

Maoist Information Bulletin - 16

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Dantewada — the new spring thunder over India



43 years after the Naxalbari spring thunder over India there is yet another spring thunder that is more threatening to the reactionary rulers of our country and their masters abroad. India has changed over these four decades and more. It has become more powerful economically and militarily; had witnessed increases in GDP growth rates, in industrial production, doubled in population, but has remained fundamentally unchanged in terms of the condition of the landless and poor, and the other toiling urban and rural poor.

What had emerged during this period is a considerable population of middle class that looks quite formidable in size when compared with the populations of several countries in Europe or elsewhere. So have the poor increased and doubled in its size now reaching around 80 per cent of the population. Land issue still remains a basic issue for the people in rural areas. Unemployment, homelessness and food remain fundamental issues for the urban masses. Displacement of the people from their lands and homes has increased on a massive scale. Insecurity of life haunts the majority. Corruption, black money, hoarding etc of today render their former selves during the 1960s look like pygmies.

Everything seems to have changed but everything looks the same: the first for the rich and the middle classes, and the second for the poor of this country. For the rich there are abundant opportunities today for getting richer overnight, to transform themselves from millionaires to billionaires. There are no restrictions on amassing wealth. Stock market has now become a powerful instrument for the rich to multiply their wealth. Avenues that have opened up for getting rich quickly have become unlimited.

For the middle classes consumer goods have transformed their lives as never before: from idiot boxes to smart phones to thousand and one gadgets that now define middle class existence. The consumer culture has radically changed the outlook, habits, customs and life-styles of the middle class. Once stuck to consumerism there is no way of getting out of it. The temptation is irresistible.

Just as everything seems to have changed for the middle, upper middle and the rich classes, nothing seems to have changed for the vast majority of the poor: their land hunger had only increased, their attempts to maintain their hold over their own meager pieces of land had increased,



their struggle for mere survival had assumed great intensity, their Suicide deaths have reached horrendous proportions. Hunger stalks the country. Malnutrition has become the bane of the children of the rural and urban poor. Disease devours millions of people every year.

Thus today all the conditions exist for a volcanic eruptions of Dantewada-type throughout the country.

Dantewada is an inevitable product of these harrowing appalling conditions of the people at large. Thus Dantewada is not a law & order problem as the Home Ministry hawks and Defence sharks have been trying desperately trying to establish.

Dantewada has unambiguously rejected the imperialist-driven anti-people neo-liberal model of development sought to be imposed on the people by imperialist agents like Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram-Pranab.



Dantewada is a categorical repudiation of the concept of Shining India being thrust on 90 per cent of the population by a handful of billionaires. It had pooh-poohed Home Ministry's strategy of 'clear-hold-develop', of 'reclaiming' areas from the people, rushing in the economic terrorists with their development schemes to ruin and destroy the region.

Dantewada is waiting to happen in large tracts of the country. If only the revolutionary Party provided leadership.

Dantewada symbolizes the hopes and aspirations of hundreds of millions of marginalized sections of the Indian people—the scum of the Shining India who have no other hope than to fight or perish. It is only a question of how quickly genuine revolutionary leadership can be provided to these miserable millions, how quickly one can stop the suicide deaths of hundreds of thousands of peasants and poverty-stricken toiling masses by giving them hope of a bright future, and a self-realisation of their strength and capacity to confront the paper-tiger that seems to overwhelm them through sheer brute force.

Dantewada had blown the myth of the invincibility of the mighty Indian state.

Dantewada has shown that a militarily ill-equipped, rag-tag people's army comprised of the poorest of the poor, having no other interests other than the collective interests of the oppressed, can achieve significant victories over a modernized, well-equipped, brute force provided the guerrillas dare to fight and dare to win and are led by a genuine revolutionary Party.

Some well-meaning democrats and progressive intellectuals have been under a false notion that Dantewada-type attacks would foreclose democratic opportunities for mass struggles and dissent. In fact, the so-called democracy has no real meaning for the vast millions of the poor. It is democracy for a bunch of slave-holders and for those who carry on their lives in meek submission making compromises with the exploiting classes. For the vast majority of the people it is a fake democracy.

Dantewada is an attempt to break the shackles of fake democracy and to establish genuine democracy.

Dantewada is a heroic counter-offensive to protect the gains made by the oppressed people, an attempt to defend the revolutionary people's power across thousands of villages in central and eastern India. As this writer traveled through villagers in the remote regions in the immediate aftermath of Dantewada ambush the democratic space created by Dantewada was clearly visible. It could be felt, touched and enjoyed. No policemen were seen on the roads



and in the forests. They were confined to their camps and fortified stations scared to venture into the interior areas. Maoist guerrillas and adivasi people moved freely in the fortnight after Dantewada. The vultures would no doubt come in bigger droves to devour on half-emaciated corpse-like bodies of the adivasis subjected to the worst form of terrorism by the state—chronic hunger and artificial famine. Then there would be bigger and more concerted attacks and repetition of Dantewadas on a higher and wider scale. Once again to break out of the suffocation and create democratic space for a while. The cycle would go on but the irrefutable truth is: genuine democracy and a democratic space can be

ushered in only by hitting out at the oppressors and tormentors. No appeals to their non-existent conscience and petitions in courts can bring peace and democracy to the people. The ongoing case in the Supreme Court regarding the mass murders and disappearances in Gompad and surrounding villages proves beyond a shadow of doubt about the impotence of our judiciary and all so-called democratic institutions.

Dantewada has reaffirmed the path of liberation of the Indian people from decades of oppression and exploitation.

Dantewada symbolizes the new spring thunder over India.

Let us create Dantewadas throughout the country's length and breadth and create a new tide of militant revolutionary people's struggles across India.



MEDIA HYSTERIA AND FACTS REGARDING THE DARING DANTEWADA AMBUSH BY MAOIST GUERRILLAS

The so-called ground-zero reports, analyses, discussions and debates on Dantewada and the Maoist movement in the wake of the daring Dantewada ambush in the print and electronic media raise fundamental questions on the dubious role played by the so-called fourth estate. It does not require much effort on the part of any impartial observer to grasp the fact that the fourth estate has actually become the private estate of the corporate sharks and comprador vultures.

The entire print and electronic media became completely hysteric, losing even the semblance of balanced and objective reporting and deliberately ditched the obvious and glaring facts in their bid to provide justification and legitimacy to the Indian State's war against the people and to establish the "savagery" of the Maoists. This time, it was not just the saffron terrorists and their neo-Nazi mouth



Are you with India?

pieces like Panchajanya and Organiser that had indulged in nationalist frenzy and dubious patriotism. The entire media was obsessed with this false sense of patriotism and the fight against an enemy within who is out to destroy the democracy that the Indian people are supposed to be enjoying with relish. "Are you with India or against India?" barked a dog from a TV studio. Such faithful dogs in the service of a handful of filthy billionaires who hold the billion plus population of India to ransom want the people to believe that Chidambaram's war against the poorest of the poor led by the Maoists is a war for national sovereignty and in defence of democracy. To prove their point, Maoists and the people led by them are painted as

monsters to be wiped out since they are more dangerous than external enemies. The inherent undeclared logic of their arguments is unmistakable. A war with Pakistan or any other country would not destroy the ruling classes of this country though it would destroy the economy and push the vast majority of the population to extreme misery and even death. But a war by Maoists would spell the doom for this bunch of villains who run and ruin the country while liberating a thousand million people from the clutches of these vultures. No wonder, Maoists are indeed more dangerous than any external enemies. Hence more patriotic frenzy needs to be roused among the population at large to lend an air of legitimacy to the war waged by the robber barons ruling the country and directed from abroad. Hence full-page obituaries are published and homage paid to the dead CRPF jawans, millions of rupees are paid to the bereaved families in recognition of the patriotic service rendered to the country by the "brave" jawans in far-off lands under enemy (Maoist) control. No matter if these "brave" jawans had gang-raped adivasi women and murdered hundreds of innocent unarmed adivasis in cold blood. Is not everything fair in the war against the enemy? And had these jawans deviated from the age-old tradition of every invading army in the world without which none of the most powerful countries in the contemporary world would have achieved its present status? And are not the US Marines and other imperialist armies doing the same in Iraq and Afghanistan? What is wrong in having our own Abu Ghraibs, our own Guantanamo Bays? Once you consider the other side as the enemies of the people and traitors to the country everything you do is pardonable. You would be a patriot even if you are a greater rapist than a Rathore. The media played its role in eulogizing the bravery, steadfastness and dedication of these jawans who were dehumanized by the men in power. Patriotic songs are sung all of which are intended to invoke a sense of patriotism to defend the country from external invaders.

The "reports" that had appeared in most of the mainstream media are anything but truth. Virtually everything that had appeared in the media related to the Dantewada ambush and the CPI(Maoist) that had organized the daring ambush smacked of patriotic jingoist frenzy and outright vilification of the revolutionary movement and the leadership of the people's war. The banner headlines in newspapers betrayed this hysteria. "Butchered", "Massacred", "Maoists declare war on democracy", "Get Ready, It's War" crowed an editorial of a paper. And so ran newspaper headlines. Calls for revenge and blood bath against Maoists rent the air. Demands for sending in the army and air force gained momentum in the immediate aftermath of the Maoist attack. "All options are open" thundered

the No 1 agent of the imperialists heading the Union Government who had spent most of his life in the service of the World Bank, IMF and other imperialist agencies.

Following the speculation of how the “massacre” and “butchery” occurred, came the so-called news analyses by self-proclaimed experts on politico-military affairs, retired heads of paramilitary forces and other writers. For almost a fortnight these so-called analytical articles poured into the print media. One analysis contradicted another; each offered its own solution to an issue which the muddle-headed writers considered as a PROBLEM. The utter confusion in their analyses, self-contradictions in their propositions, and conflicting perspectives and solutions offered by the various experts and commentators only revealed their absolute bankruptcy of ideas and their deep disconnect with the socio-economic reality of India.

When one is divorced from reality then speculation becomes his/her refuge. And that was how an entire fortnight went into speculation of every sort right from how the Maoist attack took place to the reasons for the deadly attack. The electronic media was even more hysteric with mediocre anchors sitting 24x7 in TV studios and conducting panel debates and gathering reports from correspondents who never speak to the real people who are defiantly standing up to the might of the state without fear and with complete conviction on the correctness of what they are doing. Thus all the panel discussions and debates reflected the shallow, hollow, bookish knowledge of the participants and their own class and party perspectives without an iota of understanding of the real issues and conditions of the people who are waging the revolutionary war to defend themselves from the counter-revolutionary war waged by the rulers.

The speculation began with how the ambush took place. Every news channel and paper tried to reconstruct the scene of April 6 basing on one’s own imagination and rumours that were doing the rounds. Utilizing the visual effects each TV channel tried to outwit the other by bringing forth its own animated presentation. However, in spite of all the creativity of the producers these presentations lacked the chief ingredient—the truth. If one animated presentation showed pressure mines exploding under every tree and rock thus killing the jawans who were supposed to be taking cover or retreating from direct fire from the Maoists, another animation showed land-mines ripping apart mine-proof vehicles and killing several jawans. Yet another showed Maoists perched on tree tops and hillocks and mowing down the jawans with a hail of bullets and grenades explosions. Some newspapers and magazines had also published pictures of non-existent hillocks at the site of the ambush. While the plain fact was that the ambush site was a completely plain area the “creative imagination” of our great analysts and speculative news correspondents and editors changed the very topography of the area. Another speculation was about the huge number of the guerrillas who had carried out the attack on a numerically smaller paramilitary force and who might have led the operation.

“1000 Maoists ambush a CRPF company”, “CRPF jawans vastly outnumbered by Maoists”, and so on ran news reports and expert analyses. Virtually every reporter and commentator assumed that Maoists had used land-mines, pressure mines, rocket launchers and so on and that the CRPF men were outnumbered by several times. “Deadly boobytraps left no place to hide” wrote a paper. “The Maoists hadn’t left an inch of cover or a tree that didn’t have pressure mines attached. Whichever boulder or tree the panicky security men ducked behind, exploded”, wrote the paper. Home Secretary GK Pillai went on record as saying that 50 had injuries from explosives. Chidambaram himself added more confusion by confirming that the security forces had walked into a trap. Anti-Naxal Operations DIG posted at Dantewada, SRP Kalluri, who is notorious for raping adivasi women while serving as SP of Sarguja district, said: “More than 1000 rebels encircled the two units, triggered powerful blasts and fired indiscriminately at them.”



The Union Home Minister himself had issued a clarification on the incident in his speech in the Lok Sabha on April 15. This Indian avatar of Hitler who is spear-heading the brutal death-hunt of the tribals and Maoists called Operation Green Hunt had cleared this speculation by asserting that no pressure mines or land-mines were used:

“At the request of the govt of CG, 141 Companies of central paramilitary forces have been deployed in that state for anti-Naxal operations over a period of time. The 62nd battalion was deployed in March this year. Earlier it was deployed in Bihar and had gained experience. The decision to carry out an area domination exercise was

taken jointly by the IG of CG, Longkumer, the DIG of that area, Mr. SRP Kalluri, and the DIG of CRPF, Mr. Nalin Prabhat. It was a joint decision. The actual deployment was left to the SP of the district, Mr. Amaresh Mishra and the Commandant of the 62nd battalion. Dy cmdnt and asst cmdnt are dead. There are 7 surviving jawans..... Most of the jawans died of bullet injuries. What has appeared in the media is not entirely accurate. There were no land-mines. There were no pressure bombs."

But even this clarification by the very director of this war waged against the poorest of our country did not dissuade the speculative and gossip-mongering news analysts from continuing with their pet theories and proposals. **"It's sticks versus mortars in Chhattisgarh"** ran a news caption in a paper. It claimed that *"hundreds of policemen armed only with lathis or crude bamboo staves take on Maoists in the red terror zone"* while *"armed to the teeth, Maoists on the other hand carry guns, grenades, mortars and rocket launchers."*



The media speculation and wanton mischief did not end here. It went on to "analyse" what went wrong, which Maoist leaders had led the attack, and so on. Shell-shocked Chidambaram, not knowing what to say upon hearing of the tragedy that befell his mercenaries and concerned more about the loss of prestige he suffered after the pompous claims he made two days earlier while on a tour of Lalgah that things had improved a lot in Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra, let out a whimper saying "Something drastically went wrong." He repeated this in the Lok Sabha saying "something horribly went wrong." But what went wrong was left to the speculation of the self-proclaimed analysts and experts on strategic affairs. In came the analyses and comments from all and sundry: the chiefs of the Army and Air Force, retired DGP and butcher of Punjab KPS Gill who was unceremoniously kicked out of Chhattisgarh where he failed totally as a security advisor to the state government, retired DGPs of BSF Prakash Singh, defense studies experts like Jagjit Singh, Ajai Sahni, retired IB chief Doval, ex-DGP of Andhra Pradesh Swaranjit Sen, and a host of other brainless idiots who can think in nothing other than military terms. Embellishing these military experts are newspaper editors like Pravin Swamy, Chandan Mitra and the top rogue of all—Arnab Go(ebel)swamy—who has now become synonymous with Goebels for his art of presenting lies. And what did these experts say?



Arnab Go(ebel)swamy

They said many things without a head or tail. That "standard operational procedures (SOPs) were not followed by the CRPF jawans", that "there was not adequate training for the soldiers", that "there was no intelligence from the state police and intelligence agencies", that "there was no co-operation from the local police", that "there was no coordination between the central and state police forces", that "intelligence warnings were ignored by the CRPF personnel", that "going into the Naxal den was wrong", that "there were too few men and that not less than 500 men should be there in such operations in Maoist territory", that "sufficient preparations were not made before undertaking the operations against Maoists", that "Air support should have been there to assist ground operations", that "the central forces were not familiar with the terrain, language and conditions prevailing in Dantewada", that "Maoists had laid a trap into which the ill-fated jawans walked into", that the CRPF personnel should not have used the same route twice, that there were moles in the CRPF camp who had provided precise information to the Maoists, that "Chidambaram had provoked the Maoists by using abusive language such as cowards", so on and so forth. Speaker after speaker, writer after writer, spoke or wrote on each and every so-called reason mentioned above to prove the shortcomings and lapses in countering the Maoists. And "solutions", that actually would only aggravate the situation, were offered generously for they had nothing to lose if more men died as canon-fodder in their dirty war to protect the class interests of a tiny parasitical military-industrial-financial elite ruling our country in the name of the majority.

And what were the solutions suggested by these hawkish analysts? Send in more forces. Impart special counter-insurgency training by the Indian Army and by other counter-insurgency forces elsewhere. Create a special force like the Grey Hounds in Andhra Pradesh. Send in the Indian Army itself. Send in helicopter gunships and start bombarding the Maoist hideouts and the movements of groups suspected to be Maoists in the forests. Strengthen the human intelligence. No, no. it will take enormous time. So use technical intelligence like satellite imagery and unmanned aerial vehicles and launch massive attacks basing on these inputs. Only these will not do; pour huge amounts to build infrastructure—roads, communications, airbases, helipads, electricity, fortified police stations and camps, and so on. Pump in funds for development schemes. But no. Wait. This would not work since

the Maoists will never allow development work to go on. So back to square one. First wipe out the Maoists and all their supporters and suspected sympathizers. That could mean the entire adivasi population. So what? Decimation of the adivasis would only amount to collateral damage in the larger aim of eliminating the Maoists. Let the civil society howl. Is it not clear that the war is against Maoist terrorists? The death of a few thousand adivasis is only collateral damage in the war to eliminate a few hundred Maoists. How can anyone believing in democracy allow a few terrorists to hijack the country? What is wrong in decimating a few thousand people in order to ensure peace for the majority and to defend democracy? Such are the solutions and arguments offered by moralistic men who hate violence by the Maoists and hence advocate unprecedented violence to end the 'Maoist menace'. The thrust of the arguments is—you need to deploy more troops and be aggressive to root out the Maoists. A Congress spokesperson, Jayanti Natarajan, reflected the neo-Nazi culture of the Congress party by repeatedly saying “wiping out Maoists” during the course of a discussion on Maoists. That is the only

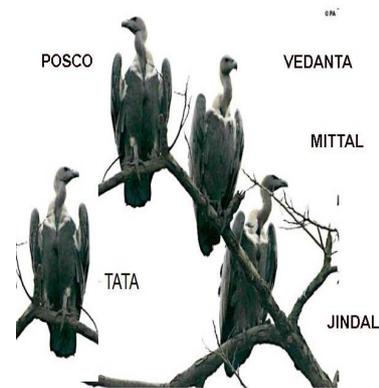


solution this comprador-feudal party that was created by the British colonialists and had served the imperialists in the 125 years of its existence. It echoed the “fight to the finish” language of the saffron terrorist BJP’s spokesperson Rajiv Pratap Rudy. “The integrity of the nation is under threat,” howled Arun Jaitley of the BJP—a party that had shattered the unity of the various religions through its fascist Hindutva agenda.



Whether it is the reconstruction of the scene of Maoist ambush, whether it is the analysis of the reasons for the victory of the Maoists and the ignominious defeat of the highly trained well-equipped central forces, whether it is the solutions offered to ‘contain’ the Maoists, not one of these analysts or the mainstream media hawks had gone anywhere near reality. None of them has the guts or is prepared to utter the truth even though most of them know it. None of them touched the actual issues that had contributed to the rapid advance of the Maoist people’s war in recent years. Hawks like Prakash Singh, Doval, Swaranjit Sen, and all the henchmen in the pay of the Tatas, Jindals, Mittals, Vedanta, Posco, and other vultures hail and justify the salwa judum as a spontaneous uprising of the adivasis against the authoritarianism and violence by the Maoists. They justify Operation Green Hunt or Salwa Judum-Part II as an inevitable means to bring peace to the region.

In a word, all these war-mongering hawks have only one solution notwithstanding the variations in their presentations and differences in detail—intensify the war to “completely wipe out the Maoist menace” utilizing every means at the disposal of the rulers. They thus set the tone for more Dantewadas in future, for the escalation of the war to higher levels with consequences deadlier than Dantewadas for the men in uniform. It is easy for these hawks to utter these things for none of them have their kith and kin in the war front. They have nothing to lose if poor unemployed men are hired by the Indian state and used as mercenaries and cannon-fodder in their war against the people. Like George Bush these brave guys would even escape conscription if there is to be one. The very fact that none of these analysts had ventured to visit the site of the ambush or any of the interior regions known to be Maoist territory speaks volumes about their bravery. No wonder, the men fighting a war they know not against whom and for what purpose it is being waged, have contempt and hatred for these cowards who lecture to them sitting in their cosy homes and TV studios. Even an officer of CRPF in the field spat out at the political bosses using abusive language as reported in Rahul Pandita’s article in the OPEN magazine, in Tehelka, and a few other magazines.



Dantewada is not the result of less number of central forces, or lack of training, or lack of intelligence, or failure to follow SOPs, or any such factor. Dantewada is waiting to happen for the simple reason that the state has pushed the people to the wall. There is no other option before the people but to hit back with all their force. Dantewada is the result of the imperialist-dictated development model pursued by the comprador ruling classes of India. Dantewada is the result of fake

democracy that exists for the vast majority in our country. Dantewada is the result of the failure of the highly unequal socio-economic order and the anti-poor justice system.

Given the correct leadership for the people's struggles and the correct leadership that can channelise the people's wrath in the correct direction Dantewadas are waiting to happen everywhere in India. The neo-liberal experiment that results in over three lakh suicide deaths (which are actually nothing but cold-blooded murders by traitors like Manmohan Singhs and Chidambarams due to their anti-people policies) in just over a decade, the market terrorism of the rulers that witnesses hunger deaths running to millions every year even as godowns overflow with foodgrains and essential commodities, and the endless misery and destitution imposed on the overwhelming majority of the population that survives on less than a dollar a day while a handful of vultures grow into billionaires overnight, all these provide the fertile ground for Dantewadas to happen. If only a correct leadership is provided, people would not prefer to die like flies but would fight to achieve their freedom. But why would the media hawks and defence sharks think of solutions that would benefit the people? They will continue with their quixotic and fascist solutions until they are thrown out by the overwhelming force of the organized people.

STARK FACTS NAIL MEDIA LIES

Now what are the facts?

The first fact was the entire operation was carried out by just 300 guerrillas. At least a third of them were engaged in blocking the reinforcements that might arrive to save the trapped men. Just over 200 guerrillas actually participated in the daring ambush. This was neither an overwhelming force nor a force armed to the teeth.

The second startling fact is: no land-mines or pressure mines were used in wiping out the enemy forces. Only one land-mine was used which ripped apart the bullet-proof vehicle (there was no mine-proof vehicle) killing the driver. There were no rocket launchers or LMGs in the hands of the guerrillas. They had a few AK-47s, SLRs and several relatively inferior weapons like .303s and even 12-bore guns. On the other hand the CRPF men had in their possession at least six LMGs, and all AK-47s, INSAS, SLRs, besides 2" mortars and grenade launchers. The weaponry which the Maoist guerrillas had seized from the enemy was far superior to what they themselves had used in the attack. Most of the enemy forces died in direct fight with the Maoists, in a real encounter. It showed that no amount of training in jungle warfare and counter-insurgency schools, and no degree of modernization of weaponry and deployment of forces can achieve victory for the enemy forces. Such steps may well take the number of casualties to even three digits in future. Judicious use of claymore mines, pressure mines, and other booby traps would result in greater losses to the enemy if he persists in waging the unjust war.

Third fact is: the training imparted to the Maoist guerrillas was mere peanuts when compared to that given to the CRPF men at Jungle Warfare Schools by the Indian Army veterans, at counter-insurgency institutes by Grey Hounds, and so on. The media has tried to make it appear as if the Maoists were highly trained and well-equipped. The fact is most of the Maoist guerrillas had not even fired a single shot in all their training due to the acute shortage of ammunition which they can ill-afford to waste away on training. Every round can save a guerrilla's life. Some of them were new recruits without any experience in fighting the enemy. On the other hand, the central paramilitary forces fire away hundreds of rounds during their training and the Home Ministry allots huge funds from people's hard-earned money for these exercises. It is in the interests of the rulers to project the Maoists as deadly opponents armed to the teeth and trained even more professionally than the state's forces. Stories of training by LTTE experts, northeast guerrillas and even foreigners are floated to prove how deadly the Maoists are. This, in turn, would justify the deployment of more mercenary forces, modernization of these forces, justify air support and allocation of huge funds for countering the Maoist guerrilla.

