There have been so many betrayals...The breakdown of trust is more or less complete. Meanwhile, the question also is, what is "development"? If I don't have food in my belly and my land has been taken away for a big project, is that "development?" How am I going to gauge it? Does 8% or 9% growth every year constitute "development"? Should we measure it by the property we own in the cities or the amount of gold that is bought and sold or whether the people of India have access to food, shelter and health?

And if someone thinks that this 8%-9 % growth is going to take India forward and India's going to fly, then believe me, it is going to be pulled down by the remaining 80%. That is why this 80% has got to be nurtured, they have to be given rights and access, they need some share in this spectacular growth of ours.

**WSJ: And violence...**

**AR:** It is the absolute last resort. When reason has failed, when rationality has failed, when compassion has failed...History teaches us that violence only occurs when everything else has failed. If this is beneficial development, why is there so much violent opposition to it?

**WSJ: So this "red corridor" that runs through the heart of India, a state within a state...**

**AR:** I don't know how "red" it is. But we have to ask ourselves, how to take this forward. I would go the Gandhian way, which is talk to the other side and treat them as equals, negotiate, find out what's gone wrong. But we can't send the army in as Home Minister P.Chidambaram is threatening to do. In any case we must talk to the people who are facing the consequences the most.

**WSJ: Its interesting that the Congress-led government at the Centre has the same views as all the opposition parties which run the affected states, whether it is the Left in Bengal or the BJP in Chhatisgarh?**

**AR:** Why is that surprising? After all, every political party laying claim to a different ideology has ruled different parts of the country at different times and nothing changed for the tribals. Moreover, the tribal leadership has either not been accepted and promoted, nor have their histories or ideologies become part of the mainstream. Instead, they've been forever the subjects or recipients of ideologies evolved by others. One of the biggest failures of independent India has been the failure to give the tribals a place in the national scene.

**WSJ: Do you think government programs like the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) work in disaffected areas like these?**

**AR:** That's what the states are claiming. However, programs like the NREGA demand a modicum of peace, you can't work in the fields if violence is breaking out all around you.

*"It (violence) is the absolute last resort. When reason has failed, when rationality has failed, when compassion has failed...History teaches us that violence only occurs when everything else has failed. If this is beneficial development, why is there so much violent opposition to it?"*

**WSJ: On the Right to Information (RTI) Act, with which you've been closely associated since its inception 4 years ago, what is the progress so far?**

**AR:** The RTI has become a lifeline for democracy in our country. Despite the failures of various state commissioners or government to implement Section 4. (This mandates the government to publicly disclose as many as 17 bits of information, including its budget, personnel, areas of work, etc.) That's why today the government can't touch the RTI without touching the whole of India. Because it's been used by a variety of people for a variety of reasons, with reasonable success. Sharing information is sharing power and nobody understands this better than the bureaucracy and the politicians, in that order.

But the people are now asking for their, for our share of governance, our share in decision-making, in fact if the tribals of India had had RTI 40 years ago, the situation that we face today wouldn't have happened. Wherever I travel, people feel the RTI is their Act and they own it. This is a fundamental change from what existed years ago. Of course, a number of problems remain, of infrastructure, non-delivery, of systems not being in place, information commissioners not being trained, etc. But on the whole, the Act has worked.

**WSJ: But despite its success, the government wants to amend it. Why?**

**AR:** The government wants to put all file notings under wrap. Meaning, all discussions, consultations, all reasons for decision-making should become secret. Which means you'll know nothing about the process, just the end decision.

**WSJ: But so far the process has been open?**

**AR:** Yes, so far the process has been open, although they now want to close that. The Department of Personnel & Training which comes under the Prime Minister's Office, which is responsible for the functioning of the RTI, is now saying that the "consultative process" as well as anything that protects the "candour" of people expressing their opinion, will not be revealed. Behind this move to amend the Act and to kill its spirit, is the bureaucracy.

**WSJ: So the government which gave the RTI to the people four years ago is now taking it away?.**

**AR:** Equally horrifying is that all applications which are "frivolous or vexatious" will be disallowed. Now who is going to decide what that is? Possibly, the policeman or the 'patwari' (village revenue official) or the 'sarpanch' (village headman)... Naturally, everything will be "vexatious"...The move undermines the entire Act itself.



## Who is the problem, the CPI(Maoist) or the Indian State?

Himanshu kumar, Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, Dantewada

Seventeen years ago I went to Dantewada following Gandhiji's belief that the real India lies in the villages, and young people must go there to rejuvenate them. The villagers gave me land to build my ashram. Under the Fifth Schedule, the gram sabha was empowered to do so. But the government demolished the ashram this year, sending a force of 1,000 policemen, anti-landmine vehicles... That is when the adivasis finally acknowledged that I was like them. My home could also be demolished.

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*"The Salwa Judum forces want liquor, chicken., mutton, women; and they want these every day. They take these from the adivasis. We are blind to that. But when the adivasi picks up a lathi to oppose the police, we cry foul.*

*"The state talks of the violence of the Maoists, but it is the State which is violent. The home minister keeps on talking about peace. But how can peace come when you are all the time attacking the adivasis? Then you expect me to tell the Maoists, stop your violence."*

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In the forests of Dantewada, people live like aboriginals used to, in tune with nature. Natural justice prevails there. In the jungles, there is no police, no crime. I went to Dantewada a month after my marriage. My wife and I built a hut without any walls, just a roof. I would leave my wife to travel all over Madhya Pradesh, for five to six days at a time. She never felt afraid.

### Forcibly emptying the villages

In 2005, the Chhattisgarh government started feeling the Maoists in Dantewada were a danger. It started the Salwa Judum, which means Collective Peace Campaign. They knew the Maoists had support among the adivasis, so they decided to empty the villages. They forced the villagers out of their villages and tried to shift them into camps near police stations, at the edge of the village road. They got together a force of goondas who along with the police, would pounce on the villagers and force them into camps. But adivasis are used to living in the midst of nature, near a stream, on top of a mountain. Each adivasi house is far away from the other. Here, the government had built sheds; you step out of one and face the next; behind yours is another done. When the adivasis tried to run away from

these sheds, this "patriotic" force would shoot on them, catch them and put them in jail, rape them. At one point, there were 54,000 people in the camps, from 1,000 villages. The government claimed it had "sanitised" 644 villages. Fifty thousand adivasis had run away to the jungle. That is when the Chief Minister (CM) Raman Singh declared that those who have come to the camps are with us, and those who have run away are with the Naxalites.

I wrote an Open Letter to the CM – as the chief of the state, you are saying that those citizens who choose to stay in their own homes are Naxalites! And will you give orders to shoot them? That is exactly what he did. There would be attacks on the same village again and again. The adivasis would try to come back and cultivate their land; every time they would be caught and terrible atrocities inflicted on them. Their harvests would be burnt. In such a situation it was the Naxalites who supported the adivasis. That is why they regard the Naxalites as their friends.

The Salwa Judum forces want liquor, chicken, mutton, women; and they want these every day. They take these from the adivasis. We are blind to that. But when the adivasi picks up a lathi to oppose the police, we cry foul.

The state talks of the violence of the Maoists, but it is the State which is violent. The home minister keeps on talking about peace. But how can peace come when you are all the time attacking the adivasis? Then you expect me to tell the Maoists, stop your violence. The situation has now reached a point where every outsider is looked upon by the adivasis as an enemy. The State has created a situation in which the adivasi looks upon his own fellow countryman as an enemy.

### State Opposition to Rehabilitation

The Supreme Court has ordered the government to rehabilitate the villagers, compensate them. Not one village was rehabilitated, nor one adivasi compensated. On 10 June 2008, the Supreme Court gave instructions that the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) investigate the conditions in Dantewada in the wake of Salwa Judum. Our activists took tribals from Dantewada and some of those who had fled to Andhra Pradesh (AP) to meet the NHRC team. On 11 June, when the villagers of Nendra were returning, some Salwa Judum people stopped the jeep and beat up the tribals. We phoned the Director General of Police, asking is it a crime to talk to the NHRC? Nothing happened. Those adivasis were made to sign a paper saying that they were forced to give statements to the NHRC.

As a Gandhian, I got furious. In front of me people are being assaulted... only for talking to an official fact-finding team. I decided we will not move from this village. If they want to burn the village, let them burn me first. We persuaded the villagers to come back. On 1 July, we formed a human shield around the village. We stayed in Nendra for six months. We sent volunteers to bring the villagers back from AP. To their credit, they came and stayed. For three years they had been unable to cultivate their land. They had no seeds; their cattle had run away; their village had been burnt repeatedly. We arranged for their rehabilitation. That is how the first village was settled. Nearby villagers gathered courage and approached us. Our activists began repeating the same experiments there.

When the collector came to know that adivasis, escorted by our activists, were on their way to Lingagiri village, he called me up. It was a Saturday, 4.30pm. he knew the next day, Sunday, every government office would be closed. He said all the forces were busy with elections. He would not be able to provide them with any security. I told him, when did I ever ask for security? Under the constitution, you cannot stop anyone from going home. But when they reached the bridge, the police stopped them. The police had not been able to cross that bridge for three years. I called up the collector and asked him – are you going to allow people to go back home? If not, we will have to take them to the Supreme Court and tell it that you were not allowing its orders to be implemented. Everyone crossed that bridge that evening.

*“A girl came to us saying she had been gang-raped for two days in the police station. The SP did not register our FIR. We went to the Supreme Court, which asked the state government to reply. The SP said in his reply: “We asked the accused, have you raped this girl? (The accused were Salwa Judum leaders) they said, No. She’s slandering us.” So that is how our police investigate rape complaints – they now ask rapists if they have raped, and decide on the basis of their answers.”*

But the administration did not give up. They confiscated my vehicle; we had to go to court to get it released. We found that the police had taken away half the rations meant for the villagers. Who can save a police force that acts like this!

The adivasis began cultivating their land again. But once more, the police started attacking the rehabilitated villages. Still we kept on trying. Now, peace reigns in these 30 villages, anyone can go and visit them. We have told the government – use these as a model. The people are comfortable

there, so they are not interested in fighting. But the government goes on attacking them with a single aim: they should run away and then the government can give their land to industrialists for mining. The adivasis then decided that their youngsters would guard the village from the Salwa Judum forces. They started patrolling their villages with whatever they had – lathis, field implements. They began hiding their grain in the mountains. Now Home Minister P. Chidambaram has started describing these youngsters as Naxalites, saying they have taken up arms against the government.

The government does not want peace; it wants land. It is so arrogant; it does not want to accept the crimes it has committed. We have tried to file 1,000 first information reports (FIRs) – all serious crimes such as rape, abduction, setting fire to homes. They were not registered. The superintendent of police (SP) said the police would not register them because they are false complaints. The Supreme Court said a police officer cannot decide if a complaint is true or false, especially if the complaint is against the police.

### Administrative and Judicial Bias

A girl came to us saying she had been gang-raped for two days in the police station. The SP did not register our FIR. We went to the Supreme Court, which asked the state government to reply. The SP

*“In September, they began Operation Green Hunt. They could not kill a single Maoist. But six COBRA jawans got killed. All they could kill were old adivasis and children. A six-year-old was stabbed; an 85-year-old was bayoneted and killed in his bed... The police are committing cold-blooded murder. Then the government asks – are you with us or with the Naxalites? I can openly say – we are not with your police. We are with those adivasis who are being killed.”*

said in his reply: “We asked the accused, have you raped this girl? (The accused were Salwa Judum leaders) they said, No. She’s slandering us.” So that is how our police investigate rape complaints – they now ask rapists if they have raped, and decide on the basis of their answers.

When we campaigned for the release of Binayak Sen, we also wanted an end to Salwa Judum, the release of all those in detention under the Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act, and the scrapping of the Act. Nothing happened. Now, in fact, the Act is being used against all villagers. “you gave water to the Maoists, you showed them the way – you too are an accused”, the authorities allege.

