

PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution



**KICK OUT THE BLOOD-SUCKING IMPERIALIST MNCs
FROM INDIAN SOIL!
THROW OUT THE TRAITOROUS
COMPRADOR INDIAN RULING CLASSES
GUARDING THEIR IMPERIALIST MASTERS!**



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Due to the recent brutal killings of the contributors of articles for People's March by the police we were unable to bring out People's March regularly. We are constrained to change the periodicity as quarterly. We sincerely hope that we will be able to overcome our difficulties and switch back to monthly at the earliest
Editor

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Open Letter to Swami Agnivesh from Srikant, Central Committee member of CPI (Maoist)

Dear Swamy Agniveshji,

I have received your latest letter dated 22nd July. I understand your feelings about the martyrdom of Com. Azad and sincere concern for the peace process. Though I could not get the attachments which you mentioned in the letter, I followed almost all of your interviews given to print media.

Since it is not only difficult for me to send any reply to your letter, it is also not possible to send your letter to our comrades who had to decide and act on your letter; therefore this open letter. There was no other choice for me.

The deception is continuing. The deception by Mr. Chidambaram, who ardently believes in "quiet diplomacy". He is doing the things quietly and coolly.

He officially agreed to make you the interlocutor in the "peace talks". You opened channels to send the proposals to us. He "quietly" and with a neatly chalked out plan entered our channels; knowing well that the communication would have to reach Com. Azad. Under the clear guidance from Chidambaram, the notorious APSIB implemented the plan. I feel that you too must have understood all this by now, but may be difficult for you to say so. I can understand that.

Chidambaram - had his hands were not wet with the blood of our beloved Com. Azad, but also his life partner com. Sitakka alias Padma, who was most probably shown as an encounter death in Gadchiroli on 6th July, and also journalist Hem Chandra Pandey - he could have seen straight into your eyes and accepted for an enquiry in to this absolutely fake encounter. He knows that he was the brain behind this operation and that was why he could not have accepted this demand. Who knows like Amit Shah, who is exposed as the main culprit in Soharabuddin case, Chidambaram too could be implicated one day, if there were to

be an enquiry. Any way, he denigrated your status as an interlocutor by rejecting the most genuine demand.

Your letter dated 26th of June reached Com Azad, just before 30th. The APSIB, which had already entered into the mechanism, knew this. They knew that they could scuttle the process by eliminating Com. Azad. With that purpose only, they entered through the channels you had opened to send your letters to us. We fell prey to this great deception by Chidambaram.

We feel that you are being used as a pawn in the whole process. Sorry for the straight talk!!

Please ask Mr. Chidambaram one question. What is that the APSIB has been doing in many states outside Andhra Pradesh? In UP, West Bengal, In Delhi, so on and so forth? Are they functioning without his knowledge? Does he not know that it is the APSIB team that had arrested Com. Kobad Gandhi and put him under illegal custody for three days and on 20th September he was given to Delhi Police? Shall I inform you the list of the personnel of APSIB who arrested Com Kobad Gandhi; and who headed that team? May be it will be a small addition to the Wikileaks, and can be a scoop to the media.

The point is again the deception. He is talking of language of "peace". He is planning cold blooded murders with his trusted APSIB.

Now that you have given another letter to our CC, appealing to take the further the peace process that was started.

Your letter dated 22nd July reached me. Not just the letter. Some thing more too. The APSIB too reached me. How can we understand this phenomenon? I just escaped very narrowly, on August 1st. If we can meet some time later, like we met on the dais of Karimnagar Peasant Labour Association meeting in 1983, where

we addressed the gathering along with others, (You paid rich tributes to Com. Haribhushan who was killed by the then NTR regime), I can give you the details. Had I gone into the hands of this notorious Indian Mossad, your 22nd letter must have gone back to Chidambaram, perhaps with some blood marks on it, like the way your 26th letter reached him. We do not have any iota of doubts in your genuine feelings regarding the peace process. I am afraid that you are pigeon among the cats. The cats are using you to catch us in this process.

The APSIB encircled me and for the time being I am out of it. In these circumstances it is difficult for me to send any reply to you through some channels or send your letter to our comrades. I request you to openly publish your letters in the papers. Any channel if you try to send through, it might end up in some loss. I think we can no more afford that.

Chidambaram will continue to play the unfair game. He has already claimed the lives of our beloved comrades along with life of a journalist.

Our comrades will reply to you on your proposals, if you can publish your letters through media. The 26th June letter and the present one, since the 26th June letter has not reached our comrades. Since they are written by you, it is your prerogative to publish openly or not. May be you have to go against Chidambaram by not doing these things "quietly". He is sticking up to his programme by doing "quietly".

Your lofty concerns and well meaning efforts are torpedoed by Chidambaram with his dirty tricks. He might have scuttled the peace process by killing Com. Azad. Can he stop the revolution? The history of Hitler is before us.

I stated hard facts.

With warm regards,

Srikant a.k.a Sukant

Central Committee Member,
CPI (Maoist) / August 3rd

Poverty of the Intellectual mind and Enlightened mind of the Backward Adivasi—

A Response of CPI (Maoist) to BG Verghese' article in Outlook

Azad

After reading the “Daylight At The Thousand-Star Hotel” in Outlook magazine by Mr. BG Verghese one is stunned by the abysmal poverty of thought and colonial mind-set of this renowned intellectual. How is it that the illiterate, seemingly uncivilized, backward half-naked adivasi thinks, analyses, and acts a lot better than our established, well-read, educationally highly qualified intellectual like BG Verghese? One is, of course, not baffled if one looks at this from the point of view of the vast majority of the oppressed masses.

The history of freedom struggle in our country presents before us innumerable such contrasts: on the one side was the highly educated White man, with his vast, in-depth knowledge of the world and the natural and social sciences glorifying the British raj as a regime with a civilizing mission; while on the other was the half-naked, illiterate Indian who craved for freedom and independence. While the former, notwithstanding all his/her worldly knowledge and education, was basically a colonial oppressor, the latter was a just and zealous fighter for the legitimate basic human rights of an oppressed people. The freedom fighter was not impressed by the “development” brought into India by the British colonialists through their railways, roads, communication network, plantations, mines etc. Democracy for the colonialists, however much liberal and “democratic” their attitude might have seemed, stopped at the gates of their colony and all talk of democracy and liberal human values became mere trash and empty rhetoric. To justify their oppression of their subjects in the colonies the “educated” colonial

intellectuals invented phrases such as “white man’s burden”, “civilizing mission” of the White colonialist, and so on.

Verghese is a typical example of the self-proclaimed civilizers of modern-day India, akin to the white “civilizers” of yesteryears, who would have been the pride of a Rudyard Kipling. Through his article Verghese has revealed his colonial mind-set by vehemently arguing in favour of the civilizing mission of the corporate sharks and the Indian State to bring the poor backward adivasis from their dark ages and transform them from savages into civilized people. And how? Through their so-called development that destroys people’s economy, social life, culture and all the human values. Ironically, intellectual ignoramuses like Verghese imagine that adivasis are non-development’s casualties.

The corporate vultures and their police servants have said, through Verghese, what they think of a dialogue with the Maoists. Citing from my interview given to The Hindu, Mr. Verghese goes a step farther than even some die-hard reactionaries and gives his own interpretation to my proposal for talks. He derides my statement that “talks will give some respite to the people who are oppressed and suppressed under the jackboots of the Indian state...” and interprets this as “respite for the oppressed (cadres)”. Such is the wishful imagination, cynicism, trivialization and vulgarization of a life-and-death question confronting millions of hapless people! Such pun on the part of this sarkari intellectual shows his sheer contempt for the poor adivasi masses and his callous

indifference to the pathetic condition in which the adivasis live in the war zone.

One is astounded by the audacity with which he pooh-poohs the deep concern of our Party for the starving impoverished adivasis whose chronic famine conditions are so well-recorded by many reputed scholars and social activists, like Binayak Sen for instance, who is no admirer of Maoist politics and methods. One, of course, cannot expect every intellectual to be a Binayak Sen. But one at least expects an element of honesty and truthfulness from those who call themselves, or recognized by others, as intellectuals. The ease with which Mr. Verghese brushes aside our Party’s proposal for talks to provide a respite for the adivasi masses only reveals his utter inability to understand the pain of the millions of marginalized sections of the Indian society whose sweat, blood and tears had created the conditions for the existence of such intellectuals in the first place.

He also thinks that lifting the ban on our party, release of jailed leaders for the purpose of participating in talks, and respite for the oppressed (which he misinterprets as our party cadres) are unreasonable preconditions. He thus sums up our proposal to the extent his intellect grasps, or rather fails to grasp, and asks quite childishly: “So the Maoists want the ban on the party lifted, detained leaders released, and respite for the “oppressed” (cadres) while planning to pursue “protracted war” with greater vigour. Is that a reasonable precondition that any state can accept without abdicating?”

Would anyone, except our dear Mr. Verghese and other war-hungry hawks,

imagine that the Maoists had placed respite as a precondition? We had only explained why we think a cease-fire is necessary to give respite to the oppressed and suppressed people in the war-torn zones. We had asked for a lifting of the ban and release of jailed leaders for participating in talks if at all talks materialize, which we had reiterated, was almost unlikely under the present dispensation since Chidambaram and his gang had a pre-programmed plan to wage war at any cost in order to loot the resources in the adivasi-inhabited areas. What is unreasonable in these demands? And how could an intellectual with access to knowledge of historical experiences in India and elsewhere talk like a philistine and display such a poor understanding about cease-fire and talks?

What is unreasonable when we openly declare that we adhere to our basic programme of new democratic revolution and to the means of achieving it even as we propose for a cease-fire and talks? We have no illusions that the rapacious Indian State, aided and assisted by imperialist plunderers, would fulfill the basic demands and democratic aspirations of the poorest sections of the people. No revolutionary organization will give up its long-term objective until it is fulfilled. None but an ignoramus would believe that the Indian State would reform itself, become pro-people, release itself from the clutches of imperialism and comprador business houses, seriously put an end to the endless corruption and solve the problems of the majority of the Indian people living in the most wretched conditions. Hence our Party firmly believes that revolution is the only solution. But does this basic premise contradict our proposal for a cease-fire and talks about which the government, particularly Chidambaram, have been talking endlessly? Would

accepting our proposal mean abdication by the State, as asserted by Mr. Verghese? One who does not understand this simple thing has not understood the ABC of war and peace.

In any war there can be several periods of peace depending on many factors such as natural calamities which affect a significant chunk of the population and need relative peace for reconstruction and assistance to the victims; war of aggression by another country which calls for the united resistance of one and all; war fatigue among the people and even the belligerents; chronic famine conditions for a sizeable proportion of the people arising basically out of prolonged period of war; the needs of either side for a respite for various reasons, and so on. However, it is only when both sides in the war feel the need for peace that a mutual cease-fire and a situation for initiating a dialogue will arise. At times there could also be unilateral cease-fire by one side which could lead to the political mobilization of the masses for peace and put pressure on the other side to pursue the same. People of the intellectual genre such as Mr. BG Verghese should study the experiences of various types of war which had witnessed many interesting episodes, periods of peace and talks followed by renewed escalation of the war.

Verghese does not speak like an impartial observer but betrays his conscious motive of tarnishing the Maoists with his ideologically bankrupt and outdated rhetoric. His inherent bias is clear from several of his observations such as when he accuses the Maoists of posing like “Robin Hoods but rule by fear and authoritarian command over cowed camp-followers”. He further says: “Many comrades have broken rank in disgust over the Maoists’ brutality and hubris.” But can he cite any authentic

source for his accusation leaving out the disinformation campaign unleashed by the reactionary rulers and their police-intelligence wings? How many comrades have broken rank in disgust over our “brutality and hubris”? We challenge him to prove what he had alleged and furnish his list of the “many comrades” who broke rank in disgust. In fact, it is the solid unity among the entire rank and file of the CPI (Maoist) that has rattled the reactionary rulers. Their attempts to sow dissensions or at least spread their vicious, fanciful imagination of differences within the Maoist leadership had ended up as miserable fiascos. Can intellectuals like Verghese, through their web of lies and false accusations, succeed in lending legitimacy and credibility to the rulers’ attempts to paint the Maoists as authoritarian tyrants lording over their cowed “camp-followers”?

No wonder, for a person who sees nothing but a culture of fear and authoritarianism everywhere, in virtually every party led by one or two authoritarian individuals whether it be Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi, LK Advani, Karunanidhi, YSR Reddy, Chandrababu Naidu, Jyoti Basu and so on, it is difficult to imagine genuine democracy and mutual trust that is the hall-mark of a proletarian Party like ours. Maoists never consider themselves as Robin Hoods and had even undertaken deep reviews of how the cult of the individual is part of the bourgeois culture, and how it is the people who are the real heroes. Besides a strong ideological-political unity, there is conscious effort to promote collective functioning right from the central committee to the mass organization committees which is one reason why every attempt to split the Party had failed right from the time of KG Sathya Murthy and Kondapalli Seetharamayya in erstwhile CPI(ML)[PW] or Bharath and Badal in erstwhile MCCI.

