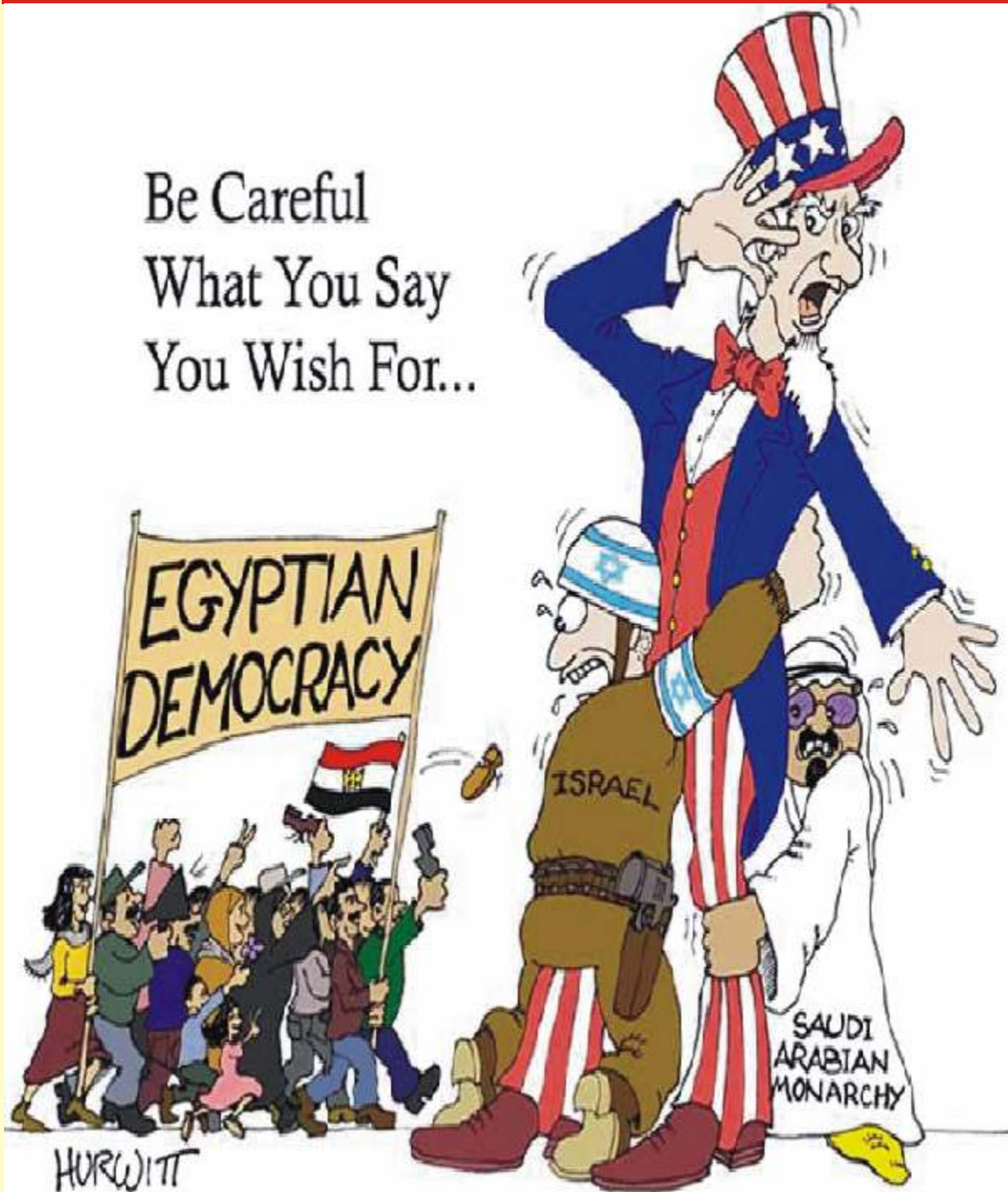


# PEOPLE'S MARCH

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<b>A Warning for Egyptian Revolutionaries</b>	4	<b>Encounter: Azad Case ...</b>	7	<b>State Your Cause</b>	10
<b>Fact finding report</b>	12	<b>Magic Slaughter of Azad</b>	8	<b>Press Release</b>	31
<b>Tomorrow it can be any one of us</b>	14	<b>Letter to friends of Azad</b>	20	<b>Press Release</b>	33
<b>Manufacturing Sedition</b>	16	<b>Forum Against War on People</b>	26	<b>Press Release</b>	35
<b>Dalit Activist Sudhir Dhawale</b>	19	<b>Safe Release of Dist. Collector Malkangiri</b>	11	<b>Press Release</b>	37
<b>Supreme Court Judgement</b>	29	<b>The Sham of Democracy</b>	27	<b>Press Release</b>	39
		<b>India: Whither Development</b>	22	<b>Condolence: K.G. Kannabiran</b>	40

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# Perspective on the peoples' uprisings against autocratic regimes in North Africa & Middle East

Prof. Jose Ma. Sison

*Founding Chairman, Communist Party of the Philippines*

*February 27, 2011*

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) steadfastly stands in solidarity with and supports the peoples of the North African and Middle East countries in their mass uprisings and revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy against the autocratic regimes long maintained by imperialist powers and local reactionary classes.

At the same time, the ILPS is keenly aware that the overthrow of a dictator by a rapid spontaneous surge of the masses does not necessarily result in the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling system. In the absence of a strong revolutionary party of the proletariat and revolutionary mass organizations, the imperialist powers and its puppets among the competing political and military factions of the local exploiting classes can arrange a new regime that pretends to be better than the previous one.

Are peoples perpetually and hopelessly trapped in ruling systems controlled and manipulated by the imperialists and their reactionary agents? No. The crisis of each ruling system and the mass uprisings can result not only in the overthrow of the autocratic regime but also in the further development of revolutionary parties, mass organizations and alliances for the continuous advance of the people's cause for national and social liberation.

The peoples' uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East are not the deliberate creation of the imperialists, their mass media and smart political agents. They are the people's resistance to the oppression and exploitation that they have long suffered. Their suffering has been made more than ever intolerable by the crisis

of the world capitalist system and domestic ruling systems under the bankrupt US-imposed policy of neoliberal globalization and the US global war of terror characterized by state terrorism and aggression.

While the revolutionary strength of the people in a country is not yet sufficient to overthrow the ruling system, the US and its puppets deck themselves out as democrats by trying to forge new constitutions and instituting periodic elections and term limits for elective officials even as variable balances of political and military factions continue to make the ruling system apparently stable but really more unstable, remaining ripe for the next corrupt autocratic regime or servile to monarchies most favored by the US as in Saudi Arabia and the emirates.

The big prize for the US and its imperialist allies and its biggest local puppets in North Africa and the Middle East is the stepped-up super profit-taking from the cheap labor of the working people, exploitation of oil and other natural resources, the huge sales of armaments to the oil producing countries and many other kinds of businesses.

The imperialist powers headed by the US are hell-bent on tightening their control over all the major sources of oil and gas and cannot tolerate the degree of national independence or anti-imperialism that Iraq and Libya exercised in extended periods in the past and that Iran is striving hard to maintain. The US is now flagrantly seeking to grab and tighten its control over the oil resources of Libya as in Iraq. It is taking the lead in applying sanctions and threatening to unleash the aggression and atrocities that it used to

take over the oil resources of Iraq.

Once more, the irony of autocrats subservient or pliant to US imperialism but eventually junked by it is being demonstrated in North Africa and the Middle East. New sets of puppets are being arranged to further exploit and oppress the people. But through perseverance in revolutionary struggle in the long course of history, the people can develop their own strength to realize their national and social liberation.

On the scale of North Africa and the Middle East and particular countries, the course and outcomes of the peoples' uprisings follow the law of uneven development. Under any circumstances, the ILPS stands in solidarity with and supports the broad masses of the people and the anti-imperialist and democratic forces, and encourage them to be vigilant and militant against machinations to maintain and prolong imperialist domination and subservience by the local reactionary forces.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle looks forward to far greater revolutionary struggles now and in the future. Whatever are the temporary arrangements that can be made by the imperialists and their reactionary agents, the revolutionary energy and forces already released by the peoples' uprisings will find fertile ground to grow in strength and advance against the crisis-stricken world capitalist system and the local ruling systems.

*Note: This statement was written by Comrade Sison as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle*

PM

## A Warning for Egyptian Revolutionaries: Courtesy of People Power in the Philippines

*[Many have noted some similarities between the “People Power” revolt which removed the Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, and the February 2011 revolt which pushed Egyptian dictator Hosni Mubarak from power. Some have even proposed that this kind of revolt is the 21st century method of revolution! But, as this article shows, US strategists have focused on how this kind of revolt may enable imperialist interests to shape the forces which emerge in power. As William Robinson has pointed out, “US intervention was decisive in shaping the contours of the anti-Marcos movement and in establishing the terms and conditions under which Philippine social and political struggles would unfold in the post-Marcos period.” — Frontlines ed.]*

Monthly Review.org (<http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2011/barker150211.html>)

by Michael Barker

Much like Mubarak, the former democratic reformer turned long-serving US dictator for the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, demonstrates what can happen to even stalwart defenders of capitalism when they are opposed by their citizens *en masse*. Like Mubarak, Marcos previously provided a ray of hope for Western elites intent on quelling popular resistance within their own countries; after President Ronald Reagan launched his “worldwide campaign for democracy” before the British Parliament at Westminster in June 1982, he then decided to visit Marcos in the Philippines “where he announced in a public homage to the dictator, Ferdinand Marcos, that the Philippines has been moulded in the image of American democracy.” This commitment to ‘democracy’ in the Philippines was not new; the previous year Vice President George Bush “raised a toast to Marcos during his visit to Manila, declaring ‘We love your adherence to democratic principle and to the democratic process.’”<sup>1</sup>

Little wonder that when the US government institutionalized their commitment to democracy, it took the form an Orwellian organization called the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) — an organization that was set up by the US government to overtly carry out the ‘democracy promoting’ interventions that had formerly been undertaken covertly by the Central Intelligence Agency. Since

then, the NED has assumed a pivotal position in defusing revolutionary movements all over the world, but their central role in the eventual ouster of Marcos is worth retelling, especially bearing in mind the similarity of his regime of oppression to Mubarak’s. Thankfully the history of the US government’s ‘democratic’ intervention in the Philippines has already been analyzed in William I. Robinson’s groundbreaking book *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); consequently this article merely aims to encapsulate some of his key points.

To begin with, there should be no doubt that the ouster of President Marcos in 1986 was not due to any long-range conspiracy hatched in the White House: his removal from power was entirely due to a popular uprising. On the other hand, the US government did belatedly succeed in undermining and co-opting the revolutionary ferment that was in the air. What is clear is that throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the poor and oppressed citizens of the Philippines had been gathering political strength. This emerging power was significantly bolstered by the August 1983 assassination of the most visible leader of the elite opposition, Benigno Aquino Jr. — a murder which had the effect of ensuring that the non-Marcos elite was finally “galvanized . . . into active opposition.” This galvanization had the effect of drawing the middle

classes into the already popular and vocal opposition movement; and with the potential for a broad-based increasingly radicalized opposition movement developing in the Philippines, the US government became more than a little interested in intervening in the region. Elite concern in the United States was further aggravated when in late 1984, the wife of the assassinated Benigno, Cory Aquino — who was then a serious contender for power — worked with other opposition leaders to draw up plans that “spelled out a nationalist-orientated program of social reform and development and also called for the removal of US military bases from the Philippines.”<sup>2</sup>

The US had always been interested in the Philippines because of the Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base: military bases which were key strategic sites from which every US invasion of Asia had gone through since 1898. Concern really heightened and got greater in about 1984, because of the people’s movement, including the New People’s Army (NPA), a fighting force of over 20,000 fighters and led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

If it wasn’t obvious before, it now became evident to US planners that a “diverse and well organized” movement was gaining momentum in the Philippines, “ranging from the NPA insurgency, to the mass, left-of-center civic movement BAYAN (New Patriotic Federation, which went by its

acronym in Tagalog), which brought together millions of Philippine citizens, to numerous parties and groups of the center, center-right and right.” Noting that “[p]erhaps the weakest among the opposition were the center and conservative sectors which, as in Nicaragua and other authoritarian Third World regimes, had vacillated during many years between support for, and opposition to, the dictatorship,” they quickly funneled ‘democracy’ aid to these needy sectors of civil society.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1984 and 1990, Philippine organizations received at least \$9 million from the NED and other US sources. These included: the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry (PCCI), which mobilized the business community against Marcos; the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), a minority, conservative union federation affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which competed with more radical and left-leaning labor organizations; Philippine “youth clubs” established under the guidance of US organizers to mobilize Philippine youth; the KABATID Philippine women’s organization (KABATID is the Tagalog acronym for Women’s Movement for the Nurturing of Democracy), also established under the guidance of US organizers; and the National Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL).<sup>4</sup>

Here one should note that Robinson’s figure of \$9 million is based on publicly available NED annual reports, and as he observes, “the actual amount is probably much higher, since millions more were sent to the Philippines circuitously via such organizations as the AAFLI [Asian-American Free Labor Institute] and via the CIA and other ‘national security’ related spending, which is classified.”<sup>5</sup> To be sure the TUCP, which was the local affiliate of the AFL-CIO’s Asian-American Free Labor Institute, was a creation of the Marcos Dictatorship pure and simple, and its goal was to keep

the labor sector under control. Indeed, after Aquino’s assassination, the US Government channeled millions of dollars to the TUCP through AAFLI as a way to help the TUCP — and the Marcos Dictatorship — survive. On the other hand, the most significant pro-worker, anti-management part of the labor movement in the Philippines was the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU-May First Movement) — which was a nationalist, militant labor center of unions built in the various regional political economies across the nation that united on a national level on May 1, 1980, in Manila. KMU specifically challenged the TUCP, and they were central to the nationalist challenge to the dictatorship.

Living in fear of the evolution of a “left-center popular alliance,” the US State Department dispatched their finest experts in conflict resolution to meet with Cory Aquino and the leader of the right-wing opposition, Salvador “Doy” Laurel, to “convince them to run under a united ticket that would stress anti-communism and refrain from opposing US bases in the Philippines (Laurel subsequently became Aquino’s running-mate as candidate for Vice-President).” Having laid the groundwork for a change of leadership, events then heated up when Marcos decided to ignore the results of the snap election held on February 7, 1986, in which the people of the Philippines elected the Aquino/Laurel ticket to power. Contrary to US interests, Marcos’ adverse Dictatorial reaction further inflamed popular resistance, providing further fuel for the popular insurrection.<sup>6</sup>

The US wanted to do whatever it could to contain the growing insurrection, and an important part of the US’s ultimately successful intervention in the Philippines was to get the military onside and ready for the ‘democratic’ transition; and a key player in this regard was General Fidel Ramos, a long-time loyalist to Marcos who was

acting as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP). It was in this way, with a ‘little’ prodding by the United States, that in mid-1985 General Ramos came to see the futility of supporting Marcos’s crumbling regime and joined with Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile in helping organize a reformer’s revolt which split the military shortly after the contested election.<sup>7</sup> Thus when the people subsequently rose up in defiance of Marcos to protect the military reformers and their forces in Manila, Marcos’ only choice at that time — if he had wanted to crush the military revolt — was to order the Army to slaughter the masses, and the US didn’t want that!

With few other options left on the table, the US turned all its resources to bring pressure to bear on Marcos, and they did this by dispatching “at-large ambassador Philip Habib to Manila to urge Aquino to keep her followers off the streets and to convince Marcos to step down.”<sup>8</sup> However, when Habib failed to make the US’s case firmly enough, Paul Laxalt, a right-wing US Senator from Nevada, called Marcos (on February 24) and told him to “cut and cut clean”; and within twenty-four hours Marcos was gone and Aquino had been sworn into office.<sup>9</sup> Taken together, these actions served to undermine the growing political power of the people’s power movement, as they circumscribed the need for the massive (potentially revolutionary) social protests that were in the pipeline — which were to include economic boycotts and a general strike.

Significantly, “[s]uch actions would have greatly enhanced the labor movement, with its militant base and left-wing tendencies, in both removing Marcos and in shaping the post-Marcos government and policies.” Yet one should note that there was never any question of Aquino — soon to be *Time* magazine woman of the year — supporting labor, and particularly KMU,



over the military. All the same, the big question for the US was: could she re-establish social stability and be won away from wanting to close the US military bases? Consequently after Aquino assumed power, there were several military coup efforts against her by the Marcos-inspired military,<sup>10</sup> in which her side eventually prevailed: Ramos and Enrile played key roles here, with Ramos becoming more important of the two over time. Both Enrile and Ramos were longtime allies of the US — Ramos is a graduate of West Point — and they were able to convince her to keep the US bases. At the same time, the US government provided tons of money, and a direct address by Aquino to the US Congress, to keep her on their side, which wasn't hard: Aquino herself had gone to college in the US and was very pro-American. She also agreed to pay debt incurred by the Dictatorship, seeing them as legitimate.

In the aftermath of the US's 'democratic' intervention in the Philippines there has been a vigorous debate about the significance of the US's role in the process. Yet as Robinson points out, "whether or not US intervention was itself the determining factor in the overthrow of Marcos obscured a much more significant issue: *US intervention was decisive in shaping the contours of the anti-Marcos movement and in establishing the terms and conditions under which Philippine social and political struggles would unfold in the post-Marcos period.*"<sup>11</sup> Moreover it is critical to observe that the post-Marcos era has not been a happy period for the majority of the Philippines' citizens, In fact, Walden Bello and John Gershman described this new post-Marcos environment as "politically sanitized" to such an extent that "anti-elite candidates with radical political programs have been driven from the electoral arena by the threat of force — so that even intense electoral competition would not be too

destabilizing."<sup>12</sup> Likewise in a stark reminder of what might happen in Egypt, Philippines labor specialist Kim Scipes writes:

... [R]eplacing Marcos with Aquino left a brutal state apparatus intact, which Aquino used to kill peasants, workers and the urban poor. In fact, KMU leaders told me that the human rights abuses under democrat Aquino were worse than under Dictator Marcos: she couldn't control her generals. However, whether she couldn't control them or if she didn't want to control them — Alfred W. McCoy in *Policing America's Empire* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2009) claims the latter — the fact is that unless the brutal state apparatus is dismantled, and especially the Police and the torture agencies, the repression could be re-instituted.<sup>13</sup>

The Egyptian people have struck a great blow for freedom from tyranny, and have complicated US and Israeli foreign policy in the region immensely, and such external forces will want to re-establish control at very first opportunity. However, not only foreigners but remnants of the Egyptian elite want to re-establish the control they've long had, and will do anything they can to do so. The Egyptian people need to learn from the Philippine experience, and do all they can to keep that from happening.

<sup>1</sup> William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.117, p.122.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.123, p.126.

