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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 Manmohan 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 saviours 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, Manmohan 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 Manmohan 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”. Manmohan 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 Manmohan 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, Manmohan, 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 a 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.**

The gravest threat to the country and people are the imperialist agents ruling India—the Manmohan 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 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.

**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, 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, Manmohan 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 Goswami, 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, 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 Manmohan 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 Manmohan 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 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.

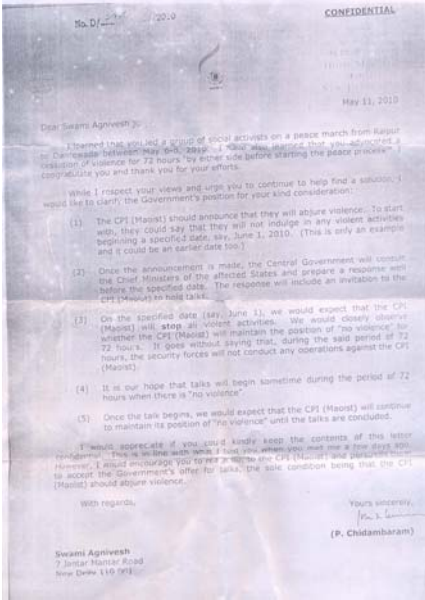
Let us defeat the brutal country-wide co-ordinated counter-revolutionary armed offensive by the reactionary Indian rulers with the close guidance and assistance of the imperialists!

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!

Maoist Stand on Mutual Cease-Fire and Peace Talks: In the context of the proposal made by the Union Home Minister in his letter to Swami Agnivesh

since Ever the unprecedented brutal coordinated country-wide State's armed offensive was unleashed against the Maoists and the oppressed people of India almost a year ago, there has been a growing demand for peace and resolution of the conflict through dialogue across the country. Several democratic and civil rights organizations, concerned citizens, and voices from the civil society have quite rightly expressed deep concern regarding the suspension of fundamental rights of the people living in the vast stretches of Indian countryside, particularly the ordinary adivasi who has become the specific target of the Operation Green Hunt run under the daily direction of Chidambaram. All the ML organizations and revolutionary individuals such as the CPI(ML)-Naxalbari, CPI(ML)-New Democracy, CPI(ML)-Janashakti, CPI(ML)-Liberation; independent democratic organizations such as Citizens' Independent Initiative, CDRO, Forum Against War on People, APDR, APCLC, CPDR, PUDR, PUCL, Federation Against Internal Repression, besides several other democratic and progressive mass organizations have been opposing and resisting the brutal war waged by the reactionary Indian rulers in collusion with the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists.



These well-meaning democratic and peace-loving organizations and individuals have been calling upon both sides in the ongoing civil war to suspend violence and try to resolve issues through dialogue. Our Party has received such appeals from several organizations and individuals. Playing to the public sentiment, even as he continuously steps up his brutal offensive against the people, Chidambaram has been declaring time and again that he is ready to sit for talks with the CPI(Maoist) if the latter abjured violence for 72 hours. Ever since November last when the Union Home Minister uttered these words, they had acquired the status of a permanent joke: as much of a joke as his denial in the same interview of the existence of Operation Green Hunt and his description of it as a media invention. All the while the Centre had refused to accept any responsibility in the worst crimes and atrocities committed by the special commandos, state police, SPOs, and other state-sponsored private vigilante gangs with its specious and devious argument that law & order is a

state subject. The deviousness of the argument was revealed by the stark fact that while most of the perpetrators of these atrocities have been the central paramilitary forces during the period of Green Hunt, these too are absolved by the Centre on grounds that they had to follow the directives of the state government. Thus while refusing to put a halt to the brutal state terror unleashed by the Centre and various state governments, Chidambaram continues to shamelessly repeat his nauseating 72-hour-abjure-violence-and-hold-talks proposal to the CPI(Maoist).

While Chidambaram's 72-hour-abjure-violence humbug and his quixotic denial of Operation Green Hunt stand nakedly exposed before the public; while Chidambaram desperately tries to get others in the CCS to come over to his viewpoint of deploying the Indian Army and Air Force to "reclaim" the Maoist areas by bombing them if needed; he continues his cheap rhetoric regarding talks. The latest is a letter written by him to Swami Agnivesh on May 11, 2010. Upon the receipt of the letter from Swami Agniveshji the CPI(Maoist) promptly responded explaining its standpoint on cease-fire and talks.

We are reproducing below the two letters—one from the Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram to Swami Agnivesh written on May 11, 2010 and another a reply from CPI(Maoist) sent to Swami Agnivesh on May 31. These are not supposed to be released to the media immediately but surprisingly some newspapers claimed that they have copies of the two letters. And, instead of reproducing the contents of the letters, the papers distorted the contents, published whatever seemed to suit their own respective viewpoints, and thus presented a distorted picture to the readers. The excerpts from the letters that were published were accompanied by comments from police officials and others which were meant to obfuscate the facts and create confusion in the minds of the people. It was really amusing to see the stupid brains of the analysts who wrote that the Maoists are desperately trying for a cease-fire and talks since they are feeling the "heat" of the state offensive. Some commented that Maoists are trying to buy time through such a proposal. By reading the two letters even a layman can grasp how the Maoists think peace will prevail and what the Maoists had concretely proposed regarding cease-fire and talks. Since the media had distorted these letters, we are reproducing both the letters in full so as to provide clarity to the readers.

Letter from the Union Home Minister P Chidambaram to Swami Agnivesh

May 11, 2010

Dear Swami Agnivesh Ji,



I learned that you led a group of social activists on a peace march from Raipur to Dantewada between May 6-8, 2010. I have also learned that you advocated a cessation of violence for 72 hours “by either side before starting the peace process.” I congratulate you and thank you for your efforts.

While I respect your views and urge you to continue to help find a solution, I would like to clarify the Government’s position for your kind consideration:

- (1) The CPI(Maoist) should announce that they will abjure violence. To start, with, they could say that they will not indulge in any violent activities beginning a specified date, say, June 1, 2010. (This is only an example and it could be an earlier date too.)
- (2) Once the announcement is made, the Central Government will consult the Chief Ministers of the affected States and prepare a response well before the specified date. The response will include an invitation to the CPI(Maoist) to hold talks.
- (3) On the specified date (say, June 1), we would expect that the CPI(Maoist) will **Stop** all violent activities. We would closely observe whether the CPI(Maoist) will maintain the position of “no violence” for 72 hours. It goes without saying that, during the said period of 72 hours, the security forces will not conduct any operations against the CPI(Maoist).
- (4) It is our hope that talks will begin sometime during the period of 72 hours when there is “no violence”.
- (5) Once the talk begins, we would expect that the CPI(Maoist) will continue to maintain its position of “no violence until the talks are concluded.”

I would appreciate if you could kindly keep the contents of this letter confidential. This is in line with what I told you when you met me a few days ago. However, I would encourage you to reach out to the CPI(Maoist) and persuade them to accept the Government’s offer for talks, the sole condition being that the CPI(Maoist) should abjure violence.

With regards,
Yours sincerely
(P. Chidambaram)

Letter of CPI (Maoist) to Swami Agnivesh in Response to Union Home Minister’s Letter

Dear Swami Agniveshji,

We heard that you and other democratic intellectuals had gone on a peace march in Dantewada in the first week of May 2010 braving the disruption organized by the goons of the BJP and Congress. You might have realized how the state government and the Centre are determined to sabotage any attempt to bring peace to the region and to prevent anyone from making efforts in that direction. We appreciate the efforts of well-meaning intellectuals and social activists like you to bring peace to the region. We also appreciate the efforts made by you to convince the Union Government to come forward for a cease-fire and dialogue with our Party which had prompted the Union Home Minister to state the Government’s position on the issue.

We had gone through the letter written to you by the Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram dated May 11, 2010 which mentions the Government's position on the peace process and its offer for talks with the CPI(Maoist). The essence of his letter is that "the CPI(Maoist) should announce they will abjure violence" and specify a date from which they will not indulge in violent activities; should "stop all violent activities" from that date for 72 hours, and that the security forces will not conduct any operations against the CPI(Maoist); that "talks" would begin "sometime during the period of 72 hours when there is no violence"; and that the CPI(Maoist) should "continue to maintain its position of no violence until the talks are concluded."

We had already stated publicly our Party's position on cease-fire and talks with the government several times in the past. We wish to reiterate our Party's position once again in light of the proposals made by Mr. Chidambaram in his letter sent to you.

Firstly we hold the opinion that the cease-fire should be mutual. You are well aware of the continuous persecution of ordinary innocent people by the security forces in all the regions where the latter are deployed as part of the Operation Green Hunt. Not a day passes without an incident of murder, rape, abduction, torture of the adivasis and destruction of their property or stealing their belongings by these so-called security forces. How can the people or the Party and its various wings get confidence that the Government is serious in its intent for peace when it allows its forces to indulge in heinous atrocities on innocent unarmed people, when the government itself allows the suspension of all basic democratic rights of the citizens and consigns their own Constitution to the dust-bin? In such a situation it is necessary on the part of the government to prove its seriousness regarding the peace process by first halting its operations against innocent unarmed people and unequivocally stating that it is ready to observe cease-fire simultaneously with the CPI(Maoist) starting with a specified date. The practical measure to really ensure peace is the declaration of mutual cease-fire for a definite period, say, 2 or 3 months, to start with. Insisting that the CPI(Maoist) should declare that it will abjure violence is an unsound and unreasonable proposal. It implies that the Maoists are indulging in violence while the Government and its security forces have been fighting for peace. The facts actually are vice versa.

It is the paramilitary, police, private vigilante gangs sponsored by the government that are unleashing violence on the people on an hourly basis and the people are compelled to retaliate for their own survival. The Party and the PLGA too are compelled to undertake counter-offensive operations in their self-defence and in defence of the people. Hence it is the Government that has to instill confidence among the people and the Party cadres about its seriousness by first halting its offensive operations and attacks on the people instead of asking the Maoists to unilaterally declare that they will abjure violence.

Even more amusing is the time period of 72 hours which means just nothing. Such a short period cannot prove the seriousness on either side. Even a minor incident on either side can be picked up to prove the violation by the other side. A relatively longer period is necessary if we wish to really bring peace. It is only after a period of peace and the creation of a conducive atmosphere that talks can be held. Our Party is very serious about bringing about peace especially at the present juncture when lakhs of adivasis had fled, and are fleeing, their homes; when lakhs of adivasis are facing chronic conditions of hunger and famine due to their ouster from their lands and forcible closure of the weekly bazaars by the police and administration; when the adivasis are haunted by the threat of death any day by the most savage paramilitary, police, SPOs and private vigilante gangs. One should not be swayed by victories and

defeats at this critical juncture in the life of the adivasi community in our country but try to create conditions whereby their survival is ensured.

You are also aware of the difficulties involved for an underground party that is proscribed by the government to proceed for talks. Hence we had proposed the release of political prisoners from the jails. At the outset the Government can take the initiative to release at least some of our Party leaders so as to facilitate talks with them. Without referring to any of these proposals made by our Party, Mr. Chidambaram proposes that “talks will begin sometime during the period of 72 hours when there is no violence.” He also says that he expects that the CPI(Maoist) will “continue to maintain its position of ‘no violence’ until the talks are concluded.”

The above-mentioned proposal by Mr. Chidambaram, though it might appear apparently as genuine, actually lacks seriousness and is intended only to satisfy people like you who have been insisting on peace. His insistence on a 72-hour-period of peace on the part of the CPI(Maoist) and to hold talks during this period is like a joke. It only shows how Mr. Chidambaram lacks seriousness on the issue and wants to somehow complete the formality of talks, if at all they materialize, in order to satisfy the civil society. If the government is serious it should speak in terms of mutual cease-fire, for a longer period of time, and spell out the government’s stand on fulfilling the minimum requisites like release of leaders and lifting the ban on the CPI(Maoist) and the mass organisations. Its duplicity is also seen in its hectic preparations for stepping up its brutal armed offensive even as it speaks the language of peace and talks. Do you really believe that Mr. Chidambaram is earnest in proposing for talks when there are reports of how the central government is equipping its forces with several more choppers and preparing the Indian Army too for the war on people?

To sum up, our Party desires peace sincerely in the interests of the lakhs of adivasis who are being cruelly crushed under the jack-boots of the forces sent by the Indian State and the people of our country at large. However, to ensure the establishment of peace there should be cease-fire or cessation of hostilities by both sides simultaneously instead of asking one side to abjure violence. If the government is really serious about reducing levels of violence then it should immediately lift the ban on the party and mass organisations so as to facilitate them to take up open forms of struggle. If the government is serious about holding talks it should initiate measures to release Party leaders as a prelude to the release of political prisoners and most importantly, it should stop all its efforts to escalate the war including the measure of calling back all the paramilitary forces deployed in the war zones.

Once again we appreciate the efforts made by you and many others who earnestly desire to bring peace.

We hope that you will pursue your mission of bringing peace taking into consideration the suggestions mentioned by us in this letter. We look forward to positive results for your well-meaning efforts.

With regards,

Azad,
Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI(Maoist)
May 31, 2010.

News from the battlefield

Maoist guerillas wipe out 3 policemen in Dantewada

Maoist guerillas attacked the Gollapalli police station and wiped out three policemen in Dantewada on June 23. According to the Bastar IGP T.J. Longkumar one head constable and two constables who had gone to visit a local market near the police station were surrounded by the guerrillas and shot dead. It created a big commotion

The market was very close to the police station and the Maoists also fired upon the police station to prevent any rescue team from reaching the incident site, said the IGP.

Anti-Naxal commando killed in encounter with Maoists in West Bengal

Enthused by the first success scored by the joint central and state forces in Jangalmahal on June 16 after almost a year into their brutal war against the adivasis and the Maoists leading them, they stepped up their combing operations and armed offensive in the region, though it was still confined to the proximity of their camps and towns. On June 27 there was another engagement between the joint forces and the Maoist guerrillas near Ghretokham village in Kolaboni forest near Jhargram town. A jawan of the Specially Trained Armed Company (STRACO) force was killed and two more were injured. The police claimed that a Maoist guerrilla was also killed in the exchange of fire. However, it is not yet clear whether any Maoist cadre had indeed died in the incident or the joint force mercenaries had murdered a local villager and claimed him as a Maoist cadre. Details of the incident are still awaited.

Attack by CRPF on Maoist camp in Jharkhand repulsed: one Cobra killed, several injured

On June 12, 2010 a huge contingent of CRPF troops accompanied by the anti-Naxal commandos launched a massive attack on a camp run by the Maoists in the forests of West Singhbhum-Khunti districts of Jharkhand. The enemy troops obtained specific information regarding the camp from a paid informer. They encircled the camp, which is situated on a hill-top, and began to fire from all directions. However, the Maoist guerrillas repulsed the attack most courageously which shook the attackers. Six enemy troops who were injured seriously in the retaliatory fire by Maoist guerrillas, were admitted in Apollo Hospital, Ranchi, where one of them—a jawan belonging to the Cobra battalion named Himmat Singh, died a day later.

Seeing the fierce resistance by the Maoist fighters the CRPF-police forces turned tail and refused to advance even when orders were issued from their commanding officer. Thus the Maoists could retreat without any significant losses even though some Maoist leaders were present at the camp. The heroic resistance by the PLGA fighters facilitated the safe and organised retreat of all the members in the camp.

Quite amusingly, to cover up their cowardice and utter failure in causing any significant damage to the Maoists, the police officials and the government claimed that at least 10 Maoists were killed in the 24-hour-long exchange of fire between the two sides. When asked to show the bodies they could not show a single body and dished out their usual story that the corpses of their comrades were taken away by the retreating Maoists. Needless to say, there were hardly any takers for the police story, for was it possible for the Maoists to retreat speedily when they were being chased by a huge enemy if they were carrying 10 of the corpses of their comrades and several more injured. What were the “brave” central and state forces doing when the Maoists were retreating with over a score of comrades on their shoulders is a question none had asked and for which the officials have no answer. Despite the tall claims of successes against the Maoists by the government and the police, it is clear that they could not make any significant progress in their brutal offensive called Operation Green Hunt in Jharkhand. The attempts by the Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram to boost up the sagging morale of his troops during his visit to Jharkhand in the first week of June failed in achieving the desired result.

Jan Pitoori Saptah observed in Dandakaranya

Jan Pitoori Saptah (people’s rebellion week) was celebrated from 5th to 12th June throughout Dandakaranya special zone. People participated in the week-long celebrations by conducting public meetings, rallies, and undertaking extensive propaganda through posters, banners, leaflets, cultural programmes and so on. The People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) went on flag marches in several villages of Dantwada, Bijapur, Jagdalpur, Kanker, Narayanpur and Rajnandgaon districts. These were meant to instill confidence among the adivasis who were terrorized by the central paramilitary forces, state’s anti-Naxal forces, SPOs and state-sponsored salwa judum vigilante gangs.