One is dumb-struck to hear Mr. Verghese chide Arundhati Roy saying: “Why scoff at a cancer hospital built near Raipur by Vedanta, the aluminum corporate, or the proposed Vedanta University in coastal Orissa? Are these by definition all wicked enterprises?” Then he goes on repeating Ms Roy’s observations on the pathetic health conditions and lack of any health care in Dandakaranya and asks: “So where do we begin? By burning down the Vedanta hospital?”

Should one think it is due to his innocence or due to his false consciousness derived from the non-stop propaganda by the corporate sharks, or due to his conscious partisanship in favour of the oppressors, that Mr. Verghese poses such a foolish question which is obvious to even an ordinary illiterate adivasi? While for Mr. Verghese, Vedanta appears as a benevolent enterprise that benefits the people, life has taught the adivasis what Vedanta stands for. Even as Mr. Verghese comes forth as an apologist for the worst perpetrators of crimes against humanity and is swayed by the benevolence of these vultures, we find on the other hand organizations like the Church of England, and several shareholders in Vedanta exhibiting better rationale by withdrawing their shares from Vedanta and rightly criticizing it for its gross violation of human rights, destruction of environment and uprooting the adivasis. Even the colonialists seem more humane and rational than the slavish intellectuals in their former colonies!! Moreover, even the Supreme Court of India and the Environment Ministry has raised objections to the proposed Vedanta University and mining venture. Only a Chidambaram, who served as a member of its Board of Directors until 2004, and Verghese, with his “compassionate” colonial mind-set of “civilizing” the backward people, can stand up in support of vultures like

Vedanta, Tata, POSCO, Jindal....

The colonial mind-set of this modern-day civilizer is seen at its best when he says: “Yes, there will be land acquisition and displacement—that is the story of civilization; but there will also be resettlement, compensation and training for new vocations.” The adivasis and poor peasants in our country can never imagine how people like Verghese can distort history so thoroughly and so shamelessly. Ask the 60 million people who had been displaced by the land acquisition by the “civilizers” for whom Verghese has only accolades. How and why such barbarism is called the story of civilization, only Mr. Verghese knows best. To convince the skeptics he further says: “Admittedly, this (i.e. resettlement, compensation...) has not always been done wisely or well. But times are changing. New legal frameworks, better norms, closer monitoring, improved R&R and livelihood packages have continuously been put in place.”

Mr. Verghese here comes out as an incarnation of the typical Indian bureaucrat, like a GK Pillai. All intellectual pretence is shed here and Verghese reveals himself as a loyal servant of the Indian comprador sharks by advocating that times are changing and everything is working out well for the rehabilitation of the displaced people. So why all this hullabaloo about land acquisition and displacement is being raked up by people like Arundhati Roy and others? Why should people fight against development just because it displaces them? Why should people oppose the civilizing role of the corporates and their protector, the Indian State? Having come to the conclusion about the civilizing role of corporate development and admiring the corporate social responsibility (CSR) it is but natural and logical for this colonial intellectual to decry Maoists

and every people’s struggle against corporate sharks and against displacement from their land. And hence the brutal suppression of the people’s movements by the Indian state is quite justified and legitimate for it is aimed at promoting civilization! So goes the logic of argument of Mr. Verghese.

He states his imagined virtues of the corporates without a sense of shame: “There is much virtue in translating Gandhi’s concept of trusteeship in a new and evolving idiom of CSR to which corporates, the state and courts have variously given expression. The new deals being worked out by the POSCOs, Vedantas, Tatas, Mittals and others are greatly in advance of what was on offer even five years ago.” What Mr. Verghese is trying to say is let the corporates enjoy the mineral wealth and loot the country at will as long as they throw some crumbs as charity or social responsibility to the poor helpless wretched beings who are thrown out of their homes and lands. Why not Mr. Verghese visit Balitutha, Dhinkia, Nuagaon in Jagatsighpur district in Orissa and convince the anti-POSCO agitators to understand the new paradise that is being built for them by his corporate bosses? Or visit Baligotha, Chandia, Baragadia in Kaliganagar to make the “backward” adivasis protesting against Tata steel project see reason and the civilization that is brought forth to their midst by these corporates? After centuries of rapacious plunder by capitalist gangs that had led to the monopoly control of the world’s resources by a handful of Corporations, this man still exhibits his stupidity by calling for trusteeship by corporates! In other words, he is calling the people to meekly accept whatever is thrown at them by the vultures in exchange for their lands and displacement. What better loyal servant can the corporate sharks find?

Another interesting instance where

our renowned intellectual distorts facts is regarding growth in population of the tribals. In his attempt to disprove the apprehension of Ms Roy about a probable genocide of the tribals as a result of the war waged by the Indian State, Mr. Verghese completely distorts and seeks to divert the real issue by saying in a cavalier manner that “the tribal population of India was 19.1 million in 1951, rose to 84.3 mn according to 2001 census and is estimated to be just short of 100 mn (8.1 per cent of the population) today.” Had he exerted a little effort he would have known that the seemingly huge growth in the population figures of scheduled tribes in India is not because there has been an increase in the population of the tribes as such but because of the inclusion of several hitherto non-tribals into the category of tribes.

The status quoist, anti-communist bias and hatred of this bourgeois intellectual are a running thread throughout his article. He acts as an apologist for the reactionary deeds of the rulers and at times his language is indistinguishable from that of Chidambaram. For instance, his attitude towards the occupation of schools by the security forces is criminally casual. He says: “Yes, schools in Naxal-affected areas are often occupied by security forces, not to prevent education but because schooling and other developmental activities, such as they are, have come to a halt.”

Even worse, he targets the Maoists by accusing them of opposing schools and as being interested only in setting up indoctrination centres! This statement reveals the extent of indoctrination this intellectual mind has been subjected to by the omni-potent omni-present imperialist media and the servile education system of which he is a product. He charges: “The Maoists, for their part, don’t want

schools but only agitprop centres to indoctrinate the young.”

Then he goes on to speak in a language that is indistinguishable from Chidambaram’s: “Development and connectivity threaten them. Hence they destroy roads, culverts, bridges. Hence the wanton attacks on railway and highway projects that would, if completed, connect and open up remote, backward areas. If education, health services, roads, irrigation, markets and communications are provided and poverty rolled back, the Maoists would be out of business.”

Can one find any difference between what Mr. Verghese says with that of Chidambaram who hurled a similar charge against the Maoists? Speaking at JNU recently Chidambaram said:

“Maoists want to ensure the tribals were inaccessible and incommunicado (from mainstream) by blowing up buildings, railway tracks and targeting developmental projects.

“Are they trying to create an archaeological museum in the tribal areas by keeping the tribals away from development,” he asked.

While one can understand Chidambaram, as a loyal representative of the corporate sharks, uttering such trash, it is really amusing to see intellectuals like Verghese imagining such weird things and drawing fantastic subjective conclusions. If our adivasis hear this they would laugh at the bankruptcy and ignorance of these intellectual minds. On several occasions, we had clarified these questions. We explained why we are targeting roads, bridges etc. Let alone opposing, our Party had even led people’s struggles demanding the setting up of schools, appointment of teachers, health services, markets, irrigation and so on. In fact, seeing the utter apathy of the rulers we ourselves had set up schools, dug wells, dug tanks and developed irrigation to an

extent, increased the productivity and yields of the crops, organized co-operatives, trained local doctors, built roads, and even bridges deep inside the forest.

Yet Verghese concludes that development and connectivity threaten the Maoists! And that hence they go about destroying roads, bridges etc.!!

Why would the Maoists be threatened by development and connectivity? If Mr. Verghese and his brand of intellectuals think that concrete roads are the barometer of development they are living in a fool’s paradise. Instead of talking of providing the people with safe drinking water, health care etc, Verghese falls prey to the ruling class scheme of development that displaces the adivasis and destroys their lives, lands and culture. He says roads and railways open up remote backward areas. True. But for whom are these opened up? Is it for the benefit of the people or for the narrow class interests of a handful of mining and industrial companies, forest contractors, and police tormentors who make the life of the adivasi a veritable hell? It doesn’t need much intellect to grasp this fact. However, it indeed requires great courage to break oneself from the shackles of the colonial mind-set that bind us from birth.

Even more amusing is the imagination of poor Mr. Verghese that the Maoists are working only among the adivasis and that they will be “out of business” once the adivasi areas become developed. He does not even know the programme of the Maoists which is to mobilize the vast majority of the suffering people throughout the country. Can the Maoists seize power and establish the “totalitarian state” Mr. Verghese is talking of without organizing the non-adivasi majority living in the advanced regions of the country?

Another interesting thing is Mr.

Vergheese thinks the rulers can “develop” the adivasi region, and provide all the basic necessities. His concept of development is indeed amusing. The class-biased, anti-people viewpoint of the writer becomes clear in his dogmatic assumption that “the Maoists have their sights on nothing less than reconstructing India as a totalitarian state.” Enjoying a privileged life as an intellectual, Vergheese wants the status quo to continue which reduces almost three-quarters of the population to a life of abject poverty, hunger and starvation, fosters the most obscurantist, reactionary undemocratic values and culture to flourish. For an intellectual like him even the cruelest oppression and suppression of the majority of the Indian people is tolerable when compared to his imagined “totalitarianism” of a Maoist-led State. Hence he says he can tolerate steel kings, aluminum kings, mafia gangs and other corporate sharks but dreads to see the Maoists “reconstructing India as a totalitarian state”! With such shameless apologists around, no wonder Vedanta, POSCO, Tata, Mittal, Essar and the like get a boost for their illegitimate anti-people activities.

Vergheese also refers to Salwa Judum as a savage blot but concludes that “strategic hamleting” was confined to one district and was prevented from being extended to any other district, even in Chhattisgarh. But who had

prevented it and how was it prevented from extending to other districts he prefers to be silent. If he has any honesty he should admit that it is the heroic resistance, both armed and unarmed, by the adivasi masses led by the Maoists since the end of 2005 that had upset the devious plans of the reactionary rulers to uproot the entire adivasi population; that Salwa Judum was defeated and prevented from creating havoc in newer areas because the Maoists and the adivasi masses had dealt a death-blow to this state-sponsored terrorist gang by carrying out daring militant offensives such as Ranibodili and Errabore; that the rulers had never given up their fond wish to drive the entire adivasi population into strategic hamlets and that the current Salwa Judum part II unleashed by Sonia-Man Mohan-Chidambaram gang is precisely to achieve that unfinished goal. With a little bit of objectivity Mr. Vergheese could never have missed the fact that it is the people’s revolutionary resistance alone that had stopped Salwa Judum’s murderous campaign.

Lastly, Herr Vergheese fondly hopes: “The Maoists will fade away, democratic India and the Constitution will prevail, despite the time it takes and the pain involved.” If the Maoists fade away by the superiority of your development model then why are the advocates of your development keen on brutally suppressing the Maoists and the adivasis they are leading? In

which part of India is the Constitution prevailing, my dear Vergheese? In Dantewada, Bijapur, Kanker, Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon? In Jharkhand, Orissa? In Lalgarh, Jungal Mahal? Is it prevailing in the Kashmir Valley? Manipur? Where is your Constitution hiding for 25 long years after thousands of Sikhs were massacred? When thousands of Muslims were decimated? When lakhs of peasants are compelled to commit suicides? When thousands of people are murdered by state-sponsored Salwa Judum gangs? When adivasi women are gang-raped? When people are simply abducted by uniformed goons? Where is your Constitution for the majority of the people who cannot fight legally against the atrocities by the rich and powerful forces? Your Constitution is a piece of paper that does not even have the value of a toilet paper for the vast majority of the Indian people.

Finally, his comment ‘People’s Tribunals’ keep mouthing yesterday’s tired slogans. They do not see tomorrow; may be they even fear it’ applies more to people like him. He keeps mouthing yesterday’s outdated, monotonous slogans like “end of history”, “there-is-no-alternative”, “demise of communism”, “totalitarian state” under the communists, and so on. He does not see tomorrow. He even fears it. The spectre of communism sends shivers down his spine. **PM**

People refuse to board buses along with the police

After the May 17 ambush of a private bus near Sukma in Chhattisgarh killing 16 policemen besides 15 civilians, there is growing defiance among people to the attempts of the police to board civilian buses. In several instances people alighted from buses the moment any policeman boarded them. Bus owners have begun to ask the police to get down from their buses since they were subjecting every passenger to danger. Chhattisgarh has only private bus service after the state government privatized all bus services in 2003 two years after the formation of the state.

Policemen often beat up bus drivers and conductors if they raised objection when the police tried to board the bus. On some occasions drivers either fled the scene when the policemen boarded the bus or refused to ply the bus. Now the people themselves are raising objection to policemen who try to board the buses and on several occasions passengers got down when policemen got in. Such boycotts of policemen will increase in other spheres too as the war intensifies and the police continue their daily atrocities against the people at large. **PM**

A complex truth beyond news reports

Javed Iqbal, *The New Indian Express*

On April 6 last year, ten days after Basa guda was rehabilitated with the help of local NGOs and activists, armed with the recommendations of the Supreme Court, a few villagers complained that their story was being misrepresented in the local press. It was common knowledge that the Maoists had killed four people yet the villagers wanted the world to know the whole complex truth. They collectively wrote a letter to the editors of all local newspapers, detailing a long history of brutality, violence and retribution — causes and effects and causes, ad infinitum.