Your judiciary, our administration, your democracy – you yourselves are destroying them all. Then there is not much left for the Naxalites to do! Once writing and talking become crimes – Binayak Sen was only writing, I was only talking – what do you do? Can you blame the adivasis who pick up guns in sheer helplessness?

In January, 19 adivasis were killed. Four girls were raped. We went to court. The government pleader keeps taking adjournments. The judge keeps changing. The special police officers (SPOs) killed three adivasis, and their widows filed a writ in the high court. The government replied that they were killed by Naxalites, and the women were forced by the Naxalites to file a writ against the police. The judge swallowed this.

Ordinary villagers are killed and passed off as Naxalite commanders. All we have asked for is Central Bureau of

Investigation (CBI) inquiry and ex gratia compensation. But the judge tells the villagers – “choose which camp you want to stay in; the government will look after you”!

### Operation to ‘Hunt’ Adivasis

In the first phase of Operation Green Hunt held in September, the forces had attacked an entire family. First, they stabbed the father, then the mother, then the young daughter. With rifle butts, they broke the teeth of her two-year-old son and chopped off a part of his tongue. I wanted the press to hear their stories, so I decided to take them to Raipur. The Raipur Press Club asked me for proof that they were not Naxalites. I told them even the government is not calling the Naxalites! They decided not to allow me the use of their premises. So now adivasis cannot go even to the media. Who will they go to? All roads are closed for them. The police beat them. The political leaders – be they Congress or Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) – are with the Salwa Judum. The courts do not give them a hearing. The media does not care. Where else will they go except to the Maoists? When the police attack them, it is the Naxalites who save them. If you really want peace, put an end to the root cause of the popularity of the Naxalites.

We have tried to create conditions in which violence comes to an end. But in an atmosphere where the police cut off breasts of old women and stab old men, and rape..... You can imagine what would be the fate of any policeman who falls into the villagers' hands. The State should not create such conditions. The political leaders must ask why the Naxalites are popular. Why are our democratically elected governments not popular? If an adivasi goes to the police and says, the *patwari* took away my money; will the police go and investigate?

The day your police's guns are raised to defend the rights of the poor, Naxalism will end. If my child is creating havoc, would not I try to find out why he is acting like that? Cannot the prime minister ask the Maoists: why is there so much violence? The Naxalites have been preparing the adivasis for decades, telling them there will be a big fight. The other day as I was walking, an old man lying under a tree called out to me and asked me, *Ladaai hogi, na?*

*"in an atmosphere where the police cut off breasts of old women and stab old men, and rape..... You can imagine what would be the fate of any policeman who falls into the villagers' hands. The State should not create such conditions. The political leaders must ask why the Naxalites are popular. Why are our democratically elected governments not popular? If an adivasi goes to the police and says, the patwari took away my money; will the police go and investigate?"*

That is why I tell political leaders of the mainstream parties, do not enter this area. The adivasis are waiting; you will be trapped, I have been telling them. These adivasis are not like people in Uttar Pradesh. They can jump on you and snatch your bodyguard's AK47. In operation Green Hunt the forces will be killed in greater numbers than they have in Jammu & Kashmir. In September, they began Operation Green Hunt. They could not kill a single Maoist. But six COBRA jawans got killed. All they could kill were old adivasis and children. A six-year-old was stabbed; an 85-year-old was bayoneted and killed in his bed... The police are committing cold-blooded murder. Then the government asks – are you with us or with the Naxalites? I can openly say – we are not with your police. We are with those adivasis who are being killed.

Digvijay Singh wrote an article on how development is the counter to the Naxalites' influence. I wrote to him, putting forward four demands. The first is – withdraw your forces. Seven hundred villages have been cordoned off. The villagers cannot go out; no outsider can enter. If the adivasi goes to the weekly bazaar five km away, she knows the SPOs will catch her. So she goes to a bazaar that is 85 km away. It takes two days to go and two days to come back. So four days of every week was spent walking, I told her, why do not you buy enough rice for a month? She replied: "we can buy rice worth only as much as we get for our mahua. If our mahua sells for Rs 20, we can bring rice worth Rs 20."

This situation is because of the State, not because of the Naxalites. Characterizing those areas as liberated zones is part of the State's strategy. They can then complain that the State is not allowed to function there. It is actually the Salwa Judum that has stopped the functioning of the State. No institution of the State functions there, nor does any law. Even Article 21 – the right to life – does not exist there. The adivasis are being hunted. Sometimes violence grows of fear and helplessness. In these villages that are cordoned off, everything has been closed down by the government. There is nothing there – no schools, no doctors. The government told the high court these are all Naxalites. The police kept saying there is no point distributing rice through ration shops because the Naxalites will loot them. So for the last five years, there is been no distribution of rice. Has any Naxalite died of

starvation? The medical officers tell me, if their doctors go to treat patients in the jungle, the CRPF beats them up. If teachers go, they beat them up. They are furious – they tell the teachers, you do not get blown up when you go in, why do we? You must be in league with the Naxalites. I tell them, teachers and doctors do not go in with weapons like you do!

The Dantewada collector is merrily giving permission to non-tribals to take over tribal lands. The government itself is taking over the land and giving it away. But it is because of the presence of Maoists that these companies are not able to start their projects.

### Driven to the Wall

The picture we constantly get is that the Naxalites are awful, but the State is good. Ask the adivasis of Dantewada. I told some politicians, do not talk to the Maoists, talk to those you call their victims, to the adivasis. You are their democratically elected leaders. The public is supposed to love you; you are supposed to love the public. If the public has stopped loving you and started loving the Naxalites, you must find out why.

My personal practice is non-violence. My work in the last 17 years has been to strengthen democratic institutions, to create awareness among the villagers about the constitutional rights guaranteed to them; about welfare schemes, how to fight for their rights in a democratic way. Because the Naxalites had taken up guns, we went there to strengthen non-violence! But the government called us Maoists! That is how the state works – they drive you to the wall, they harass you, and then call you a Naxalite.

Vinoba Bhave used to say about the Naxalites: “these youth are motivated by compassion for the poor. I salute them.” When he began his Bhoodan movement, he set back the Naxalites by 30 years. In these 17 years I have been in Dantewada I have seen how the Naxalites have worked among the adivasis. For carrying one bundle of firewood, the forest guards would punish an adivasi woman by raping her. If they did not pay a three-rupee fine, the guards would extort Rs 300.

Then in the 1980s, the Naxalites came there. They would capture a forest guard and tie him up and ask the adivasis to beat him. That was the first time the adivasi realised they too had some power. The State should have empowered them by punishing the guards! The State never fixed a minimum price for mahua; the Naxalites did.

The adivasis had never been violent. But whenever they tried to raise their voice, the State would send the police. Why is it that the Naxalites have never been violent against me? For me they bridged out the cot and give me water and say come, guruji, sit. In the beginning, the Maoists had declared that there will be no government programme in our zone. But we carried on with our work. Now they have sent a message – we will not interfere in Himanshu’s work, because he has no political ambition.

People talk about Maoist violence against the police, against innocent citizens. You must go to the depth of the violence to understand it. If an SPO is killed, the government declares that an innocent was killed and the media adivasi is killed, the police commander was killed. fear. If they feel, this man we are hiding.. if you are flee your home, and you the police, then someone might inform the police happened to me once. The me to help them trace the had crashed in the forest.

*“People talk about Maoist violence against the police, against innocent citizens. You must go to the depth of the violence to understand it. If an SPO is killed, the government declares that an innocent was killed and the media goes to town. If an old adivasi is killed, the police say a Maoist area commander was killed.”*

goes to town. If an old say a Maoist area The adivasis live in perpetual will inform the police where continuously hunted, made to find a place to live away from comes who you suspect about your whereabouts... It government had requested survivors of a helicopter that They were too afraid to go in.

the families of those on the helicopter were frantic, I negotiated and went in. but the police cheated me. They promised they would not follow us, but they did. And in their typical style, en route, they looted chickens, liquor..... The Maoists thought I had brought the police/ they tied me to a tree and would have finished me off had they not learnt the truth. They would finish off any of their own who betrays them.

I stayed three days in that village. There was no one above 40 years old there – they just do not live longer than that. Children were typically malnourished. There was an eight-year-old guarding us. He

had a cap and a whistle, both of which he was very proud of. I asked him, when did the police last come to your village? He said, two years back. What did they do? They burnt 40 homes, killed three people, and raped that woman standing there. This village was just behind Bailadila; it was covered with coal dust. There was no school there. This is the Indian model of development.

### Only Justice can Bring Peace

The government tells democratic rights groups – you tell the Maoists stop the violence. But we tell the government – you tell your forces to stop their violence. Just register the FIRs the human rights groups have filed against your police. You do not do even that much and you keep asking them to spell out their stand on violence. What do you want us to say? We live there; we know the situation. Some incidents look terrible when viewed from the outside. It has happened that a group of SPOs have gone around burning village upon village. And the villagers managed to surround this very group and killed them.

In the last five years, no leader has come to Dantewada to ask the adivasis what are their problems. So I thought I would take the adivasis to Delhi. I thought there would be a huge *hungama*. I took these wounded adivasis to the Constitution Club. Nothing happened. Such is the condition of city-dwellers today; they do not care what is happening in the villages. They are the ones who want peace, they who are living comfortable lives. They want peace so that their comfort can carry on uninterrupted. But those who are bearing the attacks – their priority is justice. Vinoba Bhave had said: “where there’s injustice there cannot be peace”. But the government will not talk about justice.

*“The government tells democratic rights groups – you tell the Maoists stop the violence. But we tell the government – you tell your forces to stop their violence. Just register the FIRs the human rights groups have filed against your police. You do not do even that much and you keep asking them to spell out their stand on violence. What do you want us to say? We live there; we know the situation. Some incidents look terrible when viewed from the outside. It has happened that a group of SPOs have gone around burning village upon village. And the villagers managed to surround this very group and killed them.”*

Why have lakhs of citizens taken up arms? We middle class people find it inexplicable. We live in cities; the police are for us; the government is for us. We are on one side. On the other side are those for whom here is no police, no government. They have nothing to eat. They are the ones who have picked up arms. These people have been deprived for years. There is a structure. Those who are outside this structure – this is their fight. If you were to ask – whom does all the land on this earth belong to? The answer would be to all of us. Yet, the reality is that some have more land, some less. You live in the city, so you have more. You are a Brahman, so you have more. You are educated, so you have more. The child who is born in Marine Drive can demolish the home of the child born in Dharavi. Why not vice versa?

Inequality is inbuilt into the system. All these notions about who can command more resources have become part of our value system, and then our political system. Both are supported by our economic system. These constitute the basic structure of the society. It is this structure that keeps the poor poor and the rich rich. We are content with this structure. But what of those who bear its brunt? They want to break it. This fight is against structural violence. This would not end till the structure changes so that all become equal.

The man who is in distress will fight. This is the fight of the poor. The Naxalites have just tagged on. If there had been no Marx, no Gandhi, would not the poor have fought? They do not need the Naxalites or the Gandhians. But sometimes a Vinoba, a Gandhi, or the Maoists join them in their fight. If the centre thinks they can crush this fight of the poor with the army, they are mistaken. Sometimes extreme oppression can embolden those who are fighting.

If the centre really wants peace, it can be got in a week. They should go and spread happiness among the adivasis. Aanganwadis, health services, schools – open all these again. Instead, you think you can kill them slowly by inflicting suffering upon on them. If you put a rug on fire, the rug gets brunt. You send suffering on them. If you put a rug on fire, the rug gets brunt. Ou send your COBRA

forces and they stab an old man in his bed. You are doing exactly as the Maists predicted you would do. They have been telling the adivasis for years that the state is an oppressor.

Today, the world over, the poor are being looked upon as a burden who are depleting the resource base. They should now be finished once and for all, so that the rest of us can lord it over the earth. The adivasis are the most vulnerable. What our government is planning is genocide of the adivasis. This is the direction in which our modern civilisation is going. Will we support this? Will you be able to kill lakhs of people? You will try. But when they rise up and kill you, you would not be able to save yourselves.

