

# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*

## NEPAL

### A Sea of Torches that Refuse Surrender





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## **POLICEMEN INVOLVED IN FAKE ENCOUNTERS SHOULD BE HANGED:**

*Supreme Court*

Police personnel involved in fake encounter killings should be awarded death sentence and hanged, the Supreme Court said.

A bench of Justices Markandeya Katju and C.K. Prasad said that police personnel as custodians of law are expected to protect people and not eliminate them as contract killers.

“Fake encounter killings by cops are nothing but cold-blooded brutal murder which should be treated as the rarest of rare offence and police personnel responsible for it should be awarded death sentence. They should be hanged,” Justice Katju, heading the bench.

“...If crimes are committed by ordinary people, ordinary punishment should be given but if the offence is committed by policemen much harsher punishment should be given to them because they do an act totally contrary to their duties.”

“This is a very serious case and cannot be treated like an ordinary case. The accused who are policemen are supposed to uphold the law but the allegation against them is that they functioned as contract killers,” it said.

According to the court, it would not brook any excuse from policemen that they were acting at the behest of their superior officers.

“We warn policemen that they will not be excused for committing murder in the name of ‘encounter’ on the pretext that they were carrying out the orders of their superior officers or politicians, however high. In the Nuremberg trials, the Nazi war criminals took the plea that ‘orders are orders’ but nevertheless they were hanged,” the bench had said.

**PM**

*Contd. from Page 6*

**Hazare is a convenient blindfold for the middle classes:** Many of the people, who are out on the streets now, genuinely want an end to the brazen corruption and the scams. But Hazare and his team have been entrusted not to raise the real questions but to shroud the real struggles. The end to corruption can only take place when the current economic policies are repealed, when the MoUs signed with various

corporate giants are scrapped. And the Indian state, a loyal lapdog of imperialism will never change its policies on its own. To end corruption, the corrupt system needs to be overhauled. And that is what the revolutionary armed movement which is spreading like prairie fire across the country is fighting for. It is the resilient struggle of the revolutionary masses and not the corporate-funded, RSS-backed and media-hyped theatrics

that will resolve the burning problems afflicting the people of this country.

**Democratic Students’ Union** (DSU) is an independent students’ organization active in JNU and Delhi University in the state of Delhi. It is a constituent of the All India Revolutionary Students’ Federation (AIRSF), and works towards attaining the ideals of the New Democratic Revolution.

**PM**

## **ABOLISH DEATH PENALTY... PEOPLE’S MARCH**

(Voice of The Indian Revolution)

In four decade old Verghese encounter case Constable Ramachandran Nair stated that if he did not obey the illegal order of the then DySP Lakkshmana, “Lakshmana will kill Verghese and me and claim that Verghese shot at Constable Ramachandran Nair and he shot Verghese.” Hence he is left with no other option other than obeying the illegal orders to shoot Verghese.

The Police officers fear that whoever refused to obey the illegal orders of Home Minister will be punished by transfer to naxal infested areas.

The real culprit has to caught and punished and the punishment should not be DEATH PENALTY.

Can confessional statements of accused be considered as evidences to give death penalty?

### **Police-Courts-Media-Bureaucracy Nexus**

In my case after arresting me on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2007 under UAPA the police misled the Sessions Court Judge, Ernakulam. While denying bail The Sessions Judge accepted the police version of arguments stated that “He killed his wife by burning and has undergone life imprisonment at Hyderabad and that releasing such persons on bail is not in the interest of our country”. The Hindu dated 8th Jan. 2008

The actual fact is that my wife is very well alive and leading a pathetic life was forced to tender false evidence (extracted under torture and blackmail) leading to my life imprisonment at Hyderabad. This truth was exposed by Mathrubhoomi weekly dated 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2008. The High court till then was denying bail saying a mere reading of few articles of People’s March was sufficient to drive home the charges.....granted bail. I was released on my 68<sup>th</sup> day of my fast on 24<sup>th</sup> February 2008.

The District Collector pasted the ban order of People’s March at my office on 14<sup>th</sup> February 2008 while I was in jail. It took another to 20 months of legal struggles to bring out People’s March.

**PM**

## I AM ANNA..... AM I ANNA.... HOW CAN I BE ANNA?

25<sup>th</sup> June 1975 I was traveling from Bombay to Madras after inspecting substandard Air Filters for Asia's biggest CLEAN ROOM in Space Science & Technology Centre at Thumba. I was the only qualified in Air conditioning & Refrigeration Engineering. I do know the ABCD of politics. Reached Madras on 26<sup>th</sup> June morning. Emergency was declared. Press censorship enforced. All Opposition leaders detained under MISA and DIR. Newspapers printed news only about punctuality of trains running in time. Government offices functioning punctualities and 20 point programmes of Indira Gandhi and 5 point programmes of Sanjay Gandhi. Congress leader Devkant Barooha proclaimed "INDIRA is INDIA...INDIA IS INDIRA. Only All India Radio and Doordharshan. 36 years later in 2011 I hear similar voices from a Retd IPS officer Kiran Bedi. ANNA IS INDIA...INDIA IS ANNA.

Like any other middle class citizen I felt that Indira is right JP is wrong just as the present day middle class saying Anna is right and Arundati (I'd rather not be Anna) is wrong. In a few months I realized that something is wrong with our system as my superiors were asking me obey their illegal orders in accepting substandard materials in various contracts.

23<sup>rd</sup> March 1977 Indira resigned and emergency lifted and opposition leaders released. Then the people our country came to know that Sanjay Gandhi entered the Doordharshan TV studio on 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975 with a video cassette of the film BOOBY and directed the officials (IK Gujral was the Union Minister for Infn & Broadcasting) to relay film BOBBY interrupting schedule programmes to deter people going to JP's meeting at Ramlila maidan.

Then I felt that some new dawn has

begun. That dream short-lived as the JP experiment or Janata experiment failed and the people have put back Indira in the saddle. On 31<sup>st</sup> March 1983 I was evicted from the government quarters in Thumba by police and Congress goons and put in jail.

In 1987 VP Singh's movement against corruption in Bofors deal. I was in Hyderabad jail undergoing life imprisonment. It too is conspiracy. I have evidence now to prove as why my wife tendered false evidence leading to my conviction to life imprisonment. The corruption involved in Bofors scandal was only Rs 64 crore. Newspapers minted around Rs 250 crores in exposing Bofors scandal. The outcome was regime change. VP Singh became the Prime Minister. Newspapers continued to make another Rs 300 crores out of Bofors scandal.

In 1991 PV Narasimha rao as Prime Minister, Man Mohan Singh Finance Minister and Chidambaram Commerce Minister. Their new economic policies. Liberalization, Privatization & Globalisation. Hrarshad Metha scam broke out.

In 1994 NT Rama rao in his poll pledge promised release of life convicts who have completed 10 years of actual sentence. Karunakaran, Chief Minister of Kerala sensing trouble (that on release I will create problems in Thumba) aimed at extinguishing my struggles brought out the sensational SPY CANDEL in Thumba which finally died down as SPY SCANDEL with out a SPY.

In 1995 during the victorious hunger fast that lasted 31 days the jail officials dumped me and other fasting prisoners in the naxal barrack. Till then I did not know

anything about Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

From 1996 onwards under UF government, the BJP government, the NDA government, UPA I & UPA II governments continued the legacy of New Economic Policies initiated (liberalization, Privatization & Globalization) by PV Narasimha rao, Man Mohan Singh combine were implemented more vigorously. And the scams too speedily as a scam a month. 2G, Commonwealth games, Adarsh, S band Antrix/Devas.

No doubt the middleclass are biggest beneficiaries of the New Economic Policies. They got cars, mobiles, LCD TV's, A/c's. It has also seriously affected the middleclass. The pitiable condition of roads to drive cars. Cost of petrol. Told to get Municipal permits to buy cars as to show that they have parking space. The net balance sheet is their glass is only half full. They want quick remedy to fill it full.

Unlike 25<sup>th</sup> June 1975 today there are hundreds of TV channels owned by politicians, political parties, corporates. For them its business.

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*Even as the anti-graft juggernaut rolls on, the forces of commerce also chug on happily alongside. Approach roads to the expansive Ramlila Maidan in Delhi are crowded with vendors selling wares at clearly rip-off rates. A most popular craze is getting the tricolour painted on your face. The going rate for both cheeks—three crude lines using poster colours—is Rs 10. Five bucks and you are only half as patriotic! Anna caps and crude badges featuring him are also going for Rs 10. A flag big enough to wave around commands as much as Rs 100. Guess it's a small small price to pay in this season of pumped-up patriotism.*

# Indian students on the disorienting focus of the Hazare 'anti-corruption' drive

*Voice of the Revolutionary Youths*

*Manufacturing Dissent, Making Mahatmas: Manu, Market, Media And The Anti-Corruption Sham*

By Democratic Students' Union (DSU)

30 August, 2011

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*All historical struggles, whether they occur in the political, religious, philosophical or some other ideological domain, are in fact only the more or less clear expression of the struggles of social classes – Engels*

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**When two events occur in the same space and time, more often than not, there is a correlation between the two:** On the one hand the Indian Army, paramilitary and police forces — acting so plainly and clearly on behalf of the Indian ruling classes and multinational corporations—which continue to mount a war on the people of central and eastern India in order to facilitate a naked appropriation of the region's resources is given marching orders to fight the most dispossessed yet resilient masses. Then there are 80% of the country's population forced to eke out a living on a mere Rs.20 per day and over half of the children suffer from the permanent malnourishment because of the genocidal famine conditions their families have been placed under; land acquisition of a mammoth scale affects millions of people whose sole means of livelihood is being alienated from them; thousands of small peasants are forced to find 'escape' from an endemic agrarian crisis by committing suicide; over 2700 bodies of Kashmiris murdered by the Indian army once again reveals a Kashmir under occupation by India and the crushing of its struggle for national liberation—to name but a few instances revealing the brutal and systemic exploitation, oppression and occupation. And people are waging resilient struggles in many parts of the country against the ruling classes. On the other hand a base, distasteful drama is unfolding in front of us—the drama of an 'anti-corruption drive', which is supposed to serve India a

'second independence'. Needless to say, although this latter 'struggle' seldom refers to the first set of struggles, events and phenomena, there is so simple a connection between the two that the silence over the relation between the two sets is nothing but deliberate.

**The 'Second freedom struggle' is nothing but an attempt of the ruling classes to consolidate themselves:** The Indian ruling classes today face an immense crisis, and are finding it increasingly difficult to sustain the mask of 'world's largest democracy'. Given the onslaught on the people and their livelihood—through the acquisition of resources such as land, forests and other means of livelihood; the steep price rise of basic commodities; the privatization of health, transport, water, electricity and education — the state faces the resistance of militant peoples' movements. And everywhere, the state is responding to this discontent and resistance with brute force. In addition to this central crisis, the ruling classes were reeling under the exposure of a series of scams such as 2G, Commonwealth Games, Adarsh Housing, etc. involving unimaginable amounts of money. It is precisely these circumstances that have given rise to an 'anti-corruption drive' led by the so-called civil society and made it possible for the corporate media to project a reactionary like Anna Hazare as a hero in the eyes of the urban middle classes. Sweeping under the carpet more urgent structural issues affecting the vast majority of people

and their very survival, 'Team Anna' has projected corruption as the central issue plaguing Indian society. The anti-corruption drive and the Jan Lokpal have been likewise offered as the solution to all the problems. By seeking a solution within the existing system and by demanding a more coercive institution within it to check 'corruption', the Anna Hazare-led mobilization has appeared in the political scene as a much-needed respite to the crisis-ridden ruling classes. This 'second freedom struggle' led by 'Team Anna' is nothing but the mobilization of a section of the ruling classes aiming to rid themselves of the deep contradictions and the crises that threaten them to sweep off their feet. Through a draconian bill (government's Lokpal bill and the 'Jan' Lokpal bill are the two sides of the same coin), the ruling classes are aiming for further centralization of authority. No legislation can provide an answer to the deep-seated exploitative structures of the society and the social relations which are the root cause of so-called corruption.

**Corruption: A Mere Symptom of Structural Exploitation and Oppression:** Through its exclusive focus on corruption, 'Team Anna' in effect blinds us to the system where wealth created by peasants and workers is appropriated by the ruling classes. No doubt, a bribe running into crores is mind-boggling. Yet, we are asked to ignore a simple fact—the amount of wealth appropriated by the corporations in the first place, which

enables them to provide bribes of such an amount. Corruption itself is not a new phenomenon in India; it has been endemic to the exploitative and oppressive semi-feudal semi-colonial system which concentrates wealth and power in the hands of a few. But just as imperialist globalization has heightened the exploitation of the masses, resulted in the intensified feudal appropriation of the rural labouring people, massive corporate loot of resources, the selling of the country's land and other natural resources at ridiculously low prices to corporate houses already reaping benefits in the form of tax holidays, the scale and intensity of corruption has also increased in proportion. A disease cannot be cured by suppressing its symptoms; rather, the symptom subsides only when the disease is cured. Similarly, corruption will only disappear with the revolutionary transformation of society.

**A Special Drama, its Sponsorship and Mobilization:** Corporate Funding and RSS Backing of the Anti-Corruption Drive. That the anti-corruption drive is a diversionary tactic of the ruling classes is clear not only from its programme and its goals, but also from its funding. It was clear from its very inception that this drama is funded by the corporations and business houses –Ambanis, Tatas, Jindals to real-estate developers – that are involved in the most massive of scams. It is now also public knowledge that among the list of sponsors funding the key figures of this drama are the likes of Lehman Brothers and Ford Foundation. Hazare claims to have the full support of army and the police: the two most corrupt institutions of the country. Moreover, the chief engineer of this Gandhian and so-called non-violent mobilization is the fascist RSS. The same fascist force that killed thousands of Muslims in the Gujarat pogrom, massacred Christians in Kandhamal, and organized the

Samjhauta Express, Mecca Masjid, Malegaon and Ajmer Sharif blasts is now mobilizing for this 'peaceful' second freedom struggle. As usual, the rhetoric of nation and nationalism is deployed to serve the interests of the ruling classes. The imagery, the slogans, the objectives of the movement are all brazenly replete with right-wing ideology which are proudly casteist and communal. The lead actors of this drama have notorious histories of being anti-reservation and pro-Sangh Parivar. The corporate media is therefore comfortable in exalting this movement with its ceaseless hyperbole. They have projected this movement as 'unprecedented mass movement'. Last time it was the anti-reservation reactionary movement which had caught its attention. When huge masses had hit the streets of Kashmir demanding azadi, or in Lalgarh, Odisha, Chhatisgrah against corporate loot, the media remained silent.

**AISA/CPI (ML) Liberation: The cheerleaders of 'Team Anna':** As far as AISA-Liberation is concerned, history is repeating itself, but this time as a farce. AISA was formed in the context of the anti-Mandal agitation—not as a progressive force in support of reservations, but using all the tricks in the book to oppose the Mandal recommendations through a sleight of hand. Liberation's Vinod Mishra, who opened up the portal through which the party forever exited its role as a communist vanguard, and instead became a trickster serving the ruling classes, went to extent of stating at the juncture of AISA's unholy birth that 'just as we do not approve of those politicians who want to take revenge on the present-day progeny of Babar, we also reject those theoreticians who would punish the present-day offsprings of Manu for the crimes of their ancestors'. This is evidence not only of the party's characteristic double-speak, but is also blatantly

right-wing — in short, Muslims are being called 'Babar ke aulad'; reservations are seen as crimes against 'upper'-castes; and the caste system itself is projected as a crime that occurred only in the past. Thus, while AISA in fact rode on the crest of the anti-Mandal mobilization to consolidate itself in campus-spaces in pockets of north India, it is trying desperately to repeat its 'success' formula — this time, by wedding itself to this RSS engineered and corporate funded anti-corruption drive of 'Team Anna'. Indeed, they cry foul of the 'undemocratic' Annas for not allowing them enough space to participate! Although in JNU they have maintained a crafty silence on Anna Hazare till now, the degeneration of AISA became blatant when on 16th August, they joined hands with ABVP in Delhi University's north campus in a 'spontaneous protest' against Anna Hazare's detention, shouting together 'patriotic' slogans like 'Vande Mataram' and 'Bharat Mata ki Jai'!. When they filled the walls of DU with anti-corruption slogans, these were all appropriated by ABVP by a simple brushstroke — in each case, by simply replacing AISA's insignia with its own. The justification put forward by Liberation/AISA and some 'enlightened' intellectuals for joining the cacophony of 'I am Anna' is to save it from RSS and to replace 'Bharat Mata ki Jai' with 'Inquilab Zindabad'! Social-democrats of Germany also gave similar justifications for allying with the Nazis which ultimately helped the rise of Hitler and the crushing of the German revolution. The convergence of the communal-fascists and the 'Marxist-Leninists'/civil-society/NGOs therefore speak volumes not only of AISA/Liberation's political bankruptcy, but is also a wake-up call for the progressive, democratic and revolutionary forces to prepare for a new phase of battle.

**Contd..... on Page 3**

## **Defeat Anna Hazare's Communal-Fascist and Pro-Imperialist Anti-Corruption 'Crusade'! Build a United, Democratic and Progressive Peoples' Movement against the Corrupt System!**

The tussle between 'India Against Corruption' led by Anna Hazare and the Congress-led government ended after thirteen days of high-drama. The movement fully backed by the corporate media was called off after the Prime Minister assured that the Parliamentary Standing Committee will consider the demands made by Anna Hazare and his group while formulating the Lokpal bill to fight against corruption in government functioning. The settlement has been celebrated by the civil society, the government and the corporate media as a great victory for Indian democracy. Contrary to these claims, however, what we have seen in the last few weeks is a mobilization led by the communal, Hindu fundamentalist and fascist forces with the backing of imperialist institutions. Harping on a high moral authority and an extremely abstract tirade against politics and parliamentary parties (aiming at the ruling UPA coalition) Anna and his team tried to capture the imagination of the people at large. Aided by the big corporate houses and their media, and orchestrated by the Hindu right, Anna Hazare and his team created an impression of a massive people's movement next only to the JP movement in mid-1970s. A battery of Sadhus, Sanyasis, Gurus and thousands of other reactionary and obscurantist forces have been mobilized by Sangh-affiliated Hindutva organizations to rally around this farce termed as an anti-corruption crusade.

**The character of the mobilization:** A section of people are being mobilized by the right-wing forces and funded NGOs in support of Anna Hazare's call to fight for his Jan Lokpal Bill. Certainly a visible section of urban middle classes also voluntarily participated responding to the call of Anna Hazare. But out of public view and camouflaged as a spontaneous mobilization of people, Hindu right-wing organizations have been organizing for the Ramlila Ground gathering as well as for the anti-corruption demonstrations in various parts of the country. In fact, RSS through its overt and covert functionaries like Govindacharya, Gurumurthy and Ajit Doval with the participation of Ramdev, Arvind Kejriwal and Kiran Bedi have been working for many months before this Anna-fast through fronts like 'Vivekananda International Foundation', 'Anti-Corruption Front' and 'Youth against Corruption' to mobilize the people around the issue of corruption. Big corporate houses and other private companies were also not far behind in lavishing financial support for the spectacle and were campaigning by using advertisements and media.

*Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF)*

**The mobilization cannot be dismissed as 'apolitical'** simply because a considerable section of the people who came to Ramlila grounds in Delhi or who have participated in various cities, towns and even in some rural areas don't understand what the Jan Lokpal Bill is all about. There are broadly two categories of people across the classes among them in this mobilization. The funded NGOs also mobilized seeking to characterize Anna Hazare movement as an independent and neutral space. Apart from these two conspicuous political mobilizations, there has existed a spontaneous and voluntarily mobilization mainly in the urban spaces from the middle classes including the middle-class tax-payers. For the parliamentary left, some of the independent left individuals and some of Marxist-Leninist organizations have not been able to grapple with the real essence of these mobilizations of people around Anna Hazare and his Jan Lokpal Bill. They have displayed confusion, helplessness, and remained spectators for some time and then tried to respond in various ways.