“We, the villagers of Basaguda make a sworn statement that we have been misrepresented by the Press, regarding the reasons why we left our village in 2006. Navbharat Times and many other newspapers have printed that the villagers of Basaguda left their village due to the Naxalite forces, whereas we have not committed this to any of the newspapers.

On the 5th of December, 2005, the workforce of Salwa Judum and the CRPF visited

Basaguda and stuck posters that said that a Salwa Judum meeting is going to be held at Avapalli on the 1st of January, 2006, and if the villagers do not turn up, they shall be called Naxalites. We attended the meeting on the 1st of January 2006. We were told that, if those who are members of the Sangam (village-level Naxalite groups)

do not surrender right away, all of us will be killed. Nine of the villagers who were not members of the Sangam were forcefully made to admit that they were members of the Sangam. After this, we stayed till the meeting ended and came back to our village. After some days, on the 21st of February 2006, the Salwa Judum workforce came to Basaguda and asked us to deliver a speech against the Naxalites, and those who would not, would be deemed as a Naxalite.

Two days later, villagers from (names withheld) were made to carry out a rally at Lingagiri, Korsaguda, Sarkeguda, Mallepalli, Bor guda, where many houses were burnt, people were beaten and many women were raped. Out of rage, a few days after the rally, the Naxalites came to Basaguda on the fifth of March, 2006 at 9pm. They attacked the villagers and killed four people. The villagers then went to the police

station to file a report, and after the post-mortem of the deceased, they returned back across the river. Meanwhile, the Salwa Judum and CRPF came and beat us, grabbed us from our necks and took us to the camps on the other side of the river, where we were kept for two months, and the mistreatment continued.

Suddenly, around this time, some 100 metres away from the CRPF, there was a bomb blast. Though none of the Salwa Judum and CRPF suffered any

casualties, they still brought the villagers out of their houses, and beat people till they were unconscious. They also verbally abused the women and warned us that if they don't inform them about the movements of the Naxalites, they would unclthe the women, and put everyone in jail.

Villagers who were injured in this bomb explosion were Savaragi Ramanna, Sarke Chandreya, S G Shreenivas, Panke Dinesh, Sarke Venkateshwar, S G Raj, S G Chinn, and Erragalla Lakshmaiya who died a few days later even after receiving medical care. In spite of all of this, some people were still living in the village, and on June 2006, the CRPF and the Salwa Judum workforce re-entered the village and caught three villagers and accused them of being Naxalites. They also started to threaten villagers, claiming that we did not inform them about the recent movements of some armed Naxalites who were passing by. We told them that we did not see any armed Naxalites, so they arrested three villagers, who were Paslet Krushnarao, Hanumant Rao and Dapka Babulal. The police then took them to the jungle and asked them to run. The captives fearing they would be shot if they would run did not run and pleaded that they were innocent. They were later freed, instead of being taken to the police station. Due to all these problems, all the villagers of Basaguda left the village.”

PM

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Can't Intimidate me

Javed Iqbal, *The New Indian Express*

Dear Chhattisgarh police,

In response to your accusations about me being a Maoist Agent, I'd like to tell you about something called a 'conscience'. It's quite a fragile thing, it's not an absolute. It doesn't really control the world nor win anyone any fame or success. In my young naive head, it has no politics, it has no religion, but it says one small thing – that in no way, will I be responsible for the harm of any human being. Every time I leave for the war zone, I've had all but one futile prayer:

"A prayer before leaving I pray that nothing I do makes anything any worse,

I pray that nothing I do makes life miserable for anyone I leave behind

I pray that I know what the hell I'm doing, and I pray that I don't lose my soul.'

And you, the police, think I will accompany the Maoists while they shoot dead sleeping men and fill a child's leg full of shrapnel? And I will be video graphing it? Do you really think so?

That crazy silly little thing called conscience is really that crazy and silly that it ceased to exist? Of course, I'm not stupid enough to believe that what

I write, document, or photograph, isn't being used in a propaganda war by others. And I know, at times, I am being used to document your atrocities on the adivasis by people who don't believe in human rights themselves.

But do you remember these words – 'does keeping quiet make anything any better? If I don't report a single killing, does it cease to exist? If I don't take pictures of a burnt village, does it cease to exist? If I don't report a disappeared 12 year old girl, does she cease to exist?'

I wrote that to you the last time you had attacked me for documenting your crimes.

And of course, you wish to use me too in your mad war. You call me up and ask me what Ramanna looks like. Why do you think I was left perturbed? As it is, I have never met him, and had no idea of what he looks like. And you ask me to manipulate another colleague of mine to gather information for you, so you can kill him? Why would I do that? Even though this man is a Maoist and is responsible for the deaths of countless CRPF jawans, I would in no point feel comfortable about his death because of some stupid information about how tall he is, or how big his

nose is. To me, that's as bad as pulling the trigger myself. And I'd rather go to hell than compromise my conscience. And thanks to you and your kind, I probably will find it on earth.

If I ever had a chance to even sit down with Ramanna with a revolver to point to his head, or a pen, I'd pick the pen and I'd do what I do. Which is write. Which is to speak up? Which is to appeal to them? Which is to tell them that killing CRPF Jawans isn't going to make the world a better place.

They probably won't listen to me. But they don't listen to you either. You can kill all of them. History will not change anything. You will find a thousand more Ramannas.

We're cogs in a machine, you do your job, and I'll do mine, and if you think you're going to tell me how to do mine (by intimidating me), I'll return the courtesy. Although, I don't think the words 'human rights', or 'the constitution' or the 'rule of law' are ever going to frighten you. I have two better ones, 'police reform.'

Coming soon.

Yours truly,

Javed Iqbal

PM

Brinda Karat's mad outbursts

It is quite amusing to see the erudite and articulate woman Polit Bureau member of the CPI (M) dishing out lies to the delight of Chidambaram and the most rabid anti-Maoist forces. Speaking at the concluding day of a two-day convention on tribal rights in Delhi on June 14 she accused the Maoists of having struck a secret deal to hand over 10,000 acres of forest land to corporate houses in at least four districts of Jharkhand without the government's knowledge. She said these districts were totally under the control of the Maoists. It would have done her party good if she had revealed the names of the companies which received the land and the details of the land. It is even

more amusing to hear her say that the government itself did not know about the secret deal which she had gathered.

If this were true one would expect Chidambaram to be the happiest person since the very aim of his Operation Green Hunt is to procure land from Maoist control and hand over to the Corporates. If the Maoists had done this job what else would he need? Karat! Will you let your rat out of your bag and share your secret knowledge with the Maoists too? If you don't, then it only shows the insanity of you and the CPI(M) leadership which is rattled and shaken by the fast-eroding base in West Bengal due to years of misrule.

PM

Is Media a Mouthpiece?

Seema Mustafa, *National Affairs Editor News X*

The New Indian Express

The Americans coined a phrase during their invasion of Iraq: embedded journalism, which basically underlined the use and misuse of the media by governments. Journalists embedded in the US tanks that rolled into Iraq gave glowing accounts of the war, the massacre of innocent Iraqis, and the terrible adversity of violence.

Since then sections of the media around the world have struggled to keep up with the phrase, working around the clock to please governments and pass on disinformation as the truth. Unfortunately, the same holds true of the **Indian media where reporters and publications and news channels have deserted the people, to work for and on behalf of governments.** Those who follow the government line well in Delhi are rewarded with trips with the prime minister, with select briefings denied to others, with access to the corridors of power, with planted information, with awards and seats of power at some point in time. All that they have to do in return is to kill their conscience, report the wrong for the right, ask only those questions that their 'masters' and 'benefactors' want them to, and make sure that the voice of the people never becomes the news.

This is on a daily basis. And the government uses its television and newspapers in a way officials might term 'creatively' but in the book of old, honest journalism can only be described as crafty, devious and totally dishonest. So ministers make themselves selectively available to just a couple of high profile journalists for an 'interview' that is actually predetermined, and given on the condition that the journalist will ask only cleared questions. This disinformation then becomes information, and sets the ground for the new debate or discourse to follow government ordained lines.

It is amazing how today journalists accept the government version as the gospel truth. When we became journalists the doyens of the profession trained us to question everything, repeat, everything that the government said. We were told that journalists were not in existence to propagate government views, the government had its own very powerful propaganda machinery to use for this purpose, journalists were in place to speak for the people of India, for the poor, the oppressed, the victimized and the marginalized.

These adjectives are used with a certain deliberateness, as in Delhi as in most state capitals, the people for the media are represented by the glitterati and the flitterati. The rich and the powerful rub shoulders with the politicians and the select journalists to form an incestuous nexus that feeds on power and glory, and has little to contribute to classic journalism. The profession is dead for the reporter who either

thinks he is the news, or thinks he is bigger than the news. Both are a death knell for journalism.

The result is that governments then have a field day to manipulate the news. As we know the media condemned certain individuals paraded by the police force for some of the worst terror attacks in the country. It is now revealed that all these persons were innocent and that totally different persons were responsible. That's fine, but what about those who were arrested, tortured, confined in jails for their innocence? Who is responsible for the fact that their lives



1.83 million Children under the age of five die every year in India, the highest in the world. 90% of these deaths are due to easily preventable diseases like pneumonia and diarrhea. This is not a typical Maoist propaganda. It's a UNICEF survey. The UN agency also says that India, which houses one-third of world's malnourished children, has 46% of children under the age of three who are underweight.

**India(n people) can't take chances.
Arnab Go(ebel)swamy. Are you with
India(n people)... or ..
Against India(n people).**

were lost? The media is as responsible as the governments, for we are in place to act as a check and as a watchdog on precisely these excesses and acts of corruption. But when journalists become part of the power bloc, there is no one left to speak for the victims.

In Jammu and Kashmir, the journalists who speak the truth are attacked. Stone-pelting youths are described as LeT operatives by a compromised government, and in

Delhi the media picks up the echo of a completely wrong claim. Chief Information Commissioner Wajahat Habibullah who also advises the government on Kashmir told NewsX in a recent interview that the young people were certainly not LeT. But that is the claim forwarded by chief minister Omar Abdullah and his mentor Union home minister P Chidambaram, that has been lapped up by sections of the media as the last word. Look at the damage this claim has done, as it is one more bridge of trust broken down and ruined by the government and the media.

The same is the situation in the northeast. And now even in the mainland states. Anyone can be described as an anti-national, a terrorist or a Maoist by the governments, and journalists fall in line to brand and propagate this news from the rooftops. Intellectuals who disagree with the government in its handling of the Maoists and poverty and development, are now being arrested, hounded and even killed by governments without a murmur of protest by the 'mainland' media. Is this journalism? Or have we all just become touts, to follow the powerful intelligence and government agencies without even bothering to exercise our minds on the side of truth?

Contd..... from Page 14

only to facilitate the liquor industry as damaged wheat is good for making beer. Yet another scam. How the rotten food grains were disposed off all these years to liquor industries. Who will prosecute these corrupt political leaders for wasting such a huge amount of food grains, when millions of poor Indians are dying of hunger... lakhs of farmers are committing suicide because of drought and no food to survive... hundreds of farmers are selling their wives to loan sharks to feed their children in Bundelkhand.

It was Kavitha Sreevasthava a social activist and also Gen. Secretary of P.U.C.L Rajasthan state committee filed W.P (.C) 196/2001 before the Supreme on 23. 7. 2001.

It may be noted that P.U.C.L. was one of the organizations blacklisted by the government as having links with Maoists and its All India Vice President Dr. Binayak Sen was put behind bars for more than two years branding him as Naxalite by the Chattisgarh government.

The main prayer in the writ petition was to stream line the distribution of

food articles, monitor the distribution system in the back ground of starvation deaths in various parts of the country. In the writ petition, she detailed the starvation deaths reported from Baral in Rajasthan, Shivapuri in Madhya Pradesh, Baliapal in Orissa, Khammom in Andhra Pradesh and also at various places in India.

The then Chief Justice B.N.Kripal along with Justice. K.G.Balakrishnan received the writ petition on file, issued notice to the Union of India, F.C.I, State trading corporation and the various state governments.

Her main thrust was that despite the production of 62 million tonnes of food grains by the poor peasants, a large section of the people who are below the poverty line are unable to purchase food grains because of their low purchasing capacity. The godowns were flooded with the grain stock which had the optimum capacity of storing 17 million tonnes. Rest of the food grains were stored in open spaces, yards, play grounds etc. with the result more than 40 million tonnes of food grains were either rotten or

Yes, one knows how powerful weak governments are, where muzzling dissent and implementing draconian laws are concerned. The more distant a government gets from its people, the more intolerant it gets with those who write the truth. We know that the government has all the laws it needs to slap against honest journalists. **We know that 'waging war against the country' is a charge that governments can use at their discretion and can arrest and detain journalists and others at will. We know that journalists can be made to disappear when required.** We also know how governments can embrace, and applaud, and award those journalists who do their bidding, and who write as they should. But we also know that journalism is a great profession, despite all these odds. And that the people remain on the side of the truth regardless of government and corporate machinations. And that is why governments can cover and distort the truth only for a time, not for ever. A couple of newspapers defeated the Emergency. Truth, as they say, will out.