Fourth, the Maoists had not fled the state after the ambush as the government and the police officials have been trying to impress upon the public. They use this false claim to justify their failure to arrest or kill any Maoist after a certain incident. They claim that the inter-state borders have been sealed but Maoists have managed to escape to neighbouring states, in this instance, to Orissa, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. They know very well that this is a white lie. And their lies were

nailed when the Maoists fired at five CRPF camps within a short radius from the ambush site and within less than a fortnight of the Dantewada ambush. Moreover, the entire paramilitary force accompanying the one-man commission led by former DGP of BSF, EN Rammohan, had to hastily retreat to Chintalnar when they were fired upon by the Maoist guerrillas within a short distance from the site of the ambush. Maoists even held a press conference near the site of the ambush just a few days after the incident. Yet, the police continue to propagate that Maoists had fled the area to the safety of the neighbouring states!

The people led by the Maoists will win the war

Then the moot question is: how did the Maoists achieve such a massive victory with very few losses on their side?

This is the most important thing that needs real analysis. But, unfortunately, this has been the most neglected part of the entire debate and analysis.

The **basic reason** for the Maoist advances is the justness of the cause. It is a war between a sea of people against a band of marauding hordes of armed mercenaries. It is a people's war against the war waged by a handful of Corporates, the MNCs and the imperialist vultures against the people's right to live with dignity. It is a war of the most oppressed sections of the people—the wretched of the earth—for their *jal, jungle, jameen* and *ijjat*. For them, it is either fight or perish.

On the other hand, the paramilitary and commando forces who are sent to fight against the people have no cause of their own, no reason to fight except the lure of salaries and monetary incentives. Some of them even know the truth that they are being used to fight someone else's dirty war against their own class interests. There is no driving force for them to fight, no motivation and no material basis. This is the fertile ground for rebellion among the enemy forces, for desertions and disobedience.

Thus while the Maoists and the people they lead are highly motivated the mercenary forces sent by the enemy class have no motivation whatsoever. Hence there is now an increasing trend to recruit fighters from the local adivasis who were proven anti-socials, from those who were punished by the PLGA, revolutionary mass organisations and in people's courts at various times during the past three decades or so. No wonder, these local anti-social mercenaries, the Koya Commandos and SPOs, who accompany the paramilitary forces, have been committing rapes and murders without batting an eye-lid. And it was precisely for such anti-people activity that these rogues were expelled from the adivasi community or punished earlier. Hence they found jobs easily in the vigilante gangs set up by Raman Singh and Chidambaram. Their hatred for the Maoists and the revolutionary mass organizations is an additional—in fact essential—qualification for recruitment unlike the other regular forces which have no direct grouse against the Maoists.

Victories of Maoists have their roots in the immense support and base among the masses of population. The great victory in Dantewada would have been impossible if not for the support and active participation of the people. It is the people who act as the eyes and ears of the Maoists. It is the people who protect the Maoists like a fortress. Every movement of the enemy is passed on to the guerrillas through human intelligence—a critical factor in war whose non-availability for the paramilitary forces has been lamented by all the political and military analysts who now want to make up the deficiency through technical intelligence i.e. use of satellite imagery and UAVs etc. It is the people who provide logistical support to the Maoist guerrillas. It is their co-operation and vigilance that hides even a guerrilla battalion from the eyes of the enemy. And it is this human factor that distinguishes the Maoists from the mercenary forces sent by the reactionary rulers. Maoists have absolute faith in the masses of people. They have unshakable conviction that it is the people, and people alone, who make history. And herein lies the greatest strength of the Maoist revolutionaries. And from therein flows the invincibility of people's war. Chidambaram and his likes know that they do not have the support of the people and hence they have to reassure themselves every day that they are going to win the war. And kill some innocent unarmed adivasis or arrested revolutionaries just to boost the ever-sagging morale of the police and paramilitary.

Last but not the least, the Dantewada victory is a direct contribution of the superiority of the ideology of MLM and the concept of Maoist people's war. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most potent weapon in the hands of the Maoist revolutionaries which, when applied creatively, provides

solutions to the most complex problems confronted in revolutionary practice. It is a guiding ideology and philosophy that unites the entire Party, Army and people; provides guidance to everyday practice; provides a correct analysis and synthesis of the experiences and draws appropriate lessons; it guides in drawing up correct strategy and tactics for defeating the enemy. It is the Maoist concept of people's war and the principles of guerrilla war developed by comrade Mao in the course of the Chinese revolution which have become universal and guide our war against the relatively superior and powerful enemy. Dantewada's success arises from the superiority of guerrilla war to the counter-insurgency war waged by the enemy.



War-mongering Hawks cook up endless lies to justify their Operation Green Hunt The New Lexicon of the Establishment Intellectuals Presents Corporate Interests as National Interests: But how long can they fool the people?

Driven by the insatiable hunger for mineral wealth and scared by the alternative development model of the Maoists, rapacious imperialists and comprador corporate sharks escalate their pre-determined war on the adivasis through their puppet Chidambaram.

When George Bush decided to invade and destroy Iraq dictated by the interests of a tiny military-industrial-financial complex he represented, he engaged the entire state apparatus, the media and a section of the intelligentsia to justify his outrageous and inhuman aggression resulting in the massacre of hundreds of thousands of people. No resolutions by the UN bodies, no protests from the majority of the countries in the world, no protests from the people across the world could dissuade this fascist in the garb of democracy to carry out his brazen military onslaught on a peaceful, secular society. He destroyed an entire country, a society and one of the oldest civilisations and cultures in the world through his brute force. In the initial phase of his brazen invasions he succeeded in manufacturing consent through blatant lies propagated by a willing media.

Why did the American people fail in stopping this hawk from carrying out outright butchery of innocent people? Why did George Bush continue his inhuman aggression despite being hundred per cent certain that Saddam had no weapons of mass destruction? And why did the entire US media---not just the Fox News but the entire so-called liberal media too---chose to spread endless lies about Saddam's regime? Were these media hawks so naïve as not to know the truth about the so-called WMD said to be in possession of Saddam (setting aside, for the sake of argument, the inalienable right of every country to have its own arsenal as long as others pose a threat to their security) and the allegation that Saddam was behind 9/11 attacks?

If one can understand the logic behind the American war of aggression against Iraq and find answers to the above questions one can easily understand Chidambaram's war on the adivasis of our country led by the Maoists. And why, like George Bush, he is able to wage this inhuman war and carry out outright butchery of the indigenous adivasis in the name of fighting the Maoists and establishing the democracy run by feudals, comprador houses, land and drug mafias, lumpen politicians, bureaucrats and police officials corrupt to their very core. And why a section of the media has become more aggressive than even Chidambaram and churns out fabricated stories round-the-clock against the Maoists while completely condoning, and even encouraging, Indian state's ghastly, gruesome butchery and attacks against the adivasis and Maoists.

The essence of the matter is: Chidambaram cannot halt the war that had been pre-programmed and remote-controlled by his masters in Washington and the filthy tiny parasitic class of billionaires who hold our country to ransom. The entire blue-print for the present counter-revolutionary war directed by Chidambaram was drawn up almost a year ago, when this most loyal agent of the imperialists and comprador business houses took office the first time. In fact, this was one of the secret deals made by Sonia-Manmohan Singh-Chidambaram gang with the corporate and imperialist interests prior to the 15th Lok Sabha elections in May 2009 in exchange for their generous funds, material and moral backing. That was how the Congress party came back to power for the second

time. And once in power it began to repay the multinational and comprador vultures by waging the war on their behalf against the poorest of the country.

The rulers have been portraying their war on the people as a war in defence of the sovereignty of India, and in the "national interests" of our country. Patriotism and jingoism is dinned into the ears of the people by glorifying the "martyrdom" of the jawans and demonizing the Maoists as cruel blood-thirsty savages out to destroy the unity and integrity of the country. Truth is given a burial by mobilizing all means at the disposal of the Indian state chiefly relying on the powerful mass media and converting it into a factory manufacturing lies round-the-clock. Through these conscious efforts the corporate interests on whose behalf the war is unleashed are hidden behind the mask of nationalism and interests of the country. It requires enormous courage to swim against the tide—the courage of a Galileo and Copernicus—to speak the truth even if it meant persecution and harassment. In such an atmosphere of all-round attack reminding one of the Dark Ages, it is heartening to see people standing up courageously to speak the truth. They are the rays of hope without which humanity would never have come out of the suffocation of the Dark Ages.

The Despicable Role of the Media and its complicity in the war against the people

In this war waged by the tiny parasitic class that is fattening itself at the expense of the vast majority of the Indian people even in the period of the most acute economic crisis, the role of the media in general has been biased at best and hawkish at the worst. Some TV anchors, editors and reporters have been playing the role of mercenaries carrying out vicious and totally baseless propaganda against the aims, politics, programme, and methods pursued by the Naxalites in general and the CPI(Maoist) in particular. These mercenaries, who can very justly be described as the faithful dogs of the corporate houses, churn out concocted stories every day lest the war against the Maoists loses steam.

Leading the media mercenaries in cooking up stories is Arnab Goswamy, who can fit better in the nomenaclature of Goebelswamy, and his team of Alsations that bark non-stop about the so-called atrocities committed by Maoists. A single instance of punishment given to a police informer is made into a headline story and repeated ad nauseam while wholesale butchery of hundreds of adivasis, rapes of scores of women, abductions and tortures of countless innocent citizens, burning down of hundreds of villages and mass evacuation of adivasi peasants depriving them of their lands, homes and property is not at all news to these dogs of the imperialists and corporate sharks. This pack of wolves calling themselves journalists do not all think it unethical to deliberately black out such incidents like the cold-blooded murder of nine adivasis in a single attack by Chidambaram's armed mercenaries as in Gompad village and the abduction of 12 eye-witnesses to the gruesome murders by the uniformed terrorists hired by the State. These bootlickers of the money-bags just don't care if indescribable, horrifying, heart-rending atrocities are committed by the police, para-military and state-sponsored vigilante gangs.

And, moreover, these dogs go on barking about Maoists as terrorists. They yell at the top of their voices that Maoists are barbarians, that they are acting against the Constitution by taking the law into their own hands, that no civilized society can remain silent when school buildings are blown up, police and "civilians" are killed, and so on. But these dogs remain completely silent when that very Constitution is treated as a scrap of waste paper and violated by Chidambaram and his band of trigger-happy mercenary soldiers who think it is their birth-right to kill, rape, abduct, torture and destroy houses, food-grains and property of the poor adivasis. Why don't they speak about these atrocities at least once in their 24X7 news channels? Why don't they think that the death of hundreds of adivasis should at least be reported as news whatever be the ideology and politics of the accursed TV anchors and so-called correspondents?

The truth is these gangs have no respect for human lives despite their non-stop yelling about the death of so and so in the hands of the Maoists. Their cries of humanity are a fig-leaf for their hidden agenda of genocide of adivasis in the name of fighting Maoist "terrorists". If they had even an iota of respect for human dignity and life they would have at least reported about the 30-odd murders of adivasis committed by the police forces every week in Bastar region (Dandakaranya) as a prominent weekly magazine had reported in its cover story.

These media mercenaries play a more heinous role than the armed mercenaries like the police and paramilitary sent to perpetrate massacres of adivasi people. They provide justification for the massacres and inhuman atrocities committed by their armed counterparts. They are, therefore, the worst enemies of the Indian people and deserve open trial for their lies and misdeeds in people's courts. And as history has time and again demonstrated, every such dog will have its day.

The role of some self-proclaimed intellectuals

The Establishment intellectuals—whether they belong to the Hindu fascist saffron variety of the Right, or the social fascist red variety of the “Left”, or the Gandhian fascist khadi variety of the so-called Centre, or the police-intelligence-security-defence intelligentsia—take up over 90 per cent of the space in the print and electronic media. Occasionally, a democrat or even a revolutionary sympathiser is allowed some nominal space apparently to prove the greatness of the “vibrant” democracy that we have in India but with the hidden agenda of distorting, misrepresenting and refuting their views by pitting ‘ten against one’ and building up the case of being sympathetic to the banned Maoists against these unsuspecting participants.

The Establishment intellectuals naturally resort to every trick to establish the supremacy of the ruling class ideology, and the sanctity of the Parliament and the “democratic institutions”. They desperately strive to inculcate patriotic and jingoist frenzy by invoking nationalism and national interests. They howl about the country's sovereignty and integrity, propagate about their commitment to peace and development, and such trash. They attack the Maoists and, for that matter, anyone who dares to raise a voice against the status quo and the lies spread by the Establishment intellectuals to justify the war on the people. They deliberately concoct lies in order to hide their real agenda of plundering the natural wealth of the adivasi-inhabited regions; of transforming entire regions into the backyard of the multinationals and comprador capitalists; of destroying the alternative models of development and the emerging people's power in the interior forest regions of the country; of destroying the new collective democratic culture of the people and the new values of equality of the sexes, assertion of the oppressed, suppressed and exploited sections of the people, of the new justice system emerging in the form of people's courts (derided as kangaroo courts) that are far superior and democratic than all the bourgeois courts of law in the country that fail to bring the culprits of the worst crimes to book even after decades of trials. These sarkari intellectuals become even more vicious in their advocacy of the inhuman war than even their masters who conduct the real war for the simple reason that it is they who provide the justification for the war and carry the moral burden of the war. They know that their war is unjust and that it is directed against the people. Some of them even have a sense of guilt because of which they become even more vicious in their attacks against anyone who speaks against the war or the motives of these intellectuals. These establishment intellectuals provide ideological and intellectual justification for the extermination of entire populations. And this is nothing new in history. We had intellectuals who provided moral justification to ethnic cleansing of the Jews by the Nazi gangs. We have intellectuals who provided moral justification for the bombing of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, provide justification for the destruction of today's Iraq, Afghanistan and advocated the destruction of Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and any country in the name of eliminating terrorism.

All these intellectuals have one thing in common: double standards. They decry violence but not all violence. They do not mind the violence indulged in by the ruling classes themselves either unitedly against their common enemies—the Maoists and whoever wages struggles against the state—or violent clashes among themselves in their dog-fight for a greater share of the cake. They do not mind the violence indulged by the saffron terrorists, khadi terrorists, or the parliamentary red terrorists against the people of the country—against Muslims, Sikhs, Dalits and Adivasis.

Ever since Herr Chidambaram had unleashed his brutal campaign called Green Hunt, which is in reality Greed Hunt, he and his henchmen ruling various states have also unleashed a campaign against intellectuals who stood for democratic values, human rights, and who dared to argue that the rulers should stick to the Indian Constitution. Any argument in favour of the Indian constitution is taken as a personal affront by the Union Home Minister as well as the Chief Ministers of Chhattisgarh, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Bihar not to speak of the DGPs and the top police officials in these states. These gentlemen think it is criminal to demand that they abide by the Constitution when the Maoists care a hoot for the Constitution. But the only difference is: the Maoists openly reject the Constitution while Chidambaram, Raman Singh, Naveen Patnaik, Buddhadeb and Co swear by the Constitution every day. Yet if someone questions them why they are not adhering to

the Constitution their eyes turn red and they let out squeals that those who raise such questions are Maoist sympathisers.

A TV news channel that calls itself 'Times Now', which can better be described as 'Lies Now', has taken up a vicious campaign against intellectuals who question human rights violations by the Indian state, the inhumanity of Operation Green Hunt, the insanity of the rulers who had embarked upon such a misadventure with disastrous consequences to the poor adivasis, and their calls for unconditional cease-fire and talks by both sides in the ongoing armed conflict. Their 'crime', according to the views of this news channel, lies in their insistence that the government adhere to the Indian constitution!

The problem with Chidambaram, GK Pillai, Vishwa Ranjan, Arnab Goswamy, Pravin Swamy, and the likes is that they think they belong to the elite club of intellectuals. And naturally, are infuriated when others of the intellectual genre deviate from their path of serving the money-bags, and choose to serve the interests of the people. In the eyes of Chidambaram and his set of intellectuals endowed with a fascist mind-set, anyone challenging their unjust war is a Maoist. For in their logic "if you are not with us, then you are with the enemy". These hawks resemble in every way the coterie of George Bush that led the war against Iraq and Afghanistan. These are our Donald Rumsfelds, Condoleezza Rice, Dick Cheneys, Colin Powells. The idiocy of these intellectuals arises from their absolute control over perhaps the biggest police and paramilitary force in the world and the fourth biggest army. Their one and only one solution to a socio-economic-political issue is the use of brute force. That is the intellectual caliber of these TV studio pundits whatever be their hue.

When these pseudo-intellectuals confront real intellectuals—award-winning writers, musicians, artists, professors, lawyers, people-oriented journalists, and others, they are overtaken by a sense of inferiority complex and, to an extent, a sense of guilt at their own sell-out to the money-bags and their complicity in the crimes against unarmed, innocent adivasis and other oppressed sections. To overcome this complex and their servitude to the leeches ruling our country, the only thing left is to rail at the democratic intellectuals, project them as supporters of mindless violence, as accomplices of the Maoists in destroying "democracy", so on so forth. These liars masquerading as intellectuals one-sidedly point to the violent acts by Maoists deliberately stripping these from their context and adding their own masala.

The reactionaries think that by building up pressure on Maoists the latter can be brought to the negotiating table. For instance, the Union Home Secretary and the close associate of Chidambaram and an accomplice in the Indian State's war on the people led by Chidambaram, GK Pillai described the Maoists as a formidable enemy, saying they had not come under any significant pressure yet, because their core armed cadres remained intact and out of reach of the Indian state. Dismissing the recent talk of talks, Pillai was sure the Maoists would only come for negotiations when they felt the heat, which they were not at present. He dismissed the Maoist offer for talks as a ploy to regroup and build their own army since security forces had not been able to build pressure on them. But the tide would turn in two to three years, he promised articulating a seven to eight year time-frame for restoring complete administrative control in all Naxal-hit districts.

Brushing aside the Maoist claim for a cease-fire and offer to talks, Pillai said: "*Militant groups come for talks only when they are under pressure. I feel the Maoists will come to the table for talks only after a year or two.*"

What should be the Role of the Intellectuals and People at large?

Today everyone must ask the question: To what extent are the intellectuals and the people at large responsible for the blood-bath unleashed on the poorest sections of the Indian society by the corporate hawks and imperialist vultures? Do they have a role in the murders in Gompad, Gachampalli, Singanmadugu, Takilod, Palod, and so on? Can they wash off their hands by saying that they are in no way responsible for the crimes committed by the so-called security forces? That they have nothing to do with the decisions taken by the governments? That it is the reactionary rulers alone who are perpetrating these crimes against humanity? The criminal political parties ruling our country would never dare to unleash such atrocities if the people everywhere rose up to condemn and oppose these policies and the reign of terror unleashed by the rulers on the people of a particular region. If one keeps silent when atrocities are committed against others then he/she too is guilty of the

crimes. Everyone is connected either directly or indirectly with every decision made by the ruling regimes. If those who know that the policy of the government is anti-people do not oppose and resist it then they too become accomplices.

Some adopt an easier way out by trying to prove themselves as being equi-distant, impartial, non-partisan, and objective. They condemn violence per se, advocate peace and non-violence to people who are crushed under the iron heels of the police and paramilitary, preach non-violence to people who are crushed mercilessly by forces that can never think of non-violence. What these intellectuals ultimately achieve is demobilization, disarming and complete destruction of people's resistance. Never having experienced state terror or structural violence these intellectuals can never understand how it would be if one's house was razed to the ground; belongings destroyed or stolen; land seized and crops destroyed; family members abducted, tortured and raped; thrown into chronic condition of famine and deprived of food through a deliberate policy of closing down weekly bazaars and preventing the people from moving out of homes; and this becomes the norm of life. Any intellectual who talks of peaceful and non-violent resistance on the part of the people when they are being devoured by the beasts would be the first to resort to violent resistance if he/she is placed in a situation similar to the adiasis.

It is also disturbing to see some intellectuals talk of the sandwich theory. Or 'caught in the cross-fire'. They say that the poor innocent adivasi is caught between two stones, is sandwiched between the Maoists and the state, that both are equally responsible for the unenviable plight of the adivasis, and so on.

There has been an increasing harangue that Maoists had abdicated the class line and have been killing jawans who hail from the poor. This trash is floated by police officials, intelligence agencies, spokespersons of various parliamentary parties and establishment intellectuals. They conveniently hush up the fact that it had always been the poor who fought the wars for the parasitic elites whether in the world wars, wars of invasion like Vietnam War and other Indo-China wars, wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. In India it has been the poor police constable or the jawan belonging to the paramilitary or military who had been used as cannon fodder in the rulers' war against national liberation struggles in Kashmir and North East, Maoist revolutionaries, and in various people's agitations for democratic rights. What were these poor jawans doing in the remote regions of Dantewada and elsewhere runs into endless catalogue of crimes perpetrated against innocent unarmed adivasis. They shoot people at will, abduct, torture and rape; destroy houses and property of villagers; steal their belongings, and commit indescribable atrocities. The reactionary rulers train them to unleash brutalities, brutalise them to such a degree that they cannot think in humane terms. It is these poor, unemployed, boys and girls who are recruited into the state's mercenary forces to defend the class interests of the reactionary rulers. The poor jawans do not know why they are fighting, against whom they are fighting, and what they are supposed to achieve through the meaningless war. They have to obey orders in order to protect their jobs without which their families would starve. They are the cannon fodder in the predatory wars unleashed by the reactionary rulers.

It is this planned and callous use of the poor as cannon fodder by the reactionary rulers pitting one section of the poor against another that has to be unequivocally condemned by anyone claiming to be a democratic intellectual. When confronted with brutal armed onslaught by the forces sent by the reactionary rulers what should the Maoist revolutionaries and the people do? Should they remain silent when murders and rapes are being committed right in front of their eyes by these brutalized jawans just because they belong to the poor? Or should the people and Maoists resist the brutal armed onslaught to defend their own lives? It is simply unthinkable how these so-called intellectuals condemn the Maoists for boldly resisting the brutal armed offensive with the pretext that those carrying on the brutalities are poor people.



Dantewada delivers a deadly blow To Chidambaram's nefarious plans

Ever since the commencement of the Operation Green Hunt—the country-wide coordinated military offensive against the Maoist revolutionaries and the poorest people of India—the director of the war, Union Home Minister Chidambaram, has been boasting that he would finish off the 'Maoist menace' within a short time. First he set the time frame for his extermination campaign as two years, later he extended it to three years, then to five years, and at one point in time to an indefinite period. With a minor success over the Maoists by his mercenary forces he would jump up again asserting that it would be over in 2-3 years. When faced with a setback he would say it is not correct to speak of a time-frame.

His right hand man and Union Home Secretary GK Pillai admitted that it would take anywhere between 7-10 years to completely "reclaim" territories from the Maoists"

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

That was before Dantewada happened. Now he only talks of revenge vowing to inflict greater number of casualties on the Maoists side than those suffered by his paramilitary forces.

And what is the strategy of these war-hungry hawks?

The government strategy is summed up in the catch phrase "clear, hold and develop." As elaborated by Pillai thus: *"It is a comprehensive operational strategy that would first seek to clear an area of Maoists, occupy it militarily and follow it up with socio-economic development activity. The understanding is that it would take 18 to 24 months in each of the phases to operationalise the strategy and implement it successfully."*

In November 2009, the Home Ministry had identified 11 areas as most sensitive spread over 40 districts. According to its own figures, overall Maoist influence spread from 56 districts in 2001 to 223 in 2009. 70 districts were termed worst-affected with 40 as most sensitive. The initial plan was to concentrate on one or two of the 11 areas at any given point of time so as to ensure intense mobilization of the security forces. The development plan was to follow the offensive by specialists in various fields. The Home Ministry had readied the teams to move in once the area was "reclaimed" from the Maoists. But the past six months had upset the plans of Chidambaram, Pillai and Co.

As pointed out in an article in Frontline magazine of April 24-May 7, 2010: *"With the attacks in Shilda on February 15, Boipariguda in Orissa on April 4, and Tadimetla on April 6, Home Ministry's plans turned into mere pipe dreams."*



Holding his head, Chidambaram said "something has gone horribly wrong." The easiest thing was to place the blame on the jawans themselves by saying that they did not adhere to the SOPs or the 48-point counter-insurgency warfare manual. "Fight the guerrilla like a guerrilla", has been repeated so many times by the director of the Jungle warfare school in Kanker that it has become an empty phrase with every defeat inflicted on the commandos by the Maoist guerrillas.

Now the "clear-hold-develop" strategy has come under severe criticism and dubbed as a text book strategy by many in the political and military establishment. Some of them had been saying it right from the beginning when the strategy was spelt out by Chidambaram and his war-mongering hawks.

Speaking at a Seminar on 'Left-wing Extremism' at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), Home Secretary Gopal Krishna Pillai explained the government's achievements until March 2010 thus:

"After our ongoing operations, we have taken back 4000 sq km from the control of the Naxals. We are now bringing civil administration back to these areas. But we have not yet hit five per cent of the real hard-core naxal force yet. We have not yet hit the real fighting machine of the CPI(Maoist) which they do not want to bring in direct conflict with our forces yet."