**History is witness to that Hitler and the Nazis mobilizing millions around their fascist political agenda** in the name of making Germany the most powerful nation in the world at a time when the people of the country were reeling under the severe post-war conditions. The millions of workers in Mumbai, once guided by communist ideology, are now mobilized by fascist parties like Shiva Sena and Maharashtra Navnirman Sena. We also know of the 'anti-Mandal movement' of the elites and dominant castes in late 1980s, and more recently in 2006-07 against reservations in higher education which were funded and patronized by the big corporations and the mainstream media. Arvind Kejriwal, a core member of the Anna coterie, was one of the vocal supporters of this 'anti-reservation movement'. In their footsteps, Anna Hazare and his close aides in close connivance with the Hindutva forces are now calling upon the people to create a Shining India and to make India a superpower by eradicating corruption with a strong and effective Lokpal bill.

*"There was no direct financial support from the RSS to IAC (India Against Corruption movement). There were no direct links with them or to funding, but they could well be part of the thousands and lakhs of volunteers who were helping with food ...and there's nothing wrong with that"* – Prashant Bhushan NDTV, 1 Sept. '11

**It will be dangerous and a grave mistake to see any potential for progressive change in such mobilizations.**

The present crusade against corruption by Anna Hazare and his team can be turned against the very democratic fabric and space of socio-cultural struggles because of the fascist and pro-imperialist forces that are leading it. This mobilization presents a threat to the democratic struggle for social equality and secular democratic political movements fighting against feudalism and imperialism. Such a danger is not far away, but is in the near future unless we consciously counter such communal mobilizations.

**The UPA government helped Anna Hazare and his frenzy of communal politics** by arresting him and then giving him high importance, thereby elevating him to the level of a demi-god, much like the way the ruling Congress prepared the grounds for Hindutva forces by opening the locks of Ramjanmabhoomi in 1985 during Rajiv Gandhi's regime, then and quietly allowed the demolition of Babri-Masjid in 1992. Not only the UPA government constituted a committee with members of Anna Hazare group and cabinet ministers to draft the Lokpal Bill and sent four of its senior ministers to welcome Ramdev at the Delhi airport, thus giving them prominence. By unleashing police repression on Ramdev's congregation and arresting Anna Hazare, the UPA helped them to be presented as figures of resistance. Every act of the UPA government since April this year helped the fascist forces to gain space in the public domain, culminating in the Parliamentary debate on Anna Hazare on 27 August. All this has to be understood by looking at the communal character of the Congress party itself, which is filled with Hindutva forces to the brink with a Hindu fundamentalist agenda hardly distinguishable from the saffron-brigade. The Congress's actions are aimed at satisfying the Hindutva forces within its ranks.

**Communal-fascism in the garb of anti-corruption:** Anna Hazare and his team have betrayed a conspicuous affinity towards the Hindu-right by prominently adopting religious motifs, symbols and slogans. Anna Hazare himself stands for a feudal, casteist, Brahminical and fascist worldview, in the image of which he has organized the four hundred households at his village Ralegan Siddhi, in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra. Anna Hazare is the undisputed authority of his village, who oversees the strict implementation of caste hierarchies and caste-based division of labour, Brahminical social norms, justifying the marginalization of oppressed castes and religious minorities. Use of force is sanctioned, be it against alcoholism or for family planning. The RSS mouthpiece Organiser brought out a series of articles praising Anna Hazare and Ralegan Siddhi. Because of their shared ideology and worldview, the Anna Hazare-led anti-corruption campaign never targeted their criticism against the political forces of the Hindu right or the core of the fascist forces in the subcontinent, even though team Anna tried to present as a politically neutral face to the world.

*“Through some visible and not so visible moves the RSS has tried to associate itself to Anna's campaign. On Tuesday (30 Aug 2011), Mohan Bhagwat, the head of the BJP's parent body made a rare public appearance in Pune and said that “people were just fed up of corruption and they had no one to look up to and then came Anna's agitation which restored people's faith and also gave a boost to their confidence.” Less than a fortnight ago the RSS top brass had met in Ujjain and cleared a ‘Support Anna’ resolution. Spurred by this BJP's Nitin Gadkari wrote to Anna, pledging his support. Old RSS hand and ex BJP Delhi Unit Chief Mangeram Garg - was heading the Sangh's “ops-room”. At Ramlila Maidan, Anna's home during his 12 day fast, Sangh affiliates posted hundreds of men in the crowd, who could be identified by their chant of Vande Mataram. Kumar Vishwas, once a senior man within the RSS, was Anna's stage manager at Ramlila Maidan and was often seen reciting poems and introducing guests on stage. Coincidentally Vishwas was the stage manager for Yoga Guru Baba Ramdev's aborted protests too. Tejinder Pal of the Party's Yuva Morcha, the youth wing of the BJP helped mobilize those who protested outside the homes of Congress leaders to signal their dissatisfaction. The free meals that were a big draw at Ramlila Madian were funded by the RSS' affiliate Goraksha (save the cow) unit. But the RSS kept its involvement discrete...Team Anna opted to ignore the presence of RSS ranks among the protestors and the criticism it drew”*

[www.ndtv.com](http://www.ndtv.com)

**‘Team Anna’ is closely tied to imperialism.** They are the new props and favoured beneficiaries of imperialist institutions, which have patronized most of the core team members of the NGO ‘India Against Corruption’ for many decades. World Bank has described Ralegan Siddhi as a “sustainable model village” which it wants to set up as an example before the country for “rebuilding natural capital in partnership with the local economy”. Anna Hazare received the ‘Jit Gill Memorial Award’ of the World Bank at its New York headquarters in 2008, since according to this imperialist organization he was a “crucial pillar for good governance and anticorruption” and “championed reforms for better governance”. Likewise, two leaders of this campaign, Arvind Kejriwal and Manish Sisodia who run NGOs like Parivartan and Kabir, are close associates of the Ford Foundation, receiving four lakh dollars from it in the last three years. Not coincidentally, three of the core members of Anna Hazare group – Arvind Kejriwal, Manish Sisodia and Kiran Bedi – are all recipients of the Magsaysay Award. This award is funded by US multinational corporations through Ford Foundation and Rockefeller group. It is given in the memory of the dictatorial

president of Philippines known for the murder of thousands of communist guerrillas during the Huk Rebellion under US-planned anti-communist counter-insurgency operations. It explains the silence of the Anna-group against corporations and the private sector.

**The confusion and complicity of some left and progressive sections:** It is only the Muslims and their organizations, the dalit democratic constituency, the revolutionaries and a section of democratic intellectuals that have shown the courage to openly speak against the right-wing mobilization around Anna Hazare's movement. They refused to participate at any level in this movement. They clearly recognized its Hindu Brahmanical and hegemonic orientation. A section of left and independent left individuals have tried to see the mobilization as broad based and sought to approach the people and intervene. But a larger section of the Parliamentary left could not grapple with the Anna Hazare spectacle and mainly saw these mobilizations as a threat to their own parliamentary space. They criticized it academically in constitutional and bourgeois terms outside the parliament and took the same stand as the two main players of Indian Parliamentary democracy – the Congress and BJP – inside the Parliament.

*“Is it surprising that members of Team Anna have also been associated with Youth for Equality, the anti-reservation (pro-”merit”) movement? The campaign is being handled by people who run a clutch of generously funded NGOs whose donors include Coca-Cola and the Lehman Brothers. Kabir, run by Arvind Kejriwal and Manish Sisodia, key figures in Team Anna, has received \$400,000 from the Ford Foundation in the last three years. Among contributors to the India Against Corruption campaign there are Indian companies and foundations that own aluminum plants, build ports and SEZs, and run Real Estate businesses and are closely connected to politicians who run financial empires that run into thousands of crores of rupees. Some of them are currently being investigated for corruption and other crimes. Why are they all so enthusiastic?” (The Hindu)*

*“I actually went to the World Bank site recently and found that the World Bank runs 600 anti-corruption programmes just in places like Africa. Why is the World Bank interested in anti-corruption? ... it explained to me why in the World Bank, Ford foundation, these people are all involved in increasing the penetration of international capital and so it explains why at a time when we are also worried about corruption, the major parts of what corruption meant in terms of corporate corruption, in terms of how NGOs and corporations are taking over the traditional functions of the government, but that whole thing was left out, but this is copy book World Bank agenda.” (CNN-IBN)*

**- Arundhati Roy**

**Some of the Marxist-Leninist organizations have also sought to intervene in the political mobilization around the so-called Anna Hazare movement.** Though the essential understanding of intervening in the context of right-wing's efforts to mobilize the people in the garb of a democratic demand, the methods of such a mobilization have to be understood very critically. In the same way, the response of Independent left individuals should be understood in positive terms particularly their wish to intervene and change the nature of people's mobilization around the demand of ending corruption. But how to make this intervention is a crucial question. Many of the democratic and progressive organizations and individuals across the country still remained in confusion not knowing how to respond to the phenomenon called Anna Hazare's anti-corruption crusade with communal mobilization. Some have started giving the slogans of team Anna such as “Vande Mataram” and “Bharat Mata ki Jai”, clubbing with “Inquilab Zindabad”. They have tailed behind this mobilization as dictated by its leadership, and felt intimidated after joining the rallies and demonstrations choreographed by Hindutva forces, NGOs and techno-bureaucrats.

**The task of the progressive and democratic forces:** The Hindu right after having directly mobilized for the Babri-Masjid demolition during 1991-92 with connivance of the Congress government at the centre, soon ascended to power. But in the subsequent years, it has failed to use the same direct methods of communal mobilizations at all-India level with any level of success. The frustrated Hindutva right-wing political block of the Indian ruling classes have been looking for alternative methods of communal mobilization. Anna Hazare was a Hindutva figure crusading against corruption for decades and was suitable for such a mobilization, but he could not be elevated as an all-India icon for a long time. By effectively bringing together a small section of civil society activists and a few other figures of social activists like Medha Patkar, Anna Hazare has been pushed to the centre-stage by the Hindutva forces clandestinely into the urban space sparsely occupied by the democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces. In the context of a deeply crisis-ridden volatile socio-economic space where peoples' anger against the economic policies of the neo-liberal state is ever growing, Anna Hazare and his team has been propped up to carry forward the banner of communal-fascism and imperialism in the name of ushering in governmental “reforms”.

*“I drew in my youth from Marx, Lenin and Mao that not everything that moves the people is worthy of support. The critical Left must not throw away its right and duty to be critical.”*

**- Partha Chatterjee, kafil.org**

“I guess the margins are untouched by it. Even after huge publicity, you will scarcely find poor peoples’ representation in those crowds... Rather, Dalits have taken this movement as anti-constitutional. On all the e-mail groups of Dalits, there is strong criticism of this movement. As the Hindutva influence on it and the antecedents of the key people started surfacing, they are convinced that the movement is anti-Dalit. Arvind Kejriwal, for instance, was said to be the leading figure of the Youth for Equality, the upper caste anti-reservation movement. Hazare, as the feudal chieftain of Ralegaon Siddhi, who is propelled by the traditional Hindu ethos, wanted Dalits of his village as mere service providers.”

“The post-reform size of the underground economy has increased on an average to 42.8 per cent of the GDP as against 27.4 per cent in the pre-reform period and the compound annual rate of growth of illicit flows which stood at 9.1 per cent during the pre-reform period shot up to 16.4 per cent during the post-reform years. But, there is not even a feeble mention of this structure that begets galloping corruption. On the contrary, the entire movement could be seen as helping the neoliberal agenda.”

- Anand Teltumbde, *Hard News*

If allowed to be successful, this reactionary and anti-people mobilization will become a tool for introducing the second generation structural adjustment programme imposed by imperialism and will catapult the Hindu-right into the government. The manufactured dissent behind this anti-corruption campaign is not only a means to divert attention from the genuine anger and grievances of the workers, peasants, the middle classes, dalits, adivasis, religious minorities, oppressed nationalities and other exploited sections, but also a potent tool at the hands of the ruling classes to consolidate the existing system. As peoples’ organizations and individuals – democratic, progressive and revolutionary – we must not seek to work in alliance with the Anna Hazare’s movement which are clandestinely working with the Hindutva forces furthering their communal-fascist agenda. Instead, *we must build alliances of democratic, progressive and revolutionary forces including the social justice movements of the Dalits and Muslims and the national liberation movements of the subcontinent to resist these fascist and imperialist forces which stand against the democratic society we aspire and struggle for.*

PM

*Contd..... from Page 40*

and is resorting to all kinds of tricks to reduce it in vain. Our Party is completely rejecting all these allegations leveled against our leadership and is appealing to the oppressed masses and the revolutionary camp not to believe even a word of it.

All genuine revolutionary parties have several differences of opinions and shades of differences among their members in ideological, political, organizational, military, cultural etc matters. Various ideas come for discussion and they are concluded with a majority after each and every member has voiced her/his opinion on them. This is a democratic process followed by the revolutionary parties which can never be seen in or understood by the ruling class parties. Only through such discussions and criticism-self-criticism does a party sustain its revolutionary content and not by blindly following any one leader like in the bourgeois parties. Revolutionaries steel themselves in the flames of class struggle and by going through many sessions of criticisms and self-criticisms. The intelligence agencies are trying to distort this healthy atmosphere inside the party as exactly its opposite and trying to confuse the people and the ranks by propagating that there are bitter differences inside the party and that too on the lines of PW and MCC. We appeal to the oppressed people of the world and our country, democrats and revolutionary ranks to condemn this vicious propaganda, to stay alert to such tricks of the state, to throw them into the dust bin and to stand firmly with the revolutionary movement in solidarity.

Finally, regarding the so-called differences on ‘the lines of PW and MCC’, we feel it would suffice if we reiterate what our party General Secretary Comrade Ganapathy had said in an interview given to the media in October 2010.

“...The struggle between correct ideas and wrong ideas is a continuous process in the party. We would solve our differences of opinion by abiding the principle of democratic centralism and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This would only lead to the development of the party. We achieved great unity with the merger of the two parties. Now any discussions or conflict of ideas which takes place in the party would be in the form of ideological and political discussions in a united party and not in the form of differences between erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile CPI (M-L) (People’s War). We categorically state that the differences would never ever take the form of conflicts before the merger.”

(Abhay)

Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

## Interview with Arundhati Roy

Arundhati Roy is probably the most 'do something' public intellectual of our time. In her interview with *New Internationalist* she offers her take on market-friendly democracy, people power and the wealth that is fed by people's lives.

*Stuart Freedman/Panos*

*New Internationalist*

**Your writings have grappled with ruthless state violence which is often at the behest of corporate interests. Much of the corporate-owned media in India shies away from covering the civil war-like conditions in many parts of the country. The establishment tends to brand anyone who attempts to present the other side's points of view as having seditious intent. Where is the democratic space?**

You've partially answered your own question – newspapers and television channels do not make their money from subscriptions or viewership; in fact, corporate advertisements actually subsidize TV viewership and newspaper and magazine readership, so in effect, the mass media is run with corporate money. Some media houses are directly owned by corporations, some indirectly by majority share-holdings. Some media houses in, say, Central India, have a direct interest in mining and infrastructure projects, so they have a vested interest in the push to displace people in the huge, ongoing land-grab in which land and resources are forcibly taken from the poor and given to the rich – a process which goes by the name of 'development'. It would be foolish to expect objective reporting: not because the journalists are bad people, but because of the economic structure of the organizations they work for. In fact, what is surprising is that despite all of this, occasionally there is some very good reporting. But overall we either have silence, or a completely distorted picture, in which those resisting their impoverishment are being labeled 'terrorists' – and these are not just the Maoist rebels who have taken to arms, but others who are involved in unarmed, but militant, struggles against the government. A climate has been created which criminalizes dissent of all kinds.

There are hundreds, maybe even thousands of the poorest people in jails across the country under charges of sedition and waging war against the state. Many others are just charged under the common criminal penal code. There are the other 'seditionists' too, of course – those who have been fighting for self-determination after being inducted into the Union of India without their consent, when the British left in 1947. I refer to Kashmir, Manipur, Nagaland... in these places, tens of thousands have been killed, and hundreds of thousands tortured in the nightmarish interrogation centres and army camps all around the country. And now, the Indian army is migrating to the heart of the

country – to fight the adivasi people whose lands the corporations covet. They say Pakistan is a military dictatorship, but I don't think the Pakistani army has been actively deployed against its 'own' people the way the Indian army has been: Kashmir, Manipur, Nagaland, Hyderabad, Goa, Telengana, Punjab and now, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa...

**Anti-corruption campaigning has been at the forefront of media-reported news in India. Meanwhile, the relative silence on civil war conditions continues. How does one explain this gap in what makes the news?**

I have mixed feelings about the anti-corruption campaign. It gathered momentum after a series of huge scams hit the headlines. The most scandalous of them was what has come to be known as the '2G scam' in which the government sold telecom spectrum for mobile phones (a public asset) to private companies at ridiculously low prices. The companies went on to sell them at huge profits to other companies, robbing the public exchequer of billions of rupees. Leaked phone taps showed how everybody, from the judiciary to politicians to high profile journalists and low profit hit-men, were in on the maneuvering. The transcripts were like an MRI scan that confirmed a diagnosis that had been made years ago by many of us.

The 2G scam enraged the Indian middle classes, who saw it as a betrayal, as a moral problem, not a systemic or a structural one. Somehow, the fact that the government has signed hundreds of secret Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) privatizing water, minerals and infrastructure, and signing over forests, mountains and rivers to private corporations, does not seem to generate the same outrage. Unlike in the 2G scam, these secret MOUs do not have just a monetary cost, but human and environmental costs that are devastating. They displace millions of people and wreck whole ecosystems. The mining corporations pay the government just a tiny royalty and rake in huge profits. Yet the people who are fighting these battles are being called terrorists and terrorist sympathizers. Even if there were no corruption and everything were above board on these deals, it would be daylight robbery on an unimaginable scale.

On the whole, when a political movement is mobilized using the language of 'anti-corruption', it has an apolitical 'catch-all' appeal which could result in a hugely unfair system being strengthened by a sort of moral police force

which has authoritarian instincts. So you have ‘Team Anna’: a sort of oligarchy of ‘concerned citizens’ – some of them very fine people – led by the old Gandhian Anna Hazare, who talks about amputating the limbs of thieves and hanging people and who has praised Gujarat’s Chief Minister Narendra Modi, who presided over the public massacre of thousands of Muslims in broad daylight. On the other hand, to shun the anti-corruption movement and set your eyes on a long-term political goal lets the corporate looters and their henchmen in the media, parliament and judiciary off the hook. So it’s a bit of a dilemma.

**Recent Indian government legislation permits web content to be shut down for a variety of reasons. Film censorship is still widely used. Why does the state take such a paternalistic role towards what its citizens have to say?**

I think overt censorship is slated to become a big problem in the near future. Internet censorship, surveillance, the project of the electronic UID (Unique Identity card)... ominous. Imagine a government that cannot provide food or water to its people, a government whose policies have created a population of 800 million people who live on less than 20 rupees [about 45 US cents] a day, a country which has the largest number of malnourished children in the world, which has, as a major priority, the desire to distribute UID cards to all of its citizens.

The UID is a corporate scam which funnels billions of dollars into the IT sector. To me, it is one of the most serious transgressions that are on the cards. It is nothing more than an administrative tool in the hands of a police state. But coming back to censorship: since the US government has pissed on its Holy Cow (Free Speech – or whatever little was left of it) with its vituperative reaction to Wikileaks, now everybody will jump on the bandwagon. (Just like every country had its own version of the ‘war on terror’ to settle scores.) Having said this, India is certainly not the worst place in the world on the Free Speech issue: the anarchy of different kinds of media, the fact that it’s such an unmanageable country and, though institutions of democracy have been eroded, there is a militant spirit of democracy among the people... it will be hard to shut us all up. Impossible, I’d say.