PM

infected by pests.

The media hailed the recent Apex Court verdict which came nine years after filing the writ. What did the government do with the rotten food grains all these nine years and who the beneficiaries of rotten food were? Quite naturally it will be the liquor mafia as the damaged food grains are good for beer manufacture.

PM

It is pertinent to note that nearly 20 thousands sq.mtrs of state ware housing corporation godown at Kuriachira near Trichur has been leased out to Reliance and other corporate institutions at a very meager rate of Rs.105 per sq.mtr. Ten social activists of Porattam who held symbolic seizure of the godown on 23. 5.2010 were arrested by the police and booked them u/s 3 of pdpp act together with ss.10 and 13 of Unlawful Activities Prevention Act 1967. They were released only after under going imprisonment for 2 months, at the intervention of the H.C of Kerala.

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 crushed 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.)

PM

Rotting food grains.....

Beneficiaries are none other than liquor mafia

We have given the Moon to India. Boasted G.Madhavan Nair. (*No one has ever asked for it.*) His successor Radhakrishnan went a bit further. Our next mission is going to be Human mission to the Moon.

We are a country which is too busy to celebrate IPL's success, India growing at a rate of 8% plus... is this really the growth we as the country wish to achieve while millions are dying in the nation because of hunger...

Now let us see the Ground Zero.

India's food is rotting. The greatest harvest of food grains in the country's history is being wasted away in storage, eaten by rodents and insects, spoiled by moisture. Some of it, for want of storage space, is sitting in the open, exposed to the late monsoon rains.

Food wasted in FCI godowns could have fed 2500 lakh families for 10 years!!! Do we need to talk about food security anymore?

According to reports obtained through the Right to Information Act, improper storage facilities and improper maintenance has destroyed a mind boggling 10,688 lakh tonnes of food grains over the years. What's more shocking is that in spite of making allocation after allocation and that too to the tunes of thousands of crores of rupees towards food safety and food subsidy, food-grain stocks worth Rs 50,000 crores had to be disposed off as waste over the past few years due to improper storage facilities. The incorrigibility of our authorities is so predominant that despite having knowledge about these damages, they still have not taken any adequate measures to improve the storage facilities. Otherwise, what else could be the logic behind the reliance on tarpaulin storage facilities for food grains? So much so that currently more

than 170 lakh tonnes of grains are stored in tarpaulin facilities. The food grains stored under tarpaulin facilities not only have a low shelf life but also are exposed to frequent attacks by rodents. In the past, it was found that FCI's godowns in a locality in Jaipur were found storing liquor for Rajasthan State Breweries Corporation, while wheat grains were left in the open.

With anywhere between 20 to 30 crore Indians sleeping hungry every night and over 7000 Indians dying of hunger every day, such waste is not less than a criminal offence.

Even as food prices are soaring all across the country and the poor are not getting two square meals a day, a Food Corporation of India (FCI) godown in Jaipur is storing liquor leaving out thousands of sacks of wheat to rot in the open for the past three months.

According to sources, 45,000 tonnes of wheat meant for public distribution system (PDS) supplies is lying at various places, including the Kanakpura railway station, near the FCI's Gandhinagar depot while various sheds of the godown are storing liquor. At the Kanakpura railway station, wheat bags are lying on both the sides of the platform.

Meanwhile, the issue has kicked off a blame game between the ruling Congress and the Opposition BJP. Rajasthan Minister for Civil Supplies Babu Lal Nagar claimed that it was the previous BJP regime, which let out the FCI godown to the Rajasthan State Breweries Corporation and since then it is being used to keep liquor.

On the other hand, the BJP passed on the buck to the Congress government, saying Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot, who used to attack the previous BJP government's liberal

liquor policy, is now tightlipped on storage of liquor in the FCI godown.

INDIA WASTES 58,000 CRORES WORTH FOOD GRAINS EVERY YEAR-ISN'T THIS THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT BY THE GOVT OF INDIA?

Food grains worth 58,000 crores rotting in FCI godowns (godowns are leased for five years to store liquor companies' liquor, while food grains rot in open under the very own eyes of FCI's officials) every year due to lack of or storage facilities and this is the greatest claim and achievement of our government and the Agriculture Minister Sharad Pawar, who is more serious and actively busy in crores being minted by BCCI's IPL! ... all the while when our poor selfless farmers slog their sweat & blood in hot sun & heavy rains to grow these food grains... imagine they have to commit suicide & still there is no awareness about such a serious issue in the nation... truly pathetic! Why is Sonia and Rahul Gandhi silent on such a huge national wastage??? Shouldn't Pawar be sacked for his incompetence to safeguard food grains of the nation as the Agriculture Minister? (Pawar has already expressed his desire to be relieved of his ministerial capacity.) Poor Man Mohan was unable to find a successor for Pawar. Isn't this much serious than the naxal problem and Ambani's brothers fight for gas rates?

63 long years since so-called Independence, our country's government (ruled by Congress & BJP) has not even bothered to build proper godowns to store food grains properly!

Is this mere callousness or a pure case CARELESSNESS by all the leaders of the nation? NO. Not at all. The government is ignoring this need

Contd..... on Page 12

Bhopal verdict exposes the entire unjust system that oppresses the Indian people

The Bhopal gas tragedy and the verdict of June 7, 2010 has once again vindicated what our Party, CPI(Maoist), has been saying all along: that the existing socio-economic system and the Indian State are semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character, that the ruling classes of our country and their political representatives in the form of various parliamentary parties are proven comprador agents of the imperialist powers who have no qualms in mortgaging the interests of our country and the people to the imperialist sharks in exchange for fat commissions, that these traitors use the entire means at their disposal to safeguard the interests of their imperialist masters abroad and suppress the people who rise up in protest, that these rogues misuse the instruments of the State like the police, paramilitary, army, judiciary, civil administration, legislative bodies, the Constitution, etc to protect the blood-sucking multinational vampires and their agents in India and to suppress every people's resistance movement, that the poor can never obtain justice under the present unjust oppressive system that is completely biased against the poor.

The Bhopal tragedy and the so-called verdict have brought out the skeletons in the cupboards of not only the Congress and the BJP but also the judiciary, the administration and the entire system. When these dalals have done all they could to save the murderers who had been funding them, little wonder that the trial had lasted more than 25 years and ended up in letting off the mass murderers with a mock sentence. **When one compares this trial with that of the 26/11 case one is shocked by the double-standards and the conspiratorial methods of the rulers. It also shows that the delay in the trial of the Bhopal case is not merely due to the problems with our criminal justice system but actually due to the deliberate conspiracy of the rulers. While they set up a fast-track court to conduct the trial of 26/11 accused and ended up in awarding death sentence to Kasab within just two years, they allowed the trial of the mass murderers of Bhopal to drag on for 25 years finally letting them off with light sentences. How was it possible to punish the 26/11 accused within two years when those of Bhopal roamed scot-free for 25 years? Another contrast is that the Bhopal accused were never sent to jail from the time the incident took place while the 26/11 accused were lodged in jail all through. The rulers were never prepared to punish the guilty in the case of Bhopal disaster. How could they when the guilty are their own masters and they themselves are equally guilty of permitting the outdated obsolete technology to be imported into India,**

allowing the MNC to flout the basic safety standards, and allowing the toxic material to lie in the factory premises and cause death and destruction for 26 years with effects on future generations?

By absolving the Union Carbide, and later, its new owner the Dow Chemicals, by striking an ignominious deal with these mass murderers, by displaying the most heinous criminal apathy towards the hapless victims of the Bhopal tragedy, every Prime Minister in the past quarter-of-a-century—whether it be Rajiv Gandhi in 1984 or Man Mohan Singh in 2010 or a VP Singh, a Deve Gowda, a PVN Rao, a Vajpayee in between—had demonstrated in the most unambiguous manner how the Prime Minister of this country acts as the most servile agent of the imperialist sharks. None of these agents had ventured to pursue the tragedy that befell Bhopal and to bring the culprits to book. What is even worse, all these rogues who had headed the Union Government during the 26 years that had elapsed since the worst industrial disaster in the world that struck the city, had left no stone unturned to protect the mass murderer Warren Anderson. He was given royal treatment after his criminal negligence of safety measures had witnessed the death of over 25,000 people and disabilities among half-a-million. These Prime Ministers are all traitors to our country; their interests are the interests of the imperialists and the comprador big business houses. They and the entire lumpen political leaders, comprador capitalists, bureaucrats, police and army officials, judges and all those who hold power have amassed lakhs of crores of rupees through their unholy alliance with the imperialists which explains the lakhs of crores of rupees they had hidden in Swiss bank accounts and various other unaccounted sources. Instead of making Dow Chemicals pay for cleaning up the toxic waste in UCIL, their Indian dalals had come forward to do the dirty job for their imperialist masters. Spineless Ratan Tata, a dalal from birth, has openly declared that he is ready to clean up the mess created by his American bosses.

Bhopal has exposed beyond a shadow of doubt even to the layman on the street that the entire system and the Indian state, the Judiciary, Executive, and Legislature are on the side of the rich and the powerful forces in the society. It had exposed the treachery of the imperialist agents ruling our country since 1947. These agents had struck a compromise even in fighting the case by preventing the victims from filing cases against Union Carbide and the Government itself taking up the case on everyone's behalf.

Bhopal had exposed the fraud of Indian democracy and has shown incontrovertibly that democracy in our country is only meant for the privileged few while the vast majority has nothing to do with it. In a way, it is like the democracy of the slave-holders in ancient Greece, Rome and other slave-holding states of a bygone era. Bhopal has exposed the double standards of the reactionary ruling classes who, while yelling at the top of their voices about supposed terrorists who are alleged to have committed crimes against the country, are hand in glove with the worst criminals, mass murderers and terrorists like Warren Anderson and facilitate their fleeing the country.

Bhopal has exposed the dubious pro-corporatist role of the media which has been on a non-stop, mostly fabricated, propaganda campaign against Islamic terrorism, but endorses corporate terrorism that wipes out hundreds of times more people than religious terrorism. The media had engaged the entire attention of the country and poisoned the minds of the people with its futile rhetoric about a Kasab while maintaining criminal silence about a Warren Anderson who had killed over 25,000 people and maimed over 500,000 but is allowed to go scot-free with the help of all the powers-that-be.

Bhopal has exposed how the rich can get away with their crimes against humanity by using the loopholes in the judicial system and the State they control. Bhopal has shown how the Indian Constitution is just a piece of valueless paper. Bhopal has shown how the laws and jails are made only to suppress and oppress the poor while the real culprits who are rich and influential remain untouched. The verdict on Bhopal mirrors the Indian democracy and the entire unjust oppressive social order.

Dog-Fights within the Ruling Classes

Bhopal has exacerbated the contradictions and dog-fights within the Congress and between the various ruling class parties. The dog-fights within the Congress have become particularly acute in the aftermath of the June 7 verdict. There are attempts by the Congress High Command and its boot-lickers to make Arjun Singh, the then chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, a scapegoat so as to exonerate the chief imperialist agent, Rajiv Gandhi, of all responsibility in facilitating the escape of Warren Anderson. Arjun Singh, for his part, had kept mum for almost a fortnight and finally opened his mouth denying his role in the fleeing of Anderson thereby placing the ball in Centre's court. Obviously his bargain with the Congress high command during the fortnight appears to have failed thereby prompting him to come out against the Centre. While even a layman knows that the Congress chief minister, who is just a puppet of the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of the same party, would never

dare to take a decision on his own to release Anderson and send him back to the US, the Congress spokespersons like loud-mouthed Jayanthi Natarajan, Satyavrat Chaturvedi, Janardhan Triwedi, Manish Tiwari and other master liars, and shameless cronies of the Nehru dynasty like RK Dhawan, continue to yell at the top of their voices that Rajiv Gandhi has no involvement in the decision. None would expect anything more, least of all the truth, from the Congress party, which had served imperialism most loyally ever since its birth in 1885, and continues the tradition of servility to imperialism in its 125th year. Some like Digvijay Singh had first placed the ball in Centre's court but soon retracted by saying Arjun Singh has to answer.

The plain fact is: Warren Anderson was given assurance even before he visited India three days after the Bhopal holocaust that he would not be arrested. It was based on that assurance given by Rajiv Gandhi himself that the mass murderer dared to set foot in India. No wonder, the arrogant American imperialist bully took it for granted that none would touch his hair in a country ruled by his own paid agents. The very fact that he ventured into Bhopal when it was caught in a terrible turmoil showed how confident he was that any protest against him would be crushed ruthlessly by his loyal Congress dalals and any attempt to arrest him by some overzealous official would be thwarted by these dalals. This is so obvious to everyone but the die-hard liars and imperialist dalals heading the Congress party have been denying this without the least sense of shame. At last, even solid proof of this had come to light through a former Deputy of the US Embassy, Gordon Streeb, and renowned international journalist, Elliot. Even after these revelations, many were astonished to see the Congress spokespersons persist in their bland denials without any argument obviously for they had none.