There are three types of survive on your riches – the servant, construction they are unworthy of being caste, uneducated, they can those like the adivasis who forests till you invaded their richer. That is why they you are running to

*“Before Salwa Judum, Maoists numbered only 5,000. After Salwa judum, the Maoist strength grew to 1,10,000 – a 22-fold increase. After Operation Green Hunt, every surviving adivasi will become a Maoist full-timer.”*

poor – (i) those who balloon-seller, the domestic workers; (ii) those who feel rich; they feel they are low never be rich; and (III) were living happily in the land to make yourself have taken up arms. And Chidambaram. Once the

other two categories join the third everything of yours will be destroyed. What is our stand in this? Vinoba used to say: “To accept injustice is wrong. I will instigate the poor against such acceptance.” What is happening in Chhattisgarh is not without the middle class’s consent.

You are sowing the seeds of violence and mayhem. Before Salwa Judum, Maoists numbered only 5,000. After Salwa judum, the Maoist strength grew to 1,10,000 – a 22-fold increase. After Operation Green Hunt, every surviving adivasi will become a Maoist full-timer. And when the Maoists increase in number, they expand their base. They will reach Mumbai, Delhi. I feel sorry for the young men in the forces too. They lose either way. If they do not join the paramilitary and police, they will die of hunger. And once they join, they will die too, for sure. Why are you sending these young men to their death so that the wealthy corporations will benefit? You are making young people fight other young people so that those corporations may accumulate more wealth.

I appeal to you, come to Bastar; stand with the adivasis.

*(As reported and translated by Jyoti Punwant ([Jyoti.punwani@gmail.com](mailto:Jyoti.punwani@gmail.com)), this is a summary of a talk by Gandhian activist Himanshu Kumar on 31 October 2009 at the Press Club, Mumbai, on the situation in Dantewada, Chhattisgarh, followed by question-answer session. This article was originally published in the Economic and Political Weekly, Vol XLIV No. 47 dated Nov 21-27, 2009.)*



## **Encounter Murders: From Ishrat Jahan in Gujarat to the forests of Dantewada**

**by Bernard De Mello, MRZine, September 2009**

Truly, independent India has not yet made a break from its colonial past. Just as the British colonialists put in place a repressive legal structure to deal with the nationalist struggle for independence and called the latter’s militant section terrorist, maintaining all kinds of repressive sections on the statute book to deal with the Non-cooperation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India movements, the present rulers have continued in the same vein as far as the Maoist movement is concerned, as also with respect to the nationalist movements in Kashmir and the northeast.

The bulk of the encounter killings are to be found in the districts where the Maoist movement is active and in the areas of nationalist militancy.

Recent fake encounter cases come to mind, for instance, in the forest village of Singaram in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh where on January 8 this year 19 persons were cold-bloodedly murdered by special police officers, the government falsely claiming that it was in an encounter with the Maoists. A more recent case is the “encounter” killing of the unarmed Sanjit Chongkham by the Manipuri Rapid Action Police Force commandos on July 23 in broad daylight in Imphal, 500 metres from the state assembly, captured vividly on camera and published in Tehelka (8 August 2009).

It seems that the Indian state has only become more brutal and ruthless since the dark days of the Emergency period (from 25 June 1975 to 21 March 1977, when the country was ruled by decree and civil liberties were suspended). One recalls with horror the encounter killings in Andhra Pradesh, a few of which were investigated in detail by the committee (set up by Jayaprakash Narayan, as president of the Citizens for Democracy) headed by V M Tarkunde, due mainly to the painstaking work done by K G Kannabiran as member-secretary and a group of committed civil liberties activists. But were the accused who killed young Naxalites/Maoists in cold blood — claiming falsely that the latter were killed in encounters (that had never taken place) — ever tried and punished for murder? Was the principle of ministerial responsibility and that of the collective responsibility of the cabinet ever respected? The country is still facing the grim consequences of those serious, to put it in official parlance, omissions and commissions. For then, the old adage, “impunity breeds contempt for the law”, began to apply and such scorn for the legal code got into the very lifeblood of the wielders of repressive political power.

There are no reliable statistics on police encounters at the all-India level, but, for the state of Andhra Pradesh, the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC) has recorded roughly 1,800 encounter deaths between 1997 and 2007. In a February 2009 judgment in an APCLC case related to encounter killings, the Andhra High Court emphasised that, in all instances of encounter deaths at the hands of the police, an independent investigation must be conducted, wherein the plea of self-defence must be reserved to be established only at the stage of trial. But the Andhra Pradesh Police Association (APPA) appealed against this in the Supreme Court, which was quick to grant an ex parte stay on the high court order. [2] The entire civil liberties movement, represented by organisations like the APCLC, the Delhi-based People’s Union for Democratic Rights, and many such state and local area-based leagues are now anxiously awaiting the judgment of the highest court in the land: Will the Supreme Court uphold the APPA’s petition, which highlights the great challenge the police claims it faces in combating the “Maoist threat”, and thereby make it even more difficult for the civil liberties organisations to legally challenge each case of encounter killing and the version that the police dishes out? [3] All the same, the title of the Tarkunde report, Encounters Are Murders, needs reiteration in the present ambience of “cultivated ignorance” in the sphere of “governance” that brushes off extra-judicial killings as mere aberrations. That encounters are murders also needs restating in the context of the pathological, persistent mendacity in public life in India and the absurd claim of po-mos that each “narrative” is as true as the other.



## Operation Tribal Hunt:

### Ever-increasing Police Atrocities Nail Chidambaram’s White Lies

Home Minister Chidambaram has been shouting from roof-tops that he believes in the “rule of law”, that Maoists are “bandits, murderers, extortionists, terrorists”, that Maoists are indulging in “senseless, mindless violence”, that civil rights and other sections of intelligentsia who have been questioning the state violence should rethink and decide on which side they stand, that Maoists should first abjure violence and if they do so for 72 hours he would look into all the issues raised by them, and such sound and fury signifying nothing.

And this sinister drama is being staged even as he ordered his heavily-armed troopers in the interior adivasi-inhabited regions in central and eastern India to carry out massacres of all those who are waging a struggle for their land, livelihood and liberation from the rapacious exploitation and oppression of the landlords, forest officials, contractors, traders, money-lenders, and policemen. The atrocities perpetrated by these uniformed goondas who are hired by the reactionary ruling classes of India to protect their vested interests are beyond description. Heart-chilling stories of torture, murder, rape and mutilation rent the air over the vast tracts of Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. Unmindful of the protests and concerns expressed by several democratic and civil rights organizations and individuals, and the stark facts placed before the government by the fact-finding teams, Chidambaram goes on his ranting like a deaf idiot. He pretends as if he hasn’t heard these sane voices and continues his insane rhetoric and sermonizing about violence and “rule of law”, and such trash. Neither this khadi-clad terrorist nor the war-mongering Pillai, utter a single word even after continuous glaring exposures of the most heinous, cruel, sadistic,

savage, ghastly crimes indulged in by his forces. These vultures even plan to send more forces so that more people can be murdered, tortured, raped and made to disappear.

According to a news report of Nov 12, a huge force consisting of the central para-military contingents of the CRPF, CoBRA, and the DAF, SPOs have been carrying out a massive operation in the districts of Dantewada and Bijapur burning adivasi villages, and killing people. About 100 houses in Tottemadugu and most of the houses in Palodu villages, which were near the border with Andhra Pradesh, were burnt down on Nov 9; four adivasi youth were taken away from Tottemadugu village, and one from Palodu. Around the same time some villages in North Bastar such as Velmagonda, Durmapara, Tondamaraka and Chakileru were also burnt down.

As a result of these growing atrocities adivasis are compelled to flee the villages in their thousands; it is reported that almost all the houses in the villages were locked. When the police-paramilitary forces are unable to find the adivasis they are resorting to breaking up the locks, loot the meager belongings of the people and burn down the houses. The cattle, pigs, goats and chicken are stolen by these "security" forces of Manmohan-Chidambaram gang. This second mass exodus after the recent one in 2005-08 engineered by the salwa judum, may lead to massive demographic change in the entire region. While the adivasis are forced to flee, the non-adivasis and the corporate big business is set to take over the region with the help of the mercenary state forces.

We are publishing below the facts from the killing-fields. One is a fact-finding report by people who have absolutely no elation with the CPI(Maoist) and are believers in non-violence.

### **Burnt in Oil: A fact-finding report on Operation Green Hunt in Dantewada in September-October 2009**

*October 21 2009. A report from PUCL (Chhattisgarh) , PUDR (Delhi), Vanvasi Chetna Ashram (Dantewada), Human Rights Law Network (Chhattisgarh) , ActionAid (Orissa), Manna Adhikar (Malkangiri) and Zilla Adivasi Ekta Sangh (Malkangiri).*

Till now, no substantive information has been given in the media regarding the Gachanpalli killings of 17th September 2009 (during Operation Green Hunt) and 1st October killings at Gompad and Chintagufa villages by security forces. Nor have any reports appeared regarding detentions and arrests of several young men on 1st October.



**Woman killed by Salwainidum**

The team comprised members from PUCL (Chhattisgarh) , PUDR (Delhi), Vanvasi Chetna Ashram (Dantewada), Human Rights Law Network (Chhattisgarh) , ActionAid (Orissa), Manna Adhikar (Malkangiri) and Zilla Adivasi Ekta Sangh (Malkangiri).

The team was initially denied permission and was repeatedly questioned and interrogated at Dornapal and Errabore police camps on the way. The team spent a night in Nendra village (a rehabilitated village) and met witnesses and victims from several villages and gathered testimonies from them. Subsequently, the team spoke to District Collector and Superintendent of Police, Dantewada. While a detailed report is in the making, some of the important and significant issues are given below.

### 17th September 2009

**1. Gachanpalli murders:** In the early hours of 17th September, 6 villagers were murdered by security forces in this village. Dudhi Muye (70 yrs) who could hardly walk was murdered after her breasts were cut off. Family members who had fled the scene on seeing the security forces, found her lying dead in a pool of blood. Similarly, Kawasi Ganga (70 yrs) who could barely see was stabbed and murdered in his bed. He too was found by his family members who had fled from the house and had taken shelter in the forest. Madvi Deva (25 yrs) was tied to a tree and shot at three times and then beheaded. His grandfather who was accompanying him back to the village was a witness to this. The family hasn't found his body. Three other villagers, Madvi Joga (60 yrs), Madvi Hadma (35 yrs) and Madkam Sulla were stabbed and murdered. The last two were killed in front of one witness, the wife of Madkam Sulla. Madvi Joga was killed after being stripped naked while ploughing his little plot of land. All the houses were ransacked, broken and burnt down. Family members are either living in sheds in the forests or have taken shelter with relatives. Many others have also taken similar shelter as their houses were burnt down by the security forces.

**2. The case of Madvi Deva:** This young man was a resident of Singanpalli village and had gone out in the morning of 17th for some family work. When he did not return his family searched for him. Two days later, a Patel from another village informed the family that he had been shot and killed by the security forces and his body was buried in the compound of Chintagufa PS. The Patel was asked to supervise the burial in the PS.

**3. Burnt in hot oil:** Muchaki Deva (60 yrs) of Onderpara was grazing cattle on the morning of 17th September. He was caught, beaten and dragged into the village by security forces. He was hanged upside down from a tree and a pot of hot oil was lit below and he was dropped into it. He was then pulled out and poured over with water. As a result, the upper part of his body is severely burnt and he has developed maggots in his wounds. He is still gravely ill and has no access to medical aid. Needless to say, he is afraid to leave his village.

**4. Tied and paraded:** 6 villagers, including 3 women were tied and paraded through Gachanpalli and other villages where the security forces went. Fortunately, they escaped as timely rains made it possible for them to flee.