**You have pointed out that nonviolent positions are difficult to hold on to when there is no audience to witness them, and when the opposing force does not blink at the moral challenge and responds with murder. Why do you think pointing that out caused such an uproar?**

I have written at some length about this. I do not say that nonviolent Satyagraha is an obsolete tool of resistance,

not at all. It can be extremely effective; but has to be carried out in the public eye, in front of TV cameras, and for demands – like ‘anti-corruption’ – which appeal to the sympathies of the middle class. However, I do believe that preaching ‘nonviolence at any cost’ from a safe distance to adivasi people who live in remote forest villages and have watched hundreds of security forces arrive, surround their villages, burn their homes and kill and rape their people, can also be pretty immoral. If the middle class were to join the battle, then of course nonviolent Satyagraha would be an option. But of course it won’t. It can’t. That would be a political oxymoron.

Why does pointing this out cause an uproar, you ask? I think because of the fear that once those millions of people who have been so cruelly dispossessed of all they have in order to fire India’s ‘growth’ suddenly unshackle their imaginations and realize that they are not so defenceless after all, the Beautiful People know that no power on earth will be able to protect them. Sure, there may not be a perfect, synchronized revolution in which the masses will overthrow the ruling classes. Instead, there will be a messy insurrection, when all manner of brutality will occur. The poor may not win, but the rich will certainly lose. The feast will end. That’s why the uproar.

**Are we talking about the narratives we like to make up and then believe in, regardless of the reality of the situation? What is your take on the narratives, especially those of the Western media, around the Arab uprisings?**

Well, when the mainstream media begins to report enthusiastically about a series of uprisings – when they described the Arab uprisings as the Arab ‘spring’ – and when you know how loaded the reporting around the Israeli Occupation of Palestine is, then if you have your wits about you, you have to be on your guard, a little wary of swallowing the reports hook, line and sinker. If you follow what happened over the last three summers in Kashmir, for example, when tens of thousands of unarmed people faced down Indian security forces with as much courage and determination as the people of Egypt, Tunisia, Syria and Yemen, you can’t help but wonder why the Western media switches on the lights to cover some uprisings, and blacks out others. I found it a little disconcerting how enthusiastically the 19-day ‘revolution’ in Tahrir Square was being reported, how excited [New York Times foreign affairs columnist] Thomas Friedman was about it – but only a few months ago reports seemed to suggest that Hosni Mubarak was sick and dying... Then you had headlines like ‘Egypt free, army takes charge’ and you know that the army is intricately entwined with the US. I worry that the

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# A New Weapon in System's Arsenal

Anand Swaroop Verma

29 Aug. 2011

All those people who believed as well as propagated the idea that the present system based on capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder is rotten to the core and there is no other way for the betterment of humanity than to overthrow/demolish it can discover to their dismay that Anna Hazare, has demonstrated with an element of success that the present system itself can save ordinary people from impoverishment if some reforms are undertaken. Anna has managed to put a break on all those people who were getting further disillusioned with the anti people nature of the system. Anna has provided necessary oxygen to the ruling classes and irony of the situation is that all those people who are themselves victim of exploitation of the system are themselves carrier of this status quoist vision. It is a tragedy of our times that they are engaging themselves wholeheartedly in saving that very system which has made their life hell. Ruling classes in the country who were getting apprehensive over the growing surge of people's movement in different parts of the country are today feeling relieved with Anna's intervention. It is quite natural that broad masses of the people get confused when they witness growing fights within different sections of the ruling classes about who would hold reins of power but as far as espousing the honour of the saviour of the system is concerned there is perfect unanimity. The bonhomie between the ruling party and the main opposition on this matter was on full display in the special session of the Parliament held on 27 th August when Pranab Mukherjee of the Congress and Sushma Swaraj of the BJP echoed each other and its reverberations were easily felt on the Ramlila grounds. Taking necessary lesson from Sharad

Yadav's speech on the floor of the house a day before, Anna not only remembered Dr Ambedkar while breaking fast the next day, but also selected kids from dalit and Muslim communities for offering juice.

The thirteen day movement led by Anna Hazare would be remembered as an unprecedented and historic event in the annals of India's history, not only because lakhs of people participated in it or 24 7 channels beamed it day and night but rather the long term impact it is going to have on our society. It need be remembered that the strength of any movement or its impact on the society can not merely be gauged by the participation of lakhs of people in it. If that had been the only criterion then India has witnessed some movements within last 30-35 years - ranging from JP movement to Ramjanambhoomi movement, anti corruption movement led by VP Singh focusing on the issue of Bofors, anti reservation movement to protest implementation of Mandal Commission recommendations - which saw participation of millions of people in it. Any movement's success or failure in taking the society forward or backward depends upon the simple fact that who is leading it and what is their 'vision' ? Till date we have been witness to anti corruption movements which were used to reach pedestals of power fully exploiting people's anger and grievances. It is a characteristic feature of Anna's personality that people do not see any such danger. They are aware that this saintly type man from Ralegaon Sidhi is not hankering after power.

Anna's movement is qualitatively different from earlier movements as it would act as a polarizing force among all those formations only who are struggling for broader social

transformation. The revolutionary left forces in the country are neither in a position to mobilize people in a similar manner nor it is possible for them to sustain the momentum for such a long time as Anna did. A simple explanation is that system itself decides its approach vis-a-vis any movement depending upon its basic character. Media also decides its approach on similar considerations. Would it have been possible for the journalists and camerapersons of any channel to cover Anna's agitation without the consent of their owner ? Whether Corporate bosses would have rendered help to any such movement or supported it which was intended to attack at their roots, the way they rooted for Anna ? A report by India's Ministry of Home Affairs tells us that the NGO sector in this country received 40,000 crores in last three years - the same NGO sector whose operatives the likes of Arvind Kejriwal, Manish Sisodia, Kiran Bedi, Sandeep Pandey, Swami Agnivesh etc formed the core of team Anna at some time or the other. All these people are benefiting from that very system which is getting rotten and is waiting for its demise. Oppressed people in different parts of the country are struggling to give it a decent burial. Today one is witness to a saviour of the system who may be 74 year old but for the custodians of this system needs to live longer in this leaderless era.

Whether it needs repeated emphasizing that the original source of corruption lies in the neoliberal policies of the government? These policies have led few people become billionaires and have simultaneously marginalized working masses in large numbers. These policies have opened up limitless possibilities before the Corporate sector, which have led to unprecedented displacement of people

from the little lands they own, the water sources they use or the forests they inhabit and has led to their elimination in case of their resistance. It is only these policies that have made media acquire strength and become such a powerful player in the echelons of power. All those people who are benefiting from these policies would never want that they are discontinued. In fact, the growing discontent and upsurge against these policies witnessed in different parts of the country have become a cause of concern among the ruling classes. In this situation if there appears an individual, who has led a spotless life, who has kept himself aloof from power politics and who is leading a movement which does not aim to attack at the roots of the problem then it is natural that system would consider him nothing less than a saviour. Anna's arrest, his release, differences over venue of fast and similar related issues have come up because of conflicts among ruling classes. They are not having an impact on the original issue.

It is being said that Anna's movement has helped people remember movements, Satyagraha led

by Gandhiji during independence struggle who have merely seen it in photographs or movies. We should never forget that another stream existed during Gandhi's times which opposed Gandhi's philosophy and which was led by Bhagat Singh. As far as ideas are concerned Bhagat Singh was far ahead of Gandhi. Bhagat Singh had prophesized in 1928-30 itself that if we achieve independence under Gandhi's leadership then White Britishers would be replaced by Britishers of our own skin as there would be no systemic transformation. Around 80 years after Bhagat Singh's prophesy Anna Hazare also had to repeat the same from Ramlila ground. Despite this remarkable difference between them, Gandhi could get more 'space' by the media then and at the hands of the system. It was not an era of TRP ratings because Television had not arrived till then. It was noteworthy that martyr Sukhdev had written to Chandrasekhar Azad that media does not carry their statements and they were not able to communicate their voices to the people. It has been our experience that whenever forces committed to basic social

transformation raise their heads; attempts are made to silence them. If you attempt to save the system which is on its deathbed then the system would be ready to provide you with every comfort.

Anna Hazare's speech on 28 th August at Ramlila grounds after breaking his fast has made clear his future agenda. Like an experienced politician he has talked of raising all those issues which would create an outwardly impression of a struggle for the change of system but all such struggles would culminate in strengthening the system, make it more sustainable, more repressive and more strong. Anna's movement has not finished on 28 th August rather it has begun on that day. With his journey from Ramlila grounds to Gurgaon hospital where State was providing security to his ambulance and reporters were busy providing live telecast one could sense the shape of things to come. This is a new weapon in the system's arsenal which would be a big challenge to all those people who are engaged in struggle for revolutionary transformation in the system. **PM**

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anger and energy of people who have been repressed for years by puppet dictators is being siphoned off, carefully defused, while the West jockeys to retain the status quo one way or another and replace the old despots with a more streamlined, less obvious form of despotism. The last I heard, people were beginning to gather in Tahrir Square again...

**Surges of people power, as in Tunisia and Egypt, and earlier in the Philippines, are capable of forcing climactic moments and sudden change. But the aftermath often sees a return to old systems and old corruptions. Why is human social organization so resistant to the change we yearn for?**

While people in these countries lived under repressive regimes and yearned for democracy, perhaps they didn't know that real democracy has been taken into the workshop and replaced by the market-friendly version, which is a far more sophisticated form of despotism, not easy for

beginners to decode. It might take a little time for people to realize they've been sold the wrong model. But meanwhile they have fought heroic street battles, faced down tanks, celebrated victory. They've been applauded all the way, while they let off steam. For them to build up that head of steam again isn't easy. It'll take years. Human society isn't resistant to change: it wants change; but sometimes it isn't smart enough to get what it wants.

**Another world is possible. What are the ways in which we can make it likely?**

To work out the complex ways in which we are being conned and corralled into being 'good'. To realize we're on our own. Help won't come. We have to conserve energy, know how and where and when to deploy it. We have to fight our own battles. Ask the Sri Lankan Tamils what it feels like when the chips are down and the 'international community' slinks away while your people are slaughtered and then returns to cluck and commiserate in hollow ways.

**PM**

# The Neoliberal Revolution

by Anand Teltumbde

Expectedly, the high pitched media supported Anna *anshan* at Ramlila ground has come to an end with the Parliament passing a unanimous resolution as dictated by the team Anna. The three conditions that the lower bureaucracy should be within the Lokpal's ambit, Lokayuktas in states should be brought in through a central legislation like Lokpal's and a citizen's charter detailing the responsibilities of government functionaries and the penalty for the non-fulfillment should be instituted, were favourably discussed by the Parliament but the government initially avoided passing the resolution, retracting its commitment to the Team Anna and thus adding one more point to its score of foolishness. Soon thereafter, it retracts again and manages a unanimous resolution in the Parliament, which would satisfy Anna Hazare to give up his fast on the 12th day. The media screamed "Anna wins full victory" while Hazare himself cautions the ecstatic crowds that it was just a half. He announced that he has suspended his fast; his agitation would continue until the Lokpal bill was passed.

Although the media is still fraught with Anna euphoria in absence of some other 'breaking news', it is cooling off on the episode and coming to terms that it is a long circuitous way to go for having the bill passed. In the process ahead whether the Lokpal bill would really confirm to the Jan Lokpal draft, is anybody's guess. While the Parliament's commitment to the three conditions is of 'moral' nature, in the situational context it may be reasonably relied upon. However, since it is linked to the architecture suggested by the Jan Lokpal bill, it is necessary the final bill confirms to the latter. As of now there are already nine alternate drafts of the Lokpal bill, and by the time the Standing Committee considers them, there shall be many more. They will all be considered by the Standing Committee. In all probability, the final bill that will be put before the house would significantly differ from the Jan Lokpal bill, architecturally as well as in contents. Will the entire episode then be repeated once more, after months? Going by Hazare's resolve, the answer is yes; but will that not be dangerous? Emboldened by the nationwide support he received, he has already announced his next step to take up electoral reforms in demanding inclusion of an option of 'none of the candidates' and 'Right to Recall', to exert pressure on the system to have 'good' people in governance. There is no doubt that he would be hugely supported by the burgeoning middle classes in all his moves, now that they saw in him a second Gandhi. But the point is to ponder whether all these legislative reforms will really arrest the craving of accumulation in the dominant classes, legitimized by the neoliberal ethos; which class interests are driving them and in what way they will serve those interests.

**Government's Game Plan:** The government's flip flop; nay the series of blunders, has surely facilitated the movement. After tasting the success in its highhanded demolition of the Baba Ramdev show at Ramlila ground, government could use force against the crowds that showed up in support of Anna Hazare and possibly demolished it. But it did not do so. If one

takes a cursory look at its behavior right from the beginning of this movement, one could sense astounding ineptitude of the government in handling it. To start with it should not have driven Hazare to go on fast. Within hours of sitting on fast, the government began discussing with his team and made a volte-face on its foolish plea that drafting the bill was government's prerogative, in making it a part of the joint drafting committee. If it was to be the joint drafting committee, it could have involved representatives of all political parties and preempted future hurdles in process. Not only that it did not do it, but also it made another somersault in rudely abandoning the exercise, discarding the Jan Lokpal draft under discussion and forwarded its absurdly drafted bill to the standing committee.

When Hazare declared his second spell of fast, the government could easily guess what was in store for it and plan its move in advance. But surprisingly, it became further ludicrous. Delhi police, which is controlled by the Central government, putting unreasonable conditions for the agitators; arresting Hazare and then releasing him, both without any plausible reason; preparing the Ramlila ground as the venue for his fast; and letting the peoples' frenzy all over the country reach its zenith over the 10 long days, is certainly unbecoming of the government of such a large country. It was too foolish for the government to do so. But was it just foolish as it is seen by most people? It was not an isolated act or acts but a long series of foolish actions, which should prompt suspicion of some game plan of the government. After all, could the experienced politicians like Pranab Mukherjee, Salman Khurshid, or even Kapil Sibal and Chidambaram, who may appear brash but are certainly not brainless, could be so foolish collectively to let it happen. And that too under the leadership of our Oxford-Cambridge educated prime minister? It appears unlikely.

With hindsight though one can see this series of apparently foolish actions of the government has only served one purpose: allowing long enough time to build up hysteria all over the country against the political class and the government. How could the political class or the government scheme against themselves? What could be its possible utility to them? What possible purpose it serves? One may guess, it serves a definite purpose of the government in building strong public opinion in the country against the government and the political class dabbling in matters of economy, and therefore in corollary, in favour of the free market reforms. The uncongenial context of series of scams, untamed inflation, rising peoples' movements against various kinds of land grabs, rising unemployment, and so on were exposing the anti-people character of the pro-elite neoliberal policies of the government. The government badly needed the strong voice from among the people that could overcome this anger of the masses and pave the way for further reforms for which the neoliberal Team Man Mohan has been craving.

The Anna movement actually has come as a blessing in disguise for the government to accomplish this. Do not mistake, the Lokpal is nothing but essentially a regulator, which is

prescribed by the neoliberal framework to ensure that the free market operates by certain guidelines. This regulator could be conceived to regulate the political and bureaucrat market so as to keep it attuned to the process of deepening neoliberal reforms. As such Man Mohan Singh is not averse to the idea of Lokpal; he would genuinely want it. It is not because he is concerned for corruption; rather he is not at all. People were bewildered at his silence when scam after scam unfolded and stunned the country. They do not know that for a hardcore neoliberal, corruption is not an issue at all. It is the grease that lubricates the economic growth machine. After all, it is a part of the market mechanism. If people paid some bribe to get 2G licenses and caused the 'notional' loss to the exchequer of Rs.176,000 crores, it was the perceived price the licensees were prepared to pay for the 2G spectrum in the existing market.

The monumental ineptitude exhibited by the government may only be understood by this possible game plan. The longer the frenzy over the Lokpal lasts, better it is to create and deepen the resentment against the politically driven status quo and pave way for the market driven reforms. The government is only worried about creating any structure that would impede these reforms and would surely ensure its will prevails even in face of euphoric demands. It is not really worried or scared of Lokpal or Jan Lokpal for that matter, because it very well knows; it will just be another wheel for its appellation, which will not change its direction. It is only worried that it should not slow it down.

**BJP the Net Gainer:** The beauty of the India's parliamentary system is that there is essential similarity between all ruling class parties on most core policy matters and behaviours, whether it is economic reforms or foreign policy or the secularism and communalism. They differ at the maximum in shade. In class terms it may thus be called political oligopoly. They would however fight against each other to the hilt to capture power. In the current contention between the 'civil society' and the government, the BJP sensed great opportunity to embarrass the Congress led UPA and score political points. The pathetic performance of the UPA II has enlivened its hopes of winning next elections. On corruption however it was not in position to come clear in face of the skeletons tumbling out from its own cupboards, notwithstanding its apologetic defences. It was amusing to watch the TV-debates in the wake of this Lokpal imbroglio wherein the Congress and BJP spokesmen hurling accusations at each other. That rather truly reflected the state of the nation, where corruption is no more an absolute evil but a relative measure. Other regional parties also having tasted meat in smaller ways were not any better.

BJP used every opportunity skillfully in the debate over the Lokpal drafts to embarrass the government, without opening its cards. When Anna Hazare came out on road, it actively supported it. During his fasts at Jantar Mantar, Raj Ghat and lastly at Ramlila maidan, its progenitor Sangh Parivar took an active part in mobilizing people. Many people had commented upon its imprint in the picture of Bharat Mata in the form of a Hindu goddess that constituted the backdrop at the Jantar

Mantar, strikingly similar to the one used by the Sangh Parivar in their programmes. Although, the organizers belonging to the India against Corruption might have had Hindutva proclivities (and some people did accuse a few individuals of that) that led them to put up Bharat Mata there, the team Anna by then incorporated progressive people like Prashant Bhushan, whose secular credentials could not be suspect. The fact that the comments emerged from outsiders and not from the motley crowd is also significant in understanding the character of the crowd. The slogans of Vande Mataram, Bharat Mata ki jai and many others reflected the influence of Sangh Parivar on the crowd.

Although they carried on with their apologetic explanation that the picture of goddess put up on the stage was actually mother India and not that of the Hindu goddess, the organizers were embarrassed enough to change it to the picture of Gandhi at the Ramlila ground. The government's mishandling came handy for the BJP to embarrass the government. The commentators sans touch with the ground reality did not see the Anna movement being actively driven by the Sangh Parivar but with every BJP person speaking in unison of their support to the movement halfway through testifies to this truth. At many places people have noted the Sangh pracharaks actively mobilizing people to participate in their processions and demonstrations. Ashok Singhal of the VHP proudly claimed that they had provided free food to the people gathered at Ramlila ground. Insofar as BJP aimed at embarrassing the government, it accomplished it in full measure. Both ways, in terms of preparing general public opinion in favour of further neoliberal reforms as the government perhaps wanted, and in process causing embarrassment to the government, the BJP is the gainer.

**Alienation of Masses:** While the crowds surged with every passing day in support of Anna, it was mainly drawn from the middle class segment of the population, which could be described as urbane, English educated, upper caste, upwardly mobile, young people. The frontal organizations of the Sangh Parivar also significantly contributed to the swelling crowd. This is the neoliberal generation of India, most of them having grown up during last two decades seeing Indian economy growing at impressive rate. They do not share the shame and apology for India that their elders had because of her so called Hindu rate of growth which refused to transcend the 3.5 percent marker and visible poverty. The times this generation lived through, was marked as 'license raj', domination of public sector, rise of the backward castes, and cultural built up of the lowest strata of Dalits. Although, the government policy was systematically driven towards capitalist development without in any ways denting the feudal classes, and in the interests of bourgeoisie, the Nehruvian rhetoric had succeeded in creating an impression that it was pursuing socialist path. During the Cold War period, its association with the USSR and consequent annoyance of the US camp also strengthened this impression. The Nehruvian project did aspire to see India emerge as a modern nation shunning its decadent traditions and customs. People tended to intellectually believe that India needed to change

its belief system and culture and carried a sense of apology for the past. Although it did not make much dent to the practice, nobody, except the hardliner Hindu, could dare to justify caste system, communalism, religious rituals, gods and god men in public.