The PLGA hailed the heroic resistance by the people led by the jan militia which had unnerved the reactionary ruling classes and their uniformed mercenaries sent to suppress the people’s just struggles

against the exploitation and oppression by the mining industry sharks, forest contractors, bureaucrats, political leaders, police officials and non-advansi landlords and traders. It called on the people to boldly resist the paramilitary-police-salwa judum combine and inflict deadly blows as in Tadimetla and Chingawaram. It called on each and every member of a family to be equipped with the traditional weapons to resist the enemy until the last



drop of one’s blood. People vowed that they will fight back with all their might in this life-or-death battle and throw out the mining sharks, contractors, and the central and state forces which are deployed by them to crush people’s resistance.

The transport services were withdrawn in most parts of these districts. Some roads like the Kunta-Sukma road were closed during the week. In Jagdalpur, interstate bus service came to a standstill and buses to Andhra Pradesh were cancelled. Overall the impact of the pitoori saptah on the people of the region was tremendous and has instilled new fighting spirit, collective will and a strong resolve to defeat the enemy offensive.

16 tonnes of ammonium nitrate seized by Maoist guerrillas

In the second attack on a truck carrying explosives in as many months Maoist guerrillas successfully carried away a huge quantity of high grade ammonium nitrate in Kanker district of Chhattisgarh. The operation was carried out on May 19 near Bhanupur on National Highway No 43 about 50 km from Jagdalpur. A similar attack in neighbouring Gadchiroli district in Maharashtra in March had fetched 16 ½ tonnes of explosives. The two successful attacks in a span of two months had unnerved the reactionary rulers who had been trying desperately to block all supplies to the guerrillas. The incidents had also led to further lowering of the morale of the paramilitary-police forces who had been suffering heavy casualties in recent months and have become paranoid about land-mines and IEDs whenever they move in the Maoist-influenced areas. The fact that even their bullet-proof and mine-proof vehicles are being torn apart in land-mine blasts has shattered the confidence and morale of these forces, and as per reports pouring in, many have been refusing to venture out into the areas and are staying put in their camps.

It needs hardly any mention that the ongoing civil war, when seen in terms of the numbers, training, sophisticated weapons, explosives and other resources available to the two sides, is a highly unequal contest. While the oppressed people of India led by the CPI(Maoist) have begun their fight against the mighty Indian State with virtually no weapons in their hands and had gradually equipped themselves with some weaponry in the course of the war, the forces of the Indian State sent to protect the tiny reactionary ruling elite comprising of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, feudal forces and the filthy rich backed by imperialism, have unlimited access to the most sophisticated weaponry and other resources. Moreover, the entire state apparatus is engaged in preventing the Maoists from acquiring arms. The small workshops of the Maoists manufacturing inferior arms are frequently raided, their network in other regions is destroyed. Hence the Maoist guerrillas have no other option than to confiscate arms, ammunition and explosives from the enemy.

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 privatised 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.

Narayanpatna's Anti-Feudal Struggle Touches new heights

The anti-feudal anti-State revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people of Narayanpatna has drawn the attention of the entire country. The media had described the Narayanpatna struggle as a second Lalgadh. The land issue which had remained unresolved for ages has become the central focus of this struggle. Around 4000 acres of land were occupied by the landless and poor peasants of the area under the leadership of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS). This naturally provoked the ire of the powers that be. Immediately the State rushed in its brute force to suppress the militant anti-feudal struggle and to protect the big landlords whom it represents. The issue of land struggle and the activities of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh which is leading the struggle became an important part of the agenda in the State Assembly. Private vigilante gangs like Shanti Sena and Nagarik Suraksha Samiti were formed as part of the state's campaign of suppression of the struggle.

Odisha has a long history of adivasi resistance to feudal and colonial oppression and exploitation by contractors, non-advansi oppressors. Of the six major adivasi rebellions in Odisha between 1817 to 1942, the Koraput rebellion under the leadership of Laxman Naik has acquired great fame. In 1942, when the people went to the police station in Mythili in Koraput demonstrating against British colonial oppression, the police opened fire on people. They arrested Laxman Naik who fell down after bayonet charge by the police. He was given death sentence and 30 others were served life imprisonment on the charge of killing a forest guard. Laxman Naik was hanged on March 29, 1943. If this showed the heroic history of resistance against British colonialism by the people of Koraput, today a similar resistance has unfolded in Narayanpatna area in the same district. Like their British colonial masters, the present rulers and their police dogs have unleashed the same type of suppression on the people.

Post-1947 situation in Odisha

Extreme poverty, literacy, disease and land alienation etc have been the bane of the adivasis of Odisha since 1947. Districts like Koraput, Kalahandi, Gajapathi, Ganjam were the worst in terms of socio-

economic indicators. Oppression and exploitation of adivasis had intensified further with affluent farmers from coastal Andhra and coastal districts of Odisha snatching the lands by using unscrupulous methods. Most of the fertile land of the adivasis thus went into the hands of these exploiters from outside. The so-called 2/56 Act which was supposed to protect land alienation among the adivasis remained only on paper as non-adivasis freely seized the adivasi lands with the active connivance of the government officials and the police. By 2002 even this Act was altered to a large extent and powers were granted to district Collectors to decide on land matters. This deprived the adivasis of all rights on their lands.

In undivided Koraput at the time when it was split into the districts of Koraput, Rayagada, Malkangiri and Nabrangpur, the total number of families below poverty line constituted 2,21,845 out of the total of 2,66,707 or 84 per cent of the population. Of this, 46.62% were adivasis and 13 % were dalits.

Narayanpatna block in Koraput of the 9,560 families 8,517 families or 89 % of the population was below poverty line. Of the total poor 81.58 per cent were adivasis and 7.13 per cent were dalits. There were hardly any new jobs created during the post-47 period. The only recruitment was to the police forces meant to suppress people's struggles. Education, health care, roads and communications had not touched Narayanpatna all these decades. Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram, GK Pillai and others who yell like mad dogs every day that Maoists are an obstacle to development should hang their heads in shame at the horrifying apathy and criminal neglect of regions like Narayanpatna where no Maoists were present for almost six decades after the fake independence. Let alone providing the bare needs of the people the vultures that lord over the adivasis in the name of civil administration and police had even eaten away almost 90 per cent of the funds allotted for social welfare schemes. Even worse, these vultures had connived with the non-adivasi exploiters to deprive the adivasis of even their own lands.

It was under such pathetic conditions that the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) was formed in Narayanpatna block in 2004. The organization was active for almost 15 years in other parts of Odisha. The CMAS organized struggles on several people's issues.



In June 2008, thousands of adivasis from around a hundred villages in six panchayats in the block took out rallies and planted red flags on lands that were seized by non-adivasi landlords. From 5th to 10th July the occupied land was distributed among the landless and poor peasants. In total around 3000 acres of land were occupied and distributed. The militant mass struggle of adivasis threw out the landlords, bad gentry, liquor contractors and other oppressors who opposed the struggle from the villages. Those who surrendered their lands to the people and promised to abide by the decisions of the organization were allowed to stay in the villages.

In January 2009, anti-liquor agitation assumed full swing. Attacks on liquor shops, both government and private, were organised on a massive scale in Narayanpatna block centre. Illicit liquor outlets, distilleries, and vehicles carrying such liquor were destroyed. Women took active part in these attacks. The anti-liquor agitation of Narayanpatna enthused the people of several other blocks in Koraput and surrounding districts and soon this gave rise to more anti-feudal struggles.

The anti-liquor and anti-feudal struggle of the adivasis, their collective struggle to occupy the lands of the landlords brought qualitative change in adivasi consciousness and lives. They realized the truth that once the people are consolidated no power can defeat them. The series of victories had enthused the people to take up struggles on other issues and in other blocks as well. The fact that the 5-year-long legal struggle for land through various forms such as peaceful demonstrations, submission of petitions to the Tehsildars, BDOs, Collector, and political leaders proved futile and that only physical occupation of the land through collective action could yield results convinced the people about the need for militant revolutionary forms of struggle to achieve their demands.

State bares its fascist fangs

Rattled by the sudden turn of events and upset by the loss of their lands and power the defeated landlords and bad gentry mobilized the state machinery and all resources at their disposal to suppress the CMAS. The landlords who lost their lands, those bad elements who were punished by the CMAS, some tribal elders whose traditional power took a beating, the liquor contractors whose illegal businesses were affected, and the leaders of the Congress and BJD hatched conspiracies and unleashed cruel repression on members of CMAS. They mobilized the lumpen anti-social elements in the area by pouring huge sums of money, organized them into Shanti Sanghs and Nagarik Suraksha Samitis. The state repression on CMAS in Narayanpatna began in 2004 itself. In 2006 CMAS leader Linga and some others were arrested.



On 5th May 2009, the Shanti Sangh mobilized 4000 people and held a rally in Narayanpatna town. They shouted slogans that CMAS should be banned, its leaders should be arrested, the lands seized by the peasantry should be returned to the landlords, and so on. A memorandum was submitted to the BDO. Attacks were stepped up on the following day. The houses of 10 members of CMAS were destroyed and belongings were stolen in Dunchida village. In Basanput village, houses of Teelsu and Sahdev Porida were destroyed.

To resist this onslaught people from several villages, armed with traditional weapons, organized themselves boldly against the vigilante gangs and state forces. They resisted heroically the state-sponsored goons and chased them for 5 km. One member of the vigilante gang named Nityanand Mallik of Gothiguda village died in the CMAS resistance. While the Shanti Sangham beat a retreat after resistance by CMAS the State pumped in more resources to strengthen it further. It was set up in all blocks of Koraput to prevent the further spread of the Maoists and to mobilize support for the beleaguered gang in Narayanpatna. Rallies, meetings and dharnas were organized in Bandhgaon, Simliguda, Lakshmipur, Damanjodi, Nandpur, Kakkarigumma, Dashmantpur and other areas. They tried to project the chasi mulia sangh and adivasis as anarchists and dacoits; created a wedge between adivasi and non-adivasi masses, and pit one section against another. These private vigilante gangs are set up and funded by the Congress and BJD parties representing the big landlords and the comprador business houses in Odisha, as well as the Nalco and Indalco companies which have vested interests in acquiring control over the entire bauxite reserves in the Devmali range of hills. The vigilante gangs in turn serve these landlords and Nalco and Indalco vultures which plunder the resources and oppress the adivasis. They have acute hatred for CMAS since the latter has been mobilizing the adivasis into land occupation

struggles directed against the big landlords and in militant struggle against bauxite mining in Devmali Hills.

Resisting the state onslaught and the cruel offensive by state-sponsored Shanti Sangh gangs, and condemning the disinformation campaign unleashed by them, CMAS organized a huge rally in Lakshimpur in August 2009. The police did not give permission for the meeting. The police and Shanti Committees tried to block the vehicles and people who were coming to the meeting. Despite this, thousands of people, mass organization members, Genava Bahini youth, armed with their traditional weapons and carrying red flags, placards and banners, marched all the way from Narayanpatna to Lakshimpur and successfully held the meeting. Scared by the rising consciousness of the people and their growth into a consolidated force, the state-sponsored vigilante gangs demanded that the government should ban CMAS and arrest and hang its leaders like Nachika Linga. They demanded that the lands seized by the people under the leadership of CMAS should be returned to the landlords. They organized a bandh in Koraput on October 21.

It is the so-called Peace Committees which are destroying the peace in the region by creating divisions and fights among the oppressed people. The government is adding fuel to the fire while pretending to resolve the contradictions and tensions and establish peace. By deploying a huge police force it is resorting to indiscriminate arrests and attacks on the adivasis and members of CMAS. It mobilized several hundred troops of CRPF besides local police into Narayanpur town. These forces have begun to organize frequent raids on villages and arresting people on the pretext of helping the Maoists.

On June 18, 2009 Maoist guerrillas wiped out 10 policemen in a daring ambush near Palur. Following this the police began to harass the people even more. Adivasis who went to weekly bazaars were arrested, anyone seen after 6 in the evening was shot at, and youth were illegally detained and tortured. These atrocities by the police had infuriated the people so much that the victims and the people at large came out in massive protest into the streets. 3000 people surrounded the Narayanpatna police station and the CRPF camp. They raised slogan against police atrocities and demanded an immediate end to these atrocities and also an apology from the police. The police had to bow to the organized strength of the protestors and were compelled to apologise before the people and give a written letter assuring that such things would not occur in future.

The people of Narayanpatna were not content with peaceful protests alone for these cannot stop the marauders from illegally arresting, maiming, killing, raping and stealing the property of adivasis. Hence they prepared themselves to resist the police with the traditional weapons they possessed. After the Palur ambush the people of five surrounding villages stayed in Palur in support of the people. The police who went to arrest and beat up the people of Palur had to quickly beat a retreat after seeing the huge crowd in the village. In order to prevent police reinforcements from reaching Narayanpatna, the people also blocked all roads leading to the place from Bandhugaon, Lakshimpur, Rayagada and Koraput. The government had to use helicopters just to supply rations for the beleaguered police-paramilitary forces in Narayanpatna town.

In October 2009 when the Narayanpatna police put up posters bearing the photos of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh leaders Linga, Singanna and Rampadha declaring that they will be arrested, the infuriated people surrounded the police station and demanded an apology. 2000 people surrounded the station. At that time too the police tendered apology and lied that they did not put up the said posters. In

November 2009 people of the villages falling in Narayanpatna block decided to reap the crop collectively in the lands they had seized from the landlords and worked hard throughout the season. At around 10 in the morning of November 20 police went to Dumbaguda village which was 2km from Narayanpatna. They began to harass the people asking them to reveal the whereabouts of Maoists, abused women and CMAS. In protest against this behavior of the police a call was given by Nachika Linga to proceed to Narayanpatna PS. Immediately people began to gather near the station. Upon seeing the people and unable to answer the questions raised by the people the police went inside the station and locked the gate. People were further infuriated; the Geneva Bahini youth led by CMAS leader comrade Singanna broke open the lock and questioned the station house officer who had given written assurances earlier not to harass the villagers. At this time suddenly the policemen opened fire at the protestors. Popular leader of CMAS Comrade Andru, who was waiting outside the gate, died on the spot after a bullet pierced through his head. Comrade Singanna was hit by bullets and as he fell down the cruel policemen hacked him to death with axes. While comrades Andru and Singanna became martyrs several more were injured in police firing. With this unexpected turn of events, people had to retreat from the spot.

Thus the reactionary forces murdered CMAS leaders Singanna and Andru in accordance with a pre-hatched conspiracy. They imposed Section 144 to prevent the gathering of people following the martyrdom of comrades Andru and Singanna. By next morning another 7 Companies of paramilitary force was brought to Narayanpatna. Schools and hostels were vacated and were filled with police and paramilitary. The lumpen elements and tribal elders who were kicked out of the villages earlier for their anti-people activity, and the Shanti Committee members camped in Narayanpatna, sealed the office of CMAS, destroyed the house of Gumpa, an activist of CMAS. The entire town was covered with policemen who conducted flag marches to terrorise the people. It became difficult to even bring the dead bodies of the CMS leaders. At last women went to the police station on 21st night to get the bodies. The funeral procession of comrades Andru and Singanna was held on 23rd and thousands of people participated in the funeral in the midst of police restrictions and threats. They came by foot to Podapodar—the native village of Comrade Singanna—from tens of kilometers escaping the police surveillance. Raising slogans like “Comrades Singanna, Andru Amar Rahe!”, “We shall fulfill the dreams of our Martyrs!” and so on thousands of people took pledge to continue the struggle for land, justice and liberation.

The cruel attacks by the lawless policemen and the peace committee lumpen gangs have reached unbearable proportions. By day-break the police and some peace committee gangs would divide themselves into 3 or 4 batches and commence their simultaneous attacks on a selected village. Peace committee mercenaries act as guides for the police forces and also stand in the forefront in torturing the arrested people. They enter a village before people wake up, and fire in the air so that none escapes from the village, beat up everyone including old men and women as well as children. Heckling at them with dialogues such as “Let you Singanna come now and save you!” these rogues in uniform and their peace gangs are forcing the people to declare that they are leaving the CMAS.

The atrocities of these lumpen gangs are simply indescribable. The foodgrains are thrown away and Endrin is mixed to make them useless for consumption. The belongings are destroyed or stolen. Even the ordinary instruments like swords, axes, spades etc are seized. Creating terror and taking away the youth from the villages has become the daily routine of the peace committees. Every day one village is selected for raid. Houses of CMAS leader of Narayanpatna, Nachika Linga, and Kouribadi panchayat leader Rampadha were raided. They organized combing operations like ‘Operation Linga’, ‘Wanted

Linga' to arrest Linga, declared they will arrest Linga and 18 others, threatened that the leaders of CMS should surrender in the police station.

Militant role of women in the Narayanpatna struggle

It is the women who are in the forefront when the police and the lumpen peace committee gangs conducted raids on the villages and detained people. They always keep chilly powder at hand along with their traditional weapons. In the anti-liquor agitation too the chief role was that of women. It was the militant attacks on illicit distilleries by groups of women that had forced the closure of liquor shops in Narayanpatna. In several villages women were in the forefront whenever police and lumpen gangs raided the houses of ACMS activists and leaders, confronted the police courageously and on several occasions succeeded in pushing back the police from the villages.