<sup>3</sup> Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.125. "In November 1984, a secret NSC Study Directive made the call for a concerted US intervention in the Philippines to facilitate a transition. 'The United States has extremely important interests in the Philippines. . . Political and economic developments in the Philip-

pinas threaten these interests,' stated the directive. 'The US does not want to remove Marcos from power to destabilize the GOP [Government of the Philippines]. Rather, we are urging revitalization of democratic institutions, dismantling "crony" monopoly capitalism and allowing the economy to respond to free market forces, and restoring professional, apolitical leadership to the Philippine military to deal with the growing communist insurgency.' 'These efforts,' it went on, 'are meant to stabilize (the country) while strengthening institutions which will eventually provide for a peaceful transition.'" Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, pp.124-5.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, pp.125-6. The reactionary Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) received almost US\$7 million from the National Endowment for Democracy between 1984 and 1991 (p.135). One of the reasons for such emphasis on Philippine labor was the challenge from the militant KMU and the importance of labor in national political struggles" (p.136). For an excellent historical study of the KMU, see Kim Scipes, *KMU: Building Genuine Trade Unionism in the Philippines, 1980-1994* (New Day Publishers, 1996). Scipes is also the author of *AFL-CIO's Secret War Against Developing Country Workers: Solidarity or Sabotage?* (Lexington Books, 2010), which provides an excellent historical overview of the interaction between the US government and the National Endowment for Democracy and organized labor. Needless to say, this labor movement imperialism is not being done through labor movement procedures, but behind the backs of members.

<sup>5</sup> Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.403.

<sup>6</sup> Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.127.

Contd.....on Page 21

## ENCOUNTER: AZAD CASE ...DEATH BY AN INCH ... LIES BY THE MILE

*Will Azad become Congress's Sohrabuddin?  
His post-mortem suggests he was killed in cold blood.      OUTLOOK*

Dead men tell no tales. But Azad's death has thrown up several questions. The truth, as is usual in times of conflict, is the first casualty.

On January 14, a Supreme Court bench of Justices Aftab Alam and R.M. Lodha heard two petitions filed by lawyer Prashant Bhushan on the death of Maoist leader Cherukuri Azad Rajkumar in an alleged encounter killing. After hearing the petitions, the judges observed that "we can't allow the Republic killing its own children". Nearly seven months after the death of Azad, the apex court was expressing its concern on the mysterious circumstances that surround police encounters

In September last year, Outlook had reported that the post-mortem report of Azad's body pointed to the presence of "blackening" and "burnt" edges around the bullet-entry wound area, indicating that the firing had been done from very close quarters. There were also several discrepancies in the police FIR and the inquest report of the encounter. However, the Andhra Pradesh government had rubbished the allegations of a fake encounter and had ordered a magisterial inquiry into Azad's killing.

None of these facts as recorded in the post-mortem report and discrepancies would have come to light but for the Coordination of Democratic Rights Organisations (CDRO), a national coalition of human rights organisations that probed the encounter. They also procured a copy of the post-mortem reports of Azad and journalist Hemchandra Pandey, another casualty of the encounter.

Bhushan, who was part of the CDRO fact-finding mission, filed the petitions in the apex court on behalf of social activist Swami Agnivesh and Bineeta, Pandey's widow, seeking answers from the Central and State governments on the alleged fake encounter. In her petition, Bineeta points out that both the post-mortems indicate that it was close-range shots that killed the two men. According to medical forensics the world over, the presence of "blackening" and "burnt" edges on the bullet's entry-point wounds indicates a shot fired from less than 7 cm.

The post-mortem on Azad's body was conducted on July 3, 2010, by two doctors of the Mancherial government hospital, ENT surgeon Dr Neelakanteswara Rao and anaesthetist Dr Chandraiah. Both are civil assistant surgeons and Dr Rao is a veteran of over a 1,000 post-mortems. Dr Chandraiah told Outlook that he had written the post-mortem report as Rao dictated it out to him. Sources close to one of the doctors say he firmly believes the blackening of the wound near the chest and the tattooing near the one on Azad's right

shoulder clearly indicate that the shots were fired from close range, probably less than three feet. Since the case is in the Supreme Court, it is likely the doctors will be called in to testify at some point.

"We will hear anyone willing to depose before us...I have the power to summon police officers as well."G.K. Prasada Rao, AP

The post-mortem of Pandey was conducted by Dr Aravind, an orthopaedician, and Dr A. Bhishma, the hospital Superintendent. Dr Bhishma agreed the content in both post-mortem reports were his responsibility. "We will stand by our reports irrespective of what is recorded in them. Their interpretation might differ but we will stand by the reports per se," he told Outlook.

"We will hear anyone willing to depose before us...I have the power to summon police officers as well."G.K. Prasada Rao, AP

Meanwhile, a fact-finding team from the Human Rights Forum, which visited the encounter site in the Sarkepally forest on July 6, 2010, says they are sure that there was no exchange of fire between the police and Azad/Pandey. The team spoke to locals and examined the encounter site. "That the police version of a nearly four-hour encounter in the dead of night in the course of which over 300 rounds were exchanged following which 'two top Maoists' died is an utter falsehood is proven by a perusal of the hillock where the alleged encounter took place. The hillock is about a kilometre from Kensuguda village amidst fairly thick forest," the HRF claims in its report.

Others like legendary social activist K.G. Kannabiran, who passed away earlier this year, had also questioned the official version. Talking to Outlook a few months ago, he had said, "Fake encounters are a favourite tool of the AP police. I have been fighting them for the last 30 years but I know I am going to lose this battle. They will wilfully conduct murder and we will never be able to do anything about it." Veekshanam editor N. Venugopal says "the people of Andhra are sick of the police version which they have been reading over and over for the last 40 years. The wording is the same, with changes only in the proper nouns."

The SC has now issued notices to the Central and State governments, seeking replies within six weeks. The bench also observed that "we hope there will be an answer...a good and convincing answer. The government will have to answer many questions," it said. The state government's magisterial inquiry was done by Revenue Divisional Officer

*Contd.....on Page 9*

## The Magic-Realistic Slaughter Of Azad

*Writing of the death of comrades, Cherukuri Rajkumar foretold his own*

“There has never been a death more foretold,” wrote Gabriel Garcia Marquez in his classic little novel, *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*. The setting is a small seaside town somewhere in South America where virtually the whole town knows that an honour killing of a young man is going to take place one morning. The killers wait with open knives in full view of the public, declaring to all passers-by their intention. Nothing is kept secret; the killing takes place in full view of the town through the public’s various acts of omission and commission. Everyone has his or her justification for why they couldn’t prevent the killing. Insights into the gripping power of collective prejudice merge with realism and fantasy to create the magic Marquez is famous for.

But even the magic realism of Marquez falls short of the ‘facts’ presented by Indian law enforcing authorities through the media about so-called encounter killings. Here are some ‘facts’ presented in one case:

- A man was reported killed, but soon enough, he returned to give a press interview. So he had to be killed again.
- The man then ‘foretold’, more or less exactly, the events leading to his own death.
- The death occurred in a jungle with magical qualities, where objects defied the laws of gravity and the arrow of time moved inexplicably from the future to the past.
- And finally, the collective prejudice of the powers that be found it fit to celebrate this ritualistic killing, although it might be illegal, as a victory of democracy.

Let us try to decipher this conundrum. One ‘Azad’, a Communist Party of India (Maoist) spokesperson and member of its Central Committee, was killed with his wife Rama in an

“encounter” in the Eturnagaram forests in the Warangal district of Andhra Pradesh. Soon, P.K. Hormis Tharakan, a senior police officer and former chief of the Research & Analysis Wing, confirmed the killing in an article in the April 22, 2008, edition of *The Indian Express*. But the ‘news’ was contradicted in a few days by another man called Azad in an interview that appeared in the No. 2, May 10, 2008, issue of the Maoists’ *News Bulletin*. It said the Azad who was killed was one Gajarala Saraiah and the person giving the interview was Cherukuri Rajkumar, the party’s chief spokesman, who also goes by the name of Azad.

Then, Cherukuri ‘Azad’ Rajkumar kept foretelling the circumstances of his own death—through the deaths of his other comrades. In a May 24, 2009, press release published by leading national dailies, he described how his comrade, Patel Sudhakar Reddy, alias Suryam, also a Central Committee member of the Maoist organization, was arrested by police officers of the Andhra Pradesh Special Investigation Bureau (APSIB) in Nashik, Maharashtra. Suryam was “brutally tortured and murdered on 23rd night”, and the government floated the story of an encounter killing, the purported location where Suryam and a Maoist district committee member, Comrade Venkatayya, were killed being the Tadwai forests of Warangal district. The police claimed that “an AK-47 rifle and a 9 mm pistol were recovered”. Azad’s press release describes how Suryam was being trailed by the APSIB for at least the week before his arrest: “He was kept under watch when he went to the shelter maintained by Comrade Venkatayya in Nashik.”

In another press statement, published in the May-June 2010 issue of *People’s March*, Azad chronicles how two other comrades, Sakhamuri

Amit Bhaduri *Outlook*

Appa Rao and Kondal Reddy, were murdered by the APSIB and the Greyhounds in cold blood on March 10, 2010, “after being abducted two days earlier from Chennai and Pune respectively, tortured and taken to the Nallamala forests, where they were shot dead in an encounter”. The statement alleges that the order to kill came directly from Union home minister P. Chidambaram. It then wryly observes that the Andhra Pradesh police and Chidambaram had all along been claiming that the Nallamala forests had been cleared of the Maoists, but did not probably realize that “the so-called encounter with such a big Maoist leader in Nallamala region would mock their own claims of the past three years”.

A few months later, between the night of July 1 and the morning of July 2, 2010, Azad himself was killed by the Andhra police. The killing followed the same script. Azad’s body, with that of Hem Chandra Pandey, a journalist, was discovered in the Adilabad forests. As with Suryam, the police claimed that an AK-47 and a 9 mm pistol were recovered beside the two bodies. The Adilabad forests—like Nallamala, where Appa Rao’s body was found—had been reported as quiet and free of Maoist activities for the last four years, according to villagers. Villagers mocked the police in private: how could the body of a Maoist leader of Azad’s stature have been found in forests said to have been cleared of the rebels? One villager told a visiting fact-finding team that Azad had more brains than the entire Andhra police put together, and wouldn’t have been so stupid as to give occasion to be killed near their village in the Adilabad forests. However, there is a method in the apparent stupidity of the police, on which Azad had commented earlier: policemen, perhaps for effect, throw the bodies of Maoist leaders they slay in



areas where they are known and admired for their 'over ground' work. Azad, for instance, was found in a place not far from the Singareni coal mines, where he had worked to organize the labourers into trade unions.

There never has been a chronicle of a death so frequently foretold by the very man killed. And there never has been stronger collective prejudice against such a man, manufactured by the media, the political class and big business, and justifying his killing for the sake of "democracy". There is, however, an omission in Azad's foretellings: he failed to see that a peace initiative of the government to the Maoists in which he was a key participant was in fact meant to kill him.

**In the forests where Azad was killed, bullets defied the laws of gravity, and time moved from the future to the past. All for the benefit of the brave policemen.**

The sequence of events that led to Azad's killing is well-known. On Chidambaram's appeal, Swami Agnivesh, a respected social worker, approached the Maoists with a letter from the minister setting out conditions for a dialogue for peace, starting with a 72-hour bilateral ceasefire. Azad responded positively, but wanted some conditions amended. For instance, he wanted the ceasefire to be extended to six months so as to enable him to coordinate with regional committees of his rebel group before any dialogue for peace. Chidambaram then insisted on

a definite date for the ceasefire to come into effect. Agnivesh suggested three alternative dates, and Azad was traveling widely, contacting various regional units to arrive at a date acceptable to them all. In the process, he outed himself and the police got on to his tracks. The rest is well-known.

With Azad's killing, all possibility of peace was killed. Chidambaram refused to initiate any inquiry, saying it was for the Congress government of Andhra Pradesh to do so. The Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh, for her part, claimed immediately after the encounter that she had no knowledge of what happened. Both the State and Central governments have since maintained a studied silence.

The story of this encounter might have remained buried. Yet the incongruities were too fantastic and began to trickle out through the efforts of a few journalists, human rights activists and some members of civil society. Consider this: in a report written at 9:30 am on July 2, 2010, at the police headquarters, officers said the two bodies at the encounter site were unidentified; however, at 6:30 am the same morning, local journalists had got calls from persons claiming to be policemen that Azad had been killed and that two bodies were lying in the Adilabad forests. The second body was later identified by them as that of "Hem Pandey". Clearly, the arrow of time moved backward at police headquarters.

A later police report said Azad and Pandey, who were with a Maoist band that was traveling to Andhra Pradesh from Gadchiroli in Maharashtra, were killed in an encounter with a police team. It said the band was atop a hillock and the brave policemen were firing from below. And yet, according to the post-mortem report, the bullet that killed Azad entered his body from above chest level and traveled downwards. Clearly, even the law of gravity changed for the benefit of the police. And the bullet marks on Azad's body, according to forensic experts, suggested he was shot dead at close range. Some remarkably brave policemen, in the face of AK-47 firing, must have run uphill at lightning speed and shot him dead at close range.

Azad's death adds a new chapter to the discourse on revolutions. We have been told repeatedly in history books that violent revolution devours its own children. However, the powers that be haven't taken the trouble to tell us how a democratic republic—purportedly built on the Gandhian foundations of non-violence—becomes a deranged killer. During a recent hearing, Justice Aftab Alam of the Supreme Court tellingly observed that "our Republic cannot bear the stain of killing its own children". Can our democracy be saved from such patriotic killings of its own children?

*(The writer is emeritus professor at JNU's Centre for Economic Studies & Planning, New Delhi.)*

PM

*Contd..... from Page 7*

G.K. Prasada Rao, who has held just one sitting so far, on September 6 last year.

Of course, police officials always point out that this is a "war against a group that challenges the Indian Constitution". A senior police officer says the post-mortem findings can be "easily answered by the facts. In an

encounter, the bullet can travel in any direction and a spinning one can also cause burnt edges. It doesn't mean anything". Another senior intelligence officer points out that dealing with the violent Maoists needs a "bullet-for-bullet strategy". But people like Vamshi Krishna, a local reporter who broke the story, ask, "How did people in Hyderabad know it was Azad's body even before a former colleague

identified it? We were the first ones to reach the spot and we didn't find Azad in his uniform and everything suggested a neat set-up. We have covered encounters before and Maoist leaders are never known to travel alone. So why was Azad alone?"

"How did Hyderabad know it was Azad's body even before it was identified? ...it was all a neat set-up." Vamshi Krishna, Local reporter

PM

# State Your Cause

*All opportunities for talks with Maoists have been squandered*

It may not have registered on the Richter scale of urban mediascape, but the 48-hour truce preceding the release of Malkangiri collector R. Vineel Krishna on February 24, and five Chhattisgarh policemen on February 11, by their Maoist abductors was palpable in the rebel-held areas. No combing by the police or the paramilitary, no armed action by the Maoists. In Chhattisgarh's case, the significance of the truce found expression in Chief Minister Raman Singh's comment at a joint press conference with Swami Agnivesh and other rights activists who had secured the policemen's release: "Why can't this truce continue beyond this incident and Maoist issues resolved through talks with help from such mediators?" It's another thing that his government restrained the freedom of one such possible mediator, Binayak Sen, a couple of years ago and continues doing so. It's also another thing that there was no follow-up on Singh's thinking aloud. After his release, Collector Krishna, too, made some interesting observations: he said time spent among poor tribals in Maoist areas had made him more sensitive to their troubles and that there could always be a debate on different development perspectives. But in this case too, we see no immediate prospect of a "sensitive" state reaching out for a debate with those who have taken up arms for a "different development" perspective.

Why does the state show an eagerness to negotiate with its alienated citizens only when armed groups constrain and endanger members of the ruling elite? This exposes the hierarchical impulses of a State which

treats the lives of people lower down the ladder, whether its own employees or ordinary citizens, as mere cannon fodder. Contrast the swift extra effort made by Orissa to meet Maoist demands for the release of an IAS officer and the ten-day-long spell of indifference by Chhattisgarh towards Maoist conditions for the release of ordinary police constables, who were released by their abductors in response to appeals from rights groups. Instead of talking in an adhoc fashion on specific rebel demands when forced to do so, why can't the State make a gesture to its alienated people, often victims of state policy, unconditionally and have a comprehensive strategy for engagement and negotiation under a framework of natural justice? Some uninformed commentary in the media recently suggested that the Chhattisgarh and Orissa abductions mark a tactical change by besieged Maoists, who are now taking recourse to kidnappings to force the government to release their comrades and meet their other demands. In fact, Maoists have carried out kidnappings a number of times as tactical maneuvers or as political statements. More spectacular than even the Malkangiri Collector's kidnapping was the abduction of 11 government officials, including seven IAS officers, by Maoists in the Gurthedu forests of Andhra Pradesh in 1987. It was the late K.G. Kannabiran, an eminent rights activist and lawyer, who had negotiated their release. In May 1991, he again negotiated with the Maoists for the release of Congress MLA P. Sudhir Kumar, son of then Union Minister P. Shivshankar. And in 1993, he secured

Neelabh Mishra Outlook  
the release of Congress MLA P. Balaraju (now a Minister in Andhra Pradesh), IAS officer D. Srinivasulu, and four engineers. It's a pity that the openings for negotiation provided by those incidents were never followed up with a comprehensive peace process; the temptation for an armed solution probably weighs more with governments. The negotiation process could certainly have been built upon, from those beginnings, but that was not to be.

In the 2000s too, Kannabiran, S.R. Sankaran (a former IAS officer, one of the seven abducted by the Maoists in 1987), Prof G. Haragopal (one of the mediators in the Malkangiri abduction saga) and their friends worked to bring left extremists and the Andhra government to the negotiation table. But these efforts came to naught because of mutual mistrust and the government's impatience. Both Kannabiran and Sankaran died recently, disappointed men of peace.

Meanwhile, the Maoists have made a telling political statement with the recent abductions and release: they did not ask for the release of their top politburo leaders who are in jail but asked for the release of other cadre, including women, and made demands of interest to their tribal constituency. They also released ordinary constables unconditionally, for whom the State didn't show as much eagerness to negotiate as for IAS officer Vineel Krishna, though we must concede that he certainly is a sensitive, pro-poor face of the State he serves. It's a face that the whole state and all its administration must show. Always.

PM

# **Safe release of District Collector Malkamgiri, Odissa, after prolonged mediation**

## **Statement by Prof. G. Haragopal**

We the mediators express our satisfaction with the outcome of the mediation. We express our appreciation of the concerns of Maoists for the tribals. The tribals release was of utmost concern for them. We trust that the withdrawal of the cases on tribals on a priority basis will be taken up. We hope that they will get relief and go back to their habitats. The Orissa Government had closed large number of cases against tribals and this tradition makes us believe that the cases of tribals in prison will also receive their due attention.

We also appreciate that the cases against the Maoists will also be taken up in the review of Orissa government. We are working out the modalities and Sri Vineel Krishna and Sri Pabitra Majhi will be back within 48 hours.

Sd/-

**Shri U.N. Behra**  
Principal Secretary  
Home Department

Sd/-

**Shri S.N. Tripathi**  
Principal Secretary  
Panchayati Raj Department

Sd/-

**Prof. G. Haragopal**  
Former Professor,  
Kakatiya University

Sd/-

**Prof. R. Someswar Rao**  
Former Professor,  
Sambalpur University

Sd/-

**Shri Dandapani Mohanty**

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## **Update of Anti-POSCO People's Movement**

January 22, 2011

On 17th of January 2011, more than 1200 villagers belonging to the POSCO Pratirodh Sangram Samiti undertook a day-long 25 kilometer padayatra (foot-march). They were protesting the ongoing indiscriminate police arrest of villagers. The padayatra started from Dhinkia and culminated at Tahasil headquarter at Erasama. Cases have been lodged against more than 1200 people. Villagers from the Anti-POSCO movement area unable to come out to avail of basic necessary services like health treatment for fear of arrest. Warrant orders have been issued by the police against these peaceful protestors. Last week the persons were brought before the Joint Magistrate First Class to consider bail on the order of the State High Court. These persons were chased by the local Superintendent of Police and his force thus dishonouring the High Court order. Sahyam Jena of Dhinkia was arrested by Police. The police have been terrorizing the people with flag-marches. There is a police force deployed at the main entry-point.