The saffron terrorist BJP which had been in power at the Centre twice during this period of quarter-of-a-century and in the state of Madhya Pradesh for two consecutive terms had done nothing to speed up the trial or to get the extradition of Anderson. And most important of all, saffron did nothing to clean up the toxic materials from the premises of UCIL or force Dow Chemicals to undertake the task. The BJP is no less responsible than the Congress for the crimes of continuing deaths and havoc caused to the lives of lakhs of people in Bhopal due to the toxic waste piled up in the plant. Arun Jaitley argued vehemently that Dow should not be made liable for the damages caused by the Union Carbide which it had acquired in 2000. Now after the June 7 verdict, all of a sudden the chief minister of Madhya Pradesh and various leaders of the Hindu fascist outfit are pretending as saviors of the people and assuring that they would begin cleaning up the toxic material. They

do not have even the minimum decency to admit their complete failure in cleaning up the mess or seeking the extradition of the chief culprit from the US, or helping the survivors with medical treatment and compensation. As more facts rolled out, the contradictions within the Hindu fascist BJP too have become acute. Babulal Gaur, the former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, accused the then Prime Minister belonging to his own party, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, of scuttling all attempts to bring back Anderson. He cited the letters he had written when he was the chief minister of Madhya Pradesh to Vajpayee who was heading the NDA government at the Centre and how these were kept aside by the Prime Minister.

Now as public attention is fixed on the episode and the media is digging deeper at least for once, new facts are coming to light. Indira Gandhi herself obliged the Union Carbide by agreeing to import sub-standard technologies and equipment i.e. permitted the imperialists to “dump” their obsolete machinery into India despite vehement opposition from several experts. She had used the repressive atmosphere prevailing under the Internal Emergency to fulfill the wishes of her masters abroad. Thus the proposal which was pending since 1970 due to objections from experts was implemented in 1975 three months after the promulgation of Emergency. Then there are reports that the Bhopal gas victims were utilized as guinea pigs for testing the drugs of imperialist companies with the Bhopal Trust Hospital chaired by former chief justice of the Supreme Court Ahmadi.

Bogus Group of Ministers Committee

Bhopal has shown how the rulers continue to fool and dupe the people even after the entire truth has come out in the open. The Congress party continues to defend the activities of its spokesperson Abhishek Manu Singhvi who, despite his pious sermons on TV talk shows, serves the Dow Chemicals vis-à-vis the affected people of Bhopal and shields the Multinational from paying compensation to the victims of Bhopal using all his vulture-like skills of a corporate lawyer. We have a Chidambaram who had been defending Corporate interests all his life as a Corporate lawyer. As the Finance Minister in 2006 he had recommended that Dow Chemicals be let off from the job of cleaning up the mess in UCIL. We have a Kamal Nath, another proven agent of the imperialists and the comprador business houses, who as the Commerce Minister in 2005 had helped Dow Chemicals to absolve itself of all the crimes by the UCIL which it had acquired in 2001. The biggest scab of all and a proven agent of the World Bank and the American imperialists, Man Mohan Singh, has not even opened his mouth for several days even when the entire world is raising questions about the injustice done to Bhopal victims.

It was only after receiving instructions from Washington on what to do that he began to mutter his usual typical incoherent incomprehensible and good-for-nothing remarks. He called on the GoM to submit its report within 10 days which means nothing for the people and cannot assuage the anger and bitterness of the people a wee bit. It is not difficult to grasp why the country’s topmost imperialist agent Man Mohan Singh had at last opened his mouth. It is only with the intention of further selling out the interests of our country to the American and other imperialists by pushing through the Civil Nuclear Liability Bill. Realizing that the Bhopal verdict would hamper the passage of the said Bill, he declared that the Civil Nuclear Liability bill will include clauses to make the nuclear suppliers liable in case of an accident. Needless to say, this is mere eye-wash and is intended to somehow pass the Bill in accordance with the wishes and dictates of the American imperialists. If at all this imperialist agent heading the Union government wants people to believe his words then the first thing he should do is to hold Dow Chemicals liable and compel it to pay full compensation and the expenses for clean up of the toxic waste in UCIL plant through its nose. If this measure is not taken up then every time an “accident” occurs it is an easy way out for the concerned company or culprit to sell off its assets or merge with another thereby claiming it has nothing to do with the “accident”. Man Mohan Singh should also assure the people that he would make the extradition of the mass murderer and chief culprit in the Bhopal tragedy, Warren Anderson, an important pre-condition for any further dealings with the US and American companies. After all, it was his own Party’s Government at the Centre which had facilitated the culprit’s escape from India in December 1984.

The so-called Group of Ministers constituted by the Union Government is an outright sham and a terrible shame since it consists of at least two Ministers who had received fat commissions from the imperialists and their MNCs for their services. And Chidambaram himself is heading the GoM! The setting up of the GoM was a futile exercise to save the face of the Congress. How can the GoM, whose members are accomplices to the culprits, bring justice at all? Hence the conclusions and recommendations from the bogus GoM consisting of die-hard imperialist agents were as expected. The GoM did nothing except announcing a meager compensation amount of Rs 1500 crores which is mere pittance when compared to the magnitude of the tragedy. It also showed the criminal insensitivity and callousness of the rulers towards the lives of the people. These reactionaries can spend huge amounts of people’s hard-earned money—almost Rs 60,000 crores—for the Common Wealth Games that has nothing in common with India’s poor and only enhances the wealth of the wealthiest.

But when it comes to saving lakhs of human lives and cleaning the poisons that wreak havoc on generations of humanity these vultures have little to offer.

Bhopal's tragic story is the tragic story of globalization pursued by the UPA, NDA, the Left front and other parties and alliances at the cost of immense human misery and suffering. It is a story of unbridled corporate greed. It is a story of unending corporate misdeeds. It is a story of market fundamentalism or market terrorism leading to genocides and destruction of the world. It is story of vultures preying on human carcasses. And vampires sucking the blood of human beings.

If we do not put an end to the inflow of FDI, the unbridled entry of MNCs and the corporate sharks, entire India will end up as Bhopal. Today Bhopal-like time bombs are ticking away throughout the country. We have different kinds of Bhopals: Mining mafias like Mittals, Jindals, Essar, Vedanta, Rio Tinto, and so on who are ravaging the entire countryside, upsetting the delicate environment and leading to ecological disasters. Imperialist and corporate agents like Man Mohan Singh and Chidambaram are actively contributing to environmental destruction in the name of development. And they even let loose their mercenary uniformed forces to suppress every type of resistance to their greedy projects. They launch Operation Green Hunt to fulfill the greed of a handful of MNCs and comprador houses while ruining the entire country. These criminals help many more Andersons to get away unscathed after they commit inhuman crimes.

American double-standards stand exposed before the entire country

Our Party has been saying since its birth that US imperialism is the greatest threat to the entire world as well as our country; that it has been acting as a world gendarme bullying, interfering, subverting, oppressing and exploiting the entire world; that it had always maintained double-standards when it comes to implementation of laws in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; that its multi-national companies destroy the local capital, resources and lives of the people of the Third World; that the world cannot achieve real freedom and independence without destroying imperialism, particularly American imperialism.

Bhopal has exposed all these most nakedly before the people who were not aware of this before. The way "Democrat" Barack Obama dealt with the issue of oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico and the death of 11 persons on April 20 by asking the British Petroleum to pay up completely for the mess and set aside \$ 20 bln while at the same time justifying the payment of just \$ 470 mln or a small fraction of that amount for the deaths of over 25,000 people in Bhopal and refusing to hand over the mass murderer Warren Anderson

to India has shown the double standards of American imperialism even to the most doubtful Toms. It is nothing unusual that none of the Congress leaders like Sonia, Man Mohan, Chidambaram and others had condemned the double-standards of the US even after such open display.

Shall we allow these traitors in power who allow the multinational sharks and corporate vultures to ruin our country and the lives of our people or shall we rise up as a collective fist to throw them out by boldly confronting the Indian State which they control? It is our Party, the CPI (Maoist), which has boldly stood up against the might of the Indian State that serves as an agent of the imperialists, comprador houses and feudal forces. It is time the entire people of India stand up and fight alongside the Maoists to kick out the MNCs, seize the corporate assets and bring these under the control of the people. There is no other short-cut to prevent more Bhopals.

Today there is every danger of the rulers instigating communal riots or creating mayhem in the name of the Maoists to divert the attention of the people from the crisis they are facing. They will go to any extent to divert us from the issue of Bhopal and unbridled limitless plunder of our country's resources by the imperialists and big Corporates.

Let us Fight Unitedly Against the Gravest Threat Facing our Country and People

It is clear that the reactionary rulers cutting across all parties are involved in bringing the MNC sharks into India and allowing them to play with the lives of our people and the resources of our country at will. And along with these MNCs are the corporate houses of our comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie that are bleeding the entire country to death. Chemical hubs, nuclear plants, large dams, mining companies and other so-called development projects have played havoc with the lives of our people. **Today the danger to the country and our people arises not from so-called Islamic terrorists or Maoists as the reactionary rulers and their pet media want us to believe, but from the servile agents of the imperialists who are bleeding us to death. No terrorist even of the stature of an Osama bin Laden would have committed crimes on par with any big Corporate house or state-sponsored development project. The deaths, destruction, rape of resources, the devastation to the environment and the overall damage to nature and humanity by the multinational sharks and corporate vultures is simply incalculable. The damage caused by so-called terrorist groups pales into insignificance before the corporate terrorism.**

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**Let us sweep away the pests ruling our country by unleashing a high tide of people's struggles!
Let us dismantle the imperialist-dictated development model
and establish the new democratic model of development!!**

-Central Propaganda Department, CPI (Maoist)

Today a civil war is raging in the vast stretches of the Indian countryside and in the entire country between the oppressed people of the country led by the CPI (Maoist) and the Indian State representing a tiny, parasitic, and elite of comprador financial-military-industrial complex ruling the country with the active aid and assistance of the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. The media, owned and controlled by the corporate sharks, has become the chief instrument for manufacturing consent for the unjust brutal counter-revolutionary war waged by the reactionary rulers, for providing it with ideological justification and legitimacy, for adding fuel to the flames of counter-revolution, and for driving the reactionaries towards further militarization and fascisation of the Indian State. The media has also become the chief instrument for carrying out a vicious, despicable campaign of disinformation, lies and slander against the Maoists, Maoist ideology, the new democratic and socialist state, Maoist strategy and tactics.

The methods adopted by the rulers and the media to justify their unjust war range from the crudest to the most sophisticated: from openly justifying their brutal murders and catalogue of crimes with the slogan of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth", "wiping out the Maoist terrorists to save democracy" etc to the subtle slogan of "establishing the rule of law", "protecting the civilians", "ensuring the development of the backward regions by reclaiming these from Maoist control", and so on. Some leaders from within the ruling class parties like Digvijay Singh and Manishankar Aiyer have openly opposed the strategy pursued by Chidambaram and are advocating the strategy of combining

police action with development into a holistic package.

Whether it is the crude advocacy of brute force by the State at the cost of suspension of even the nominal legal democratic rights for the citizens, OR a bit more sophisticated rhetoric of ensuring justice for the poor through the "two-pronged strategy of development and calibrated police action", there is no difference in essence in practical terms. In fact, one transforms into the other depending on the exigencies or compulsions imposed by the specific situation. For instance, everyone knows how the Union Home Minister has been advocating the strategy of "police action first followed by development", his policy of "reclaiming territories from the Maoists and establishing civil authority" or his formula popularly known as the "clear-hold-develop" policy.

For almost a year Chidambaram has been asserting that the foremost and most crucial task before the government is wresting control over the territories held by the Maoists without which it is impossible to undertake any development. With all the deftness or crudity of a corporate lawyer that he was all his life, he has been arguing, ever since he became the Union Home Minister, that the Maoists have become an obstacle to the development initiatives of the government, that they will not allow any development to take place in the areas controlled by them since they fear that development would wean away their adivasi mass base. He cited statistics and sponsored a series of advertisements to show how the Maoists are a bunch of anarchists and mindless terrorists who blast schools, panchayat buildings, hospitals, roads, bridges, railway lines, telephone towers and so on. He cooked up the theory that the Maoists are hell-bent

on keeping the adivasis in a state of perpetual backwardness since development would drive them out of their fold. Hence the only way to ensure peace and development in adivasi-inhabited regions is to suppress the Maoists and all those who had risen up against the State by using all means at the disposal of the State, including the Indian Army and the Air Force. Such has been the consistent approach of the Union Home Minister all the while until the daring Maoist attack in Dantewada of April 6. He has quite a few supporters among the so-called intellectuals such as Shekhar Gupta, Arnab Goswamy, PV Ramana, Kanchan Gupta, Chandan Mitra and other hawks in whose company a Hitler or a George Bush would have been quite comfortable.