For instance, in Tellapai village in Borigi panchayat, 50 policemen entered the village in June 2009 and tried to arrest some men and destroy property. Women gathered in large number, caught hold of a policeman. Fearing he would be lynched in the hands of the women, the policemen fired in the air and managed to free their colleague.

In another instance, on 3rd August 2009, around 35 Grey hounds from AP went to Jangadivalasa village of Kerubadi panchayat in Bandhugaon block. The women of the village encircled the greyhounds and engaged them in arguments while sending word to the neighbouring villages. Soon women and men descended from all sides and seized the weapons, kit bags and cell phones from the policemen. They were tied with ropes and asked why they were coming into Odisha. These so-called anti-Naxal special force personnel were so much overcome with fear and panic they fell at the feet of the women begging them to release them. They promised they would never again come to their villages. The people took them to the main road and released them only after the BDO and local SI gave a written assurance that they would not resort to harassing the people again.

In Diguvalochi village in Borigi panchayat, when police raided the houses one *pejju* was conducting puja. In adivasi tradition a *pejju* is a male who wears the attire of a woman and performs puja. Two policemen entered the house thinking it was a woman and tried to harass. *Pejju* immediately poured the water boiling on the stove on the policemen. With faces burnt the policemen began to flee letting out cries of pain. Women and children chased them pelting stones. Women had successfully prevented the police from arresting the men; the women also secured the release of their men on several occasions when they were detained by the police. Women were in the forefront during rallies, demonstrations on various people's issues, and gheraos of the police stations.

In October 2009 when posters were brought out by the police with photos of Nachika Linga, Singanna and Rampadha describing them as anarchists and dacoits it was 2000 women who had surrounded the police station, tore off the posters, jumped the police station gates which were locked, and gheraoed the SHO who gave a letter of assurance that the police would not resort to such things in future. In the November 20 incident too women participated in large number. Later they went to the

station to bring the dead bodies of Andru and Singanna. In order to suppress the growing resistance of women the police unleashed attacks on women. In Palput village a woman's organization leader Kumundini was arrested and sent to jail.

The state police unleashed repression on even neutral observers and civil rights activists. Tapan Mishro and another person who were proceeding to Narayanpatna to meet the people were detained in Bandhugaon, accused as Maoists, false cases were foisted and pushed into jail. A women's team comprising of women from various states to study the conditions of women, the persecution and attacks on the women of Narayanpatna was stopped by the police of Narayanpatna and was sent back. Veteran social activist Medha Patkar demanded the government to provide protection to Nachika Linga and his property, and refuted the police claim that Nachika Linga is a criminal. Political Prisoners' Release Committee condemned the police firing on November 20, the attacks and arrests made by the police after the Nov 20 incident, and demanded that all those arrested be treated as political prisoners. Thus several democratic forces, prominent intellectuals and other fraternal organisations extended support to the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh of Narayanpatna notwithstanding the open threats by the police and the state-sponsored vigilante gangs.

Narayanpatna struggle rallies broad democratic forces

Several fraternal and democratic forces, members of the intelligentsia, and others have extended support to the ongoing anti-feudal anti-state struggle of the people of Narayanpatna. They had condemned the brutal onslaught by the State, demanded an impartial enquiry into the police firings and atrocities on the people, and participated in several protests as well as the funeral procession of comrade Singanna. Prominent personalities like Prafulla Samantroy of Lokshakti Abhiyan, Balachandra Shadangi of CPI(ML)-New democracy, Sivaram of Basti Suraksha Samiti, Akhil Bharat Khet Mazdoor Sangham secretary of Vizianagarm Sathyanarayana, Ganti Prasadam from Lok Sangram Manch, Tirupati Gomango of CPI(ML), Dandapani Mahanti, Tapan Mishro and several others attended the funeral. The police and peace committee goons tried to stop them from attending the funeral by creating hurdles. Their vehicles were stopped in Simliguda, Lakshimpur and Bandhugaon but they managed to reach the place on foot.

Condemning the police firing of November 20 joint action committee of mass organizations issued a call for Odisha bandh on November 28. In several districts like Rayagada, Malkangiri, Koraput, Kandhamal, Gajapati etc people observed bandh voluntarily.

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intellectuals and other fraternal organisations extended support to the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh of Narayanpatna notwithstanding the open threats by the police and the state-sponsored vigilante gangs.

Narayanpatna struggle is poised to take on new higher forms

The struggle in Narayanpatna which began on various people's issues particularly on the issue of ban on liquor has graduated into a powerful anti-feudal struggle. To suppress this people's struggle the state as the representative of big landlords, forest and land mafia, multinational mining companies and big comprador corporate houses, has mobilized all means at its disposal. Naturally the anti-feudal struggle in Narayanpatna can now only advance by defeating the state offensive by adopting various new and creative forms of struggle. The people of Narayanpatna are determined to fight back the state offensive come what may.

In fact, the adivasis living in Narayanpatna block had become victims of terrible exploitation and gross injustice at the hands of non-tribal outsiders. Particularly in the past 15 years non-tribals who had migrated from outside had taken over almost all the tribal land in exchange for a few bottles of liquor! Today the land in the possession of the adivasis who comprise 90 per cent of the population in Narayanpatna block is a mere 5 per cent. One might wonder how this had become possible when laws exist to protect the right of adivasis over their paternal land and guarantee them from being dispossessed of their lands through the Orissa Scheduled Areas Transfer of Movable Property Regulation and other laws. But this phenomenon is nothing unusual and is the major issue in almost every region inhabited by poor adivasis in our country. It reveals the real face of Indian democracy. It reveals the hideous ugly features of the Indian social system and the state structure hidden behind a mask of democracy. It reveals the complete connivance of the police, bureaucrats, political leaders and judges against the poor illiterate adivasis. In a period of just 15 years the tribals in one block had been dispossessed of their entire land by a few blood-sucking parasites from outside who have the capacity to buy off the police and administration and make them dance to their tunes.

After several years of peaceful protests the adivasis had at last decided to take their struggle to higher forms.

The district administration and the police have been trying to strike a compromise by propagating that the people can till the captured lands on condition that they part with half the produce to the landlords. They are wooing the weak elements to surrender and strike a deal with the landlords and the state. However, the people have refused to be cowed down. They had declared that they would not part with the crops they had produced through their hard labour and that they would destroy the crop or allow it to rot if the police-landlord combine makes attempts to seize it.

A few old-aged men in some villages had surrendered due to police pressure. The Genava Bahini youth are organizing and encouraging the people to resist the state's armed offensive. While almost all the youth had left the villages, women and old men are guarding the villages by doing sentry duties. The cruel attacks by the police and lumpen peace committee gangs have failed to break the resolve of the people whose hatred and anger for the reactionary class enemies and the Indian state is transforming into a mighty militant revolutionary movement. Those who had lost their family members and crops are seething with anger against the blood-sucking parasites and their representative Indian state. The

police and peace committee gangs think that through their cold-blooded murder of comrades Singanna and Andru they had suppressed the people's militant struggle and rendered the ACMS leaderless. They are conspiring to murder the remaining leaders of the organization.

The people began harvesting their crops on December 23. When the police tried to disrupt it Maoist guerrillas organized an ambush that wiped out a commando and injured another three belonging to the Special Operations Group (SOG) on the next day. The people of Narayanpatna successfully completed their harvesting operations.

The Narayanpatna struggle has great potential to transform into a struggle against imperialist and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. It has inspired the people of surrounding areas and has extended to six blocks of Koraput district. It has galvanised the people of adjacent Devmali hills into militant struggle. The big hill ranges in Pottangi block in Koraput district have huge bauxite reserves. According to an estimate the total bauxite reserves in the 17 sq km area in Kotia, Turia and Kanti panchayats in Pottangi block are around 370 million tonnes. In the Panchpatti block in the same Koraput district Nalco had undertaken bauxite mining over the past 30 years and transported huge quantities to the Nalco factory in Damanjodi. Nalco has taken over the Devmali range of hills also on lease. It has completed the construction of roads and rest houses on these hills. It has made all preparations to commence mining anytime. The Nalco management has asked the people of the villages to vacate their villages. This has become a life-or-death struggle for the people of these villages. The Adivasi Chasi Mulia Sangh has extended its total support to the just struggle of the people of Devmali Hills. In April 2009 an organization called Devmali Suraksha samiti was formed at a public meeting attended by 12,000 people. It gave the call to preserve the Devmali hills and to wage united militant struggle against the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic capitalists who are plundering the resources of the region, destroying the environment and displacing the local people.

Red Salutes to the Martyrs of Salboni! Let us vow to avenge the death of our beloved comrades!!

Eight comrades belonging to a PLGA squad of the CPI(Maoist) died on June 16 near Salboni in West



Midnapur district of West Bengal while fighting heroically the combined forces of the central paramilitary, state special police forces and the vigilante harmad gangs of the ruling CPI(M). Though no Maoist leader was among the martyrs, it can be described as the first ever success of the joint forces of central and state mercenaries in their year-long offensive in the Jangalmahal region. The incident happened just two days before the completion of the first anniversary of the joint counter-revolutionary armed

campaign against the Maoists and the people of the region. The TV channels and papers showed the sadistic smiles lighting up the faces of the hitherto highly demoralized police and paramilitary forces who had been suffering casualties continuously ever since they entered Lalgarh on June 18 2009.

Particularly ghastly were the scenes of policemen carrying the dead bodies of the Maoists, including three women, on bamboo poles like animals. This evoked severe criticism and reactions from all over the country. Seeing the reactions from the people, even the Special DG, CRPF Vijay Raman, had to

immediately condemn the carrying of dead bodies in such a manner describing it as a barbaric practice. He dissociated the CRPF from the incident and blamed the state police for it. The Union Home Ministry too criticized the incident and issued a directive on carrying dead bodies in future.

In fact, the central paramilitary forces had initially boasted as soon as they entered Lalgargh on June 18 that they would finish off the Maoists within a few weeks. A DIG named Praveen Kumar had continuously boasted that the joint forces were achieving major successes, that they were close to capturing Maoist top leaders, and that Maoists would witness many surprises within days. The state DGP Bhupinder Singh had declared several times that it wouldn't take long for the joint forces to completely wipe out the Maoists from Jangalmahal. The entire private vigilante gangs of the ruling CPI(M) too were engaged in the war against the Maoists and the adivasis of Jangalmahal. However, all this public boasting and desperate attempts to mobilize the forces at the disposal of the state, Centre and the ruling CPI(M) failed to achieve any success worth the name during the past one year. On the



the solitary 'Maoist' taken alive in Salboni has been revealed to be a mentally-challenged mute-boy

contrary, the Maoist ranks swelled further as recruitment increased, enemy casualties rose due to meticulous planning and execution of guerrilla attacks on the state's forces by the PLGA, and the morale of the enemy's forces went into an all-time low.

At this point of time the reactionaries decided to concentrate all their forces on a specific area and work towards eliminating relatively smaller formations of the Maoists. Intelligence network was built up diligently by pouring huge sums of money. Disinformation campaign was taken up on a wide scale creating illusions among people that there were serious rifts and differences among the Maoists, that there was fratricidal bloodletting inside

the party, that adivasis have lost confidence on party leadership who they see as representing non-adivasis, and so on. At the same time surrenders were sought to be encouraged along with some rehabilitation.

The onward march of the revolutionary movement in Lalgargh and entire Jangalmahal shook the rulers. They further increased the central paramilitary forces in the region, unleashed attacks on democratic forces and prominent intellectuals who questioned government strategy. The martyrdom of eight comrades on June 16 has strengthened the resolve of the Party, PLGA and the people at large to deal effective blows against the enemy forces. The people of Jangalmahal led by the Maoists will certainly avenge the martyrdom of our beloved comrades.

Red Salutes to comrade Anand, a popular leader of Malnad region in Karnataka

(Since we received this report on the martyrdom of comrade Anand in March quite late we are publishing it in the current issue of MIB)

On March 1st 2010, comrade Anand, LGS commander and Area Committee Member, was killed in a police encounter in the Malnad region of Western Ghats in Karnataka. The notorious Special Task Force (STF) of the saffron fascist Yediyurappa government in Karnataka, after getting a tip-off from an informer, laid an ambush and killed comrade Anand. Comrade Anand, hailing from a poor Malekudiya adivasi family, played an important role in building the fledgling revolutionary movement in Sayhadri forest.

Comrade Anand came into contact with Karnataka Vimochana Ranga—an organization leading the nationality movement in Karnataka—in 1999 during the anti-Kudremukh National Park struggle and became the secretary of the local unit. He was one of the main comrades in mobilizing and organizing the peasants, particularly the adivasis against the national park. He led many militant struggles against the forest department.

Comrade Anand was recruited to the party in 2001 and became a PR by the end of 2002. Even before that, when the armed squads were formed in Malnad in May 2002, he moved with the squad showing routes and introducing the people in the new villages. After joining the squad he showed much interest in learning military matters and weaponry. He became commander of the LGS in 2007 and participated in all military actions against the class enemies and the police in that area.

Although he is the youngest son in his family he played a conscious role in bringing his family closer to the party and to recruit two of his brothers and a sister as PRs. Inspired by the growth of revolutionary movement in the adivasi areas of Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, Orissa, and West Bengal he worked untiringly and enthusiastically to bring the oppressed and exploited adivasis of Malnad into the revolutionary movement. Being a disciplined soldier of the party he carried out every task, regardless of how arduous and difficult, entrusted to him by the party with zeal and commitment. He dreamt of transforming the hills and forests of Western Ghats into a red bastion free from exploitation and oppression.

Let us pay our red homage to our beloved martyr. Let us pledge to pay the blood debt by avenging the gruesome killing of our beloved martyrs and by fulfilling their dreams.



Massive protests in Kashmir against the barbarities of the Indian State

In the eyes of the olive green-khaki mercenaries hired by the Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram gang to unleash blood-bath in Kashmir be eliminated. No matter if it is a employee, a shopkeeper, an woman. With unlimited freedom these uniformed mercenaries hired and harass the ordinary Kashmiri turned into a killing field ever since profusely under every reactionary checking cross-border terrorism, up their brutal murderous offensive in Kashmir Valley, ending up in cruelly murdering ordinary people in cold blood.



Valley every Kashmiri is a terrorist to school boy or girl, a government unemployed youth, or an old man or granted by Delhi and Srinagar to by the Indian State to kill, maim, rape men and women the Valley has been 1989 and continues to bleed regime. Of late, under the pretext of these killing machines had stepped

The recent murders committed by the Indian occupation army, paramilitary, and local police are mind-chilling. Week after week innocent youth are picked up from the villages and towns and are bumped off in the name of terrorists from across the border. Every brutal act committed by these uniformed mercenaries has the sanction of the Indian rulers and is justified by the political establishment. This has become glaringly evident right from the time of the Pathribal “encounter” of

2000 to the latest killing of a youth in Sopore. When five Kashmiri youth were murdered in cold blood by the Indian Army in March 2000 the then Union Home Minister LK Advani, representing the saffron Hindu fascist terrorists, claimed that five Lashkar terrorists were eliminated in a fierce gun-battle with the Indian Army and the police. They were dubbed as terrorists responsible for the killing of 36 Sikhs in Chittisinghpora. It was only due to public outrage and sustained agitation in the midst of threats and intimidation by the army and police that the case was taken up for investigation. The CBI, in one of the rarest cases of ferreting out the truth in its entire history, concluded that the encounter was indeed fake. It charge sheeted five Army officers for the murder. Meanwhile the culprits had even been promoted pending investigation.

Pathribal exposure did not act as a deterrent for the trigger-happy Army mercenaries whose anti-Muslim bias and their urge to show results and obtain gallantry medals in return, had only increased the number of Pathribals. Armed with the draconic Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) which exempts the army officials from the normal criminal proceedings when they murder or rape anyone, the soldiers virtually have nothing to be scared off. The immunity of these super citizens from the country's criminal laws has led to massive escalation of the atrocities on ordinary citizens in Kashmir.

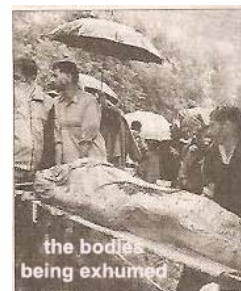
In 2007 the Army's counter-insurgency wing called Rashtriya Rifles and the J-K police abducted five villagers in Ganderbal and murdered them dubbing them as militants.



Shafi Lone's grieving mother Zahida

To get rewards the Army had also organized fake surrenders besides fake encounters. In 2005, for instance, 41 villagers from Char-e-Sharief were taken to Delhi and kept in illegal Army custody for six months. They were later produced before the Corps Commander and the DGP in a stage-managed surrender ceremony. Even after this fake surrender was exposed neither the Brigadier nor the other Army officers involved were punished.