**5. Forced displacement and terror:** families of those who were murdered by security forces and those whose houses have been burnt down vengefully, have fled the village and are living in make shift sheds in the forest. The condition of the others is no better as the entire village has been terrorized by security forces.

### 1st October 2009

**1. Gompad "encounter":** SP Dantewada described the operations in Gompad village on 1st October as an 'encounter'. An encounter with a difference: while 9 villagers were killed by security forces in the village and their bodies were left there, no casualties were inflicted on security forces. This too the SP confirmed. 4 members of one family, Madvi Bajar, his wife, Madvi Subbi, their married daughter, Kartam Kanni and their young daughter, Madvi Mutti were stabbed and killed inside house. So too were two other villagers from Bhandarpadar, Muchaki Handa and Madkam Deva, who were staying the night over at Madvi Bajar's house on their way home from Andhra Pradesh where they had been working. Another couple, Soyam Subba and Soyam Jogi were stabbed and killed inside their house. Yet another villager, Madvi Enka was stabbed inside the house and then dragged all over the village. Before leaving the village, the security forces shot him and left his body. All 9 deaths, like the ones on 17th September, were preceded by stabbing and the bodies were left in the village. When the team asked the SP about recovery of bodies from the encounter site, the SP stated that Naxalites had "taken them away".



**2. More killings:** In Chintagufa, a 45yr old man, Tomra Mutta was stabbed and shot inside his house. On seeing the sudden arrival of the security forces, Tomra Mutta ran to protect his family. He was shot in the process. The team confirmed 10 murders that had taken place that day but there is apprehension that the total number of killings may be much higher as many villages could not be contacted or accessed. The SP confirmed that two sets of raid

parties set off that day comprising of Cobras and local police. Hence, the details with the team do not give the entire and exact picture of how many villages were attacked and targeted.

On 8th jan 2009, 18 villagers were killed in a fake encounter. Her granddaughter (sitika) also killed by police & spos

**3. Travails of a 2yr old:** Madvi Bajar's grandson was not spared. He is all of two and yet the security forces beat him, cut four of his fingers, broke his teeth and cut off part of his tongue.

**4. 8 arrested and 2 missing:** Ten young men between 18-32 years were beaten and picked up by security forces from Mukudtong and Jinitong villages on 1st October. Eight have been shown as arrested in a case that was registered on 3/10 at Konta PS under various sections of IPC, Arms Act



and Explosives Act. They are currently lodged in Dantewada jail. However, two still remain missing. Female relatives who went in search of those missing at the Konta PS were harassed, made to affix their thumb impression on blank documents and driven away. When they returned two days later, they were abused, told not to return and informed that the men had been taken to an unknown place.

**5. Looting and Burning of property and houses:** As many as 9 instances of looting and burning by security forces were reported to the team. Unlike the 17th September killings which were followed by arson and burning of the houses of those murdered, security forces on 1st October looted homes. They took away paddy, pusles, brass pots and poultry from many homes. Money, ranging from 300/- to 10,000/- was stolen from these houses. Destruction of property, particularly burning down of houses was carried out in as many as seven instances.

**6. Harassment and torture:** Witnesses reported several instances of harassment at the hands of the security forces. In Gompad, one villager was caught and interrogated and then shot at in his leg. He managed to run away but still has the bullet injury and has had no medical treatment. In Chintagufa, security forces tied another man and made him walk to Injaram PS. They severely beat him and also attacked him on his toe with a knife. He was finally let off in the evening.

**7. Presence of SPOs and Salwa Judum leader with security forces:** Residents of Mukudtong village confirmed that the `raid' party was accompanied by known Salwa Judum leader, Boddu Raja of Injaram camp and they recognised SPOs Pande Soma of Phandeguda village and Ganga of Asarguda village. Residents of Gompad village were able to recognize SPO Madvi Buchcha who belongs to their own village.



**8. Forced displacement and terror:** Several families are living in makeshift sheds in the forest area as their houses have been burnt down. Those who are unable to run and flee are living in terror in the villages and residents and relatives have helped them to repair their houses and have given them other support.

***Salwajudam atrocities: The ravaged remains of Gothi Koya lives, after forest rangers burnt down their houses.***

#### Conclusion:

While the team could only meet residents of some of the villages, there is apprehension that a much larger number of people were killed on both days in other villages. The same is true for instances of torture, loot and detentions. The clamp down on information makes it impossible to know what exactly is happening in distant and far flung villages. However, what is clear is that the

operations conducted by security forces have compelled villagers to leave their villages, flee into the forests and/or take shelter with relatives in other villages.

The condition of those who are residing in their villages is precarious and vulnerable. Given that the government has not complied with the Supreme Court order on rehabilitation of displaced families (families which were displaced in the earlier phase of Salwa Judum violence), the new and current phase of violence by security forces has added to the crisis in these remote and inaccessible villages. Instead of rehabilitating people, the government, in the name of combating Maoism, is bent upon unleashing its lethal paramilitary forces and evicting people from their villages. It is imperative to immediately end to this policy of eviction and terror and enable people to settle in their villages.

### **Demands**

1. That the government must accept responsibility for murders committed on 17th September and 1st October by security forces and file FIRs against those responsible. Further, the government must acknowledge all instances of torture, illegal detention and destruction of property. FIRs must be lodged in each case and compensation given in each instance.
2. That an impartial inquiry (comprising civil society representatives and representatives of organizations working in the area) be conducted into the incidents of murder and acts of arson, loot and torture on 17th September and 1st October by security forces. The focus should be to bring out the truth behind these killings and also investigate the extent of the operations carried out on both days.
3. That the government must immediately take steps and show its conviction in the Supreme Court order on rehabilitation of villages and implement it immediately. The above described incidents of 17th September and 1st October have created fear and panic and compelled villagers to flee. Unless the government implements the SC order, villagers will not be able to live in their villages.
4. That along with the implementation of the above mentioned order, there be an immediate end to cordon and search operation carried out by security forces in these areas. Lack of rehabilitation coupled with an ever increasing size of the paramilitary forces in such backward areas with low population density raises fears of repeated incidents, such as the ones described above.

Signed by

Sharmila Purkayastha, Asish Gupta, Himanshu Kumar On behalf of fact-finding team



### **Bows. Arrows. Booby traps. Machine guns.**

**Neelesh Misra, Hindustan Times**

Bijapur (Chhattisgarh), November 12, 2009

The finest police guide in the crack team plunged in the dark into the grave-sized hole, camouflaged by twigs and grass. He groaned in pain, his right leg gored by sharp iron spikes jutting from the soil. The six-feet deep booby trap – the kind often laid for American soldiers by Vietcong rebels during the Vietnam War – had delayed by hours the Oct. 23 jungle operation against Maoist guerrillas in the remote Chhattisgarh forest. Even before the policemen faced the first Maoist fighter, even before the first bullet was fired, the battle had begun.

“We gave him an injection but he began to faint. ‘Saheb, I need to go back’, he said,” recounted Sub-Inspector Naresh Chauhan, who commanded 168 men in the Oct. 23 jungle raid. Thousands more such traps have been laid, and numerous other guerrilla warfare tactics await soldiers across the 40,000-sq km Bastar region of southern Chhattisgarh – soon to become India’s main theatre of insurgency conflict. Paramilitary soldiers are pouring in from Kashmir and elsewhere, and they have much to adapt to apart from their ongoing training in tribal customs and manners.

“In an operation on October 29, they put cows in front of us. They often hide behind cows. They take advantage of our (Hindu, cow-worshipping) mentality,” said Satwant Singh Yadav, an assistant

commandant of the paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). Yadav was nearly killed in a June 8 operation he led – he had even recorded dying instructions for his men on his mobile phone's video recorder. He just got back to work. "They have small detonators fixed to arrows. Children grazing cattle aim them at trees and shoot – it creates a small explosion. A signal for others as we approach their positions," said Yadav, playing with a glass paperweight at his canopied office in a camp at Cherpal village. "They have poison-tipped arrows."

The operation is also witnessing rare political unity.

"Chidambaram is 101 per cent positive," Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh, a BJP leader, told the Hindustan Times. "Politics doesn't matter. At least he is showing will power. He is working in the right direction." Fear of a violent flare-up is sweeping across villages amid reports of the arrival of troops. "We hear the forces are coming. God knows what will happen," said Lekam Lakhmu, 36, of Jangla village, as he stood by the roadside, his right foot playing with the edge of his axe. "My relatives are about to come here from their villages in the interior, before operations begin," he said. "We are scared. Police say we have links with the Naxalites."

To address that, a new, lucrative cottage industry has popped up. Touts and agents are getting ID cards made for villagers from village headmen – to prove that they are not Naxalites.

"We have been hearing that if we don't have identity cards, we will be killed," said Chhanu Kadli, 39, of Munder village, as he held up his new card. Across the vast hinterland draped in dense Sal and teak forests, thousands of children have grown up without ever having seen the face of a teacher or a doctor or a local official. There are no police stations for hundreds of kilometres, no telephones, no electricity and no roads. The dirt tracks are laced with land mines, which cause 90 per cent of the average of 100 police deaths ever year.

"This is many levels more difficult than Kashmir," said Bijapur's 29-year-old Superintendent of Police Avinash Mohanty.

"All operations are on foot. In the jungles there are no roads. You could have 15 men surrounded by 200 Naxalites in a forest with no reinforcements for hours, its just you – on your own," said the Oriya electrical engineer who grew up in Hyderabad and has witnessed Kashmir operations.

"I know one thing: my men are true heroes."



## Govt panel dubs Chhattisgarh industrial push as land grab

A government committee on land reforms has described the industrialisation drive in Chhattisgarh's iron-ore rich Bastar, Dantewada and Bijapur districts as the "biggest grab of tribal lands after Columbus." The committee's observations are based on the move to displace 350,000 tribals from these districts for setting up steel and power plants with a total investment of Rs 20,000 crore.



The committee on State Agrarian Relations and Unfinished Task of Land Reforms said, "This open declared war will go down as the biggest land grab ever... the drama being scripted by Tata Steel and Essar Steel who wanted 7 villages or thereabouts, each to mine the richest lode of iron

ore available in India." They were referring to the clashes between Salwa Judum, a state sponsored anti-naxal movement and the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The 15-member committee was constituted in January 2008 to examine issues relating to alienation of tribal lands including traditional rights of the forest-dependant tribals and to suggest realistic measures. It said private companies were encouraging Salwa Judum to gain control over these areas.

"The traders, contractors and miners waiting for a successful result of their strategy are behind the Salwa Judum. The first financiers of the Salwa Judum were Tata and Essar in the quest for peace," it said. The panel said a "civil war like situation" prevailed in these districts.

"Villages sitting on tons of iron ore are effectively de-peopled and available for the highest bidder... Both Essar Steel and Tata Steel are willing to take over the empty landscape and manage the mines," the committee said in its report.

The report was submitted to Rural Development Minister C. P. Joshi, who then referred it to the National Land Reform Council, headed by the Prime Minister.



## Maoist country: Men cook, women patrol

DNA, November 1, 2009

The Laheri ambush on October 8, in which 17 policemen were killed, intelligence sources say, was led by Tarakka, alias Vimala Chandra Sidam, an educated rebel from Kistapur village in Jimalgatta area.

Tarakka's photographs in the police records show a simple, good-looking woman, quite unlike the hardened image of a resolute guerrilla fighter that one would expect. Her husband, Bhupati, a central committee member, is a technology graduate. Police sources claim they had a love marriage.

A surrendered Maoist in Gadchiroli says that the couple is strongly committed to the Maoist cause and that the duo is idols among the youth in the territory they command. He adds, "In the dalams, there is no discrimination between women and men. Men can be asked to cook and women can be asked to do patrolling. So there's nothing peculiar about women commanders or cadres."

In many cases, women follow their Maoist husbands to the rebel camp. The classic case is of Diwakar, a top Maoist rebel: his wife Jyoti joined the cadres after their marriage. Jyoti, who is commander of the Tippagarh dalam, was Diwakar's first cousin. Their adivasi village had ruled their marriage as improper and ostracised them. A disgruntled and angry Diwakar joined a local Maoist group and rose to higher ranks. Jyoti married him, and his cause.