The neoliberal era, began informally with the Indira Gandhi's taking the then biggest loan from the IMF of 5 billion dollars immediately after her second coming, soon identified with Rajiv Gandhi after her assassination, and formally in July 1991 under Narsimha Rao government brought in a systematic reversal in this trend. The 'free market' propaganda of the global capital appeared sensible in rescuing the world economy in crisis, which was associated with the statist blockade. The decline of the socialist regime also boosted the belief. Indian economy generally began looking up with visible markers of 'development' like foreign brands being freely available in the Indian market, foreign models of cars appearing on roads. The reversal of economic trend created reversal of the apologetic thinking of India. India's emergence as a major player in IT sector, Indian professionals in the US gaining prominence, whether cause or consequence, rather boosted up the pride in 'India'. The young people generally blamed their parents' generation and the ideological baggage of socialism for the recent past and believed in intrinsic superiority of India, along with all its customs, tradition and belief system. Caste, communalism, religious rituals, culture and tradition, which was being apologetically spoken about began openly justified in public. This reversal overlapped with the Hindutva ideology. This has been one of the major factors behind BJP's rise from oblivion to political power in 1990s.

These policies being inherently elitist, helped the typical upper caste, English and technical educated, youth of cities and towns in constituting a rising middle class. It imagined India as emerging super power and in its superficial ways identified political and bureaucratic corruption, the overall system of governance, and perhaps the Constitution that dampened the 'meritocracy' as the hurdles in its path. The huge support the Jan Lokpal campaign received from this segment could be understood in this manner. While they would like freeing India from these evils, this segment, true to its class character, cannot stomach the idea of thorough overhaul of the system, a la revolution that, say, the Maoists want to bring about. Maoists also speak in the name of people, the vast majority of the toiling people who are rendered invisible by the neoliberal onslaught. The social engineering, non-violence, civil society, peoples' power are the typical wordy armour of this class which tend to exclude those who are not their part. It is natural that the lower strata, certainly the Dalits, Adivasis, minorities and the artisan castes untied to the dominant castes, do not identify with their show and rather would oppose it even with aberrant manner.

It is not that they favour the current governance or like corruption. Being the biggest victims of these evils, they would rather want them to be rooted out. But they do see the campaign being driven with class interests inimical to theirs and not particularly aimed at eradication of these evils. The legislation

of Acts has been a veritable means to pacify them at various times. Take for instance the enactment of the Atrocity Act, which aimed at curbing the incidence of caste atrocities against SCs and STs. What is the reality? Since its enactment, the caste atrocities have rather consistently risen. Take another case of much acclaimed Right to Education Act. This Act in reality has taken away the inherent Constitutional right of the poor children to get education in common schools and rather legitimized the multi-layered education system that was introduced with neoliberal ethos. The result of it will be soon seen in huge disempowerment of entire rural people in general and SCs and STs in particular.

The crowd at Ramlila thought (indeed it is reported as such in a section of the press) these 'undeserving' people do not have brains. They shouted provocative slogans and held placards that reservations were the root cause of all corruption. Some of their key leaders were reported to have been associated with the anti-reservation campaigns. An editor of one Hindi periodical, 'Diamond India' Bhanwar Meghawanshi has listed many such provocations in his article 'Why Are Dalits Not Enthusiastic About Anna's Movement?'. Provocation apart, there has not been any remote reference to the caste culture which could be easily discerned as the mother of moral corruption; or the neoliberal policies of the government which can be directly linked to the kind of corruption that provoked the campaign. The complete tone and tenor of the campaign is slanted against the lower strata of the society, which though invisible on TV channels constitute the vast majority of this country. The Team Anna wanted to dispel this impression in a symbolical manner, again ironically borrowed from the Sangh Parivar's repertoire, by offering the coconut water to Anna Hazare to break his fast through two girls, one dalit and the other Muslim. It needed to know that alienation of these communities has gone little deeper to be dispelled by such a stereotypical symbolism.

**Lokpal as a Savior:** Nobody can oppose the need to strengthen the mechanism to curb corruption in the country. But to believe that something like new oligarchic set up of Lokpal will do the magic, just because it worked in Scandinavia and other such countries, is unjustified. Most Acts in most countries are essentially similar but the result they produce is drastically different. It has to do with the cultural paradigm in which they work. There is a case to take cognizance of these issues at this stage. Insofar corruption can be seen as the outcome of the power asymmetry in society; unlike other societies it appears qualitatively endemic to our caste culture with its rigid hierarchies. This culture has produced the doublespeak of the elite, expressing altruistic concern for people but at the same time continuing with their exploitation. It is integral part of our culture that distinguishes us as arguably most corrupt people in the world. India's corruption ranking by Transparency International also does not catch this reality. The African countries that appear more corrupt than us by those ranks also were basically taught corruption by the Indian migrants. The Swiss Banking Association report of 2008 had indicated (mysteriously not being mentioned anymore these

days) whooping \$ 1891 billion of Indian black money deposits in Swiss bank, more than all the black money deposits of all countries in the world. It perhaps better portrays our character. The remedy therefore becomes eradicating socio-economic inequality from the society. The Lokpal prescription does not reflect this diagnosis of the disease and instead focuses on mere symptom.

Anna and his team believe that 50-60 % of corruption can be eliminated if their Lokpal is installed. The entire premise of the campaign is on creating an independent and incorruptible agency, which will curb corruption from the entire political class and bureaucracy. Theoretically speaking, constitution of such an agency itself is next to impossibility because in our culture those in public prominence from amongst whom such a selection would be made cannot be conceived to be beyond corruption; the honest and sincere people having been thrown out of their arena long ago. Paradoxically, they may be found in Indian jails charged under sedition Act. Many people have raised genuine issues as regard its practicability and efficacy and they cannot be just ignored. The Lokpal or Jan Lokpal will be one more oligarchic institution to be borne by the toiling masses of this country. Take for example any of the recent scams and ask a simple question whether Lokpal would have really deterred these scamsters? Would this Bill have prevented the CWG scam, the NTR scam, the CVC appointment or any of the recent embarrassments? Only the incorrigible optimist might answer the question in affirmative.

The kind of corruption the Team Anna speaks about also has its identifiable source but it scrupulously avoided speaking about it. The Global Financial Integrity (GFI) study titled "The drivers and dynamics of illicit financial flows from India: 1948-2008" by economist Dev Kar estimates that out of \$ 462 billion siphoned out of India during the 61 years period, 68 % is attributable to the post-reform period of just 18 years. There are many such country studies and acknowledgement from the protagonists of neoliberalism itself that confirm that neoliberal policies have caused the new genre of corruption. Instead of pointing out at this source, the Jan Lokpal campaign rather effectively diverted peoples' attention from it. Let Anna undertake fast unto death for stopping the economic reforms of the government in order to curb corruption and then see how many people come to Ramlila and what way the state reacts! Instead of identifying the structure and systems as the source of corruption, the campaign is focusing on individuals, forgetting the fundamental dictum that individual behavior is a function of little self and much of situation. This country has been after saviours for far too long. We had many saviours; every caste and community has its own. The middle classes found their savior in Anna Hazare to cleanse this country of evils. They propose savior in Lokpal. Saviours have come and gone; the only thing that they did was to damage the consciousness of people that it is they who are the harbinger of change.

**Conclusion:** Anna Hazare, a simple old man, that benevolent chieftain of sorts from a remote village who has earned certain

reputation pursuing causes that he believed in steadfastly, has come up at the national level as a miracle man through this movement. But the credit for the miracle halfway through must go to the media that worked relentlessly to build up and project his image. The media, which easily adopts a holier than thou kind of attitude, can itself be marked for corruption in its omissions and commissions. That it is a business, pure and simple, and conduct itself with certain business strategy is a settled question. Even in earlier times, notwithstanding its pretensions to responsibility and ethics, it was a business. But then the business strategy had a dimension called 'long term' which impelled media to establish its credibility and ethical image, ignoring the lures of short term. Now, the product life cycles have become so small that almost this long term has disappeared from strategy consideration and short term has overtaken everything. The media therefore unabashedly seeks revenue maximization through TRP and for that goes to any extent manufacturing news. Taking its social consequences, this very process itself can be condemned as corruption. But who will say this to whom; when media controls entire communication in our age. The enormous power that the media wields can easily create miracles of the kind out of practically anything, if it finds potential to serve its own interests.

As discussed, this movement has steered clear of the root causes of the disease of corruption and pitched its prescriptions around corruption as symptom. It is also indicated that if it had done the former, it would have never got the kind of support it received. Such simplistic and superficial diagnosis of social matters is characteristic of neoliberal ideology and fits well with the class character of the middle classes who like just patch up solution that can bring them incremental benefits while preserving what they have. Instinctively they are scared of going to roots of the problem because it would demand radical overhaul of the system which could threaten their own possession. Taking the aspirations and frustrations of this class, this movement had just the right mix to attract it. Their perception of corruption is constricted; it is limited to politicians and bureaucracy. They would not by mistake touch corporations and businessmen, who are the main feeders, the fountainhead of this corruption. They would not similarly touch NGOs of various hues that are conduits of neoliberal ideology and yes, the media.

The greatest win of the movement lies in galvanizing the neoliberal middle class, which generally remained apathetic to politics, to make a statement on road. They have effectively created an illusion that the system could be 'revolutionized' through introducing legislative reforms like Lokpal and changes in election system or bringing in 'good' people in place of bad ones. They thwart the possibility of revolt which the situation is fast driving people to. The campaign has already prevented people from seeing the real rot in the system; it's real disease and diverted their attention to symptom. Many people called it a revolution, not knowing what stuff the revolutions are made of. Well, if it qualifies to be a revolution, we may have to call it a neoliberal revolution!

PM

## India: Protesters “demanded water, but they gave us bullets”

Mihir Tanksale, TNN | Aug 11, 2011

PUNE: Villagers of Maval taluka initially refused to claim bodies but later gave up seeing the plight of the relatives of the three victims who died in the police firing on Tuesday. “We demanded water, but the police and the politicians gave us bullets,” said Macchindra Tile, who reached the Sassoon hospital on Wednesday to claim the body of his brother-in-law, Moreshwar Sathe, who died during the police firing on the Pune-Mumbai-expressway on Tuesday.

Tile alleged that his brother-in-law was standing by the road side, but the police dragged him from the crowd and shot him at a point blank range. The post-mortem of all the three victims, Moreshwar Sathe, Kantabai Ankush Thakar and Sham Raghu Tupe, was conducted at the Sassoon hospital. According to the report, the cause of

death of all the three victims was ‘death due to traumatic shock caused due to firearm.’ Relatives and villagers gathered outside the Sassoon hospital since Tuesday evening but refused to claim the bodies till action against police officers responsible for the incident was taken by the government.

To avoid any untoward incident, large number of policemen, including two deputy commissioners and an assistant commissioner of police, were deployed on the premises of the mortuary of the hospital. Tile told TOI, “We first decided not to claim the bodies. But, considering the condition of the close relatives of the victims, we relented. No one in our village has eaten since the incident took place.” “Early morning we decided to claim the bodies. But, police gave us the bodies around 1 pm. We also had to

fight to get possession of the bodies,” Tile said. Tile said that his slain brother-in-law, Moreshwar Sathe, was working as a driver with him. “Sathe was very calm and down to earth person,” Tile said.

Sathe is survived by wife, a daughter who studies in standard 12 and a son who studies in standard 10. Shankar Deshmukh, a neighbour of Sham Tupe who also died in the firing, said the police had indiscriminately opened fire on the agitators. “Tupe died on the spot as the bullet pierced his neck,” Deshmukh said. Deshmukh said that Tupe hailed from a poor family and he is survived by wife, one and half-year-old son and two elder brothers. He was working in a private company on a temporary basis. The bodies of the all the three victims were sent to their native village. **PM**

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people to the forefront and are trying to portray this as a ‘civil war’ between the people. They stood you against the very people of whom you were once a part. ‘Patriotism’ and ‘defence of the country’ are some of the lies used by the ruling classes to incite you against the people’s movements that are fought with just demands. In fact, it is these very classes which are using you as cannon fodder that are the biggest enemies to our country. They are scamsters who have resorted to scams worth billions of rupees; they have mortgaged not only the riches of our country but also its sovereignty for the sake of kickbacks; they have stashed away billions of rupees of black money in Swiss banks by indiscriminate loot of the people of our country. It is due to these scamsters and gangsters that 77 percent of our population is not able to eat even two times per day. They have pushed us into the quagmire of poverty, price rises, unemployment, epidemics, starvation deaths, malnutrition etc. So do identify your real enemies. Don’t forget that your barrels are pointing at your very own people at present.

Dandakaranya Special Zonal committee of CPI (Maoist) calls upon all the SPOs to leave their jobs and come back to their villages. We, the party and the people, promise to rehabilitate all those SPOs who come back to their villages, accept all the crimes they have committed and seek the mercy of the people while severing all kinds of connections with the government machinery. Janatana Sarkar, the people’s government, would provide them lands and other instruments of production. They would be provided a guarantee for livelihood. So, we appeal to all the SPOs to come out of the vicious circle and the false propaganda of these exploitative governments. Do not crave for the morsels thrown by them, try to stand on your own feet and live with raised heads among the people of your villages. Do not live a life of insecurity and restlessness. Stand in support of the just struggles of the people of Dandakaranya fought against the absolute corporate loot of invaluable natural riches and for right over Jal-Jungle-Zameen.

(Gudsa Usendi)

Spokesperson, Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee,  
CPI (Maoist)

## Large-scale HR violations

Firdous Syed

The custodians of law have become a law unto themselves. The security forces having little regard for the fundamental rights of a citizen, trampling the rights of a citizen is a common sight in J&K. Ironically the security forces in J&K are thought to be fighting to restore the writ of the constitution, yet they themselves are the worst transgressors of the constitution. The people regrettably have developed a habit of overlooking the human rights violation as an offshoot - a necessary evil - in the fight against militancy. And the government randomly rejects the allegations as Pakistan inspired propaganda to defame security forces.

The two recent high profile incidents of Delhi and Pune may prove helpful to bring to the fore the plight of people in J&K. If police can act as a tool of the politicians to suppress the dissenting voices in the capital of the nation, the reign of suppression let loose in the insurgency hit Jammu and Kashmir needs no further explanation.

The menace of fake encounters has seeped to such alarming levels that the highest court of the country seems to have lost the patience. In a fake encounter case the Supreme Court came heavily on the law breakers in the garb of uniform: 'blood-thirsty and trigger-happy policemen who stage fake encounters deserve nothing less than death sentence for the "cold blooded murders."' Calling fake encounter a "cold blooded murder" may in the long run may act as deterrence for the criminals. Often the so-called "encounter specialists" are adored as heroes. But once the wheel of the law starts moving against them, it doesn't take people long to identify the criminals in uniform.

It's matter of great concern that police atrocities have become so common. In rest of the country the corrective mechanisms eventually come to the rescue of a hapless citizen, the conduct of higher judiciary is exemplary. The situation in Kashmir is

different; here every HR violation is judged through the national security prism.

Fake encounters - the extra judicial killings - have become a matter of routine. There are numerous instances when hardened criminals and in case of Kashmir, militants have been summarily executed by the police or security forces. People too have willy-nilly accepted the law enforcement agencies donning the role of prosecution, judiciary and execution, as a mean of speedy justice. However in Kashmir the macabre usual practice of fake encounters has not remained confined to the summary execution of known militants, alone. In the absence of any forceful reprisal, the rogue elements within the forces have straightway started indulging in the killing of innocent civilians. Driven by lure of reward and out-of-turn promotions, the erring members of security forces have intentionally targeted innocent citizens in order to produce them as dead militants. In most of the cases these civilians killed are shown as Pakistani militants. Faking the identity of a foreign militant is easy; it also entails hefty cash rewards and speedy out-of-turn promotions.

In March 2000 on the eve of American President Bill Clinton's visit, in Chattisinghpura of Anantnag district 34 innocents belonging to minority Sikh community were massacred. Two days after the incident army claimed to have killed five "foreign militants" responsible for carrying out the carnage. Later on, those killed and branded as foreign militants were horribly discovered to be the innocent civilians. After the violent protests erupted in the area wherein seven more people died in the police firing, a case was registered and judicial inquiry ordered into the incident. Afterwards the CBI also investigated the case and asked for permission to prosecute five accused army officials.

In another high profile 2006 Ganderbal fake encounter case, a poor

carpenter was killed and shown as foreign militant. The police officers have been arrested and are facing a trial. However army as usual has declined to hand over the accused to the police for prosecution. In early 2010 army in forward areas of Kupwara claimed to have killed many infiltrators, many of them were found to be innocents killed only to be shown as foreign militants. The spate of fake encounters infamously known as 'Maachil encounter' was in no way a case of 'mistaken identity', the innocents were killed purely in greed to garner cash and promotions. Again the prosecution of the accused is hanging in balance for want of army's cooperation.

In the intervening night of August 6 and 7, in the frontier Poonch district of Jammu province, after a '12 hour' long encounter army claimed to have killed a Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) district commander, Abu Usmaan of Gujranawalla, Pakistan. After the encounter the body was handed over to the local community for a burial. The locals refused to bury the corpse; they suspected the dead to be a Hindu as the body was not circumcised. It is widely speculated in the area that a Hindu insane youth, described to be a mystic, roaming in the area was killed in the fake encounter.

This created sensation in the area. Immediately a case was registered, a Special Police Officer (SPO) and a Jawan attached with 156 Territorial Army were arrested for enacting a fake encounter. As a matter of routine government has also ordered a magisterial probe in the incident. The locals are far from convinced with the government action, they believe it to be a cover-up operation to protect the higher officials. Locals allege that helicopters were deployed to ferry the troops to the site of encounter.

These high profile cases are tip of an iceberg. The incidents of fake encounters surfacing regularly seem to provide credence to the claims of large-scale HR violations.

PM

# Killing, Denial and Manipulation

By Gladson Dungdung

30 year-old Mangri Honhanga along with her 4 month-old son Dula Honhanga and other family-members had desperately come to Ranchi last week, after travelling for more than 6 hours right from Saranda forest in West Singhbhum district of Jharkhand with the hope of getting justice. Both the mother and child have been suffering from illness – Dula is grade-3 malnourished patient and Mangri has been suffering from anaemia; but they have no choice other than facing all kinds of sufferings. The life was little better for them before 2 bullets of CoBRA Jawans ended the life of 38 year-old Mangal Honhanga the father of Dula and Mangri's husband. Therefore, they had come to share their pains, sufferings and agony with the Chief Minister, the top cops and of course, with the media. Mangri Honhanga only knows that her husband was picked-up by the police from her house, taken to the forest and finally the dead body was handed over to her.

Suniya Honhanga (27) and Ronde Honhanga (25), both the younger brothers of Lt. Mangal Honhanga, are eyewitnesses of the brutal killing of their elder brother Mangal Honhanga. They narrated and exposed what had happened with them in the forests at the end of June. Though the monsoon was at its peak, but the sky was clear and the morning was sunny on June 28, 2011. It was 10 O'clock in the morning when Suniya Honhanga and Mangal Honhanga were having mangoes in the courtyard of their house - they had just returned after ploughing the paddy field. Suddenly, they noticed the arrival of more than 300 security personals in their village called 'Baliba', situated at Chhotanagra police station in Saranda forest, which is indeed the heaven of the corporate sharks and also the abode of the Maoists.