Thus the case of the brutal horrifying murder of Shahzad, Shafi and Riyaz by the Army officials on April 30 is not surprising. Such atrocities had been common-place in the Valley but they acquire prominence only when people come out in massive protests and press relentlessly for justice. These three youth from Baramulla were lured into the trap laid by an Army agent who did the dirty job of finding unemployed youth from the villages to be handed to the Army officials who are desperate to show results and get rewards. The three youth were lured with the promise of jobs, and handed over to a Major on April 29 in exchange for Rs. 1.5 lakh and a few bottles of whiskey. The Army officials killed the three innocent youth that night in Machail in Kupwara district. The Army's policy of rewarding the soldiers monetarily for every terrorist or infiltrator killed has led to a spate of such stage-managed encounter killings of innocent people either abducted or lured with jobs by Army agents. All these are shown as terrorists or infiltrators from Pakistan. It was only the people's protests which had forced the authorities to exhume the bodies from their graves and conduct re-postmortems. Though it had been incontrovertibly proved that the murders of the three youth were organized by the Major and other Army officials there is nothing that the country's laws can do about it since these officials are protected by the AFSPA. It is yet another thing that the country's laws themselves are impotent and biased against the common people that they can punish none from the rich and influential sections of the society and the state's various armed forces.



the bodies being exhumed



Hence, while the Indian Army has its own way protected by the notorious and criminal AFSPA, the CRPF and other paramilitary forces, the local police too have nothing to fear even if they commit cold-blooded murders publicly. When not even one in a hundred cases of such inhuman atrocities had been dealt with seriously by the government then why should any policeman or central mercenary have any fear whatsoever? Hence the blood-bath continues with Sonia, Manmohan, Chidambaram, Antony and others watching the fun and, like true Gandhians, without ever speaking any evil against their forces committing murders, tortures, rapes etc on the Kashmiri people. Delhi's puppet chief minister Omar Abdullah—the Hamid Karzai of Kashmir—too watches these atrocities on his own people letting out an occasional whimper about the excesses of CRPF. But his own policemen had raped and murdered three women in Shopian which had witnessed months of turmoil due to the attempts of cover-up indulged in by Abdullah's government.

The latest incidents in the Valley which killed 8 people, including a 9-year-old boy, had given rise to massive protests in several areas with people from every section of society coming out into the streets and fighting the most sophisticated enemy in uniform with what the people have access to—the stones. In fact, stone-pelting has become a great new form of struggle in Kashmir. One had witnessed this on a major scale in the Palestinian Intifada. Today with virtually all forms of peaceful protest having been proved futile and are brutally crushed by the Army, CRPF and the police, there is no other option left before the people than to fight with whatever weapon they can get hold of without being charged of possessing a weapon. Hence the STONE has become the weapon of the AAM AADMI. And with quite a devastating effect! And in many cases the bare hands themselves have become powerful weapons and the notorious Army, paramilitary and police mercenaries who happen to fall into the people's hands would be lynched without mercy as the monsters that suck the blood of the Kashmiris every day deserve no mercy. The Kashmiris, known to be very much peace-loving and humanistic, had lost and are daily losing so many of their kith and kin in the hands of these mercenaries that there is hardly any time or space left to think of mercy.

It is time that every Indian raises his/her voice in support of Kashmiri nation's *azadi*. The Kashmiris have the inalienable right to form their own independent sovereign state if they feel so. Today when the vast majority of the Kashmiris think they would be better off by seceding from India then what prevents the Indian State from accepting this democratic demand of an entire nation? It is only the expansionist nature of the Indian rulers, their ambition to have as much territory as possible under their country, and the lure of the riches of Kashmir which will never allow them to accept the democratic aspirations of the people of Kashmir.



News from the counter-revolutionary camp

Chidambaram's wish list fails to take off

The much-publicised meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) which took place on June 10 did not see eye to eye with the Union Home Ministry led by the war hawk Chidambaram who had been harping for the deployment of the Indian Army and IAF in operations against the Maoists. He had also asked for at least two dozen choppers and allocation of one army officer of the rank of a Major General as advisor to every state that is involved in anti-Maoist operations. Days ahead of the crucial meeting of the CCS, media spoke of the impending state offensive and the most likely deployment of the Indian Army and Air Force in Maoist areas. The Army is not ready to be deployed without immunity from criminal proceedings through the much-hated Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) to be promulgated in Dantewada and other areas. This neo-Nazi rogue is not deterred by the massive opposition of the Indian people and their demand to withdraw the notorious Act that had snatched away every democratic right of the people of Kashmir and North East. A fascist who does not mind if people are pulverized under the killing machine called the Indian Army that is sanctioned full immunity from criminal proceedings from the country's courts even if its personnel had committed the most inhuman atrocities, Chidambaram had actively lobbied for deploying this force against the poorest people of the country. In the eyes of this ex-lawyer with a long history of defending the predatory interests of imperialist sharks and huge corporates, human rights are something as easily dispensable as toilet paper in the interests of the rights of the Corporates to acquire land and resources from the adivasi people and plunder them at will. He wouldn't mind if innocent youth are just bumped off in the name of Maoists; would even recommend rewards for bravery as in Kashmir. He stringently follows Gandhi's dictum of "Speak no Evil! See no Evil! Hear no Evil!" by shutting his eyes to the evils committed by his men in uniform, closing his ears to avoid the wails of people being tortured and shot at; women being raped, and other hapless victims of state terror; he would shut his mouth and speaks no evil against his men this endorsing their every act of barbarism. The Gandhian Home Minister who has thus earned the distinction of non-interference in the affairs of the police and paramilitary by refusing to see, hear and speak anything, now has assured the same with regard to the Indian Army if it agreed to be deployed in the war against the people.

All these assurances, however, failed to impress the armed forces who complain of having been overstretched and do not wish to see themselves as mercenaries at war against their own people. If they are deployed in Naxal areas they say the guard is lowered along borders of China and Pakistan. Already, the ratio of field-to-peace tenures of combat battalions has been upset because of heavy counter-insurgency operations.

The fear of being permanently sucked into the mire of counter-revolutionary war as in Kashmir and North East, the need to continuously strengthen their forces as the war drags on, the fear of fighting a non-conventional guerrilla war in which they neither have experience nor an opportunity to deal with until date, the risk of being branded as human rights violators with far greater vehemence than what is happening in the case of Kashmir and North East--all these have acted as dissuading factors for accepting their central role in the war by corporates and their comprador agents in the government. The

fear of losing their men just like the CRPF personnel in Dantewada also haunts the top brass as this could easily result in demoralization and even desertions in the course of the war.

This reluctance on the part of the Armed Forces themselves in operations against the Maoists is significant as it had put aside the plans, at least temporarily, of the war hawks in the Union Government particularly Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram, Pranab Mukherjee and Antony. Now the Union Home Minister, whose tenacity to defend the rights of the Corporates is simply admirable, has not given up his demand for greater mandate to the Union Home Ministry to step up its campaign to suppress the people's rebellions most brutally. After his demand for the deployment of the Army and IAF directly to crush the Maoist movement was turned down, he began his bargain for more central paramilitary troops, greater logistical support, involvement of the Army in demining operations, allocation of huge funds for the war, and at least 20 medium-lift helicopters in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha and Maharashtra for surveillance and ferrying troops and essential supplies to the state's forces which are finding it increasingly difficult to procure rations by road. At present seven IAF Mi-17/Mi-8 helicopters are allotted for anti-Naxal operations. Chidambaram also wants massive development of infrastructure (which is what he means by development) like roads, communications etc to facilitate speedier movement of his troops, swifter coordination between the state's forces in their operations against the Maoists.

On June 11, three senior ministers—Finance Minister Pranab Mukerjee, Defence Minister AK Antony, and Home Minister Chidambaram—met to discuss the financial implications of a strategy that could envisage a greater role for the Union Home Ministry to meet the Maoist challenge. The talks, however, were said to be inconclusive.

Another meeting of the CCS is scheduled to take place within a fortnight to decide on these demands of the Home Ministry. The chief ministers of the states too are being invited for the CCS meet in order to elicit their views on how to tackle the Maoists. A middle way is mooted to rope in thousands of ex-servicemen from the Indian Army in the war against the Maoists and the adivasis resisting the state onslaught. Another major demand of the war hawk Chidambaram is to raise 18,000 Special Police Officers (SPOs) to fight the Maoists. This has become essential for the hawks since the central paramilitary, special commandos, local police lack knowledge of the local language, unfamiliar with the terrain and sources of water etc and have absolutely no intelligence inputs. They are seen as aliens occupying the territories of the adivasis. Due to all these factors, these forces are often caught unawares in ambushes by Maoist guerrillas. Even more important is the fact that all the mercenary forces lack the guts to venture deep into Maoist territory, refuse to move even a kilometer away from their relatively secure fortified camps, and have developed a syndrome like the Vietnam syndrome among the American soldiers during the Vietnam War. No matter however much they have been trying, Chidambaram and his likes find it impossible to boost up the morale of their troops especially after the daring attack by Maoist guerrillas in Dantewada wiping out 76 central paramilitary personnel.

On the other hand, the SPOs are quite cheap to hire (a pittance of Rs. 1500-3000 is enough to hire one), there is not much hue and cry when these SPOs are killed as their lives are not of much worth to the rulers like the lives of all adivasis, they speak local language and have their kith and kin in the remote countryside, can mingle with the people without rousing suspicion which any other outsider would, have detailed knowledge of the terrain, and can fight without all the paraphernalia which the police and paramilitary require. And more important, the rulers can project it as a rebellion of disgruntled adivasis

against the Maoists. And when guerrillas wipe out the SPOs or punish them it can be shown as slaughter of poor adivasis as the Home Ministry's advertisements in prominent newspapers show. The Congress-led government in the Centre and the saffron, social fascist and other governments in various states are united in this heinous plan of recruiting poor adivasis as their cannon fodder in their war on the people.

IAF: Recall UN Mission Choppers for anti-Naxal Ops

New Delhi, June 20, 2010:

Amid proposals for using helicopters for movement of paramilitary forces during anti-Naxal operations, the IAF has suggested to the government that its 15 choppers deputed for UN peacekeeping forces may be called back as it has constraints of resources. The IAF has made it clear that it has no reservation in helping police and paramilitary forces in evacuation but is hard-pressed for helicopters as most of them are deployed for various operational requirements. The Air Force has told the government that if it were to assist in anti-Naxal operations, it would require more helicopters, according to Defence Ministry sources.

In this context, it has suggested that the 15 MI-17 helicopters deputed for UN peacekeeping missions in three African countries may be called back, they said. "The option of calling back the choppers from foreign duties is still under consideration of the government," the sources added. The IAF has a fleet of medium-lift Mi-17 and Mi-8 helicopters, which are used for maintenance of troops in high altitude areas of Jammu and Kashmir and North East and to carry out relief and rescue missions during natural disasters. The Home Ministry has proposed that IAF should provide helicopters for quick deployment and evacuation of paramilitary forces during anti-Naxal operations that may be carried out in inaccessible areas. The proposal is currently before the Cabinet Committee on Security, which is yet to take a final view.

Use of the Air Force for combat has been ruled out because of the risk of collateral damage. The Defence forces are not inclined to get involved in combat operations against Naxals and want to leave it to police and paramilitary forces. At the same time, the IAF has kept four MI-17s in Raipur on standby in case these may be required for evacuation purposes in anti-Naxal operations in Chhattisgarh.

Chidambaram's desperate attempts to boost up the morale of his forces

Shaken by the series of losses suffered by the central forces and the SPOs in Chhattisgarh as well as intensification of activities of Maoists in Jharkhand, West Bengal and Orissa, the Union Home Minister has been on whirlwind tours of these states like a madman and is desperately trying to boost up the morale of the forces. Notwithstanding his courageous postures in public, the fact that Chidambaram has been desperately seeking the deployment of the Indian Army and Air Force in the war against the Maoists shows that he is actually not confident about the capacity of his paramilitary forces or the special commando forces in various states in fighting the Maoists. Following the daring deadly attacks by Maoist guerrillas in recent months causing huge casualties to the CRPF, Chidambaram visited the CRPF Head Quarters twice and rushed to Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.

On June 2, addressing the 40th All India Police Science Congress Chidambaram said: "Chhattisgarh is going through a difficult time. In the past eight weeks, there have been 28 incidents of violence in the

state. Many lives have been lost, many more have been injured. I offer my sincere condolences to the families of the bereaved and pray for the recovery of the injured.”

Referring to the challenges being posed by Left Wing Extremism, he said “The distribution of police force among the police stations is badly skewed, there are not enough police stations. Even where there is a police station, the strength of the police force in a station is often not more than 20 persons. In some of the districts affected by Left Wing Extremism, the police station exists only in name.”

“There are police stations where the Station house has been blown up; there are police stations where there are no more than eight men; even these eight men or less men do not hold any weapons for fear of the weapons being looted. You will recall the case of Lalgah police station in West Midnapore in West Bengal. The police station was closed and locked from inside for several months until the CRPF ‘liberated’ it,” he said.

Chidambaram agrees there is trust deficit



Chidambaram agreed that there is huge trust deficit between the elected government and the people living in Maoist-dominated areas. “The Government and industry must find a way to regain the trust of the people. In a country that faces serious shortage of power, it is ironic that locals are opposing the construction of power plants in several districts. This shows the trust deficit. The local population views big industry as a threat to its livelihood and not as promoters of regional development,” said Chidambaram and exhorted India Inc to win the confidence of the people. Speaking at the Annual meeting of the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), he asked the industry to join hands o develop such areas rather than being content with profit and loss accounts.

“Over hundred years ago, Jamshed Tata had gone into a backward area and set up a steel mill based on the iron ore available in the area. The fact that an industrialist cannot go ahead in the same manner today without local opposition means there is trust deficit,” he added.

“It is a wake-up call for us. We must ask why there is a trust deficit among the people of India, government of India, governments of states. Why is there so much distrust among people who want to bring development and industry? Are we only content with our profit and loss accounts, our balance sheets, share of parties, daily dose of entertainment in the T-20 matches?” he said.

Chhattisgarh DGP Vishwa Ranjan expresses helplessness

Chhattisgarh DGP Vishwa Ranjan said the guerrillas have massively mined the state’s forest areas and it was difficult to de-mine the vast stretches without the technology required. The mine blast on NH-16 that had wiped out eight CRPF men on May 8 had shaken the government and the police. They had never expected mines on National Highways. The mine which was triggered off in Bijapur district was placed deep under the asphalt on NH-16. It left a 8-foot deep crater on the road and the bodies were strewn over a radius of 100 metres. It blew a bullet-proof vehicle in which the CRPF men were travelling into pieces.

“The big problem is we have no technology and resources to de-mine the massive forest pockets. Without taking out land-mines it is literally impossible to go after the rebels in thickly-forested areas where they are always ready with a booby-trap,” he said. Of the 40,000 sq km of Bastar region Vishwa Ranjan says 25,000 sq km is heavily mined.

According to intelligence sources, the Maoists have mined several highways in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa with the help of road contractors during construction or repairing. A CRPF officer said they had detected 210 Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) in the past one year. “Most of these were found on dirt roads by sniffer dogs and through mine-detectors. The IED planted on the Highway had no physical tell-tale signs. This is a new threat,” he added. The existing mine-sweepers and sniffer dogs cannot detect a land-mine buried more than three to four feet below an asphalt road.

DGP Vishwa Ranjan who had been boasting ever since he took office in Chhattisgarh several years ago that he would wipe out Maoists from the state was left in pallor after a series of attacks by Maoist guerrillas in recent months. “The aim of the Naxals is no longer to retain or capture areas but to eliminate the enemy troops (security forces) by graduating from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare,” the DGP said and added that the Maoists had lately adopted new plans-fluid battle fronts, quick withdrawals, etc. “They conduct raids with over 500 cadres and execute multi-layered ambushes extending up to 3 km,” he said.

Dantewada attack: COI against four CRPF officers

DG CRPF has ordered a Court of Inquiry to look into the alleged lapses of four of its officers leading to the debacle in Dantewada. The COI is to be headed by Additional DG (Works) CRPF DC Dubey. It will have two other members—DG Communications and a Commandant rank officer. It will submit its report by June 30. The COI will probe into the role of four CRPF officers, including the highly decorated DIG (CRPF) Dantewada, Nalin Prabhat, the then Commandant of the 62nd Battalion AK Bisht, Inspector Sanjeev Bangre and IG Ramesh Chandra who retired from service a month ago. Prabhat and two other officers were shunted out of Chhattisgarh after the EN Ram Mohan Committee report pointed out serious lapses on the part of the four senior officers.

One of the key issues of concern is how a lost CRPF wireless set may have helped the Naxals in planning their deadly ambush of the 62nd battalion killing 76 on April 6.

ROADS against Naxals: The Real Face of Manmohan-Chidambaram’s Development

14 June 2010

To escape from the landmine attacks the government is planning to build 1202 Km of National Highway and 4363 Km of State Highway roads covering 34 districts across 8 states or along what has now been popularized by the political analysts and media as the Red Corridor. The total cost of these roads is around Rs. 7,300 crore. The construction of the wide roads at a huge cost to the country has a twin-fold objective: one, the need to transport minerals and other forest wealth from the adivasi hinterland to the sea ports and other urban centres from where these are sent abroad at throw-away



prices; and two, the need for the speedy movement of central forces and state police forces to suppress the Maoist people's war. One can very clearly grasp the nature and meaning of development proposed by Manmohan and Chidambaram. The roads will be constructed as shown in the following maps, according to an interview given by RPN Singh, MOS Roads and Transport.

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.