"Women cadres naturally attract more girls into their fold," says Chandra, a former Maoist who surrendered with her husband after fighting for the rebels' cause for 18 years. "We were disheartened by the party's new policies," says her husband, whose surrender in 2008 was considered a big setback for the South Gadchiroli division of the Maoists. The two live in isolation, away from their families. "They won't spare us if we return to our villages," says her husband, Murali.

The trigger for women taking to arms, Chandra says, is the continued physical and economic exploitation of the adivasi community. "There are many girls who join the Maoists to avenge the exploitation by outsiders and the police," he says. "The poor adivasi can't approach any system — political or judicial — where they can plead their plight or seek redress against injustice. Maoists have that system, so the villagers naturally support them." Chandra says that if the administration and the police approach the villages with honesty and softness, things will change.

### 'Women get quick justice'

In the Red territory, Maoists follow a time-tested process of initiating a young villager into their fold. "It starts with regular interactions between the Maoist cadres and children," says Chandra. The Maoist leaders keep an eye on potential recruits during their visits to villages, she says. "They try to convince us to join the armed revolution, and any incident, such as a policeman beating an adivasi for information after an incident, becomes the push."

"I was impressed with their talk," says another surrendered woman Maoist, who lives with her husband near Gadchiroli. "They spoke of revolution, justice and equity to women." A CPI (Maoist) pamphlet pasted in several villages across Gadchiroli on International Women's Day reads: "No revolution without winning the class struggle. No freedom to women without revolution."

The powerful infusion of ideology, says a police officer with years of experience with Maoism, can't be undermined. "There is a political vacuum, which the police can't fill. If a woman complains of her exploitation to the police, she may not even get heard, forget getting any justice. All these years after independence, this has not changed. In contrast, if she approaches the Maoists for justice, she gets it immediately. This appeals to her."

### No private life

Several women and men in the ranks get married, but don't raise children. "It's not necessary that the husband and wife will remain in the same unit," says Chandra, who got married when she was a soldier with the Maoists. "Though couples are not expected to raise children, it's not a rule."

Recent trends indicate female cadres raising children. Police sources say that after a recent encounter at Saunsari village, they recovered medicines that are generally prescribed during pregnancy. The second indicator: A woman Maoist killed near Murumgaon earlier this month, was found, in the post-mortem, to be pregnant. At any rate, there is no private life in a dalam, says Chandra's husband, only a few private moments. "How can you raise children when it's a war every day?"

## Tribal Bastar prepares for war

*Neelesh Misra, Hindustan Times, November 13, 2009*

Roadside photo studios are crammed with fearful villagers desperate to make ID cards. Soldiers getting off trains are being ushered into classrooms to learn tribal customs. Politicians are uniting.

Bastar is preparing for war.

In a turning point in the government's approach to the 42-year-old Maoist insurgency, a nationally-coordinated, multi-state conglomerate of different military units will soon begin to elbow its way into rebel strongholds where governance doesn't exist and few policemen have gone before.

"It is a retrievable war. It has not gone beyond repair," Vijay Raman, national commander of the operation, told the Hindustan Times.

The challenges for security forces deep inside Chhattisgarh's southern Bastar region, not well understood outside, make the present situation in the Kashmir Valley seem to some security officials like Disneyland. Bastar, 10 times the size of Kashmir Valley, includes the Maoists' liberated zone — the sprawling, out-of-bounds 4,000 sq km expanse called Abujmahar (the unknown forest). The swift spread of the Naxalite movement here is also a reflection of the deep angst of the lands — India's richest in minerals, home to its poorest people — a sharp-edged conflict between the New India and the Other India.

So the government says the military offensive will be followed by aggressive development efforts.

Spearheaded by Home Minister P. Chidambaram, the government is about to begin its first-ever nationally coordinated offensive across several states against Maoists. For now, around 60,000 soldiers and policemen will slug it out in the Amazon-like jungles of Chhattisgarh, more coming in over the next five years and beyond. In a first, security forces have not asked for the implementation of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act — a tough law that allows for ease in searches, raids and detention. The law has been blamed for widespread human rights violations in Kashmir and the Northeast.

"Five years," said Vishwa Ranjan, Chhattisgarh's director-general of police. "In five years, they will have to leave this area."

## Murderer, Rapist and Goonda DIG of police unleashes vicious tirade against civil rights and NGOs



**DIG Kalluri**

image of these personalities. DIG of Dantewada SRP Kalluri's outbursts are a part of this dirty psychological war.

This rogue is a universally known rowdy in police uniform who had committed indescribable atrocities while he was the SP of Sarguja district including the rape of a poor adivasi girl. Along with another notorious SPO and other policemen he participated in the gang-rape of the adivasi girl. However, no action was initiated against this rapist IPA officer but, on the contrary, was even

rewarded with a promotion to the post of DIG. This is not surprising since in a semi-colonial semi-feudal country like India, where so-called democratic institutions and the constitution remain only on paper, the state has monopolised the “right” to indulge in the worst forms of crimes and inhuman atrocities on the people. Murders, rapes, third degree torture by the state’s most powerful arm—the police, para-military, army and other armed forces—are beyond the purview of the law irrespective of what the constitution or fascist rulers like Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram, Raman Singh and a host of such hypocrites may say.

The story of spreading baseless, dirty, malicious slander against the people’s movements and their leaders is the same everywhere whoever may be in power—whether khadi, saffron or so-called red.

In West Bengal the DGP Bhupindar Singh goes on barking that a people’s movement leader Chhatradhar Mahato has huge property and fumbles when challenged to prove his allegations. In Chhattisgarh, the police chief DGP Vishwa Ranjan, goes round the world spreading vicious slander against the Maoist movement and their leaders. And these rogues imagine, like a Hitler or a Bush, that if they go on repeating the lie ad nauseum some people at least would begin to believe them.

These police officials think they can get away with whatever trash they say. In their entire history of dirty psychological war, right from the state of Andhra Pradesh during the 1980s until today’s Chhattisgarh or West Bengal, these constitution-swearing liars could not prove a single charge they had leveled against Maoist leaders, or leaders of democratic people’s movements or civil rights leaders and other forces. Yet the dirty game of baseless allegations and character assassination goes on as none of the police officials indulging in such slander has been punished.



### **The ongoing story of Indian democracy:**

## **If mightiest George Bush himself could lie before the world people and escape their wrath, then why can’t the Indian politicians, bureaucrats, police and media?**

If lies could win wars then Hitler could have won the Second World War; a Nixon could have won the Vietnam War; a George Bush and a Tony Blair would have come out victorious in Iraq and Afghanistan; and a Barack Obama too by now. But sadly for these liars, and fortunately for the world people, it is the truth that ultimately triumphs. Of course, these liars can succeed, and had in fact, succeeded, in fooling a large section of the people for some time. But not all the people all the time.

In India, where politicians, bureaucrats and police officials have always imitated their masters abroad, either out of awe or compulsion, Lies have been the foundation of the entire so-called edifice of democracy. Democracy itself is the biggest hoax for the vast majority of the people. Democracy is a game played by a handful of the rich and watched by the rest. It can never be more than a mirage in a class-divided society.

Democracy permits the rulers to do virtually everything and anything imaginable on earth. They can kill, rape, maim, harass, and throw anyone behind bars. They can organize a genocide, raze down entire communities and villages, persecute religious minorities and national minorities, reduce a sizable chunk of the country’s population into untouchables, bash up 40% of women at home, murder the female child in the womb, burn and lynch women, dalits, adivasis and religious minorities. And yet, our democracy allows the very same perpetrators of such crimes to get elected to seats of power and to continue their crimes with greater vigour with the ‘legitimacy’ obtained through ‘people’s mandate.’

Votaries of this fake democracy or formal democracy completely evade the question of how 70,000 people could be exterminated in Kashmir since 1989 and almost an equal number in Punjab during the 1980s. These apologists do not speak of the daily atrocities in North East—murders, tortures, illegal detentions, rapes—under the Armed Forces Special Powers Act by the Indian Army and the various armed wings of the state. They try to hush up the bizarre killings and rapes, burning down of entire villages by state-sponsored vigilante gangs in the name of salwa judum in Chhattisgarh. They consciously evade the genocide of Sikhs by the “secular” goons of the Congress party who continue in the high seats of power. They shamelessly talk of democracy even when 3000 Muslims are murdered in cold blood by the saffron terrorists in Gujarat. They cannot explain how a democracy allows some terrorists of the saffron variety to murder Christian men and rape women; destroy churches, schools and houses of the religious minority. They cannot explain why none of the perpetrators of these inhuman crimes go unpunished even after decades of commissions of enquiries and mountains of evidence against the culprits.

Only those who support a slave-holding system can assert without an iota of shame that this is a democracy. Needless to say, to these beautiful people born with a silver spoon in their mouths, nine out of ten people in this country are unfit to enjoy their rights. This democracy can make a goat look like a dog or a horse like a donkey, not because the majority of the people think so but because a tiny layer that is wallowing in wealth can make the people think so. With all the instruments of power in their hands they can easily manufacture consent from a helpless population that knows it has no role whatsoever in decision-making in this country.

The parties that take over the reins of power by enacting the farcical drama of elections can do whatever they like after coming to power: They can raise the prices of essential commodities and services, cut down the subsidies to the poor, bring in fascist legislation curtailing the rights of the workers, peasants, the middle class employees and others, snatch away the lands of the people in the name of SEZs, mining and development projects, permit foreign capital to loot the country's wealth at will by lifting all restrictions, permit unhindered gambling in the stock exchanges and futures markets, expose the population to terrible diseases that make a sudden comeback due to neglect of health sector, privatize education to a level that is unreachable by the majority, drive the peasantry to suicides that are actually murders by the rulers themselves, demolish slums to make way for the multinational firms, multiplexes and five star hotels. You can do anything and get away in a "democracy" provided you have enough money that gives you the required power.

This so-called democracy wedded to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal system can give birth to the most monstrous offsprings: saffron fascists, khadi fascists, social-fascists, and state terrorists and state-sponsored terrorists. This semi-feudal fascism under the guise of democracy can give birth to a Narendra Modi, a LK Advani, Ashok Singhal, Pravin Togadia, Thackerays of various hues, and khadi fascists right from Indira Gandhi to Chidambaram. These various kinds of fascists have total control over the wealth of the country, the state apparatus, the entire media, and hence can make the law, judiciary, police, the army and the media dance to their tune. They have at their beck and call paid intellectuals who appear on TV channels to argue in favour of the status quo and to refurbish the sagging image of the myth of democracy.

Our democracy permits the traitorous, despicable, comprador agents and bootlickers of imperialists ruling the country—whether clad in khadi or saffron—to loot the country's wealth and park it in swiss banks; it allows MNCs like Union Carbide to create mass murder of over 25,000 people and cause disabilities among half-a-million people and escape from the country with the help of their bootlickers in the Union and state governments. Even after 25 years our democracy allows the culprits to roam freely. Not content with this, Manmohan Singhs and Chidambarams invite more such murderous multinational companies to invest in India assuring them that they will be protected like the Union Carbide Chief Warren Anderson even if they re-enact Bhopals anywhere in the country by not adhering to safety standards. For these vultures in power, it is profit that is the immediate as well as the ultimate goal; not the safety of the people. And they go on showing the growth in the GDP to prove that India is progressing. These hyenas are ready to turn the entire country into a graveyard if that is going to increase the GDP and fatten a handful of billionaires. They proudly declare how the number of billionaires in India has been increasing with every passing year and how the stock exchanges are soaring while maintaining a criminal silence regarding the millions of deaths of the poor, impoverished masses due to hunger, disease, suicides and industrial accidents and man-made calamities. Our democracy allows all these bizarre things to happen.