In a memorandum to the Governor of Odisha through Erasama Tahasildar the PPSS demanded that the villagers

seeking health treatment and attending government officials should not be arrested by the police in and around the proposed POSCO project area. They also asked for a withdrawal of all false cases against the peaceful protesters... In accordance with the Committee's recommendations, PPSS also demanded prosecution of the authorities who violated the provisions of the Forest Right Act (FRA) and other environmental laws. Additionally, all those who have colluded in these violations or have been negligent in the implementation of the legal code must be held responsible. PPSS demand that the Orissa Government immediately implement the FRA in the affected area using transparent and democratic methods to ensure individual and community rights under the law.

Prasant Paikray  
Spokesperson  
Posco Pratirodh Sangram Samiti  
(Released on January 18, 2011)

# Orissa -- Fact-finding Reports On Tamaka and Basangmali Encounters

Press Note on the Tomka encounter

January 24, 2011

First of all we condemn all the 'encounters' which have happened recently, as in Paikmal, Daitari, Tomka and Kashipur.

We (some constituent members of CDRO—such as PUDR, CRPP, Visthapan Virodhi Jan Bikas Andolan and some independent journalists) after learning from media reports about an 'encounter' near Tangeisuni village, 7 kms away from Tomka, on Tomka- Kaliapani road, visited the place on the 22nd January 2011. Tomka, is nearly 10kms from Duburi in Kalinga Nagar (of Jajpur district of Orissa.)

We tried to meet the family members of a victim of the said encounter unsuccessfully. But we spoke to her neighbours and other villagers in Baligotha and Chandia in Kalinga Nagar. We could speak to Prafulla Ghadai, the local MLA and Finance Minister. We were unable to speak to the SP, who was on bed rest. And we had some press release by the police also. We have also seen photographs by a journalist who visited the site early the next morning of the said encounter.

Based on all these, we have been able to draw up the following note with a few questions.

There were five victims in the 'encounter'. One of the victims, most likely the youngest one, was a girl from Baligotha village. We could not meet the villagers who are supposed to be the family members of that victim. They had gone off to work in the fields. But the neighbours unequivocally said, after receiving the information that one of their family members' body is in the custody of the police, they set off for the police station. But on the way only, the police asked them not to come to the police station as her body has already been cremated.

In fact, the said victim had been missing since the incidents of March 2010. (In March 2010, there was an incident when police entered the villages in Kalinga Nagar and had lathi-charged and fired on villagers who were resisting the land-grabbing for a road/common corridor. One person namely Laxman Jamuda was killed in the firing by police and his body was not delivered to his family members but was cremated by the police at Puri. At that time many villagers were arrested by the police, whose whereabouts family members are ignorant about till now. Also many had fled away from the village to avoid confrontation with the police.

The local police have been, it seems, specializing in killing adivasis and not giving back the bodies to the relatives in the present dispensation).

This incident and other clues at the site of the 'encounter' (as the position of the bodies and the seized arms supposed to have in the possession of the victim, injuries on the back), indicate that people killed in the 'encounter' were not engaged in any kind of exchange of fire, as the police claim. We saw an undergarment at the site, greased with semen. The dresses of a women victim was quite disheveled, unlike in situations of 'encounter'. Was she violated before being shot?

Was it that the victims of the encounter were arrested by the police sometimes back? There are other missing persons also from the villages of Kalinga Nagar since March 2010. Are they also destined to be killed in 'encounters'?

This raises further questions about the constitutionally and universally acknowledged 'right to life'. Even if the story of the police is accepted—that they were Maoists—does it behove that the police act with prudence and follow procedures to book them under the law instead of annihilating them?

The history of the region witnessed this for the first time. It has happened, according to the local people for the first time and they relate it to increasing violence by the state on the occasion of the coming of the TATA to Kalinga Nagar. Yes if the history of the place is to be mapped properly, it is quite clear that the police atrocity of 2006, and the forcible entry of the big industrial houses and the concomitant land grabbing from the poor adivasis has been directly related to the first incident of the kind, i.e, the 'encounter' of the 2nd January 2011. The police atrocities on the local populace since 2006, subsequent happenings (reported in news papers) of March 2010, have thoroughly terrorized the people. The goons, supposedly financed by the industrial houses of the region, have harassed the people of the region for many months now. On top of these, the police and local administration have set one section of people against another (such as pro and anti- industry). And finally, the insensitivity of the local administration (which has been criminally partisan towards the industrial houses) towards the opinion of the local people has only cornered the people and they seem to be fighting to save their lands with their backs to the wall.

Therefore, we feel constrained to hold the entry of the TATAs and other industrial houses into Kalinga Nagar, which prompts and uses police to grab-land, as responsible for the beginning of a bloodied chapter in the history of Kalinga Nagar and humanity, proving the old and golden adage, “violence begets violence”. We sincerely wish that this chapter does not extend beyond this and ends here only.

The other question is regarding the procedures to be followed in what the police claims to be an armed encounter. Has the police followed the manual? If not why?

*Bibekanand Dash, Pradip Sahu, Deblina Chakroborty, Kamal Nayar, Manjit + CDRO.*

### **BASANGMALI (KASHIPUR) ENCOUNTER: GENOCIDE BY THE STATE IN THE CORPORATE INTEREST**

The so-called encounter in Basangmali Hills in Kashipur block of Raygada Dist. on 9th January 2011 was a clear-cut genocide by the state to serve the corporate interest. To terrorize local adivasis and dalits and suppress their ongoing movements against the large scale displacement by Vedanta and Utkal Alumina Company, the so-called encounter was organized by the state in the name of operation Green Hunt against the downtrodden people and their organizers, who are supporting the peoples’ cause, peoples’ rights over their livelihood and natural resources as supported by Indian constitution. This is the view shared by the fact finding team organized by Odisha Janabadi Lekhak Sangh, Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee and Banvashi Surkhshya Parishad, Kandhmal.

After the visiting the near by villages on the Basangmali hills and the families of murdered persons in the so called encounter and after discussing with the villagers we came to know that in the early morning around five to six o’clock police force fired from both sides from the top of hills to attack on a Maoist political-cultural team. The killing spot is one kilometer down from the Basangmali village, where the team camped near Somajharan (stream). The police force arrived the spot through Sikharpai root in the early morning around 6 a.m. At first they had thrown the grenades and then non-stop fired to kill directly the team without asking for surrender or trying to catch them. In this genocide nine members of the team headed by D. Srinivas alias Rabi (Rabi, Umashankar Behera alias Lenju, Kailash, Dikisha, Nirmala Miniaka, Kamala Miniaka, Rinki, Karuna Miniaka. Mamata Sikakka) were killed brutally. On the other side no police person were injured or killed. So the question of encounter with the Maoists as declared by the police authority in the media is not at all believable.

As per the discussion with the villagers the ‘Maoists’

reached at Basangmali village on 8th January at around 8 a.m and collected kitchen utensils from the villagers camped at Somajaran stream. In the evening they came to village and organized a meeting about the livelihood issues of tribals and the question of displacement caused by proposed mining in Kashipur and Niyamgiri areas by performing revolutionary songs and dances. On the killing spot we found a piece of paper on their written a song on Niyamgiri to raise their voice against Vedanta Company and Odisha government. The songs revealed their revolutionary political-cultural identity. According to the villagers these people were working for poor and agitating the cause of people. They were never engaged in any armed activities. After killing of the team members, an atmosphere of mourning among the people like the death of their kith and keens, we saw the same tears and fires in the eye of people gathered at Baringa on the occasion of tribal’s traditional “Sudhi Kriya” of the four minor girls of the same village organized by Vashundhara Surkhsha Smiti and Praktik Sampada Surkhsha Parishad, who are fighting against the displacement by Utkal Alumina Company since long. In this genocide on the hills of Basangmali seven tribals from which five minor tribal girls were killed which reflects the attitude of the state towards the poorest of poor, the adivasis, who are expressing their dissent views on the so called developments. This type of killing to suppress their right to agitation does not support a healthy democratic system as for the recent comments by the Hon’ble Supreme Court on Maoist leader Azad’s fake encounter case that constitutional governed Republic India will not allow to kill its own children. But that has not reflected in our state. After the killing police has terrorized village people in their gun point and threatened to bring the dead bodies of Maoists from killing spot to village. The so-called encounter of Basangmali hill is clearly violating the constitutional and democratic rights of the people.

In this respect the fact-finding demands as follows:

1. Register an FIR under Section 302 IPC on the policemen responsible for the fake encounter killing at Kashipur on 9th January 2011.
2. Give Rs 25 lakhs compensation to the families of nine persons, who were brutally killed in this fake encounter.
3. Withdraw all the Para-military and state police forces from the tribal areas and stop ‘Operation Green Hunt’.
4. Scrap all the MoUs made with the national and multi-national companies.

*Lenin Kumar (Janabadi Lekhak Sangh)*

*Narendra Mohanty (Banabasi Surakhshya Parishad)*

*A. Annapurna, D. Suresh Kumar, CH Chandrasekhar,*

*K. Narayan (APCLC)*

**PM**

# ‘Tomorrow it can be any one of us’

AJOY ASHIRWAD MAHAPRASHASTA

*Interview with Justice Rajinder Sachar.*

V.V. KRISHNAN

*JUSTICE Rajinder Sachar, former Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court, has emerged as one of the most powerful voices against the award of life sentence by the Raipur Sessions Court to Dr Binayak Sen. He says the judgment makes a mockery of the judiciary. Sachar, like Binayak Sen, is an active member of the People’s Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL). For the past two years, he has used the PUCL platform to campaign for the release of Dr Sen and has provided legal help to lawyers arguing his case.*

*Excerpts from the interview he gave Frontline:*

## **There is a strong civil society reaction to the verdict in the Dr Binayak Sen case. What are your comments on the judgment?**

It is an outrageous judgment. It is one of those cases that should not have been taken up for prosecution. It is totally uncalled for to punish Binayak under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and the Chhattisgarh Public Security Act. I have known Binayak for the last 20 years. He is a very gentle soul. A medical graduate, he settled in the Chhattisgarh area. He has worked with [Shankar Guha] Niyogi. I myself have held meetings there as our PUCL unit is very strong there. I held a meeting where Binayak was also present with about 500 tribal people. This was about three-four years ago. There was no violence. He was working with the poor trying to secure them their rights. [Narayan] Sanyal is one of his patients. Now the allegation is that he goes and sees him but what is forgotten is that every time he has gone to visit Sanyal in jail, it was with proper permission from the Superintendent.

I myself have gone and seen Binayak. The Superintendent was in his room, and we were talking normally. If he was a suspected Maoist, are the jail authorities so incompetent that they could not install some electronic surveillance? Sen has visited Sanyal so many times but nothing happened then. Only when they caught hold of Piyush, some papers were recovered in which Sanyal is supposed to have written, “Thank you very much for some help”. We don’t know. First they said he was caught from a hotel. They changed the version because it didn’t hold ground. Then they said they caught him from somewhere. Home Minister P. Chidambaram himself asked Swami Agnivesh to talk to Cherukuri Rajkumar alias Azad [polit bureau member of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) who was later killed in a police encounter in Andhra Pradesh]. He was obviously talking to him to give up arms. Can Swami Agnivesh be arrested for suspected treason?

We are appealing against the judgment. We are going to the High Court and we are going to ask for bail. At least

decency demands that the bail is not opposed as it was in the case of ULFA [United Liberation Front of Asom] leader [Arabinda] Rajkohwa. Binayak is not going to run away. Binayak was in jail for two years before he was given bail. This is the tragedy. I mean people committing murder are given bail but he was denied it for so long.

## **He has been sentenced to life on loose grounds?**

There is no ground at all. First [they say], there is sedition, the Chhattisgarh Security Act. Absolutely ridiculous.

Some literature is said to have been seized from Guha. Among my papers you will probably find a number of naxalite pamphlets. Reading is not a problem. In *Kedarnath vs the State of Bihar* in 1962, the Supreme Court has clearly mentioned that sedition is not speaking against the government and it cannot be used unless there is a violent attempt to overthrow the government. But these days we frequently come across sedition charges being framed even for speaking against the system. The BJP is the worst offender in Binayak’s case because it is its government. The Government of India is not even pretending to take any action in such a ridiculous order.

## **Why was Binayak Sen picked out and systematically victimized in Chhattisgarh?**

We have a strong PUCL unit in the State. It has been functioning for long, and it has also been very critical of the government, especially after Salwa Judum. The government was in a soup. Binayak took an active part in the PUCL’s opposition to Salwa Judum. So you have to pick up somebody. I mean they threatened other PUCL members.

When Medha Patkar and Kavita Shrivastava, our PUCL national secretary, went to those areas they let the police loose on them. So it is not as if other people are not victimized. Binayak was a little more prominent because of his work in the tribal areas. Binayak was coming into contact with tribal people every day. Evidently, they had to brow-beat the tribal people and terrorize them.



### **What step is the PUCL planning next?**

I am happy that the press has given good support in Binayak's case. Demonstrations are happening all over. We will be concentrating on filing the appeal. The press should also take up a different angle. It is amazing that the government admits that naxalism is there because of lack of attention given to the tribal people. The top people in political circles will say that they are sorry and there is corruption. The top man in the judiciary will say he is sorry but since there is corruption, nothing substantial could be done. We are in the habit of not taking responsibility. We think somebody else has to cleanse the system.

So many Memoranda of Understanding have been signed with private investors who are taking away tribal lands and tribal people are not being properly compensated. Their rights are being taken away. Please tell us what these MoUs are. People are being displaced. What are the provisions for them? The government has a 26 per cent profit-sharing scheme. If that is so, then let us know its provisions. The PUCL is against any violence. We don't even support naxalite violence because it gives the government an opportunity to suppress a genuine people's movement.

### **Do you know the shocking fact in Kobad Gandhi's case [Ghandhy, a polit bureau member of the banned CPI (Maoist) was arrested last year]? The FIR mentions, among others, the PUCL as a Maoist front organization.**

I wrote to Chidambaram saying this is scandalous. This is not how a democratic state that purports to work for the poor should function.

### **You want the agreements between the government and private companies to be made more transparent.**

Yes. Binayak is victimized because he has been demanding exactly this. There are a lot of people like him who are working in that area demanding this. Gandhian Himanshu Kumar, who ran an ashram, is one of them. Now he can't settle there even though he has been one of the victims in the earlier period, from the Maoist side. We are fighting this battle in the Supreme Court. The military has still not vacated the schools. If the government is genuine about it, it should allow a team of independent people to visit the place and do the needful.

### **The judgment is almost a reproduction of the police charge sheet.**

See, these things happen in the judiciary where some people take a different view. One is amazed that any court could have taken such a view. This officer is a Sessions Judge and he is not the first person in the chain of judges that heard Binayak's case. He is the third one. Even the High Court is inadvertently responsible for this decision. The judge who sentenced Binayak to life was still on probation. The High

Court should have seen to it that a judge on probation did not hear such an important case, a case which the world was watching. It should have made sure that such an important case was finished in less time and was heard by only one judge, to avoid any break in understanding.

### **Many wonder why the judiciary did not take the defence into account.**

Yes, it was reported in the press that just because Ilina Sen wrote a letter to the Indian Social Institute, she was said to have some links with Pakistan's ISI.

### **The past decade has seen an increase in state intolerance to activism. What are the reasons for this?**

Because there is less build-up of public opinion. The press is acting according to its convenience, allowing the state to function in an autocratic way. You see, every state has an inherent tendency to become intolerant. It is only by outside agencies such as courts, public opinion and inner conscience that it can be controlled. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. So power needs to be kept in check. The corporate sector has a big stake in the development of India.

In such a context, many Binayak Sens will happen if we don't put a good system of checks and balances in our democracy and do it urgently. Binayak Sen has become a symbol to fight other such cases. Many false cases and unnecessary branding of poor people are happening. These are the issues that the opposition should be taking up in Parliament.

In Jharkhand, the PUCL has taken up cases of murder and arson. A steel industry was being set up and people were forcibly displaced. With our active resistance, we stopped the government from going ahead with the project. Journalists are also being attacked. Today it is Binayak, tomorrow it could be anyone of us.

The government is unabashedly promoting growth without equity. You cannot leave all your mines to a couple of billionaires and not give any of its share to the people.

### **Binayak Sen's case has revived the threat of draconian laws.**

Yes. We have always opposed these laws. We challenged the Chhattisgarh Public Security Act in the Supreme Court but did not succeed. Under some of these laws, even helping or coming in contact with a member of a banned organization can be a crime. The period of investigation under these laws is 180 days as opposed to 90 days in normal laws.

There are so many poor men and women who could be Maoist sympathizers. How can a social worker or an activist not be in touch with them if they are working in that area? Binayak Sen had got a grant from the Christian Medical College to work on a health project. The project is suffering.

**PM**

# Manufacturing Sedition from Political Dissent: The Judgment against Binayak Sen

By P A Sebastian (Source - Analytical Monthly Review)

[There have been moments when an event catches the public eye, and suddenly illuminates a process of decay and disintegration that has been proceeding in the background, slowly, step-by-step. The outrage and national attention focused on the conviction of, and imposition of life sentence on, Dr. Binayak Sen for “Sedition” is such a case. The process in question is the utter collapse of the majority of the Indian Judiciary into an agency of the political police.

Our reality is that the supposed “rule of law” has decayed into a sinister farce over vast areas: most notably Kashmir, Chhattisgarh, and much of the northeast. A police state regime that arose on the frontiers is slowly, step-by-step, extending itself into the core. The rot of corruption and injustice has now reached the heart. The immense significance of the judgment against Binayak Sen is that it strikes directly at whatever hope remains for a peaceful means of arresting, or even reversing, this deadly process.

Our responsibility is to insist on the right of political dissent, though without illusions. So long as the regime maintains the forms of the electoral exercise, of democratic rights, and of argued “judgments” in its courts, we must, as best we are able, strive to expose the substantive reality.

From this perspective we sought an informed legal opinion on the written judgment issued against Binayak Sen by second additional sessions’ judge, Raipur, B P Verma. P A Sebastian, a Mumbai-based lawyer and democratic rights activist, and a leading figure of the International Association of People’s Lawyers, its Indian constituent, the Indian Association of People’s Lawyers, and the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights,

Mumbai, has provided for us the following analysis. - AMR]

The charge against the accused in the case of Piyush Guha, Binayak Sen and Narayan Sanyal is that they have aided and abetted the Communist Party of India (Maoist), which has been banned under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act.

The case starts with the arrest of Piyush Guha, a tendu leaf trader. The prosecution says that on 6 May 2007 the police superintendent, Raipur sent a wireless message to all the police stations under him that the police should closely search suspicious persons, suspicious vehicles, hotels, lodges, rest houses and dhabas. They were also directed to search thoroughly the street vendors, detain all suspicious characters and legally proceed against them. In the course of carrying out such a search, B S Jagrit, the inspector of Raipur police station, was told by an informer to keep an eye on all those walking towards the railway station. Then he says that he suddenly spotted Piyush Guha. The police stopped and questioned him on the basis of suspicion, but not receiving satisfactory answers; the police called one Anil Kumar Singh, a passer-by, and took both to the police station and opened the bag of Piyush Guha and found in his bag three magazines, a newspaper and three letters among some other things. Anil Kumar Singh, the passer-by, deposed before the court that he heard Guha say to the police that Binayak Sen used to meet Narayan Sanyal, one of the three accused, in jail and collect letters from him. Binayak Sen passed on the three letters concerned to Guha, who, in turn, passed on them to the CPI (Maoist).