Dantewada delivered a heavy blow to the nefarious plans of Chidambaram and his gang of war-mongers. It took the wind out of their sails. It exposed the myth of 'reclaiming territory' from the Maoists. It exposed the hollowness of the 'clear-hold-develop' strategy. It aggravated the contradictions within the ruling classes and the military strategists. The Operation Green Hunt itself was called into question and 'clear-hold-develop' was dismissed as a joke by defence analysts like Ajai Sahni.

Ved Marwah, former Governor of Jharkhand hit out at the strategists in Delhi who were influencing decisions: *"Unfortunately, intelligence and office-bound officers who have never seen an actual "operation" nor have any field experience are calling the shots in New Delhi. Reading books cannot be a substitute for field experience. We have the successful Mizoram, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh models from which to draw the right lessons—but these "security experts", not accountable to anyone for incorrect advice, are influencing policies and strategic decisions as never before."*

Dantewada has made Chidambaram into an object of ridicule. He had to retract his statement saying that the buck stops at Buddhadeb's table after Dantewada and was compelled to admit: "I have been asked directly and indirectly where the buck stops after the attack. The buck stops at my desk," Chidambaram said on April 9 at the 'valour day' function of the CRPF. "I accept full responsibility for what happened in Dantewada."

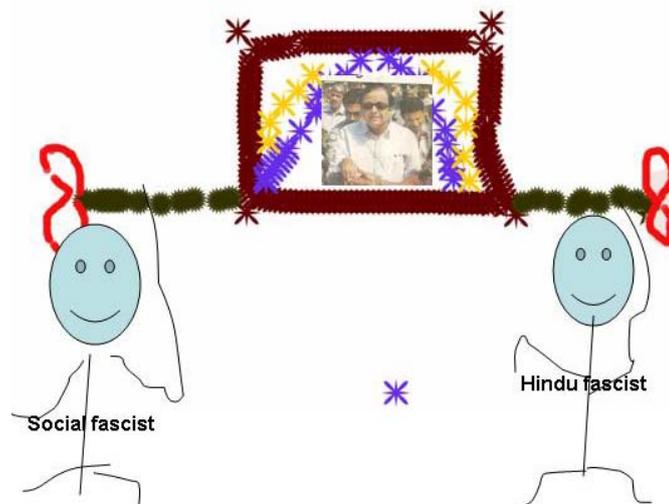
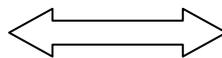
The new government strategy of regaining territory from the Maoists, handing them over to civil administration, to be followed by a quick dose of development initiatives has become irrelevant within a period of just six months. Now there is increasing stress on surgical strikes based on precise information. To do this, huge funds are allotted to build an extensive informer network, develop infrastructure like roads, communications, helipads and airbases, provide more sophisticated arms and equipment to the paramilitary personnel, acquire UAVs, interceptors, etc. Gathering precise intelligence regarding the movements of Maoist guerrillas and launching swift strikes based on the intelligence inputs, providing air cover for ground operations has come to be the central focus of the new strategy. Hence strengthening the local police forces, recruiting local adivasi boys and girls and raising adivasi battalions, raising special forces in every state similar to the Grey Hounds in Andhra Pradesh have become the urgent tasks before the various state governments. The Centre is prepared to allot unlimited funds for this purpose.

Here it is relevant to point to a misconception about the setback suffered by Maoist revolutionaries in Andhra Pradesh. Chidambaram has been repeatedly pointing out the role played by the anti-Naxal commando force called the Grey Hounds in achieving significant successes in Andhra Pradesh over the Maoists and calling on other states to emulate the AP model. This cock-and-bull story is repeated by so-called military analysts like Prakash Singh, Swaranjit Singh, Kumawat, KPS Gill and others. Nothing can be farther than truth.

The role of the AP Grey Hounds has never been the main factor in the severe losses suffered by the Maoist forces in Andhra Pradesh. Neither the AP State Committee of the CPI(Maoist) nor its Central Committee had identified this as the main reason for the setback when they undertook deep reviews of the setback. In fact, the failure on the part of the Maoist leadership to adopt appropriate tactics in time to counter the all-round offensive by the enemy—of which the military offensive was but one factor—was identified as the chief reason for the setback. Not breaking the intelligence network of the enemy was an important reason for losses in the field. Hence taking lessons from the AP experience focus was on breaking the intelligence network of the enemy in other regions. The Balimela attack in which 37 Grey Hounds personnel were wiped out demoralized the so-called special force to such an extent that they did not dare to enter the Maoist areas for the next six months or so.

So the moot point is: How long will this new strategy of surgical strikes by special forces based on precise information work? Once the special forces are driven into a trap and dealt decisive blow it would make the rulers revise their strategy once again. A few Balimela-type of attacks would unnerve these so-called special forces sought to be set up by the desperate rulers. A mass exodus from the paramilitary and the special forces is inevitable with the growth of the people's war.

The living conditions of the paramilitary forces were brought into sharp focus after Dantewada ambush. The shortage of drinking water, the deaths and ill-health due to malaria and various water-borne diseases, fear of snakes and other creatures, lack of proper food and adequate supply essentials, scorching heat, complete unfamiliarity with the terrain and local language, and most importantly the absolute non-cooperation from the people, have all added to the woes of the men sent by Chidambaram to the remote adivasi-inhabited regions in the country. Those politicians, bureaucrats, intellectuals and media personnel who had never bothered about these conditions faced by millions of adivasi people living in these areas for ages, have all of a sudden woken up to the deficiencies only because these had become severe impediments to their ware on the Maoist sand the adivasi people. Where there is no war, not a tear is shed for the people who continue to suffer due to lack of drinking water, medicine, malaria, food etc. It is not because some jawans are dying due to these conditions that the rulers are worried. Their worry is that the paramilitary forces are unable to fight the war successfully due to the prevailing conditions.



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Tadimetla Ambush—a fitting reply to the massacres of adivasis and the cold-blooded murders of revolutionary leaders!

Red Salutes to comrades Rukmati, Vaagal, Vijjal, Ingal, Raju, Maangu, Raamal and Ratan who had laid down their lives for the successful conduct of the ambush!!

Halt the violence on the poorest of the poor, withdraw 'Operation Green Hunt'!

Let us prepare for another Bhumkal to defeat the OGH on the occasion of the centenary of Maha Bhumkal-1910!!

In the early hours of April 6, 2010 around 300 heroic guerrillas of the PLGA had carried out an unprecedented daring ambush on the CRPF between Tadimetla and Mukaram villages in south Bastar division. 76 troops of the CRPF were wiped out in the ambush and another six were injured. 15 of the dead belonged to the specially-constituted Cobra force. In this 3-hour-long heroic battle our forces seized 75 weapons from the enemy. These included 21 AK-47 rifles, 38 Insas rifles, 6 LMGs, 7 SLRs, one stengun and one 2" Mortar. In the course of achieving victory in this historic, unparalleled battle eight brave PLGA warriors—comrade Rukmati (section commander, hailing from Mukaram village in West Bastar), comrade Vaagaal (section commander, Regadigatta village of south Bastar), comrade Vijjal (Section Dy Commander, Pamra village in West Bastar), comrade Ingal (Section Dy Commander from Karrigundam village in South Bastar), comrade Raju (PLGA member from Kondapalli village in South Bastar), comrade Mangu (PLGA member, Rengam village in South Bastar), comrade Ramal (PLGA member, Murupalli village of South Bastar) and comrade Ratan (PLGA member, Jadka village of South Bastar)—had laid down their precious lives. These eight beloved children of Bastar had sacrificed their lives unhesitatingly for achieving the liberation of the oppressed people. By their unflinching determination, unparalleled courage and spirit of self-sacrifice these comrades had established an ideal model to be emulated. Our comrades had brought the dead bodies of the martyrs and conducted their funerals on a grand scale in the midst of hundreds of people. Our DKSZC humbly offers its salutes to these brave comrades and real servants of the people. It calls upon the youth of the country to travel along the path blazed by these martyrs. It conveys its deep condolences to the family members and friends of the martyrs.

As part of the OGH, mass murder of adivasis, burning down of villages, gang-rapes of women and other atrocities by the police and paramilitary forces have been continuing unchecked. In the course of these atrocities by the we had kept watch on the movements of these mercenary forces and their informer network. We studied these deeply. Basing on these our SZC took appropriate and correct counter tactics. As part of this we obtained the first major victory. This is the biggest ever attack against the state's forces wiping out the highest number of paramilitary personnel in the history of the revolutionary movement of India. We convey our red salutes to the PLGA commanders at various levels who had skillfully prepared the plan and provided leadership to the daring counter-offensive, to the PLGA warriors who had fought courageously with the sole aim of making the operation a success, and to the oppressed people of south Bastar who had played an active role in the entire operation. Taking place at a time of completion of hundred years of Mahan Bhumkal our SZC considers this heroic counter-offensive as a proud continuation of that great war. On the

occasion of this significant victory, we convey our 'bhumkal salutes' to the entire people of Bastar, all well-wishers of adivasis, and adivasi organizations.

Why was this counter-attack carried out?

After the Raman Singh government in Chhattisgarh and the UPA government at the Centre came to power a second time, they began to unleash a savage attack and a murderous suppression campaign to completely wipe out the revolutionary movement with the aim of turning the entire adivasi-inhabited forest region into the private jagir of multinational companies and big business houses. In spite of the most cruel campaign carried out by salwa judum since 2005 resulting in the murder of over a thousand adivasis, rape of hundreds of adivasi women, burning down of over 600 villages, and destruction of property of adivasis worth crores of rupees, uprooting thousands of adivasis from their homes and rendering them homeless, the state and central governments had to bite the dust due to the heroic resistance put up by the people and the people's army. Many progressive intellectuals and various democratic organizations had correctly described the salwa judum as state-sponsored terrorist campaign and demanded its immediate disbandment. The government's conspiracy of dividing the adivasis and pitting one section against another, creating a goonda force of SPOs by recruiting thousands of members from adivasi youth and using them against their own people drew all-round condemnation. The heinous ploys of the state and central governments were exposed everywhere and became discredited.

After this the UPA government at the Centre established coordination with various state governments and unleashed the unprecedented massive offensive in the name of Operation Green Hunt. However, the existence of this operation has been continuously rejected by the Union Home Minister Chidambaram. In fact, this war is a war directed against the poorest of the poor of our country. In the struggle region of Dandakaranya this began in August 2009. For this dozens of central paramilitary battalions have been deployed in addition to the thousands of police and paramilitary forces already existing in the region. Imitating the Grey Hounds an elite commando force called Cobra was created in the CRPF to be in the forefront of the war. The central forces like BSF and ITBP which are to be always deployed in the borders with other countries are brought to Dandakaranya to wage war against our own people. Entire Dandakaranya was turned into a forest filled with khaki. Same situation exists in the struggle zones of Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh.

The war unleashed against the poor people in the name of Operation Green Hunt by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang is led directly by the Union Home Minister. This man served as a lawyer for the infamous multi-national company Enron, and also was a member of the Board of Directors of another notorious company Vedanta until he became a Cabinet Minister. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who spent half his life serving as an official in World Bank, IMF and other imperialist agencies, is the No. 1 comprador for the multinational companies. GK Pillai, the prime minister's favourite and the Union Home Secretary, had acquired notoriety for granting permission for 235 SEZs thereby throwing out lakhs of people from their lands and homes. All these men know that Maoist movement is the chief hurdle for implementing the imperialist-dictated policies in our country without hindrance. It is under the leadership of this 'evil trio' and participation of Raman Singh, Nankiram, Vishwa Ranjan and others that the Operation Green Hunt is being carried out. At least 110 adivasis were cruelly murdered by the police, paramilitary and SPOs since August 2009 in Dandakaranya as part of this brutal operation. Several adivasi women were raped. Houses were burnt and belongings were stolen.

While carrying out the massacres of adivasis the Chidambaram gang has been concentrating on murdering the revolutionary leadership and throwing them into jails. On May 23 last year our central committee member comrade Patel Sudhakar was abducted and murdered in cold blood; and on March 12 this year another senior leader of our Party comrade Shakhamuri Appa Rao and comrade Solipeta Kondal Reddy were abducted and murdered by the notorious APSIB gang. Later it floated the story of encounter. Chidambaram gang is directly responsible for the murder of important leaders of our Party.

It is against all these atrocities that the Tadimetla attack was carried out. It is an inevitable natural reaction of the people of Dantewada. It is not coincidental that this historic attack took place at a time when Mahan Bhumkal has completed 100 years. This counter-attack is a continuation of that rebellion. The people of Bastar who rose up in rebellion against the British colonialists a hundred years ago are now determined to foil the conspiracies of the ruling classes of India to hand over the abundant resources of our country to the imperialists.

End the violence and reign of terror instead of raising hue and cry

Soon after the incident Chidambaram expressed shock and described this as proof of our 'barbarism'. Besides those in power others like the BJP and other exploiting class parties, true to their class nature, have been making loud noises. Then what explanation would they give about the following incidents? Can they say whether these would come under the category of 'barbarism' or not?

January 8, 2009—the murder of 17 adivasis in Singaram. Five of these were women. Prior to murdering them indescribable atrocities were committed against them. The limbs of all the victims were cut to pieces before murdering them.

June 20, 2009—Six innocent adivasis were murdered in cold blood near Kokawada village. They were caught while returning from the weekly bazaar and murdered on the spot.

August 10, 2009—Six adivasis were murdered near Vechapadu village in Bijapur district. Of these only one woman comrade was our Party cadre. Rest were ordinary villagers.

September 10, 2009—12 adivasis were murdered in Singanamadugu and surrounding villages. Three of these were old men aged between 60-70 years.

October 1, 2009—12 adivasis, including a 10-year-old girl, were murdered in Gompad village. In this incident fingers of 1 ½ year-old child were chopped off.

November 10, 2009—7 villagers were murdered in Tettemadugu and its neighbouring villages.

December 11, 2009—7 adivasis were murdered in Gumiyapal village.

January 23, 2010—4 adivasi youth were murdered near Kutrem village.

February 3, 2010—7 adivasi youth were cruelly murdered in Takilod village.

February 7, 2010—5 adivasis, including two girls, were murdered in Ongnaar village near Narayanpur town.

February 10, 2010—Comrade Kumli working as a revolutionary cadre in agricultural department was abducted by SPOs in Dumnaar village, gang-raped her and then murdered in a gruesome manner by cutting off her head.

March 19, 2010—AP Grey Hounds raided Tadpal village, abducted comrades Pullayya and his wife Laxmi and shot them dead. An encounter story was floated as usual.

Details of some latest incidents:

April 3, 2010—in a fresh incident in Chinari village (it is known as 'Innar' in Gondi) in Narayanpur district, more than 300 CRPF and police forces conducted a raid. The houses of an adivasi peasant Sonedhar Salaam and another peasant Nengi Yadav were burnt. The same uniformed goons raided a nearby village of Farasgaon and burnt down the house of an adivasi Chatram Salaam. Entire property of the three houses was reduced to ashes. In Chinari village a 15-year-old girl named Santai Salaam was beaten up severely with lathis until she became unconscious.

April 5, 2010—a 30-year-old adivasi youth named Ganga Korram was abducted by police of Mardapal PS from Chema village in Kodagaon tehsil, was beaten to death and the body thrown in the village.

April 5, 2010—COBRA force and other police goons raided Tongapal and surrounding villages and beat up several adivasis creating a virtual reign of terror. Many of them were taken to the police station.

All the above-mentioned brutal murders and other atrocities were carried out by the paramilitary, police and SPOs. If anyone has a doubt regarding the veracity of these incidents we appeal to them to visit our areas and see it for themselves. Behind the April 6 attack on CRPF in Tadimetla lies the anguish, sorrow, insults, exploitation and repression suffered by thousands of adivasis of Bastar. This is incomprehensible to those hypocrites and empty phrase-mongers who repeat endlessly that Naxalites should abjure violence.

Chidambaram's Claim that Operation Green Hunt is a myth is the biggest joke of the 21st century!

Union Home Minister Chidambaram, who visited Jagdalpur on April 7 following the Maoist ambush, once again lied without a sense of shame that there is no such thing like operation Green Hunt. Moreover, he said that CRPF personnel had not gone to Tadimetla for conducting raids but only to get acquainted with the area. Rejecting the use of Army in anti-Naxal operations he, however, said that the use of Air Force could be reconsidered.

Mr. Chidambaram! You are free to imagine that the people of our country are all mere fools!! But people know very well that you had initiated the Operation Green Hunt to serve the interests of your ex-employee Vedanta and several other MNCs and comprador business houses, and in particular with the assistance and guidance of the American imperialists. As for the intervention of the Indian Army, the fact is, the Army's indirect involvement in operations against Maoists had begun four years

ago. Army officials have been personally imparting training in jungle warfare to the police and paramilitary forces in Chhattisgarh. Even if Chidambaram utters thousand and one lies he cannot hide the stark fact that it is the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang that had initiated the war against the people of our country. People have the right to defend themselves in this war thrust upon them.

Appeal to the people of our country

We appeal to all democratic intelligentsia, writers, journalists, people of various professions, workers, peasants and others with all humility—rise up to oppose the cruel war unleashed by the Indian state on the people of our country; demand the government to halt its brutal armed offensive against the people of our country in defence of the interests of the imperialist and comprador business houses; stop murders of revolutionary leaders, cadres and people at large; stringently punish those responsible for atrocities on adivasi women; put an end to burning down adivasi houses and destruction of their property. On this occasion we convey our sympathy to the families of the CRPF personnel who died in the ambush and appeal to them to understand under what conditions we had to resort to such action. We appeal to the jawans and lower-level officers of the paramilitary and police forces not to wage war against the people and not to behave cruelly towards people.

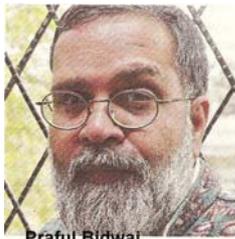
Signed by/

KOSA, Secretary, DKSZC,
RAMANNA, Secretariat member, DKSZC
GUDSA USENDI, SPOKESPERSON, DKSZC



Reactions on Dantewada and its aftermath:

- **Praful Bidwai**---“Media hypocrisy and blatant double standards are deplorable in the best of circumstances. They partly reflect the middle class’ jaundiced “us-versus-them” attitude to conflicts between the tribal people and the state and complete incomprehension of the social and economic realities of the Adivasi belt with its desperate poverty, absence of public services, plunder of resources by the state-forest-contractor-mining-industry mafia, enormous corruption, and collapse of the state. What makes them particularly pernicious is their purpose: to escalate Green Hunt by associating India’s regular armed services with it and greatly raise both the technological sophistication and lethality of the weapons used.



Praful Bidwai

... P.Chidambaram and co. are doing just that in a palpably devious manner. They threaten to use yet more client options, including, “if necessary”, air power, because the state is at war: “If that word, it is a war that has been thrust upon the state by those who do not have a legitimate right to carry weapons or to kill.” Chidambaram has ruled out talks with the Maoists because that would “mock the supreme sacrifice made by 76 jawans”.

....Who started the ‘war’ ... Let us deconstruct these arguments serially. First, it is not Maoists but the state that started what is shaping into civil war. The undeclared war began with the super-predatory neoliberal policies of the past decade under which minerals, forests, land and other natural resources are forcibly privatized through leases and sales to business sharks at throwaway prices.

This has escalated the structural violence that has always existed in Indian society, especially in its notoriously iniquitous tribal belt. To alienate the people from natural resources and complete their dispossession, the state must use military force on behalf of capital. Extremists/ Maoists/Naxalites are only the surrogate targets.

The real objective is to remove the people as a factor in policy making, as human beings whose vital rights precede the privileges of capital, as citizens with agency.

It is irrelevant whether the state formally calls this war or merely says time and again, and in numerous ways, that it will militarily crush extremism. In practice, it has steadily raised

the level and scope of violence to accomplish its larger policy objectives. With Operation Green Hunt, coordinated among 60,000 security personnel, and centrally directed, it has moved towards declaration.....

- **KPS Gill**—"The anti-Naxal strategy is a flop strategy. Somebody has picked up the strategy from some book and forced it down the throats of paramilitary forces, who are obedient servants and never object to what is thrust on them. You are sending 100 people to a forested area where the terrain is not known to them well. Up to four days they are sitting ducks. The anti-land mine vehicle used by the forces in Naxal-affected regions is a death trap. Everyone in the vehicle, if it is a mine attack, will die either because of the explosion or when he comes out of the vehicle after the explosion." "The government's anti-Maoist offensive is faulty as it had been planned by "arm-chair panels". "This (the plan) is totally at variance with the capabilities of the force and the demands of the situation." When a paper asked what was specifically wrong with the plan, Gill said: "Everything is wrong....The deployment is wrong. The overall concept is wrong. It's a vaguely worked out plan, and the execution is defective too," he said. "There is no point in sending forces inside thick jungles for a four-day patrol when they did not know what they were looking for. "According to this concept, the Naxalites must be hiding behind trees. Is that so?" he heckled. Gill said that there was a need to have clarity on what the forces wanted to achieve. "And if you can't do it yourself, at least consult some people. A mission must have an objective," he said.
- **Ajay Sahni**, director of the Institute of conflict studies, told *The Sunday Guardian* (11-4-2010)—"The MHA thinks the issue can be handled by sending a few more battalions of security forces. This is ridiculous. The movement has built up over a long period and cannot be terminated just like that. The sooner they realize that the better it is."
"The strategy to tackle the Maoist issue should be more realistic, the present strategy of 'Clear, Hold and Develop' is a joke considering that you do not have the resources. Hence, you do not launch attacks in Maoist strongholds as your first step; you engage them in the periphery. The operations should be based on hard intelligence inputs. Instead, the whole approach has been foolish and destructive," he said. "If you do not attain a certain saturation of forces, then there can be no rational deployment of forces. If you spread your present force evenly across the whole affected area, they will have to be on the defensive and cannot launch an offensive as was the case in the past. And if you concentrate your force, they will move out and try to increase the violence and conflagration in your peripheral areas."
(Frontline, May 7, 2010)
"In the absence of necessary capacities to secure objectives, a so- strategy is reduced to the level of a slogan, a pipe-dream or, worse, a lethal delusion."
- **Air Force chief PV Naik**—" The military—airforce, army and navy—are trained to inflict maximum lethality. They are not trained for minimum lethality. The weapons that we have are meant for the enemy across the border." "Let us say that the Air Force is called in for attack on a Naxal locality and needs to fire a rocket, which is fired from a minimum distance of 1500-1800 metres.....from that distance we are not able to visualise what the target is. Unless we have 120 per cent intelligence that they are enemies, it is not fair to use Air Force within our borders. The Naxals are basically our own people," air chief said. He said he was personally not in favour of using air power though it is the govt that has to decide on the use of IAF against the Naxals.
- **Army chief General VK Singh**—"The CRPF Company that was wiped out by Maoists on April 6 had not undergone any intensive training at the Army's Jungle Warfare Schools before being deployed in forests to combat the Maoists," The Army had trained 39,000 security personnel in jungle warfare under a plan drawn up at Home Minister Chidambaram's initiative, but these men were not among them.
- **AN Singh**, former DGP of Madhya Pradesh, who had served in Bastar region said: "I had inkling about the risks involved and that Green Hunt could soon turn into a major tragedy."
- **Prakash Singh**, Former DG, BSF—"The Maoists should be tackled head on. They have to be neutralized by using calibrated violence." He, however, blamed both the state and central governments for the Maoist attack. "Why should they (the forces) be sitting ducks like this?"

Why should you walk into their traps? The incident puts a question mark on the operational capabilities of the CRPF."

"However there is a fundamental flaw in the strategy. The operations should be carried out by the state police and assisted by the MHA. Here, it's the other way round."

- "Mr. Chidambaram is very sincere and earnest. But he must understand that this isn't a corporate problem, where an input guarantees an output. You rarely get a solution just by upgrading technology."---a senior police officer engaged in anti-Maoist operations to *Outlook* magazine. (*Outlook*, 19 April, 2010)
- **Manish Kunjam**, two-time MLA of CPI:... "They are very attached to their land, but because those lands came under the control of the state after independence, the tribal people were suddenly seen as encroachers. This led to a great mess, the brunt of which the people are bearing even today. To add to this, the lands of these people were given away to private miners and local contractors. The Naxalites fought against this injustice and became the leaders of the tribes here.

"In a phase where all the main stream Left parties were concentrating only on workers' issues and parties such as the Congress and the Jana Sangh [later on, the Bharatiya Janata Party] were party to the exploitation of tribal people in Bastar, the Naxalites were the only force that spoke up for them and filled that political vacuum."...