Heat wave kills 3 CRPF men in MP

According to media reports in the last week of May 2010, three CRPF men died due to heat wave in the course of their intensive training during the peak of the summer season in the state of Madhya Pradesh. 11 others fell sick and were hospitalized because of heatstroke during their training on the outskirts of Gwalior on 24 May 2010.

The troopers (jawans) were part of a new batch that came on 23 May from Baramullah, 50 km north of Srinagar, where the previous training session was held. Among the deceased, D.C.Kothari and K. Vinayakam, both in their early forties, were from Tamilnadu. The age of the 11 hospitalised was between 40 and 45.

The reactionary rulers of India have been on a desperate drive to train the central paramilitary and the police forces of various states, come rain or shine. The main reason for their urgency in pushing forth for intensive and rigorous training for its CRPF personnel is the need to deploy them in the adivasi-inhabited regions of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and other states to fight the Indian corporates' war against the Maoists and the poorest inhabitants of the mineral-rich regions. As the casualty figures of the state's forces are rising due to the daring attacks by the people of these regions led by the CPI(Maoist), the desperation of the rulers to impart rigorous training to its cannon-fodder in the war has also increased. Hence the CRPF personnel were subjected to intensive training exercises even as temperatures were hovering over 40 degrees centigrade. The death of the three CRPF jawans and injuries to 11 others are a result of the callous attitude of the reactionary rulers towards the jawans who are treated as little more than cannon-fodder in their greedy war for the plunder of the mineral wealth.

The Gwalior tragedy resulted in a furore which led to the temporary calling off of the training course.

Maharashtra gets own Grey Hounds **War on Naxals: First batch on the job in Gadchiroli**

Debasish Panigrahi/Hindustantimes/7june10

Mumbai: They are called Alpha Hawks, and they have been specially trained to fight Naxalites in their strongholds in Maharashtra.

The first batch of the specially formed and trained unit was quietly deployed in Gadchiroli, Gondia, Chandrapur and Bhandara less than a month ago. "They are on the job," K.P. Raghuvanshi, additional director general (law and order), told HT.

The equivalent of the Grey Hound, the specialized anti-Naxalite commando unit that crippled the dreaded People's War Group (PWG) in Andhra Pradesh, the Alpha Hawks is the second dedicated anti-Naxal commando unit in the country.

The team of 500 commandos has been trained at the Unconventional Operations Training Centre (UOTC) in Nagpur. "They are highly trained and motivated," he said. The force's main task will be to launch surprise ambush on Naxalite hideouts. For mobility, surveillance and attack, the group has adequate vehicles (armored personal carriers), communication gadgets and firepower. To acclimatize with the dense vegetation of the operational areas, they have been trained at the Jungle Warfare Training School in Gadchiroli. The commandos have been selected from the Special Action Group of the Nagpur police. As an incentive for the high risk job, unit members will get 150 per cent more the salary than their counterparts (constables) in the Maharashtra police. They are also heavily insured.

Where the Buck stops

State police, not Central forces or the army, are the best bets against Maoists

Ajai Sahni /Indian Express June 2010



A rapid succession of major attacks on security forces by Maoists has forced the Centre into a visible retreat from its “massive and coordinated” operations across the worst afflicted states. While there were clear operational and leadership failures leading up to these tragedies, there were, in fact, the inevitable consequences of strategic infirmities. The Centre and separately, the Chhattisgarh police, had launched unsustainable operations to “clear, hold and develop” and to “dominate” vast territories, without providing even a fraction of the forces and resources necessary to meet these objectives. Essentially, given the tiny numbers available, their dispersal across vast areas, the impossibility of rapid reinforcement, the absence of fortification, the absence of adequate training and orientation, and the paucity of intelligence, disasters were simply waiting to happen. These operations were misconceived from the outset. Unless local capacities for intelligence and operations are enormously augmented, this can go nowhere, and a lot of lives are going to be lost for no useful purpose.

There are some who have adopted a martial posture to declare, with much bravado, that, in a war, such casualties are inevitable. This is incorrect. There is a difference between lives sacrificed to secure quantifiable and enduring gain, and lives simply wasted without plan or purpose to sheer strategic or tactical stupidity.

A “strategy” that is not backed with proportionate forces and resources is a lethal illusion, a political slogan that places fighting men at unnecessary risk without any possible calculus of success. The “battalion approach” that still dominates the Centre’s responses is a failed paradigm and has no relevance for current or future counter-insurgency operations.

The Centre’s biggest problem, at present, is that it has projected this conflict as its own problem. However, as K.P.S. Gill has noted, the Union home minister cannot be the country’s field marshal. The centralization of responses militates against the very nature of the Indian state, and also against the nature of the challenge that the Maoists currently pose. The principal responsibility for dealing with the Maoists remains that of the states; the first responders, the local police stations, have to be strengthened and equipped to deal with the task on their own. The best the Centre can do is to aid the states in acquiring the necessary capabilities and capacities – aid that is already generously available.

Unfortunately, the current discourse has increasingly shifted all responsibility to the Centre – the home ministry’s own postures and projections are overwhelmingly to blame for this – even as the states jealously cling to the Constitutional position that law and order is a state subject. Most states are failing to utilize the financial resources provided for police modernization and capacity building. As for police reforms, these have entirely been forgotten. Indeed, the presence of Central forces and the

Centre's public postures over the past year, have become a convenient alibi for most states to do little or nothing about the problem themselves. Under the circumstances, nothing lasting can be achieved.

As the death toll mounts, calls for deployment of the army (and in more hysterical quarters, the air force) have become shrill. Such an idea, however, can only be disastrous. The Indian army is already over-extended in internal and external security duties, and has no "surplus capacities" to deploy in Maoist areas. Once again, the debate remains trapped in the general, with no one specifying how many battalions of the army are actually available for deployment in the areas of Maoist violence, what their strategic and tactical objectives would be, and how long such deployments would last. This is a protracted conflict and it must be clear that, if the army was, indeed, to be deployed this would have to be a long-term and massive deployment – something the army can ill afford at present. Deployment for internal security also results in a severe erosion of the army's conventional capabilities over time. On the other hand, sending small contingents of the army will have the same consequences as sending small contingents of other forces – these will be isolated, ambushed and overwhelmed.

Moreover, there are structural disadvantages to army deployment (as with deployment of Central paramilitary forces). These are outside forces, lacking familiarity with local language, culture and terrain. Any dedicated counter-insurgency force has no natural interaction with local populations beyond its limited mandate. Local police stations and posts, however degraded their current capacities, interact daily with the public, and these can be tapped to create the intelligence flows necessary to design effective operations. Operational capabilities located within the state police networks offer the greatest potential for success.

Effective counter-insurgency models are to be found in the successful campaigns in Punjab, Tripura and Andhra Pradesh. Conflict with the Maoists is a protracted war that will require sustained efforts for capacity building, intelligence augmentation, targeted operations, and the sensitive management of populations. Consistently ignoring these imperatives over years, and going into hysterics about army deployment and a range of other non-solutions after every major attack can lead to nothing by an endless repletion of the disasters that the government has invited on itself till now.

(The writer is executive director, institute for conflict management & South Asia Terrorism portal.)

What the hawks say:

Shekhar Gupta's inverted logic on equivalence in war

Shekhar Gupta, the editor-in-chief of the Indian Express group of papers, has been writing extremely provocative articles with irrational and stupid arguments against the Maoists and in favour of the war waged by the reactionaries in a manner which only the most loyal dogs of imperialism can ever think of doing. The following are excerpts from his article in the IE dated....in this piece he goes on to justify the brutal armed onslaught by the Indian state on the Maoists and the poorest people of India, attempts to lend intellectual justification and legitimacy to the State offensive by arguing like a typical war hawk putting forth fascist logic that the State need not adhere to the Geneva Convention or respect the rights of the Maoists and naturally of the poorest people who support the Maoists, since, he asserts, they are not equal combatants. It looks both amusing as well as tragic that this so-called journalist with a long career in writing, has chosen to put forth absolutely irrational arguments about war and combatants such as denying human rights and war conventions for those who seek to overthrow a supposedly democratically-elected government through unconstitutional means. Should one assume he is so naïve as not to know the history of civil wars in the world where both sides had entered into agreements to abide by the Geneva Convention and other rules of engagement so as not to harm the non-combatants? Gupta does not mind if the armed forces wipe out an entire people since the former are "lawfully constituted" and follow orders from the constitutionally elected governments. Though he casually mentions that human rights violations in Kashmir are being taken care of by the law of the land it would only convince war hawks like Manmohan Singh and Chidambaram. One would have wished that our journalists and intellectuals would at least have better sense than the top police officials. However, Shekhar Gupta fares badly in this respect for the arguments of a top former DG like E Rammohan are far more rational and humane than cunning Gupta who appears better suited to be in the Bush Cabinet or the Indian Union Home Ministry headed by Chidambaram. It is due to so-called intellectuals like him that fascists like Hitler could rise to power or global terrorists like George Bush could justify invasions and attacks on other nations and brutally bombard their chosen targets. Would sense dawn upon him regarding rules of engagement in a war even if it be (and in most cases it is) between a "Constitutionally elected" government and the outlawed (through legal provisions by the same government) insurgent forces at least when some non-combatant journalists like him (though he wouldn't dare to visit war zone to get the truth out as he already knows the truth) get killed in the war zone? Only time would tell.



- The first mythology that is now getting settled is that this is some kind of regular "war" between two combatants where we should be equidistant. People taking up arms against their own legitimate and constitutionally-elected state cannot be described as combatants in a war between nations fought to Geneva Convention rules. Even if the Maoists once got away by parading the kidnapped West Bengal police officer as a 'Prisoner of War'. From then on a totally specious argument was built up that Maoists attacking security forces was fair game. The carnage in the bus has ended that argument.a soldier who wears the uniform and follows

the orders of a legitimate constitutional state is not to be equated with the insurgents, and his family has as much right as that of yours or mine, or any civilian. Of course, the same right also belongs to the families of all Maoists too, whether tribals or one of their mostly upper-caste Andhra leaders, but only as long as they propagate their ideas democratically and do not wage war on their own state. A state fighting to preserve order, and its lawfully constituted armed forces, are not an alien army of occupation. Of course, it goes without saying that the state and its forces have to respect the law and human rights. And if they won't, they will be called to account under the nation's laws, as now happens often enough in Kashmir. This silly nuancing, where attacks on security forces are justified as normal wartime activity, and civilian deaths are selectively condemned, is now losing its relevance as decisively as did Musharaf's rant at Agra. (Shekhar Gupta in IE)

- "While debates must rage within the government and outside, all policy confusion must end now. The Congress can make a beginning by first of all telling its own that this is too important an issue to be exploited in intra-party warfare. Then there has to be some kind of a multi-party consensus on a solution that spans politics, economics and counter-insurgency until you have a Maoist leadership willing to negotiate on reasonable and democratic terms." (Shekhar Gupta, IE)
- Swapandas Gupta, in an article entitled "Force should be met with Force" dated May 23 2010 says:

"What is the difference between Kasab and the Maoists who ambushed the CRPF jawans on April 6 and detonated a deadly explosive under a bus last week? Kasab believed that he was part of God's army and that every Mumbai resident was a legitimate target for murder."

If this hawk has any degree of honesty wouldn't he have raised a more pertinent comparison of Kasab with a Pragna Thakur, a Purohit, and such saffron terrorists? Would it not have been more apt to ask?

"What is the difference between Kasab and the saffron terrorists who carried out pogroms of the Muslims in thousands in Gujarat, Christians in Orissa and impart arms training to thousands of their cadres all over the country? Kasab believed that he was part of God's army and that every Mumbai resident was a legitimate target for murder. Pragna Thakur, Purohit and their ideological leader Advani believed that they are a part of Rama's army and that every Muslim and Christian is a legitimate target for murder."

Would **Swapan Dasgupta** deny what has been stated above?

- Another war hawk, this time a woman journalist named Tavleen Singh, writing under the title "No dialogue is possible with Naxalites", in her regular Fifth Column in the Indian Express, displayed her utter ignorance not only regarding the aims and objectives, political programme of the CPI(Maoist), but also of the ground realities despite her pretension of being in the know of things on the ground. Let us hear the golden words of such fifth columnists: "Those who talk of solving the problem through 'development' seem not to have left the salubrious environs of Delhi in a long, long time. If they has, they would have noticed that you can only build roads, schools and hospitals in areas that are wholly under the control of Maoists who detest

'development' almost as much as they detest democracy. They kill people who try to improve economic conditions in those backward tribal districts that Shrimati Sonia Gandhi is so concerned about.

"Development can only come to these areas when a measure of peace is restored and the only way for this to happen is to put down the armed insurgency by superior military might. From what we have seen so far, the attempts to create better trained and better equipped forces in the Maoist-affected states have been haphazard and much too slow. The Prime Minister needs to personally examine why. A Maoist insurgency that cuts a deep swathe through the Centre of India cannot any longer be treated as a state subject."

Part of the answer to this columnist who had seems to have left the salubrious environs of Delhi to roam across Metros and places of Shining India with hardly any touch with ground realities, is provided by Government's own statistics which say that "some of the districts hit by India's biggest internal security threat seem to have done as well or even better than the rest of the country in one key development-related aspect, according to the government."

The report further says: "the performance of the flagship Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGREGA) in 31 districts, around one-third of the total Naxal-affected ones, across eight states was better than the national average on some counts and almost matched it on others in the year ended March."

(Hindustan Times Mint edition)



Some lessons from the Bhopal outcome

V.R. Krishna Iyer/June 14, 2010, The Hindu

The court verdict shows that India is still in a Victorian imperial-feudal era, distances away from the socialist dream.

The mass slaughter that occurred in Bhopal on December 2, 1984 was the consequence of an American multinational corporation dealing with Indian lives in a cavalier manner. Some 20,000 people were "Yet, after 26 years of trial, the culprits get two years of rigorous imprisonment as punishment. Such a thing can happen only in bedlam Bharat.

The President of the United States and the white world, and the Prime Minister of brown India, shout themselves hoarse against terrorism by the Taliban and the Maoist-Naxalites. However, when it came to carnage caused by an American company in a backward region of India, it took all of 26 years to get a court judgment.

India is but a dollar colony, and so the “gasassination” has been treated as a minor crime. This is Macaulay’s justice of Victorian vintage still ruling India. Our Parliament and the Executive are less concerned with the lives of ‘We, the people of India’; their deprivation is of little consequence. The judiciary is another paradigm of its fundamental duty of issuing a swift verdict of issuing a swift verdict. Parliament is too busy making noises to be able to make laws to defend citizens’ lives. The investigative-judicial delay that has occurred is unpardonable of a crime of this kind.

Indian courts will do justice – if proper judges are appointed and fair procedures are made, if sensitive and sensible laws are enacted and the Executive has the needed independence, alacrity and integrity.

Trust violated

Meanwhile, this socialist democracy continues to be a cause for despair for the common people. This contradiction must end. We have enough human resources to redeem the pledge of the Father of the Nation whose ambition was to wipe every tear from every eye. This trust of Indian sovereignty was ludicrously violated in Bhopal.

Every poor man in hungry despair resisting the British Empire was once called a Congressman. When the Congressman came to power after freedom, every hungry militant was called a Communist. When the Communists came to power in some States and still kept many people starving, these poor men were called naxalites.

Does India have a future? Yes, provided the glorious Constitution and the marvelous cultural tradition, sharing the vision of both Karl Marx and Mahatma Gandhi, are realized. Have we such a sensitive perception? Have the instrumentalities under the Constitution a noble mission and a passion? Have the judges such an ambition? The Bhopal decision shows that India is still in a Victorian imperial-feudal era, distances away from the socialist dream.

One extraordinary feature of the outcome is that the highest officer who was involved in Union Carbide, Warren Anderson, is nowhere in the picture. This is but mockery of justice. If the chief criminal is beyond the party array, the millions who are the victims are being mocked by the trial of lesser offenders. In exempting the powerful from criminal jurisdiction, the law has become lame. Is an American criminal immune to investigation by an Indian court order? Such discrimination makes justice risible.

Over the 26 years it took, what was the Supreme Court, with so many judges who have original jurisdiction to try cases when fundamental rights are violated, doing? The Government of India did not

move the court for an early trial? Now the Law Minister says he is not happy with this two years' rigorous imprisonment that has been granted. During these 26 years, no amendment to Sections 300 to 304 of the Indian Penal Code was moved or enacted, or severe punishment written into the Penal Code. This by itself constitutes dereliction of duty on the part of Parliament and the Executive. The political parties that were in power during these years are also guilty of culpable neglect: they slept over the noxious infliction on Indian humanity.

Fair compensation has not been paid to the victims. A huge hospital financed by Union Carbide was built in Bhopal. But it is not for the poor but the rich. It is over the bodies of the poor that the hospital building was built, and still the nave-nots have no access to it. The Supreme Court, seemingly lost in issues relating to its own allowances and perks, did not call up the case from the trial court and decide it at once.

Warren Anderson is a closed chapter for the U.S. The most powerful nuclear nation has its bizarre sense of justice which should give courage for the Indian plural masses to resist dollar colonialism. Americans are above our rule of law. Brown India must be satisfied by White Justice where MNC bosses are indicted.