The April 6 attack shook the fascist rulers as never before. The entire strategy of Chidambaram and the ruling UPA came under heavy criticism. Calls for a reorientation of the anti-Maoist strategy grew louder. Under such compelling conditions, it did not take long for Chidambaram to make some changes in his approach, at least outwardly, to satisfy his detractors. He began to propagate that he was not against the strategy of pursuing development and police action simultaneously. He continued his oft-repeated proposal to the Maoists to abjure violence for 72 hours to be followed by talks. At the same time he also continued to send central paramilitary forces to the seven states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh on a massive scale. He undertook hectic tours to various states, held meetings with chief ministers, top bureaucrats and police chiefs of these states, tried desperately to bring unity of thought among the

various parties ruling these states and to drive them into coordinated joint operations against the Maoists.

At least outwardly, Chidambaram's drift from the policy of "police action followed by development" to the two-pronged policy of simultaneous police action and development was perceivable. One should clearly understand that the difference between these two approaches is not really of great significance though one must take the difference into account for tactical and propaganda purposes. Both are equally dangerous but the two approaches entail some differences as far as the tactics of the revolutionaries goes.

Those who advocate massive military action in all the Maoist-influenced areas as a pre-requisite for undertaking any development activity, and who insist on using all means at their disposal to brutally suppress the revolutionary movement, end up in isolating themselves from the population at large. They end up making more enemies for themselves. And this has been the experience of Chidambaram who had been advocating this strategy all through.

The approach of these war-mongering hawks can be summed up in the utterances of people like Chidambaram, Man Mohan Singh, and various BJP spokespersons besides the hawks in the military establishment. For instance, Swapandas Gupta of the Pioneer, a saffron apologist himself says: *"To make Maoism unattractive to frightened villagers, force will have to be met with force. Siddharth Ray showed the way in West Bengal in the 1970s."* This hawk knows that the frightened villagers will gravitate towards the Maoists at least out of compulsion if not by choice. And to prevent it from happening he wants the use of more force to deter the villagers from going towards the Maoists. And for hawks like him there is only the language of a George Bush, *"either you are with us or them."* There can be no middle ground. Hence he says:

"Unlike separatist movements that can be coerced into compromise, there is no halfway house in confronting Communist insurgencies. In the war for state power, it's either us or them. One side has to yield. The choice is stark: it's either Maoism or the democratic way of life." And this has been the language used by the entire BJP leadership, most of the Congress leadership, the social fascist leadership of the CPI (M), and most of the retired police and intelligence chiefs and so-called military analysts like Prakash Singh, Kumawat, Doval, Maroof Raza, and others. So-called media intellectuals like Arnab Goswamy, Chandan Mitra, Shekhar Gupta, Pravin Swamy, Kanchan Gupta, Barkha Dutt, and a host of others who din into our ears cock-and-bull stories of how a shining India and a robust democracy is being wrecked from within by the *"Maoist anarchists, terrorists, nihilists"* and so on. This high-pitch cacophony for a bloody suppression of the just resistance of the people has only back-fired by further strengthening the Maoist revolutionary ranks. Instead of eroding the mass base of the Maoists this policy had only expanded and deepened it. It is due to this massive ever-increasing support enjoyed by the Maoist revolutionaries that several big counter-offensives against the enemy forces by Maoist guerrillas could be carried out successfully in recent months.

In fact, Chidambaram's policy over the past one year had pushed more ordinary people to the side of the revolution than during normal times. By unleashing a reign of terror on the common people through the central and state forces, the people were compelled to take up arms in their own self-defence thereby swelling the ranks of the revolutionaries. The revolutionaries too had successfully pursued the Maoist tactics of guerrilla warfare by luring the enemy deep into their territory, harassing the enemy and hitting out at the enemy at his weakest point by concentrating the guerrilla

forces to inflict the maximum casualties while preserving their own forces. The revolutionaries had also tried to rally the democratic and progressive forces who are opposed to a military solution to the issue of Naxalism. Thus, we can say, the overall gains have been greater than the losses during this period in spite of the massive deployment of the enemy forces and the brutal reign of terror unleashed by them.

Now when someone says both development and police action must go together it means that besides massive police action, massive amounts will be allocated for building infrastructure like roads and schools for facilitating the movement and camping of the paramilitary and anti-Naxal police forces. It means establishing and further strengthening the existing human intelligence network of the enemy by recruiting, training and deploying a huge force of informers from the poverty-stricken masses. It means buying off people through so-called development works and government reforms that can benefit a small section of the people who, in turn, will act as the new support base for the enemy class. A combination of the two can prove to be deadlier than the purely militaristic approach of Chidambaram or the BJP. It would mean the creation of a servile class of people from within the oppressed masses through sheer bribery and incentives of various kinds. It would mean speedier movement of the enemy forces with better infrastructure in the remote countryside.

It is worthwhile to recall in this context some experience from British India. The British colonialists had initially tried the purely military option to keep India under their subjugation. But after a series of people's rebellions culminating in the country-wide rebellion of 1857, these cunning exploiters chose the two-pronged strategy of granting some minor concessions to a section of the people while suppressing the vast majority of the population. Thus they succeeded

to an extent in creating a buffer between themselves and the rebellious oppressed people in the form of an elite educated class which was absorbed into their administration and became an effective instrument to reproduce British colonial values, culture, ethos. These included the Indian National Congress which was sought to be used as a safety valve; the feudal class of zamindars who served as a social pillar of British colonial rule; and the class of English-educated intellectuals who propagated the British mission with a missionary zeal. Thus the colonial oppressors created their own social base from the native soil of their colony. Whether it was the purely military policy of outright massacres and plunder of the pre-1857 phase or the two-pronged approach of the latter period, history has proved that the aim of the oppressors was one and the same.

Besides the advocates of a purely military approach and the development-cum-military approach towards the Maoist movement, there are some others like Swami Agnivesh, Professor Yashpal, Himanshu Kumar and others who have been advocating development of the Maoist-controlled areas first through massive allocation of funds, improving governance, eradicating poverty and social discrimination, putting an end to state atrocities and violation of human rights all of which, they believe, would automatically erode the mass base of the Maoists and reduce the levels of violence. These, along with other well-wishers of revolution and civil society members, staunchly oppose military action against the Maoists and the adivasis in the remote hinterland, and vehemently advocate for a dialogue route to achieve peace.

Among these forces that put forth the path of development and dialogue between the Maoists and the Indian State to resolve the civil war, the opinions are divided and very much varied. One needs to go deeper to understand where their proposals

would lead us to. Some of them simply do not understand what development implies. They imagine that development in the form of big projects, roads, railways, communications, along with hospitals, schools etc would fulfill the aspirations of the hitherto neglected sections of the Indian society residing in the vast countryside and bring them out of the influence of the Maoists through such concerted efforts by the Governments and NGOs. They imagine that by pouring huge funds into so-called development schemes in Maoist-influenced districts the youth can be won over from the path of revolution. Some of these advocates of development are now part of the National Advisory Council (NAC) set up by Sonia Gandhi. They advocate the path of development with the argument that it would 'win the hearts and minds' of the marginalized and deprived sections and wean them away from the Naxals.

Then there are some who desire a deep and extensive debate on the model of development in our country: whether the model should be the one envisaged by the Liberalisation-Privatisation-Globalisation dispensation promoted by the imperialists through their instruments like the World Bank, IMF, and WTO and so on? Or it should be a model that is people-oriented, need-based, indigenous, independent, self-reliant, environment-friendly i.e. a model that is seen in its embryonic form in some areas under the control of the CPI (Maoist) in the remote countryside of central and eastern India?

The so-called inclusive growth, trickle-down theory, or globalization with a human face and so on are all sheer empty rhetoric that is meant to serve as an eye-wash and cover up the hidden agenda of redistributing the country's wealth in favour of the rich. The statistics of wealth are mind-boggling. The combined net worth of the hundred richest individuals in India doubled to \$276 billion or Rs. 12, 89,000 crore according to the Forbes'

India Rich List released recently. This amounts to a quarter of India's GDP. Against 27 billionaires in India in 2008 there are 52 billionaires in 2009. At the same time the number of poor has increased drastically with the number of the poor surviving on less than Rs. 20 a day touching 77 per cent of the Indian population or 83 crore 63 lakh people, and those surviving on less than Rs. 10 a day comprise 23 crore 90 lakh people, according to the Arjunsen Gupta Committee report. This is the fruit of the development model being practiced by Man Mohan Singh, Chidambaram, Pranab Mukherji and other imperialist agents ruling our country.

The development model being practiced in our country upon the dictates of the imperialists and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie is a model to be rejected lock, stock and barrel, and replaced with a model that is not dependent on the blind (but in reality manipulative) forces of the market, not dependent on the needs and dictates of the imperialist forces and the greed of the corporate houses but one that is based on people's needs, indigenous resources and capital. In a word, a model that is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in essence.

Without such a model of development, to imagine that by setting up a few ration shops which usually do not supply the much-needed essentials in most parts of even urban areas, not to speak of the countryside, building schools without adequate teachers or facilities, or primary health centres without doctors and medicines, and industrial, mining, and other projects that displace more people (overwhelming majority of them poor) than they bring benefit to (the beneficiaries being mostly well-to-do and the parasitic ruling classes), would improve the lives of the people would mean living in a fool's paradise.

It will indeed do much good if a debate on the model of development is conducted throughout the country and people from all walks of life,

especially the people from the grass-roots level, participate in this debate. It is very clear to the CPI (Maoist) that the advocates of the present imperialist-dictated model of development implemented in India—the likes of Man Mohan Singh, Chidambaram, Pranab Mukherji and other anti-people imperialist agents—will never agree to participate in such a debate with Maoists or other like-minded intellectuals. That would expose the rulers' servility to the imperialists and the corporate vultures. That would also bring out the skeletons in their cupboards. Their entire edifice that stands on inequalities, corruption, black money etc will collapse like a pack of cards when confronted with the genuine democratic model of development proposed by the Maoists. Hence, the reactionary rulers will never dare to enter into talks on the issue notwithstanding all their rhetoric which is only meant to dupe the people.

In this context we, as the vanguard Party of the Indian proletariat, wish to address the apprehensions of some well-wishers of revolutionary struggles and anti-imperialist resistance movements like Arundhati Roy who had quite rightly asked the question referring to the bauxite in Niyamgiri Hills: "*Can we have the bauxite in the mountain?*" Our one-liner answer is: **Of course, we should!** Without such an approach and vision one cannot save the planet from total destruction, and humanity from complete extinction. When Maoists oppose the bauxite mining in Niyamgiri it is not only because of outright plunder of our country's resources by the imperialist Vedanta but also because of the social and environmental problems the mining is giving rise to.

Which resources should be exploited for the benefit of the entire society and which should be left untouched, what should be the model of development in future post-revolutionary society, and how should

the future state after the overthrow of imperialism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism deal with the complex problems related to the development of the entire country without upsetting the fragile ecological balance, are all questions that should be settled in the course of democratic discussions among the various sections of the society. Maoists represent the interests of the entire oppressed people and hence whatever is good for the people at large will necessarily be adopted by the Maoists. Therefore, even if some people have apprehensions that the Maoist movement may lack the vision for a state which allows our mountains and rivers to be, it has to be kept in mind that as the vanguard party the Maoist party would inevitably assimilate all that is revolutionary, progressive and democratic in the society, and advance towards a classless society equipped with a vision that is in the best interests of the people at large.

Today, the Maoists are trying to implement the new model of development in the forest tracts of Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Orissa and some other regions. We appeal to all those who are genuinely interested in self-reliant, mass-oriented, need-based balanced development of our country to come forward to extend their helping hand to the oppressed people who are striving to establish such a model in the

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The gravest threat to the country and people are the imperialist agents ruling India—the Man Mohan Singhs, Chidambarams, Pranab Mukherjis, Antonys, etc of the Congress; the Vajpayees, Advanis, Raman Singhs, Yediyurappas, Shivraj Sinh Chouhans, etc of the saffron brigade; Naveen Patnaiks, Nitish Kumars, Buddhadebs, Prakash Karats and agents of various hues. We have to wage an uncompromising relentless struggle against these comprador business houses and

limited areas at a modest level. It is this model of development that has become the gravest threat to the reactionary rulers of our country and their imperialist masters. Hence it is all the more urgent and most important task before the people of our country to resist the fascist armed onslaught unleashed by the Indian reactionary rulers on the Maoist movement and the new model of development, new culture, new values which it represents. With the support of the people of India the Maoists will certainly emerge victorious in this cruel war unleashed by the Central and state governments with the active assistance of the imperialists.

Let us defeat the brutal country-wide co-ordinated counter-revolutionary armed offensive by the reactionary Indian rulers with the close guidance and assistance of the imperialists!

Let us defend and expand the new democratic people's power! Let us defend and expand the new model of development that is flowering in the most backward regions of our country and throw out the present imperialist-dictated model of development that is destroying the entire country and depriving the future generations of earth's resources!

Let us defeat the brutal war waged by the rulers in order to save our country, our people, our resources and our future generations!

PM

imperialist sharks in order to safeguard our country and our people. There is no other way before us.