- Congress General Secretary and former chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, **Digvijay Singh**, openly criticized the policy pursued by Union Home Minister Chidambaram. In an article in *The Economic Times* on April 14 he wrote—"In this case (regarding Maoists), I have differed with his (Chidambaram's) strategy that does not take into consideration the people living in the affected area....He is treating it purely as a law and order problem without taking into consideration the issues that affect tribals...When I raised the issues with him, he said it was not his responsibility."

Saying that he knows Chidambaram since 1985 Digvijay Singh said: "He is extremely intelligent, articulate and a sincere politician—but extremely rigid once he makes up his mind. I have been a victim of his intellectual arrogance many times, but we still are good friends." The remarks are significant since they came two days after the biggest terrorist in the country, Manmohan Singh, directed the Cabinet Secretary to write to all ministers not to criticize the handling of the Maoist issue or go public with their views on Left-wing Extremism.

- **Manishankar Iyer**—endorsing the remarks of Digvijay Singh, said that Mr. Singh was not just 100 per cent correct but one lakh per cent correct.
- Union Railway Minister **Mamata Banerjee** too slammed Chidambaram for continuing joint ops in West Bengal saying that these ops were only strengthening the hands of the CPM. —"I have repeatedly urged the Centre to call off the joint operation. I want to ask Chidambaramji why he is keeping the forces?" "Even after the Silda massacre no one has been arrested till now. The Union Home Minister has to answer how the CPM has opened hundreds of political camps in the affected areas despite the joint operations. Is it being done to help the CPM?"
- **Raman Singh**—"Everyone knows that the fight against the Maoists will be long-drawn. All efforts are on to boost the infrastructure in the Naxalite areas. It is a tough task. Still, I am confident that the state government will be able to assert its authority in areas where Maoists have influence." "In the past five years, the state government has been trying to impress upon the Centre about the gravity of the Naxalite problem. But it is only during the last one year that the Centre realized the threat being posed by the Maoists and acknowledged it as a serious internal security threat," he said, adding: "The Naxal issue is above politics, and is directly linked with the country and democracy." Slamming the human rights and civil society groups for being silent on the Dantewada incident, Raman Singh said: " They wanted to celebrate the killings at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Intellectuals and writers are only talking about Operation Green Hunt. Even eight days after the massacre, they have no words to condemn the brutal incident."

- **Nankiram Kanwar**, Home Minister of Chhattisgarh---“the intelligence system of the Maoists is better than that of the State security agencies.” DIG (anti-Naxal Operations) SRP Kalluri blamed Dantewada SP Amaresh Mishra’s lack of planning for the death of so many CRPF men. “The differences between the two police officers is seemingly common knowledge so much so that sub-inspectors at the local police stations are seen as aligned with either of them. The differences between the State police officers and the DIG of the CRPF are also common knowledge.” (Frontline May 7, 2010).
- **Shivanand Tiwary** JD(U)—“Home Minister is using provocative language. He is sounding arrogant. Naxalism cannot be dealt only with force.”
- BJP’s spokesperson **Rajiv Pratap Rudy**—“This is a Maoist attempt to usurp and overthrow democracy. Government should launch an all-out offensive, it should be a fight to the finish. BJP will support the govt.”

The BJP had also called for a clamp-down on the Maoist sympathizers. “Do victims of Naxal violence have some human rights too or not?” asked BJP spokesperson Ravi Shankar Prasad. “Why are the self-appointed guardians of human rights silent on the massacre? They are the sophisticated face of Naxal Violence. Some self-appointed guardians of Naxalites talk of human rights and write lengthy articles in magazines. When two or ten Naxals are killed they criticize it, but when Naxals kill innocent people they maintain conspicuous silence,” he said. “The idea of India is alien to the Naxals, and democratic norms, human lives and values have no place in their scheme of things. Home Minister Chidambaram often says if the Naxals abjure violence we can talk. This is an interesting phrase,” he said.

On April 9 following the offer of Chidambaram to resign in the wake of the Dantewada debacle, Rudy said: “The BJP does not want Chidambaram to resign at this stage. His resignation at this stage would mean a victory for Naxalites. He should not show his back because as the Home Minister of the country he is entrusted with the nation’s security and can’t whimper like an injured soldier on a backfoot,” said Rudy.

“Though the govt had failed on all fronts, it is not the time for a senapati (commander) to step down....The BJP expects the Home Minister’s stand, statement and leadership at this critical juncture to be inspirational rather than confessional,” he added. “We understand his candid admission, but unfortunately he has become a victim of his own idiom where he admitted ‘the buck stops at my desk’. The BJP is not interested in knowing where the buck stops...whether in the Home Minister’s office or at Buddha’s table in the Writers’ buildings in Kolkata. The BJP, and the country, knows that at this critical juncture we can in no way afford to lose the war against Maoists.”

Rudy said that the BJP would “stand by the govt” and would expect a “fast-track, committed and long-lasting solution to the Maoist menace with a fight to finish response.” He also said that the Home Minister should “come clean” on “whether his offer to resign is suo motu, or he was under pressure after being denied a free hand in tackling the menace.” Chhattisgarh CM Raman Singh reacted to the offer of resignation by the Home Minister by saying this was not the time to get carried away, but to give a new impetus to the anti-Naxal drive. “The entire country is deeply hurt by the loss of lives in the Dantewada massacre. Instead of getting carried away, this is the time to give new impetus to the anti-Naxal drive in the country.” “Chidambaram, or anyone else, need not quit at this juncture. The country and Chhattisgarh stand united at this hour,” Raman Singh said. But even as the BJP backed the Centre the opposition in the state led by Ajit Jogi demanded the resignation of Raman Singh govt.

- **Jayanti Natarajan**—“We are fully with the government in all steps it is taking,” she said at a press briefing on April 8. While elaborating the party’s stance on the issue she used the word “wipe out” half-a-dozen times at the press briefing. According to the Congress, the immediate priority was to wipe out Naxal insurgency. It is not the time to talk about socio-economic issues. “It is absolutely vital and the most important challenge before our polity now to wipe out the menace of Maoist insurgency. Central government should take all steps to ensure that any such attacks are prevented in future and to wipe out Maoist challenge. All state governments should give fullest cooperation in this,” said this neo-Nazi spokeswoman.

- **Nitish Kumar**---“there is no profit in speaking too much....Do work. I have all regard for Chidambaram but I will suggest that he should control his tone and tenor,” said Nitish addressing a press conference on April 11. Besides, he said, everybody knew that the offer of resignation by Chidambaram to the prime minister wouldn't be accepted. "People know it. It's not good to speak too much.”
- **SITARAM YECHURY:** As far as tackling the Maoist problem is concerned, there has to be a unified approach by all of us.... there are certain issues that need to be addressed more pointedly. I, for one from my party have always maintained that the restoration of the writ of the civic administration is one of the most important tasks in this entire battle and it is the absence of the writ of the civic administration that has denied development in these areas. Very correctly, he pointed out the problems when he visited Lalgarh and the problem is the inability of the State Government to reach those areas because of the manner in which they have been cordoned off. This is a problem and how we are going to resolve it? My request is to strengthen the process of coordination between the Centre and the various State Governments.
- **D. RAJA:** If at all the Government has to use Air Force, it should be used for dropping foodgrains in the tribal areas so that you can win the confidence of the tribal people.there is tension in all the tribal areas.

The tension is on the issue of handing over the tribal land and forest wealth in the name of mining operations to big business and corporate houses. The Government should assure this House that it will not be done and the rights of the forest dwellers and tribal people will be protected. The school buildings are demolished. Will the Government assure that schools will be allowed to run as schools, not as camps of security forces? That is the fear why tribal people do not send their children for schools. The school buildings have been taken over by security forces. Can he assure the nation that school buildings will be used for schooling the children of tribal people?

- **Ved Marwah**, former Governor of Jharkhand—“Peace and development are two sides of the same coin, and have to be pursued simultaneously and not one after the other. If in the Maoist controlled areas, the government is unable to take up development projects, what prevents the government from taking up development works in neighbouring areas where the Maoists do not pose any serious threat?...Land and forest laws should be firmly implemented to give the inhabitants a share in the produce.”

“Special forces should be created in the states. To be effective, they should be an integral part of the state police. Central forces cannot be as effective as state special forces. Outside forces have little chance of success without the help of local population. They become easy targets of an ambush on a road where the Maoists have a free run in the surrounding area. They are also more vulnerable in inter-state borders. Local intelligence about the movement of the extremists is not easily available to the outside force. Induction of the army or the use of air force in direct operations is a recipe for disaster. The “enemy” has first to be identified, otherwise there is a great danger of hurting the civilian population, which in turn would only generate more hostility.”

“Unfortunately, intelligence and office-bound officers who have never seen an actual “operation” nor have any field experience are calling the shots in New Delhi. Reading books cannot be a substitute for field experience. We have the successful Mizoram, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh models from which to draw the right lessons—but these “security experts”, not accountable to anyone for incorrect advice, are influencing policies and strategic decisions as never before.”

- **Manoj Kumar**, CEO of Naandi and a member of the Citizens' Alliance to Fight Malnutrition “Many states argue that certain areas are too dangerous for its officers because of the Maoist threat. Yet, our workers have never faced a problem. Instead we have received only cooperation and, for want of a better word, gratitude. If we can do it, surely the State, with its vast resources, can do it too.” (Hindustan Times, April 7, 2010)

**Red Salutes to Comrades Shakhamuri Apparao
&
Comrade Kondal Reddy martyred on 12 March 2010**

Comrade Apparao



Comrade Kondal Reddy



*How many more battalions would bring peace,
Mr. Chidambaram?*

*In the Bastar region of Chhatisgarh 23 battalions of central
forces are deployed besides 4,000 SPOs, and 28,000 state police
forces.*

Dantewada—4 CRPF and 2 BSF battalions;

Bijapur—3 CRPF battalions;

Narayanpur—one CRPF battalion;

Kanker—5 BSF battalions;

Bastar—2 CRPF battalions;

Plus 5 paramilitary battalions

And one CAF battalion in and around Jagdalpur.

Where does the buck stop?

Ever since Chidambaram spoke of the buck stopping at Buddhadeb's table during his visit to Lalgarh on April 4, the phrase has become a joke of sorts. The next day an irritated Buddhadeb asked the Union Home Minister to mind his language. Little did Chidambaram expect that he would have to eat his own words just 48 hours later when the state of Chhattisgarh, which he boasted as having come under control, exploded as never before. A day after the biggest ever attack by Maoists on the paramilitary forces that had wiped out almost a Company of the 62nd Battalion of the CRPF which was sent to hunt and eliminate the Maoists in the interior area of Dantewada, poor Chidambaram had no place to hide his face. He did not have the courage to blame Raman Singh since around 20 battalions of the paramilitary forces were deployed in the state by the Union Home Ministry itself. And the entire operations were directed chiefly by the Centre ever since the Operation Green Hunt began.

Moreover, there is a tacit understanding of you-scratch-my-back and I-will-scratch-your-back between Chidambaram and the saffron terrorists. No wonder, the BJP completely absolved Chidambaram for the Dantewada debacle while the later uttered not a word against the BJP and its government in Chhattisgarh for the lapses in intelligence and other issues raised by his own Congress party in the state. The BJP, which had initially said that the buck stopped at the Home Minister's office, immediately retracted its words after the Home Minister enacted the drama of resignation, and extended absolute support to Chidambaram in the ruling class' war against the Maoists and the poorest people of India. Chidambaram was compelled to admit that the "buck stopped at the Home Minister's office."



The CPI(M) too, revealed its social-fascist colours by asking the Union Home Minister to stop the blame game and work in coordination with the states to completely wipe out the Maoists. Speaking in the Rajya Sabha on April 15, a leader of the party, Sitaram Yechuri, said that the 'buck stopped neither at the table of West Bengal chief minister or that of any other state chief minister, nor with the Union Home Minister, but with the 'nation'! This broker insisted on close co-operation and coordination between the centre and states to tackle the 'Maoist menace'.



D. Raja, spokesperson of the CPI, asked in Lok Sabha as to why according to Chidambaram the buck did not stop at the CM's table in Chhattisgarh after the Dantewada ambush when it did so in West Bengal.

Finally on April 29, Ved Marwah, former Governor of Jharkhand, in his article in the Indian Express, concluded the buck joke by asserting that 'the buck stops with everyone.'

The debate on where the buck stops will become more intense with the growth in the intensity of the ongoing war between the corporate-led imperialist-backed Indian State and Maoist-led people of India. The contradictions between the state governments and the central government will become more acute notwithstanding the apparent unity of all the parliamentary parties ruling various states and the Centre at the present juncture.



Till we have the last drop of blood in our body we will aggressively fight against terrorism and naxalism. Will Finish the Naxals in 2-3 years.

Chidambarubbish in Lok Sabha regarding Dantewada and Maoists

April 15 2010

(We are reproducing below the major portion of the speech delivered by Union Home Minister Chidambaram in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on April 15, 2010 during the discussion on the Maoist ambush in Dantewada that had wiped out 76 paramilitary personnel. Our comments are underlined in bold. We think this would be helpful in understanding the issue better.)

In accordance with our policy which I will elaborate in a moment, at the request of the Government of Chhattisgarh, 141 companies of Central Paramilitary Forces have been deployed in that State for anti-naxal operations over a period of time. The 62nd Battalion was deployed in March this year, to replace the 55th Battalion. Earlier, the 62nd Battalion had been deployed in Bihar, and had gained experience in anti-naxal operations.

The decision to undertake what is called an 'area-domination exercise' was taken jointly by the IG of Chhattisgarh, Mr. Longkumar, the DIG of that area, Mr. S. R. P. Kalluri, and the DIG of the CRPF, Mr. Nalin Parbath. It was a joint decision. The actual deployment was left to the SP of the District, Mr. Amaresh Mishra and the Commandant of the 62nd Battalion.

According to the plan, they were to undertake this exercise over a period of three days, including two night halts, between April 4th and April 6th. It is reported that they undertook the exercise. Unfortunately the Deputy Commandant is dead; the Assistant Commandant is also dead; both accompanied the force; the Head Constable of the civil police who also accompanied the force is dead. We have seven surviving jawans; they have recovered; I sincerely hope and pray that they will survive. It is only on a thorough inquiry, de-briefing the seven surviving jawans and conducting investigations in that area, including forensic investigations, that we can establish what actually happened.



So, my sincere submission is that let us await the report of the Inquiry Committee; once the report is available, together with the post-mortem report, the de-briefing and the forensic investigation, we will draw the conclusions and we will draw the lessons that are to be learnt from this great tragedy.

Sir, it appears that they came under fire at 0550 hours on the morning of the 6th. It is sad that some media said that they were sleeping; they were not sleeping. It was unfortunately a place where they did not have the advantage of either height or cover. Most of them died as a result of the bullet injuries. Some died because of crude bombs and grenades. The initial reports that appeared in the media are not entirely accurate. There were no landmines; there were no pressure bombs. Yet, many of them fought bravely and on the admission of the naxals – they put out a statement – eight of the naxal cadres were also killed.

So it is not correct to say that these men did not fight back. It appears some mistakes were committed. They were caught by surprise. They fought back and they lost 74 plus one plus one. They were able to retaliate and kill eight people. That is why, I said that this is a grave tragedy and we deeply mourn the loss of lives. Let us not pass any judgement now until the report comes.

Anti-naxal operations are conducted in accordance with the policy that has evolved over time. Some comments have been made about the Congress Party. As far as Congress Party is concerned, our policy is very clear. In January, 2006, the AICC passed a resolution and I read:

“The Indian National Congress views with concern the growing incidents of naxalite associated violence in parts of India. The Party urges the UPA Government to give this matter highest priority and believes that this has to be addressed as a serious law and order issue but with underlying socio-economic causes as well. Clarity and firmness in handling the threat of violence does not foreclose the possibility of a dialogue in appropriate situations.”

Our policy is clear. It is a grave law and order problem. One has to be mindful of the underlying socio-economic causes but the door for dialogue is also always open. I think this policy is quite clear and I do not think anyone in any section of this House can disagree with this policy. I am sure each one of the parties represented here has a policy which reflects these basic principles.

Would anyone without vested interests who reads the above agree with Chidambaram that the Congress party has a clear policy? The so-called policy of the Congress party is eclectic and obfuscates the essence which is all-out war in the name of law and order. The talk of being mindful of the underlying socio-economic causes and the door for dialogue being always open is meant solely for public consumption. This is reflected most clearly after Chidambaram took over the Home Ministry and unleashed the brutal war.]

We have held a series of Chief Ministers' meetings. The first was on the 6th of January, 2009, within 36 days after I took over as the Home Minister. On the following day, we had a special meeting of the Chief Ministers of States that were affected by naxalism. At that meeting, I posed to the Chief Ministers 31 questions and requested them to give me their views on each one of the 31 questions. I would not read all of them but just a sample:

“What is the policy of the State Government? Do you want a reactive policy or will it be a pro-active policy? How sound are the normal governmental institutions in the affected areas? Have you made an assessment about the amount of funds required for development? Do you subscribe to the theory that security forces should clear and hold the territory? Should development works be carried out only in areas that have been cleared of naxals? How does the State Government propose to deal with the sections of the civil society that seem sympathetic to naxals?”

A series of questions were posed and each Chief Minister gave his views. At the end, we agreed on a set of measures that we will take in order to fight the menace. The most important agreement was that the development and police action should go hand-in-hand. For this, the development effort should be appropriately dovetailed with the security action.

There was another meeting of Chief Ministers on the 17th of August, 2009 followed by a meeting of naxal-affected States. In the meanwhile, we had prepared an action plan. I shared the action plan with the Chief Ministers and the minutes of the meeting says and I read just one short paragraph:

“The Governor of Jharkhand (Jharkhand was under President's Rule), Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Home Minister, Maharashtra, who represented the Chief Minister, and officers of West Bengal who represented the State Government, present broadly agreed to the proposed action plan.”

I summarised the discussion of the meeting and I then said that I will individually meet the Chief Ministers of each State where operations will be carried out, explain the action plan and obtain consensus. After this I travelled to the States and held meetings with the Chief Ministers and senior officers. We also had meetings with groups of Chief Ministers – Maharashtra on 6th of March, 2009; Andhra Pradesh on 6th of March, 2009, West Bengal on 3rd of April 2010, Orissa on 20th March and 26th of March, 2009, Chattisgarh on 19th January, 2009, 25th September, 2009, Jharkhand on 21st January, 25th September, 21st October, 2009 and on 28th January and 24th February, 2010. We called the Chief Minister of Maharashtra to Raipur on the 22nd of January, 2010 and at Kolkata we called the Chief Ministers of West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar on the 9th of February, 2010. I cannot recall another period of 15 months where the Home Minister of the country travelled to so many States, to so many Capitals on so many days meeting with Chief Ministers on a single issue of Naxals.

You are absolutely right on this point, Mr. Chidambaram! As the CEO of the war industry your desperate attempts to organize your satraps in the states have no parallel in history. You have proven yourself as the greatest war-monger and one can understand your anxiety, your haste and even your personal interest to reclaim the territories and hand them over to your corporate masters. But what have you produced through your endless travels across states and your attempts to organize the chief ministers? Unconstitutional murders of hundreds of innocent, unarmed adivasis, rapes of scores of adivasi women, abductions and tortures of several adivasi youth on the one hand and a Shilda, a Dantewada, a Mantriamba on the other. The more you traveled the more instability and insecurity you spread among the people at large. But you boast this as a great achievement!]

Yes, other issues were discussed but the main subject was how to control the menace of naxals. The Action Plan was presented to them. We secured their consent and it was agreed that intra State operations, operations within the State, will be conducted under the direction of the DGP and the Chief Minister; and the inter-State operations, in the border, Jharkhand—Bengal; Jharkhand—Orissa; Orissa – Bengal; Orissa – Chattisgarh; Orissa – Andhra Pradesh; Chattisgarh – Maharashtra, will be conducted under the command of the Special DG of the CRPF because that requires co-ordination between the police force of one State and another State.

The Chief Minister of Bihar did not attend the meeting called in Kolkata. But he did attend the meeting held in Delhi. After the meeting in Kolkata I wrote to the Chief Minister of Bihar saying `yes` perhaps he had some reason for not attending the meeting in Kolkata but I invite him to attend the meeting in Delhi and requested him to come to Delhi. He wrote back saying, he did not say anything about coming to Delhi, that he wanted more Force. I wrote back again saying that your officers gave me a number, you are giving me a number and I think it is best that we discuss it and as agreed I should explain the Action Plan to you. So, please come to Delhi. I have received no reply.

[Poor Chidambaram! Pity his relentless effort to drive the chief ministers of various states to step up the war but would everyone have the same degree of allegiance to the corporates and imperialists as Chidambaram has? While admitting how much effort he, on behalf of the central government, has been exerting to energise and push the chief ministers to take up suppression of the Maoists he shamelessly utters the lie that law and order is a state subject and that the Centre was only assisting the states!!]

In fact, I heard a Member of his Party say that violence cannot be met by violence.

[This is a typical example of Chidrubbish. You say one thing one day, contradict it on another. You deny what is obvious to the naked eye like the Operation Green Hunt. You think everyone else is a fool to believe whatever trash you utter. If you haven't said violence should be met by violence, then what have you been saying Herr Chidambaram? Will you spell it out instead of being vague about it? Why don't you say what other methods you are adopting to confront the so-called violence of the Maoists which incidentally is only revolutionary counter-violence?]

I never said that violence can be met by violence. But the officers asked for `x` number of companies and the Chief Minister asked for three times the number of the companies and I wanted therefore to know what his plan was.

We have limited number of Forces. We do not have infinite Forces. All that has been said about the CRPF, let me say one thing, there is no other force to take on the Naxals. Every other police force in this country is a border guarding force. The BSF, ITBP, SSB, Assam Rifles are border guarding forces.

[This is sheer bull-shit—a part of the ever-piling Chidambarubbish. What are these border guarding forces doing in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, Mr. Chidambaram? Has the Home Ministry under your able leadership redrawn the borders of the country? Why are you continuously sending these border guarding forces like the BSF, ITBP and SSB to the Maoist areas in central and eastern India? Is it not due to your inherent belief that adivasis and Maoists are not Indians and so should be hunted down like enemies]

The CISF is trained for industrial security and for commercial establishments. The only force that we have is the CRPF. It was raised as a Reserve Police Force. Please underline the word 'Reserve'. It is nothing but a Reserve Police Force. For law and order, call the CRPF; for communal violence, call the CRPF; for election duty, call the CRPF; today in the State of Punjab for unbundling the State Electricity Board they want me to send the CRPF. For VIP protection, call the CRPF; for static protection, call the CRPF, for anti-naxal warfare, call the CRPF. In the last 13 to 14 months given the limitation on our training facilities, I thank the Armed Forces because they have trained 10 battalions of BSF, 10 battalions of CRPF and 5 battalions of ITBP.

About 25 battalions or 25,000 men are being trained by the Army in this period. We are using our training facilities. We are setting up 20 training schools. We are giving money to the States. Given our resources, these are trained forces and everyone of the three platoons that were inducted in this area, Jagdalpur, had pre-induction training. The battalion itself had earlier gained experience in Bihar. The DIG is an Andhra Pradesh cadre officer with vast experience in anti-naxal operations in Andhra Pradesh.

[This DIG who you refer to, Nalin Prabhat, was notorious for his cold-blooded murder of several Maoists and ordinary people when he served as SP of Warangal and elsewhere in Andhra Pradesh. He never showed any respect for the law which he was supposed to protect and had no regard for the Constitution in whose name he took oath. His men abducted people in full public glare, killed them without any fear and floated stories of encounters. No wonder, you appreciate the vast experience of this murderer in anti-Naxal operations.]

Yet, despite all these, there has been a grave tragedy and I did not lose my nerve, I did not lose my will. I have no fear. I do not fear the naxalites.

[A fit case for a bravery award! It was amusing to see the thumping of desks by the Congress MPs in the pig-sty when their Generalissimo Chidambaram boldly declared that he does not fear the naxalites. Rani Sonia too thumped her desk appreciating the bravery of this man. It was clear that all these swines sitting in the Parliamentary pig-sty were actually having nightmares after Dantewada ambush and had to reassure themselves by openly asserting they had no fear of naxalites. Just as in the Indian tradition, when you repeat a chant such as Hari Om or Rama several times you may even get the chance to see God, our MPs, by chanting the mantra that they do not fear Naxalites, think that they would shed their fear.]

But if a horrible tragedy took place, I think, it is the moral responsibility of the Minister to tender his resignation. And therefore, I tendered my resignation.