Washington swears by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

But it uses a nuclear treaty to leverage things to its own advantage. India has no guts to call this bluff. We have MNC s with cosmic jurisdiction. Anderson is just on Asian fuel in earth. Indian justice is for municipalities and panchayats, not beyond.

Adivasi girls accuse SPOs of rape

Aman Sethi

June 9, 2010 The Hindu

MUKRAM: Two sisters live in a clearing in the forest about 10 km beyond the abandoned houses and empty yards of Mukram village in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district. A third young girl cowers in the courtyard of her aunt's house in neighbouring Tokanpalli.

Between 14 and 18 years of age, Kose, Rame and Hidme (names changed) say they fled their homes in Mukram after they were sexually assaulted by Special Police Officers of the Chhattisgarh police on May 22 this year.

"We can't return to Mukram," said Rame. "If they (the SPOs) find us again, they said they would cut my body into pieces and bury it in cement and no one would ever find it."

Situated in the heart of territory dominated by the Communist Party of India (Maoist), Mukram lies along the only road that links the isolated police camps of Jagargunda, Chintalnar, Chintagupha and

Polampalli to National Highway 221. While the road is open to civilian traffic, supplies for the police camps are sent every few months in heavily guarded convoys.

Seventy-six members of the security forces were killed at a spot about 4 km from here on April 6 when they were ambushed by Maoists.

On May 29, *The Hindu* reported that five men from Mukram, including sarpanch Aimla Nanda, had been picked up by soldiers participating in a road-opening operation and that three women had been dragged to the CRPF camp and assaulted.

Though Dantewada Superintendent of Police Amresh Mishra denied the villagers' claims last month, the women, whom *The Hindu* recently interviewed at length in private, provided disturbing accounts of the sexual assault they were subjected to by the SPOs. "I was attacked about 4 p.m. the same day that the force took away Aimla Nanda. Two SPOs grabbed me from my house and took me to the CRPF camp in Chintalnar," said Hidme. "We were surrounded by SPOs and walked through the jungle."

At some point en route, the girls alleged, the SPOs threw them to the ground and beat them brutally till they soiled themselves. "I was kicked and hit in my genitals until I bled profusely," said Rame. "The bleeding continued for several days after the attack."

After beating us in the jungle, the SPOs stripped us naked, threw us in a small pond and told us to wash ourselves," said Hidme. "They then took us to the Chintalnar camp where they called us Maoists and beat us again."

"We were saved only when a senior policeman saw us in the camp and ordered the SPOs to let us go," said Hidme. "He kept saying 'Why have you brought them here? What are you doing to them?'"

"In such a conflict, reports of rape are often used to discredit security forces," said O.P. Pal, Acting Superintendent of Police, Dantewada. "We have not received any information regarding this incident." But Mr. Pal said he would inquire into the matter, adding the Chhattisgarh police were a "disciplined force."

Women become targets of police patrols

Aman Sethi : June 9, 2010

CHINTALNAR: A series of shots rang out in the night far beyond the barricaded perimeter of the Central Reserve Police Force camp here in Chhattisgarh's Dantewada district. For a few minutes, the sentries on duty returned fire before their guns, and the ones that sounded in the distance, fell silent.

By morning, the Adivasi settlements around the camp had emptied, the villagers wary of being caught and questioned by the CRPF's morning patrol. "Everyone is hiding in the forests," said a villager from Markaguda, about 2 km from the camp. "I expect we shall be beaten up this morning."

Two months after fighters affiliated to the Communist Party of India (Maoist) ambushed and killed 76 soldiers from the Chintalnar camp on April 6, Adivasis from the villages in the Chintalnar panchayat told The Hindu that soldiers from the camp routinely assaulted them in the course of patrolling operations, especially singling out women.

“Ten days ago, soldiers from the Co-BRA (paramilitary) force came to my house and tried to steal my chickens,” said Sambo from Lachipara, Chintalnar, “When I protested, a soldier grabbed me by the throat.” Sambo said that she struggled out of his grasp, “But when I held his hands, he bit my right cheek,” she said. Nandi added that the soldier left when a crowd of villagers gathered at the spot.

“The force usually enters the village about 11 in the morning when the men are out on the fields,” said Jago, another Lachipara resident, who alleged that soldiers tried to rape his wife while she was cooking at home. “When the senior officers are out of sight, the soldiers enter houses, steal livestock and attack the women.” Jago said a number of women and children had left the village as they feared for their safety. His wife and children are now staying with relatives in Konta. Villagers told The Hindu that at least one woman in Lachipara had been raped by the security forces but she was too humiliated to speak out. “Madavi Mukki had stepped out of her house to gather cow dung when the forces caught her,” said her mother-in-law. “She was stripped, beaten and left by the handpump on the outskirts of the village.” Mukki’s mother-in-law said the incident occurred about two weeks ago about 9 a.m.

Another young woman who was also assaulted the same day said she saw soldiers tear away Mukki’s petticoat. She said the soldiers threw Mukki to the ground and “pressed themselves onto her body.” Mukki has left Lachipara and is currently staying in a neighbouring village with her parents.

At present, the Chhattisgarh police have sealed off the only road that leads from Chintalnar to National Highway 221. On June 3, this correspondent was prevented from visiting the affected villages. “No outsiders shall be allowed into the area till June 11 as the Maoists have declared a bandh,” said Dornapal Assistant Sub-Inspector S.K. Dhurve. However, other vehicles were allowed to pass without hindrance. This correspondent finally reached Chintalnar via forest route through Andhra Pradesh.

Children at risk as schools become barracks in anti-Maoist war

Chhattisgarh defies the Supreme Court and security forces are still in occupation of school premises despite assurances to the contrary.

Aman Sethi

School's out! In Kerlapal, Dantewada, battle-weary soldiers of the B company of the 2nd Battalion of the Central Reserve Police Force peer over barbed-wire fences as skinny schoolboys in sky-blue shirts play cricket. The force has occupied the senior school and with it the basketball court and part of the playing field; but the game must go on.

As paramilitary troops pour into Chhattisgarh to fight the Maoists, the absence of military barracks has forced soldiers and children to share the only concrete structures in the countryside – the village school.

A PIL filed in the Supreme Court has drawn attention to the militarization of Chhattisgarh's schools, but the State government is in denial. On February 18, 2010, the counsel appearing for Chhattisgarh told

the Supreme Court that all schools occupied by security forces had been vacated. To quote from the Supreme Court order of February 18: "It is also stated by learned counsel appearing for the State that the schools, hospitals, ashrams and anganwadis have already been vacated and they are no longer been used for camps or places for shelter of the police force."

However, an investigation by The Hindu in the three districts of Dantewada, Narayanpur and Bijapur found numerous sites where the security forces continue to occupy school land or have simply appropriated school land for their barracks. These findings contradict the claims made by Chhattisgarh in the Supreme Court, suggesting that the counsel for the State was either dangerously misinformed, or guilty of making false statements in India's higher court.

In Dantewada district, The Hindu found security forces operating out of a senior school in Kerlapal, a junior and middle school in Karli and a tribal girls' hostel in Bhusaras.

In Narayanpur district, the G-company of the 39th Battalion of the CRPF moved into the middle school and gram panchayat building of Bhatpal village as recently as on February 10 – a week before Chhattisgarh's counsel made his submission in court. Officers at the site said a portion of the school would be permanently handed over to the CRPF and that the construction of barracks was underway. In Munjmetta village, the 139th Battalion has taken over a primary and middle school and moved the children to adjacent structures.

In Bijapur, even the Collector's office is in a college building. A list signed by the Superintendent of Police shows 16 schools as occupied by the security forces. When contacted by The Hindu over telephone, SP, Bijapur, Avinash Mohanty said "relocation is an ongoing process", but CRPF sources confirmed that the force was yet to relinquish any occupied site."

"When forces occupy schools they blur the line between civilian and military targets and put the children at risk," said Meenakshi Ganguly, senior researcher for Human Rights Watch and author of a study on the militarisation of schools in Jharkhand. "Children – particularly girls – begin to drop out as their parents do not want them near the force."

Fears that basing the force in schools could provoke a backlash from the Maoists were realized on March 15, 2007 when they attacked a police outpost based in a residential girls' school in Bijapur district's Rani Bodli village. Even as young girls from Classes I to V cowered in their hostel. Maoist cadre killed 55 policemen in an adjoining wing of the building.

The only three police personnel who survived did so by hiding in the girl's hostel.

Maoists have also targeted unoccupied school buildings, allegedly to deny security forces shelter. According to the Collector's office, in the two-year period from 2006 to 2008 Maoists destroyed 70 school buildings in Narayanpur district alone. Not a single school has been rebuilt.

In Palachalam village, Dantewada, Maoists destroyed the sole school that catered to students from at least three neighbouring villages and built a giant red minar in its place. Now, children as young as ten years of age are forced to a residential school in Maraigudum, more than 20 kilometres away from their homes and their parents.

"Troops need a concrete structure they can defend from attacks, which, in most cases, is the village school", said Ravideep Singh Sahi, Deputy Inspector-General for Bastar of the CRPF. "We are trying to construct regular barracks, but contractors and labourers are unwilling to work in sensitive areas."

Mr. Sahi hoped that the force and villagers could work together. In Bhatpal for instance, the CRPF donated a computer to the senior school in an attempt to foster goodwill with the villagers.

Privately, many CRPF officers expressed frustration with existing accommodation. "A camp needs proper barracks, security and a clear line of fire," said a senior CRPF officer, "The current facilities are ad hoc at best."

The prolonged occupation is also taking its toll on students. In Kerlapal, the CRPF's occupation of the senior school building has forced students of Classes XI and XII to study in the sheltered veranda. "There are no chairs and the students are constantly distracted," said a teacher. "The black board is makeshift, making it difficult for both teachers and students." Class IX students have been accommodated in the middle school building by moving Class VI into a poorly-ventilated equipment shed. This was supposed to be a temporary arrangement; it has been five years.

In Bhusaras, Dantewada, a hostel warden told The Hindu how she struggled to fit fifty girls in two rooms and a veranda after the 195th Battalion of the CRPF moved into the girls' hostel. "I stacked the beds one above the other with the younger girls on top and the elder girls at the bottom," she said. The girls have since been moved to a permanent location. Now there are three rooms for fifty girls, an outdoor toilet without doors and no water.

At a bus stand in Narayanpur, troops returning from leave wait for a bus to take them to their camps located in schools on the Orcha road. "I used to have an open mind," read a t-shirt sported by a soldier. "But my brains kept falling out."

New concrete structures for the police and paramilitary in the guise of Schools. How long will Chidambaram's Paramilitary forces deprive children of their education?

Presently, school buildings in remote rural regions, particularly the adivasi-inhabited regions, are being constructed at a pace unheard of in the post-1947 history of our country. It looks as if the ruling classes of India had suddenly become extremely benevolent towards the educationally most backward sections of our society—the adivasis. Incredible indeed! For education has always been the most neglected sector in the annual budgets of the states and the union government. How have the rulers become so much generous towards the children of our country, particularly in the adivasi regions? Wherefrom comes this new-found love for the most deprived sections of our society?



A CRPF sentry keeps watch as school children play outside a camp's barricades. In Chhattisgarh, the proximity of schools and security camps has blurred the line between civilian and military targets. photo Aman Sethi

The facts related to the condition of the children in our country are bizarre, to say the least. A significant number of children in the remote rural areas are dying like flies due to extreme malnutrition and disease owing to lack of food and drinking water. The adivasi population, constituting over 8 crore that is equivalent to the population of Germany or the combined population of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina, has no access to safe drinking water. Worse still, instead of providing them with safe drinking water, the successive governments in

states and the Centre, whatever the colour of the ruling regimes—khadi, saffron, red, yellow and so on—had only snatched even the hitherto available water from these hapless people. Most of the sources of drinking water are rendered unsafe for drinking by the pollution of rivers and streams by the imperialist MNCs, the corporate business houses, and the Public Sector projects set up by the GOI in the name of mining and development. This has made the condition of the children, in particular, most vulnerable since they become easily affected by diarrheal and other water-borne diseases.

A significant chunk of the children from the rural areas is compelled to or lured into work as bonded labourers in sweat shops and many even go begging in the streets. Most of the existing schools have no adequate number of teachers, or where teachers are appointed they rarely visit their schools. The teachers are often compelled to go on strike just to get their salaries which are denied to them for several months by the village panchayats and state governments. A visit to the adivasi villages in several parts of the country where Maoists have hardly any presence shows that the schools are generally not functional, teachers are rarely found, and the buildings are used for purposes other than education. And where schools are said to function one can count the single-digit attendance of children. Owing to acute poverty prevailing among most households the children in these villages are seen as sources of income and domestic help rather than make them obtain school education.

When the condition of our children and our schools is as described above, why do our Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram sahib and all their ultra-modern "developers" derive satisfaction and succour from their "benevolent acts" of school construction while not caring an iota for providing drinking water or address the problem of pathetic malnutrition prevalent in vast adivasi-inhabited areas? What is the secret behind this hectic developmental activity by the various governments in a region that had witnessed only callous apathy and criminal negligence for over six decades by the Indian rulers? Even now when the adivasis have to walk for 30 km to show to even a namesake doctor and most die of lack of treatment, why are our Manmohan Singhs and Chidambarams interested more in constructing school buildings, rather than primary health centres, in these regions?

The very sight of a school building in these areas is enough to grasp the secret behind this "benevolent" and "humanitarian" venture. The cement buildings with RCC roofs and solid walls hang out as islands in a sea of thatched huts with mud walls. In ordinary times, one would not have wondered why they looked more like police stations than schools. And that is how the rulers had managed to go ahead with their plan of massive construction of school buildings in remotest places like Abhujmaad where, the government agrees, it had not even conducted a survey until date. Come 2010 and the place has become a hub of construction activity. For it is the year of Green Hunt or the hunt to wipe off all greenery from the existing forests. So the secret of Chidambaram or what one would call in the south of our country as *Chidambara rahasayam* is to actually construct buildings that would serve as camps for his paramilitary forces who are deployed to wage a bloody war on the adivasi people and the Maoists who lead them in their struggle for a life of dignity and liberation from the exploitation and terrible oppression by the rapacious plunderers and thugs who are protected fully by the Indian State and all the parliamentary parties. These buildings become acceptable as they double up as schools while the real ulterior motive of using them as the camping stations of the police and paramilitary is disguised under the veneer of education of tribal children. Many well-meaning democratic intellectuals, human and civil rights organizations fall prey to this ingenious but heinous tactic of the ruling classes who have unleashed the most brutal bloody war under hypocrite Chidambaram.

Anti-Maoist propaganda by some human rights and other groups

A hue and cry is raised by some so-called human rights groups that Maoists have been targeting the school buildings and preventing the children from receiving primary education. The so-called "mainstream media", hired by the tiny parasitic corporate elite, has gone all out of its way to condemn the bombing of school buildings, panchayat buildings, anganwadi centres, and hospital buildings all of which are non-functional in general but have attracted the attention of these organizations just because Maoists have been destroying them. These so-called voluntary organizations, most of which are actually propped up by the imperialist and corporate interests, cry foul whenever there is an attack by Maoists on these buildings but never utter a word of disapproval when the so-called security forces occupy these buildings thereby depriving the children of schooling.

For instance, a report in the *Economic Times* ofwrote under a provocative caption "A destructive school of thought called naxalism" thus: "A UN panels' study has said that around 250 schools have been blown up in Chhattisgarh in the past one year by Naxalites and students are recruited in large numbers for subversive activities. According to a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) report, India figures among the four countries that have seen a marked increase in systematic attacks on schools, students and teachers between 2006 and 2009...In India, nearly 300 schools were reportedly blown up by Maoists between 2006 and 2009, according to the report. These include 50 in the two states of Jharkhand and Bihar in the year 2009. The UN found that dozens of schools have been occupied for security operations including at least 37 in Jharkhand in the first half of 2009. In February 2007, Chhattisgarh government sources said that more than 250 schools had been blown up in recent months."

The daily that serves as the mouthpiece of the parasitic elite that is plundering our country and our people, calls for "*disrupting, dismantling and destroying the network of the Red thugs.*" Not a word is said as to why the school buildings are targeted, why the reactionary rulers have suddenly embarked upon the construction of school buildings at a hectic pace in the remotest regions of the country where more than 50 per cent of the population are living under chronic famine and even safe drinking water is not available for the overwhelming majority. Not a word is said as to why three lakh adivasis were forced to flee after the Indian rulers commenced their Operation Green Hunt under the direct supervision of the thug Chidambaram 9 months ago. And why another one lakh adivasis were displaced by salwa judum, the hired gang of armed hooligans created for serving the Tatas, Mittals, Jindals, Essar, Vedanta and other rapacious plunderers; why, between 2005 and 2009, over 700 villages were destroyed obviously along with the schools by these blood-thirsty murderous gangs deployed by the Congress-led government at the Centre and the BJP government in Chhattisgarh.