It is in defence of this rotting, stinking corpse calling itself the biggest democracy in the world that the reactionary ruling classes of India have unleashed a counter-revolutionary war against the Maoists and the toiling masses they represent. As the mask of democracy is torn up revealing its ugly hideous features before the people, the reactionary rulers become all the more desperate to refurbish its image by spending billions of rupees on advertising about the genuineness of their commodity called democracy. And in order to promote this, they have to first demolish those who are challenging their brand of democracy, those who are putting forth a genuine model of people's democracy as the alternative model before the people.

The Maoist revolutionaries espouse a model of economy that can bring a qualitative revolutionary transformation of the semi-colonial semi-feudal Indian economy. This is being witnessed in an embryonic form in the adivasi-inhabited interior areas in central and eastern India where a self-reliant economy has improved the living conditions of the people as a whole. So the attack should be

concentrated on this model of development and show how Maoists are against development. This is how the reactionary rulers think.

The Maoist revolutionaries espouse a model of polity that empowers the poorest of the poor in the real sense of the term and not formally. The janathana sarkars or the people's governments have emerged as living symbols of genuine people's democratic power in the areas of intense class struggle in the countryside. People's power is the last thing that a reactionary ruling class can ever tolerate.

The Maoist revolutionaries represent a new democratic people's culture that is against elitist, imperialist, colonial, feudal values and culture. This culture fights selfishness and cut-throat competition, promotes collectivism, wages unrelenting war against all decadent and obscurantist feudal values on the one hand, and anarchic, degenerate and self-seeking bourgeois values on the other. It does not tolerate bureaucracy, selfishness, patriarchal attitudes, corruption, nepotism, religious intolerance, discrimination in any form, and believes in equality in every sphere. Which ruling class can tolerate a culture that seeks to end feudal and imperialist values on which they survive? Hence they should strive to defame the proletarian culture/people's culture and show how the "democratic" culture promoted by the imperialists, their comprador agents and feudal forces in the country is superior.

The counter-revolutionary brutal armed offensive and the psychological war by the reactionary rulers of our country can be correctly understood only in the light of the economic, political, cultural models presented by the Maoists and pose a grave challenge to the authority, legitimacy of the rulers and their unjust corrupt system that is rotten to the very core.

The only way by which the rulers intend to achieve this is by the systematic elimination of the Maoist revolutionaries and the institutions they are gradually building, and through incessant propaganda of how the Maoists are blood-thirsty, mindless creatures—bandits, terrorists, extortionists, and so on—who are supposed to possess a single agenda of indulging in senseless violence and killing innocent people.

The psychological war being waged by the reactionary rulers is simply amazing: they take the vast majority of the people of the country as mere fools and hence engage in endless lies and slander against the Maoists while singing their own praises. They obfuscate the real issues before the people of the country. They seek to divert attention from the fake democratic institutions and the structural violence that kills hundreds of thousands every year, produces malnourished children, creates extreme poverty, homelessness, illiteracy, disease, economic and social insecurity among three-quarters of the population, and violence on women, who constitute half the country's population, at home, in the work place and on the street.

They desperately try to hush up the fact that 200 million people of this country are still considered an unholy lot who are unfit to be touched by the hand of the so-called twice-born upper-caste oppressors; they had democratically denied 80 million indigenous people the right to live, threw 20 million out of their homes and hearths in the name of development, and use their women as sex objects for the forest officials, contractors, non-advansi landlords, traders, money-lenders, government bureaucrats and policemen. The rulers are the same—whether they belong to the Congress party, the time-tested loyal agent of the imperialists that is ever ready to sell our motherland for a handful of crumbs from the imperialist masters, or the saffron terrorist BJP and its umpteen offshoots that are competing with the Congress in displaying sycophancy to the imperialists; or the social fascist CPI(M) that is trying to assure the imperialists and the Indian big bourgeoisie that it too can deliver the goods if elected to power; or a myriad of other parliamentary parties that vie with each other in serving their foreign masters. **All these are traitors do not bat an eye-lid to sell off the country's interests. And it is these traitors, country-selling brokers and comprador agents who are waging war on the toiling millions and spreading endless lies against the Maoist revolutionaries who are the real patriots fighting to liberate the country from the vice-like grip of the imperialists, feudal forces and the comprador big business leaches.**

Now let us see how these lies are being spread:

Bhupindar Singh, the Director General of Police, West Bengal, unleashed a vicious campaign against the leader of the people's movement in Lalgarh, Chhatradhar Mahato, alleging that Mahato

has a life insurance policy of Rs. One crore, that he owns a house in Mayurbhanj in Orissa, and such trash while the fact is that Mahato was not even in a position to buy a new spectacles after the one he was wearing was broken. When challenged to prove his charges the irresponsible DGP simply evaded the queries by saying that he has no proofs but was saying the things based on some reports in circulation. The docile media, which dishes out cock-and-bull stories in the name of “news” and is paid heavily for floating such police stories, naturally did not go into these claims to expose the evil intentions behind the calculated campaign against a popular leader by a wretched police officer or the Buddhadeb administration.

Or take another instance: one Prakash Singh, who was a former DG of BSF and also of UP, goes on unleashing a slander campaign against the Maoists that they are indulging in senseless campaign while glorifying the mercenary state-sponsored salwa judum that is playing havoc with the lives of the ordinary adivasi in Chhattisgarh. He upholds this terrorist movement as a spontaneous movement of the adivasis and the media continues to give him prime airtime to propagate such trash. He, and several others, have unleashed a well-calculated slander campaign against the Maoists such as repeatedly alleging that the Maoists have links with the ISI and China, that they kill people for money, that their leaders live luxurious lives, and so on, all with the aim of isolating the Maoists from the people and justifying the state offensive..

Then there is the series of calculated lies spread by various media channels. One channel claims that it had got hold of a rare CD of the Maoists that shows training given to child soldiers. However, what it actually shows turns out to be nothing but physical training exercises for young boys and girls with armed squads of the PLGA watching them. None of these participants has anything like a gun in his/her hands but the channel goes on braying for two days that Maoists are recruiting child soldiers on a big scale. Another channel shows a Maoist leader released from jail on bail, and it wails that the “murderer” of five innocent people in Tappalapur in AP way back is 1976 is “set free so as to carry out his murderous activities”! It looks as if this anchor would have hanged the Maoist leader had he been the judge. Interestingly, the five persons who were annihilated in Tappalapur in Adilabad district in North Telengana in 1976 were notorious landlords who had committed indescribable atrocities in the region. In fact, it was the annihilation of these landlords that initiated a series of anti-feudal struggles throughout North Telengana within a short time during the second half of the 1970s. After punishing such notorious landlords, the Naxalites were recognized by the poor of Telengana as their saviours and gained immense confidence to fight the feudal forces that were holding the entire region to ransom at the time. No wonder, the notorious landlords who fleece the blood of the poor and landless peasantry should find a chord of sympathy with the anchors and media mercenaries of TV channels who are paid by these very forces. It also shows the nexus between the feudal-comprador big bourgeoisie-imperialist forces in our country.

The same channel again displays an account sheet of the Maoist leaders and goes into hysteric yells that Maoists are sitting over crores of rupees acquired through extortion. One leader has Rs. 43 lakhs of wealth, it claims. Another has Rs. 32 lakhs, and so on. The leader in Lalgarh is sitting on crores of rupees, the commentator shouts. There is none to contest these irresponsible atrocious comments and conclusions. The poverty of our media brains is shocking to the extreme. It is, of course, mainly to do with the outlook and the criminal, contorted attitude of the tv channels that produce such stories. If there is an element of honesty the commentator would have said how the Rs. 43 lakhs was spent in the entire year, how the amount was disbursed among states and departments and how little was the actual expenditure for personal use. Perhaps this could have shocked the people as the personal expenditure of the leaders for an entire year would have been no more than what these leach-like mercenaries controlling the media would have spent in a week. If the whole account sheet was shown to the people they would have known how frugal the habits of the Maoist leaders are and how meticulously they maintain the funds collected from the people. However, the truth was deliberately suppressed and only the receipts of the amounts received by each leader were shown while the expenditures were suppressed. How such idiots could ever become TV anchors it is hard to imagine.

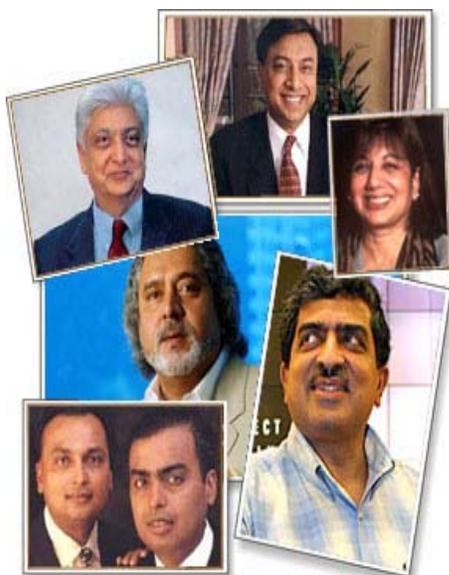
Then there are the biggest lies uttered by the most powerful people in this country—the Manmohan Singhs, Chidambarams, Raman Singhs, Narendra Modis, Buddhadebs, Naveen Patnaiks, and others. And these men seem to carry baskets of lies that have no bottoms.

## India's 40 Richest:

### Real Beneficiaries of Manmohan-Chidambaram's Development

India's 40 richest businesspeople are worth a collective \$170 billion, up from \$106 billion last year. India's top ten, worth \$112 billion, account for two-thirds of that wealth. The rankings include 36 billionaires, nine more than last year. The minimum net worth needed to make the cut rose to \$790 million, up from \$590 million.

Lakshmi Mittal, who lives in London and in June forged a landmark deal to acquire Luxembourg rival Arcelor, remains No. 1, worth \$25 billion. Azim Premji, for years India's richest resident, was unseated by Mukesh and Anil Ambani. The two brothers, who split their business empire last year after a much-publicized feud, have found life alone much richer: Mukesh's fortune rose by \$11.5 billion, Anil's \$9.3 billion. Still the spat continues, with one of Anil's companies recently taking Mukesh's Reliance Industries to court over a gas supply agreement.



Many tycoons have been in the news lately for negotiating big deals. Venugopal Dhoot is set to acquire Daewoo Electronics for \$700 million. Commodities magnate Kumar Mangalam Birla paid \$1 billion to buy the Tata Group's stake in their telecom joint venture, Idea. Banker Uday Kotak bought out Goldman Sach's stake in his bank's investment banking and brokerage arms.

There are five newcomers, including politically connected Kalanithi Maran, who runs regional broadcaster Sun TV; Ramesh Chandra, who made a fortune building middle-class housing; and Jignesh Shah, who set up India's largest commodities exchange. Two others, tractor tycoon Keshub Mahindra and Infosys Technologies cofounder K. Dinesh, return to the list after having previously slipped off.

This year's seven dropouts include India's richest self-made woman, Kiran Mazumdar-Shaw. The stock of her biopharmaceutical firm Biocon dropped 26% in the past 12 months. The list's biggest loser was Anurag Dikshit, No. 29, who saw the stock of his Internet gaming outfit, PartyGaming, tank over regulatory issues.



*Affluent Islands Amidst an Ocean of Poverty*

Methodology: Unlike Forbes' World Billionaires list, this ranking has been broadened to include family fortunes. For instance, Tulsi Tanti's \$5.9 billion fortune represents his family's entire 70% stake in Suzlon Energy, not just his personal 30% stake. For people with fortunes in publicly traded companies, net worths were calculated using Nov. 2006, market prices and exchange rates. Privately held companies are valued by coupling estimates of revenues or profits (or, in some cases, company-provided numbers) to prevailing ratios for similar publicly traded companies.