The Superintendent of Police (West Singhbhum) Arun Kumar and CRPF commandant Lalchand Yadav were leading the operation. The forces caught Suniya Honhanga and Mangal Honhanga and took them to "Chabutra" (public sitting place in the middle of village) and asked all the villagers to reach to the spot. Once the villagers gathered, the forces tied all of them (men, women and children) with ropes collected from the village itself. The SP, CRPF Commandant and Jawans abused and threatened the villagers to face dire consequences if they don't stop feeding, sheltering and supporting the Maoists. The villagers were kept the whole night in tied position. On the next day, 6 villagers were put in a chopper of Indian Air Force and transported to undisclosed location and another 16 villagers including Mangal Honhanga and Ronde Honhanga were asked to go with the paramilitary forces to the forest. But luckily, Suniya Honhanga escaped.

Ronde Honhanga narrates the further developments in the forests. All the 16 villagers were asked to carry the luggage of the paramilitary forces whole day without food and water. In the night they were asked to sleep in the forest itself. On 30 June, the security forces asked them to move towards Chhotanagra police station. Hence, they started travelling at 3 o'clock in the morning. Meanwhile, Mangal Honhanga and another villager Tasu Sidu stopped for a while and Mangal Honhanga went aside to relieve himself. The CoBRA Jawans assumed that Mangal Honhanga was running away. Therefore, they fired three times – one bullet in sky and two bullets on Mangal Honhanga. Consequently, he fell on the ground and died there. Tasu Sidu witnessed it. Immediately, the Jawans wrapped the dead body and didn't show the villagers unless they reached Chhotanagra police station. The dead body was transported to Chaibasa for post-mortem and finally, the police handed over the dead body and sent all the 15 villagers to Baliba village.

The SP Arun Kumar organized a press conference in Chaibasa and told the media persons about their grand success in anti-naxal operations. However, he accepted that Mangal Honhanga was an innocent villager and a bullet of the security forces hit him while there was crossfire between the security forces and the Maoists. However, the villagers unearthed the truth - according to them, there was no exchange of any fire; it was a clear case of brutal killing by the security forces. Since, the villagers knew the truth, therefore the top cops asked the officer-in-charge of Chhotanagra police station to offer compensation package to the family members of the deceased. Rs. 3 lakh and a job were offered to the family members. Ironically, the death certificate does not state the cause of death. This is one of the classic examples of killing, denial and manipulation by the police and security forces while carrying on the so-called anti-naxal joint operations.

In another similar case, the police killed a villager and termed it as a result of crossfire. On 18 August, 2011 the security forces arrived in Baliba village again. They caught 6 villagers - Ladura Barjo, Mangal Barjo, Sanika Barjo, Dubiya Barjo, Mangra Guria and Soma Guria. These people were taken to "Chabutra" of the village and, kicked and severely beaten with stick, tiles and butt of the guns. Consequently, Soma Guria fell down and became unconscious. On the next day, the security forces took them to the forest. Soma Guria was not able to walk but he was dragged towards the forest. According to the eyewitness, when he died due to injuries in the forest, the security forces fired two bullets in his chest. On 20 August, the villagers

were handed over the dead body of Soma Guria and told that he was killed in crossfire.

In fact, the security forces land to any village, rob the houses, catch the innocent villagers, torture them, exploit women and shoot the man, and finally, they hand over the dead bodies to the family members after couple of day and tell that their man was killed in the crossfire. Thus, the endless inhuman acts of the security forces continue in the Saranda forest. The villagers are tired of sharing their pains, sufferings and agony. But do they have any choice? The security forces captured the house containing a ration shop of Patur Gagrai of Tiril Polshi village on August 3. He is also the president of village education committee. The police blame that he supplies ration to the Maoists. In another case, the security forces raped 3 women in Karampada village on August 1 and 15 people were picked up from Hatnaburu village on August 24 alleging them as members of the CPI-Maoists without any proof. The fact is, whenever, the security forces go for the anti-naxal operation, and they victimize the innocent villagers. The billion dollar question is, can the security forces rape women and kill the men in cold-blooded murder even if they are member of the CPI-Maoists?

The story does not end here. When the Jharkhand Human Rights Movement (JHRM) intervened and exposed the killings of Mangal Honhanga and Somu Guria by the security forces, the top cops started branding the JHRM as Maoist's organization. The Kolhan DIG Naveen Kumar said, "The allegations by the family are Maoist sponsored. It is just to harass and disrupt police operations." He also said that Mangal Honhanga was a rebel. Similarly, the IG and spokesperson of Jharkhand Police R.K. Mullick said that Mangal Honhanga had some explosive with him. What a brilliant idea of the top cops of Jharkhand for coining an innocent Adivasi as Maoist to bury their inhuman acts. However, when there was ample pressure, the Inspector General of Police did inquiry and found that both Mangal Honhanga and Soma Guria were innocent Adivasis and the security forces shot them when they declined to follow their instructions. The irony is that even now the Home Secretary and the Director General of Police are tirelessly attempting to coin both the killings as results of the crossfire.

The most important point is that speaking about rights has become a crime in the largest democratic country on the earth especially when the rights are for the underprivileged communities. However, if you speak for the middle class or upper middle class, you'll become the hero. Perhaps, second Gandhi, second Nehru or Second Patel. For instance, when the teachers of thousand of public and private schools asked their children (students) to take part in Anna Hazare's movement after deserting their studies, it was glamorized by the 24x7 news channel instead

of questioning and taking action against the teachers. In another similar case, when the poor children took part in a movement against POSCO project in the state of Odisha, the state government threatened the organizers for taking action against them in the name of violating the child rights. What kind of democracy is this?

Indeed, it's very clear that if you stand against the police atrocities and be reluctant to get alienated from the natural resources (land, forest and mineral), you'll be coined as the extremist. Precisely because both – questioning against police atrocities and displacement - ultimately expose the corporate nexus with the government's anti naxal-operations for mining interests. Obviously, the Indian state bothers about the 'threat to the investment climate' rather than protecting its citizen's rights and the constitution. Though the Jharkhand police have accepted the killing of Mangal Honhanga and Soma Guria but my assumption is that the family members would be shut up with the compensation packages and the cops will enjoy impunity as usual.

When I completed this piece, a report appeared in the news paper, which states that the Adivasis of Tholkabad village in Saranda Forest have vacated their village and went elsewhere in fear of police torture. Since right from the beginning, when I started writing on so-called anti-Naxal operations, I have been mentioning that the 'Operation Green Hunt' was launched with the clear intention to create fear, insecurity and livelihood crisis in the villages so that the villages would leave their lands. Consequently, the government can hand over the Adivasis' land to the corporate sharks. The Jharkhand government has allotted iron-ore to 19 steel companies including Mittal, Jindal, Tata, Atro-Steel and Torian in Saranda Forest. Therefore, of course, they want to clear the land. **PM**

**Contd. from Page 25**

the Western world. Between these two lies the problem of the existing social and political order in India."

It is more than fifty years since I first came to India and it is now thirty years ago I - together with my wife and daughter - went to Andhra Pradesh to visit and report on the oppression, the violence against women and the armed squads of that time (See "India Waits") now I was invited to the Eastern Ghats to meet and discuss with the leading comrades of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Much has happened in these years and the horrors of the onslaught of the ruling class against the oppressed (and their women) are if possible worse.

It is not for me - as a non-Indian - to tell those that are struggling against this oppression what to do. I will always try to remember what Rewi Alley told me in China during the turbulent time of the Cultural Revolution: "Remember it is their country!" **PM**

## Discussing Solidarity with the People of India

By Jan Myrdal

*The following is the text of a speech given in London on June 12, 2011 by Jan Myrdal at a public meeting of International Campaign Against War on the People in India. It is a fairly comprehensive and accurate account of the situation in India and the response of the western press -Ed.*

We here at this meeting know - or at least have heard - that the organizers of this meeting are right; there is an ongoing war against the people in India. The very fact that we are here shows that we consider it necessary to organize an international defense for the rights of the peoples of India.

Here I will take up some questions concerning this urgently needed solidarity. I will try to discuss them one by one.

As I had come back from the guerrilla zone in Dandakaranya and was writing about the visit and the discussions I had there this time with the General Secretary and other responsible political and military cadres from the Communist Party of India (Maoist), I could read in Hindustan Times for July 4th 2010:

### “INDIA’S INSURGENCY BATTLE

In a country where one in five people live under the shadow of insurgency, it is a battle far tougher than Kashmir or Iraq or Afghanistan. India’s richest lands, home to its poorest people, are set to become the country’s main theatre of conflict in a massive new push against Maoist rebels over the next five years and beyond, in impossible terrain and in impossible conditions.

India has finally decided to take the 42-year-old insurgency head-on. In terms of scale and terrain, it is set to be one of the world’s toughest battles against insurgency. The main battleground, Chhattisgarh’s remote, deeply forested Bastar region - home to some of the world’s best iron ore - is ten times the size of Kashmir Valley and has vast swathes under the domination of the rebels for at least two decades.”

Not only was the war no secret in

India, the very real material reason determining the State’s behaviour in this war -”some of the world’s best iron ore” - is no secret in India. As the “Committee on State Agrarian Relations and Unfinished Task of Land Reforms, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India” put it in Volume 1 (Draft Report), of March 2009:

“Conclusion - The Biggest Grab of Tribal Lands after Columbus

A civil war like situation has gripped the southern districts of Bastar, Dantewara and Bijapur in Chattishgarh. The contestants are the armed squads of tribal men and women of the erstwhile Peoples War Group now known as the Communist Party of India (Maoist) on the one side and the armed tribal fighters of the Salva Judum created and encouraged by the government and supported with the firepower and organization of the central police forces. This open declared war will go down as the biggest land grab ever, if it plays out as per the script. 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.”

In The Hindu on June 3rd I read an article by Markandey Katju, a Judge of the Supreme Court of India. He there quotes a speech delivered by P. Sainath, Rural Affairs Editor of The Hindu and Magsaysay award winner, on September 6, 2007 in Parliament House in the Speaker’s Lecture Series:

“The mass reality in India (which has over 70 per cent of its people living in the rural areas), is that rural India is in the midst of the worst agrarian crisis in four decades. Millions of livelihoods in the rural areas have been damaged or destroyed in the last 15 years as a

result of this crisis, because of the predatory commercialization of the countryside and the reduction of all human values to exchange value. As a result, lakhs of farmers have committed suicide and millions of people have migrated, and are migrating, from the rural areas to the cities and towns in search of jobs that are not there. They have moved towards a status that is neither that of a ‘worker’ nor that of a ‘farmer.’ Many of them end up as domestic labourers, or even criminals. We have been pushed towards corporate farming, a process in which farming is taken out of the hands of the farmers and put in the hands of corporates. This process is not being achieved with guns, tanks, bulldozers or lathis. It is done by making farming unviable for the millions of small family farm-holders, due to the high cost of inputs such as seed, fertilizer and power, and uneconomical prices.”

This growing Indian discussion is now beginning to be reflected in large media even outside India. On June 7th the English language web site of Aljazeera published a very important article by Dr. Vandana Shiva, the recipient of “the Right to Livelihood Award” [Alternative Nobel Prize] in 1993:

“The great land grab: India’s war on farmers. Land is a powerful commodity that should be used for the betterment of humanity through farming and ecology.”

In this article Dr. Vandana Shiva says:

“Financial capital is hungry for investments and returns on investments. It must commodify everything on the planet - land and water, plants and genes, microbes and mammals. The commodification of land is fuelling the

corporate land grab in India, both through the creation of Special Economic Zones and through foreign direct investment in real estate.

Colonization was based on the violent takeover of land. And now, globalization as decolonization is leading to a massive land grab in India, in Africa, in Latin America. Land is being grabbed for speculative investment, for speculative urban sprawl, for mines and factories, for highways and expressways. Land is being grabbed from farmers after trapping them in debt and pushing them to suicide.

Across the length and breadth of India, from Bhatta in Uttar Pradesh (UP) to Jagatsinghpur in Orissa to Jaitapur in Maharashtra, the government has declared war on our farmers, our annadatas, in order to grab their fertile farmland.

Their instrument is the colonial Land Acquisition Act - used by foreign rulers against Indian citizens. The government is behaving as the foreign rulers did when the Act was first enforced in 1894, appropriating land through violence for the profit of corporations - JayPee Infratech in Uttar Pradesh for the Yamuna expressway, POSCO in Orissa and AREVA in Jaitapur - grabbing land for private profit and not, by any stretch of the imagination, for any public purpose. This is rampant in the country today.

Today, a similar situation is brewing in Jagatsinghpur, Orissa, where 20 battalions have been deployed to assist in the anti-constitutional land acquisition to protect the stake of India's largest foreign direct investment - the POSCO Steel project. The government has set the target of destroying 40 betel farms a day to facilitate the land grab. The betel brings the farmers an annual earning of Rs 400,000 (\$9,000) an acre. The Anti-POSCO movement, in its five years of peaceful protest, has faced state violence numerous times and is now gearing up for another - perhaps

final - non-violent and democratic resistance against a state using violence to facilitate its undemocratic land grab for corporate profits, overlooking due process and the constitutional rights of the people.

The use of violence and destruction of livelihoods that the current trend is reflecting is not only dangerous for the future of Indian democracy, but for the survival of the Indian nation state itself. Considering that today India may claim to be a growing or booming economy - but yet is unable to feed more than 40 per cent of its children are a matter of national shame.

Handing over fertile land to private corporations, who are becoming the new zamindars [hereditary aristocrats], cannot be defined as having a public purpose. Creating multiple privatized super highways and expressways does not qualify as necessary infrastructure. The real infrastructure India needs is the ecological infrastructure for food security and water security. Burying our fertile food-producing soils under concrete and factories is burying the country's future."

Such texts by scientists, journalists and officials in India should be spread in our countries in the West, and when necessary, translated. They give a true perspective of India and the public discussion in India. I have taken these long quotes because they make plain the difference between the real discussion in India and the reporting on India in a country like Sweden, a country in the Western block.

A primary responsibility in organizing a solidarity movement with the peoples of India in our countries is overcoming what in reality is a news blockade in our official media. There is nothing strange in the way our official media behave. In fact those among you who - like me - have been active in peace movements or active on the so called "left" for some sixty or seventy years know it well. Those of us with an interest in history can also go to the

libraries and read through the newspaper files these last two centuries. Nothing is new in this media behavior.

But there are three points to keep in mind. The first is one of degree. It was possible - but dangerous - to inform publicly about the real situation in Wilhelmine Germany during WW1. It was not possible in Hitlerite Germany in WW2. At present it is difficult but not impossible to publish real information about the situation in India in the official media in a country like Sweden.

The second point is that there are determining material and ideological reasons behind the lack of media interest in the real situation in India. The tourist one - that it is enough if India is depicted as the extremely fascinating country with a great cultural heritage that it is - is not decisive. The economic one is more important. Sweden is not only Bofors, you know. The iron ore and the hydrology resources in the guerrilla zone where people are defending themselves are of extreme interest to also the Swedish capital groups. The media under their influence are thus supposed not to write too much about that.

There is also an ideological aspect. It is very clear to the leading circles in India that if the struggle of the poor and down-trodden for their rights (especially if it is armed) can be defined as extremism and terrorism they will benefit by depicting their policies against the peoples of India as being a part of the global war against terrorism.

Remember that "the West" (including officially up to recently "non aligned states" as Sweden) is engaged in at least three open wars in what they call "the Middle East"; officially against terrorism and for democracy and feminism but in reality - as I and many of us see it - for more material and imperial interests such as oil, trade routes and spheres of military influence.

Like during other wars in our era individuals and parties (Norway gives good examples) that have made their career during struggles against wars, against NATO and the United States are now directly and profitably engaged in these new wars. If the ruling circles in India can present their war against adivasis and dalits as part of the general war on terrorism they will get stronger political support.

We should also be conscious about the terms we use. Even in India words like adivasis and dalits carry casteist overtones and are being used by the ruling circles to utilize unconscious traditional prejudices (as in our languages when we take over colonial expressions like “tribal” and “outcaste”).

We should keep in mind that “adivasis” has nothing to do with either “primitive” or “terrorism”. They are indigenous, have lived here long before any Indian states had been created. “Adivasis” and “dalits” are parts of the peoples of India and now officially Indian citizens. The government in waging war against them are truly waging war against its own people.

But they are a part of that large section of the peoples of India that have been robbed of their rights by the ruling circles and their government and are struggling to regain their human, social and political rights.

Exoticism is an ideological tool used by colonialism, imperialism and the present day ruling classes.

Many, maybe even a majority of writers and TV-personnel also in our countries are reasonably good and honest and would report honestly if they got the possibility. The difficulty is getting correct reporting past the gate keepers. Many of those gate keepers, i.e. “responsible editors”, in my country Sweden were more than a generation ago part of the so called “youth revolt”. Several of those that now are highly paid and responsible editors in our media have in one way

or another repented after in their youth having described themselves as some kind of “Marxist Leninists”. There is nothing strange about this. It was the same in the United States sixty years ago. Then many intellectuals repented their ideological sins during the “New Deal years”.

To understand this one ought to look up the “law on editors” (“Schriftleitergesetz”) that Goebbels instituted in 1934 after the Jews and communists had been cleaned out and ask how many of these Schriftleiters/editors were brought to justice according to that Nazi law during the years up until 1945. The answer is very clear. Not one. It was not the Gestapo that kept the editors in line; it was their salary, their car, their house or flat.

But there were still at that time many honest German journalists. I knew several. Our situation is not that of Germany in WW2 - or even West Germany during the Adenauer time. It is possible - though not very easy - to get real news on India printed or produced on radio and television even in our countries in the West. Though to do this one should remember the injunction of Jesus to the disciples: “be wise as serpents and harmless as doves”. For me that advice is probably too late, I should have thought about it nearly seventy years ago.

But if the ruling economic (and thus political) circles in our countries are closely bound up (competing and struggling of course but still bound together) with the ruling groups in India will a solidarity movement with the peoples of India be able to have any real impact?

We can go back in history and find the answer. Take the slavery issue of the nineteenth century. There were in the United Kingdom very strong economic interests in the slave trade and later on for the support of the South during the Civil War in North America. The arguments against the slave trade were often ideological and/or religious.

Still the anti-slavery movement step by step succeeded during the nineteenth century and on December 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights where article 4 states:

“No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.”

There are several such examples. I think we did - despite the uproar in much of the official press - manage to stop the outbreak of a nuclear war around 1952/3. The movement against the United States war in Indo China also was a determining factor in forcing an end to that war.

The lesson is that it is possible through broad based solidarity movements to change the political reality. Not that it is always possible. Most of us have probably gone in such mass demonstrations as those against the then coming war against Iraq. Still, even those were of vital importance.

Another lesson has been that often those individuals who for religious or other ideological reasons seem far from us - bishops for instance who often have been brave in their opposition to unjust wars - stand up when political comrades and friends on the official Left look after their own good and crumble.

It is now seventy years since I read my first serious book on India - R. Palme Dutt. “India Today”, 1940 - what he there wrote on “Indian poverty” is still as true as then:

“Two facts stand out in the present situation of India. One is the wealth of India - the natural wealth, the abundant resources, the potential prosperity within reach of the entire existing population, and of more than the present population. The other is the poverty of India - the poverty of the overwhelming majority of the people, a poverty beyond the imagination of any accustomed to the conditions of

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## Senkodi immolates self to protest death penalty for convicts in Rajiv case

20-year-old Senkodi immolated herself inside the Taluk office in Kancheepuram on Sunday evening, protesting the death sentence awarded to Santhan, Murugan and G. Perarivalan alias Arivu, convicted of plotting the 1991 assassination of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi.

P. Senkodi died within two hours after she set herself on fire. She emptied two litres of petrol from a bottle before setting herself ablaze.

Senkodi, had left behind a letter stating that she was protesting the capital punishment awarded to Murugan and Santhan, both Sri Lankan Tamils, and Perarivalan, an Indian, and the subsequent rejection of their mercy petitions by the President. Their execution has been fixed for September 9.