The UN report or its reproduction in the *Economic Times* deliberately avoid the crucial question: where are the children in these villages when entire villages are razed to the ground by salwa judum and the paramilitary forces? Why are they bothered more about school buildings than the children who are supposed to sit in them? If at all they are serious about education for the children they must first raise their voices against the eviction of the adivasi people from thousands of villages in Dantewada, Bijapur, Narayanpur, Kanker, Rajnandgaon and other districts of Chhattisgarh, in some parts of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. They must demand the immediate withdrawal of all police camps from school buildings and other buildings in the villages, stop murders, arrests, tortures, rapes and destruction of property of adivasi villagers which makes it impossible for their children to carry on their education. They must demand the establishment of peace in the villages by immediate halt to the bloody onslaught by the central and state forces against the innocent unarmed adivasi people. Without raising these demands, simply accusing the Maoists of disrupting the education of children through destruction of schools, is not only biased and irresponsible but is also a futile and diversionary tactic that helps the ruling class oppressors to obfuscate the real issue.

Vedanta and Chidambaram: How the two speak the same language

Vedanta continues to dole out lies emboldened by Chidambaram's absolute support



And the Union Home Minister's mentor, Vedanta, spends huge sums to project itself as the

benefactor of adivasis. An entire page of advertisement on VEDANTA's "good deeds" appeared in almost all English dailies on February 27, 2010. The advertisement talks of how the multinational is building schools, hospitals, roads, providing job opportunities, and drastically transforming the lives of the poor. The language is hundred per cent same as that used by Chidambaram when he spoke at a press conference after the chief ministers' conference on February 7. The biggest liar of the decade, Chidambaram, said: *"I have asked the chief ministers of the naxal-affected states to rush in with developmental work like schools, roads, hospitals, drinking water, job opportunities....."* This, despite the fact that the vast majority of the people in the Indian countryside is surviving on a meager Rs. 20 a day and suffers from chronic hunger, malnutrition, diarrheal diseases due to complete unavailability or acute scarcity of drinking water, unemployment, and extreme misery. "50 hunger-deaths in Orissa, several more in MP", run newspaper headlines. Yet, these are of no concern to the hypocrite who heads the Union Home Ministry and continues to assure that everything would be well if the Maoist "monsters" are decimated and the territories under their control reclaimed.

Four European investors have already pulled out of Vedanta by selling off their stakes in the company citing "serious concern about its approach to human rights and the environment." The latest to pull out of this multi-billion swindler is United Kingdom-based Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust which sold off its 2.2-million pound stake in Vedanta. A week prior to this, the Church of England decided to sell off its 2.1 million pound stake. The first high-profile withdrawal was from the Norwegian government's pension fund which sold its \$13 million stake in 2007, while the Martin Curie Investment sold its 2.3 pound stake last year. The objections raised by these trusts to the unethical activities of Vedanta are interesting.

According to a news report published in the third week of February this year, Susan Seymour, chair of the investment committee at the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, has charged the unethical acts of this multi-billion fraud in unequivocal terms: *"We have heard first-hand about Vedanta's environmental and human rights abuses in Orissa and believe that Vedanta is pushing industrialization to the detriment of the lives and lands of the local people. This behavior may be legal, but is morally indefensible."*

There is a lot that our Manmohans, Chidambarams, Naveen Patnaiks, Raman Singhs, Buddhadebs and other comprador agents of imperialists have to learn from these foreign companies. While these companies are opposing Vedanta, our own so-called Indians ruling our country are cringing before Vedanta and acting like boot-lickers. Chidambaram, of course, would say that all these charges against Vedanta are a myth. As much of a myth as the Operation Green Hunt.

Voices Against War

As Chidambaram steps up his bloody campaign of extermination of those fighting decades-long injustices and the plunder of the mineral resources in their regions, voices of protest and dissent grow louder by the day. From civil rights and other democratic organizations, progressive, peace-loving intellectuals and other right-thinking individuals, opposition to the Corporate-driven war led by Chidambaram is gradually rising from saner minds within the political and security establishment and the ruling classes themselves. The latest jolt to Chidambaram came from none other than the former DG

of BSF EN Rammohan who was hand-picked by the Union Home Minister himself to head the one-man commission to inquire into the lapses behind the April 6 Dantewada debacle which saw 76 CRPF men wiped out in a Maoist attack. After submitting his report to the Union Government, Mr. Rammohan has come out in a forthright manner expressing his firm opinion against the policies pursued by Chidambaram vis-à-vis the Maoists and the adivasi people. What he said was in essence no different from what many intellectuals have been saying ever since the launching of Operation Green Hunt. However, while the intellectuals had earned the wrath of Chidambaram and the war hawks for their criticism of Chidambaram's hawkish policies and their opposition to the brutal war, Rammohan's ex-DG status had spared him. Anyone else from the civil society who expressed the same opinions would have been easily branded as a Maoist sympathizer. We are reproducing below the Interview of Rammohan which appeared in Tehelka Magazine to show the extent of isolation of Chidambaram and his gang of war hawks.

'Bringing On The Army Against The Naxals Will Be A Disaster'

EN Rammohan, former Director General of the BSF, has fought insurgencies in Kashmir and the Northeast. Recently, Home Minister P Chidambaram picked him to probe the Dantewada massacre of CRPF jawans by Naxals. Yet, crucially, in a forthright interview with SHOMA CHAUDHURY, he says the Centre's strategy for fighting Naxals is a recipe for civil war.

After the train tragedy in Bengal, there is renewed talk of bringing on the army and air force in the fight against the Maoists. What is your view on this?

I think it would be a terrible mistake. The more you try to deal with this issue through military options, the more it will spread and grow in strength.

You were asked by the Home Ministry to investigate the recent Maoist ambush of CRPF jawans in Dantewada. The government obviously thinks well of your judgement, track record and integrity. So how do you read the Maoist crisis facing the country today?



I think it is first and foremost an issue of social justice. I first came across the problem when I was posted in Hyderabad in the 1980s as DIG, CBI. My batchmate Ajay Deora was DG, Intelligence and he was struggling to control things. I am from the Assam cadre and have handled insurgencies before. I was in the Indo-Tibetan Border Police, which was set up with the objective of fighting behind enemy lines, so we have all been trained in guerrilla warfare. Insurgencies are my abiding interest.

Most of the Maoist leadership comes from Andhra. Why do you think this is the case?

From what I saw in Andhra the primary problem is land. The upper castes have been exploiting tribals and Scheduled Castes (SCs) for generations. Before Independence there was no land ceiling, so the upper castes had huge land holdings that often ran into over a 1,000 acres, while the SCs and tribals had no land, or very small holdings. Yet even these small holdings were taken over forcibly by the upper castes who would buy their produce then fudge the accounts, to keep them indebted. The tribals were

turned into tenant farmers who had to till the land but give 2/3rd of the produce to the upper castes. It is against this backdrop in 1946 that the CPI first started working in the Telangana areas. They would collect a group of tribals with bows and arrows, surround an upper caste granary and distribute the grain. Then they would tell the landowner that from now on 2/3rds would go to the tillers, 1/3rd to the landowner. Of course the landowners would complain to the police who would round up the locals and arrest and beat them.

After Independence, land ceiling laws were legislated but they were never implemented in Andhra. In 1989, when the government changed, I told my friend Deora, let's go meet the Revenue Minister. I told the minister, you'll never be able to solve this problem. He was very unhappy with the way I spoke and said, why not? I told him if you want to stub out this movement, impose land ceiling. He said, that's impossible, we can never do that. He gave the example of Sudhakar Rao, one of his colleagues from Adilabad. That fellow has got 1,100 acres, he said, and he won't be willing to part with even one.

So the caste structure in Andhra Pradesh is such. There are many police stations even today where a Scheduled Caste will not dare to file an FIR — it just won't be registered or investigated. Then of course, the women were being misused. Labourers on a farm had to offer their bride on the first night to the landlord. This is reflected even in the folk songs of the Adivasis. There is no hope for women in this country, they sing. So unless these wrongs are righted, how are you expecting a solution to this problem? There can be no military solution to this problem.

The risk of a counter-action now is that our forces can go mad. They'll seek revenge for their 76 mates killed

The media has gone hoarse speaking of them as terrorists. Are you comfortable with this description?

You see everyone talks about the Naxalites but very few people understand there are two parts to this. There are the Adivasis and Scheduled Castes at the lowest strata. Then there are the leaders from the CPI, CPI Marxist-Leninist and now CPI-Maoist. These are all communists and 99 percent of them are upper caste. But because of their political philosophy they have no caste and are lending a hand to the poor. Now they have a political agenda and their objective is to come to power in this country. I don't want to live in a Maoist State but if we continue with our current arrogance, that's exactly what will happen. There will be great upheaval in society. Go to communist countries like Russia or China. If you look at all the top class people there now — men like Kruschev — you'll see everyone in power today were all peasants once, and the upper class people have all disappeared somewhere. In India also, there will be a complete upheaval in society. So I don't see why we are so hesitant to rectify our course and address issues of social justice.

You have spoken of Andhra. How do you read Chhattisgarh?



In Chhattisgarh, it's mostly to do with rights over forests. The Adivasis have been pushed into the forests over thousands of years by caste domination, and are now almost entirely confined to it. They have no land and can only collect forest produce. But they still have to sell it and when they come out of the forest to the market place, they have to find a buyer. And who's the buyer? The Vaishya trader. At the root of this trouble, I say, is this trio — the wily Brahmin, the arrogant Kshatriya, the avaricious

Vaishya. Chidambaram, incidentally, is a Vaishya. These three social groups have been trampling on these people for centuries, so why blame them if the CPI has lent a hand? They help the poor by inspecting the Vaishya's books and ensuring tribals get a correct price. You should investigate the tendu leaf trade — I am told the money from that reaches politicians in Delhi, while the poor man who picks the leaf gets nothing.

The point is, in any insurgency, people take to guns because they feel they have no choice. In this case, the tribals are being taught by the Maoists to fight for their rights. And in Marxist teaching, guerrilla warfare is one of the subjects. All these escalating incidents, the ambushes etc, is designed to get hold of weapons. But the risk of a counter-action now is that our forces can go berserk. They will say we've lost 76 people and they will just shoot anyone, they'll kill everybody, even innocent people, unless there is a very strong leadership to keep them in control. And I am afraid that leadership does not exist. This is something the government must understand.

So what do you see as solutions? And what do you think is holding up those solutions?

There are two acts pending in Parliament — one is to do with land acquisition, the other is to do with forest rights. But the interesting thing is, minerals have been found in these forests and for the party in power, this is a big bonanza. If you sign a MOU worth millions of dollars for excavating minerals, a percentage of it will go to your Swiss Bank account. The poor man in the forest is conveniently forgotten. In Bihar, the Bhumihars openly say, "*Hamare patte hum billi aur kutte ke naam pe lagate hain* (We list our land titles in the names of our cats and dogs)". How long can such a situation continue without protest? And you say you want to bring in the army? Why don't you look inwards and rectify this? If the government has any sense in its head, it will, otherwise it will be a terrible situation. It will be a disaster.

TEHELKA has doggedly tracked stories of atrocities by the police and paramilitary. Rapes, killings, beatings, stealing of hens and goats. If one raises these issues with the government, they see it as a betrayal, as "intellectual support" for the Maoists. What is your view of the conduct of the SPOs, police and paramilitary?

The Salwa Judum was the government's creation and it has compounded the situation badly. What the landlords were doing earlier, the police and SPOs are doing now. So is the CRPF. I believe counter-insurgencies must be fought legally. This is something most people don't talk of. But the bible on fighting counter-insurgencies, Robert Thompson's *Defeating Communist Insurgencies* starts with one line: A counter insurgency must be scrupulously legal. I was lucky because I was trained in guerrilla warfare by instructors who were trained by people like Robert Thompson. I've quoted this in many places and letters to the government. The quality of leadership is the most crucial thing in such conflicts. Set aside the bigger accusations of rape and killings, the Adivasis often even complain about the forces stealing their chickens and goats. This is terrible. If the company commander is good, they would not dare to do it. If ever any boys in uniform are caught doing anything wrong, they should be punished and word should go out to the villagers that such behaviour will not be tolerated. That is the only way you can get the upper hand.

Is Delhi ready to give ownership of minerals to tribals, when each MoU is attached to a Swiss Bank account?

I have worked in all these forces — the CRPF, ITBP, BSF. The CRPF used to be a law-and-order force, good at lathi charge. Now they are not even that. You must have seen what's happening in Kashmir —

they are throwing stones back at the crowd. That should never happen. Otherwise you just have two mobs on either side — one mob is in uniform, the other is not. The main problem with the CRPF is that they are handed over to the state police when they arrive anywhere, and the SHO uses them for clearing a crowd or for controlling a communal situation. This business of handing them to police has bereft them of leadership. They have functioned better in places like Mizoram and Nagaland because there they have been under army leadership which is more disciplined. But I am impressed with the training Brigadier Ponwar is giving in the jungle warfare school that's been set up in Kanker. You have said bringing the army in against the Naxals will be a disaster. Can you spell out the reasons why?

The first problem the army will face is that the Bihar regiment has a very strong component of Adivasis. What do you think will happen when such a battalion is facing Adivasis on the other side? His home may be there, he may have relatives on the other side, his tribe could be involved. It's a recipe for disaster. The army should never ever come in to this conflict. The point is very clear, there are root causes. The government has to address them. In any case, who are you going to attack? Who are you going to catch? You will not find anyone there. The moment they know such an operation is going on, they will vanish in a 100 different directions. Their weapons will disappear. You'll find innocent people living there and our forces will go and shoot 30 of them and say we have shot so many Naxalites. Every child born in the area then will become an insurgent after that. Do you believe there can be a lasting ceasefire?

Is Delhi ready to give ownership of minerals to tribals, when each MoU is attached to a Swiss Bank account?

I can guarantee there will not be any ceasefire — because the Maoists organising or leading this are on the run. If they stop, it will be very difficult to start again. I don't think they are going to give up their guns. We have to convince the cadres that the government has changed its policy on land and forest rights and mining. Wean away the support base. Make Indian democracy more attractive than Maoist revolution.

Absolutely right. I think the only thing to do now is raise these issues in every forum and force the government's hand. If you don't rectify the ground realities, you can't turn this around. The more military force you put, the bigger the crisis will become. Have you told the government this?

I speak openly about it at every forum I can. The government says it wants to bring development to these regions.

It is not about development. It is about rights. This government has to understand — how is it that land ceiling was implemented in Kerala? Why is there no Maoist movement there? You know what happened



Dula Bhima of Mukram village in Dantewada shows the I-card of his son

there? Under EMS Namboodiripad, the law was so strong that anyone who was a tenant farmer for 12 years, the ownership of the land passed to him without compensation to the owner. We are now in 2010, but in most parts of the country, we are behaving as though we are in 1610 or something. Do you know in Australia and the US now, they say that if any minerals or oil is found in the Reservation areas, that resource belongs to the Aborigines and Native Americans. In India also, the first thing that should be declared is that if minerals are found in the forest, it belongs to the people of that forest. The MOUs should be signed by all the people

of that village with that company. After that, give them legal guidance and see that the profit comes to their accounts. Is the government in Delhi prepared to do that? Why should they? Every MOU has a Swiss Bank account attached. You say you don't want to live in a Maoist State. One cannot evade the fact that they have a highly efficient and armed wing, or that 200-odd districts are in their control. So to ask a question many people might have in their heads — do you think the use paramilitary or other forces has any role at all to play in containing the Maoists, even as one incorporates the issues of justice they have raised?

Let's take a model area. I would say put about 10 battalions in that area. Have good leaders so that the jawans don't go and steal chickens and rape women and burn houses. When I was IG, BSF in Kashmir, I had 50 BSF battalions under me. I used to go around the city everyday, visiting one or two of the battalions by turn. Then I would talk to the local people and get feedback, especially if any of my battalions had done an operation. If the public there would tell me, "*Sahib sab theek gaya, aapke ladke koi galti nahi kiya*", I'd feel things were under control. That is leadership. My commanders knew that if they did anything wrong, they were going to get punished and punished hard. So they behaved. This is what you need — a strong IG or DG. And men highly trained in field craft. One mistake this government has been making is that it wants yes-men. You said army leadership is better than the paramilitary, but the army's record in handling internal insurgencies in the Northeast or Kashmir hasn't exactly been sterling.

Yes, the army has done wrong things in the Northeast, very wrong things. I've worked in Nagaland, I've worked in Manipur. Because it is in a remote corner, people here don't know what's happening there. No wonder they don't like to be with us. But still, generally speaking, the army leadership is better because their general is not appointed by a politician. He comes on merit, on courage, on fitness, and how much he looks after his men. In the paramilitary, you get to the top by the amount of bootlicking you do. The system is different.

From Tehelka Magazine, Vol 7, Issue 23, Dated June 12, 2010

EN Rammohan asserted the same also during his Interview with the TV channel CNN-IBN on June 10. An Excerpt:

"I don't think that there is a military solution to this problem or need of Army at all because it's your own people. For 60 years you have done nothing for them, they were only suppressed; taken away everything from them. First of all give them those facilities or at least announce them. Enforce the land sealing legislation. There are people who own 15,000 acre of land. In Bihar, landlords openly say with contempt that "Hum toh apne zameen kutto or billi ke nam pe laga dete hain" (We keep our lands in the name of our dogs and cats). What is the arrogance of this kind? When is this going to stop?"