The whole case revolves around this story which has many loopholes. Piyush Guha was produced before a magistrate

on 7 May 2007 under Section 167 of the CrPC [Criminal Procedure Code]. He stated before the magistrate that he was actually detained on 1 May 2007, not on 6 May as claimed by the police. He was kept in illegal custody, blindfolded and incommunicado for 6 days in violation of CrPC, which stipulates that an accused should be produced before a magistrate within 24 hours of his arrest. He further said that he was picked up by the police not from the road leading to Raipur railway station as stated by the police but from Mahindra Hotel. The statement of Guha that he was picked up by the police from Mahindra Hotel is supported by the affidavit of the government filed in the Supreme Court while opposing the bail application of Binayak Sen.

However, the judge accepted the police claim that the statement in the Supreme Court (SC) was a “typographical error”. Here are two statements which are different from each other. Both of them were made on oath. A word, a figure or a few letters can be treated as typographical error. It goes against common sense and rationality to say that an important statement made in the SC on oath is typographical error. The second additional sessions’ judge, Raipur, B P Verma, has done a disservice by this statement to the Indian judicial system, which is already sinking under the burden of corruption and other misdemeanors.

The prosecution states that the police recovered three letters written by Narayan Sanyal and addressed to his party comrades from the bag of Piyush Guha. The only evidence produced by the prosecution in this respect is the deposition by one Anil Kumar Singh, the “passer-by” mentioned above. He said that the police

called him by gesture and introduced to him a person called Piyush Guha. The police told him that Guha was a suspected person. Then they opened his bag and recovered some CPI (Maoist) literature and three letters, which later on the police claimed were written by Narayan Sanyal. Anil Kumar Singh further said that he overheard Guha say to the police that those three letters were given to him by Binayak Sen. The narration of the event shows that he did not know when the police took Guha into custody. When he saw Guha, he was already in police custody. He did not know whether the police had picked up Guha on 1 May and planted the letters and other articles on him. Yet the whole case rests on this Anil Kumar Singh assertion that he heard Guha say to the police that Binayak Sen had given him the letters. This hearsay has no evidentiary value. The statement made in police custody is not admissible against the accused. Once the police fail to prove that they caught Guha from station road, the whole edifice of the case falls.

Besides, Binayak Sen visited Narayan Sanyal with the permission of the senior superintendent of police. The prisoners are permitted to write letters. The restriction is that the prison authorities will read the letters and censor them, if necessary, before they are sent out. So the presumption is that the letters did not contain anything objectionable unless one concludes that the jail authorities collaborated with Sanyal to carry on illegal activities, in which case the judge should have asked the government to take legal action against the jail authorities. The judgment does not say whether the content of the letters was objectionable or not. No action could have been taken against the accused unless the content was unlawful. A discussion about the central point is missing in the judgment. Carrying letters from prisoners is not unlawful in itself.

Some of the things which the judge

says are strange, and they do not go well with a supposed judicial mind. The judge refers to several people as Naxalites and treats them as criminals. There is no law in India or anywhere else in the world which defines the term "Naxalite" and treats them as criminals. However, the burden of the judgment is the term "Naxalite" and the inherent criminality of the term "Naxalite". The judgment keeps on saying that Binayak Sen and Piyush Guha knew Naxalites and met them. The judgment uses interchangeably the terms "Naxalite" and CPI (Maoist) and concludes that Sen and Guha aided and abetted the CPI (Maoist), which is a banned organization.

The judgment repeats that some letter or letters recovered from Sen's house address him as "comrade". The learned judge takes it for granted that "comrade" meant that Binayak Sen was a member or supporter of the CPI (Maoist). The English dictionaries state that "comrade" means an intimate friend or associate or companion. Does the judge know that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan were addressed as "comrades"? Clement Attlee, the former Prime Minister of England, was addressed as "comrade". One can rest assured that he does not know. Can India afford to have such judges to decide the fate of human life? The judgment is arbitrary to the extreme. It does not define the terms; it does not set up a nexus.

Just one instance will demonstrate the whimsicality and ideological bias of the judge: "Amita Shrivastav was a teacher in Daga Higher Secondary School two years ago. She came to the school through Ilina Sen who is acknowledged by Binayak Sen as his wife. She worked in the school for seven months and then stopped coming to the school. Amita had a CD related to the Second World War Nazi camps. This was shown to the students in the school. Later it was found that Amita

was connected to Naxalites and had absconded". It is really shocking that the judge interprets anti-Nazism as Communism. How did the judge know that she was connected to Naxalites and she had absconded? How did he know that she had not been abducted and killed by some criminals like Salwa Judum?

The judgment is full of such absurdities. Two examples will further illustrate the point. One case is the way he deals with a telephone conversation between Bula Sanyal and Binayak Sen. Bula Sanyal is the sister-in-law of Narayan Sanyal. The judge concluded from this that there was contact between Binayak Sen, the family of Narayan Sanyal and CPI (Maoist) supporters. Narayan Sanyal being a Naxalite the judge inferred that his whole family consisted of supporters of CPI (Maoist). Sen's conversation with one of the family was sufficient proof that he was also a CPI (Maoist) activist. The contentions of this sort are really asinine.

The judge accepts the police version of Salwa Judum and says that it is not a state organized vigilante squad and is a spontaneous reaction of the tribals against Naxalites. The judgment indicates that "terrorism and oppression of the Naxalites increased so much that it became a question of life and death for the tribals of the area. Such reasons led to the launching of anti-Naxalite Salwa Judum campaign". The judgment tries to explain what the 'Salwa Judum' means. "'Salwa' means peace and 'Judum' means meeting at one place for some specific purpose". The judge makes reference to some articles seized from Piyush Guha and states that "they have demonstrated opposition to Salwa Judum and praised People's Liberation Army and paid homage to the killed Maoist comrades".

On the basis of such facts and logic, the judgment pronounces that Piyush Guha, Binayak Sen and Narayan Sanyal have committed sedition.

The accused have been punished under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, which deals with sedition. It says that “whoever by words, either spoken or written . . . brings or attempts to bring into hatred, contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards, the government established by law in India, shall be punished with imprisonment for life. . . .” A literal adherence to the Section makes every opposition to the government an offence punishable with life imprisonment. The Comptroller and Auditor General’s report states that the Indian state has lost 1.76 lakh crore because of the fraudulent dealings in the allotment of 2-G spectrum. A writ petition pending in the Supreme Court alleges that Rs 70 lakh crore has been deposited abroad to evade tax. These are enormous sums which could have made a difference to the quality of life which the Indian masses lead. Free education and free medical treatment are constitutional mandates. However, they have not been implemented on the plea that there was no money. If one

articulates such matters, it naturally brings the government established by law into contempt and hatred and causes disaffection towards the government. It means that the vast majority of people can be prosecuted and jailed under this section. But where do we keep them? The whole country will have to be converted into the prison camp. Is this not an irredeemably absurd idea?

The constitutional validity of the Section 124-A the IPC has been challenged in the Supreme Court and the Court has repeatedly said that the sedition as defined under Section 124-A can be constitutionally tolerated only if the prosecution proves that the statement of the accused has led to violence. The judgment in this case does not even discuss the content of the letters allegedly recovered from Piyush Guha and whether he delivered them to the CPI (Maoist). If he delivered them to the party, the prosecution had to further prove that the letters led to such and such specific incidents of violence. The judgment is absolutely

silent on such points. The judgment manifests the misuse and abuse of Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code. A law which is so susceptible to misuse and abuse in raw hands or biased minds should be deleted from the statute book of India, which claims to be the largest democracy in the world.

This judgment is one more symptom of the ideological degeneration of the Indian judicial system. The judgment in the Babri Masjid case resorted to rule of faith in place of rule of law. In this case, the judge says that Piyush Guha has to prove that he was arrested from Mahindra Hotel on 1 May, not on 6 May and the letters were planted on him new through the prima facie evidence was in favour of Guha. The judge shifted the burden of proof to the accused, which violated the basics of the criminal justice system. The judgment indicates that the Indian judiciary is moving backward.

(This article was first published in the January 2011 issue of Analytical Monthly Review and later posted at MRZine.) **PM**

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*Contd..... from Page 40*

KGK’s life was inseparably intertwined with the more than four decade long revolutionary movement in our country. Even when the revolutionary movement faced a setback in AP he fought firmly against state violence and inspired others. Particularly, in a situation where the state has arrested many leaders of the party, is denying them bails and is giving them harsh punishments through fast track courts thus conspiring to confine them permanently to jails, the loss we are facing is all the more conspicuous. The present times are indeed very hard with one of the cruelest and fascist onslaughts being launched on the Maoist movement in India in the name of Operation Green Hunt and fighting people need more and more committed democrats like KGK on their side. Yes, this loss is irreparable but the revolutionary masses are also confident that many more KGKs would emerge and follow in his footsteps. The people and the revolutionary movement are expecting the same from all of you.

The Indian revolution would always remember him fondly as a close friend and well-wisher. He had carved a place in the hearts of many of our comrades who were in jails and had the occasion to work with him and who are now working in the revolutionary movement. They particularly remember him for his unbending attitude towards the state and his preference for fighting for rights instead of negotiations with the state.

Let us all vow to continue the lofty ideals and values he established in the civil rights movement and to continue his fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed masses of India. Doing so would be the real homage we could pay to the great democrat. The establishment of a new democratic society would ensure all the democratic rights fought for by comrades like KGK to all the marginalized and deprived people of India and we once again vow to carry on our struggle for such a society.

Date: 31-12-2010

Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

# Dalit Activist Sudhir Dhawale Arrested under UAPA in Maharashtra

Source: Mumbai Mirror January 3 2010

Dalit activist and Editor of Marathi magazine Vidrohi, Sudhir Dhawale, was arrested on Monday morning at Gondia and charged with sedition (sec 124) and under Secs 17, 20 and 39 of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA).

These sections relate to: raising funds for terrorist acts; being a member of a terrorist organization and providing support to a terrorist organization.

Gondia Sub-Divisional Police Officer Borate told Mumbai Mirror that Sudhir had been named by one Bhimrao, alias Bhanu Bhovate, whom he described as a "State Committee Naxalite leader", arrested last week in Gondia.

Bhovate had reportedly told police that he had given his computer, which had Naxalite literature in it, to Sudhir. Thus it was necessary to seize Sudhir's computer, said Borate. The police searched Sudhir's home in Byculla for over three hours in the evening.

Sudhir has been remanded in police custody till January 12. He had addressed a Ambedkar-Phule Sahitya Sammelan near Wardha on Sunday, and was on a train when he was arrested. Borate said they had been trailing him for the last few days, emphasizing that his arrest had nothing to do with the Sammelan.

## *Sudhir Dhawale protesting Binayak Sen's arrest*

Expressing shock at his arrest, award-winning documentary maker Anand Patwardhan compared it to that of Binayak Sen.

"I know Sudhir well. He is a gentle person. His arrest is an outrage. It's like what happened with Dr Binayak Sen - hounding those who have sympathy for the oppressed." Interestingly, Sudhir is an active member of the Mumbai-based

Committee for the Release of Binayak Sen.

A well-known name in Dalit and Left circles, Sudhir was one of the founders of the Republican Panther Jaatiya Antachi Chalwal (movement for annihilation of caste), formed on December 6, 2007, Dr Ambedkar's Mahaparinirvan Day, at Shivaji Park.

This group grew out of the anger of Dalit youth against the Ramabai Nagar firing (1997) and the Khairlanji killings (2006).

According to Shyam Sonar, a member of the Republican Panthers, their group was created seeing the failure of the Dalit Panthers to live up to their original aim of working among people to wipe out caste. "We believe in raising awareness about atrocities on Dalits and the government's destructive pattern of development in a democratic way," said Sonar.

A full-time activist, Sudhir Edited the bi-monthly Marathi magazine Vidrohi, which has among its editorial advisers Nikhil Wagle, Anand Patwardhan, and Anand Teltumbde.

His wife, a nurse, ran their home, while his friends paid his mobile bills and for his railway pass, said Sonar. Sudhir

has two school going children.

A year ago, Sudhir had performed Hindi film director Sagar Sarhadi's play Raj Durbar in Nagpur. Describing him as a "decent man and an enthusiastic and curious student of theatre", Sarhadi said his arrest was a form of "witch hunting".

Folk artiste shahir Sambhaji Bhagat recalled having first met Sudhir as a college student in Nagpur, where he had attended Bhagat's theatre workshops. "Sudhir was very active in organizing the parallel Vidrohi Marathi Sahitya Sammelans," said Sambhaji. "He is also a good singer. His arrest bodes ill for those who believe in open democratic work."

Last week, Home Minister Chidambaram had asked Maharashtra's police to go on the offensive against Naxalites in the state. "When the government puts pressure on the police, they catch Leftists who work in an open manner because these are easy targets," said Anand Patwardhan. "Dr Binayak Sen and now Sudhir, are being tarred as Naxalites for doing human rights work. It is a continuation of the dangerous pattern of blurring the lines in order to shut people up." **PM**

## **Only the rich will win polls: V R Krishna Iyer**

KOCHI: Justice V R Krishna Iyer has in a statement said that with the announcement of elections, there will be political struggle for power and money power to purchase votes.

"Whichever party wins, it is the rich who will sit in the Assembly or Lok Sabha and form the government.

"Churchill's concept of ballot is no longer valid. Votes are bought and sold, corruption commands the ballot. Democracy dies a natural death since all parties suffer the syndrome of internecine splits and personality rivalries. Socialism and secularism are mere constitutional phrases," Iyer said. Polling stations are located at distant places and travel has become expensive, he said

"My conclusion on the upcoming elections is that neither the LDF nor the UDF will win true to the conscience of their promise. The wealthy will snatch away power," he said. **PM**

# Letter to Friends of AZAD

November 30, 2010

Dear Comrades and Friends of Indian Revolution,

On behalf of our Party, the CPI (Maoist), People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA), Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs), revolutionary mass organizations and revolutionary people of India, firstly, we send our heartfelt Laal Salaam (Red Salutes) to all the parties, organizations, various forums and individuals from India and abroad, who had sent condolence messages to our CC and who had condemned the brutal murders of comrades Cherukuri Rajkumar (Azad) and Hemchand Pandey on July 1, 2010 by the fascist Indian ruling classes. As all of you have acknowledged, losing comrade Azad is one of the biggest blows our party and Indian revolution had suffered. Azad was one of the topmost leaders in our party. He has been leading the Indian revolution since a long time. In our country, People's War is intensifying with each passing day. With the aid and support of imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, the Indian reactionary ruling classes are trying to suppress the revolutionary movement and are carrying on ruthless atrocities in an unprecedented severe manner. In this war between the people and the ruling classes, the enemy had particularly schemed to murder our leaders and concentrated on comrades like Azad who are leading the revolution. It is as part of that conspiracy that comrade Azad was caught and killed in the most brutal and cowardly manner. Comrade Azad was leading the entire urban movement on behalf of our Central Committee and was also looking after political propaganda, party periodicals, party education and other such crucial responsibilities. He was a most experienced and popular mass leader. He maintained close relations with many comrades at various levels and with the revolutionary masses. In the midst of severe repression, he worked selflessly and unflinchingly in spite of the many risks involved. It is under such circumstances that the enemy came to know about his whereabouts somewhere and could catch him by laying in wait.

Your messages and condemnations released in the true internationalist spirit had given the necessary moral support to the oppressed peoples and the comrades who were grief-stricken with this shocking news. Due to the severe repressive conditions here, we could not receive all the messages and even the messages we received had reached us very late. Hence we feel very sorry for this delay in sending you a reply.

Comrade Azad was attracted to the revolutionary movement while he was studying in the Warangal Regional Engineering College in 1972. Azad who was exceptionally brilliant in his studies had played a dynamic role in the revolutionary movement too. He played a role in the formation of the Radical Students Union (RSU) in 1974. He was elected as the state president of RSU in 1978. He was one of the founders of the All India revolutionary student's movement and guided it from its inception in 1985. He played a key role in conducting a seminar on Nationality Question in the then Madras city in 1981. Later he took up the responsibility of building the revolutionary movement in Karnataka and build up the Maoist party in this State for the first time. He attracted many comrades like Saketh Rajan into the party. When opportunistic elements tried to split the party in 1985 and in 1991, comrade Azad had played a crucial role in defending party line and keeping it united and strong enough in defeating their opportunist politics. He worked tirelessly for twenty years as a CC member and Politburo member from 1990 till now. We cannot separate Azad's life from the history of revolutionary movement of the past forty years. Particularly, he played a key role in the ideological, political spheres, party education and running of periodicals. He fulfilled the responsibility of the party spokesperson since three years as 'Azad' in the most excellent and exemplary manner. He used his intellect and sharp pen outstandingly in fighting back the 'War on People' led by the Manmohan Singh-Sonia-Chidambaram gang. He stood as the powerful voice of the people against the rulers and exploiters. In the development of the party's political line, in the development of the party, people's army and mass organizations, in expanding the movement, in the emergence of new democratic power organs and in all the victories won, Azad's ideological, political work and practice played a key role. Unflinching commitment in face of any odds and during the ebb and flow of the movement, great sacrificing nature, selflessness, simple living, indefatigable work for the revolution and for the interests of the people, astounding study, study of changing phenomena in the society from time to time, being with the people always are some of the great proletarian ideals established by Comrade Azad. Though he is no more, it is undeniable that he would serve as a revolutionary role model to every revolutionary and particularly to the youth, students and intellectuals.

Hemchand Pandey was a progressive free lance journalist from Uttarakhand who had used his pen to bring to light the plight of the poor oppressed people of our country. He was killed as he could bring out the truth behind Azad's murder. The brutal murder of this pro-people young budding intellectual is just another instance of the callousness of the fascists.

You have rightly condemned these ghastly murders by exposing the conspiracy of the Indian ruling classes in killing Azad, which is to crush the ever expanding revolutionary movement under the leadership of CPI (Maoist) and to render the



people and party leaderless. Azad's murder is the latest one in a series of such murders of our leaders carried out in the name of 'encounters' for the past 40 years and especially since the successful completion of our Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress in 2007. The government had declared CPI (Maoist) to be the biggest internal security threat and launched many suppression campaigns to crush the movement, the latest being Operation Green Hunt, launched in mid-2009. This is the biggest offensive launched on the revolutionary movement in India so far and it has resulted in unprecedented destruction of lives and property of the people. Extra-judicial killings of leaders and massacres of people are all part of this counter revolutionary multi-pronged offensive.

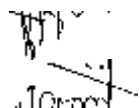
All of you had condemned this war on Indian people, particularly on the adivasis, with right indignation and demanded that it be immediately stopped. The people of revolutionary movement areas warmly remember this international solidarity expressed by various parties, organizations, individuals and the proletariat of various countries as this is exactly the kind of support which must be extended to any genuine movement of the people when it faces such fascist onslaught. We very much appreciate this kind of support and solidarity and firmly assert that we will reciprocate the same towards other fighting masses in various parts of the globe. This kind of solidarity infuses great confidence and reassurance among the fighting people that there are not alone in their fight. It also points sharply one more time towards the common enemies we all are facing, namely imperialism and all kinds of reactionaries. It enhances the fighting spirit of the people and helps them to advance the movement firmly. Our party, PLGA, RPCs, Revolutionary Mass organizations, revolutionary people and all progressive and democratic forces of our country exactly wish for such unity and solidarity at the domestic and international scale. This is extremely important to defend the people's movement and to advance it.