According to these sources, she wanted to emulate K. Muthukumar, a youth who had sought to highlight the sufferings of the Sri Lankan Tamils by immolating himself at Shastri Bhavan in Chennai on January 29, 2009.

A resident of Orikkai village on the outskirts of the temple town, Senkodi was the daughter of Parasuraman. A member of 'Makkal Mandram,' a non-governmental organization involved in issues of child and bonded labour in Kancheepuram district, Senkodi participated actively in street theatre performances and other awareness campaigns on issues of social importance, playing the "thappattai," a traditional percussion instrument. **PM**

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## Civil rights body urges Parliament to abolish capital punishment

Amid the raging debate over death sentence to Rajiv Gandhi's killers, a civil rights body has urged Parliament to take appropriate steps to abolish the "barbarous act" of capital punishment.

People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) said the Supreme Court itself has given due consideration to the fact that court judgments may not necessarily be always correct and to deprive a person of his life would be "nothing short of a barbarous act".

"In the wake of the ongoing controversy on justification of death penalty, it is high time that Parliament takes appropriate steps to abolish such provision from our statute books," PUCL president N D Pancholi said in a statement.

He cited the judgment of a five-member Supreme Court bench in Kehar Singh v/s Union of India case and quoted the order "the administration of justice by courts is not necessarily always wise or certainly considerate of circumstances which may properly mitigate guilt."

Pointing out that the Indian government has appealed to Pakistan government to commute the death sentence of Sarabjit Singh on humanitarian grounds, he said, "Can we make such an appeal when we are blind to such appeals within our own country?"

The PUCL statement came against the backdrop of increasing clamour for clemency for three convicts in the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case. **PM**

*Contd. from Page 4*

Besides with the advance of communication technology like internet, SMS these people were under compulsion to show the people something. There is competition among channels. For them most of their revenue is from advertisements which they won't get if they cover the struggles of the poorest of the poor. Arundati is right in saying "For a nation of one billion people, the media did not find anything else to report. Certain major TV channels campaigned for said to be doing so. That's a kind of corruption for me at first place,"

Till date 12 RTI activists got killed. Now that Anna was asked to accept Z plus security cover by the

government. This is also one of the tactics of the government. Be in the system and protect it. Otherwise we won't be able to protect you. Anna has stated why security for me. Privilege and income tax notices were slapped on members of his team. Anna himself has stated that it will take 15 years to end corruption.

Perhaps, it is our fate as a nation that every 15 to 20 years, the middle-class will forget the farce played out by a previous generation and repeat it in its own time.

Having failed in his struggle against corruption our former Prime Minister VP Singh a few years before his death stated his age and health deters him

from joining Maoists. He asked, "What deters the youth from joining Maoists"? Having witnessed anti corruption struggles and borne the brunt of serious human rights violations ever heard off in human history all these 36 years HOW CAN I BE ANNA?.

There are still many decent people who believe that this system can, despite the overwhelming evidence, be reformed by commissions and legislation.

Things have gone far past reformation by commissions and legislation, the regime is rotten to the core. Corruptions and scams will disappear only after the revolutionary transformation of our society. **PM**

# Nepal: A Sea of Torches that Refuse Surrender

By Eric Ribellarsi (*Winter Has Its End*)

Last night, Kathmandu and cities throughout the entire country were rocked by militant torch demonstrations. We watched as literally thousands and thousands of demonstrators challenged the decision of Nepal's Prime Minister Baburam Bhattarai to disarm the People's Liberation Army and the complicity of the Maoist party's chairman, Prachanda, in this act. The crowd was mostly young, and the feel was one of both anger and excitement. One young Maoist said to me "finally, we are standing up." People were not at all demoralized. They were (and are)

*Contd. from Page 28*

weapons that might be used more readily, as well as much larger non-nuclear bombs, blurring the line between the two. President Barack Obama established in 2010 that the United States might strike first with nuclear weapons, but only against Iran or North Korea. The United States alleged, without evidence, that Iran was not complying with the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), even though the clearest violation of that treaty is the United States' own failure to work on disarmament and the United States' Mutual Defense Agreement with the United Kingdom, by which the two countries share nuclear weapons in violation of Article 1 of the NPT, and even though the United States' first strike nuclear weapons policy violates yet another treaty: the U.N. Charter.

Americans may never admit what was done in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but our country had been in some measure prepared for it. After Germany had invaded Poland, Britain and France had declared war on Germany. Britain in 1940 had broken an agreement with Germany not to bomb civilians, before Germany retaliated in the same manner against England — although Germany had itself bombed Guernica, Spain, in 1937, and Warsaw, Poland, in 1939, and Japan meanwhile was bombing civilians in China. Then, for years, Britain and Germany had bombed each other's cities before the United

ready to fight to save their revolution.

Following these demonstrations, Biplab, a leader of the Maoist party who has opposed the disarming and argued for revolution, has launched a mass campaign throughout the country to build opposition for to the moves of Prachanda and Bhattarai within the Maoist party. We have learned that this campaign will include mass rallies and educational forums, the mass production of polemical pamphlets, and a new graffiti campaign.

PM

States joined in, bombing German and Japanese cities in a spree of destruction unlike anything ever previously witnessed. When we were firebombing Japanese cities, Life magazine printed a photo of a Japanese person burning to death and commented "This is the only way."

By the time of the Vietnam War, such images were highly controversial. By the time of the 2003 War on Iraq, such images were not shown; just as enemy bodies were no longer counted. That development, arguably a form of progress, still leaves us far from the day when atrocities will be displayed with the caption "There has to be another way."

Combating evil is what peace activists do. It is not what wars do. And it is not, at least not obviously, what motivates the masters of war, those who plan the wars and bring them into being. But it is tempting to think so. It is very noble to make brave sacrifices, even the ultimate sacrifice of one's life, in order to end evil. It is perhaps even noble to use other people's children to vicariously put an end to evil, which is all that most war supporters do. It is righteous to become part of something bigger than oneself. It can be thrilling to revel in patriotism. It can be momentarily pleasurable I'm sure, if less righteous and noble, to indulge in hatred, racism, and other group prejudices. It's nice to imagine that your group is superior to someone else's. And the patriotism,

racism, and other isms that divide you from the enemy can thrillingly unite you, for once, with all of your neighbors and compatriots across the now meaningless boundaries that usually hold sway.

If you are frustrated and angry, if you long to feel important, powerful, and dominating, if you crave the license to lash out in revenge either verbally or physically, you may cheer for a government that announces a vacation from morality and open permission to hate and to kill. You'll notice that the most enthusiastic war supporters sometimes want nonviolent war opponents killed and tortured along with the vicious and dreaded enemy; the hatred is far more important than its object. If your religious beliefs tell you that war is good, then you've really gone big time. Now you're part of God's plan. You'll live after death, and perhaps we'll all be better off if you bring on the death of us all.

But simplistic beliefs in good and evil don't match up well with the real world, no matter how many people share them unquestioningly. They do not make you a master of the universe. On the contrary, they place control of your fate in the hands of people cynically manipulating you with war lies.

And the hatred and bigotry don't provide lasting satisfaction, but instead breed bitter resentment.

PM

# The US Bombing of Hiroshima, the largest terrorist attack in history: “Truman Lied, Hundreds of Thousands Died”

By David Swanson

Warisacrime.org

07 August, 2011

On August 6, 1945, President Harry S Truman announced: “Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima, an important Japanese Army base. That bomb had more power than 20,000 tons of T.N.T. It had more than two thousand times the blast power of the British ‘Grand Slam’ which is the largest bomb ever yet used in the history of warfare.”

When Truman lied to America that Hiroshima was a military base rather than a city full of civilians, people no doubt wanted to believe him. Who would want the shame of belonging to the nation that commits a whole new kind of atrocity? (Will naming lower Manhattan “ground zero” erase the guilt?) And when we learned the truth, we wanted and still want desperately to believe that war is peace, that violence is salvation, that our government dropped nuclear bombs in order to save lives, or at least to save American lives.

We tell each other that the bombs shortened the war and saved more lives than the some 200,000 they took away. And yet, weeks before the first bomb was dropped, on July 13, 1945, Japan sent a telegram to the Soviet Union expressing its desire to surrender and end the war. The United States had broken Japan’s codes and read the telegram. Truman referred in his diary to “the telegram from Jap Emperor asking for peace.” Truman had been informed through Swiss and Portuguese channels of Japanese peace overtures as early as three months before Hiroshima. Japan objected only to surrendering unconditionally and giving up its emperor, but the United States insisted on those terms until after the bombs fell, at which point it allowed Japan to keep its emperor.

Presidential advisor James Byrnes had told Truman that dropping the bombs would allow the United States to “dictate the terms of ending the war.” Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal wrote in his diary that Byrnes was “most anxious to get the Japanese affair over with before the Russians got in.” Truman wrote in his diary that the Soviets were preparing to march against Japan and “Fini Japs when that comes about.” Truman ordered the bomb dropped on Hiroshima on August 6 th and another type of bomb, a plutonium bomb, which the military also wanted to test and demonstrate, on Nagasaki on August 9 th. Also on August 9 th, the Soviets attacked the Japanese. During the next two weeks, the Soviets killed 84,000 Japanese while losing 12,000 of their own soldiers, and the United States continued bombing Japan with non-nuclear weapons. Then the Japanese surrendered.

The United States Strategic Bombing Survey concluded that, “... certainly prior to 31 December, 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November, 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated.” One dissenter who had expressed this same view to the Secretary of War prior to the bombings was General Dwight Eisenhower. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William D. Leahy agreed: “The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender.”

Whatever dropping the bombs might possibly have contributed to

ending the war, it is curious that the approach of threatening to drop them, the approach used during a half-century of Cold War to follow, was never tried. An explanation may perhaps be found in Truman’s comments suggesting the motive of revenge:

“Having found the bomb we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, and against those who have abandoned all pretense of obeying international law of warfare.”

Truman could not, incidentally, have chosen Tokyo as a target — not because it was a city, but because we had already reduced it to rubble.

The nuclear catastrophes may have been, not the ending of a World War, but the theatrical opening of the Cold War, aimed at sending a message to the Soviets. Many low and high ranking officials in the U.S. military, including commanders in chief, have been tempted to nuke more cities ever since, beginning with Truman threatening to nuke China in 1950. The myth developed, in fact, that Eisenhower’s enthusiasm for nuking China led to the rapid conclusion of the Korean War. Belief in that myth led President Richard Nixon, decades later, to imagine he could end the Vietnam War by pretending to be crazy enough to use nuclear bombs. Even more disturbingly, he actually was crazy enough. “The nuclear bomb, does that bother you? ... I just want you to think big, Henry, for Christ sakes,” Nixon said to Henry Kissinger in discussing options for Vietnam.

President George W. Bush oversaw the development of smaller nuclear  
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# As the Fukushima nuclear power plant disaster continues, the Voices of Nagasaki speak

Tomihisa Taue, Mayor of Nagasaki

Nagasaki Peace Declaration 2011

August 9, 2011

This March, we were astounded by the severity of accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station operated by the Tokyo Electric Power Company, Inc., after the occurrence of the Great East Japan Earthquake and ensuing tsunami. With some of the station's reactors exposed to the open air due to explosions, no residents are now to be found in the communities surrounding the station. There is no telling when those who have been evacuated because of the radiation can return home.

As the people of a nation that has experienced nuclear devastation, we continued the plea of "No More Hibakusha!" How has it come that we are threatened once again by the fear of radiation?

Have we lost our awe of nature? Have we become overconfident in the control we wield as human beings? Have we turned away from our responsibility for the future? Now is the time to discuss thoroughly and choose what kind of society we will create from this point on.

No matter how long it will take, it is necessary to promote the development of renewable energies in place of nuclear power in a bid to transform ourselves into a society with a safer energy base.

Many people once believed the myth of the safety of nuclear power plants, from some moment in the past to the occurrence of the nuclear power station accident in Fukushima.

What about the more than 20,000 nuclear weapons in the world?

Do we still believe that the world is safer thanks to nuclear deterrence? Do we still take it for granted that no nuclear weapons will ever be used again? Now seeing how the radiation released by an accident at just a single nuclear power station is causing such considerable confusion in society, we can clearly understand how inhumane it is to attack people with nuclear weapons.

We call upon all people in the world to simply imagine how terrifying it would be if a nuclear weapon hundreds of times more powerful than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs were to be exploded in the sky above our cities.

While intense heat rays would melt human beings and anything else nearby, horrific blast winds would fling buildings through the air and crush them instantly. A countless number of charred bodies would be scattered among the ruins. Some people would hover between life and death, while others would suffer from their injuries. Even if there were survivors, the intense radioactivity would prevent any rescue efforts.

Radioactive substances would be carried far away by the wind to all corners of the world, resulting in widespread contamination of the earth's environment, and in affecting people with a plague of health effects for generations to come.

We must never allow anyone in the future to experience such agony. Nuclear weapons are never needed. No reason can ever justify human beings possessing even one nuclear weapon.

In April 2009, President Barack Obama of the United States of America stated in his speech in Prague, the Czech Republic, that the U.S. will seek "a world without nuclear weapons." Such a concrete goal presented by the most powerful nuclear weapons state raised expectations all over the world. While some positive results have certainly been achieved, such as the conclusion of an agreement between the U.S. and Russia on the reduction of nuclear weapons, no significant progress has been observed since. In fact, there has even been a regressive trend, such as the implementation of new nuclear simulation tests.

We call for U.S. President Obama to demonstrate his leadership toward realizing "a world without nuclear weapons," and to never disappoint the people in the atomic-bombed cities or anywhere throughout the world.

The time has come for international society, including the nuclear weapons states of the U.S., Russia, the United Kingdom, France and China, to launch efforts toward the conclusion of the Nuclear Weapons Convention (NWC), which aims for complete abolishment of all nuclear weapons. As the government of the only nation to have endured atomic bombings, the Japanese government must strongly promote such efforts.

We urge once again that the Japanese government act in accordance with the ideals of peace and renunciation of war prescribed in the Japanese Constitution. The government must work on enacting the Three Non-Nuclear Principles into law and establishing the Northeast Asian Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone to ensure complete denuclearization of Japan, South Korea and North Korea. The Japanese government must also enhance relief measures that correspond with the reality for aging atomic bomb survivors.

This year, at the United Nations Office in Geneva, the city of Nagasaki will exhibit materials concerning the catastrophes of the atomic bombings, in cooperation with the United Nations, the Japanese government and the city of Hiroshima. We hope that many people around the world

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# Unseemly Scrabble for Libya's Post-Gaddafi Oil Assets Underway

by John Daly

While NATO members, led by France, piously proclaimed at the onset of their military offensive in Libya that their concerns were solely humanitarian, a covert tussle to gain a commanding lead in developing the country's energy riches in light of Colonel Gaddafi's departure is well underway. The Libyan economy depends primarily upon revenues from the oil sector, which contribute about 95 percent of export earnings, 25 percent of GDP, and 80 percent of government revenue. Prior to the outbreak of conflict, Libya was exporting about 1.3-1.4 million barrels per day from production estimated at roughly 1.79 million barrels per day, of which approximately 280,000 barrels per day were indigenously consumed. But analysts believe that with reconstruction Libya could soon be exporting 1.6 million barrels per day of high-quality, light crude. But current production is the proverbial mere drop in the bucket. Libya has the largest proven oil reserves in Africa with 42 billion barrels of oil and over 1.3 trillion cubic meters of natural gas. Causing oil company executives from Houston to Beijing to drool on their Gucci loafers, only 25 percent of Libya's territory has been explored to date for hydrocarbons. Libya is already Europe's single largest oil supplier, the second largest oil producer in Africa and the continent's fourth largest natural gas supplier and already dominates the Southern Mediterranean's petroleum sector. According to the Libyan National Oil Corporation (NOC), more than 50 international oil companies are already present in the Libyan market. So, peering into Libya's future, who's actually ahead? France, apparently. On 3 April a letter was allegedly sent by Libya's National Transitional Council (NTC) to a coalition partner, Qatari

Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, which mentioned that France would take "35 percent of crude oil...in exchange for its total and permanent support" of the NTC. France's Liberation daily reported on Thursday that it had a copy of the letter, which stated that the NTC's Information Minister Mahmoud Shammam, would negotiate the deal with France. In 2010 France was the second purchaser of Libyan oil after Italy, with over 15 percent of its "black gold" imported from Tripoli. Zut alors! The number one National Transition Council, Moustapha Abdeljalil recently reported that the States would be rewarded" according to support "given to the insurgents. While NTC head Mustafa Abdel Jalil has not hidden the fact that the NTC would assign a higher priority for reconstruction and the allocation of oil contracts to countries that supported their uprising, remarking that nations would be rewarded "according to the support" given to the insurgents, the NTC's UK representative, Guma al-Gamaty, said that future oil contracts would be granted "on the basis of merit, not patronage. The contracts will be concluded in a transparent manner. "French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe solemnly denied during a radio interview any knowledge of a "formal" or specific deal but brightly added that it would be "logical" for countries like France, which helped the NTC in its struggle against Gaddafi, to take part in reconstruction. French President Nicholas Sarkozy was the major European advocate for armed intervention in Libya and his administration was the first officially to recognize the NTC as "the sole, legitimate representative of the Libyan people" and the country's sole governmental authority, as well as lobbying other nations to recognize the

NTC. Seeking a share of "la gloire," France was also the first state to commence attacks on 19 March against Gaddafi's armed forces in Benghazi and along with fellow NATO member Britain, have since provided the majority of the military equipment and personnel used during NATO's operations in Libya. Going into grey areas of international law in its eagerness to oust Gaddafi France also supplied some weaponry to opposition forces in Libya, a move that came under harsh criticism because of the total arms embargo imposed by the UN Security Council on arms deliveries to any side in the conflict. NTC's Paris-based envoy Mansour Sayf al-Nasr denied that such a letter had been sent or that any such pledge had been given. But no one was backpedalling more furiously than Information Minister Shammam, who intoned that such an arrangement was unthinkable. "It's a joke. It's false," Shammam said. Well, if you cannot believe an Information Minister, who can you trust? Sleazy journalists? It will certainly be interesting to see how the issue plays out in the days ahead, and if France does indeed get it 35 percent cut of the loot, which at present production rates, would average about 500,000 barrels per day. **PM**

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- « Withdraw all police and paramilitary forces from Jagatsinghpur district and stop all kinds of intimidating tactics to cow down the people!
- « Scrap all country-selling MoUs signed with MNCs for looting the natural resources of our country which rightfully belong to the people and only to the people! (Abhay)

Spokesperson,  
Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

## India's 'World Class' Heist:

What the Commonwealth Games Audit Shows by Mitu Sengupta

This has been a turbulent week in India. On August 5th, the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India released its final report on the 2010 Commonwealth Games, placing it before the parliament.

No one expected good news. The games, which were held in Delhi last October, have been under a cloud of corruption and mismanagement since last summer, when it was feared that preparations for the event would not be completed on time. The head of the organizing committee, Suresh Kalmadi, is already in jail on charges of racketeering (Kalmadi has claimed he is suffering from memory loss).

But the bad news is worse than that of Kalmadi's impending dementia. The CAG's 744-page report suggests that nothing short of daylight robbery has occurred. Slamming the organizing committee for being "deeply flawed, riddled with favouritism and bias," it unleashes a torrent of ugly details.

The games cost a staggering \$4.1 billion instead of the \$270 million initially estimated. The revenue that was supposed to pay for the event amounted to a measly \$38 million.

Extravagant contracts — from toilets and shuttlecocks to broadcasting rights and the Games Village — were awarded on the basis of a single bid.

The cost of 'beautifying' some of the poshest areas of New Delhi was \$22.5 million (imported luminaries were used to improve street lighting rather than the cheaper domestic variety, adding \$7.7 million to the bill).

The delays in construction that kept the country on tenterhooks until the very last moment were most likely deliberate: according to Rekha Gupta, the Deputy Auditor General, "the argument of urgency was used to obviate the regular process of tendering for award of contracts."