"Army is not the solution. There is no military solution to this problem. The problem is basically because of the domination of the upper class on the lower class, denial of land rights to them and now denial of forest rights to them."

Government divided over using Army to curb Naxals

New Delhi, June 10: The Cabinet Committee on Security meeting to discuss measures to combat Naxals on June 10 ended without taking any decision on whether to use the Army and the Air Force in anti-Naxal operations.

Home Secretary GK Pillai said that another round of discussions would take place before a decision is taken even as the Defence Ministry and the Home Ministry have divergent views on how to neutralise the rebels. Home Minister P Chidambaram wants Army deployed in Naxal strongholds, but the Defence Ministry has objected to the use of defence forces.

The Defence Ministry says the Army and Air Force are not keen on being called in to tackle the Naxals and has submitted a document combining inputs from the two wings of the defence forces.

Air Force says it can't spare any more helicopters for anti-Naxal operations but is willing to release some of its Unmanned Aerial Vehicles to help in anti-Naxals operations. Even the Army is reluctant to join the anti-Naxal operations saying it cannot disturb regular troops from Kashmir and Northeast.

Moreover, the Army is not willing to use regular troops for de-mining operations in Naxal strongholds. The Army though says it is willing to help train new Rastriya Rifle battalions specifically for combating Naxals. The ministries of Defence and the Home are also at loggerheads over who will head the unified command of anti-Naxal operations. While the Home Ministry wants the Chief Secretary in command, the Defence Ministry says it must be the Chief Minister of the state where the operations take place.

Chidambaram's new anti-Naxal battle plan includes calling in the Army to take on the rebels in the dense forests of Dantewada in Chhattisgarh. The Home Ministry also wants Dantewada declared a disturbed area and Armed Forces Special Powers Act imposed after which the Army would move in Dantewada. It also plans to use Army Sappers for de-mining operations along with Rashtriya Rifles and Para Battalions for surgical strikes.

Put me in jail for backing Maoists: Arundhati Roy

Press Trust of India, Thursday June 3, 2010, Mumbai



Author-activist Arundhati Roy, who has been accused of romanticising Naxalism, has said she will continue to back the Maoists' armed struggle even if she is put behind bars.

While claiming that she does not support violence, the 48-year-old Booker prize winner feels that the Naxal movement could be nothing but an armed struggle as the Gandhian way would not have been successful in the present context.

"The Naxal movement could be nothing but an armed struggle. I am not supporting violence. But I am also completely against contemptuous atrocities-based political analysis," she said delivering a

lecture on 'The War on People' organised by the Committee for Protection of Democratic Rights here late last night.

"It ought to be an armed movement. Gandhian way of opposition needs an audience, which is absent here. People have debated long before choosing this form of struggle," Roy, who had saluted the "people of Dantewada" after 76 CRPF and police personnel were mowed down by Maoists in the deadliest attack targeting security forces, said.

"I am on this side of line. I do not care...pick me up put me in jail," she asserted.

While terming the Naxalite violence as a corollary to the battle between the tribals and corporate houses to gain control over natural resources like minerals, water and forests, she said, "While 99 per cent of Maoists are tribals, 99 per cent of tribals are not Maoists."

"What the government calls Maoists corridor, is in fact MoU-ist corridor. You have an MoU on every mountain, river...MoUs signed by biggest corporations in the world who are waiting to gain hold of the resources," Roy said.

Explaining the economics behind iron ore mining, Arundhati quoting from Lokayukta's report said, while the government earns Rs 24 per tonne, the mining company gets Rs 5,000.

(From NDTV)

Amnesty asks Orissa to stop excessive use of police force against Adivasis

J. Venkatesan/The Hindu, May 22, 2010

New Delhi: Amnesty International (AI) has urged the authorities in Orissa to halt immediately unnecessary and excessive use of force by police and private civil militias on adivasis (indigenous communities) and peasants protesting against the acquisition of the lands and habitats for steel projects in Kalinganagar and Jagatnagar. In a statement, the AI said "Laxman Jamuda, a 50-year-old Adivasi leader was killed and 10 protestors, including a few women, were injured in police firing and nine others sustained injuries during clashes in Kalinganagar on May 12. Eyewitnesses informed AI that the action involved more than 1,000 police officials against about 300 Adivasi protestors, some of whom are armed with traditional weapons."

Eyewitnesses aid " a 200-strong civil militia supporting the takeover of the lands for the proposed Tata Steel plant forced its way into Chandia village where the protestors had gathered; the police went along with the civil militia, allegedly backed by the ruling Biju Janatadal in Orissa, demolished some of the Adivasi houses. During the resultant clash, the police fired on the protesters, killing Laxman Jamuda, and several others sustained injuries."

"Can we have the bauxite in the mountain?"

The Hindu, June 3, 2010 – Rahi Gaikwad and Vinay Deshpande

There exists an entire spectrum of resistance, which includes the Maoist movement, asking serious questions about democracy and civilization, not just of our government but of our planet, author

Arundhati Roy said. Ms. Roy was giving a talk on the Indian state's War on People, organized by the CPDR. While stating that she was on the side of insurgency, Ms. Roy said, "I don't defend the killing of innocent people by anybody. 'Do you believe in violence,' is a brain-dead question."

"There is a whole biodiversity of resistance and the Maoists are at one end. While they might differ in their methods, they agree on one thing. This massive sale [of land and resources] is just not on. At the heart of this problem is land. This insurrection is asking serious questions. It's questioning the meaning of democracy and civilization. These questions have been asked before, but in universities and seminars. But now hundreds of millions of people are asking these questions. That is the beauty of this resistance," she said. **"While the Maoist movement has the strategy for resistance, it lacks the vision for a state; a vision which allows our mountains and rivers to be. The "radical question" to ask and which she wished to ask Maoists was: "can we have the bauxite in the mountain?" She was referring to the bauxite in Orissa, which is worth \$4 trillion and its mining potential.**

"They [Maoist] don't believe in privatization, but in state capitalism. You cannot say we will do eco-friendly mining. It needs tremendous amount of water and power. There needs to be a serious conversation [in the resistance movement on this]. We can't betray the causes we are fighting for." The government, when it followed the neo-liberal agenda had opened "two locks." One to the Indian market and another to the Babri Masjid, sowing the seeds of capitalism and Hindu fundamentalism, she said.

Ms. Roy said the state through its pursuit of economic agenda, had unleashed violence in the form of "a war" upon its own citizens by displacing them in millions and stripping them of their resources. "This economic totalitarianism can only be achieved through an armed state. The middle class and the media are fighting for an armed state," she said.

"Why does the government need this war? The government inflates the meaning of Maoist to include anybody who is refusing to surrender their land or resources. What makes it so urgent for the government to fight this war? The media say corrupt politicians have so much money, but never expose where the money comes from." Answering questions on development in Adivasi areas, she said: "Policies like the NREGA [since renamed Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act] are like crumbs. You take away everything from them and then you say be happy with it."

To a question by documentary filmmaker Anand Patwardhan on the recent Jnaneshwari train tragedy, Ms. Roy said if Maoists attacked civilians, this would indeed erode their support base. "But they have people's support. You have to be careful of atrocity-based analysis. All of us talk [assuming] they don't have mass support" she said.

Referring to her article in a news magazine recently on her visit to Dantewada, Ms. Roy said she was happy when "accused" of romanticism.

"I believe in the romance of the revolution. I believe in the romanticism of the forest. We don't have a government; we only have a corporate state now," she said.

Constitution violated

Leading democratic rights activist Gautam Navlakha also spoke at the event. "It is not the Maoists who are going against the law, it is the Government of India which is violating its own Constitution. War is directed against any resistance." He emphasized that the Maoists were left with no real option than to

take up arms. "What are we telling hem? Either surrender your land or pick up arms. What do you think they will do?"

Questioning the lack of space for dissent, he said: "If I support their cause, I can be hauled up by the state under Section 39 of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act [used against pro-Naxals]. So here I am, in a way challenging the state," he said.

"The problem is we have stopped asking fundamental questions. Do we ask why are they raising this war? Why has armed revolution become acceptable among the tribals? Government reports themselves admit that the task of land reforms is still unfinished. The glass is not half full or half empty, but two-third empty. Eighty per cent population is at the receiving end," he said.

Breaking the mistrust in Chhattisgarh

The state government has failed its rehabilitation duties after the Salwa Judum violence, and obstinately refuses outside mediation



Nandini Sundar, The Indian Express, 22may2010

The Maoists' unconscionable attack on a passenger bus once again underlines the urgent necessity for a new approach to the problems of Dantewada. Even if the SPOs on board the bus were returning from an operation in Gumiapal where they allegedly killed two innocent civilians, nothing justifies the bombing of a vehicle known to be carrying civilian passengers. But if Maoists have lost the distinction between civilians and combatants, the government must ensure that its own counterinsurgency practices stringently make the difference. The line is important not because combatant deaths are any less mourned, but because even war has rules.

Unfortunately, both the Union home minister and the Chhattisgarh chief minister are obsessed with civil society actors, as if they are responsible for the decades of governmental neglect and injustice that enabled Naxalism, and if their insistence on the rule of law is equivalent to IED blasts by Maoists. Tomorrow, if the Supreme Court were to dismiss our PIL against Salwa Judum and ensure full impunity for the excesses by the police and vigilantes, this would not lead to any reduction in Naxalite attacks. On the contrary seeing that every avenue for justice is closed to them, people would only join the Maoists in greater numbers. Government intelligence sources are on record saying that Maoist recruitment went up dramatically after Salwa Judum burnt homes, killed people and raped women on a large scale.

Those who continue to defend the Salwa Judum as a self-initiated movement against the Maoists, as Chief Minister Raman Singh did at Delhi's Constitution Club on May 20, lose sight of the fact that past "origins" matter less than present conduct. After all, the Maoists too are a self-initiated resistance movement against the state. Not only has the NHRC clearly indicted the Salwa Judum for burning houses, but the Chhattisgarh government has admitted as much in its affidavit of October 17, 2008, stating that "necessary relief money be given in cases of properties damaged by Salwa Judum activists/security forces, besides Naxalite violence, after village-wise analysis".

The Chhattisgarh government cannot take refuge in the fact that it is going through a violent phase as its latest affidavit before the court (May 3) suggests. After all, it has had two years, to announce a

compensation and rehabilitation package. If it was unable to do a village-wise survey, why not admit that the area is not within its control and invite outside observers, as international law suggests, or at least allow a high level monitoring committee consisting of prominent citizens who are willing to help? Such a body is needed to break the mutual distrust between people and government. This is what we are asking the Supreme Court to set up. The other alternative is to follow the 5th Schedule, which gives the Centre full powers in Scheduled areas. Are villagers, whose stocks of grain were burnt by vigilante violence, supposed to stop eating till “area domination” is complete? Should they die from untreated diseases because of the government’s ego?

The Chhattisgarh government’s position seems to be that if their police cannot go in freely, nobody else should be allowed to visit either. A group of eminent Gandhians who had recently gone on a peace mission were chased away by slogan-shouting BJP and Congress goons. The collector of Bijapur admitted (“Salwa Judum’s reverse march’, IE, April 25) that he is now able to visit *Lingagiri* and *Basaguda* villages – but the credit for that goes not to the Salwa Judum, which drove the villagers away, but to a group of NGOs who rehabilitated them and invited essential services back in.

More shocking is the government’s refusal to even recognize the majority of the people who are affected. In their May 3 affidavit, they argue that there is “no point in keeping such a category” (of people needing rehabilitation in their won villages) and that allegations regarding refugees in Andhra are “baseless”. If the government ignores the legitimate needs of some three lakh persons (the estimated population of 644 affected villages), and focuses only on the 25,000-30,000 SPOs and Salwa Judum supporters left in camps, what peace do they expect? Even the data on relief camps is two years old, reproduced from the 2008 affidavit.

In the plan we submitted to court, we outlined some immediate steps precisely to take account of this war-like situation. Apart from a high level committee which would work with the Chhattisgarh government to ensure rehabilitation we suggested a survey of affected villages to be carried out by local college youth, and retired district judges to hear complaints in block headquarters. If this process were publicized in the local newspapers, and independent observers allowed free access, people might feel emboldened to register complaints. It is impossible for people to file FIRs with the very police who have been responsible for the violence.

For their part, the Maoists must respond positively to the home minister’s clear offer on May 21 of a suspension of operations in return for their own suspension of violence for a limited period that talks can be fixed. The adivasis of Bastar need justice and peace, and for too long they have been denied both.

[The writer is a profession of sociology at the Delhi School of Economics. A PIL she filed along with Ramachandra Guha and EAS Sharma in 2007 is being heard by the Supreme Court.]

Arundhati punishment black spot in judicial history:judge

New Delhi, May 25

After taking on the Chief Justice of India and Supreme Court collegiums for “blissfully remaining insensitive to public opinion/reaction”, Karnataka High Court Judge D V Shylendra Kumar has opened up once again : this time blasting the higher judiciary for refusing to be accountable to anyone and also for



D V SHYLENDRA KUMAR

the “phenomenon of tyrannical and abusive exercise of the power for punishing people for contempt”. Delivering the endowment lecture at SDM Law College Mangalore Kumar said the punishment awarded to author Arundhati Roy for contempt of court “will remain as a black spot in the judicial history of this country forever”.

“I am of the personal opinion that the day when Supreme Court punished Ms. Arundhati Roy for contempt and sentenced her to undergo a day’s imprisonment and sent her to Tihar jail in the case, was the darkest day in the history of the Indian judiciary. I, as a judge, through this expression, offer my personal regret and apology to Ms Arundhati Roy for the judicial tyranny let loose on her by the most improper use of the power to punish a person for committing contempt of court,” he said.

In his address, Kumar also said he was of the opinion that the power to punish people who have committed contempt of court proceedings and orders was a “very drastic power without even reasonable safeguards, but more disturbingly without adequate remedial measures at all”.

“If mistakes, errors or even illegalities are committed in the exercise of this power and this definitely happens when the power is abused at the level of superior courts in this country and of course becomes irreversible and without remedy when it happens at the highest level of the judicial system, abuse of judicial power is total and lack of judicial accountability perpetuates the abuse. It is high time members in the superior courts of this country exhibited greater awareness of the sense of judicial accountability required to be exhibited and adhered to while exercising the unruly power of punishing people for committing contempt of court,” he said.

The judge, who first hit the headlines for taking on the previous Chief Justice of India KG Balakrishnan over the issue of implementation of the Right to Information Act in the higher judiciary, called upon the legislature, to get active in the wake of past experiences and to usher in suitable legislation to ensure that the power (of contempt) doesn’t “become tyrannical”.

Midnapore school turns sanctuary for men at night

Snigdhendru Bhattacharya, Hindustan Times



ILLUSTRATION: DURGA

Salboni, June 24: During the day, the building is a school alive with 700 students. At nights it turns into a refuge for about 350 men of four neighbouring villages. For the last six months, villagers have been using Kalsibhanga Desbandhu High School in Salboni as a day school and a night sanctuary. Salboni is in Bengal’s Maoist-dominated West Midnapore district, 160 km south west of Kolkata.

“We don’t dare sleep in our houses at night. The ‘combined force’ (a euphemism for the central and state forces) is in search of Maoists and PCAPA (a front organisation for the Maoists) leaders. We can’t take the risk of staying alone at home,” Sameer Mahato, a villager of Baro Kalsibhanga, told HT. His fear: “being whisked away by the security forces and then killed as a Maoist. After the clock strikes 10 pm, the houses in the villages are devoid of all able-bodied men. Only women, children and old people remain there.

During the night the men in dhotis, lungis and pajamas troop into the school. It is converted into a massive bedroom. Those who come early grab the benches. Others sleep on the floors, the balconies and even the roof. Around 300-350 men from Baro Kalsibhanga, Chhoto Kalsibhanga, Patri an Majurkata villages gather there every night. But as classes start early in summer, they vacate the school building by 6 am. Lalmohan Mahato, a former CPI(M) panchayat member and now a PCAPA supporter, said it is easy for the security forces to pick up men from their homes at night. Whereas it is not easy to pick anyone from a group of 300 men.

“We can resist the force’s attempts if we are together. Moreover, it might not always be possible to keep track of each and every house. But if someone is picked up from here, everyone will know,” Mahato said. But the men still feel helpless about raids in their houses and the chances of women and children being picked up. “We can only hope that the forces do not conduct such raids. There is nothing more we can do about it right now,” said Kali Hembram of Majurkata.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

May 31, 2010

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 Jnanewsari 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 Sene* 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 judgement 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 judgements 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, apologise 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)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE



Press Release:

June 09, 2010

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 Manmohan 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 Manmohan 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 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-Manmohan 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)





**KICK OUT THE BLOOD-SUCKING IMPERIALIST MNCs
FROM INDIAN SOIL!**

**THROW OUT THE TRAITOROUS COMPRADOR INDIAN RULING
CLASSES GUARDING THEIR IMPERIALIST MASTERS!**