We once again pledge before all of you that we would carry on the lofty aims of all great martyrs of the world proletarian revolution including Comrade Azad and announce that no amount of fascist repression can subdue the fighting spirit of our Party and the revolutionary people of India. We will march forward with renewed determination braving all kinds of odds and making sacrifices till the final victory. This is our promise to all the friends and well-wishers of Indian revolution.

★ **LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

★ **LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, REVOLUTIONARY AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES AND THE OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLES ALL OVER THE WORLD!**

With revolutionary greetings,



(Abhay) Spokesperson,

Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

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7 Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.128.

8 Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.127.

9 With the ouster of Marcos, Ramos was now rewarded for his assistance by the newly elected Aquino administration who appointed him Chief of Staff of the AFP, and later Secretary of Defense. In 1992 when Cory Aquino left office, Ramos was elected president of the Philippines, a position he held until 1998. After his presidency, Ramos became a committed 'champion for democ-

racy' by taking up a position as the Asia advisory board Member for the Carlyle Group, that is, until the board was disbanded in 2004. He is presently a trustee of the 'democracy promoting' International Crisis Group, and is a patron of the related Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. [www.webofdemocracy.org/foundations-anthropology-an.html](http://www.webofdemocracy.org/foundations-anthropology-an.html)

10 Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.141.

11 Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.129.

12 Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy*, p.141.

13 Kim Scipes, Email to Author, February 12, 2011. For a must-read analysis of the post-Marcos developments in the Philippines, see Kim Scipes, "Review of the Month: Global Economic Crisis, Neoliberal Solutions, and the Philippines," *Monthly Review*, 51 (7), December 1999, pp. 1-14.

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PM

# India: Whither Development, and for Whom?

## Concept of development

What does a country comprise of? Basically, it entails its land and its people. India is a vast country with over a billion population. Development of these two factors, land and people, would mean development of our country. Retardation of these two factors would entail retrogression. Of these the latter, the people, is primary, but their development can never take place at the cost of their environment. The two can and must develop in sync in a close and homogenous inter-relationship.

When I talk of the people I mean the bulk of human resources of our country. We seek development not just for a few, but for the vast majority. For it is this vast majority that really comprises this country, i.e., India. Their development is India's development.

And when I speak of the land I use the term in a general sense, meaning overall natural resources of our country- the land and its soil fertility, the forests, the water, the wealth underneath the land, the air, etc etc. In short, the environment.

Thus the human resources and the natural resources is what basically comprise our country. This has been the understanding from times immemorial, notwithstanding concepts promoted today of GDP growth, high tech development etc. as indicators of development. Even at the time of Vedas it was said,

*The motherland of ours  
Which is the queen of resplendent Lord  
Which bears in her bosom  
Divine fire and glittering gold  
Which provides protection to all  
Which is set firmly  
And shelters all living beings  
In her cozy lap  
Which is replete with riches  
May bestow on us  
Abundant wealth and wisdom*

Atharva Veda 12.1.6

So, the land and nature must provide all abundant wealth and wisdom or knowledge to develop all round growth in our human resources.

Now, when I speak of the development of human resources, I see development not in merely economic terms, but in its spiritual and cultural spheres. No doubt man must get basic necessities of life- food, water, clothing, shelter and education. But that is the starting point towards his full flowering as a human being. Animals too get food and water ( it is a tragedy that we have been reduced to worse than animal existence), but it is only with the flowering of the individuality of all human beings through their spiritual, cultural and social/ political development, that we achieve a real development of the human resources of our country. And by spirituality I do not mean religion ( though, it may include it, based on a person's preference) but a set of values which allows for the best in cooperative interactions between people on the basis of mutual respect and understanding- not based on superiority/ inferiority, hierarchy, coercion and casteism etc.

The human essence must be allowed to grow and grow in the elevating fresh breeze of genuine freedom. It must blossom like the spring flower in full bloom. But, a pre-requisite for this type of development would entail the elimination of poverty, hunger and ignorance. A hungry, diseased, emaciated person seeks only his next meal. It is only when he does not have to worry about achieving his basic needs that he can focus himself to grow and develop spiritually, culturally and in all other ways. It is true as the Bible says that "Man does not live by bread alone: but his bread is a prerequisite to his further development.

So, the development in this direction of the majority of our people would comprise the major aspect of development of the country.

The second and interrelated aspect of the development of the country, i.e., its land, water, forests and all natural wealth of the country. It entails developing these in a direction that are in the best interests of serving the vast masses of India. With these concepts of development let us now turn to the maladies facing our country.

## Maladies to be surmounted

The government's economic survey 2009-10, presented on the eve of the budget has rightly commented:

"A nation interested in inclusive growth views the same growth differently depending on whether the gains of the growth are heaped primarily on a small segment or shared widely by the population. The latter is cause for celebration but not the former. In other words growth must not be treated as an end in itself, but as an instrument for spreading prosperity to all." (1)

Then, the economic survey shows how inclusive growth has taken place in the country by showing growth per capita GDP and the per capita consumption expenditure of the country (2). But, these per capita figures do not give an accurate picture of the major populace as it averages out the billionaire's expenditure and wealth to that of the pauper and puts them in a common category.

The reality is somewhat different. All indicators in fact show a terrifying situation within the country which is quite contrary to the above mentioned picture or the impression created by the government/ media who portray development based on high growth rates, sky-rocketing stock exchange indexes, large foreign exchange reserves etc.

First, I shall look at some indexes and then turn to the ground reality. Practically every comparative index puts India in a situation worse than most of sub-Saharan Africa- the most backward region in the world.

India ranks 134th (out of roughly 180 countries) in the UN Human Development Index. Behind even countries like Laos and Bhutan. In fact, if it was 134th in 1994 as well. So, there has been no improvement. The World Bank pictures an even more pathetic picture, ranking India as 143rd in the world on the basis of per capita Gross National Product. Ironically, the President of India, on a recent visit to Laos, grandiosely declared a \$15 million loan, saying India will continue to assist Laos, taking it out of the least developed country category.

In the Global Hunger Index, India ranks 66th amongst 88 countries. And if we turn to the recently developed UNDP Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), which more widely measures poverty from an income, health education, etc basis, we find the situation even worse. India, it says, has 65 crore people who are MPI poor which amounts to 55% of the population. Even worse, eight states of India ( Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, M.P, Orissa, Rajasthan, UP and West Bengal) account for more poor people than those present in the 26 poorest countries in Africa (3).

If this was not bad enough, the condition of our children, women and old are amongst the worst in the world. According to UNICEF, except for Ethiopia, India has the highest percentage of malnourished children under 5 years of age. In the year 2008 the percentage of malnourished children was 51% in Ethiopia, 48% in India, 46% in Congo, 44% in Tanzania, 43% in Bangladesh, 42% in Pakistan, 41% in Nigeria, 37% in Indonesia and 15% in China. India has half of the malnourished children of the world, and more than half of India's children are underweight.

The right to food campaign ( RFC) says that two thirds of our women are anemic, about one third of the rural adult population have a low body weight index, and malnutrition rates are higher than some strife-prone countries of Africa.

As though, this is not bad enough, India is at the very bottom of the recently compiled "quality of death index" (4). This new study on the provision of end of life care, takes a close look at the quality of life and care made available to the old and dying in the developed and emerging economies. Many of the countries that became independent later than India has quality of death index that is double that of India. So, if we look at our children, women, elderly or even the bulk of our population, they have seen little development in these 63 years of independence. In many spheres, people's conditions are much worse than that under the British rule.

Now, if one looks at the ground reality, the situation is even more depressing. Two studies- by the Asian Development Bank and the National Commission for Enterprises in the unorganized sector- have put the poverty stricken masses at over 75%. The latter report says 77% of India's population (or 83.6 crore people) live on rupees 20 or less per day. And this at a time when food inflation has been running at 20%. This is further corroborated by NSSO data, which showed that 77% of the rural population, consumed less than the minimum daily calorie intake of 2400. In fact the percentage has gone up from 69% in 1993 (5).

If one looks at the situation from another angle, the situation appears as grim, food grain per capita consumption has fallen from 177 kg in 1991, to 151 kg in 1998. Since then it has dropped even further- compare this to the 182 kgs recorded in the LDCs ( Least developed countries) and 196 kg in Africa. The world average of cereal consumption is 314 kg (cereals comprise

9/10th of food grains). This entails both direct and indirect intake (indirect are those cereals fed to develop animals, then, eaten by man). So, Indians have half the world's average consumption and even less than the poorest countries in the world.

The extent of rural impoverishment can be estimated from the fact that over 2 lakh farmers have committed suicide between 1997 and 2008. Such a phenomenon was never witnessed earlier in our country, which is the result of skewed policies of the government to turn agriculture into a profit making machine, for the seed, fertilizer and pesticide companies. In Maharashtra (which has the maximum suicide rate) the numbers are increasing, from 8 daily between 1997- 2002, it increased to 11 daily between 2003- 2008.

If one looks at both rural and urban areas, we witness nothing but increased impoverisation. In the rural areas, we find that 85% (or some 60 crore people) of the farming community works on less than five acres of land, of which 60% (or 36 crore people) have no water (7). Similarly over 9 crore people live in urban slums which is an increase of 23% over 2001 (8). The bulk of these 45 crore people live in sub human conditions.

Then we see that in all spheres, regular employment is coming down so that more and more people have to eke out an insecure existence in contractual jobs. Even government jobs are scarce. For example, in just the 8 yrs from 2002 to 2009, central government PSUs has dropped roughly 25% of their work force, from 20 lakh employees to 15 lakhs.

Even worse, in the sphere of hygiene and healthcare, even the capital city of the country, Delhi, is enveloped in sickness. Malaria is hitting places never before affected by the disease. With India having one of the poorest public health care systems in the world, large sections of the population are being depleted. A large part of family income is now going for sickness- costly

medicines, doctor's fee and pathology charges. Now state governments spend a mere 0.5% on GDP on healthcare and hygiene, compared to 1% in 1970. The UN says in India 1 lakh people die yearly, due to waterborne diseases. Another 1.2 lakh died in 2008 due to road accidents while 5.2 lakh were injured.

So, if one looks at the human resources of the country, we find there is little development in the achievement of the very basic necessities, let alone in the spiritual and cultural spheres. The worse off are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy, and minorities who in addition have to face, daily humiliation due to their status. Let alone flowering of their individuality, their very self-respect is crushed at every step. With the rise of Hindutva, caste and communal biases have in fact grown, destroying any hope of true spiritual emancipation. Even amongst the middle classes and better offs, consumerism and corruption at all spheres of life and religious bigotry have destroyed the moral fabric of the country.

This is the state of our human resources; the state of our natural resources is even more devastating.

The rape of countryside and environment is well documented. Forests have been destroyed, with the wild life that existed within it; rivers have been turned into glorified sewers and underground aquifers have been depleted and topsoil devastated by fertilizers and insecticides. Besides what the timber mafia and paper mills have cut down, roughly 1.6 lakh hectare of forest land have been diverted for mining. The rate of this deforestation has been growing apace, while 1980-97 period 19 mining projects per year were given forest clearance, this has increased to 216 per year in 1998-2005 period. Just iron ore mining used up 77 million tonnes water in just year 2005-06. With nominal pollution safeguards, mining of major minerals, generated 1.84 tonnes of waste in just the one year 2005-06, most of which was toxic in nature.

Deforestation and soil erosion has led to poor water retention resulting in droughts and floods on a regular basis, reducing replenishment of underground aquifers. India now depends on these underground aquifers for its needs, rather than on surface water.

Today 60% of irrigated agriculture and 80% of rural / urban supplies are dependent on ground water. According to World Bank report, 29% of India's ground water blocks are critical. This will increase to 60% by 2025. While industries and mining guzzles tones of water, per capita availability has dropped from 5000 cubic meters in 1991, to 1600 cubic meters in 2001. Such is the all round devastation, which gets magnified with Bhopal like catastrophes, and ALGAH (Gujarat) like projects. Any development must entail, systematic afforestation, not monoculture, rejuvenation of the soil and water sources and pollution free industrial/ mining projects.

India is a very rich country in natural resources, if our huge man power is applied to it, wonders can be created in just a few years.

#### **Development for whom?**

While the government has long term approaches for the development of industry and big-business, it does not have a similar approach to development of the masses of our country. In the approach to the latter it has short-term fire-fighting in the form of poverty alleviation measures. This turn in policy came after the 4th plan and amounts allocated for items such as rural development have been slashed drastically (10)

So we find huge expenditure on ports, airports, expressways, mobile / internet connectivity etc, which benefits primarily industry and business. On the other hand, little is spent on afforestation, watershed management, health, education etc which benefits the masses...

But the government does spend on poverty alleviation measures, which do not produce anything long lasting or tangible. Thousands of crores disappear into this black hole of which only a small fraction reaches the people. Here I am not talking of corruption- that is the second point- I am talking of the very approach to peoples' welfare. Does one keep giving a person alms, year in and year out, or should one create the basis for him to earn his livelihood and thereby also create something tangible for the country? This is the moot point.

But the bulk of the government's schemes are mere doles. Like – the NREGA, STRSY, SGSY, IAY, BPL, APL etc. None of such projects are geared to create something tangible that can benefit the country in the long term. And also benefit the individual in the form of providing irrigation, employment, health care etc.

And added to this is the second point. The mammoth corruption that make even these schemes nonfunctional, take for example – the much hyped NREGA for which Rs 40,000 crores was budgeted, to provide 100 days jobs for the poor (11). According to Mani Shankar Aiyer (12), the NREGA involved only the 32.6% households in Tripura. In U.P. and M.P. it was just 14%, in Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand it was 8% while for Orissa and Uttaranchal it was 6%. So where did all that money go. The planning commission in 2004 itself admitted that 58% of the subsidized food grains did not reach the BPL families and that 36% got sold in the black market.

The callousness of the government, towards people's welfare can be seen from the fact that even after decades the government has not developed the infrastructure to properly store the food grains that it itself buys. Instead of building silos, which is an established method all over the world, it dumps its grains in warehouses and even out in the open. While lakhs in this country starve, nearly 20 million tons of food

grains are lost to fungus and rodents. This amounts to 10% of the country's annual production.

Yet on the other hand, the development policies have developed a super rich where 100 of the richest have a net worth of 300 million dollars, 25% of India's GDP. The number of dollar billionaires has been growing at the fastest rate in the world. It jumped from 27 in 2008, 52 in 2009 and 69 in 2010.

In 2009 there were 3134 executives earning over 50 lakhs per year and 1000 earning over 1 crore per year. And this does not include the earnings in black, which amounts to 40-50% of GDP. This gigantic Rs 25 lakh crores incomes (\$ 500 billion) that gets generated in a year, gets distributed among the big business houses, top politicians and bureaucrats and smaller amounts trickle down to lakhs of people, corrupting in its wake, the entire moral fabric of our society. In addition members of

parliament have given themselves a 300% hike in an income (with perks) of Rs 37 lakhs per year.

So, what little development is taking place in this country feeds a tiny microcosm of the society and does not help much to build the country, its land and its people. It is this that requires remedial measures.

#### Notes:

- 1) Economic survey of India 2009-1010
- 2) Economic survey 2009- 10, see pgs 22-23
- 3) The Economist, quoted September 29th, 2010, Indian Express
- 4) Outlook, August 29, 2010.
- 5) Utsa Patnaik, as quoted in the Frontline, March 12, 2010
- 6) Utsa Patnaik, as quoted in The Hindu, Sept. 13, 2010

- 7) Tehelka, March 27th 2010
- 8) Times of India, Sept 4th 2010
- 9) The biggest ship breaking project in the world involving many toxic materials
- 10) According to Patnaik rural development expenditure, which was 14.5 of GDP in the 1985- 90 period, fell to 8% of the GDP in the 1990s and to 5-6% in the 2000s
- 11) Economic survey 2009-2010, page 227
- 12) Asian age, Sept. 13 2010.
- 13) Tehelka, August 17th 2010
- 14) Times of India March 22, 2010
- 15) P Sainath, The Hindu, July 6th 2010
- 16) *ibid.*

**PM**

#### *Contd..... from Page 28*

and the list goes on. The leaks led to investigations and prosecutions of bankers in Iceland who caused biggest financial meltdown in Iceland. It is interesting to note that Assange's arrest process sped up when WikiLeaks declared that their next big target was to expose financial institutions and big banks in the US. WikiLeaks has committed some minor mistakes and has taken some missteps in its short life span but overall the amount of injustice and corruption that it has exposed around the world in such short period of time is extremely commendable and shows its deep commitment and courage to stand up against powerful factions of the world alone.

The Indian administration in its medieval imperialistic style followed the US line and condemned WikiLeaks. Shashi Tharoor, former Minister of State for External Affairs, called the leaks "unethical and wrong. The confidentiality of government

communications is the lifeblood of diplomatic comfort," Tharoor told a local reporter. He also added, "You do not effectively run a government if your own diplomats cannot report to their own capitals in utter candor." Other commentators however have called for an Indian version of the leak, arguing that the Indian bureaucracy was one of the most opaque in the world and could only benefit from public scrutiny. India was portrayed as a reliable country in the leaked cables.

The WikiLeaks expose' has laid bare the sham of democracy we live in. Subconsciously, it is quite disheartening and deeply depressing to discover that what we knew all along now has written proof. It is maddening and revolting to know that we have been outraged all along, the oligarchs and plutocrats have replaced the erstwhile monarchies with a clever device of 'democracy.' The history and material realities have led the world to evolve in a way where few have ruled over

many. Despite stupendous efforts in the last century by masses to achieve some semblance of democracy, the world still seems to be quite far from it. From monarchies to dictatorship to 'democratic' governments, the ruling elites have basically treated the teeming populations as 'rabble' that they have controlled with a whip. And that's what WikiLeaks is exposing by publishing hundreds of thousands of "secret" government cables and documents all around the world. It is also important to note that WikiLeaks is just publishing the documents whereas the unsung heroes are those who are leaking these documents also at great personal risk. Bradley Manning, a soldier in the US army who first leaked all the secret cables is now facing trial in the US and credit must go to such conscientious objectors who are doing all in their power to stop their powerful governments and keep the flame of democracy from extinguishing.