[Who do you want to bluff, Mr. Chidambaram! Everyone knows this is mere humbug. You knew that your resignation will never be accepted. In fact, this is a drama enacted by your madam Sonia, imperialist agent no 1 Manmohan Singh and yourself. Through this act you wanted to be armed with more powers to wage the war against the people. And you got the mandate from both the Hindu fascists as well as the social fascists to wage the war in accordance with your plans]

The Prime Minister and the UPA Chairperson have rejected my resignation and I believe have reposed confidence in me and I will continue to provide leadership to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Paramilitary Forces in fighting naxalism.

[Your continuation as the CEO of the war machine is indeed of great help for the rapid advance of the revolutionary war in India. It is under your leadership to the Ministry of Home Affairs that our war has made rapid strides and achieved significant gains. We are confident that our guerrilla war will be transformed into mobile war, our People's Liberation guerrilla Army into a People's Liberation Army, and our geuerilla zones into base areas by the end of your tenure as Union Home Minister.]

We must understand the nature of naxalites. We are a robust democracy. There will be shades of opinions. There are clearly differences between what Mr. Yashwant Sinha said and what Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav said. There are differences between what Mr. Sharad Yadav said and what Mr. Tataghata Sathpathy said. There are clear differences between what everyone said and what Mr.

Mandal said. Yet, it is the duty of the Government to evolve a policy, to ask for a consensus, to seek a consensus, to build on a consensus and to carry on the business of the Government. That is what I tried to do in all my meetings with the Chief Ministers.

[That is why the saffron fascists as well as the social fascists are quite enthusiastic in extending their unconditional support to you and want you to continue to head the Home Ministry and provide leadership to the counter-revolutionary war. Your consensual approach has helped them to do unleash blood-bath in their respective states, set up vigilante gangs like the salwa judum and harmad gangs which are protected by your paramilitary forces.]

We must understand the nature of the naxal challenge. I am afraid we have still not understood the nature of the challenge and we fall prey to some romantic version of what has been painted as Left Wing Movement. When Parliament elections were called, the naxals called for boycott of elections. In fact, they put out a document explaining how they view elections and this is what they said.

“Bollywood, Tollywood, cricket stars, industrialists, multinational corporations, media foundations and Non-Governmental organizations carry out non-stop propaganda about the virtues of democracy, the sanctity of the vote, how not casting the vote was tantamount aiding criminals win and so on. There was no end to websites and blogs calling on people to exercise their franchise. To lend an air of credibility to their propaganda, they asked the voters to use their wisdom to choose between the good and the bad and to elect the virtuous as if there were virtuous people left in the parliamentary pigstys.

*We think that the trend of boycott will grow stronger as a revolutionary movement grows stronger. The organs of people’s revolutionary power come into being in vast tracts of the country. The armed strength of the people grows and the people’s liberation guerilla army makes impressive gains and wins decisive victories in some areas. Without the consolidation of the party, people’s army and revolutionary mass organizations, organs of people’s power and without gaining an upper hand over the enemy in a significant area (enemy is not my word, it is their word), **[would anybody have thought that enemy was your word? This shows the desperation of Chidambaram to unite all the forces against the naxalites]**, one cannot imagine people coming out in huge numbers to boycott the polls.”*

The emergence of an alternative to the Parliamentary institutions will bring about a qualitative change in the perception, preparedness and approach of the people towards Parliament and contesting political parties.”

Post-elections, they put up another document, a very definitive document of what they will do. They also described what they did in the run up to the elections. “The Election Commission, under the guidance of the Home Ministry drew up an elaborate plan to conduct elections.” This is what they say they did. “During the massive deployment of the Central forces and concentration of the entire police force in the State and their desperate attempts to create an atmosphere of terror, they could not achieve their objective. The people led by the CPI (Maoist) and the People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army resisted the onslaught of the Central Police Forces, carried out daring attacks on these mercenary forces and foiled their “Operation Area Domination.” No candidate or party representative dared to venture into these areas for electioneering. Only Maoist posters, banners and leaflets were seen in vast tracts of Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, West Bengal and Maharashtra. In the Maoist guerrilla attacks during the period starting from April 6th, when the election process started, when three C-60 commandos were wiped out in Maharashtra to the annihilation of BSF jawan near Kon village in Lategarh after the completion of polling on April 16th, a total of 43 Central and State forces were wiped out in Maoist counter offensive. By the time the last phase of polling was completed on 13th May, our PLGA carried out several more attacks on the enemy forces, annihilating a total of over seventy enemy troops. As on June 12th, when the present circular of our Politburo is being released, a total of 112 police personnel, most of them Central forces were wiped out in the heroic actions carried out by the PLGA guerrillas.”

[We are glad that the Home Minister himself read out our description of the parliament as a pig-sty. Well. Chidambaram's aim was to rouse the passions of the MPs against the Maoists because they were called as pigs and the Parliament a pig-sty. Whatever his motive the people of the country were happy to hear how the parliament really resembles a pig-sty. They also understand why Maoists call for a boycott of elections and how and when the election boycott slogan would become effective.]

Let us have no illusion about what they want. Their goal is the seizure of political power. Their method is army liberation struggle. Their instrument is People's Liberation Guerrilla Army, which, they say in this document, will soon be converted into a People's Liberation Army. They call this "war". They call us "enemies". They call this hallowed hall a "pigsty". Do we still have any illusions about the kind of adversary that we are facing?

[No one in your pig-sty has any illusions about naxalites. So go ahead and unleash all the means at your disposal, Mr. Chidambaram. Unleash the Air Force, the Army and what-have-you to brutally suppress the people.]

This is not the first tragedy that has occurred. We have had several set backs in the past. In March 2007, fifty-five men of the Chhattisgarh Police were ambushed in the Rani Bodi camp; in June 2008, thirty-seven Greyhounds of the Andhra Pradesh Police were killed in an ambush while crossing Balimela dam; in February 2010, twenty-four West Bengal Police men were killed; in July 2009, twenty-four police men were killed in Chhattisgarh in an ambush in Rajnandgaon. State police forces have died in ambushes. Central police forces have died in ambushes. We are facing a determined enemy. Our jawans are putting up a brave fight. It is our duty to stand by our jawans. It is our duty not to say or do anything that would demoralise them.

[This is the logic of a George Bush, and of every fascist. It carries dangerous implications. What Chidambaram means is: no one should criticize the paramilitary and policemen for committing savage attacks on the people; their murderous acts, rapes, tortures, destruction and stealing of property etc should be pardoned as they are fighting the enemy (here the Maoist). They are fighting for the country's interests and the rapes they commit are only minor lapses and collateral damage in achieving a larger objective. Hence if anyone tries to demoralize them by criticizing them then they should be taken to task. Such is the message Chidambaram wants to convey].

As I said and I wrote, they fight, some of them die so that the rest of us can live in freedom, liberty and democracy.

[This is the greatest lie ever told. Those who die are actually killed by the policy of the government itself. Dantewada was the result of the brutal campaign of terror by Chidambaram and Raman Singh. The poor jawans are not fighting and dying so that the rest can live in freedom, liberty and democracy. They are actually used as cannon fodder by the rulers and sacrificed for the narrow interests of the tiny parasitic class. Chidambaram and his likes think they can live in freedom by making these jawans sacrificial goats but they can never live in peace, freedom and democracy as long as they oppress the majority in the garb of democracy]

We are not unmindful of the socio-economic causes. **[Sheer humbug! The sole strategy is to "wipe out" the Maoists as so clearly articulated by Chidambaram himself and by the Congress spokespersons like Manish Tiwari and Jayanti Natarajan.]** We have heard people say that there is no water; there is no development; there are no schools; there are no jobs; there is no employment. I do not disagree. But who can be blamed except ourselves? Can anyone in this House point a finger to anyone else and say: "You are responsible for this area not being developed over the last 30 years?" **[At least for once, it is a frank admission indeed! Chidambaram has hit the nail on the head since every parliamentary party and MP had only looted the resources and wealth of the country, exploited and robbed the people in the most despicable manner.]** If there has been no development in Lalgarh – I am not entering into a debate but I am only reporting what people told me in Lalgarh – over the last 30 years, can anyone blame the Central Government for that? If there has been no development in Chhattisgarh, can anyone blame us? Chhattisgarh was formed in the year 2000. There was a Government in Madhya Pradesh for several years before that. There has been a

Government in Chhattisgarh since. If there has been no development in Jharkhand, can anyone blame us? Jharkhand was part of Bihar for many years. There had been successive Governments. There has been a Government in Jharkhand. There is a series of Chief Ministers in Jharkhand. The Central Government has a responsibility but the State Governments have equal, if not greater, responsibility on development. Likewise, on controlling naxalism, the Central Government has a responsibility but the State Governments have equal, if not greater, responsibility to control the menace of Naxalism.

I have offered to every Chief Minister total support to what they will do, what plans they will draw not only to maintain law and order, to control the menace of naxalism but also to bring about development in that area. **['Development' in the lexicon of Chidambaram and the neo-liberal market fundamentalists ruling our country does not mean provision of drinking water, fair price shops, primary health centres and health-care, but mean roads, railways, communication towers, helipads, school and panchayat buildings. And most of these to bring real 'development' to the region through displacement and destruction of the homes, land, waters of rivers and streams, draining of natural resources, and transformation of the adivasis into seasonal day labourers for rapacious capital]**

We are releasing funds. We are releasing funds under the SRE Scheme. We are releasing funds under the Special Infrastructure Scheme for naxal-affected districts. We are releasing funds under the Scheme for Modernisation of the State Police Forces. Now, we can argue – I am glad some of you argued – that the funds are not adequate. I am sure, the UPA Chairperson, the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister would be mindful of what you say and will allocate funds, if necessary but funds allocated must be spent. But expenditure has not kept pace with the release of funds. We have released funds and the funds remain unspent.

It is not only that. We have a Special Plan for the development in these areas. There is a Task Force chaired by the Cabinet Secretary which concentrates on the 33 most-affected districts. We give additional allocation under the PMGSY, the National Highways and State Roads for implementing the Forest Rights Act, for the Rajiv Gandhi Gramin Vidyutikaran Yojana, for the National Rural Drinking Water Scheme for Total Sanitation, for the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and the Indira Awas Yojana. But then, when I look at the funds that have been released and the funds that have been spent, I find that not all the funds that have been released are spent. So, my earnest appeal is that we must stand firm on these twin pillars. It is a grave law and order problem that threatens not only the internal security of the country but also it threatens the very foundations of our democratic Republic; it must, therefore, be squarely met. Fearlessly, we must meet the menace of naxalism. On the other hand, we must address the underlying socio-economic causes by taking, as Shri Malayam Singh Yadav has said, roads, electricity, drinking water and sanitation schemes to those areas. But do not think that the adversary will let you do that. The adversary targets your infrastructure. I can quote you from an interview given by Azad and Ganapathy. Why does he target the infrastructure? He says that schools cannot be built here because the schools will likely be occupied by the security forces; communication tower should not be built here because then, people will be able to communicate with their headquarters. **[This last accusation is a blatant lie deliberately cooked up to mislead people. Where did you find this as the standpoint of the Maoists regarding communication towers, Mr. Chidambaram? And how shamelessly you distort our views regarding schools! We never, I repeat never, said that schools cannot be built in our areas but only that they should not be used as barracks or camping places for the so-called security forces. Even in the latest interview in the Hindu comrade azad had categorically stated that if the government assures that it would not use the schools buildings for the police and paramilitary forces then they wouldn't be targeted by the Maoists. the same question was asked by D. Raja, spokesperson of the CPI but you had skipped an answer to the question. Will you stop repeating Chidrubish an danswer issues withut mincing words and indulging in meaningless rhetoric?]**

I have got a whole list of infrastructure that they have attacked in 2008 and 2009. Therefore, Sir, without taking too much time of the House, I respectfully submit that this tragedy that happened in Dantewada last week must only make us more determined, more resolute and more fearless. **[We too would be more determined, more resolute and more fearless to create more dantewadas and Sindhas]** It must also make us, at the same time, more compassionate and more concerned about the poor so that development takes place. **[If you want to be more compassionate then stop your intervention and meddling with the lives of the adivasis through your bogus development. They are better off without your displacement-driven development which is synonymous to displacement for the vast majority of the adivasis and rural poor.]**

.... All I can say is, if this tragedy is not a wake up call, nothing will wake this country; nothing will wake Parliament of India. [This pig-sty anyway sleeps most of the year and even during sessions the swines are seen snoring within the pig-sty] At least after this tragedy, whatever our failings, whatever our faults, whatever our collective failures, let us resolve that we should show greater determination and more fearlessness in dealing with the adversary, greater compassion and greater dedication in bringing development to the people. On these two pillars, I am confident that we will overcome and ultimately what will triumph is the idea of India. I am sure that liberty and freedom of democracy will triumph in this country. [Certainly they will. By overthrowing imperialism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism and their servants and political representatives like you through the successful completion of the New democratic revolution in our country, we can certainly ensure the triumph of genuine democracy and freedom in our country. We are absolutely confident]



Chidambarubbish in Rajya Sabha on Dantewada and Maoists

We had so far three conferences of Chief Ministers. The first two conferences of Chief Ministers were followed by a special meeting with Chief Ministers of naxal-affected States.

In fact, I made an opening statement at the conference of Chief Ministers on 17th August, 2009 and I said in that statement and I want to quote:

"The third challenge is left-wing extremism, naxalism. On more than one occasion the Prime Minister rightly cautioned the nation that Left-Wing Extremism posed the single biggest internal security challenge to India. In the last few months, the CPM Maoists stepped up its attacks on the Indian State and on the Indian people. I would like to draw your attention to a document put up by the CPM Maoists on June 12, 2009 which is titled **"Post-election situation -- our task"**. Anyone reading



that document would have no illusion about the nature and gravity of the threat. Let me make our policy stance clear. We believe in the two-pronged approach of development and police action. However, the naxalites are anti-development and have targeted the very instruments of development, school buildings, roads, telephone towers, etc. They know that development will mean the masses, especially, the poor Tribals, will be weaned away from the grip of the naxalites. [One wonders if you, Mr. Chidambaram, had gone completely mad after Dantewada? How can the masses be weaned away by your so-called development when the reality is, it is your development that is providing us with fertile ground for rapid expansion into hitherto uncharted territory? The more Lohandigudas, Kalinga Nagars, Nandigrams, Kashipurs, Netarhats you create, the more you drive the displaced adivasis and other rural poor into the path of revolution. This is the stark reality, Mr. Chidambaram! Unless you realize this truth and halt your displacement and plunder of mineral and forest wealth in the name of development, you cannot check the rapid expansion of our people's war into ever newer regions of the Indian countryside. Soon we will be a force to reckon with in all those areas where your "development" had displaced over 40 million people over the past six decades. It is your model of development, and not non-development, which acts as the catalyst for revolution in these regions]. Hence these deliberate attacks on the developmental activities. Our response, therefore, will be police action to wrest control of the territory that is now dominated by the naxalites, restoration of civil administration and undertaking developmental activities. [This is the essence of the UPA government's strategy implemented through Chidambaram and the two-pronged approach of development and police action you spoke of just a moment before is mere humbug. On the one hand you go on yelling endlessly that Naxals are blocking all

development activities initiated by the government. Yet on the other hand you talk of initiating development simultaneously with police action! You seem to confuse your own Party leaders with such contradictory and conflicting statements. Clear up your muddled head and decide whether police action would come first quickly followed by development as you asserted here, or, development and police action would go together in which case stop disinformation campaign against the Maoists that they are blocking development.] Meanwhile, we will encourage the State Governments to talk to the naxalites, both individuals and local units, on condition that they give up their misconceived armed liberation struggle. Let our message to the naxalites be clear. We will talk, we will act, we will restore order and we will undertake developmental activities. I am happy to report that all the naxal-affected States have resolved to confront and overcome the challenges of CPM Maoists and later this evening I shall hold a separate meeting with the Governor and the Chief Ministers of those States".

We have not swerved from this path. Our policy remains the same. It is a serious law and order problem, and, therefore, quite rightly, the Chief Ministers have asserted that it is their right and their responsibility to deal with the problem. The Central Government provides Paramilitary Forces, intelligence and other assistance to them to deal with the problem. The goal is to restore the civil administration which is not there. And if anyone of you thinks that there is some kind of a civil administration in these areas, I think we are harbouring an illusion. In many of these areas, there is simply no civil administration worth the name. So we have to restore the civil administration and then take development of these areas. It is not a question of which comes first. If there is an opportunity with the district administration to do some developmental activities, certainly they must do it even if the place is infested with the CPI (Maoist). But where it is not possible to do anything, where it is not possible to build the roads, where it is not possible to build a school building, where it is not possible to take electricity, surely, then the first thing that has to be done is to regain control over the area and restore the civil administration. Sir, we have not swerved from this path. This remains our policy. It will be our policy and I intend to continue to work with this policy.

Why do I say that the CPI (Maoist) target developmental activities? I have with me their targets in the last four or five years. Their principle target is the security forces. Their second target is, whoever he is, they call him police informer. They will kill a party cadre, they will kill an SPO and they will kill a village Mukhiya and then name him a police informer. Their third target is infrastructure. In 2009 alone, they have demolished 71 school buildings and 23 Panchayat bhawans; two power plants were attacked; 67 telephone exchanges or mobile towers were attacked and demolished; there were 46 attacks on railway properties and 17 attacks on specific industrial establishments. Now people say, "Talk to Maoists". I will come to 'talks' in a moment. Let me make an offer. It perhaps took five or six or ten years to build a school building in that district. You know how it is in each of our districts. If an old school building is dilapidated, how long does it take to get the money, to get the plan approved and to get the work started to build a school building? I am sure these 71 school buildings in these States came up after five or six years of efforts by the local MLA or the local MP or the local Panchayat leader. These 71 school buildings have been demolished. This year, so far, nine have been demolished. This is up to the end of March. In April alone, more school buildings have been demolished in Bihar, in the Jamui district. If the Maoists are really pro poor, let me ask this question: we will find money and I will beg, borrow or steal money to rebuild these 71 school buildings, but can anyone guarantee that those buildings will not be attacked again? Will anyone, any of these human rights organizations, any of these NGOs stand up and tell the people of this country, "Rebuild these 71 school buildings; we assure you that the CPI (Maoist) will not attack any more school buildings?"

Let me persuade all the telephone companies, including the BSNL, to rebuild the 74 telephone towers and Exchanges. Will any NGO, will any Human Rights Organisation, be willing to assure us that these towers will not be demolished? I think we must understand the nature of the CPM (Maoist). I have said this before; the other speakers have said it. Their goal is the seizure of political power and the overthrow of the established authority of the State. Their method is Armed Liberation Struggle, and their instrument is the People's Liberation Guerilla Army which, under the June 12 document, they hope to convert it into a regular Liberation Army. They want to overthrow the Parliamentary system. And how should Parliament respond to this challenge?

I think the Human Rights Organisations and the NGOs are living in a fool's paradise. If the CPM (Maoist) overthrows the established authority and seizes power, will they allow any Human Rights Organisation to function in this country? Will they allow any NGO to function in this country? **Before making such baseless accusations and desperately attempting to threaten and wean away**

some sections sympathetic to the Maoist cause, why don't you assure the safety of Gandhian leaders like Himanshu Kumar and advocates of non-violent struggle like Binayak Sen? Who is targeting NGOs and civil society groups in Dantewada, Bijapur and elsewhere and preventing them from investigating the truth behind the growing atrocities on the people? Why don't you permit even the media to go independently to the areas where police atrocities had taken place and consciously suppress facts?] Will there be a Parliament? **[Nobody will be unhappy except your MPs if the Parliament is done away with. People will elect their own governments through people's conferences and Congresses.]** Will all those, who write 33-page articles, be allowed to write 33-page articles? Will there be a magazine to publish a 33-page article? **[This is an indirect hint, a threat to intellectuals like Arundhati Roy that they should desist from writing such articles sympathetic to the Maoists]** I think the gravity of the situation must be recognized, and I am willing to be advised, as I have been advised, if necessary, what cross-corrections we need to make, what fine-tuning we need to make. But there is no escape from the fact that the challenge has to be met squarely and fearlessly. It is a serious law and order problem.

It is also a problem where we have to address the underlying socio-economic issues. In 2009 alone, they killed 211 people, and named them as police informers. This is not an invention of any of my agencies. Once they kill somebody, they issue a statement saying, "We killed him because he is a police informer", and simply counting the number that 211 people were killed in 2009, and they were mainly police informers. In 2008, 170 people were killed, named as police informers. In this year, in the first quarter, 35 people have been killed and named as police informers.

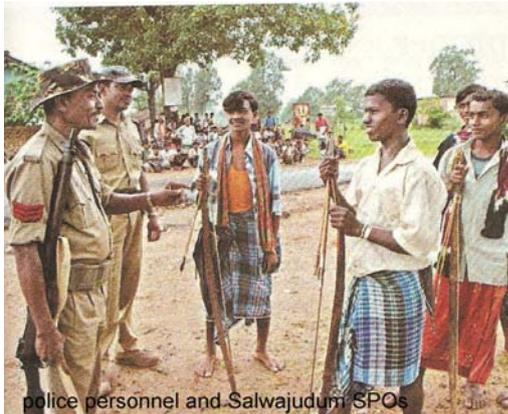
Sir, what happened in Dantewada will, of course, be inquired into by Shri Rammohan. As I said, in my statement, preliminary reports, preliminary inquiries, indicate that there has been a terrible failure of Command and Control. Please recall what I said. This is a battalion which was given to the Chhattisgarh Government. The 55th Battalion was given earlier, about three years earlier. Since its tour of duty was over, the 55th Battalion was replaced by the 62nd Battalion. The 62nd Battalion went into this area in the month of March-April, 2009. It was a battle hardened battalion. It had earlier done a tour of duty in Bihar. Now, there are standard operating procedures. It was agreed in the Chief Minister's meeting, and we have reiterated this in the Standard Operating Procedures, that intra-State operations must be conducted under the direction of the DGP and the State Police, and inter-State operations will be conducted by the Special D.G., CRPF, because that requires coordination between States. The exercise, which was undertaken in Dantewada, was purely an intra-State exercise. Nevertheless, -- the reasons can be established only in the Inquiry -- only one Head Constable of the State Police accompanied them. Otherwise, all the officers and men belonged to the CRPF. They were ambushed and 74 of them were killed. The rescue party was sent, and the vehicle which accompanied the rescue party also came under attack. The driver and the Head Constable died.

So, we have got 76 lives were lost. The inquiry is under way. Shri Ram Mohan has promised me that he will give me the Report by the 25th of this month. He will debrief the seven injured jawans who have fortunately survived. He will do a thorough inquiry. He will examine the post-mortem reports. He will examine the forensic evidence, and he will present the Report. I have requested him to fix responsibility from the Assistant Commandant right up to the Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs. I said please fix responsibility who failed in his or her duty at every level from the Assistant Commandant right through to the Deputy Commandant, the Commandant, the DIG, the SP of the District, the DIG of that Zone from the State, the IG of the Zone, the DG(P), come up to the Special DG, the DG of the CRPF, and come right up to the Minister. Let him fix the responsibility where this failure of command and control took place. And as soon as that Report is available, we will draw the right conclusions, and I am sure, there will be an opportunity for me to share those conclusions with this House. But, until then I request that we suspend judgment. Let the Report come, and surely action will be taken based on that Report.

Sir, there have been instances in the past. We know that in 2006, 55 men of the Chhattisgarh Police were ambushed. That was the biggest tragedy until then. The famous Greyhounds were ambushed in Orissa, when they were crossing a dam; 34 people died. There was another ambush in 2009 in Chhattisgarh where about 27 people died. We have the Sealdah Massacre where 24 people died. I mean, no one asked anyone to resign or no one came forward to resign. When this happened, I was truly heart-broken, and, therefore, I felt that it was my moral responsibility to resign; I resigned. The Prime Minister and the UPA Chairperson rejected my resignation. I have received support from many sections of the House. I am grateful for the support. I am determined to continue to provide leadership in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and to our paramilitary forces, and I am determined to continue to extend assistance to the States to fight the menace of Naxalism. We have to do so with greater determination and without fear. Fear is the biggest enemy.

We have to fight this menace fearlessly. At the same time, let me repeat, we must show greater compassion, greater concern for the poor, greater dedication in taking development to the places where the Naxals seem to have some dominance. We are assisting the State Governments in a number of ways. We have got the security related expenditure, and the special assistance that is being provided to the States for modernization of police force. We also have a Special Task Force under the Cabinet Secretary looking at these 34 districts. Huge amount of money is being given under various programmes. Extra money is being given under various programmes. Unfortunately, not all the money is being spent. We have programmes that applied throughout the country applying these 34 districts also, and, additional money is being given. I do not wish to read the figures. But, I wish hon. Members will please ask their State Governments how much of the money is being spent. We are giving money for Vidyutikaran Yojana; we are giving money under Drinking Water; we are giving money under Pradhan Mantri Sadak Yojana; we are giving special funds to these 34 districts. There is a Task Force under the Cabinet Secretary which monitors it. The Secretary, Planning Commission gets a weekly report, and she updates it every month. But what she has shown me not all the money is being spent. I think money must be spent. We must take development to the extent possible to these areas, and as and when our security forces gain control over these areas, we must rush in development. That is our approach; that will continue to be our approach.