Let Bhopal become the wake-up call to the entire country. Let us raise our voices in unison to declare: "Kick out the imperialist MNCs! ", " Kick out the Indian agents of these imperialist MNCs!" "Scrap the Civil Nuclear Liability Bill!" "No Cap on Liability, Full compensation for every accident", "No to Nuclear Plants and Nuclear reactors!" and so on.

PM

De - Militarise Kashmir, Revoke Black Loss

New Delhi, Aug 8: The Kashmiris who staged a sit-in outside the Jantar Mantar here on Saturday evening demanded demilitarization of the Valley, revocation of draconian laws AFSPA, J&K-PSA, Disturbed Areas Act and release of all political prisoners arrested in last 21 years.

The participants comprising, teachers, journalists, students, businessmen also demanded allowing of international agencies to investigate into the mass graves in Kashmir and the crimes against humanity committed by armed forces and holding of dialogue with Kashmiris.

Faculty of Delhi University SAR

Geelani, who spoke in the meeting, was unequivocal about the demand for Kashmir freedom. Revolutionary poet Vara Vara Rao who was an emissary of the present CPI (Maoist) asserted that the people of Kashmir were not alone in their struggle against Indian State. He pointed out that the masses of Dandakaranya, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand were with the struggle for freedom of the people of Kashmir.

Noted film maker, Sanjay Kak pointed out that the Kashmiris should stop looking at themselves as victims. Mrigank from the Nav Jawan Bharat Sabha expressed solidarity for the

movement of the people of Kashmir. Narender from the Popular Front expressed his organization's support for what he termed as the "complete independence" of the people of Kashmir. Kavita Krishnan from the CPI (ML) (Liberation) talked about the atrocities committed by the army on the people of Kashmir as well as the need for a meaningful dialogue.

Sharmila Purkayastha from the PUDR, former Ambassador Madhu Bhaduri, Karen Gabriel from Delhi University, Banojyotsna Lahiri from DSU JNU, Om from AISA JNU, Tara Basumatary from DU also spoke on the occasion. Greater Kashmir

PM

India's Maoists' solidarity with Kashmir: 'Support the just national liberation struggle'

02 Aug 2010

Srinagar: In an emphatic statement issued on Friday CPI (Maoist) extended the party's backing for right of self determination to Kashmiris and appealed to people of India to support the "just national liberation struggle of the people of Kashmir".

The party said 'Kashmir belongs to Kashmiris' and appealed people of India to "strongly oppose daily firing of Kashmiri people", raise their voice against state atrocities and "heartless killing of youth by armed forces".

"Fearlessly support the just national liberation struggle of the people of Kashmir," the statement from the central committee of CPI (Maoist) said. "We appeal to all citizens and pro-people activists of India to demand the withdrawal of Indian paramilitary and military from Kashmir and take stern action against their officers."

The party appealed to the people to see through the media propaganda about Kashmir that distorts its history. "Those who are aware of Kashmir's history know that it was never a part of India."

The two-page detailed statement indicates the depth of knowledge the party has about the details of day-to-day happenings in Kashmir.

"The Indian ruling class may claim that 'militancy' has ended and 'separatist' organizations have been crushed but the truth is that Kashmiri people keep struggling daily over one issue or another."

The statement also castigates Omar Abdullah led coalition government in the state for its brutal response

to "democratic resistance".

"Government of India and its puppet government under Omar Abdullah have responded with firing, teargas, lathicharge and curfew to the

peaceful and democratic resistance by the Kashmiri people which is still on."

The statement also criticized recent attributions of stone throwing protests to having been instigated by LeT and elements from Pakistan. "Attribution (of protests) to LeT is disrespect of the freedom loving Kashmiri people."

Through the statement CPI (Maoist) presented its revolutionary salute (Inqalabi Salam) to the struggling Kashmiri people.

"The armed struggle may have weakened, but the youth have used stones as weapons in their hands to fight the state armed forces. This only indicates their deep desire for liberation," the statement said likening the "resistance" in Kashmir to that by the tribals of Dandakaranya. "Kashmiris are fighting Indian paramilitaries and police forces with stones just like tribals under the party are fighting in Dandakaranya using bows and arrows."

"The enemy is the same here (Dandakaranya) as well as there (Kashmir)."

The central committee of CPI (Maoist) on behalf of the party, People's Army and the revolutionary people vowed that it will wholeheartedly continue supporting "your struggle" in Kashmir.

PM



Preliminary Report of the All India Fact Finding Team on the Killing of Azad and H. C Pandey

Released to the media at Hyderabad on 22 August, 2010

INDIA: COORDINATION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

Members Organizations: PCHR (J&K), AFDR(Punjab), PUCL (Rajasthan), PUCL (Jharkhand), PUCL(Chhattisgarh), PUCL(Nagpur), COHR (Manipur), MASS(Assam), NPMHR (Naga Areas), APDR(West Bengal), Bandhi Mukti Morcha (West Bengal), LHS (Maharashtra), APCLC (Andhra Pradesh), HRF (Andhra Pradesh), PUDR(Delhi), PDF (Karnataka), OPDR (Andhra Pradesh)

Campaign for peace and Democracy in Manipur CDRO put together a team of concerned citizens consisting of Prof.

Emeritus Amit Bahaduri, J.N.U., Delhi, Senior Counsel of Supreme Court Mr. Prashant Bhushan, Kavita Srivatsava, Human Rights worker from Rajasthan, Gautam Navlakha writer & from PUDR, Delhi, Kranthi Chaitanya, Advocate and General Secretary of APCLC, D. Suresh Kumar, Advocate, APCLC, Ch. Sudhakar Rao, President of OPDR, D. Venkateswarlu, OPDR. The team visited Wankadi Mandal, Adilabad District on 20th & 21st of August, 2010 where the alleged encounter of Mr. Azad @ Cherukuri Rajkumar who was spokesperson of CPI Maoist Central Committee Member and Journalist Hemachandra Pandey took place on the intervening night of 1st and 2nd July, 2010. Three fact findings had earlier already carried out spot investigations. The team met the local villagers, local police, and local media personal and perused FIR, inquest and postmortem report.

The FIR No.(Crime) 40/2010 registered at the Wankadi P.S. of Adilabad District by the Station House Officer, Mr. Mansoor Ahmed at 9.30 am of 2nd July, 2010 in the English Language gives the following account.

1. The Spl. Intelligence police provided the information that a group of 20 CPI Maoist had crossed into A.P. from Maharashtra and moving about the forest.
2. The police attached to Asifabad P.S. along with Spl. Party police, Equipped with "night vision device" went to search for them and found them between Tarkepalli and Welgi Forest Hillock.
3. On being intercepted the Maoist opened fire and the police also fired in self defence. The firing lasted for 30 minutes after which the police climbed the Hill top and halted there for the night. Next morning during the search they found two unidentified bodies one with AK -47 Rifle lying next to a 50 years old man and the other 30 years old "wearing sandals" with 9 mm pistol. This story

raises several questions.

- a. How the police were able to pin point the location of the Maoists in a forest several hundred square kms along with the boarder of A.P. and Maharashtra.
 - b. Why did the police plan this location? As the villagers clearly told us that therein recent years there had been no Maoist activity in the region.
 - c. Despite 30 minutes, from 11 pm to 11.30 pm of firing not a single police personal suffered any injury, whereas only Azad and Hemachandra Pandey are killed.
 - d. If there were twenty Maoists as stated in the FIR, how come, the police found only 2 kit bags and two weapons? In any escapade there would be more belongings left behind.
 - e. If Azad was traveling with a dalam of 20 Maoists then surely he too would have been in Olive Green dress rather than in civilian dress.
 - f. If the police were unaware of the identities of the two deceased up to 9.30am at the time of filing the FIR, then how did the electronic media learned by 6.00am on 2nd July that Azad had been killed in an encounter. Several electronic media channels have also announced his death. So, it clearly shows that the police knew who they had killed.
 - g. Overwhelming doubt about the police version is raised by the postmortem report of Azad which shows that the fatal bullet entry wound from the chest "at the left 2nd intercostal space" had "darkening burnt edges". The burnt mark at the entry wound is a clear indication of a bullet being fired from a very close range (no more than a foot). The corresponding exit wound is at the 9th & 10th inter vertebral space and depth is 9 inches. That means the bullet entered from upper chest and traveled downwards. This questions the police version that Maoist were on the top of the hill and they were below.
- It was widely known and reported that the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, through Swami Agnivesh was engaged in exploring the possibility of a dialogue with C.P.I. Maoist and the person with whom Swami Agnivesh was talking with CPI Maoists was Cherukuri Rajkumar @ Azad.
4. The alleged encounter in these circumstances and such a time raises important questions.
 - a) How could the Spl. Branch of A.P. Police dedicated to combating Maoists, murder Azad in this manner with-

out knowledge of the Union Home Minister as well as the State Government particularly when the Union Home Ministry is said to be leading the joint offensive against the Maoists.

- b) Why has the Union Home Ministry not interested in seeking an independent investigation/enquiry into the encounter, despite so many demands for the same?
- c) If the Union Government was sincere in seeking a peace dialogue, it would have been natural for the Home Minister Mr. Chidambaram to express concern about the execution of the key actor from the Maoist side with whom he was exploring the peace dialogue. His explanation on the floor of the Parliament was that the enquiry is a State subject.

This is unacceptable because the A.P. State Government is run by Congress Party and had the Union Home Minister sought an enquiry they could not have refused.

In any case the Central Government is empowered to constitute an enquiry under the Commission of Enquiries Act, 1952.

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which has been constituted to combat naxalites.

The high court had directed that where police officer causes death of a person acting or purporting to act in discharge of official duties or in self defence as the case may be, the FIR relating to such circumstance may be registered and investigation shall follow without proper appreciation of facts and circumstances of the case.

The association has raised nine questions of law for consideration by the apex court. The most important point raised by the association is whether police officers are entitled to claim protection under various

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usher in a just, equitable, genuine democratic order under people's democratic governments in its place that can bring real justice to the toiling majority. To obtain justice in a system where the 'rule of law' protects a handful of the rich and powerful, it is necessary to advance the struggle from peaceful demonstrations to the boycott of all parasitic political parties and the corrupt civil administration, setting up our own administrative organs, and defending our basic rights through all forms of struggle including armed struggle.

We appeal to all democratic forces to unite, oppose and militantly resist the continuous sell-out of the country's interests to the imperialist sharks and a handful of comprador corporate houses by the Sonia-Man Mohan Singh government in Delhi and the saffron fascist, social fascist and other reactionary governments in the states. The time is running out. Unless we act collectively and in a concerted manner against the disastrous policies pursued by the traitorous UPA government and the various state governments we cannot prevent entire India from becoming a Bhopal. Let us rise up as a collective fist to drive out the multinational companies from our soil and along with them sweep away the treacherous rotten regimes at the Centre and states that hobnob with them to plunder our country.

Azad, Spokesperson,
Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

DEMANDS:

1. In the light of the significance of the assassination, which has scuttled the peace process, it is imperative that the Government institute a high level independent enquiry headed by a Sitting/Retired Judge of the Supreme Court of India, nominated by the Chief Justice of India.
2. Register an FIR against the police who killed Mr. Azad and Hem Chandra Pandey and the case be independently investigated in accordance with the NHRC Guide Lines.
 1. Prof. Emeritus Amit Bahaduri,
 2. Mr. Prashant Bhushan, Senior Counsel Supreme Court of India.
 3. Kavita Srivatsava, General Secretary of PUCL Rajasthan,
 4. Gautam Navlakha writer & PUDR, Delhi,
 5. Kranthi Chaitanya, Advocate, General Secretary of APCLC,
 6. Ch. Sudhakar Rao, President of OPDR,
 7. D. Venkateswarlu, OPDR
 8. D. Suresh Kumar, Advocate, APCLC, **PM**

provisions of CrPC against investigation and prosecution including in appropriate cases the offences of culpable homicide that may be launched against them.

Further, whether in the event of any injury or death to a person arising out of exchange of fire between such arrested person and police officers, the only defence available to police officers is on the ground of private defence and no other defence.

The association challenged the findings of the high court that a magisterial enquiry is neither a substitute nor an alternative to the obligation to record the information as

FIR and to conduct investigation into the facts and circumstances of the case.

Now more than 18 months has elapsed. The Apex Court is keeping quiet. Which means a silent approval for fake encounters.

Swami Agnivesh has asked Chidambaram for a probe into the killing of Azad. Chidambaram asked Swami Agnivesh to go and ask the A.P. Government. Many Democrats & Intellectuals have asked for a probe into the killing. His own cabinet minister Mamta Banerjee has demanded a probe into the killing of Azad and lately Pranab Mukharjee too justified the demand of Mamta. **PM**

FAKE ENCOUNTERS - RULE OF LAW AND COURTS

An affidavit was filed by constable Ramachandran Nair on January 11, 1999, confessing that he had shot Verghese on the instructions of then DSP Lakshmana and that Vijayan was present when the incident occurred. CBI had registered a case against Vijayan on March 3, 1999. Vijayan, now 85 years old, pleaded that the capture of Verghese in 1970 was highlighted as one of the major achievements of Kerala police and that he had received various medals for his role in tackling naxalite militancy in the state.