The ghastly list rattles on, implicating the Prime Minister's Office and the Delhi state government's Chief Minister in the process. Resignations and criminal prosecutions are anticipated (the Prime Minister and Chief Minister are trying to absolve themselves with the argument that they cannot be expected to "micromanage" decisions).

### Red Flags, Trumped by National Flag

The CAG has given Indians good reason to be angry — and judging by the news coverage over the weekend, there's plenty of moral outrage to go around.

Yet no one should be shocked by India's big heist. Given the opaque decision-making and suppression of voice that marked the foundational fabric of the Commonwealth Games, massive corruption was all but an expected outcome.

In May 2010, a seminal study by a Delhi-based NGO, the Human Rights Law Network, revealed that India's bid for the event was never discussed in Parliament. Nor was there any public debate or opinion poll among Delhi's residents as to whether the event should be held in their city (even so, the bid document claimed that "the entire nation supports the cause of the Games"). In fact, the government's decision to bid for the Games was approved by the cabinet only in September 2003 — barely two months prior to the official announcement that Delhi had been chosen as the host city for 2010.

The Commonwealth Games were meant to affirm India's 'world class' status and seal its reputation as a rising superpower (the bid document is littered with references to such goals, as were the lavish opening and closing ceremonies for the event). The executive's unilateral decision to host

the games was so easily accepted because it played to the hubris of India's newly rich. It spoke to the ambitions of a relatively narrow segment of the population that has prospered disproportionately under India's regime of neoliberal policy reforms, initiated twenty years ago. This 'rising middle class' — estimates of its size range from 50 to 300 million people — is the force behind India's towering skyscrapers, luxury shopping malls and pristine gated communities. It is also a major political force.

The political party on whose watch the bid was made — the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) — is widely seen as representing the interests and collective aspirations of this class (one may recall its campaign jingle, 'India Is Shining!'). In 2003, the Commonwealth Games bid committee was reportedly awarded a 'blank cheque' by BJP Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee, who was eager to secure the games in the run-up to the 2004 national election. But the bid was also supported by the Congress party, which led the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) coalition to victory in 2004 on the claim that it (unlike the BJP) represented the concerns of the poor and marginalized. Glowing letters of endorsement were provided by two Congress stalwarts, the Chief Minister of Delhi, Sheila Dixit, and the leader of the opposition, Sonia Gandhi.

Indeed, as the CAG's report renders clear, it is the Congress that ultimately bears the most responsibility for the flawed planning and execution of the event. It readily trumpeted the BJP's slogan of 'becoming world class' once its seductive appeal was recognized. The Congress political elite granted total discretion over spending to Suresh Kalmadi and the impenetrable maze of committees and sub-committees that reported only to

him (31 decision-making bodies, 22 advisory panels and 16 implementing agencies reported to Kalmadi's organizing committee, over which he maintained absolute authority). With India's global prestige and national pride at stake, moreover, the usually clamorous (corporate-owned) media looked the other way.

In the seven years between the bid for the event and its execution, human rights advocates, students groups and independent activists raised a series of red flags. Most went utterly unheeded.

The government's plan to build a massive 'Games Village' on the floodplains of the river Yamuna drew a gush of criticism when it was first announced. Environmental groups and social activists pointed out that the land targeted for the Village is ecologically fragile, and that the project would lead to the eviction of hundreds of low-income families from squatter settlements in the area.

In November 2008 — several years after the initial concerns had surfaced — a group of social activists succeeded in getting the Delhi High Court to freeze construction on the Games Village. The court also ordered an environmental panel to investigate its ecological impact. In response, however, the government appealed to the Supreme Court, arguing that the High Court's ruling would "seriously jeopardize the very conduct and holding of the 2010 games in Delhi." Swift to act, the Supreme Court overturned the Delhi High Court's verdict, arguing that the government had met all the approvals it needed. This important decision was only lazily reported in the press and, outside activist circles, provoked little concern. In light of this, the CAG's discovery that the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) failed to comply with the Ministry of Environment's conditional clearance for building the Village is hardly surprising.

Questions were also raised by social activists and student groups

about how public money was being used to turn the Games Village into an exclusive, gated community for the rich.

Built on a giant public-private-partnership agreement between the DDA and Emaar MGF — a real estate giant experienced in executing luxury, master-planned townships — the projected cost of the village was a whopping \$230 million (unsurprisingly, the CAG found "serious irregularities" in the awarding of the contract to Emaar). According to the deal, the DDA would own one-third of the 1,168 apartments, while Emaar would retain two-thirds, for sale in the open market.

While bidding for the Games, the Indian government said that DDA's share would be used to house Delhi University students, thus partially compensating for the dearth of student residences in the city. As construction proceeded, however, it was evident that DDA-Emaar had other plans.

The Village was to be equipped with state-of-the-art security, an upscale shopping mall, 'bio-toilets' at \$10,000 per unit, a water treatment plant (currently lying unused) for \$6 million, a 'green' power grid for \$8 million, noise barriers (later found defective) for \$1 million, and a dedicated corridor of Delhi Metro connecting it to the airport. As the upscale residential complex took shape, members of legislative assembly (MLAs) with the Delhi state government demanded its units at discounted rates. At present, well-appointed apartments in this "self-contained premium residential community" (as one real estate ad touts the property) are selling for \$1 million and beyond. It is quite clear that providing housing to university students was never a genuine concern for the government.

Another major warning sign emerged when Emaar failed to hold up its end of the bargain. In May 2009, the DDA announced a \$150 million bailout package for Emaar, which was defended by the Minister for Urban

Development, Jaipal Reddy, as a "buy-back arrangement by the DDA to enable the developer to complete the Games Village." Reddy said the Village was central to conduct of the games, and that any delay would have meant canceling or postponing the event. Since these options were simply not on the table, the government offered no apology for its decision to use public funds to prevent a real estate leviathan from violating the terms of its contract, and for making Indian taxpayers foot the bill for converting public green space into heavily guarded private property. Beyond a few initial questions, however — and this is the most tragic — no apology was demanded. The games were the price of being 'world class,' and people were willing to pay.

The CAG's report suggests that the bid and organizing committees, the DDA, and indeed anyone else who asked, was given the proverbial *carte blanche*. The budget for the games was revised upwards at least 10 times between 2003 and 2010. Each time, the cabinet nodded through its approval. In this context, it is hardly surprising that the event cost 16 times more than the original estimate. Under the circumstances, sticking to the budget would have been the least rational option. It would have been far more unusual had no money had gone missing!

The organizers of the games must have felt invincible. Few questions were raised when Delhi was turned into a quasi military zone in the weeks before the event. The elaborate and intrusive security plan, known months in advance, included the construction of a 14-foot fence, helicopter surveillance, and a fleet of armoured cars for Delhi Police, the installation of CCTV cameras in strategic points of the city, and the deployment of tens of thousands of police, paramilitary troops, elite commandos, snipers and bomb-disposal units.

There was no public uproar when

'anti-begging' police squads rounded up destitute and homeless persons and 'relocated' them to the peripheries of the city, or when Jantar Mantar — one of the few spaces in Delhi where protest is legally permitted — was cleared of overnight demonstrators by Delhi Police with the argument that the space needed to be readied for tourists (as it turned out, there were few tourists, and many affluent Delhiites fled the city for the duration of the games).

Ultimately, the Commonwealth Games bespeak a larger truth: if you peddle the dream of a 'world class' India, you can get away with almost anything. This is as true of the games as it is of the country's special economic zones (SEZs), the tax free and unregulated industrial areas that are meant to boost India's exports and propel the country into a new ('world class') orbit of growth.

The development of SEZs has been a highly corrupt process, with state officials colluding with private developers to evade fair compensation and exploit legal loopholes. Abuse of the principle of 'eminent domain' is widespread as is intimidation of small landowners and tenant farmers by the police. All of this was known when the government passed legislation to facilitate the creation of SEZs. Yet the SEZ Act (2005) was passed relatively quickly and with minimal debate, especially when compared to the repeated delays, expressions of outrage and watering down that besieged the enactment of the National

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learn about the atrocity and cruelty of the devastation by the atomic bombings.

We encourage all of you who seek "a world without nuclear weapons" to also organize an atomic bombing exhibition, even if it is a small-scale event, in your own cities in cooperation with Nagasaki. We look forward to photography panels of the atomic bombings being exhibited in streets all over the world. It is our hope that you join hands with people from the

Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and other measures of social security for the poor. Indeed, the pedantic concern that India has 'finite resources that cannot be wasted' is repeated with great gusto when it comes to making policies that may benefit the poor. The same government that poured \$4 billion into a fourteen-day sporting event spends little more than 1 percent of its GDP on health and little more than 2 percent on education.

### **Anti-corruption Interventions**

The Auditor General's report on the Commonwealth Games is a testament to the magnitude of India's corruption problem, and to the sort of big money that's up for grabs in its fast-growing, post-liberalization economy.

At present, the favoured interventions are the creation of an Ombudsman's Office (Lokpal) and the strengthening of bodies such as the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC) and the CAG. While watchdog organizations are a good idea, a lot depends on who is at the helm, and how far he or she is willing to go in pursuing a particular complaint (fortunately, the current Auditor General, Vinod Rai, has turned out to be a courageous man). Watchdogs also tend to focus on the apolitical goal of correcting individual behaviour, when the problem is systemic and political. Finally, Congress spokesperson Manish Tewari's concern that the CAG has exceeded

its brief by commenting "on policy choices that a government may or may not make" and on "an appointment process" (i.e. that of Kalmadi) is self-serving, but not entirely without legitimacy. It is reasonable to argue that top-down technocratic bodies like the CVC, CAG and Lokpal should be limited in their powers over elected representatives (of course, there's ongoing debate on this issue in India).

A better, more bottom-up approach is that of the Right to Information (RTI) Act, which entitles ordinary citizens to any information they want about government decisions and spending (the study by the Human Rights and Law Network, cited earlier in the article, was based on a series of RTI petitions). Nonetheless, the RTI process is far from perfect. Among other things, petitioners still face intimidation, and public-private-partnerships, which are proliferating in every sector of the economy, have yet to be brought under its ambit.

Neither route will be sufficient, however, unless there is more disengagement from the ugly game of global one-upmanship that informs the desire to be 'world class,' especially by parties that claim to represent the poor and socially excluded. Nothing facilitates corruption more effectively than throwing a veil over democratic processes, which even well-meaning people are inclined to do, when driven by the competitive fire of becoming 'world class.'

atomic-bombed cities and extend the circle of peace so all people can live a humane life.

On August 9, 1945 at 11:02 a.m., Nagasaki was destroyed by an atomic bomb. From the ruins, we have accomplished our restoration as a city of peace. We hope that people in Fukushima will never give up and that people in the affected areas of eastern Japan never forget that across the world are friends who will always be behind them. We sincerely hope that

the affected areas will be restored and that the situation with the nuclear power plant accident settles down as soon as possible.

We offer our sincere condolences on the deaths of all the victims of the atomic bombings and the Great East Japan Earthquake, and together with the city of Hiroshima, pledge to continue appealing to the world for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

**PM**

**Hail the heroic resistance of the anti-POSCO agitators against a project  
which not only grabs their land but also the future of their children!  
People of Odisha have the right to decide what kind of projects they need,  
not comprador despotic rulers like Naveen Patnaik or  
Sonia-Man Mohan-Jairam-Chidambaram combine!  
Build widespread agitations in support of anti-POSCO agitation all over India!**

It has been one week since the people of India has been witnessing one of the firmest, staunchest resistances in the history of modern India against an imperialist MNC project in the form of anti-POSCO agitation in Jagatsinghpur district of Odisha. CPI (Maoist) hails the people of Odisha who are determined to stop the much-touted 52,000 crore 'biggest foreign direct investment' in India and declares its full support and solidarity for them.

The central government hastily cleared the POSCO project on 15 May 2007 and Manmohan himself had given full assurance to the South Korean government that he would do everything for building the project in the backdrop of people's rage erupting in severe opposition to it. The MOEF and the Odisha government have avoided compliance to the requirements under the Forest Rights Act and the MOEF guidelines issued in August 2009. In fact this is the ground for the Ministry's issuing stop work order on 5th August 2010. The state government has been repeatedly denying the existence of tribals in the proposed project area whereas subsequent visit and fact finding by the Saxena committee and the Meena Gupta committee has proved beyond doubt that there are other traditionally forest dwellers in the proposed areas depending traditionally on the forests for their livelihood, that sufficient documentary evidence is available which shows the existence of forest rights and that the FRA is not implemented by the state government in the area. The Central government the state government of Odisha disrespected the resolution of more than 65 % of the villagers who participated in both the Palli Sabhas of Dhinkia and Govindpur which unequivocally rejected the proposal for diversion of land. The government authorities deliberately suppressed facts and declared in the government's submission to the MOEF that such resolutions were fake! There are number of such instances where the government is suppressing the facts and figures and lying through the teeth. Based on the Meena Gupta committee's report the Forest Advisory Committee (FAC) has recommended withdrawal of forest clearance. But in violation of all this and making a complete U-turn, environmental clearance was given by Mr. Jairam Ramesh on May 2, 2011 and this proved to be the last straw. The state government immediately deployed the police in June to grab the land.

This whole period saw severe opposition from the people to any kind of land acquisition for the 12-million-tonne-capacity steel project, against mining lease for its Khandadhar iron ore reserve in Sundargarh district and the company's private port near the proposed steel plant about 12 km from the Paradip port. The fact is that both the central and state governments conspired for this and the statements by Jairam that environmental clearance doesn't mean that land should be acquired forcefully or Congress rushing to Govindpur supposedly to support the agitation are nothing but a big hoax. Jairam is advising the Odisha government to acquire land 'democratically'. Going by recent evidence, his 'democracy' looks like it includes lying and kickbacks from MNCs to keep shut. The only forms of democracy the people (mostly Adivasis) opposing such projects could see are fake encounters, tortures and incarceration for years together in jails !

Union Home Secretary GK Pillai in a recent interview asked the people to check the website of the Planning Commission and see the photos there to know how rapidly 'development' is progressing in the form of roads, anganwadi and school buildings coming up in backward (particularly 'Maoist') areas. He said 'Photos speak for themselves'. One wonders if the Pillai and his ilk have seen the photos of rows and rows of children, women and elderly persons lying on their land in Govindpur area of Jagatsinghpur district under a hot sun or in pouring rains to save it from being grabbed by the MNC shark POSCO with the muscle power of the Naveen Patnaik's fascist 'licensed killers'. Do these photos speak anything?

Why are the thousands and thousands of anti-POSCO agitators fighting a life and death struggle not to allow POSCO's entry? Why is the number of people who agitate against the governments' policies swelling with each attempt by the comprador rulers to sell this country's resources to neo-colonialists? Do the numbers speak anything?

Why is that there seems to be no end to these agitations involving a sea of masses in Singur, Nandigram, Kalinga Nagar, Lalgah, Narayanapatna, Bhatta Parsaul, Srikakulam, Bastar, Lohardagga and scores of other villages and towns in almost every state in this country? Does this long list of militant agitations of the recent past speak anything?

Do the sacrifices and people thronging to the funerals of mass leaders and agitators (from Tapasi Malik of Singur to Tabrez of Jaitapur, from the 13 adivasis in Kalinga Nagar to the peasants of Sompeta and Kakarapalli) who fought and laid down their lives in such agitations speak anything? Why are thousands of more people taking the place of these fallen heroes with silent determination waving the flag of 'Jal, Jungle, Zameen Hamara Hai?'

For those who care to listen – the message is clear. The overwhelming majority of this country's population is rejecting the profit-centric pro-imperialist development model and embracing the people-centric pro-people development model. The message from the ruling classes is also brutally clear. Whatever may be the 'cost' the people of India may have to pay – the comprador ruling classes with the strong support and guidance of the imperialists would continue with their plunder and pillage. This 'cost' would include not only loss of land, water, air, seas, ports, natural resources, forests, ecology, rare flora and fauna, ancient civilizations, properties, limbs and not the least lives in the 'material' sense but would also include loss of self-respect, sovereignty, independence, freedom, dignity and pride which are inalienable for our existence as human beings.

The people of Jagatsinghpur are asking a simple question - So why should we lose all these things and moreover who are you decide that we lose these things? They are stating an obvious truth – it is the people who have the right to decide what they need. They are posing a straight challenge to the ruling classes – face the fury of the people, we are not the ones to surrender. They are declaring a principled fact for the world to hear – the people of India refuse to be pushed into a slave-like existence.

We are afraid that sometimes even photos always do not speak for themselves. For example, the photos of school buildings (in 'Maoist areas') do not show the security forces which would be occupying them as soon as they are ready for it. But agitations which are being carried on for years together by lakhs of people putting everything at their stake including their lives do speak something. They speak something which is the most important thing to be spoken or heard in this country at this point of time and one which would decide its future. They are speaking the same truth which was spoken by the countless peasant and adivasi struggles (mainly armed but also unarmed) which were waged against the British colonial rulers in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, a truth which seeks to end all kinds of colonial/neo-colonial exploitation and oppression. The British tried to close their eyes and ears to this din of truth opting instead to suppress them using brute force. The Indian ruling classes are tracing their steps and they are bound to trace their steps to their own graveyards too if they continue in their 'unjust, brutal wars on people' in the name of development just like their imperialist masters. Whether it is direct armed suppression by deploying police and paramilitary forces in Maoist areas (and now the army too) in the name of Operation Green Hunt or by deploying police and paramilitary forces in places like a Bhatta Parsaul or a Govindpur all are for brutal suppression of genuine people's struggles. The killing of more than twenty-five many anti-mining activists in fake encounters by Naveen Patnaik government since December 2010 and the recent meeting by P. Chidambaram with Naveen Patnaik and Raman Singh for anti-Maoist operations to be carried on in Odisha and Chhattisgarh in June point out how the central and state governments are planning to suppress the people's agitations.

The anti-POSCO agitation along with many other struggles being waged against land grabbing and loot of natural resources of our country has the potential to decide the fate of the many other foreign investments coming unchecked into our country. The CC, CPI (Maoist) exhorts the people of Odisha to go ahead firmly with steady fast determination in their struggle and calls upon the people of India to build solidarity struggles in support of this brave people. While it is necessary for the people of Jagatsinghpur to take the support of every political and civil party or group which is coming to them in solidarity, they should also be alert to the ploys of some of them, particularly that of parliamentary parties to divert their struggle into various kinds of compromises. It should not be forgotten that almost all the parliamentary parties have been following or supporting such pro-imperialist projects wherever they have been in power or have been sharing power or were giving tacit support even when they were in opposition.

It is not only necessary to go to Jagatsinghpur in support of anti-POSCO agitation but also to take up various forms of supportive propaganda and agitational forms in every state in their support. CPI (Maoist) is calling upon the people of India and the world to express the widest possible solidarity to this courageous struggle. The need of the hour is for all such struggles to broaden into a coalition of anti-imperialist struggles which would not only fight for scrapping of projects like POSCO but would also fight for kicking off all kinds of imperialist control and exploitation from our country.

« Stop land acquisition for POSCO project immediately!

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**DEMAND FOR AN IMPARTIAL AND INDEPENDENT PROBE INTO  
ALL THE INCIDENTS OF BOMB BLASTS INCLUDING  
MECCA MASJID, MALEGAON AND SAMJHAUTA EXPRESS BLASTS!**

Communist Party of India (Maoist) severely condemns the bomb blasts took place in Mumbai on July 13, 2011. These incidents of serial blasts are inhuman in which at least 20 innocent people have lost their lives and nearly 80 people were injured. Our Party also strongly condemns the devious and baseless allegations of exploitative ruling classes and their police/intelligence agencies who are trying to blame our Party without any clue of who might be responsible for these bomb blasts and even before the investigation is started. The oppressed people of India know very well that our Party which is fighting for the emancipation of people would never commit such attacks aimed at innocent people putting their lives at peril. Murderous ruling classes and their corporate media are deliberately blaming us so as to depict our Party as a terrorist organization and our just people's movement as terrorist one, and thus to justify their brutal suppression campaign and the Army deployment in the second phase of ongoing Operation Green Hunt — the War On People.