Sir, there are some recent developments which are heartwarming. As you know, CPI (Maoists) has set up some front organizations and carries on its activities through front organizations. The PCPA in West Bengal is a front organization. They have now set up a militia organization called Siduka. What is happening is, in Many States, tribals, villagers affected by Maoist activities are also setting up their own organizations. This is not to be confused with the controversial Salwa Judum. That is a controversial matter. **[Controversial for whom, Mr. Chidambaram? You have been going**



on with this trash for too long a time. Spell out what you wish to do regarding the "controversial" salwa judum started by your own leader of opposition in Chhattisgarh, Mahendra Karma, with the blessings of the state government of saffron BJP and the Central government led by your khadi congress.] For

example, in Jharkhand, villagers in East Singhbhum district and in district Saraikela-Kharsawan have formed a Gram Ganarajya Panchayat Parishat. They are organizing mass meetings and they are opposing the free run of the Maoists. In Orissa, villagers in district Sudargarh have also risen against the Maoists following harassment by Maoist cadres including demand for villagers' participation in Maoists' armed actions, assaulting of villagers for maintaining links with the police and demanding that one person from each house should join the CPI (Maoists). In Chhattisgarh, tribals under the banner of Ma Danteshwari Bastar Adivasi Swabhiman Manch **[another name for salwa judum gangs]** have protested against the activities of pro-Maoist organizations. So, it is not as though the people who live in fear are not revolting against what the Maoists are doing. It is still at an incipient stage. But, clearly people are beginning to recognize that it is not the Maoists who are going to give them freedom or development.

I went to Lalgah. This is pretty obvious. They had a host of complaints against the State Government. I am not here to say whether the complaints are right or wrong. They had many complaints. But, they immediately added that the only one who can bring them development was the State Government. [Was there anyone other than those belonging to the social fascist CPI(M) during your so-called interaction with people in Lalgah?] They are pretty clear in their perception that the Maoists are not going to bring them any development. Their poser to me was, "We have had no development, nobody visited us, the Maoists are here on the rampage with their guns, nobody to protect us, what are we supposed to do?" Really, that is the question that we have to address. If we can protect the people, surely they will rise against the Maoist oppression. If we can win their confidence, take the civil administration to that area, opportunities will open up for bringing development to that area. As I said, this is a complex task, a task which I believe the State Governments have to address. As I said in my statement, there is no question of it in my mind that the primary responsibility lies with the State Government.

At the same time, I assure you that the Central Government is ready and willing to assist the State Government in every manner possible in dealing with the matter as a law and order issue as well as for developmental matters.

..... We will continue to remain focussed on this problem. This problem will remain with us for many, many years. We will be able to substantially contain and control this menace in about two to three years. We have to set for ourselves a time horizon. No Government, no Home Minister can say that we cannot contain this for the next twenty years. That is not the message that we can give to our police forces and to our security forces. We will have to set for ourselves a time horizon, we will have to contain this menace in the next two to three years and we will have to bring development to these areas. Yes, remnants will remain. Kanu Sanyal and Charu Majumdar started a movement in 1967. But long after they gave up, one of them died and one of them disowned the movement, the remnants remain. But these remnants will have to be addressed. But a determined, organised armed liberation struggle cannot be allowed in this country which strikes the very root of democracy, which strikes the very root of our concept of a nation, therefore, it has to be squarely and fearlessly met. Finally, Sir, word about talks and I know that to talk about talks now seems misplaced, but, nevertheless the door must be kept opened for talks. There is this bizarre interview given by Koteswar Rao and even more bizarre interview given by Azad which was published in one of the newspapers in a sanitised version. I would urge Members not to read the sanitised version but go the website and read the unexpurgated version of the interview and the choicest abuses that are being used in that interview.

Be that as it may, what is our condition? I know that they will not lay down arms. I am not so naïve as to believe that they will lay down arms immediately. But how do you expect the Government of India to talk to a militant group unless they give up violence? **[And how can you expect any militant group or revolutionary party to give up violence when your police and the paramilitary forces along with your state-sponsored private vigilante gangs continue to shoot at will and commit indescribable atrocities on the people and Maoist revolutionaries? Who do you think you can fool by your meaningless proposals to the Maoists to abjure violence while refusing to rein in the unbridled brutal violence carried out by your own forces on innocent unarmed people? Why are you so adamant about continuing the state's armed onslaught on the people in contravention to every law refuse to adhere to the Indian Constitution by which you swear? Without any of these minimum measures why do you fool yourself by asking the Maoists to abjure violence?]** Should they not say, "We give up violence"? Once they give up violence, our policy is that we will set in motion a process of talks. The State Governments can talk to them. The Central Government will facilitate those talks. If the Central Government has to join the talks, the Central Government is willing to join the talks. But the condition is that they should not indulge in violence. On the last occasion they gave this offer suddenly one day that they are willing for talks. But within three hours of that announcement, there was an incident in Bengal, the police patrol party was attacked, the police patrol party had to retaliate and one of them was killed. **[Absolute rubbish! By this blatant lie you have established yourself as an Indian avatar of Joseph Goebbels. Earlier too, you had deliberately hurled an accusation against the CPI(Maoist) of massacring villagers in Khagaria district. Don't you have the minimum decency to apologise to the CPI(Maoist) for having hurled a baseless accusation, and to the people at large, for having misled them through such lies? One, of course, cannot expect decency from an inveterate liar like you.**

Coming to the so-called attack by Maoists on the joint patrol party, it is a hundred per cent lie. There was no such attack at all. This is fabricated in the office of the Union Home Ministry itself and under your direct guidance. We have precise information that you are directly involved in the decision to murder the popular mass leader and president of PCAPA, Lalmohan Tudu, on that fateful night along with two other PCAPA members Suchitra Murmu and her husband Yubaraj Murmu. It is to cover up this dirty act by your paramilitary forces under your direction that you had come out with the statement that Maoists had carried out attack on the joint patrol party. Ask anyone in Narcha village or Kanatapahari. Every villager, and not just the family members of Sri Tudu, will tell you how a hundred-odd CRPF men lay in waiting at his house on the night of 22nd, how they caught the three, and carried out the cold-blooded murder. That there had been no firing by the Maoists was corroborated even by the CRPF men guarding the camp as they were not aware of the lies spoken by the SP of West Midnapore or by Chief Minister Buddhadeb or by YOU.

How long can you get away with such outright lies, Mr. Chidambaram? To establish a lie as the one in Kantapahari you and your corrupt, lumpenised police officials had to change their versions repeatedly as piercing questions pushed them into the defensive. Initially, your SP of Paschim Mednipur asserted that Mr. Tudu died when the Maoist guerrillas attacked the fortress-like CRPF camp in Kantapahari and the CRPF men "bravely" retaliated. Later, realizing the hollowness of his own story and fearing that it would evaporate like dew drops with the first rays of the sun, your Goebbels' disciples changed the version by uttering another lie that Tudu and other two were killed when a Maoist guerrilla squad, to which they were said to have belonged, attacked the CRPF's raiding party. You are propagating the same lie consciously, with a clearly worked out strategy of justifying your gruesome offensive.

We know you are in an unenviable position. Pushed on by Vedanta, Tata, Mittal, Jindal and a host of other corporate sharks, you have no option before you than to wage war on the people and decimate them if they don't evacuate their villages or surrender completely to your terms. You know well that your war is unjust, your claims of development in territories held by Maoists after reclaiming these from them is mere trash, the so-called violence by the Maoists is like a speck in the ocean when compared to the structural violence or the violence indulged in by Hindu fascist terrorists, state and state-sponsored terrorists, Khadi terrorists, CPI(M)-brand haramd terrorists, Trinamool terrorists, and terrorist acts by every parliamentary party. A rumour about the involvement of an Ambani in the death of YSR Reddy in plane crash was sufficient to bring your party hoodlums into streets and set fire to buses, government offices, railway stations, private vehicles, besides attacks on reliance outlets and offices. But you do not see them as destructive acts for they are committed by your own party goons and lawless hoodlums. But your Ministry issues advertisements listing out the acts of destruction caused in so-called Maoist violence. But one day of hooliganism by your party men far exceeds the destruction you have described as caused by Maoists in an entire year! Shame on you Mr. Chidambaram for such duplicity and hypocrisy.

Tehelka Magazine, Star Ananda and other media sources, leaving out, of course, the mad barking dog of the criminal rulers, Times Now, have brought out the facts regarding the so-called attack on the CRPF camp according to the initial version of the SP Manoj Kumar Verma, or in your version, the attack on a joint patrol party. Have you the guts to challenge any of the facts given in Tehelka and some other newspapers regarding this myth you and other war-mongering hawks are spreading with deliberate intent? Your cunningness is being revealed to the world with every passing day. You imagined to have shot two birds with one shot: one, you think you could justify the elimination of a popular mass leader by enacting the story that he died during a Maoist attack on the joint police party in his native village of Kantapahari; two, you think you had successfully scuttled the proposal of a 72-day cease-fire made by a leader of the CPI(Maoist) by pointing to the fabricated attack. You have landed into a pathetic situation. You are now riding a tiger. You can neither get off but nor can the tiger allow you to ride longer. You have to now search for excuses every day to justify your cruel offensive, justify the barbarity of the crimes committed by your uniformed troops, justify the rapes and murders of adivasis, growing abductions, and evacuation of entire villages due to the state terrorist offensive. So you have to go on weaving lies, on and on, endlessly, just to keep a semblance of legitimacy to the cruelty and barbarism of your mercenary forces. And what better way there is than to launch an offensive on the enemy by concocting stories every day by misusing the intelligence agencies, police and paramilitary, entire state machinery and the ever-willing media mercenaries like the notorious Arnab Goswamy of Times Now who are lavishly paid by the corporate sharks for spreading canards against Maoists to promote war. Within 24 hours there was a series of incidents. How can we talk under the shadow of the gun, under the shadow of violence?

Therefore, I repeat that we will facilitate talks with the CPM Maoists provided they say, "We will give up violence." At least, as long as talks take place, there should be no violence, there should be no killing, there should be no abductions, and there should be no targeting the infrastructure. At the end of talks, if there is progress, then, we can move on. But at the moment, from what I gathered from the interviews, they are unwilling and unprepared to give up violence. They say, "To ask us to give up violence is absurd. We believe in armed liberation struggle, so how do we give up violence?" Anyway,

I reiterate Government's policy. We will deal with this as a serious law and order problem and face the challenge fearlessly. We will also address the underlying socio-economic causes. The door for dialogue is open provided they give up violence.

***Following are some excerpts from
Tehelka Magazine, Vol 7, Issue 15, Dated April 17,
after the daring Dantewada ambush:***

"IT LITERALLY is the dead of the night. "Bastards," spits the lowly officer, his vest soaked with sweat, the surgical mask now lowered to his chin, tired eyes bloodshot with rage, the furious voice a whisper, for who wants to talk around sixty-one coffins being filled with dead men so many of who you knew by nicknames? Laced with chemicals, wrapped as mummies, the bodies brought from their mass autopsy are lowered into the plywood caskets that were banged together all evening. Silent young men nail the lids shut and load them onto trucks.

"Surprisingly, or perhaps not, the officer's vitriol is flung not at the Maoists who had hours earlier inflicted the biggest casualty on the uniformed men in their four-decade-long insurgency. Instead, the officer is beyond mad with the government "because it knows nothing here and will get us all killed". What he doesn't say, because he doesn't know, is that the government doesn't care either."

"No chief minister, no state home minister, no other minister, no member of Parliament, no MLA, no director-general of police (Vishwa Ranjan, a man popular with journalists in all seasons), no chief secretary, no home secretary, no inspector-general (TJ Longkumer, who Chidambaram later told journalists had planned the dead men's fatal foray into the forests), no district magistrate (frenzied a few hours later as reporters surged at Chidambaram's press conference because he didn't want anyone to throw a shoe at the Union home minister), no superintendent of police, not one high-ranking officer of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), to which 75 of the dead belonged, were here; just the very angry CRPF sub-inspector. "They were like my children," he says.

Perhaps bigger than the tragedy that befell the men who died in the Maoist attack is the tragedy of Chidambaram beginning to fall for his own rhetoric. This is the classic case of the emperor that had no clothes but none would tell him the naked truth. Tuesday's horrific killings should jolt Chidambaram and his government into realising that rhetoric is not the reality, that his paramilitary men are sitting ducks for the Maoists just about anywhere, anytime. Instead, he continues to claim that the security forces would wipe out the Maoists in three years.

On the Dantewada ambush

Given that the vast southern region of Chhattisgarh where the Maoists have a free run is bigger than Kerala, just what does the State control if the Maoists finish off an entire patrol 4 km from a full-fledged CRPF camp? (In fact, the attack site is only a kilometre from a path much traversed by the CRPF.) Three hours into the Maoist attack, a rescue vehicle — a modified Tata 407 known as 'bunker' that is supposedly bombproof — started from the camp to evacuate the holed-out personnel. The Maoists blasted an IED through it, killing its driver — just 2 km from the camp. Chidambaram acknowledged that the Maoists fired at and stopped rescue parties from reaching the location.

It is common knowledge that the rebels know the forests like the back of their palms because they were born here, that they most possibly have the backing of an overwhelming majority of the hundreds of thousands of the tribal people living across more than 20,000 sq km. On the other hand, the few thousand CRPF men here hail from all over India, and have lived here only months, if that.

Even Raj Bahadur, who at 48 years is a 22- year CRPF veteran and seen action from Kashmir to Tripura, has never witnessed anything like Chhattisgarh. "This was the worst I was ever in," he says. It is incredible that the three survivors have never met a surrendered or captured Maoist.

How Many Deaths Before too many die? - Shoma Chaudhury

But if you watched television studio debates that night or read many of the newspapers the next morning, something more terrifying — and tragic — than the physical image of hurtling locomotives would have become evident: you'd have seen the pistons driving these locomotives to self destruct. Livid, one-sided conversations: ill-informed, deaf, uncurious. And, most damagingly, simple-minded.

Exterminate the terrorists! Wipe them out! The entire nation is united: launch an all-out war. Bring on the airforce. Didn't we pull it off in Punjab? Haven't the Sri Lankans pulled it off with the LTTE? Why are you "intellectual sympathisers" talking of root causes and development and urging other approaches? Are you on the side of the savages? Are you condoning Maoist violence? Why are you raising questions about police atrocities and State neglect? How can you equate our violence with their violence? How can you lump the good guys with the bad guys?

Chidambaram said: *"We might lose more people, many more may die, but the State will ultimately prevail. It might take two or three years, but we have to give them a firm response. If they have declared war on the State, we will launch an all-out offensive against them."*

The State has crushed the Naxal movement thrice before — in Bengal, in Bihar, in Andhra Pradesh. Each time thousands of Indian citizens have been killed; each time the Maoists have resurrected themselves. This is the fourth big wave. Are we finally going to accept their challenge and address "root causes", or are we going to content ourselves with killing tens of thousands of our poor every decade?

This taunting question about the nature of the Indian State then is one we might well ask of ourselves. If the tribals lay down arms, will the State keep its promises, or will it ride like a storm over them, seizing their lands and stealing their resources as it has done elsewhere? And why does the Indian State have such a dismal record of speaking to people's movements espousing just demands? The Bhopal Gas victims have never taken to arms. For 25 years they have walked the 800 miles to Delhi again and again, camping in Jantar Mantar and asking for justice: have they got it? Far from it. Instead, Dow Chemical was invited to set up shop in Nayachar in West Bengal. Worse, the Indian government is in the process of signing a nuclear agreement that will excuse foreign investors from paying damages in the event of a leak. And protestors are no longer allowed to camp overnight in Jantar Mantar — Indian democracy's designated site for people's protest.

Unfortunately, the epic list of questions doesn't stop here. Were the people of Nandigram and Singur made stakeholders in the projects that would displace them from their emerald land? Why was the draconian Land Acquisition Act and malafide SEZ Act not thought through in equitable ways, on the sheer basis of the State's benevolent intention? Why was the State ramming its projects through? Why did it take violent people's resistance for these Acts to go back to the drawing board? Why are workers in Delhi being uprooted from colonies they have lived in for 30 years and being pitchforked into far-flung wastelands where there are no schools, no health centres, no toilets, no roads, no public transport merely to beautify the city for 12 days of Commonwealth Games? Why do the people of Sohanbadra in UP have to walk miles through arsenic sludge and breathe fly ash from thermal plants? Why is it that almost every industrial project in India turns into a human rights violation — either in terms of land or labour or environmental violation or human health?

The truth is, as long as the poor suffer silently, Indian democracy chugs along, doing little. If people protest peacefully, no one cares: not the media, not the government. If they organise themselves in outrage, they are berated for being disruptive and crushed. If they have grown too powerful to be crushed, the State offers talks. As eminent lawyer KG Kannabiran, who was part of the Committee of Citizens that brokered the (failed) peace talks between Maoists and the YSR Reddy government in Andhra Pradesh and is today a faintly dejected man, says, "We are experiencing the beginning of a long and terrible earthquake. Why doesn't the Indian State follow the Constitution? Why doesn't it act on its own Planning Commission Report on Naxal-affected areas which advocates a development-centric approach? Forget the Maoists. Even Locke and Laski said the right to insurrection arises when constitutional guarantees fail."

In the same breath that they speak of the terror of the Maoist attack on them, they speak of the inhuman conditions they live in, the lack of training, the lack of basic living facilities.

Besides, what is the SOP the jawans are being berated for not following? SOPs — “standard operating procedures” — dictate that jawans should walk single file or ride on motorbikes in Maoist territory. That way, if a mine goes off, only a couple of jawans will die: not enough to embarrass the State, not enough to make the evening news. After all, 76 jawans dying over 76 days is not as insupportable as 76 jawans dying in one day. It’s not human life and sorrow and “the deaths of innocent men” that’s got us in a twist then: it’s an imagined slap on the imagined face of the nation. And to avenge that slap, we are willing to trot out more cannon fodder: more ill-equipped jawans, more terrified boys. Caught between poverty and duty.

Of the many half-truths on the back of which the Maoist crisis is currently escalating, the biggest lie is that there is political unanimity on Operation Green Hunt. For the moment, Home Minister P Chidambaram may be the loudest voice from the UPA government and he may (ironically) enjoy the fervid support of the BJP and CPM in treating the Maoists as merely a “law and order problem” and declaring an “all-out offensive” on them, but Chief Ministers Shibu Soren and Nitish Kumar, and Union Railway Minister Mamata Banerjee are not the only politicians uncomfortable with this stance. The Congress party itself is richly and positively divided on this. And though their silence so far is baffling, the heartening fact is that many of its most powerful leaders hold the third position. Or variants of it. As one particularly powerful Congress insider says, “There has to be a middle way between the zero strategy of the Home Ministry in UPA 1 and the George Bush-like utterances of the Home Ministry in UPA 2. It’s getting more ludicrous by the day.”

As veteran Congress leader Mani Shankar Aiyar says, “It is ridiculous to attack everyone just because they have a view on the Maoist issue as anything more than just a ‘menace’. While there’s no alternative to a State defending itself to a challenge by insurgents, we have to ask ourselves why this insurgency is confined to 5th Schedule Areas (ie, tribal) areas. And as long as our ideas of development is restricted to gains for people like Vedanta and POSCO and Tata and Essar and the Mittals, and we allow them to exploit tribal resources, the tribals are bound to see this development not as desired but disruptive. The point is, we have to define the difference between ‘participatory development’ and ‘aggressive development’.”

Congress veteran Digvijay Singh has written pieces in the media on the same lines. Rural Minister CP Joshi, who was handpicked by Rahul Gandhi (and whose ministry report on ‘State Agrarian Relations’ spoke of Operation Green Hunt as the “biggest land grab in the history of India”), also has similar views. “There is a failure of governance, a real crisis of credibility among the lower level functionaries. The whole judicial system, for instance, relies on the *patwari* and *thanedar*. If they tamper with an FIR or land paper, how can the system work? We have to think of alternative forms of governance. We have 32 states — let there be 10,000 forms of local government in them. We have to take the traditions of each community and work within that to implement democratic ideals.” At a press conference in Chhattisgarh, asked about the Maoist crisis, Rahul Gandhi himself said, “When governance fails to reach people, such movements are bound to gain strength.”



As Aiyar says, “*If the Tatas and Ambanis can own vast tracts of land and the government deems private property as sacred, how is it that we think of community property as something that the government can take over? The tribals have owned these forests since time immemorial. This tradition was only disrupted when the British entered the forests of Dandakaranya. Can’t democratic India restore the rights over this forest back to its own people? Finally, if middle-class Indians can have shares in corporate projects, why can’t tribals be made stakeholders in projects that usurp their land?*”

It is futile to remind them that they are our elected representatives and democracy demands we hold them more accountable than the Maoists; futile to remind them that we expect the State to have a greater morality than the outlaws they are combating. Futile to assert that our constitutional concern about the nature of the Indian State does not equate to support for the Maoists. Violence can only legitimise itself by painting broad pictures of Good and Evil, by painting itself the Avenger. This is why,

for defenders of Operation Green Hunt, condemnation of Maoist violence must ride on silence about the State's.

An excerpt from *Frontline*, issue 6, 13-26 March 2010)

"[T]he state has lost legitimacy in tribal India. It is laughable to claim that its project of militarily overpowering the Maoists has popular support. Its police force is inefficient, corrupt, trigger-happy and anti-poor. The State represents little more than predatory, rape-and-run industrial groups, besides super-corrupt Ministers (like Madhu Koda who allegedly amassed wealth equivalent to a fourth of Jharkhand's tax revenue in three years). It is no accident that the Centre [India's central government] has intervened to assert its full coercive power in an area that contains much of India's immense mineral and forest wealth, now under transfer to private capital. If the operation continues, the civilian death toll is liable to rise from several hundred to several thousand a year, as had happened in Argentina and Peru, where 50,000 to 100,000 people 'disappeared' in decades-long counter-insurgency operations. "

An excerpt from OPEN, 17 April, 2010 by Rahul Pandita during his tour of Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra

"The morale of these men in uniform couldn't be lower. Ever since the Dantewada incident, the phones haven't stopped ringing. Anxious family members and relatives are calling every hour to check whether they are safe. The people who died in Dantewada were colleagues, batchmates, and in conflict zones like Kashmir, some of them even became soul mates.

"I lost one of my batchmates in Dantewada," says their officer, wiping sweat from his brow and from the ammunition magazine of his AK-47 assault rifle. "We are fighting a lost battle. We don't know who our enemy is. Adivasis share nothing with us."

The officer talks about visiting several villages, tracking Naxals. He says most of them don't understand a word of the language spoken by Adivasis. Those who do, get no clue from villagers. "We have even tried asking young children, but not a word comes out of their mouth. We have no intelligence at all," he says. The group has walked in the morning as part of a road-opening party to ensure that this stretch is safe for their vehicles and men to move on. "Move on where?" he asks. "We are all waiting for evening so that we could retire to the camp," the officer says. He takes a big gulp from his water bottle and it is over. "You think we are fighting for India?" he asks, and then replies himself. "*Jhaat ka baal...*" he lets out a familiar expletive, "We are fighting to save our lives. Do you think this bullet-proof jacket will save us if a 70-kg explosive explodes beneath our feet?"

"When you write this report, please write that wars are not fought from tents," says the officer, shaking his sweaty hand to emphasise the point. "We don't want our bodies to be injected with formalin, as they did with those who died in Dantewada, and then sent back home," he says as I get back into the car.



Death of jawans in Chhattisgarh - PUDR Statement; A Response by Sumanta Banerjee 6 April 2010

Peoples Union for Democratic Rights believes that the death of 70 jawans in Dantewada on early hours of April 6th, 2010, is an unfortunate fallout of the government's willful policy of pursuing 'Operation Greenhunt'. We consider the war against the so called "Left Wing Extremists", as a wrong policy at a time when the country has been reeling under unprecedented drought, crop failure and price rise. We have been urging the Indian government that war at home against our own people, under any pretext, should be ruled out as an option, for once and for all, and the issues arising out of tribal people's opposition to MOU's signed by the state governments with mining and other industrial conglomerates and the consequent land grab, forest displacement, river water privatization needs to be resolved peacefully rather than imposed on the people against their will. On either side of the divide it is our own people who fall victim to the bullets.