**PM**

# Forum Against War on People

Dr. Sukumaran Azhikode

Addressing a convention organized by the forum against war on people in Thrissur, Kerala on 5th February, 2011 Dr Sukumaran Azhikode, 84 year old Gandhian and recipient of several awards for his exemplary service to the society stated that he has set aside his serious health and sickness in attending the convention viewing the sickness and deace afflicted on our country. He further added the deceases afflicting our country increased enormously and he does not wish to say that an individual's deace is so serious that of our country. Our people forget 90% of what all e have said earlier. After bye hearing the dialogues the artist while performing the drama the dialogues differ and if some non sense is played then it is sure that the spectators will manhandle the drama artist. Likewise the present political dramas enacted by our present rulers forget what all stated in political platform and say something for their temporary relief and safety. This convention is for...."we won't allow such political dramas". After winning to be ruled by ourselves through elections and on failing to achieve the goals and on seeing that the rulers are striving to protect the interests of somebody else... it is really an honorable constitutional issue whether to wait till the next election to oust the rulers out. Whenever they say "Everything is there in the constitution". There are Stars in the Sky. Still plants on earth are without leaves. Rivers are dry, there is no water in the rivers, plants are without flowers and are ruining and when asked and if the reply was "There are stars in the sky". Then the people of our country know how to deal with such persons. "Our constitution is superb but our rule is worst". Constitution should not be used as a woolen blanket to hide the worst rule. The rule should be as per the Constitution. Now the Constitution is changing according to the rule of the rulers. The Stars of the Constitution have all withered away and fallen down. One such Star is Freedom of Expression. A number of pages were spared in the Constitution on this. Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Expression, Freedom of Religion, Freedom of Conscience. Whatever is needed for an individual's growth and freedom is written list by list in our romantic Constitution. After presenting the Constitution Dr Ambedhkar told finally that "Our Constitution is good but it will go bad with bad people". I feel to prove Dr Ambedhkar's forecast some bad people have come in. If some bad men come forward to make it a bad Constitution our duty should be to act like good men to remove the bad men. Swamy Agniveh is initiating such a call. What all freedoms stated in our Constitution is not for the rulers alone. If they hear such things the rulers feel of stomach pain. Criticism is good for them. They never understand this. The way they talk we feel are we staying in India. On seeing today's newspaper I became nervous. Our Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh has stated corruption is so terrific. Is this kilavan (old man) sleeping all these 40 years. 40 years back corruption was so terrific. Waking up after 40 years opens his eyes and finds corruption

flooding over his head. How to deal with these people for which I have no solution. I hope Swamy Agniverssh might guide and save us. **Though not 100% I am 90% Gandhian. Now I am 84. I fear in two three years, activities of these people might make me 100% violent for which I have no other option other than to commit suicide to protect Gandhism.** I was earlier telling Sara (Prof Sara Joseph) as how we all in the society talk politely and sensibly to people. Here it is not that. We have price rise. In such a situation what a Minister is suppose to say. The reply should have to be to satisfy the people "We are trying all our best. We will try whatever is impossible also for the country". But we have a Minister, Pranab Mukherjee. If you hear his speech you will feel to beat him. He says "I don't have a magic wand to arrest price rise". Then he should have answered first as to why he came out of his house to become a Minister. Only after that he should have uttered such absurd talk. "We voted you thinking that you have some magic wand". After voting and after four five years coming and saying "I have no magic wand". We have understood all these things earlier. Likewise these people are competing among each other. Saying that corruption is so terrific these people hugged and protected the corrupt men for years and today morning you see. I recollect the story of Rip Van Winkle. After sleeping for 25 years when he woke up there was none. Only a dog was left. Likewise this old man. He ended his speech by saying "I wish to present a resolution in this convention to change name of our P.M. as Man Mohan Rip Van Winkle Singhji".

PM

## A few crores in 1970s Two lakh crores in 2011

Like a thief who surrenders the stolen goods when he is caught, Man Mohan Singh undid the ISRO-Devas deal, which had all the markings of a major scandal, because he had none to blame as he himself was in charge of the ISRO.

The Editor was a Whistle Blower in ISRO in late 70s. The Editor and his family were rewarded with most cruel tortures ever heard of in the human history all these 35 years by these High-Tech cannibals and now as per High Court of Kerala's bail condition had to register presence once in 14 days in Police Station (charged under Unlawful Activities Prevention Act and Sedition) all these three years.

Editor



# The Sham of Democracy

By Shashwat Sinha - The New Indian Express

Truth is potent, truth is dangerous. Truth is what most governments fear and over times they have shrouded it from the masses in the cloak of secrecy. Under the garb of secrecy, they have committed most heinous crimes against humanity with an utter disrespect for human life, values and dignity. WikiLeaks, a four year old online non-profit media organization undertook to subvert the secrecy regime that spawn all kinds of evils and expose all such 'secret' documents of the governments all over the world. More specifically, it undertook to disclose a trove of secret US diplomatic cables about 400,000 in number, highest ever released in the US history, and that has won it international praise and condemnation. WikiLeaks call themselves 'transparency activists,' and in the words of its founder Julian Assange, its Editor-in-Chief, only transparent governments can be just governments. Julian Assange, to shield its employees became the face of WikiLeaks and today faces one of the most vicious and malicious campaign against himself for publishing leaked secret diplomatic cables and documents which have put the most powerful governments to shameful embarrassment. WikiLeaks calls it "scientific journalism" where all their articles have proof alongside. While WikiLeaks has riled some powerful governments who want nothing less than Julian Assange's head, many other governments have come out to openly defend Assange and have made a case for freedom of speech. Vladimir Putin ridiculed the US administration for its false pretense of upholding democracy and freedom of speech on one hand and filing a criminal case against Assange on the other. Ecuador offered an unconditional asylum to Assange. WikiLeaks exposed how the US staged an unsuccessful coup in Ecuador. It is

interesting to note that though whistle-blowing is encouraged around the world, only three countries in the world have laws to protect whistle-blowers, rest all prosecute whistle-blowers.

The gaping hole between what the political leaders and governments say in private and in public has sent a wave of disbelief, anger, frustration, disgust and a deep feeling of deception among general public especially in Europe and Middle East. The US, which comes out as the biggest culprit and a pathological liar in the leaks has not seen as much of mass or media reaction as Europe and Middle East has seen. Instead, the mainstream media in the US (except NYT, that published the leaks) quietly deferred to and stood by the official line and made its contribution in demonizing Julian Assange and WikiLeaks. All major news channels have shown several American leaders (including Canadian) who have in not so subtle terms proposed and demanded assassination of Julian Assange. The US and other West European governments scrambled to implicate Julian Assange by bringing some false charge against him and what they could come up with in Sweden (under intense US pressure) was the issue of use of protection in consensual sex! It was not even a sex crime and Interpol was alerted for it with an international arrest warrant issued! Swedish law should become a laughing stock for the entire world. This is nothing but an extremely vicious smear campaign against Julian Assange. According to Daniel Ellsberg (of Pentagon Papers fame), it's déjà vu; in one of his recent interviews he said that he was the target of a very similar smear campaign when he released Pentagon Papers which also included false sex charges and vilification. The moral and intellectual bankruptcy of the

ruling elites and administration is obscenely displayed by their extremely perverse strategy to frame Julian Assange. They could not come up with anything decent or engage him in any meaningful debate. Assange was finally arrested in Britain but then got bail. Sweden challenged the bail.

The online community vowed to take it to the next level and declared cyber war on organizations that aimed to harm WikiLeaks. "Operation Payback," as the hactivists (hacker-activist) called these cyber wars have already managed to stall the PayPal and MasterCard websites when these financial firms dropped WikiLeaks from their services. However, an executive of PayPal said in an interview that a US state Department circular intimated PayPal that activities of WikiLeaks were deemed illegal and consequently PayPal was forced to drop WikiLeaks. Amazon was forced to drop WikiLeaks in a similar fashion. The hactivists are setting up an alternative portal to transfer money to WikiLeaks from personal accounts; WikiLeaks runs only on donation. Christine Assange, Julian Assange's mother, was quoted as saying she was worried for her son because "massive forces" were ranged against him. Supporters of Julian Assange have been demonstrating for his release. As Reuters reported, WikiLeaks supporters wore masks of the "Anonymous" internet activists and an Assange mask, at a rally in Malaga, Spain. The hactivists have taken to strongly defend the freedom of speech and have changed the rules of engagement in this cyber war.

The leaks are so sweeping that the focus and the propaganda has been to kill the messenger than pay any attention on the message. It reminds of "The Emperor's New Clothes." The leaked

cables show how disconnected is the opinion of ruling elite from what masses think. In the Middle East leaders of Saudi region have repeatedly asked the US for waging a war against Iran as they hawkishly see Iran as a threat. This is quite removed from the public opinion in the Middle East where Iran and also Ahmadinejad enjoys support of more than 80% of the population in the region. It is also revealing how some governments like Yemen's, openly invited the US to bomb their own populations while calling the air strikes as their own in public. Pakistan falls in the same category where Pakistani authorities supported drone attacks in private saying they did not care much about 'collateral' damage but they need to oppose the attacks in their National Assembly. The British government assured the US administration that no case for war crimes would be brought against George Bush or any of his cohorts. The war crimes were constantly shielded whereas the public stance was exactly opposite to assuage huge anti-war sentiment in Britain. If it was not for WikiLeaks we would have never known the death of additional 15,000 Iraqis in the Iraq War. The Iraq and Afghanistan 'War Logs' released by WikiLeaks have put in black and white how hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians were killed in these wars; how many times, civilians were targeted under the false pretext of catching extremists. The 'night raids' in Afghanistan have been the deadliest attacks on the civilian population of Afghanistan where innocent civilians have been killed in the name of combating Taliban leaders. The torture memos of the US administration are out which are illegal under international law. The revelations have riled the powerful governments to no end especially the US. Its nasty, covert activities in Latin America are well known where it has tried to overthrow every democratically elected government but the leaks also

point to its operations in African continent where the US discussed ways to oust Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. The leaked diplomatic cables also show how the US supports extremely corrupt Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan (a former Soviet state which now has medieval conditions of living with rampant corruption, indentured servitude and organized crime) because he allows a crucial military line to Afghanistan. It extends to climate talks; the recent WikiLeaks expose' shows how the US pressured poor countries to accept weak and flawed climate deals in return for miniscule aid.

Barack Obama condemned WikiLeaks in a call to the Turkish Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, where he expressed "his regrets for the deplorable action by WikiLeaks." He was trying to mend diplomatic ties with Turkey which was mentioned in the diplomatic cables of US as not a reliable partner despite Turkey's almost unconditional support to US for decades. It is instructive to remember that Turkey had declined the US request of providing its territories as a base to attack Iraq, under the pressure of its own population. Obama expressed similar sentiments in a call to his Mexican counterpart, Felipe Calderon, where he was most forceful yet again against the website. It was President Obama who during his election campaign had said, "For a long time now, there's been too much secrecy in this city," and had promised end of the secrecy regime. But the charade, a mere political theater to distract and placate the masses wore off under the light of leaks. This is what WikiLeaks has done, to uncover the charade and expose the truth. The diplomatic cables leaked by WikiLeaks show unequivocally that the new administration began lying to the public almost immediately after Obama assumed office, and withheld important information that the US public (and

many nations around the world) had the right to know and the need to know.

WikiLeaks has eroded the (so called) moral authority of the US in the world and that has caused the strongest reaction from the corridors of power in the US. Ironically the Attorney General of the US, Eric Holder, filed a criminal case of "spying" against Assange when the leaked cables show that the US itself has been involved in extensive spying of international leaders including UN's General Secretary Ban-Ki Moon. The US embassies have not only spied to get crucial diplomatic information but also have indulged in collecting most personal information going to the extent of getting DNA samples. The cables reveal that the Secretary of State for the US, Hillary Clinton and her predecessor Condoleezza Rice, both ordered for extensive spying beyond any diplomatic norms. Fortunately, some of the extremely ludicrous demands like of "treason" were not pursued as Assange is not even a US citizen. The cables show in the words of Noam Chomsky "utter contempt of our leaders for anything democratic." Chomsky along with others has signed an appeal to the Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard to give protection to Julian Assange who is an Australian citizen and not shamelessly follow US dictates. She now faces terrible opposition within her own party for towing the US line.

Some other countries and regions where massive corruption and injustices were exposed include Peru, Spain, Australia, Kenya, Germany, Western Africa and Iceland among others. Oil magnates of Peru were exposed, the false Australian law to control websites was exposed, Spanish government's capitulation to US pressure for not prosecuting torture of its own citizen and death of its own journalist was exposed, capture and torture of a German grocer by CIA was exposed,

**Contd..... on Page 25**

**Full judgment of the Supreme Court:  
mere membership of a banned organization will not make a person a criminal**

The following is the text of the judgment issued by the Supreme Court bench  
dealing with the case of Arup Bhuyan vs State of Assam -

**IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA  
CRIMINAL APPELLATE JURISDICTION  
CRIMINAL APPEAL NO(s). 889 OF 2007  
ARUP BHUYAN Appellant (s)**

**VERSUS**

**STATE OF ASSAM Respondent(s)**

**ORDER**

Heard learned counsel for the parties.

This Appeal has been filed against the impugned judgment of the Designated Court, Assam at Guwahati dated 28.03.2007 passed in TADA Sessions Case No. 13 of 1991.

The facts have already been set out in the impugned judgment and hence we are not repeating the same here except wherever necessary.

The appellant is alleged to be a member of ULFA and the only material produced by the prosecution against the appellant is his alleged confessional statement made before the Superintendent of Police in which he is said to have identified the house of the deceased.

Confession to a police officer is inadmissible vide Section 25 of the Evidence Act, but it is admissible in TADA cases vide Section 15 of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987.

Confession is a very weak kind of evidence. As is well known, the wide spread and rampant practice in the police in India is to use third degree methods for extracting confessions from the alleged accused. Hence, the courts have to be cautious in accepting confessions made to the police by the alleged accused.

Unfortunately, the police in our country are not trained in scientific investigation (as is the police in Western countries) nor are they provided the technical equipments for scientific investigation, hence to obtain a conviction they often rely on the easy short cut of procuring a confession under torture.

Torture is such a terrible thing that when a person is under torture he will confess to almost any crime. Even Joan of Arc confessed to be a witch under torture. Hence, where the prosecution case mainly rests on the confessional statement made to the police by the alleged accused, in the absence of corroborative material, the courts must be hesitant before they accept such extra-judicial confessional statements.

In the instant case, the prosecution case mainly relies on the alleged confessional statement of the appellant made before the Superintendent of Police, which is an extra-judicial confession and there is absence of corroborative material. Therefore, we are of the opinion that it will not be safe to convict the accused on the basis of alleged confessional statement.

For the reasons stated above, we are in agreement with the impugned judgment so far as it has taken the view that the confessional statement in question cannot be acted upon as the sole basis for conviction of the appellant.

However, the TADA Court has convicted the appellant under Section 3(5) of the TADA which makes mere membership of a banned organization criminal. Although the appellant has denied that he was a member of ULFA, which is a banned organization. Even assuming he was a member of ULFA it has not been proved that he was an active member and not a mere passive member.

In State of Kerala Vs. Raneef, 2011 (1) SCALE 8, we have respectfully agreed with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in Elfbrandt Vs. Russell, 384 U.S. 17 (1966) which has rejected the doctrine of 'guilt by association'. Mere membership of

a banned organization will not incriminate a person unless he resorts to violence or incites people to violence or does an act intended to create disorder or disturbance of public peace by resort to violence (See: also the Constitution Bench judgment of this Court in Kedar Nath Vs. State of Bihar, AIR 1962 SCC 955 para 26).

In Clarence Brandenburg Vs. State of Ohio, 395 U.S. 444 (1969) the U.S. Supreme Court went further and held that mere “advocacy or teaching the duty, necessity, or propriety” of violence as a means of accomplishing political or industrial reform, or publishing or circulating or displaying any book or paper containing such advocacy, or justifying the commission of violent acts with intent to exemplify, spread or advocate the propriety of the doctrines of criminal syndicalism, or to voluntarily assemble with a group formed “to teach or advocate the doctrines of criminal syndicalism” is not per se illegal. It will become illegal only if it incites to imminent lawless action. The statute under challenge was hence held to be unconstitutional being violative of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

In United States Vs. Eugene Frank Robel, 389 U.S. 258, the U.S. Supreme Court held that a member of a communist organization could not be regarded as doing an unlawful act by merely obtaining employment in a defence facility.

We respectfully agree with the above decisions, and are of the opinion that they apply to India too, as our fundamental rights are similar to the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution.

In our opinion, Section 3(5) cannot be read literally otherwise it will violate Articles 19 and 21 of the Constitution. It has to be read in the light of our observations made above. Hence, mere membership of a banned organization will not make a person a criminal unless he resorts to violence or incites people to violence or creates public disorder by violence or incitement to violence.

Hence, the conviction of the appellant under Section 3(5) of the TADA is also not sustainable.

The impugned judgment of the Designated Court, Assam at Guwahati dated 28.03.2007 passed in TADA Sessions Case No. 13 of 1991 is set aside and the Appeal stands allowed.

By Order dated 29.10.2007 this Court had directed that the appellant be released on bail on his furnishing adequate security to the satisfaction of the trial court. Security furnished by the appellant in pursuance of Order dated 29.10.2007 shall stand discharged.

NEW DELHI;

J. (MARKANDEY KATJU)

FEBRUARY 03, 2011.

J. (GYAN SUDHA MISRA)

*Contd..... from Page 39*

We, the Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) severely oppose this anti-people ‘Unified Action Plan’. Our CC feels that this is a part of the fascist repressive campaign by the centre and state government-sponsored Operation Green Hunt and facilitate it further. The claim that, backward areas will be developed is a farce, a deceit. The governments, if at all sincere, should first give all rights over Jal-Jungle-Jameen to adivasis and poor people; cancel all MOUs signed with MNCs and big corporate companies; stop all those projects of big dams, mines, sanctuaries, big steel plants and SEZs which would displace hundreds of thousands of people; and stop Operation Green Hunt immediately under which adivasis are being massacred.

On this occasion, our Central Committee demand to arrest and punish severely all those political leaders, ministers and corporate houses’ heads involved in Commonwealth Games scam, Adarsh housing society scam, Karnataka land scams etc.; and all those saffron terrorist leaders involved in Malegaon, Ajmer Sharif, Mecca Masjid etc. bomb explosions.

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

**Form IV (See Rule 8)**

Statement about ownership and other particulars about  
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I, P.Govindan kutty, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

31-03-2011

S/d  
Publisher

**Condemn the indiscriminate killings and fake encounters  
by the police and paramilitary forces in Odisha!  
People would surely defeat the conspiracy of Naveen Patnaik  
to hand over the natural resources of Odisha to the Corporations  
by decimating the Maoist revolutionary movement!**

As part of the massive offensive Operation Green Hunt being conducted in coordination by the central and state governments with the avowed aim of decimating the Maoist revolutionary movement completely, the special police and paramilitary forces have resorted to indiscriminate killings in the past two months in Odisha and have taken nearly 25 lives in cold-blood in various incidents. Of these most of them were fake encounters while others were incidents where hundreds of police and paramilitary were deployed with specific information about the whereabouts of the guerillas and fired indiscriminately on the guerillas and the people with them.

Recently on January 12, 2011, in an 'encounter' in a forest area in Keonjhar district two Maoists had died and on January 9, 2011 in an alleged encounter in Bandhkamali mountains which fall under the Niyamgiri area of Rayagada district, nine comrades were martyred. Ravi, one of the martyred comrades, is an important leader who has been working among the oppressed people of Odisha for the past few years. He hails from East Godavari district in Andhra Pradesh. Just one week back, on January 2, 2011 in the encounter which was said to have taken place in the Rayaghati forests under Kalinga Nagar area in Jajpur district, five Maoists including three women comrades were martyred. One among these martyrs was an Area Committee member of the Kalinga Nagar area. They were in preparation for some mass activities on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the massacre of Adivasis on January 2 when this incident occurred. On 29 December, 2010, in an alleged encounter in Talpada forest area of Keonjhar district one woman comrade was martyred. Before this in the fourth week of December the police announced that three Maoists had died in an encounter at Adaba forest area in Gajapati district. In the beginning of January, in another alleged encounter in Bargarh district two persons had died but the people had declared that they were ordinary people and that the police had killed them in cold-blood. Some days before this there were news items in the media that even the encounter in Gajapati district was also a fake one and that ordinary people had died in this. Though huge scale protests were staged by people and democrats on these fake encounters, the Naveen government is not caring a damn and is resorting to murders of ordinary people and revolutionaries unscrupulously.