If we retrospect into the earlier incidents of bomb blasts took place till this day in our country, we would never know the real culprits hidden behind those who are being shown as offenders. It's become a norm now that whenever such incidents of bomb blasts take place, the pro-Hindu fundamentalist Indian state, its intelligence/investigative wings and the corporate media immediately claim that Muslims and so-called Islamic terrorist organizations are responsible. In fact, as part of a conspiracy and collusion of the Indian state which always try to blame Muslim society for every attack of this kind and the top leaders of the ruling class parties like Congress and BJP, the IB itself created an illusionary organization named Indian Mujahiddin which is being held responsible for every incident of bomb blast by the authorities. Corporate media barons and bankrupt intellectuals servile to the ruling classes are branding all those who ask for proof of these allegations and who demand for comprehensive and impartial probe as outright traitors and attacking them belligerently, irrationally and frantically. Thus people are being kept at bay from knowing the truth. In our so-called biggest democracy on the earth, the big joke is not asking for incisive probe has become the touchstone for patriotism and the person who asks for any probe is branded as traitor!

In earlier instances of bomb blasts in Mecca Masjid, Malegaon, Samjhauta Express etc. hundreds of innocent Muslims, particularly the youths were arrested, tortured inhumanly and sent to jails. Many were killed in fake encounters. Even after the obvious evidences came forth that the Hindu fanatics belonging to the right-wing RSS gang were responsible for those ghastly incidents, no justice was done to the Muslims. No leader of the Hindu terrorist organizations like Abhinav Bharat, Hindu defence force, Rashtriya Jagaran Manch, Bajrang Dal, Viswa Hindu Parishad has been punished until this day. At the same time, death sentence given to Afzal Guru in the case of attack on Parliament and to 11 Muslims in Godhra train carnage case recently on March 1 are some examples of the anti-Muslim and pro-Hindutva character of the Indian State. While the butchers like Narendra Modi whose hands have stained with the blood of over 2,000 innocent Muslims are freely wandering in the corridors of power, Muslims are being meted out stringent punishments by virtue of bizarre and inadequate evidences. And this has been spreading the feeling of severe frustration and fury among the Muslim masses.

It's an obvious fact that because of the grisly incidents like the destruction of the Babri Masjid and Gujarat genocide, the Muslim community in general, a large section of Muslim youth in particular, has become furious and outrageous against the Indian ruling classes. Another irrefutable fact is that this situation has given birth to some Islamic organizations. Exploiting this situation and by taking organizations of this sort into their grip or by misleading them in a deceitful manner or by even creating some new organizations of this kind, both India's and Pakistan's intelligence agencies like RAW, IB, ISI are engineering bomb blasts and other attacks in both countries as part of serving their vested political interests. Failing to identify their real enemies many a frustrated Muslim youths are stuck in this lattice and taking part in acts of mindless violence of this kind. Thus they are taking of the lives of innocent people. This is such a vicious cycle where these youths don't even know in whose hands are they acting and whose vested interests are being fulfilled with such attacks in deed.

On the other hand, after it was clearly exposed that an organization called Abhinav Bharat belonged to the Sangh gang (i.e. RSS) was responsible for bomb blasts of Malegaon, Mecca Masjid and Samjhauta Express, people of India have started seeing Saffron terrorism as a dangerous trend. When it became obvious that the Saffron terrorists are responsible for Ajmer Sherif bomb blast also, the demand for a review of all investigations done into the incidents of bomb blasts in various places of our country has come forth. The Muslim youths of Malegaon and Hyderabad have

demanding that the government should apologize for the police atrocities inflicted on them. Despite of all its rhetoric, the Congress-led UPA government has been instigating Saffron terrorism as a part of promoting its wicked political motives. The corporate media which act hand in glove with Hindu fundamentalism in general, on the one hand, attack Muslims and Islamic organizations aggressively without any clear evidence and on the other hand, report as less as possible even when there is evident proof is available that the Saffron terrorist organizations were responsible for various incidents of bomb blasts.

If we see in this backdrop, we could arrive at the conclusion that Saffron terrorist organizations or so-called Islamic militant organizations sponsored by the very intelligence agencies like IB, RAW might have committed these heinous acts of July 13 Mumbai bomb blasts. It's also likely that the mafia gangs hand in glove with police top brass and ruling class political leaders could have committed these attacks. Whoever else has done this, only the interests of ruling classes would be served with such acts of mindless violence. Firstly, people's attention could be diverted from the issues like price rise, corruption, scams, black money, Swiss banks accounts which have become burning issues in the country now. Secondly, by posing terrorism as biggest danger, even more draconian laws could be prepared and the teeth of State's suppressive machinery could be sharpened by importing arms and technology from imperialist countries on a massive scale misusing trillions of rupees of hard earned people's money. Thirdly, by supporting directly or indirectly all invasive wars, attacks and intimidations of US imperialism going on in the name of 'Global War on Terror' and thus by acting as its junior partner in south Asia region, the Indian State could go ahead reducing the country more servile to it by signing the treacherous treaties like Homeland security, civil nuclear deal etc. Fourthly, using the pretext of terrorism, public consent could be built for crushing the people's movements and growing Maoist revolutionary movement militarily which are surging against anti-people and pro-imperialist neo-liberal policies of the governments. Apart from this, consolidating Hindu vote bank by blaming Muslims and Islamic organizations every time without any proof and diverting the people's attention from the basic problems of our country like food, clothing, shelter, price rise, unemployment, poverty, starvation, displacement etc. are necessary for both Congress and BJP and for the feudal and comprador bourgeoisie classes whom they represent, so that their exploitative rule can be carried on unchecked.

However, Communist Party of India (Maoist) believes that the real perpetrators of Mumbai blasts could be traced only through an impartial and independent probe. Our Party humbly appeals the masses and democrats of the country to not to sway away with the malicious propaganda, falsehood and prejudices unleashed by the ruling classes, their intelligence agencies and the corporate media in a mad, one-sided and irrational manner. Our Party demands to uncover the culprits responsible for these blasts and punish them severely. At the same time, our Party calls upon entire people of the country to demand the governments for impartial and independent probes into all incidents of bomb blasts that took place since 1992 and for unconditional release of Muslims and Christians who are languishing in various jails with false cases. Our Party also calls upon the people of the country to demand to punish all those Saffron terrorist leaders who are responsible for all the attacks perpetrated on religious minorities including the Babri Masjid destruction, Gujarat genocide, Kandhamal (Odisha) attacks and to condemn Hindu religious fundamentalism and all other religious chauvinisms.

(Abhay) Spokesperson,  
Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

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a 'fake encounter' and now comes this death sentence on Jeeten Marandi of Jharkhand. This is all part of the conspiracy to kill the people's leaders who emerged from the people's movements waged against feudalism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism. By rendering the movements leaderless they want to remove all hurdles to their loot of natural resources in the Adivasi areas.

As Jeeten and other people present in the court sang in the court immediately after the death sentences were pronounced – 'that day would definitely come' when people would put an end to all these fascist acts of the state with powerful mass upsurges. Neither death sentences nor false encounters can kill the spirit of true leaders of the people and they would fight to the end.

CPI (Maoist) demands that the death sentences of Jeeten Marandi, Anil Ram, Manoj Rajwar and Chhatrapati Mandal be annulled immediately. It appeals to all democratic organizations, civil rights organizations, organizations for the rights of political prisoners and particularly to all cultural and literary organizations and Adivasi cultural associations to build a vast movement demanding the annulment of these death sentences and the unconditional release of these people's artistes. Let us broaden this movement for ending capital punishment altogether.

(Abhay) Spokesperson,  
Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

## **Immediately withdraw the death sentences on Adivasi and dalit cultural artistes and leaders Comrades Jeeten Marandi, Anil Ram, Manoj Rajwar and Chhatrapati Mandal !**

On June 23, the Giridih district (Jharkhand) sessions court judge Indradeo Mishra pronounced death sentences to Jeeten Marandi, Anil Ram, Manoj Rajwar and Chhatrapati Mandal in the Chilkari case where 19 people were killed in 2007 and thus the state bared its fascist fangs one more time. Jeeten Marandi and others have always worked openly and the organizations they are working for are not banned organizations. Pronouncing death sentences in a case with which they had no connection whatsoever is a clear act of revenge on them as they are standing firmly with the people using song and dance in all their anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles, particularly against displacement. As part of Operation Green Hunt launched to suppress the Maoist movement in the country, particularly in Central and Eastern India, the central and state governments have been resorting to the most brutal and heinous atrocities one could imagine on the poorest of the poor – the Adivasis of this country and these latest death sentences are one more proof of this. The cruelest face of OGH could be seen in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha and that too in the Adivasi areas of these states where the Maoist movement is stronger.

Jeeten Marandi is a well-known Adivasi cultural artiste and leader of Jharkhand Abhen, a cultural organization of Jharkhand. He is a leader of the All India League for revolutionary Culture and has toured the length and breadth of India propagating revolutionary songs and culture. Anil Ram, Manoj Rajwar and Chhatrapati Mandal are also Adivasi and Dalit cultural artistes. Jeeten displayed his cultural talents since he was a child and gradually developed himself into one of the finest artistes this country has ever produced. It was only natural that as a conscious child he could not ignore the plight of the Adivasi society of which he himself was a part. His social investigation of the root causes for the poverty, exploitation and oppression of Adivasis naturally led him to revolutionary politics and he and his cultural organization propagated revolutionary politics to awaken political consciousness among the people.

Propagating one's ideas openly is not a crime and nobody can be punished for that. The ruling classes of India are not ready to tolerate any kind of dissent and have been resorting to all kinds of ploys to stifle the voices of dissent to its pro-imperialist and anti-people policies aiming to loot the natural resources and rich mineral wealth of the people. As true people's artistes they have been in the forefront in the anti-displacement movement in Jharkhand which is giving one of the toughest resistances in this matter. It is very clear that the state is punishing them for these political activities and not for some Chilkari case which everybody knows is just one of the dozens of false cases foisted on them. In the bitter class struggle fought against feudalism in Bihar and Jharkhand massacres were perpetrated by the land lords through their private armies on the peasantry, particularly on the dalits. The peasantry had to resort to counter-violence in self-defence and incidents like Chilkari are a part of it. The state instead of looking into the root causes for such incidents and addressing them, is trying to use them to foist false cases on mass organization activists to stifle their voices of dissent. Firstly they slapped a case of sedition on Jeeten Marandi in 2007 with the allegation that he made inflammatory speeches in front of Raj Bhavan in Ranchi on the issue of release of political prisoners and have been harassing him ever since with incarceration and false cases. Even before that he has been arrested many times and sometimes beaten brutally. This death sentence comes as a culmination of all these conspiracies to stifle his voice forever. The state is so shameless in its callousness that it has foisted some cases of Pirtand and Teesri P.S. which happened when Jeeten was in jail!

This country has a 200 year long history of colonial rule under the British which was consequently witness to countless Adivasi rebellions. British imperialism sought to suppress these rebellions by using brute force with the advantage of modern weapons they had and hanging of the rebel leaders was one consistent tactic it had used. The comprador Indian ruling classes which inherited this mantle of brute suppression from them are following in their footsteps. Comrades Bhumaih and Kista Goud were the first revolutionary peasant activists to be hanged in 'independent India' and later death sentences were pronounced on many revolutionary activists, particularly on the revolutionary peasant activists in Bihar (which included the present Jharkhand) implicating them in false cases. People's lawyers and civil rights leaders like comrades KG Kannabiran and Pattipati Venkateswarlu as part of their civil rights organizations have vehemently fought against the death sentences pronounced on the revolutionaries both in the courts and outside and built broad movements not only with the immediate demands of annulling the death sentences in particular cases but also for ending capital punishment. It is the necessary to continue this fight on a broader scale as it is obvious that the state would resort to more such fascist acts apart from the massacres, false encounters and atrocities perpetrated on the Adivasi hamlets on a daily basis. Singanna of Narayanapatna was killed point blank in police firings, Lalmohan Tudu of Lalgarh was killed in

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**An Appeal from Maoists to SPOs (Special Police Officers)  
Defeat the ploys of the government to divide us and rule!  
Stop fighting for the exploiters and oppressors  
and come back to your villages!!**

The Supreme Court delivered a judgment on the petition filed by social activist Nandini Sundar, historian Ramchandra Guha and ex-bureaucrat E.A.S. Sharma on July 4, 2011 and ordered the Chhattisgarh government that appointment of Adivasis as SPOs on the pretext of fighting Maoists and arming them with guns should be stopped. The SC opined that the very appointment of SPOs is unconstitutional. Previously too it had commented several times in the negative about Salwa Judum, SPO and Koya commandos.

In fact, since the launch of the fascist repressive campaign in the name of Salwa Judum (SJ) by the central and state governments in a planned manner, the process of appointing Adivasi youth as SPOs began. Since then in a series of repressive campaigns in the name of SJ and later in the name of Operation Green Hunt (OGH) nearly 700 villages were destroyed. Each village was burnt down in phases. More than 1200 people were killed. Hundreds of women were gang raped. Many of them were murdered too. Granaries were razed to ground. Properties were looted. Hens, pigs and goats were whisked away. In all these terrorizing acts SPOs recruited from Adivasis were pushed to the forefront. It was the SPOs that were pushed to the forefront to act as guides to the paramilitary forces and to identify the people and their houses when they attack villages. Later due to the decision taken to recruit SPOs on a huge scale their numbers increased to nearly 5,000. Some selected SPOs were given training by Greyhounds and Rashtriya Rifles of Indian Army and a new force called Koya commando was constituted. As it was not possible to suppress the Maoist movement even with the repressive methods employed by all these types of armed forces, the state has now deployed the Army as its last resort. Though this deployment is done in the name of 'training' at present, in fact the process of directly using the Army in the 'War on People' has started.

The ruling classes have launched this unjust war against the people with the evil design of turning the whole of Dandakaranya which is home to immense natural resources into the grazing field for MNC and big bourgeoisie corporate loot. They took up a policy of displacing people from the villages and forests on a huge scale to implement this plan. Local Adivasi youth were appointed as SPOs and Koya commandos and countless atrocities were perpetrated through them.

Our party believes that many of the SPOs had not gone on their own will and that they had turned into SPOs due to several kinds of pressures. Several of them were arrested, forcefully shifted to 'relief' camps, beaten, abused, threatened that they would be killed and thus turned into SPOs. Though at first they turned into SPOs fearing state terror, later gradually they became part of the force and have participated in all the atrocities perpetrated on the people. Some of the SPOs have participated in violence and atrocities on people against their will. They are feeling sorry for that. Several of the SPOs are not even aware that they have been used as pawns in the brutal orgy of terror and violence unleashed by white and khaki robed compradors like Mahendra Karma, Raman Singh, Viswaranjan, Nankiram by deploying thousands of police, paramilitary, Naga-Mizo battalions etc.

Home minister Chidambaram who is acting as the CEO of OGH, the war on people announced that he would conduct a meeting with chief ministers of the states where the Maoist movement is strong in the light of the above judgment. It is obvious that this meeting is being conducted with the conspiracy of finding out ways to continue this system of SPOs and Koya commandos under a different name. Politicians, top police brass and bureaucrats from Delhi and Raipur are now cracking their heads to somehow continue this SPO system in this unjust war on the people.

We want to make it clear to all the SPOs that this war is not between them and us. This war is being fought between a small minority of exploiters and the entire toiling masses of this country. On one side are the 95 percent of oppressed masses – the workers, peasants, middle classes, dalits, Adivasis, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie; on the other side are the big landlords and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. These enemy classes have the complete support of the imperialists. These exploiting classes are using you as pawns by recruiting you into their repressive machinery. You are made into guinea pigs. As part of their 'divide and rule' policy they are bringing a section of the

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**Press Release**

August 19, 2011

## **Throw into the dust bin all the vicious propaganda carried on by the ruling classes and corporate media against the Maoist leadership!**

At present the Indian revolutionary movement is facing many hard challenges and advancing through the process of victory-defeat and victory. With the aim of completely wiping out the revolutionary movement, the ruling classes are carrying on a cruel war of suppression with the full support of the imperialists. Particularly by following the LIC strategy formulated by the US imperialists, these fascists are carrying on this counter-revolutionary war. Particularly from 2009 onwards the UPA government in coordination with the state governments is carrying on a countrywide suppressive war in the name of OGH. In this unjust war carried on against the people under the leadership of the Sonia-Manmohan Singh-Chidambaram-Pranab Mukherji gang, their strategy is said to be 'suppression and development' (read suppression of the people and development of the corporate houses). As part of this they are using psychological warfare as a strategic weapon and vicious propaganda on revolutionary leadership is a key component in this. Media is being used as one of the main instruments in this psy-war. Media persons who represent corporate sector and pseudo intellectuals who are apologists for the ruling classes' ideology are participating actively in this psy-war through foul-mouthed propaganda.

Counter-revolutionary propaganda is as old as the revolutionary movement. The German fascist propaganda minister Goebbels who said that repeating a lie a hundred times would turn it into the truth has found his Indian avatars in Sonia, Manmohan, Pranab Mukherji, Raman Singh, Naveen Patnaik, Nitish Kumar, Kiran Kumar etc and their faithful spokespersons like Arnab Goswamis and Chandan Mitras are leading this nasty campaign in various forms in the media. Right from the propaganda that Marxism has become outdated to the propaganda that bitter differences have cropped up among the Maoist leaders, news items against the revolutionary movement and its leadership with utter lies and outlandish fabrications, falsehoods and half-truths are being published and relayed day in and day out. The single and foremost aim of this psy-war is to spread confusion, disappointment and lack of confidence among the people and the revolutionary ranks towards Maoist leadership by creating doubts, prejudices and illusions about our party and its leadership. The ruling classes and their lackey intellectuals are dreaming that by deceiving the people they can carry on their exploitation and pro-imperialist economic policies without any opposition whatsoever. Some of the journalists who come under this category are hand in gloves with the intelligence officials and are propagating crap about the Maoist revolutionary movement through corporate media houses. The white lie published under the title 'Bitter differences crop up between Maoist PW and MCC factions' in Times of India dated July 17, 2011 is undoubtedly part of this Psy-War.

This news item dictated by the Indian intelligence agencies and written by Rakhi Chakrabarthy has not only targeted the Maoist leadership but has also falsely created 'PW and MCC factions' and 'severe differences of opinions among them' in the party. The unity of these two revolutionary parties in accordance with the much-awaited aspirations of the oppressed peoples of the world and our country and rich experiences of these two parties by overcoming the most painful period named as "Black chapter" by both of them in their histories has opened a glorious chapter in our country's revolutionary movement. Only genuine and selfless revolutionaries can so accept their mistakes publicly and seek apology from the people and work with steadfast determination not to repeat them. That is why this genuine unity has enthused the oppressed people and revolutionary ranks all over the world as much as it had spread anxiety and dread among the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist masters. It is to be noted that the faithful servant of the imperialists and the Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh began describing the Maoist movement as the biggest internal security threat after this historic unity. It is also an undeniable fact that the ruling classes have intensified their fascist offensive on massive scale against the revolutionary movement only after this.

It is an age-old trick of the ruling classes to create illusionary divisions among the top leaders of the revolutionary parties so that people would come to believe that even these parties would not lead them properly with such careerisms and divides among their leaders. Umpteen numbers of such instances can be quoted from all over the world and this news item of TOI is one such most vicious propaganda against our leaders who in fact have spent decades of their lives in service of the people selflessly. Some of them are now languishing in jails facing inhuman treatment from the state without the minimum facilities or medical treatment at this old age. The callousness of the state towards our leaders who have sacrificed everything for the liberation of the oppressed people of our country is reaching unprecedented heights with each day. In a way, this only indicates that the state is scared about the increasing influence of revolutionary politics

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