Since war remains the preferred option of the Indian government they have no one else but themselves to blame if and when combatants die. We wish to remind them that security forces were returning from three day long operations when the ambush took place. As civil rights organization we neither condemn the killing of security force combatants nor that of the Maoists combatants, or for that matter any other combatants, when it occurs. We can only lament the folly of the Indian government which lacks the courage and imagination to pursue a non militaristic approach which is pushing us towards a bloody and dirty war.

Moushumi Basu and Asish Gupta
(Secretaries PUDR)

The other side of transactions in a violent system: the Maoist way of suppressing the para-military forces

Sumanta Banerjee

It is understandable that human rights/civil liberties organizations should come out with statements deploring the killing of security forces (e.g. PUDR press statement on the wiping out of 75-odd CRPF personnel in Chhattisgarh on April 6) on the purely humanitarian ground that any loss of life is deplorable. But civil society groups or individuals who view the issue from a larger perspective need to take a more rigorous and clear-cut stand. If they agree that the fundamental issues raised by the Maoists are right, even if they do not accept their tactics (in other words, if they are well-disposed towards the basic Maoist critique of the present exploitative system and sympathize with their efforts to build up alternative structures of egalitarian governance in their areas of control, without supporting their tactics of indiscriminate killings of innocent civilians), they have to recognize the stark reality.

The stark reality is that the confrontation between the recalcitrant Indian state (which is adopting an oppressive neo-liberal model of development) and its opponents (the rural poor and tribal villagers who are facing displacement by that model) is fast acquiring the dimensions of a civil war. In such a war situation, the liberal-bourgeois pacifists can condemn both the disputing parties, and wash their hands off, shouting: "plague on both houses." But can we afford to withdraw and refuse to take sides in this war ?

If we are opposing the Indian state's neo-liberal model of development and its oppressive policies to impose it on our people by displacing them from their homes, we should define our position with regard to the various popular protest movements that are breaking out in different forms – ranging from Gandhian non-violent types like the Narmada Bachao Movement or the anti-steel plant agitation in Kalinganagar on the one hand, to armed resistance by forest-dwellers and tribal people organized under Maoist leadership on the other. The mainstream media propaganda builds up a peculiar dichotomy between these two types of movements – describing the former as part of 'democratic' protest, and denouncing the latter as 'terrorism' – as if the Maoist movement is not democratic. It is as if protests and agitations can be termed democratic only if they are non-violent. But what if thousands of people in a particular area, comprising the majority of the population, decide to opt for armed resistance, after their non-violent forms of protest are violently suppressed by the state ? This is what is happening in Chhattisgarh. The reasons why the tribal people in Dandakaranya have taken up arms have been well-documented – not only by human rights activists, but also by no less an important body than the Planning Commission Experts Group in its report on extremist-affected areas a few years ago. For years together, their basic needs had not only been ignored by the state, but whenever they tried to assert their economic demands through peaceful democratic avenues – like demonstrations asking for higher prices for tendu leave collection, or access to forest produce – they were ruthlessly suppressed by the police.

What needs to be asserted – and which is deliberately suppressed by the mainstream media – is that even the non-violent protest movements (accepted as 'democratic' by the bourgeois-liberals) are violently opposed by the state through the use of military force (witness the experience of the Narmada Bachao movement, or of the Gandhian Himanshu whose ashram in Chhattisgarh was destroyed by the police). If the followers of these non-violent movements, after their disillusionment with the 'peaceful' means of constitutional protest, take up arms tomorrow to protect their homes and occupations, should we denounce them as 'terrorists' ?

The Home Minister, P. Chidambaram says that the Naxalites have forced a war on the Indian state and its people. It's the other way round. The Indian state has forced a war on the Indian poor by imposing on them a corporate sector-induced model of development – threatening wide sections of rural people ranging from the villages of Orissa, Jharkhand in the east to Rajasthan and Haryana in the north, who are being ousted from their lands. They are breaking out in protest demonstrations. The state responds by resorting to violence to suppress them. It has built up a well-structured a military network consisting of a variety of forces going under the names of CRPF, CISF, Special Operation Group, Eastern Frontier Rifles, etc. in various states. Exposures by independent reporters (in magazines like TEHELKA) have revealed how the senior officials and their juniors in these para-military forces have been consistently killing innocent people in false encounters, raping women, burning villages, not only in Maoist-dominated villages of Chhattisgarh, but also in Manipur and other parts of the north-east. The CRPF in particular has earned a notoriety for atrocities in areas wherever they had been deployed. The national media may shed tears for the death of the 75-odd CRPF soldiers in Chhattisgarh. But then, these soldiers, by being cannon-fodders of the Indian state, however tragic it might be, suffered the fate that – I'm sorry to say – they deserved. Should the bourgeois-liberals and human rights activists shed tears for the young dedicated Nazi soldiers (who massacred the Jews), and were killed in reprisal by the Soviet Red Army ? Surely, there should be a limit to the tolerance that bourgeois-liberalism allows !.

To come back to the latest incident of the Maoist attack on the CRPF camp in Chhattisgarh.... if we accept it as a part of a civil war, such killings are inevitable (just as the CRPF killings of Maoists) in a violent system that has been institutionalized by the Indian state. The difference between the CRPF violence (involving `false encounters', raping of tribal women, burning their homes, etc.) on the one hand, and the Maoist violence on the other (which means attacks on oppressive landlords and the police and para-military forces like the CRPF which come to the aid of the landlords) - has to be distinguished by civil society groups.

The vultures who used the CRPF jawans as cannon fodder in Dantewada



R. K Vij, Cg police



T. J. Laung Kumar



SRP Kalluri



**Amaresh Mishra
SP, Dantewada**

From News Papers

When A Plan failed

Hindustan Times, April 20, 2010

The Indian State has a history of suppressing non-violent protests. Today in the jungles of Dantewada, it is paying the price for its follies, says ASHISH CHADHA.

It was during the Manibeli satyagraha of August 1991 that I met People's War Group (PWG) activists in the Narmada Valley for the first time. The river was flowing above the danger mark thanks to incessant rain. Manibeli, a small tribal hamlet on the Maharashtra side of the river, was threatened with imminent submergence – the first victim of the Sardar Sarovar Project. But it was not going to go down with a whimper. The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) had announced a jal-samarpan, a radical form of Gandhian non-violent protest that captured the imagination of the nation.

Medha Patkar along with a motley group of driven NBA activists and adivasis had decided to 'sacrifice' themselves in the sacred river. The largest non-violent movements in India after Mahatma Gandhi was challenging the might of the nation by sacrificing itself at the altar of development. Not a mere symbolic gesture or waive defiance, but a visceral end to a peaceful struggle. The NBA feared that the State would violently suppress the protest. Many grassroots activists, intellectuals, journalists and students from all across India had come to show solidarity with this group of satyagrahis as they fought a battle of survival and ideology. We were camping next to the medieval Shoolpanewsar temple, secretly hoping that the Narmada river would not rise further.

Other than waiting for police action to happen, attending strategy meetings, and singing Andolan songs, we would usually sit in the ancient corridors of the eroded temple chatting about the state of the world. It was during one of these engrossing conversations that one of the PWG activists, in his halting, Telugu-accented Hindi, informed us: "We told Medha-tai to let us lead the moment for just one day. We will see to it that this dam is never made. Gandhian non-violence will not do you any good. You don't know this government . it will trample you. It will mercilessly crush you." I remember vigorously justifying the non-violent ideological basis of NBA. Today, nearly 20 years later, sitting in an American university campus, reading daily about the growing crisis in Dantewara, I am forced to eat my words.

"This is different from the Naxalite violence of the 60s and the 70s," I was explaining to a Pakistani friend – a card-carrying communist who fled Pakistan 30 years ago when Zia ul-Haq's regime brutally rushed trade unions and the communist party there. "This is not our battle, it is theirs. It is actually a people's movement. It is a movement of the oppressed people, by the oppressed people, for the oppressed people." On a long-distance telephone conversation, from the East coast of the West coast of America, I was explaining to him the recent slaughter of security personnel in Dantewada by the Maoists. "this is different because this time there is no Brahmin, no intellectual, no middle-class activists leading them. This time there is no one from Calcutta, Bombay or Jawaharlal Nehru University. This is their war of survival. And they are fighting their way. The rage is inevitable." He was troubled. We are all troubled by the ferocity of the violence.

The core issue for the Maoist movement resonates with that of the NBA. Today's Maoist movement in central india is unique. For the first time in the history of the communist movement in India, it's not just the foundational questions of class and agrarian relations that are being raised, but also those of key issues of development, environmental destruction, post-colonial ideology of progress – problems the NBA fought for 20 years. Ours was an on-violent struggle, and today the movement is finished, the dam is complete, waters have not reached the most needy in Kutch and the displaced are devastated. A movement in shambles, its people lost, tired and hopeless. It is in the anguish of the NBA's collapse that the Maoists have emerged.

The Indian government mocked the NBA's quest. It humiliated it. It suppressed it. Today in the jungles of Dantewada, it is paying the price for its follies. The Maoist movement is not a law and order

problem as Home Minister P. Chidambaram would want us to believe. It is not a political problem. It is a social problem. It is an ethical problem. It is a moral problem. The Indian State has to own up the responsibility of its systemic failure – the failure to govern.

In an early morning sweep of August 3, 1991, a few hundred policemen from Dhule district raided Manibeli and arrested Medha Patkar and the satyagrahis along with 63 people. The PWG activists and I evaded arrest and escaped to Baroda. As the rickety Gujarat State Transport bus navigated the potholed highway lined with babul trees, one of the PWG activists ponderously whispered in my ear, almost like a solemn dialogue from a Hindi film: "This Gandhi-wadi will not get you anywhere. Government ko baandook ki gunje sonaye deti hai (the government only recognizes the sound of the gun)".

(Ashish Chadha teaches anthropology at Yale University.)

Pehele Aap, Mantriji *Send in our netas, not army to Naxal areas*

Jug Suraiya

There is pressure from some sections of the public that the defence forces be brought in to take on the Naxal threat, which is fulfilling PM Manmohan Singh's prophetic pronouncement that the Maoist pose the biggest challenge to India's security, more so even than adversaries across the border. Indeed, newspapers and TV headlines have already described the confrontation between the Naxals and the Indian state as a 'war'. But whose 'war' is it, and who ought to fight it, and how?

That the army chief, General Vijay Kumar Singh, has said that the army should not be enlisted in this conflict indicates that there have been moves to bring the defence forces to the forefront of anti-Naxal operations. This would not only be morally wrong – an irrelevance in the vocabulary of realpolitik – but also strategically wrong. Before even thinking of calling in the army, we should spare a thought as to the nature of this 'war', who are the belligerents, and who started it? According to so-called intelligence reports – so-called because India's 'intelligence' agencies have seldom demonstrated that attribute in terms of information-gathering, whether it is in the context of cross-border terrorism or in that of the long-drawn insurgencies in the north-east – there are no more than some 13,000 'hardcore' Maoist cadres, spread over some 160- to 180-odd districts spanning half-a-dozen states. The rest of the so-called Naxal 'forces' consists of a ragtag bunch of villagers and tribals – many of them no more than children – who out of coercion rather than conviction have been made to rally around the red flag of revolt.

Home minister Chidambaram was confident that this motley rabble – ill-equipped, untrained and unmotivated – would be routed in no time. His confidence was tragically misplaced. The Maoists and their cohorts have shown themselves to be more than a match for the paramilitary forces sent out to deal with them. How is this? Could it be that the Maoists represent people who are the most dangerous people in the world: people who have nothing left to lose? CRPF personnel have complained that they are being sent to fight the Naxals without adequate food water or medicine. But lack of all three is what the majority of people in the Naxal-infected areas have been living with for generations, thanks to a state which has remained resolutely oblivious to their most basic needs and rights. Which raises the question: did the Naxals and their supporters declare 'war' against the state, or has the state been waging an undeclared 'war' on the so-called 'reds' for years? Who is responsible for the genesis of the conflict murderous peasants and tribals, or criminal neglect on the part of state?

The real battleground of this 'war' is not in the forests of Dantewada; it is in the political seats of power, in the central and state capitals. The Naxals pose a political, not a military challenge. To call out the army against them would be abdication by our political class of its constitutional responsibility in a democracy. From J&K to the north-east, our politicians have, through shameless lack of governance, created messes which the army has been left to clean up. This is as bad for our democracy as it is for the morale of the armed forces, who are forced to fight against their fellow citizens. Instead of sending jawans into the badlands, why not a contingent of netas to talk to the rebels and find out exactly why they've rebelling? After all, it was the netas' neglect that created the problems in the first place.

Army? No way. Pehele aap, mantriji.

In Case of Emergency

The state's suspension of the law has fuelled the Maoists

By Prothik Ghosh, Editor of Web Journal, Radical Notes

Appearances, as the cliché goes, are often deceptive. The annihilation of 76 Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel in Dantewada by the Maoists People's Liberation Guerilla Army has, however given a new twist to that cliché. Before the liberal citizenry goes shrill about the law of our democratic land facing its gravest adversary ever, they would do well to know how the rule of the law comes to be.

An integral part of a modern and democratic legal regime is its 'undemocratic exception', a part of it that is bared when the socio-political order it's meant to maintain runs into an existential crisis. This appearance of the 'undemocratic exception' on the surface of legal legitimacy allows the suspension of the democratic aspects of 'normal' law.

'undemocratic exception' implies a situation in which 'normal' forms of mass democratic politics, including electoral politics, cannot be allowed to have an unbridled run without endangering the very system of representative democracy. In such circumstances, electoral politics ceases to be an effective vehicle in carrying forth the voice of the masses that are embodied in various identities of either religious, linguistic, regional or gender minorities or as socio-occupational marginal.

That has precisely been the case in large swathes of eastern and central India leading to the emergence of the Maoist path of armed struggle as the only possible form of politics for the agrarian-tribal working masses. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the State has enforced an undeclared "internal Emergency" in those areas. Liberal India must bear this in mind before spewing venom on the Maoists and their social base for not adopting the constitutionally-ordained way of non violent mass politics to articulate their discounted. The state the Maoists challenge is, to borrow Italian legal theorist Giorgio Agamben's concept, the "generalized state of exception".

How do such conditions, which bring about the suspension of democratic law, get created in the life of a democratic State? The 'undemocratic exception' is the established norm at the time when the law of the liberal democratic State and the capitalist socio-economic formation that such law is meant to conserve is founded. It's this historical moment of the founding of capitalism – when existing instruments of feudal coercion were deployed to alienate a section of pre-capitalist peasants and artisans from their means of production – that Karl Marx termed 'primitive accumulation of capital again kicks in – as does the 'undemocratic exception' – to enable the crisis ridden system to reconstitute itself. Over, accumulation occurs when the value of accumulated capital falls. This spells a considerable weakening of the hegemony of capitalist class power.

The only way in which capitalism can best this crisis is by investing in and expanding into relatively less capitalized zones. In a sense, this expansion is akin to the historical founding of capitalism. And that is precisely what has been happening in 'Maoist Country' where the executive arms of capital have, through coercive means, been trying to expand into those areas and occupy them by dispossessing the populations of those less commodified areas in order to be able to invest.

It is this attempt by capital to reconstitute itself into a stable system again that has led to the suspension of the democratic laws as the legal norm in those areas. The ongoing Maoist insurgency is no more than a response in this 'state of generalized exception' and the political economy it is violently seeking to reconstitute.

Chidambaram must quit It Is A Question Of Conflict Of Interest

By Sam Rajappa

IF Palaniappan Chidambaram, Union home minister, was sincere about owning moral responsibility for the Dantewada massacre of 76 men of the Central Reserve Police Force by Maoists in Chhattisgarh on 6 April, he would have resigned instead of merely offering to resign, and the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, should have accepted. His continuance in the home ministry has become untenable because he could have a vested interest in clearing forest areas of their tribal habitations and handing over the lands to multinational mining companies, including the London-registered Vedanta Resources plc, promoted by Anil Agarwal of Sterlite fame, whose director Chidambaram had been till the time of taking over as finance minister in the first UPA government.

In the 2004 Annual Report of Vedanta Resources, its chairman, Brian Gilbertson, recorded: "On 22 May 2004, Mr P. Chidambaram resigned from the Board, following his appointment as Finance Minister in the new Indian Government. I would like to thank him for his contribution and I am sure he will play a pivotal role in the continuing development of India." There is direct, credible incriminating information about Chidambaram's intimate relationship with the Vedanta group which has the biggest stake in the acquisition of India's tribal territory. A lot of information is contained in Rohit Poddar's book titled Vedanta's Billion\$, first published in California in 2006, but banned for distribution in India. If Chidambaram is not removed from the home ministry and a person without such conflict of interest appointed in his place, and if the government persists with Operation Green Hunt to turn the 'red corridor' into a 'corporate corridor,' there is every likelihood of the nation heading for civil war.

A product of Harvard Business School and a great admirer of former US President George Bush's "war on terror," Chidambaram is keen to launch the full might of India's armed forces, the army, air force and the paramilitary to fulfil an agenda of 'securing territory' for mining multinationals. In pursuit of this agenda, paramilitary forces have been given the American-inspired 'area-domination' mandate to clear the tribal areas of insurgent groups, hold the territory to ensure that Maoists are unable to re-enter, and finally, prepare the ground for 'developmental' projects by corporate houses. The Maoists have not seized any territory. They have turned the natural habitat of the poor tribals, with their support, into their strongholds because the mainstream political parties, particularly the Congress and the BJP, have virtually abandoned them.

Had the CRPF's 62 Battalion observed the minimum precautions required in a counter-insurgency operation, the Dantewada massacre and annihilation of the entire Alpha Company of the Battalion would not have happened. No matter on which side of the fence one is, the Maoist massacre of jawans is indefensible and deserve to be condemned. The solution to the problem, however, does not lie in deploying the army and the air force, as Chidambaram's battery of media spin masters is braying. Fortunately for the nation, the Army Chief made it clear that "our polity is wise and astute enough not to deploy the army against Maoists who are not secessionists." Equally commendable is the view of the Air Force Chief who said: "Our training and weapons are meant for enemies across the border and to inflict maximum lethality on them. We cannot do this on our own people."

When Chidambaram visited Lalgarh in West Bengal on 2 April, called the Maoists "cowards hiding in jungles," said the buck stopped with Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee in clearing the area of rebels and vowed to rid the nation of "Maoist menace" by 2013, he virtually signed the death warrant of the 76 ill-trained CRPF jawans who were already on their 'area domination' mission of Dantewada. The Maoists hit back with a vengeance in less than 48 hours. Somewhat rattled by the sudden turn of events, Chidambaram called the Maoists savages more dangerous than jihadists. The Maoists believe they are waging a just war to protect the tribals from being evicted from Dandakaranya and handing over the land to national, transnational and multinational mining corporations for which the government had signed a series of MOUs, including several secret ones. Dandakaranya is a vast forest area spread over parts of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkand, Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal.

Tribals, numbering about 85 million in the country, had been living in this area for millenia. They are the poorest and the most neglected section of society. In fact, they are sitting on billions of rupees

worth of minerals buried under their land. The vast majority of them are illiterate. The few schools the government had built in their respective states have been commandeered by the government to billet paramilitary forces engaged in Operation Green Hunt, which explains why the Maoists have been blowing up school buildings. The mid-day meal scheme has not reached tribal children.

The Right to Education Act or the Woman's Reservation Bill have no relevance to them. Unless they are allowed to live with dignity and respect and not cheated by denying them royalty, Maoists would continue to hold sway over them. The root of the problem is the displacement of tribals to cater to the greed of about 100 families who control more than 25 per cent of the country's wealth. Chidambaram is clearly on the side of these 100 families and not of the toiling masses. If only he had utilised his legal acumen and expertise in championing the cause of the tribals instead of their oppressors, he would be furthering the cause of the party that had given him power and pelf. Instead, he chose to be the legal adviser for the collapsed US energy corporation Enron when it tried to extend its criminal reach to India in the 1990s, and the environment pillaging and tribal tormenting Vedanta. Of India's total aluminium capacity of 1.3 million tonnes, Vedanta will account for 885,000 tonnes once its Jharsuguda smelter in Orissa is commissioned in coming months.

In a move to make the best use of Orissa's bauxite and coal deposits, Vedanta is creating 1.6 million tonnes of smelting capacity at Jharsuguda to be backed by a five million tonne alumina refinery at Lanjigarh and a power complex of 3,750 MW. If Vedanta has its way, then all its capacity will be on ground by 2013 coinciding with Chidambaram's targeted year for completing Operation Green Hunt.

To understand Chidambaram's agenda, one should have a close look at his lectures. In his Mahendra lecture delivered at Harvard Business School in Boston in 2006, he described the first three decades following India's independence, which covers the entire period of Nehru's premiership, as the "lost years during which the nation's economy was directed by the government and closed to the outside world with abysmal results." Addressing a US business audience in 2007, Chidambaram said India was facing the challenge of "leveraging huge natural and human resources to ensure rapid economic growth. But attempts to make quick and efficient use of resources such as coal, iron ore, bauxite, titanium ore, diamonds, natural gas and petroleum are thwarted by the state governments and interest groups." Any wonder dyed-in-the-wool Congressmen like Digvijay Singh and Mani Shankar Aiyer find it difficult to go the whole hog with Chidambaram?

Sterlite, a Vedanta group company, was involved in evasion of huge amounts of Central excise and customs duty and after an inquiry was ordered to pay Rs 249.30 crore in 2003. The company filed a writ petition in the Bombay High Court with Chidambaram as counsel and obtained a stay of recovery proceedings. After becoming the finance minister in 2004, Chidambaram failed to initiate any significant move to recover the dues from Sterlite. According to the banned book of Poddar on Vedanta, Sterlite's share price shot up 1,000 per cent in 2003 when Chidambaram was on its board of directors.

The Pension Board of the Church of England had invested £3.8 million in Vedanta Resources company shares, believing it to be an ethically run company. On the recommendation of the Ethical Investment Advisory Group which found the tribal people in the mining area had not been treated properly by Vedanta and in the absence of a new approach from the company, the Board withdrew the church's investment last year. It speaks volumes for the company's corporate governance and social responsibilities. To facilitate Vedanta achieve its ambition of emerging as the world's largest metals trading company by 2013, must the nation sacrifice its poor jawans?

(The writer, a veteran journalist, is Director, Statesman Print Journalism School.)

Chidambaram's Insanity Grows With the rapid advance of people's war

Union Home Minister Chidambaram, who is already half-insane, is likely to turn completely insane by the time his current term of office ends. That is, of course, if at all he survives the sea of wrath of the people and the Maoists. His utterances these days are a clear indication of his growing insanity. He himself cannot comprehend or explain what he has been saying or wants to convey. Nor can any of his colleagues and spokespersons of his party clarify the meaning of the ever-accumulating garbage called Chidambarubbish. Let us have a glance at his recent rhetoric and try to understand what he wants to say.

During his recent visit to Lalgarh on April 4, he sought the co-operation of the villagers to flush out the Maoists from the area. "Drive out the Naxals from your area and don't provide any moral or material support to the Naxalites. Naxals are killing you and will continue to kill you and they have no place in the society. If they are ousted from your areas, I can pressurize the government to initiate development works then," he said interacting with the villagers near the Lalgarh PS.

By ordering the people to drive out the Naxals Chidambaram exhibits his sheer madness and thinks he can separate the children from their mother, the fish from water. The stark fact was: it was Home Minister Chidambaram himself who was driven out by the people of entire Lalgarh region who protested the visit of the mass murderer by observing a bandh in response to the call given by PCAPA.

Chidambaram's fascist mind is also revealed in his bitter remark that Naxals have no place in the society—a clear enough indication of a further unfolding of his policy of extermination of the Maoists and the sea of people in which they swim.

People, of course, are more intelligent and practical than the megalomaniac heading the office of the Home Ministry. What did the people say? According to a report in *The Statesman* of April 5, they demanded the Home Minister to provide them basic necessities. "We have no roads, electricity, drinking water and transportation facility. Rationing system is so poor that commodities which are being supplied to us in every alternative week are inadequate. What is available is only panic and terror. We urged the minister to help us come out of the crisis," they said. And these were a select group of the least dangerous people who were not driven out by the police on the occasion of the Home Minister's visit. What fitting response Chidambaram might have got had he dared to venture a few kilometres into Maoist territory instead of boasting about his interaction with the people in the vicinity of the Lalgarh PS is anybody's guess.