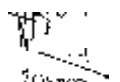
Odisha is a state abundantly rich in mineral, water and forest resources but it has become the abode of dire poverty and hunger deaths. Odisha is in the first place in iron reserves and it has many other valuable mineral resources. But all this wealth is filling the coffers of the wealthy while the conditions of the poor people are deteriorating. In the past 63 years of so-called independence, the oppressed people of Odisha, particularly the adivasis are getting crushed under the feudal and imperialist exploitation. The Odisha government led by the Mining Mafia Boss Naveen Patnaik has turned Odisha into the paradise of the mining corporations by signing innumerable MoUs with them. More than 49 MoUs regarding steel plants, more than 20 MoUs regarding thermal power plants, some MoUs for alumina refinery projects and a harbor were signed. The MoU worth 55,000 crores of rupees signed with the MNC Posco belonging to South Korea is the biggest foreign direct investment in India. The Odisha government had shamelessly violated its own laws while granting permissions to Tata in Kalinganagar and Vedanta in Niyamgiri apart from Posco. All these MoUs lead to untold miseries for the Odisha people. These would lead to destruction of the forests, lands, water, ecology and all aspects of their lives. This could be one of the biggest man-made disasters in the world. That is why the people of Odisha are fighting against this atrocity and exploitation.

In the recent past, Odisha people agitated and are still agitating against the exploitation and atrocities of the MNCs and big comprador bourgeoisie companies like Tata, Vedanta, Posco etc. and also against the feudal exploitation in the Narayanapatna area of Koraput district. Government used brutal force against these struggles and killed many people. On January 2, 2006, the police fired on the adivasis who refused to hand over their cultivable lands to the Tata Steel Company in Kalinga Nagar and killed at least fourteen of them. In many other instances, people had become injured or have lost their lives in police firings. People launched agitations against bauxite mines of Vedanta Company in Niyamgiri area and against

Vedanta Alumina refinery in Lanjigarh. Caving in before the people's agitations, the Central government had cancelled permission to Vedanta with the reason that it had violated rules and regulations. But the people are still continuing their agitation as they feel that as long as the Vedanta refinery exists in Lanjigarh it is detrimental to their very existence and that it would adversely affect their lands and ecology. People of Odisha are fighting against such issues in many places. The Maoist party is leading these agitations in many places and supporting them in others. More important is the fact that people are welcoming the leadership of Maoists and are aspiring for it. The Odisha people have realized that there is no political party other than the Maoist party which could put an end to feudal and imperialist exploitation. The Maoist movement is expanding to many new areas. The Naveen Patnaik government with the full support of the UPA government at the centre is resorting to these massacres precisely because the Maoists constitute the main hurdle to their blanket loot of resources. Particularly, it is obvious to one and all that the callous murder of nine revolutionaries in Niyamgiri area has happened with the aim of facilitating the wholesale loot of Vedanta and under its aegis. Similarly it is also very clear that the fascist massacres resorted to by the government in the Kalinga Nagar area (in Jajpur and Keonjhar districts) is to facilitate the exploitation of corporations like that of Tata and others waiting in the wings to occupy this whole area. Naveen Patnaik who is gobbling billions of rupees as the stooge of the corporations and his administrative machinery are being threatened seriously by the existence of the Maoist movement. That is why they are resorting to fascist onslaught on the people and the guerilla squads spending billions of rupees on increasing police, commando forces (SOG), SPO and informer network on a huge scale.

History has proven many a times that it is impossible to suppress the people's movements with murders, offensives and suppression campaigns. The comprador Naveen Patnaik, Vedanta ex-director and the CEO of the present Operation Green Hunt Chidambaram, other ruling class oligarchs and their imperialist masters are dreaming that they would be able to put aside all the hurdles in the path of exploitation of the feudal classes and the corporations by crushing the Maoist revolutionary movement. The people are bound to come to the fore more militantly to intensify their struggles. Though the spate of encounters in the past few days indicate the intensity of the offensive on the Maoists this should be seen as part of the overall offensive on all the people's movements fighting against their loot. We can stop these massacres only by taking up arms and fighting in a united manner against the anti-people, pro-imperialist policies followed by the blood-thirsty Naveen government and against corporate exploitation.

The Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) is appealing to all the people of our country and democrats to condemn in severe terms these atrocious massacres and fake encounters. We are appealing to the people to demand independent judicial inquiry into all these incidents of firings and to demand punishment for all the police officials involved in them. We are appealing to all that they should realize that these offensives are not carried on exclusively on the Maoist movement and that they are aimed at all those who are raising their voice or fighting against this corporate loot. Our Central Committee is calling upon all the democratic, progressive and patriotic forces to unite and fight against the corporate exploitation and against the massacres perpetrated by the central and state governments and against the Operation Green Hunt carried on for the incessant loot of our resources.



(Abhay)

Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

*Contd..... from Page 38*

### **Beloved people of India!**

This is not the time to cry over the depths of despair and degradation the ruling classes are forcing us into. The need of the hour is for all the people to come together and fight back the anti-people, repressive and pro-imperialist policies of the state and to direct our fight against scamsters, hoarders, black marketers and forces of the repressive state.

Our Central Committee appeals to all the people to observe protests from 4 to 5 February and one-day Bharat bandh on 7 February against price-rise, scams and state terror. We are making it clear that there would be no bandh during the protest days and that Bharat bandh would be observed in six states – West Bengal, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and three districts in Maharashtra – Gadchiroli, Gondia, Chandrapur and one district in Madhya Pradesh – Balaghat. Medical services and people attending examinations and interviews will be excluded from the bandh activities.



(Abhay)

Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)



## **Serving people is not conspiracy!**

### **Supporting people's struggles can never be sedition!!**

#### **The Scamsters who amass billions of rupees are the real conspirators!**

#### **The Gangsters who sell-out our country to imperialists are the real traitors!!**

**Observe Protest Week from January 2<sup>nd</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup>, 2011 against the fascist Chhattisgarh government's court judgments that sentenced Civil Rights activist Doctor Binayak Sen, Maoist leader Narayana Sanyal, trader Piyush Guha under sedition for life imprisonment and magazine editor Asit Sengupta for eight years imprisonment!**

On December 24, the Raipur district additional sessions court sentenced for life civil rights activist Dr. Binayak Sen, our party Politburo member Comrade Narayan Sanyal, trader Piyush Guha under IPC, Chhattisgarh Special Public Security Act and UAPA implicating them in false cases. The life sentences were pronounced by B.P. Verma under IPC section 124 (sedition), 120 B (conspiracy) and many other kinds of sentences were pronounced under various sections of CSPCA and UAPA. The eight year sentence for Asit Sengupta was pronounced on the same day by O.P. Gupta. Both these judgments are the latest additions to the huge cache of anti-people, fascist repressive measures of the Indian ruling classes.

Sentencing for life our party Politburo member Comrade Narayan Sanyal, Binayak Sen, a doctor who had dedicated his life as a doctor serving the poor people selflessly, a prominent civil rights activist and the vice-president of PUCL and Piyush Guha, a trader belonging to Kolkata is the most shameless thing for the rulers to do even while boasting that this is the biggest democracy in the whole world. Opposing the repressive policies of the government, the fascist Salwa Judum, raising his voice for the repeal of the black law CSPSA and standing in support of the just peoples movements are the 'crimes' committed by Dr. Binayak Sen for which he has been punished with life sentence. When he was arrested in May 2007 and kept in jail for two years, immense protests were held and severe condemnations were issued by democratic sections, medical community, Nobel laureates and many others in India and abroad. Pronouncing this sentence ignoring all this can only mean that the fascist rulers are without any scruples or embarrassment issuing a threat to all the democratic, progressive and patriotic sections of our country. If responding positively towards people's issues in a legal, democratic manner, serving the people sincerely and criticizing the anti-people policies of the government is 'sedition', then one can imagine what kind of 'democracy' is being practiced in this country and how dangerous it is for the people. The eight year sentence for Asit Sengupta (editor of the Hindi version of 'A World To Win' which is published in various languages all over the world) who is languishing in jail since three years with the false accusation that he was participating in Maoist activities is nothing but stifling the Freedom of Press. Recently, Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh, DGP Viswaranjan, Bastar IG Longkumer and Dantewada SP Kalluri gang had published pamphlets under the name 'Maa Danteswari Adivasi Swabhimani Manch' and had openly declared that they would kill journalists SRK Pillai, Anil Sharma and Yaswant Rai along with democrats Himanshu Kumar and Arundhati Roy and had the audacity to declare that it is indeed their own doing! So much for the 'rule of law' harped upon by our rulers day in and day out!

Comrade Narayan Sanyal, a 73-year old veteran communist who began his revolutionary life in 1968 and has dedicated more than four decades of his life for the liberation of the oppressed people, is ailing with various health problems and has been languishing in the dark dungeons of the fascist Chhattisgarh government since five years. The Sonia-Man Mohan-Chidambaram-Raman Singh terrorist gang is killing Maoist leaders in fake encounters and sentencing many of them to harsh punishments under black laws. They are subjected to physical and mental tortures in the inhuman conditions prevailing in jails.

On July 29, 2010, our party activist Comrade Malati @ Santi Priya and a worker Surendra Kosaria were sentenced to ten years imprisonment using false witnesses under the case that Maoist propaganda CDs were sent to the MLAs. Amitabh Bagchi, a Politburo member of our party and Comrade Kartik, a state committee member of West Bengal, incarcerated in Ranchi jail, were also sentenced to life imprisonment through fast track court in Jharkhand. On October 29, the AP government sentenced Comrade Panduranga Reddy and three others to four years imprisonment in the Alipiri case (attack on ex-CM Chandrababu) using false witnesses. Many more revolutionary activists and ordinary people are being sentenced to very harsh punishments including capital punishment by the reactionary courts serving the exploiting ruling classes. Comrades Sushil Roy and Kobad Gandhi who are senior leaders and ailing with various health problems and old age; comrades Shobha, Patitpavan Haldar, Pramod Mishra, Vijay, Asutosh, Balraj, Chintan, Biman, Bidhan, Chandi Sarkar, Balganes, Jharkhand Abhen's Jeetan Marandi and thousands of other comrades are denied bail, being implicated in false cases one after another and made to languish in jails for years together. In West Bengal, Comrade Swapan Das arrested under UAPA was denied health care in Jail and became the first martyr of this draconian law.

The UPA government bent on selling our natural and human resources to imperialist MNCs like Vedanta and to comprador bourgeoisie like Tata, Essar, Jindal, Mittal etc has declared CPI (Maoist) as the biggest internal security threat as it is standing in their way offering stiff resistance to this unlimited loot. As part of this, the government is carrying on vicious foul propaganda using its propaganda machine. Since August 2009, in the name of Operation Green Hunt the central and state governments are resorting to brutal attacks on the revolutionary movement and particularly adivasis are being massacred by deploying millions of police and paramilitary forces in Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and other states. This offensive is carried on under the guidance and full support of imperialists, particularly the US imperialists. The exploiting rulers are using every means at their disposal to portray our party which is fighting with the lofty aim of establishing people's government of democratic classes basing on the unity of worker-peasants by overthrowing the imperialists, bureaucratic comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal classes, as 'terrorist' and 'traitor'. Why are the ministers, political leaders, big bourgeoisie and their brokers, the real traitors who are amassing billions of rupees in scams and stacking them in Swiss Banks shamelessly roaming in the corridors of power not booked under SEDITION? Why are all those criminals who perpetrated and facilitated the Bhopal Gas Tragedy not called CONSPIRATORS? How could striving for the liberation of the toiling masses become SEDITION? How could democrats who raised their voices and pens in support of people's movements be called CONSPIRATORS?

These sentences are nothing but a part of the bigger conspiracy of the ruling classes to eliminate all kinds of hurdles to their anti-people, unpatriotic and immoral neo-liberal economic policies. This is an alarm signal that fascist repression would intensify further in the near future. These judgments are an eye opener for those who believe and get deceived innocently that there is still some semblance of democracy in this country. Though the overt statements of the ruling gang declare that Maoist movement is their prime target, what is happening in reality is a fascist onslaught on progressive and democratic forces who wish for the welfare of the people and aspire to protect the interests of our country vis-à-vis the imperialists. Our party is appealing to the people to stand united against this offensive and defeat it through a determined fight.

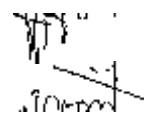
The comprador governments are resorting to suppression of people's movements and nationality liberation struggles using black laws like UAPA, CSPCA, MCOCA and AFSPA following in the footsteps of the US government which promulgated black laws like the Homeland Security Act. The reactionary legal system which had never bothered to book or sentence the saffron terrorists who had killed many innocent people in the Mecca Masjid, Malegaon and Ajmer Sharif bomb blasts or the scamsters and political gangsters involved in scams like 2G Spectrum (worth 1,76,000 crores of rupees), Commonwealth games, Adarsh housing society, Karnataka lands and dozens and dozens of other scams are eagerly sentencing revolutionaries, people's leaders, democrats and activists of national liberation movements in Kashmir and North-East.

The CPI (Maoist) Central Committee is appealing to all democratic, patriotic forces, national liberation activists and to all civil rights activists, organizations, students, intellectuals, teachers, writers, artistes, doctors, lawyers, media friends, workers and peasants to come out on the streets condemning and opposing these judgments delivered through the reactionary legal system by the collusion of the UPA government at the centre and the BJP government in Chhattisgarh. We appeal to all of you to build united and militant agitations demanding the immediate repeal of UAPA, CSPCA, MCOCA and AFSPA. We appeal to all the progressive, democratic and revolutionary organizations, communities and individuals of various countries to condemn in severe terms this criminal act of the Indian ruling classes and express their vigorous protest in various democratic struggle forms. In the past the international community stood in strong solidarity with the Indian people's movements and had condemned the arrest of Binayak Sen and demanded his immediate release. Now the time has come for it to play this role more solidly.

Our party calls upon the people to observe protest week all over the country from January 2 to 8 against these judgments by creatively taking up various protest activities including press conferences, statements, *dharnas*, *rasta rokos*, meetings, protest rallies, processions, signature campaigns, wearing black badges, waving black flags, burning of effigies etc., and to take up legal battles condemning severely the anti-people, traitorous and fascist policies of the ruling classes.

Our party is calling upon all our ranks, PLGA forces and revolutionary mass organizations to take up various protest forms on this occasion by mobilizing vast masses.

Our Central Committee is making it very clear that no call for bandh is being given as part of this protest week and is requesting the people and media not to believe the deliberate propaganda of the police to portray this as a bandh call.



(Abhay)

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

**LET US INTENSIFY PEOPLE'S WAR WITH THE AIM  
TO DEFEAT OPERATION GREEN HUNT!  
LET US WAGE STRUGGLES UNITEDLY RAISING THE SLOGAN 'FULL RIGHTS TO PEOPLE OVER  
JAL-JUNGLE-ZAMEEN',  
AGAINST CORPORATE PLUNDER OF NATURAL RESOURCES!  
LET US CELEBRATE 10<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF PLGA  
WITH REVOLUTIONARY ENTHUSIASM FROM DECEMBER 2!**

Dear comrades and friends,

Fulfilling the cherished dreams of Comrades Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterji, the fore-founders of our Party - Communist Party of India (Maoist), on the day 2nd December 2000, the first anniversary of the martyrdom of comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali, for the first time in our country an Army, the Army of downtrodden people, came into existence. The name of this army is People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) which fights under the leadership of CPI (Maoist). Since ages in our country, various communities and sections of people fought many a rebellions, against colonialists first and after 1947, against feudal and comprador bourgeoisie ruling classes. Thousands of brave fighters laid down their lives. This People's Army of ours took birth in the process of continuation of the legacy of all those struggles. Now it's the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of this Army.

In Dandakaranya, the revolutionary movement in the leadership of our Party has also completed 30 years by this year. Prior to the formation of PLGA, guerilla squads and organizers used to fulfill both organizational and military tasks here. After the formation of PLGA, many a commissions, commands and guerilla formations have been formed. By developing the Revolutionary People's War in a systematic way and by taking up numerous tactical counter-offensive campaigns, many suppressive campaigns of the enemy were beaten back. After 2000, in the pace with which the Maoist People's war in Dandakaranya advanced and in the development of the People's Political Power in the form of *Janatana Sarkar*, the PLGA's role was crucial.

It's the Army of those people, who despite of producing entire wealth from the food grains to all other things with their sweat and blood, won't get bread, proper clothing and shelter to live. When this Army is going to celebrate its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary, certainly, it would be the moment of great pleasure for the toiling people and their well-wishers who consist 90% of our population. What's the reasonability of this Army of workers and peasants? To find answer for this question, one needs to look into the history of at least past 63 years. Our beloved motherland India was subjected to ruthless plunder during the British rule for nearly 200 years, which is now masked with an absurd and fake democracy for the past 63 years. In the name of independence, as Bhagat Singh had warned us long ago, power was transferred from the hands of British exploiters to those of our own country. Congress party, which represents the comprador bourgeoisies like Tatas and Birlas, and feudal classes, in collaboration with imperialism, came to the power. No change brought in exploitation, oppression, atrocities and injustice. Only the form was changed. The direct rule of imperialism ended, but indirect rule, exploitation and control reached to high levels. In politics, economy, social life, agriculture, culture and *Jal-Jungle-Zameen*, in every aspect of our country the role of imperialism increased. The landlord and comprador bourgeois rulers of our country, dancing to the tunes of imperialism, pushed the vast majority of the population into the sea of endless problems like poverty, destitution, hunger, malnutrition, disease, unemployment, price rise, discrimination, corruption, oppression, so on. During the past 63 years, these rulers, who used to boast the 'development' with high figures, are only responsible for the situation of 77% population forced to live with the minimal earning of 20 rupees per day. On the other hand the assets of 100 top billionaires like Tatas, Jindals, Essars, Ambanis, have accumulated so much wealth which is equivalent to the 25% of the GDP. In the name of development, big dams, mines, big industries and sanctuaries displaced more than 40 million people from their habitats. More than 40% of such people are *adivasis* who constitute only 8 percent of the total population. Thus, the brunt of the so-called 'development' is being faced by *adivasis*, *dalits* and other poor sections. The condition of the working class in urban areas is worse. They are forced to work in 18<sup>th</sup> century-like-conditions today. Toiling for 10 to 16 hours per day is becoming more and more common now. Minimum wages act is being kept only in the papers. Because of continuous attacks of Hindu fascists' on Muslims and Christians, latter are forced to live with insecurity. In Kashmir and North-East regions, armed forces of the Indian expansionist rulers have been suppressing the people in most inhuman ways.

Where ever a protest is registered to this situation or whenever a voice of opposition is raised, state always countered with its brute force of bullets and guns. Entire repressive tools of the state, i.e. police, paramilitary and army dealt this opposition with violence, terror and barbarity. In this backdrop, the famous Maoist saying – 'people have nothing without a

people's army', converted into reality, not only in words but in practice too. In the process of continuation of the New Democratic Revolution of India which was initiated with the First Struggle of Independence in 1857, and particularly the ongoing Agrarian Revolutionary Guerilla War which was initiated along with the Great Naxalbari Armed Peasant Uprising, this People's Army – People's Liberation Guerilla Army was formed which is now celebrating its 10 years. Smashing feudalism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism; and establishing the rule of the United Front which consists of worker-peasant unity as its basis and small and middle bourgeoisie as its allied forces, is the political aim of this People's Army.