As hundreds of revolutionary leaders and thousands activists were killed by the A.P.State police in fake encounters, civil & democratic rights activists sought judicial intervention to curb this menace. A petition was filed by the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee and others after a series of encounter cases were pending before the court for several years.

On February 06, 2009, a five judge bench of AP High Court headed by the Chief Justice A R Dave passed a long pending petition filed by the civil rights organizations in the state seeking action against the policemen involved in "fake" encounters and delivered a landmark judgment against police on encounters.

In a judgment with far reaching implications, the Andhra Pradesh High Court has ordered that the details including the names of the policemen involved in any encounter should be made public and a case should be booked against them.

While not committing it on whether certain encounters were fake or not, the bench set certain procedures to ensure fair investigations of such cases. The bench held that as soon as any encounter takes place, the First Investigation Report should be booked against the policemen involved in such a case, and investigations should be launched to establish the genuineness of the claims that the encounter was an act in self defense.

Bojja Tarakam, a prominent lawyer and the counsel for the petitioner said that so much time was taken to deliver the verdict because initially the petition was heard by a single judge. But in view of the importance of the case, the petition was referred to a three judge bench. But as this bench was also divided on the issue, the matter was referred to the full bench of five judges.

Earlier the government of Andhra Pradesh and the police top brass had refused to make the names and other details of the policemen and officials involved in any encounter public, on the ground of security concerns.

The High Court order is being seen as a big blow to the government and the police as it will put the policemen involved in such incidents under pressure. But it was hailed by the civil liberties activists.

Hailing the court verdict Bojja Tarakam said that it will bring transparency and fairness in the working of the police.

"Now it will be in the hands of the court to decide whether an encounter was fake or not. Once the FIR is lodged against the policemen, the matter will go before the court", he said elaborating the significance of the court verdict.

"The law does not allow the police to indiscriminately fire and kill any body. Now they will have to establish that they genuinely opened fire in self defense," he said, rebutting the claim of the policemen that they always kill people in encounter after the other side open fire on them.

The AP Government has got every right to go in for appeal against the verdict of five judge bench. The Government did not go in for appeal. Instead The A.P.Police Officer's Association went in for appeal and on March 04, 2009, SC stayed Andhra HC ruling on encounter deaths.

The Andhra Pradesh police got a major relief from the Supreme Court which stayed the verdict of the high

court making it mandatory for registration of First Investigation Report against the police officers for the death caused to any person during the discharge of official duties including encounters.

A bench headed by Chief Justice K G Balakrishnan stayed the five-judge bench decision of the Andhra Pradesh High Court when the petition in this regard was mentioned by senior advocate Harish Salve.

"If this law is to be considered, then all police officers would be made accused," he said before the bench, also comprising of Justices P Sathasivam and J M Panchal.

Sohrabuddin Fake Encounter Case in Supreme Court Culprit Chidambaram to defend Culprit Modi

Geetha Johri, Rajkot Police Commissioner in her curative petition filed before the Supreme Court stated that the encounter as per the Gujarat Police investigation is "Kalimuddin, who hosted Sohrabuddin and his wife in Hyderabad. Kalimuddin is missing and untraceable because he is an Andhra Police informer, and thus protected, a fact that emerges from the CBI chargesheet and statement of Kalimuddin's sister Saleema Begum: that Kalimuddin is also known as Nayeemuddin, a former People's War Group member-turned police informer. If this was not startling enough, Johri points out that Nayeemuddin is one of the accused absconding in the murder of former Gujarat Home Minister Haren Pandya. This puzzle can be easily solved if the Andhra Police are made to talk."

This Nayeemuddin is also an accused in the DIG Vyas murder case in Hyderabad in 1991.

The High Court had passed the directions on a case relating to the killings of eight Maoists in 2006 by the special unit of Andhra Pradesh police

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**BHOPALS WILL NEVER GET JUSTICE IN A SYSTEM RULED BY COMPRADOR TRAITORS
IN LEAGUE WITH IMPERIALIST MULTINATIONAL SHARKS!
WITH ANTI-PEOPLE CRIMINALS IN POWER ENTIRE INDIA IS A POTENTIAL BHOPAL!!**

The justice delivered by a Bhopal Court on June 7 sentencing seven of the murderers of 25,000 people and destroyers of the lives of at least half-a-million to two years in jail but permitting them to get immediate bail has shown for the umpteenth time what the world's largest democracy means to the majority of the people. The chief culprit of the genocide—Warren Anderson—who is considered to be absconding, has been enjoying full protection from the imperialist government in Washington and roams scot free. The story of Bhopal and the story of how the comprador agents ruling our country can save top criminals like Anderson in the name of 'rule of law' is the story of India's democracy.

Bhopal gas tragedy is not an accident; it is a genocide carried out by the multinational corporate sharks in collaboration with their native comprador agents who control the economic, political and military spheres. It is the story of treachery and betrayal of the people of India by successive regimes of Rajiv Gandhi, VP Singh, PVN Rao, Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh. These traitors and bootlickers of the imperialists are directly responsible for the crimes committed by the multinational companies operating in India and amassing super profits by not adhering to even the minimum safety measures. It is these traitors who had saved the murderers of Union Carbide with all the means at their disposal getting fat commissions in exchange for their shameless servility to their masters. It is these traitors who allowed Dow Chemicals to shirk its responsibility of cleaning up the toxic material from UCIL premises until date thereby exposing more people to suffer the effects caused by the poisonous chemicals. These traitors have absolutely no concern for the people and are interested in GDP growth and inflow of FDI which have no meaning to the majority of the people. While yelling loudly about extradition of small-time terrorists who are alleged to have a hand in some bomb blasts in India that had killed a handful of people, these criminals ruling our country allow a terrorist like Anderson, who had killed over 25,000 people, to fly back home and giving him VVIP treatment. **The Congress and the BJP are direct accomplices to the crimes committed by multinational sharks like Union Carbide in India. Even today, these criminals continue to invite such multi-national sharks into our country, most shamelessly roll out the red carpet, sign up MOUs, grant them extraordinary concessions like free land, water, power, tax-holidays, ban legitimate trade union activity in their companies, and allow them to rape the country's resources and ruin the lives of the people.**

Now an even more ghastly scenario looms before our eyes: the hawkish nuclear lobby headed by Man Mohan Singh is pushing ahead to pass a Nuclear Liability Bill placing a cap of a paltry Rs. 500 crore in case of a nuclear "accident" like the Bhopal "accident". The experience of Bhopal shows that these nuclear suppliers too can get away like Anderson after a terrible nuclear disaster. Such disasters are all the more likely to happen in countries like India given the poor safety standards and callousness of the imperialist MNCs in the backward countries. Our Man Mohan Singhs and Chidambarams would be only too glad to make the Indians the sacrificial goats for their megalomaniacal dream of building a Shining India with two-digit growth rates and burgeoning billionaires even as the vast majority of the population live in extreme misery and destitution. **By facilitating the escape of butcher Anderson to the US and meting out nominal punishment to some of the chief perpetrators of the crimes these boot-lickers of the imperialist blood-suckers are sending signals to the multi-national vampires that they can step into India without any fear, loot the country's resources, exploit the people at will, and go back happily with their super profits even if their low safety standards create genocides like Bhopal. Thus the danger of hundreds of potential Bhopals looms all over the country. If we keep silent now and allow the criminal rulers to have their way then entire India could become a Bhopal.**

The CC, CPI (Maoist) expresses its deepest anguish at the terrible plight faced by lakhs of people of Bhopal as a result of the effect of gas leak due to the criminal negligence of the American imperialist sharks followed by even more criminal negligence by successive governments led by the Congress and BJP. It demands that the assets of Dow Chemicals be confiscated and the criminal be forced to clean up the toxic material from the site of the UCIL, pay compensation to the 5 lakh victims, and the management be punished for continuing criminal negligence. It calls upon the people to realize that they can never obtain justice through so-called courts of law or from the traitorous ruling class parties whether it is the Congress, BJP or the so-called Left. 26 years is a sufficiently long period to grasp the fact that the existing exploitative system and its oppressive police, courts, jails, investigation agencies, etc are all at the service of the rich and the powerful. It can never deliver justice to the poor and helpless citizens of this country. Peaceful petitions, demonstrations, and other forms of struggle have not moved the rulers and their institutions to deliver justice to the victims. And there need be absolutely no illusion that they will. It is only a militant revolutionary struggle to overthrow this unjust cruel anti-people social system nurtured by the most reactionary parliamentary parties ruling our country, and

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CONDEMN THE CONSPIRACY OF THE RULING CLASSES AND THE MEDIA HYSTERIA TO IMPLICATE MAOISTS IN THE JNANESWARI EXPRESS TRAGEDY!!

The removal of fish plates on the railway track near Jhargram in West Bengal leading to the accident of Kurla-bound Jnaneswari Express and consequent deaths of 150 innocent civilians and injuries to over 200 passengers is highly condemnable. The CC, CPI (Maoist), expresses its deep sorrow at the tragic incident and shares the suffering and pain of the families of the deceased. Strangely, the tragic incident which took place on the intervening night of May 28/29 is being used by West Bengal government, the police and some ruling class parties like the Hindu fascist BJP and the social fascist CPI (M) to tarnish the image of our Party—CPI (Maoist)—and gain legitimacy to the counter-revolutionary war unleashed by the Indian State against the poorest sections of the Indian society led by the Maoists.

Baseless accusations against the Maoist revolutionaries are part of the dirty disinformation campaign let loose by the reactionary rulers through their police-intelligence agencies and their pet media. For two days after the incident the police did not even confirm whether a blast had occurred at the site let alone finding any clue about the involvement of the Maoists or the PCAPA. However, they came up with the theory of Maoist involvement with the argument that the area is a hotbed of the Maoists, and Maoists had been targeting trains for some time. The entire media has been playing to the tune of the conspirators by running banner headlines that “Maoist terrorists” had taken the lives of innocent people, Maoists are blood-thirsty hounds and such trash which only insane people can say. Would anyone in his senses ever imagine that the CPI (Maoist), which had been fighting for land, livelihood and liberation of the people for over four decades, which had sacrificed thousands of its leaders and cadres for the cause of the oppressed, which has no other interests than the interests of the people, can harm the lives of those very people?

It is the reactionary rulers who would stop at nothing to acquire power and retain it. They would set fire to their own houses to discredit others and gain the sympathy of the people. It is universally known how Hindu fascists like Narendra Modi had engaged VHP, RSS and Bajrang Dal hoodlums to unleash attacks on Muslims; how a *Sri Ram Sena* is hired to create riots in Karnataka; how a Raman Singh kills adivasis and accuses the Maoists of having committed the crimes. A fascist Hitler had set fire to the *Reichstag* to put the blame on the Communists and begin a witch-hunt. Likewise, these reactionary rulers themselves had organized the sabotage of railways with the aim of discrediting the Maoists. With an eye on the elections and unnerved by their fast-eroding social base, the social fascists think they can gain sympathy through such dirty tricks. The reactionary ruling class parties have degenerated to such a low level that they will go to any extent to be in power.

Strange is the manner in which most of the media had reported on the tragic incident. While they ran headlines attributing the cause of the sabotage to the Maoists, they report in their columns that the enquiry is on and that Maoist involvement is suspected. How can the media deliver its judgment even before any evidence is found or enquiry conducted? What morality do these reporters, some of them quite renowned at that, possess when they pass judgments based on their own ideological biases? Worse, some media sources have not even published or aired the statement issued by our Party representative in West Bengal denying our involvement. The media is becoming increasingly anarchic, irresponsible and unaccountable. While propagating falsehoods without investigation, the media does not even have the courtesy to admit its gross mistakes and irresponsible accusations when the truth comes out in the open. It had done the same kind of false propaganda against the Muslim community after the blasts in Mecca Masjid in Hyderabad, Ajmer Dargah blast, Goa blast and so on and remained unapologetic about its false and biased reporting even after it was clearly proved that these blasts were the handiwork of Hindu fascist gangs.

The CC, CPI (Maoist), condemns this kangaroo trial by the media and its irresponsible accusations against our Party’s involvement in the train tragedy. We consider this as a deep conspiracy by the rulers to defame the Maoist revolutionaries and gain legitimacy to their suppression campaign. We warn the reactionaries who have been vomiting venom against Maoists to stop their vicious campaign and hurling false allegations. We call upon the democratic and progressive forces, civil rights groups and people at large to see through the intrigues and diabolic designs of the reactionary rulers in spreading such lies and falsehoods against the Maoist revolutionaries. We demand an impartial enquiry into the incident to bring out the truth. Our Party will never hide the truth from the people. When we commit a mistake we frankly admit it, apologize to the people from the depths of our hearts, and assure them that we would not repeat such a mistake. This has been the hall-mark of our Party in all its history. In this particular incident of the Jnaneswari express the Party leadership is not aware of the involvement of its cadre but if it is found that anyone close to our Party had indeed carried out the sabotage of the railways, then we will take stringent action against them and openly admit the lapse on our part. We will investigate into the incident and come out with the facts in the shortest time. We assure the people of our country that there will not be attacks on trains in future and we will instruct our Party care to abstain from such acts as they can cause loss of ordinary lives.

Azad, Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)