Chidambaram's call for "resistance" by the people against the Maoists reveals the murky plan of the central and state governments to re-enact salwa judum in West Bengal's adivasi villages. To pit one adivasi against another, one brother against another and watch as the blood of innocents flowed through the forests. The age-old dirty game played on the Indian people by the British colonialists is replayed by their heirs like Chidambaram. "Why don't you all build resistance against them?" he asked the villagers near Lalgarh PS. In fact, stories of salwa judum-type organisations and attacks on adivasis in Jangalmahal region in West Bengal have already begun to appear in papers. Chidambaram is not just turning into a madman but an organizer and spectator of blood-bath of adivasis on a horrifying scale.

"Drive them away. The government is keen on development. You will get your electricity, drinking water, schools."

The Maoists, Chidambaram said, were "cowards". "They are cowards. Why are they hiding in the jungle? They are welcome for talks after abjuring violence. If they want development, if they want to solve people's problems, they should come forward for talks."

Yet another instance of Chidambarubbish! This fool of an ass thinks that Maoists are hiding in the jungle!! He does not even know that Maoists have been there living in the midst of the most oppressed and suppressed sections of the Indian society for decades organizing them against attacks by the evil forces represented by Chidambaram and his gang of neo-liberal charlatans. These are

areas where no representative of the parliamentary plunderers represented by men like Chidambaram had ever thought of visiting until the lure of abundant reserves of mineral wealth brought the region into their agenda. If adivasis are able to shake off the shackles of slavery and regain the freedom from the age-old oppression by the non-adivasi landlords who had usurped their lands, the forest contractors, traders and money-lenders who had turned their lives into a veritable hell, police officials who steal their hens and pigs and abduct their women, it is because of the Maoists. To say that Maoists are hiding in the jungle reveals the abysmal ignorance of the Home Minister about the forest regions of India which are home to almost a hundred million people.

Perhaps the Home Minister is referring to the sudden surprise attacks and ambushes by Maoist guerrillas on the mercenaries sent by Chidambaram and the various state governments. When confronted by a ruthless and cruel enemy who is several times more powerful militarily than the people guerrilla warfare is the only option before the people's forces in the initial phases of the war. Yes. The people's guerrillas will hide in ambush and destroy the enemy forces who venture into their areas to implement their scorched-earth policy of "Kill all! Burn all! Destroy all!"

At a press conference soon after his three-hour-long Lalgarh visit, Chidambaram said Bengal continued to send mixed signals on combating the Naxals and this had to change. "In Gadchiroli (Maharashtra), Chhattisgarh, things have improved. In Andhra Pradesh, things are under control. The situation in Jharkhand and Orissa is like in Bengal. It will take two to three years at least to tackle the problem. Do not expect the results soon."

However, within two days after this pompous boast of improvement of things in Gadchiroli and Chhattisgarh, Chidambaram had to cut a sorry face and even offer to resign as a face-saving measure. Ironically, shortly after his drama of offer of resignation which of course, he knew wouldn't be accepted at any cost, this fraud says: "to counter the menace of Naxalism we need a strong head, a stronger heart, and enormous staying power. I believe that the government has all three qualities." Chidambaram does have head-strongness if not a strong head he was talking of. He does have a stronger heart for it has no feeling even when hundreds of innocent adivasis including children and old men are murdered, women are raped, and houses are burned and destroyed. Nor does his heart care when hundreds of poor paramilitary personnel become cannon fodder in his war against other poor people. And he longs for more troops and more blood-shed. A strong heart indeed! As for enormous staying power it was revealed when the first big hit by Maoist guerrillas brought Chidambaram to his knees and prompted him to submit his resignation to the Prime Minister. How much staying power this braggart has will be seen in the coming days as counter-violence by Maoists will escalate with the escalation of the war and spill over to his own backyard. A few big hits at the Congress leaders and perhaps Chidambaram's advisors would be a test for the staying power of this comprador agent of the ruling classes.

While describing the Maoists as cowards, this brave man actually wants to fight the Maoists through Unmanned Aerial Vehicles imported from Israel, helicopter gunships and the Air Force. In fact, both Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram had initially planned to deploy the army and air force as could be clearly seen from their statements.

Speaking on April 7 Manmohan Singh said: "*As of now, we have not taken any view in this direction. All these options are kept open and continuously reviewed.*"

Speaking to reporters after a memorial ceremony during his visit to Jagdalpur, Chidambaram did not rule out the possibility of the military option: "*This will be a long-drawn out struggle. It could take a couple of years. We have to hold our nerve.*"

"There is no proposal to use the Army in the operations against Naxalites. At present there is no mandate to use the air force or any aircraft. But, if necessary, we may have to revisit the mandate to make some changes."

Chidambaram had to tone down his cries for bombing from air due to the opposition from the IAF chief himself. Or else, the country might have witnessed horrifying stories of bombed out houses and thousands of innocent civilians becoming victims of "collateral" damages. This megalomaniac would stop at nothing if there wasn't strong opposition to his maniacal "development" schemes.

This greatest liar of 21st century India, who had been refusing to use the term war to describe his armed offensive against the Maoists leading the poorest people of the country, and who had been denying the very existence of the operation Green Hunt unleashed by none other than himself, had to admit at last that this was, after all, a real war. Speaking in the Lok Sabha on April 15, he said:

"If this is war, and I wish to say that we have never used the word, it is a war that has been thrust upon the state by those who do not have the legitimate right to carry weapons or to kill."

This murderer thinks that only the uniformed men have the legitimate right to kill people and that people's resistance to these murderous gangs is illegitimate. Who had begun this war in the first place? The fact that the war was thrust on the people by an alien and rapacious State that does not care to adhere to its own laws and Constitution, that displaces millions of people for satisfying the greed of the imperialist and corporate vultures, that alienates people by depriving them of even their meager belongings and subjecting them to worst indignities, is brought out even by Gandhians like Himanshu Kumar and Praful Bidwai. Bidwai says in an article in Frontline of April 24-May 7:

Posing the question "Who started the 'war'" he says: *"Let us deconstruct these arguments serially. First, it is not the Maoists but the state that started what is shaping into a civil war. The undeclared war began with the super-predatory neoliberal policies of the past decade under which minerals, forests, land and other natural resources are forcibly privatized through leases and sales to business sharks at throwaway prices."*

"This has escalated the structural violence that has always existed in Indian society, especially in its iniquitous tribal belt. To alienate the people from natural resources and complete their dispossession, the state must use military force on behalf of capital. Extremists/Maoists/Naxalites are only the surrogate targets."

He further says: *"In the process, the line of demarcation between legitimate and illegitimate use of force has been blurred. The police/paramilitary often indulge in brutal beatings, torture, rape and murder as means of instilling fear among supporters/sympathisers of 'insurgents' and 'teaching them a lesson'. Chidambaram's description of the Maoists as those who have no legitimate right to kill appears grotesque given that the security forces behave as if they have that right and seem to exercise it with impunity."* (Ruinous civil war, Frontline, April 24-May 7 2010).

Chidambaram is able to get away with his lies and only because of the support extended by the saffron fascists led by the BJP on the one hand and the social fascists led by the CPI(Marxist) on the other. It is these two types of fascist forces which had assured Chidambaram all out support in his war against the Maoist revolutionaries, begged him not to resign as Union Home Minister but to continue as an efficient senapati of the war, appealed to him to work towards more effective coordination between the centre and the states in tackling the Maoists and called for an immediate end to the blame game between the state and central governments and work with consensus. Thus Karats and Yechuris, LK Advanis, and Rajiv Pratap Rudys became indistinguishable and it would be a herculean feat to identify the speaker as everyone's language became the same with respect to Maoists.

It is the language of "if you are not with us you are with them". Whether it is uttered by a George Bush, a Tony Blair, a Manmohan Singh, a Chidambaram, LK Advani, Sushma Swaraj, Sitaram Yechuri, it is almost impossible to say. For every vulture's language is the same.

Demonstration in Delhi against OGH



Press Conference in Delhi on 27th February 2010



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

March 14, 2010

**Red Salutes to Maoist leaders comrades Sakhamuri Appa Rao (Ravi)
and Kondal Reddy (Ramana)!**

**Let us avenge the cold-blooded murder of our beloved leaders
by Chidambaram and his lawless goons!**

**Let us build country-wide wave of people's struggles
to sweep away the fascist regime
led by Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang!!**

On March 12, 2010 a former state committee member of Andhra Pradesh and current incharge of military intelligence wing of CPI(Maoist), comrade Sakhamuri Appa Rao, and a district committee member, comrade Kondal Reddy (also known as Tech Ramana), were murdered in cold blood by the notorious goons belonging to Andhra Pradesh Special Investigation Bureau and the AP Grey Hounds. The two leaders were abducted two days earlier from Chennai and Pune respectively, cruelly tortured by these neo-Nazi mercenaries hired by the Indian State, and taken to the forests where they were shot dead.

As usual, the story of an encounter was put forth by the government and the top police officials. As is the practice of the AP Grey Hounds and the SIB, the bodies were placed in the forests where these comrades had earlier worked—Comrade Sakhamuri Appa Rao's body was thrown in Nallamala forest while that of Kondal Reddy in Eturnagaram forest in Warangal. Through these SIB-Grey Hounds-mark murders the reactionary rulers want to demonstrate to the people of these regions who were associated with the revolutionary movement for a long period of time, and amongst whom these leaders had once worked, that they will ruthlessly crush any revival of the revolutionary movement in these one-time hot-beds of revolution. The decision to murder these comrades was taken by fascist Chidambaram himself in order to create a reign of terror, boost up the morale of his mercenary forces, and to boast how his fascist state offensive is yielding results. But the Andhra Pradesh police and Chidambaram, who had been claiming all the while that Nallamala forest has been cleared of the Maoists, had not even thought how the so-called encounter with such a big Maoist leader in the Nallamala region would mock at their own claims of the past three years. The entire people know that Maoists had retreated from Nallamala almost three years ago but in their hastiness to complete their ghastly murder before civil rights and other organizations get alerted, the lawless police goons chose Prakasham district which is nearer to Chennai.

Comrade Ravi had been to Chennai on some work on the 24th of February and was in touch with other comrades of the Party until two days prior to his murder. It is clear that he was abducted on March 10. Three more comrades are still illegally detained by the SIB and Grey Hounds. There is every danger that these would be murdered in cold blood. Comrade Ravi is one of the senior most leaders from Andhra Pradesh and hails from Khanapur area in Warangal district. He was elected as an alternate member of the AP State Committee of the Party in 1991. He was arrested in early 1993 and spent 7 1/2 years in prison where he displayed extraordinary revolutionary mettle and led many struggles of the prisoners along with comrade Patel Sudhakar. He commenced his work as a member of the AP State Committee after his release in late 2000. He became a member of the State Military Commission and carried on his work in Nallamala forest region until 2006. Later, he guided the Party's Intelligence department in AP and the Action Teams. He played a prominent role in planning and executing tactical counter-offensives against the police forces and attacks on political targets such as

the one on the SP of Prakasham district in 2005 and on former chief minister of AP, Janardhan Reddy, in 2007.

Comrade Kondal Reddy hails from Medak district in South Telangana and has been working in the production department of the CPI(Maoist) in Andhra Pradesh for over a decade. He played an important role in the production and distribution of hand grenades and pressure mines. He never hesitated whenever any extremely risky work was allotted to him by the party leadership and was highly disciplined.

The cold-blooded murders of these Maoist leaders are an integral part of the unprecedented fascist offensive unleashed by the central and state governments against the CPI(Maoist) in the name of Operation Green Hunt. While the chief objective of this brutal armed offensive is to create genocide of the adivasis and steal their lands and the forest-mineral wealth, the focus of this joint offensive led by the central forces under the direct supervision of fascist Chidambaram is to eliminate the Maoist leadership in the country. In a similar episode last may, comrade Patel Sudhakar, a member of the central committee of CPI(Maoist), was abducted and murdered in cold blood by the APSIB-Grey Hound goons. Central leaders like Ashutosh, Kobad Ghandy, Balraj and Chintanji were arrested and placed behind bars, along with several state Party leaders in the past one year. Popular mass leaders like Lalmohan of PCAPA are murdered in cold blood and Chhatradhar Mahato arrested on false charges. Even those who question police atrocities and the state's brutal onslaught against innocent people, civil liberties and human rights activists, sincere Gandhians and other social activists, are not spared the rod. Private vigilante gangs are set up in all areas where the Maoist movement is strong and indiscriminate attacks are unleashed on unarmed adivasi people.

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

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central Committee,
CPI(Maoist)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

April 8, 2010

**Hail the daring and the biggest ever guerrilla attack
on the hired mercenaries of the Indian State
carried out by the heroic PLGA guerrillas in Chhattisgarh!**

**Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram-Pranab gang is solely responsible
for the loss of lives of CRPF jawans used as cannon-fodder
in their dirty war on behalf of a tinyparasitic corporate elite!!**

The heroic PLGA guerrillas led by the CPI(Maoist) have created history by wiping out an entire Company of the central paramilitary force in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh. The PLGA had wiped out over 80 CRPF mercenaries—a part of the huge armed mercenary force of over 60 battalions sent by Chidambaram to Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar and Maharashtra to carry out the genocide of adivasis. Several more mercenaries were injured in India's biggest ever guerrilla attack till date. A huge cache of highly sophisticated arms and ammunition was seized from these mercenaries that include mortars and LMGs. The CC, CPI(Maoist) sends its heartiest revolutionary greetings to the brave warriors of PLGA who have given a fitting reply to fraud Chidambaram and nailed his unabashed naked lie that his brutal Operation Green Hunt is a myth invented by the media.

The Dantewada ambush is a logical culmination of the unending terrible provocation by the uniformed goondas sent by Chidambaram and Raman Singh to the adivasi areas to create a brutal reign of terror. In just eight months, 114 innocent unarmed adivasi people were abducted, tortured and murdered in cold blood by these uniformed goondas (*list is attached*). Several women were gangraped by these lawless goons. Neither they nor their khadi-clad bosses have any respect for the Indian Constitution. They have an unwritten licence to abduct, torture, rape and murder any adivasi or Maoist without any questions being asked. This dehumanization of the police and paramilitary forces is consciously encouraged by Chidambaram, Raman Singh, Vishwa Ranjan and others, notwithstanding their holy chants of peace and *ahimsa*. Behind their sophisticated-looking rhetoric lie the raw, beastly, cannibalistic passions that devour human beings for establishing their absolute control over the resources and lives of the people. Their vision goes no farther than that of a local *daroga*, as aptly pointed out by a JD(U) spokesperson referring to Chidambaram. And their tactics fare no better than those of a street rowdy. **As long as their fascist mind-set refuses to see the socio-politico-economic roots of Naxalism and continue to treat it as a disease or a problem while the oppressed people see it increasingly as a remedy and a solution to their problems, Dantewada-type attacks will continue to take place at an even greater frequency and intensity.**

The atrocities committed by these forces, along with the state-sponsored salwa judum goons, koya commandos and SPOs in Dantewada and Bijapur, make one shudder (leaving out Chidambaram and his animal species of cobras, jaguars, greyhounds etc) with horror and repugnance. Besides tales of unending abductions, horrifying torture, gruesome gang-rapes, and ghastly massacres of ordinary adivasis, the so-called "security forces" have kept in their illegal custody at least 20-30 adivasis from every village. Whenever they feel the need to show some success over the Maoists in terms of body count some of these hapless adivasi captives are bumped off with the claim that the "security forces" had killed Maoist guerrillas in "fierce encounters". And to prove their claim to the world these Chidambaram liars put on military uniforms on the dead bodies of poor adivasis. With such a bizarre drama enacted by those supposed to be the guardians of law, then what other option do the Maoists and the adivasi masses have but to retaliate for their own self-defence?

Now the war-mongering hawks in the Union Home Ministry and various state governments, the political leaders and spokespersons of the parliamentary parties, the so-called defence analysts, police top brass and their agents employed in the media are yelling that an all-out war should be declared and the Maoists should be wiped out. The fact is, an all-out war has already been declared and executed in the most ruthless manner. What these vultures want is perhaps bombing of entire areas under Maoist control and achieving the peace of the graveyard. **If they indulge in such mindless barbaric acts, the Maoist revolutionary counter-violence will take on new and deadly forms which these apologists of state terror and state-sponsored terror cannot even imagine.**

The BJP and its saffron gang of Hindu fascist terrorists have been yelling like lunatics that Maoists had declared a war on India and that the BJP would endorse every move of the Congress to finish off the Maoists. In reply to these saffron terrorist gangsters we assert once again that ours is a war waged by the real India—the India of the oppressed, suppressed and depressed sections of society; the India of the hungry, impoverished, undernourished masses—against the India that shines for a handful of parasitic corporate elites, imperialist agents deriving enormous commissions and kickbacks through nefarious deals, real estate mafia gangs who grab the land of the poor in the name of SEZs and various projects, unscrupulous contractors and mining syndicates who run a parallel state, horribly corrupt and degenerate political leaders and bureaucrats, licensed murderers in police uniforms who are infamous for the worst crimes against humanity, and such other traitors. Ours is a

revolutionary war on the saffron gang of terrorists who are armed to the teeth and dream of transforming our country into a Hindu fascist state by enacting Gujarat-type genocides of religious minorities. Ours is a genuine people's war for achieving the real liberation of the people from all types of oppression and exploitation, and to establish a genuine people's democratic India. It is not a war on India but a war for the liberation of India from the clutches of rapacious plunderers.

The sole responsibility for the death of the CRPF men in Dantewada lies with Sonia- Manmohan-Chidambaram-Pranab gang and the saffron terrorist Raman Singh regime in Chhattisgarh who are recruiting young boys and girls in a massive way and using them as cannon-fodder in their dirty counter-revolutionary war against Maoist revolutionaries, against the Maoist model of development, and in their greed hunt for the mineral wealth of the adivasi regions. The CC, CPI(Maoist), while offering its heart-felt condolences to the bereaved families of the dead jawans, appeals to the state and central paramilitary personnel to realize that they are being used as cannonfodder in this war waged by the exploiting ruling class in the interests of a tiny parasitic elite against the poor and oppressed people of our country led by CPI(Maoist).

We appeal to all peace-loving, democratic-minded organizations and individuals in India to understand the context in which the Maoists are compelled to annihilate the so-called security forces who are creating a virtual reign of terror in adivasi areas armed with mortars, LMGs and grenades.

When dacoits try to loot your house you have to fight back. And that is what the masses led by the Maoists are doing in all these areas. When the CRPF dacoits enter and loot the houses of adivasis is it not justified to hit back? The daring attack by our heroic PLGA on a superior enemy force in terms of fire-power became possible through the enormous mass support the Party and guerrillas enjoy. With the intelligence inputs from the people who are our eyes and ears and with their active participation we are confident of defeating the brutal enemy offensive in the name of Operation Green Hunt. There is no short-cut for achieving peace. **Only the most ferocious, most resolute, and the most heroic resistance on the part of the people can defeat the war-mongers and bring democratic space and peace for the people.**

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central committee,
CPI(Maoist)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

April 6, 2010

We are not hiding in forests Herr Chidambaram! We are among the adivasis defending them from your megalomaniac plan of exterminating them to loot their resources!!

Your desperate visits to Lalgah and other Maoist regions cannot boost the sagging morale of the central forces!

By abusing Maoists as cowards who are hiding in the forests, the corporate agent Chidambaram has proved himself to be a man who knows nothing about the realities of our country. Nor does he have any control over his tongue. In his view, forest appears to be an uninhabited and uninhabitable

region. He does not think about the adivasis in the forests, or thinks they have no right to be there. This ignoramus of the highest order thinks that Maoists are hiding in forests. At least the adivasi people's rebellions from Lalgahar to Surjagarh should have opened the eyes of Chidambaram to the fact that forests are not empty spaces or regions of minerals and forest wealth waiting to be exploited by the tiny class of parasitic corporate elite that he represents, but are home to nearly 8 % of the Indian population. And that Maoists are not hiding in the forests but are residing deep in the hearts of these adivasis, teaching them and learning from them, leading them in their just war against the worst forms of exploitation and oppression perpetrated by the plunderers and thugs sent by people like Chidambaram who are itching to lay their hands on the forest resources like their colonial masters of yesteryears and the imperialists of today.

And what sort of bravery does Chidambaram expect from the Maoists? Is it the "bravery" of murdering 12 unarmed adivasis in Gompad by mortar-bearing LMG-wielding paramilitary forces sent by him to Chhattisgarh? Is it the "bravery" of cutting off the breasts of a 70-year-old woman or chopping off the fingers of a two-year-old child? Or is it the "bravery" of sexually assaulting poor hapless adivasi women and murdering them in cold blood? Is it the "bravery" of stealing pigs, hens, goats and the property of the adivasis by gun-toting mercenaries sent by Herr Chidambaram and Herr Raman Singh? Is it the "bravery" of catching hold of an unarmed popular mass leader like Lal Mohan Tudu, murdering him secretly like thieves and claiming to have killed him in encounter? What "bravery" you are speaking of Herr Chidambaram?

Chidambaram has taken the Operation Green Hunt as his personal prestige issue despite his desperate attempts to deny its very existence all along not even realizing that he has become a laughing stock through such white lies. He has been reassuring himself that he would wipe out the Maoists before he completes his tenure. However, every Maoist success and the resultant defeat of Chidambaram's mercenary forces is throwing him into a dilemma and even into depression. Thus his claims about the time-frame for the State's decisive victory over the Maoists range anywhere from 2-3 years to an indefinite period depending on which side seemed to be scoring successes at a given point of time. Chidambaram's behavior is like that of a hysterical schoolboy watching a sports match who goes into bouts of depression and ecstasy depending on the progress of the match. A minor success or what has been perceived as a success basing on false claims by the officers in the field would throw Chidambaram into a bout of ecstasy and jumps to the conclusion that he would finish off the Maoists within 2-3 years. Which he did after murdering comrade Shakhamuri Appa Rao, Kondal Reddy in Andhra Pradesh and hoping that comrade Kishenji might have died or seriously injured in the March 24 encounter. Another big success on the part of the Maoists would make his time-frame indefinite.

Such is the mental frame of this blue-eyed boy of the imperialists and the Indian corporate houses. However, all his assessments and expectations are turning upside down. Two days after the warmongering hawks in the Union Home Ministry had declared that most of Lalgahar has been reclaimed came the land-mine blast by the Maoists close to the place where Chidambaram was to address a meeting. Then the people of Jangalmahal issued a call for 24-hour bandh of the entire region to protest against Chidambaram's visit and the police atrocities against innocent people. The desperate attempts by Chidambaram to woo the people of Lalgahar came to naught with hardly anyone turning up to meet him or responding to his quixotic call to boycott the Maoists. Having little interaction with Indian reality this megalomaniac has begun to lose his sanity and hence has changed the very vocabulary of what constitutes cowardice and bravery. With the further intensification of the people's war all the dreams of Chidambaram will collapse like a pack of cards and he will either end up in a lunatic asylum or punished in the people's court before his tenure ends unless he changes his ways and the unconstitutional attacks by his armed paramilitary forces on the people.

Azad,
Spokesperson,
Central committee,
CPI(Maoist)

Dantewada Strikes Back

**Dantewada strikes back.
Dripping with the blood of hundreds of children
Its bullet-ridden body gasping for breath
Humiliated, harassed, raped and mutilated
Dantewada strikes back
Breaking the encirclement
By hordes of thugs descending from Delhi and Raipur
By schools of jungle warfare
And Institutes of counter-insurgency
By Washington, London, Tel Aviv, and what have you?
Dantewada strikes back
In defence of unsung mothers, daughters and sisters
Crying in pain from the festering wounds
Left by the death hunters out to destroy the greenery of their lives
Dantewada strikes back
In defence of unheard fathers, sons and brothers
Buried in unknown places, exhumed and relocated by the powers that be to
escape
the prying eyes of civil rights nuisance-mongers
Helpless, neglected, alienated, marginalized
Dantewada strikes back
Fulfilling the demands of its children
For Dudi Muye, Sodi Sannal, Tuniki Sannal, Madivi Deval, Dudi Pojjal,.....
For Gompad, Gachampalli, Singanamadugu, Gattampadu, Gollagudem,
For Gumiyaal, Palodi, Dokpad, Palachelima, Kachalaram.....
Dantewada strikes back
To ward off the non-stop savagery by the lawless goons
sent by the "civilized" gentlemen sitting in corporate board rooms,
To foil the heinous designs of the slave-holders
planning the biggest land grab in history after Columbus
Dantewada strikes back
To protect its jal, jangal, jameen, ijat
To protect its resources from the development monsters
To fight back attempts to annex their territories into the prison-house
Of the Shining Bharat of Tatas, Mittals, Jindals
Dantewada strikes back
To defend its people from thugs and plunderers, from dacoits and murderers
To throw back from its house all predators
to defend the people's government
Dantewada strikes back
Charting the path for a billion people
Hungry, starving, undernourished, emaciated,
Suffering countless injustices and humiliations**

**Dantewada strikes back
In order to live**