## PRESS STATEMENTS



### COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL REGIONAL BUREAU

*PRESS RELEASE*

*4 NOVEMBER, 2009*

#### **Chidambaram's Proposal for Talks While Deploying massive force for suppressing the people is a big hoax! Firmly Resist the Fascist War by the State on the people aimed at completely suppressing the revolutionary movement!!**

In the past few months there is increasing talk of a massive offensive or war throughout the country to suppress the revolutionary movement. With this aim, central para-military forces and CoBRA battalions were deployed on a massive scale in the areas of our struggle in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar and West Bengal. This will be the first time in post-1947 India that such a huge number of armed forces is mobilized in such a vast area on such a massive scale into war by the government against its own people. In the third week of September these forces were used to unleash a series of indiscriminate murders of innocent adivasis in the name of 'Operation Green hunt' in Singanamadugu and Palachelama in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh. Before this, these forces had attacked one of our PLGA camps after which our brave fighters had heroically resisted them. In this resistance 6 CoBRA commandos and 3 SPOs were wiped out. This was the only real encounter in which there was no loss whatsoever to our forces. But after this, the police, CRPF and CoBRA mercenaries murdered 5 people in Gachanapalli, 3 in Gattapad, 3 from Palachelama, and one from Singanamadugu—totally 12 people were murdered. And in the most shameless manner the police declared that all the dead were Maoists and that others had fled with the weapons of the dead.

After this, on 30 September when the people of Gompad village had gone to sleep after celebrating a festival, the police carried out a raid on the village and began indiscriminate firing on the people. 9 villagers were killed in this firing and 2 were injured. And while returning from Gompad these mercenaries sent by Chidambaram and Raman Singh shot dead an adivasi peasant near Chintagufa village. Another girl was injured. Several houses were burnt down in Gompad and Chintagufa and thousands of rupees were looted. Prior to this, on August 9 and 11, 6 people were murdered in Mirtul area in Bhairamgarh and 4 villagers were murdered in Gollagudem village in Jegurgonda area. On September 7, one peasant was shot dead in Darbha area, on the next day a student was murdered in Bhansi, and a man and a woman were murdered in Bailadilla area. The village was burnt and property was destroyed. Several people were arrested. Thousands of police forces are encircling a village and launching attacks. In the above-mentioned mass murders the victims include a 65-year-old man and a 10-year-old girl. At least 36 people were murdered in South and West Bastar between August and October.

This is a sample of the war waged by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique on the people of our country in the name of suppressing the Maoists. And this is only the beginning. This clique boasts that it will completely wipe out Maoists within three years. It is not difficult to guess how many innocent people would be murdered in the above-mentioned seven states, how many villages would be burnt down, how many women would become victims of rape by the mercenaries sent by Chidambaram. Two months ago, Chidambaram had gone to America, obtained the consent and support from his mentor, and provoked this war under their supervision. The aim of the war waged by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang on the people is to transform the vast adivasi-inhabited

area stretching from Bankura-Purulia-Mednipur in West Bengal to North Andhra and North Telangana into the backyard for loot by imperialist MNCs and big business houses like Tata, Essar, Jindal, Mittal, Ambani and so on. This is the aim of this war. Under this plan they want to eliminate or drive out the adivasis and Maoists from these areas, restle thousands of adivasis in rehabilitation camps and establish 'strategic hamlets'. This is an integral part of the counter-insurgency policy borrowed from the American and British imperialists. This also proves clearly how strong the grip of the imperialists on our country is.

However, to hide the actual aims behind their counter-revolutionary war, the ruling classes are conducting false propaganda on a big scale according to pre-hatched plan such as: '*Naxalites are the biggest threat to the internal security of the country*', '*Naxalites are an obstacle to development*', '*Naxalites are terrorists and indulge in mindless violence*', and so on. While on the one hand, unleashing violence on an unprecedented scale, murdering large number of innocent adivasis in the name of Naxalites, Chidambaram has been shouting round-the-clock that "*Naxalites should abjure violence*", as if he is an adorer of peace. A vicious campaign is unleashed by utilizing the media in a big way in order to divert the urban middle classes and the intelligentsia in the country. Some intellectuals, who are drawn towards the government due to the facilities provided, are taking an active role in this malicious propaganda against the Maoist movement, writing articles, taking part in TV shows in support of the state's war and even provoking the state further. While completing all the preparations for the war, and deploying thousands of troops, repeating now and then that the government is ready for talks with the Maoists has become the strategy of the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang. Our Party's spokespersons had expressed our Party's stand on several occasions in all of which they had mainly demanded that the government should first unconditionally stop its war against the people. There has never been any initiative whatsoever from the government on this issue but the same thing is being repeated endlessly. Chidambaram said on October 30 that '*if Maoists halt violence*', he would "*persuade states to talk to the CPI (Maoist) on all matters including their concerns on land acquisition, forest rights, industrialisation and development*". Nothing could be a greater farce than this. This is proved by the statement of the Home Minister the very next day on Nov 1. The same tongue that spoke of talks (however fake it may be), said within 24 hours that the government had completed its preparations to wipe out the Maoists. This double-speak on the part of the Home Minister proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the Indian ruling classes and the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang do not have even an iota of faith in democracy or talks on the issue. Suppressing democratic and revolutionary struggles through brute force is the one and only aim of these oppressors. The central point in the statement of Chidambaram is to deploy a total of 75,000 para-military and 7,000 commandos to the areas of struggle in the seven states, in addition to the thousands of police forces in the states, spend Rs.7000 crores in the name of development for building the infrastructure required for plundering the mineral wealth. As an inevitable result people are compelled to put up resistance in their own self-defence.

Therefore, our Party makes it clear to all the democratic-minded forces, progressive intellectuals and the people of the whole country that the UPA government has no intention of holding talks with our Party, the CPI(Maoist), and that its only aim is to create more violence, drown the adivasi struggle in rivers of blood, and suppress the democratic resistance of the people. The rhetoric of talks is a 'democratic' garb with which it wants to cover up this heinous aim and fascist onslaught. Our appeal to all of you is to demand the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram clique, if it has the slightest sincerity left with regard to talks, to immediately put an end to its war on the people, stop the indiscriminate murders of innocent adivasis, and withdraw the para-military forces and CoBRA commandos from the adivasi-inhabited areas.

PRATAP,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Regional Bureau,  
CPI(Maoist)

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE**



**Press Release:**

**29 November 2009**

**Vote against Iran is a vote for Imperialist intervention and hegemony over  
Third World countries! Uranium enrichment is an inalienable right of Iran!  
Fight against the UPA government's total sell-out of our country's interests  
to US imperialism!**

The six major world powers—the US, Germany, France, Britain, Russia and China—led by the US imperialists have succeeded in rallying the majority to their side in their puppet organization known as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to pass a resolution censuring Iran over its allegedly secret plans to build nuclear weapons and asking it to freeze immediately, work on its new uranium enrichment facility near the holy city of Qom. Russia and China, which had earlier blocked the attempts by the Western imperialist powers to isolate Iran for over three years, had compromised and endorsed the US-inspired resolution after the American imperialists had agreed through various secret deals to give several concessions to these countries. Only three countries—Cuba, Venezuela and Malaysia—in the 35-member body of the IAEA had voted against the imperialist-sponsored resolution that seeks to undermine whatever sovereignty Iran still has. By passing the Resolution against Iran, the way is cleared for sanctions by the UN Security Council and for rolling out the American imperialist plan for invading Iran or an Israeli attack on Iran.

Congress-led UPA government of Manmohan Singh has brought shame to the country by bowing to the US imperialist pressures and voting in favour of the imperialist-sponsored Resolution against Iran in the Vienna meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on November 27. By kowtowing to US imperialist dictates, it has once again proved to be a loyal agent of the US imperialists. It has proved itself to be even more loyal to the imperialists and more spineless than even the puppet Karzai regime in Afghanistan or the seemingly docile regime in neighbouring Pakistan, both of which, besides four other countries, had at least the guts to abstain from voting against Iran.

The Resolution calls upon Iran to immediately freeze the Fordow enrichment project. It rebukes Iran for building a uranium enrichment plant in secret. Barack Obama succeeded in carrying forward the aim of his predecessor George Bush to isolate Iran by building up a false fear that Iran is trying to build nuclear weapons clandestinely. The IAEA Resolution lays the basis for inhuman sanctions against Iran in future and also for a possible brutal war of aggression by the No.1 global terrorist Barack Obama, just as his predecessor George Bush had done in Iraq. India, by shamelessly voting against Iran, becomes a willing accomplice in the crimes perpetrated by the UA and other imperialists.

How the Obama administration manipulated a majority vote is not hard to guess given its military and economic prowess and its political clout on the one hand, and the timidity, spinelessness and comprador, slavish attitude of the ruling classes of the Third World on the other. In 2006 too, the same shameless Manmohan Singh government had voted against Iran in the IAEA meeting, kowtowing to George Bush. The then US ambassador to New Delhi, David Mulford, had even publicly warned that the India-US nuclear pact would “die” in the US Congress if India did not support the US against Iran.

The comprador Manmohan Singh government has been regularly conducting massive Indo-US military exercises with the US offering special status in the world nuclear regulatory order which will pave the way for US nuclear-power technology exports to India. It is scheming to sabotage the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline as per US diktat.

The UPA government defended its stand on Iran by asserting that India's security will be threatened by the proliferation of nuclear arms in its neighbourhood. Like the law of Manu dharma, which says that only Brahmins should recite the Vedas and the lower castes who dare defy this should have their tongues cut off, eyes blinded and so on, the Big Six Brahmins of the present-day

world and their sycophants, Israel and India, consider all other countries only fit enough to be enslaved like the Shudras, and regard nuclear weapons as their sole monopoly.

In fact, it is the nuclear weapons in the hands of Israel—the “front paw of US imperialism” in West Asia-- that poses the greatest threat to the stability and security of the countries and people of the region. Yet, not a word is said by Manmohan Singh or the Big Powers about the Zionist expansionist Israeli regime--which is the sole possessor of nuclear weapons in the region, continues to occupy territories belonging to Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon, bullies the Arab nations and conducts punitive raids on the Palestinian population. Such is the hypocrisy and double standards maintained by these self-acclaimed global gendarmes led by the biggest international terrorist Barack Obama. Just as in Iraq, in Iran too, the US imperialism is not really worried about the alleged nuclear weapons programme of Iran which, it knows, is no threat either to itself or its surrogate state of Israel whatsoever. It is only a ploy, like its big lie regarding Iraq’s possession of WMD prior to its brutal aggression in March 2003, to establish the economic and strategic dominance of the US in the resource-rich region of West Asia. Both Russia and China, despite their heavy stakes in Iran (with Russia building Iran’s nuclear reactors and selling arms, and China obtaining 14 % of its oil needs from Iran), have capitulated to the US imperialists in exchange for some concessions made by the latter.

The Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), condemns this outright sell-out by the UPA government to the US blackmailers and regards its vote against Iran as an insult to the entire people of India and the peace-loving people of the entire world. It calls upon the people to wage resolute struggle against the outright submission of the UPA traitors in power to the American and other imperialists and pressurize it to endorse the right of Iran to continue its uranium enrichment. Let us unite to defend our motherland from interference, bullying, blackmailing and subordination by the US and other imperialists. Let us fight against war-mongering by the American and other imperialists, demand the immediate disarming of Israel of all its nuclear weapons that pose a grave threat to peace in West Asia. It is only by establishing real people’s democratic power that our country can stand up resolutely against the pressures of imperialism. Let us intensify the people’s war to make our country self-reliant and throw out imperialism from our country’s soil.

Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee  
CPI(Maoist)

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE



*Press Release:*

*5 December 2009*

**Separate state of Telangana is an inalienable right of the four crore people of Telangana! No force on earth can suppress the people's democratic aspiration for separate Telangana! Let us wage a united militant mass struggle against the Congress fascist regime and the betrayers in various political garbs!**

The 40 million people of Telangana region who comprise over 40 % of the population of the state of Andhra Pradesh have stood up boldly and unequivocally for their long-cherished democratic demand for a separate state. The people of Telangana region not only suffer from discrimination and neglect by the state and central governments that serve the imperialists, comprador big business houses, and big landlords, but also from the oppression, exploitation and discrimination by the landlords, bourgeoisie and the neo-rich class hailing from the relatively developed Andhra region. Hence the democratic aspiration for a separate state has taken firm root in the minds of the neglected people of Telangana region.

The demand for separate Telangana was raised several times over the past few decades and had even assumed the form of a violent year-long agitation in the year 1969. But it was then brutally suppressed by the Congress government led by Indira Gandhi and betrayed by the Telangana Praja Samiti led by Chenna Reddy. 400 people, most of them students, were killed by the fascist Congress regime in 1969 but it could not kill the democratic aspiration of the people of Telangana. Successive regimes of the Congress and TDP, which were captive to the pressures of the Andhra lobby, had opposed the demand tooth and nail. However, during the elections to the state Assembly in 2004 and again in 2009, the Congress, with an eye on the votes, promised that it would fulfill the demand for a separate state if it came to power.

But this comprador Party, known for its long history of betrayals of promises, went back on its promise of Telangana state and began to dilly-dally on the issue for over five years. The other major party of the big landlord big bourgeoisie classes of India, the BJP too, had promised Telangana state with the catchy slogan of 'one vote—two states' way back in the 1999 elections but betrayed the people after it came to power in the Centre. Today the opportunist parties such as the BJP and TDP, CPI and CPI(M), are claiming that they support Telangana only with the ulterior motive of gaining some mass base and convert it to their vote banks. TRS, which contested elections on the sole slogan of separate Telangana in 2004 in alliance with the Congress, and again in 2009 in alliance with the TDP, had wasted more than five years begging Sonia and lobbying in the corridors of the Parliament for a separate state. The TRS and its leader KCR are opposed from the very beginning to people's agitation for achieving Telangana state. Their sole fear was that any mass agitation would become militant and slip out of their hands. Hence the TRS had been trying by all means to dilute the real struggle and confine it to the corridors of the Parliament and Assembly with an occasional demonstration to pretend that it is also for struggle. KCR, who claimed all along that his Party would achieve statehood for Telangana through lobbying among the Congress high command, has gone on an indefinite hunger-strike thinking this step would keep the movement under his control.

But the present mass upsurge in Telangana has gone beyond the control of any single party. It is gradually freeing itself from the manipulations and narrow selfish interests of the parliamentary parties and a new leadership is emerging out of the struggle. That is why the rulers are scared to the hilt by the unfolding events and by the prospects of formation of a democratic Telangana. The Congress-led UPA regime in the Centre and the Congress government in Andhra Pradesh are trying to suppress this spontaneous mass upsurge and the emerging young militant leadership by any means. It has closed down the universities and colleges for 15 days imagining that through this step it

can douse the agitation. The government is also trying to divert the issue and legitimize its use of brute force in the name of anti-social elements entering the movement and also saying that Maoists will take advantage of the situation. It is trying in vain to separate the Maoists from the people. Maoists have always supported and will continue to support and participate in all people's movements including separate Telangana movement. The reactionary rulers cannot isolate the Maoists from the people.

The Central Committee, CPI(Maoist), which has consistently placed the demand for a separate democratic Telangana hails the students, workers, peasantry, middle-class employees, and the intelligentsia of Telangana for their resolute struggle in face of the fascist suppression by the reactionary ruling classes. It pledges its total support to the fighting masses of Telangana for whose liberation thousands of our comrades had sacrificed their lives in the past three decades. It calls upon the people of Telangana to beware of the conspiracies of the various parliamentary parties to hijack this movement for their electoral ends and their attempts to take it along the path of compromise. While uniting all forces, including the parliamentary parties that are willing to join the struggle we should formulate appropriate plans to defeat the enemy's brutal onslaught and to sustain the agitation with a clear long-term plan. We should force the so-called people's representatives belonging to various parliamentary parties in Telangana to resign and to particularly concentrate on wiping out the Congress party from the Telangana region. We appeal to the people of Telangana, particularly the students, not to indulge in suicides but to step up their mass movement until victory.

People and people alone are the real heroes. They are invincible. However much the fascist rulers try to suppress the people's struggle in rivers of blood through their uniformed mercenaries they will certainly be washed away by the tsunami of people's struggles. Let us intensify the mass movement by adopting all forms of struggle to defeat the offensive by the Manmohan-Chidambaram government at the Centre and Roshaiyah's government in the state and continue the struggle resolutely until we achieve separate Telangana.

Azad,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee (provisional)  
CPI(Maoist)



**Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS)**

**Dandakaranya**

**Let us unitedly fight back the forthcoming fascist attack on women of  
Dandakaranya and on the mass organizations!**

**An appeal by KAMS to fraternal mass organizations, progressive democratic  
women, intellectuals, students and all democrats**

Dear friends,

Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan is working in the Dandakaranya comprising seven districts of Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh with a population of about 40 lakhs. Women comprise about 19 lakhs 88 thousands among them. It is working in an area where various tribes like Madia, Muria, Dorla, Rajgond, Halba, Bathara and many nationalities are residing. The women here work for about 16 hours everyday in the fields, homes, as labourers, gatherers of forest produce etc. Though they labor day and night, they are being exploited and are denied all rights. Feudal patriarchy is exploiting women's labour and is suppressing all their rights. It has relegated women to a secondary position in the society. The feudal, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie ruling classes of our country, with the

backing of the imperialists are directly responsible for the continuation of exploitation and oppression of women as they are the ones who are strongly entrenching patriarchy in our society. The revolutionary movement entered into DK in 1980 in such a social background.

KAMS is working since three decades in DK with the aim of liberating women. It mobilized and led women in the struggles against forest officers, paper mill managements, *tendu* leaf contractors and the exploitation, sexual harassment, atrocities and violence of traders from plains. It gave a helping hand to young women who stood against the tribal patriarchy oppressing them. It gave a call to the *adivasi* women to rise under the leadership of KAMS and fight for women's liberation. It gave solid support to the fraternal organization, the DAKMS. It mobilized women to resist the police who came to attack their villages and chased them away.

KAMS gives full support to the DK revolutionary movement which is carried on with the following aims - 'Land to the tiller', 'Forest to the *adivasi*', 'State Power to the oppressed people', 'Women's Liberation'. We work shoulder to shoulder with our fraternal mass organizations in the armed struggle and political propaganda against the exploitative government and its army. We participate in the election boycott actively with the aim of establishing people's power as an alternative to the parliamentary politics in which we have lost confidence. The ruling classes who could not tolerate this are perpetuating brutal violence on the *adivasi* women.

KAMS supports all the struggles of the oppressed people against the exploitative ruling classes, not just in DK but also in India and abroad. We support nationality liberation struggles. We expressed solidarity to the movement which erupted when Manorama was killed in Manipur. We exposed the social fascist communists who had murdered Tapasi Malik in Singur. We hailed the militant participation of women in the people's struggles of Nandigram and Lalgarh. We hailed the Kashmir women who raised their voices for Azad Kashmir. We gave the call to support the fighting people of Andhra Pradesh. It gathered public opinion in support of the demand to release Com. Budhni Munda (Sheila Didi), the president of 'Nari Mukthi Sangathan' by conducting a signature campaign.

Unofficial ban is continuing in Maharashtra on KAMS from 1991. The government tried to hamper the activities of KAMS from 1991 to 1993 by using TADA against it. POTA was brought in 2002. From then on, unofficial is continuing under MCOCA in Maharashtra. Before the formation of Chhattisgarh, the Madhya Pradesh government has been observing Anti-terrorist day from May 1992 and has been continuing unofficial ban on all revolutionary mass organizations since then. The Central government had banned the revolutionary mass organizations KAMS and DAKMS and Bal Sangams (Children's organization) on April 19, 2005 under the Central government's Unlawful Activities Preventive Act.

Within a month of assuming office the Central government had banned the CPI (Maoist) on June 20, 2009 under the Unlawful Activities Preventive Act (UAPA), a new fascist Act. A revolutionary women's organization which believes in the politics propagated by that party was also not spared from the ban. That ban is continuing on our organization too.

The state unleashed terror on us from 1990. Thousands of *adivasi* women were incarcerated under TADA between 1990 and 1995. Chaithe Pallo was an ordinary *adivasi* woman who is undergoing life sentence from 2004 October. She was booked under TADA in 1991. *Adivasi* women who had never left their villages had to go to Rajnandgaon, Nagpur, Chandrapur etc. for hearings of TADA cases. Women underwent untold sufferings in the Jagdalpur, Dantewada, Amaravathi, Chandrapur and Nagpur jails. Missings of KAMS activists had started by 1993. There is still no trace of Tara, Pramila, Sukbatti and Jayawanta who had gone missing still.

The Feudal representatives like Kalma Masalu (Mahendra Karma) who could not tolerate the KAMS which had challenged their tribal feudal authority and patriarchy, tried to crush it under their feet in the name of Jan Jagran. Women had resisted and withstood the two Jan Jagran campaigns of 1990 and 1997. From June 2005, Jan Jagaran changed its face. In the name of 'Salwa Judum' it is hounding and killing us like a man-eater. It turned us into homeless people in Dantewada, Bastar and Bijapur. Home, field, hut, paths, trees, shrubs - no place was safe for us. The Judum goons pounced on us like hungry wolves and bled us literally. The Naga, Mizo and CRPF forces cut our bodies into pieces. The fact that one or more women were raped in almost all the families shows the scale of the sexual violence perpetrated on us. Our bodies were cut, our breasts were cut, our private parts were pierced with sharp weapons and the wombs of pregnant women were cut open with bayonets. As if this was not enough now the state is readying itself for a massive offensive against us.

Many intellectuals and democrats had stood by us in defeating the fascist Salwa Judum offensive of the exploitative ruling classes. The 'Committee against Violence on Women' along with other

women formed an All India Women's team and toured in Dantewada district and gave paper statements condemning the fascist violence on us. The members of National Commission for Women condemned the sexual atrocities and violence on the women in *Rahath Sibirs*. Any little support from anybody who stood by us in these difficult times gave us a lot of confidence.

People say suppression always leads to resistance. If we do not defeat Salwa Judum, there is no protection for us. If we do not fight we can never defend the rights we have won in these 25 years of struggle. We learnt to fight while being in the battle field.

From the time of elections to Chhattisgarh assembly in 2008 November till the completion of Lok Sabha elections in May 2009, more than 500 companies of para-military forces were deployed in DK. Presently elections to Maharashtra assembly are taking place. The Chief Minister Ashok Chavan and Home Minister Jayant Patil are asking the Centre to send eight battalions of army to the state. They are giving statements that they would form *Adivasi* Battalions and Koya Battalions. Already forces like C-60 and STF are present in Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh respectively. The Grey hounds from neighboring state of AP are already raiding our villages and hounding us. The Grey hounds are the cruel force of AP who had killed hundreds of revolutionaries and people, especially hundreds of women too. They are not just confining themselves to AP, but are also entering the neighbouring Odisha and Chhattisgarh states and perpetuating killings and gang rapes. They were in the forefront in suppressing the women's movement in AP by killing women activists and women leaders. This notorious force which had gang raped *adivasi* women in Vakapalli is now coming to DK to suppress the women's movement here too. The deployment of COBRA battalions built with the sole aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement has started. In the borders of Dantewada and AP, two battalions have been deployed. The trio of Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram is the main leader behind this offensive.

The central and state governments are issuing statements that they would start the offensive after Diwali. With the sole aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement the police and para military forces are perpetuating all kinds of atrocities on us. They are resorting to bloody massacres with the evil design of wiping out the very existence of our Koya community in order to loot the natural resources which are abundant in our areas.

We request all democratic women, mass organizations and people to stand by us in all manners you can by condemning this unjustified, inhuman, undemocratic and cruel offensive which the exploitative ruling classes are planning to launch against us.

In solidarity,  
Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangathan (KAMS)  
Dandakaranya  
October, 2009.