**Now, let us have a glance at the achievements of the Dandakaranya people with the help of this Army –**

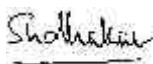
1. In village and area levels, the power of the exploiting classes has been smashed and the People's Power has been established. Organs of the *Janatana Sarkar*, though in primary level, are working taking initiative with the aim of achieving all-round development of the people.
2. Over three lakh acres of land has been confiscated from the government forest department and landlord classes. Thus there is no landless peasant in the areas of struggle, here in Dandakaranya.
3. All kinds of atrocities, exploitation and sexual exploitation of women by police, forest department, revenue department, mining *mafia*, timber smugglers, usurers, *tendu* leaves contractors, paper mills management have been stopped.
4. The attempts of plundering the huge natural wealth of Dandakaranya by both 'indigenous' and foreign corporate companies like Tatas, Essars, Jindals, Mittals, Texas Power Generation, Vedanta etc. have been thwarted.
5. The bogus policies of the government under the garb of 'development' which would have been displaced *adivasis* in big numbers were opposed and resisted. Hence the mining *mafia* has been forced to flee from various places from Pallamad to Surjagarh.
6. The suppressive and rapist police and paramilitary forces that were deployed to ensure the exploitation of people and plunder of resources were wiped out in big numbers. Over 575 modern weapons were seized from them by the people and people's forces to arm themselves. Murkinar, Uralmetta, Ranibodili, Korkotti, Laheri, Kongera, and particularly the historic Tadimetla ambush, all these attacks show the development process of the guerilla war. Many a brave daughters and sons of the people attained an important place in the history with their martyrdom.
7. In 2005, with directives of the central government, BJP government of Chhattisgarh had launched a brutal counter-revolutionary campaign with the name of Salwa Judum. During that campaign police, paramilitary forces and SPOs had killed more than one thousand *adivasis* and raped hundreds of women. More than 600 villages were burnt down and thousands of people were forced to live in so-called 'relief' camps. In spite of this, entire people stood straight and firmly. Raising the flag of resistance everywhere, the people of Bastar defeated Salwa Judum in the leadership of this Army and thus added a new chapter in the annals of history.

**But the challenges are there...**

With the aim of wiping out the Maoist movement, which has become a big hindrance in the road of indiscriminate corporate plunder of natural wealth, with the guidance of imperialists, exploitative ruling classes have launched an inhuman, massive and countrywide onslaught in the name of Operation Green Hunt, which is, in fact, 'war against the people'. This must be fight back. For this, PLGA should become strong in all aspects. Refuting all illusionary and fake developmental schemes firmly, People's Economy has to be developed basing on the principle of 'self-reliance'. To defend this and to ensure its smooth conduct, youth should join PLGA in big numbers. Big and foreign corporate companies are itching to plunder the mineral and other natural wealth of Dandakaranya. This would lead to the displacement of entire local populace. In the struggle of resistance to this, PLGA should lead from the front so as to protect the existence of the people.

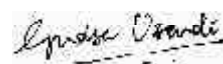
On the occasion of 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of PLGA, we appeal to all democratic intellectuals, writers, journalists, media persons, students, youth, teachers, workers and peasants to stand firmly in support of the just struggle of the people of Dandakaranya and to oppose the fascist onslaught of exploiters – Operation Green Hunt.

PLGA 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations would start from 2<sup>nd</sup> December and continue till the end of the month. During this period, revolutionary propaganda, processions, meetings, rallies would be conducted in every village and everywhere. We also want to make one point clear that there would be no *bandh* or shutdown on this occasion. We are in no way responsible for the rumors that there is going to be a shutdown for three weeks.



(Sudhakar)

In charge DKSZ Military Commission CPI (Maoist)



(Gudsa Usendi)

Spokesperson, DKSZ Committee CPI (Maoist)

## UNITE AND FIGHT AGAINST PRICE-RISE, SCAMS AND STATE TERROR!

### Make Success Country-wide Protests from 4 to 6 February and Bharat Bandh on February 7

The latest addition to the already long-list of sufferings of the people of our country is the new rise in food inflation to 18.5 percent with prices touching the sky. On top of this petrol prices have been hiked (Rs 2.50 per litre) from the midnight of 15 January which would again lead to more price-rise in all items particularly in food items. The life of 'Aam Aadmi' would become even more miserable with the prices of onion, *mirchi*, *atta*, pulses, and vegetables soaring. Though price-rises have become an integral part of our life since decades, this kind of price-rise in the conditions where more than 90 percent of the workforce is employed in unorganized sector and where 83 percent of the people live on less than 20 rupees daily income, the connotations are grave and disturbing. Add to it the continuous loss of employment of even white collar jobs of the middle classes due to the world wide economic crisis and the picture which emerges is even bleaker.

It is one thing to put up with this. But how should one also put up with the most inhuman, cruel, insensitive and callous statement of the person in the highest post in our country, that too a person who is supposed to administer this country efficiently so that the lives of the people turn for better? While the people and particularly the children of this country are dying in their lakhs each year just due to lack of food and nutrition, this person had the audacity to declare that the present price-rise is due to the increase in food consumption of the poor people! This is the zenith of shamelessness one can ever reach. It is not our fault if this sounds like an echo of what an equally if not a more barefaced person named Mr. Bush (Junior) said some days back accusing the people of countries like China and India of consuming more, leading to a crisis! At least one could understand the contempt a President of the imperialist country (US), the number one enemy of the world people, would have for the people of third world countries. But Mr. Man Mohan Singh! You have out stepped all the limits of decency and humanity in expressing such contempt for the people of the country you are supposed to lead. The blood of every patriot boils and the face of every citizen burns with indignity to hear this from the high offices of this country. Surely our beloved country and its dignified people do not deserve this shabby treatment.

It is under the aegis of this Prime Minister that a Mukesh Ambani builds a *Mahal* worth 3,500 crores, ministers function on a daily basis from five-star hotels, trillions of rupees are guzzled in scams by every single person who is even a bit of somebody in his parliament or his administrative mechanism and army/police/forest services (the 1,76,000 crore 2G Spectrum scam is still fresh in public memory) not to mention their billions of dollars stacked away safely in Swiss banks! All the future trading, hoarding, black marketing, faulty PDS which have become the trademark of the 'independent' India have all been brazenly pushed aside as the possible reasons for this appalling inflation rate and the poor people who are breaking their backs in conditions which can be compared to the medieval times (again a fallout of the LPG policies gifted to us since 1991 by this reliable servant of IMF and World Bank) and are not even able to have one square meal in a day have become the culprits. Wah! Great Economics indeed, worth a Nobel Prize! This is not just a cruel joke on the poor people of our country (whom he doesn't represent at all) but also an unabashed attempt to cover up the scams and hoarding of the richie rich people of our country and the imperialist countries (whom he represents so well) and to divert the attention of the people from the actual causes of inflation and burning problems at present.

What is the actual condition prevailing? On the one hand, people are tragically suffering with this price-rise while on the other hand a new scam is rising on the horizon along with the sun every day. The price-rise is closely linked with the scam-rises of the ministers and high-rises of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie along with the rise in their bank accounts in the Swiss banks. (Remember? India refuses to reveal the names of those persons who have amassed billion of dollars in these banks?) The recent 2G Spectrum scam has exposed the back door deals of the big players of the corporate world, ministers and hi-fi media people while the series of scams which came to light have uncovered the brash pillage by all the parliamentary parties of the resources rightfully belonging to the people. The BJP which had stalled the proceedings of the Parliament for a whole session with the demand of instituting a JPC on 2G Spectrum scam is desperately trying to masquerade as a 'clean party' hiding its own set of scams, one of the major of these happening in Karnataka under BJP Chief Minister Yedyurappa. The close relations which Congress and BJP, including the leader of opposition Ms. Sushma Swaraj have with the notorious mining mafia bosses Reddy brothers are well documented. There is another purpose too. With Aseemanand singing in police custody and the unearthing of other evidences, the direct involvement of the saffron terrorists in the Samjhauta Express, Malegaon and Mecca Masjid blasts stands exposed and the JPC probe demand and

the uproar about price-rise are aimed at diverting the attention of the people from the heinous criminals involved in those blasts. The UPA government dumped A. Raja, of course after lot of hullabaloo due to inescapable evidence implicating him, in the 2G spectrum scam in order to save the skin of the Prime Minister and Sonia who are the directors of this sky-scraping scam and without whose involvement such a spectacle would be impossible. The names of highest level ranking generals in the army have also come up in scams not to mention the bureaucrats. The mother of all scams but which is not so visible is the stockpiling of thousands of crores of rupees by the likes of Naveen Patnaik, Raman Singh, YSR (now dead), Yedyurappa, Nitish Kumar, Narendra Modi, Vilasrao Deshmukh and Ashok Chavan in the form of commissions earned through the MoUs they are signing with the MNCs and imperialists. YSR had alone earned nearly 60,000 crores of rupees in his term as CM and one can imagine how many billions of rupees of the hard earned money of the common people is filling the coffers of all these super gangsters.

The people of our country are not sitting quite while these scamsters and gangsters are pillaging our wealth. In every corner of our country people are agitating at various levels and in different forms against corruption, all kinds of anti-people policies, price-rise and loot of natural resources. Of all these resistances, the most organized and militant struggle is waged by our party the CPI (Maoist). That is why it was named the biggest internal security threat by the Sonia-Man Mohan-Chidabaram gang and an unprecedented countrywide multi-pronged offensive was launched on it in the name of Operation Green Hunt (OGH). The intensification of the anti-people, pro-imperialist policies which give rise to scams and price-rise and the repression on CPI (Maoist) are directly proportional and this became particularly obvious in the past two months. The Prime Minister and Home Minister are conducting series of meetings to crush the Maoist movement and in the latest meeting held in January first week with higher level officers of police and paramilitary forces of six states, they laid emphasis on synergy between intelligence agencies, paramilitary and the police. This insistence on synergy is not an innocent proposal but is aimed at perpetrating more massacres, mopping up campaigns and clearing the *adivasis* and Maoists from the forests. Some more billions of rupees were allotted for this War on People.

In West Bengal, the social fascist CPM in collusion with the central government has increased the number of camps to 140 in Jangal Mahal and Lalgarth and filled them with police, paramilitary and its own counter-revolutionary Harnad Bahini goons, with an eye on the upcoming elections. That the ongoing atrocities and repression on the people of these areas would increase is anybody's guess and the massacre by CPM/Harnad cadres of eight people and injuring many more in Lalgarth area in the first week of January are an indication of the terrible things in store. On December 3, 2010, the police arrested the West Bengal state secretary of our party Com. Sudeep Chongdar, state committee members Kalpana Maiti, Barun Sur, Anil Ghosh and some other comrades while another state committee member Com. Dwijen Hembram was arrested earlier. They were cruelly tortured and false cases were foisted on them. Particularly, the insulting and inhuman treatment meted out to Com. Kalpana is denigrating the dignity of a woman.

In Bihar and Jharkhand arrests, tortures, barbarous attacks and murders of Maoist cadres are continuing. In Andhra Pradesh despite the claims of the ruling classes that they have suppressed the Maoists, fake encounters and attacks on the people haven't stopped. On 17 December, 2010, in an encounter in Visakhapatnam district four comrades including three women were killed. People fighting against seizure of their lands for SEZs, thermal power plants and for a separate Telangana state are being fired upon indiscriminately.

In an unprecedented severe offensive on Maoist areas in Odisha in the past two months nearly 25 Maoist cadres and ordinary people were killed and most of these 'encounters' were fake. Five Maoists in Kalinga Nagar area on January 2, nine Maoists in Niyamgiri area on January 9 and two Maoists in Keonjhar area on January 12 were killed in so-called encounters. Right in the beginning of this year two villagers were killed in cold-blood in Bargarh district and the police claimed it was an encounter.

On 8 October, in Savargaon of Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra (Dandakaranya), the ITBP forces had fired mortars shells on a school leading to the death of 6 people including two school children and injuries to eight more. On the next day on 9 October, in a fierce encounter in Mahasamund district of Chhattisgarh (CG) six comrades were martyred and the police killed two innocent villagers mercilessly in the same incident. On 23 November, the CRPF had massacred nine villagers near Jegurugonda in Dantewada district. The CG government is suppressing dissent in the most reactionary manner by arresting democratic intellectuals, putting them in jails and pronouncing harsh punishments on them. The recent conviction of CPI (Maoist) Politburo member Narayan Sanyal, Human Rights activist Dr. Binayak Sen, trader Piyush Guha and editor-writer Asit Sengupta is a blatant example of this. Though this offensive is obviously directed against the Maoists, in reality this is directed against all those individuals and organizations that are resisting the policies of the government.

**Contd..... on Page 32**

**Unified Action Plan To ‘Develop’ Maoist Stronghold Districts  
Is Not Aimed To Solve Any Basic Problems Of The People,  
But To Crush The Revolutionary Movement!  
Punish Traitors Severely, Who Are Involved In  
Scams Of Billions Of Rupees Of Hard Earned People’s Money!!**

Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs, yesterday on 26th November, has approved Central Planning Commission’s Rs 137.42 billion ‘Unified Action Plan’ to ‘develop’ naxal affected areas. Two year long, Rs. 33 billion package of the first phase announced by Home Minister is to spend Rs 250 millions in each of the districts of the 9 naxal affected states in the year 2010-11 and Rs. 300 millions for each of the districts in the year 2011-12. He said cabinet committee will review it after 2 years. These rulers claim that, by providing basic amenities in these poor tribal districts, where more than 50% of the population live below poverty line, want to achieve ‘development’ and thus aim to solve naxal ‘problem’. As per them, basic ‘amenities’ include primarily roads, later panchayat buildings, electricity, school buildings, education and health. On the one hand, since one year these rulers, in the name of Operation Green Hunt, have deployed more than 200 thousands of paramilitary forces and massacred hundreds of tribal people, now on the other hand, in these same areas want to spend millions of rupees. Is it for the benefit of people? Or is it to further its repression on the people? It is easy to understand. While making this announcement, Home Minister P. Chidambaram insisted to spend all the money by end of the March next and show ‘development’. Involving police department in the programme and placing district superintendents of police in these committees is nothing but an effort to put a ‘developmental’ mask to their fascist repressive measures. Is construction of roads and buildings for ‘people living below poverty line’? Or is it to facilitate state’s armed forces, which are carrying out killings at will and crushing their right to live. Any adivasi living in these areas can answer this question. Hiding the fact that, by occupying the buildings of educational institutions, armed forces have themselves become a great hindrance to the very education, want to spend billions of rupees to improve educational facilities is an outright deceit. These rulers never bothered, at the loss of lives of adivasis every year for minor diseases like diarrhea and fevers can not be trusted, when want to improve medical facilities under these packages.

In fact, since the last two months not a single day passed without the news of scams. People are witnessing, how tens of billions of people’s money is being whacked away by corrupt political leaders, ministers, big bureaucrats, corporate bosses and noted media barons. These rulers, who shout on top of their voice that Maoists are the biggest internal security threat and their bankrupt intellectuals who beat the drums in unison are the real big dacoits. This can be easily realised without referring history. Commonwealth Games scam (nearly one billion rupees), 2G spectrum scam (above one billion rupees), Adarsh housing society scandal, Karnataka land scams etc. are enough of evidence. Congress, BJP, DMK, Janata Dal like exploitative ruling class parties are all, without exception, part of this outright plunder. All these scams are more nakedly and blatantly getting exposed before the people. Maoist understanding that the only way out is to smash this deep-rooted, corrupt, exploitative system completely is day by day getting more people’s acceptance. This is what is threatening these exploitative ruling classes.

By all these scams, which are visible to naked eye, one can easily guess to where and in whose pockets millions of rupees of money by these economic packages would end up. It’s worth noting that these rulers are not afraid of the people that they will mock at them, when they say that ‘development’ will take place by these economic packages. If we note the fact that Montek Singh Ahluwalia, vice-chairperson of the planning commission, who, designed this economic package, Chidambaram, who approved it, both of them have sincerely and reliably served in imperialist financial institutions and imperialist corporate houses and the leader of this ruling clique, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, who himself spent most of his life in the service of imperialist financial and monetary institutions, then it is easy to understand who will be the end beneficiary. On the one hand, signing hundreds of billions of rupees of MOUs with corporations, facilitating the plunder of country’s resources in tribal areas, threatening the very existence of tribal populations, turning a deaf ear to the demand by the people and democratic forces to make all MOUs public and cancel them all, on the other hand, talking of ‘Development’ is a big joke.

**Contd..... on Page 30**



## *Condolence...*

Dear Family members, civil liberties colleagues and friends of Comrade KG Kannabiran,

On 31-12-2010, we heard the sad news about the demise of Comrade KG Kannabiran, the civil liberties leader, democrat and close friend of Indian revolution and this filled the

whole revolutionary camp with grief. His demise had left a void in the civil liberties movement of India and the loss to all the oppressed sections of people and revolutionary masses is irreplaceable. The Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) expresses its deep grief at the demise of Comrade Kannabiran, and humbly pays revolutionary homage to him on behalf of the whole revolutionary camp. It is sending its deep condolences to his family members, colleagues in the civil liberties movement and friends.

On the same evening a memorial meeting was conducted by us where the speakers paid rich tributes to his contributions for the democratic and revolutionary movements in our country. All the comrades who had attended the meeting vowed to carry on his fight for democratization of our society and to spread the ideals he has established in his career as a people's lawyer and a civil rights leader. We, the CC of CPI (Maoist), drafted a resolution and sent a statement to the media paying rich tributes to KGK.

Kannabiran dedicated his whole life to the civil rights movement and he fought on behalf of the poor people in the bourgeois courts to get them justice. Kannabiran was influenced by communist politics and since the wake of Naxalbari he walked in step with the revolutionary movement in our country waged under the leadership of Maoists. He stood in support of the revolutionary masses. He proved since the dark days of the emergency that the "encounters" staged by the state are nothing but brutal murders. He raised his voice against the brutal murders of Comrades Patel Sudhakar, Apparao and Rajkumar (Azad) and charged the state with perpetrating these murders.

Kannabiran's activity as a civil rights leader started with PUCL in 1970. After emergency he took up responsibilities as the President of APCLC and came closer to the revolutionary movement as the well-wisher of the oppressed people. He did not give in to any of the wrong trends which arose in the civil liberties movement in Andhra Pradesh or all over India. In this whole period he stood firmly with the oppressed people fighting state violence on them. In his last days, he worked as the President of Andhra Pradesh chapter of Committee for Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP). Since the days of emergency, KGK had participated in all the agitations led by prisoners and political prisoners. During the historic jail agitation led by Maoist political prisoners in 1994-1995 in AP, KGK participated in the talks with the government. Thus he strived for the release of thousands of people and revolutionary activists and leaders. In that course he built affectionate relations with them. Due to the legal services offered by KGK, a number of prisoners could escape the dark dungeons of the jail and gallows. Many among them had once again joined the revolutionary movement.

KGK had persistently argued in courts for years together in the Parvatipuram, Secundrabad, Ram Nagar and Bengaluru conspiracy cases and had proved that revolution is no conspiracy and that revolutionaries are not conspirators. He offered free legal service to poor people on whom false cases have been foisted. The values and standards he established in his 50 year career as a lawyer are of a higher quality and worth emulating.

KGK propagated about the callousness of the state in the Indravelli massacre of adivasis in Adilabad, the burning of adivasi villages in Manyam and other atrocities on them. From the 1980s till Operation Green Hunt, the latest offensive of the state on the fighting masses, KGK had consistently and staunchly fought against the state terror on the adivasis and was in the forefront in building a country-wide democratic movement against it.

KGK played a crucial role during the talks between the CPI (Maoist) and the government in AP in 2004. He gave valuable suggestions as one of the interlocutors in these talks. When talks failed he declared that the government did not respond to the genuine demands of people's issues placed before the government by the Maoist party.

KGK's legal service were not limited to AP alone, he freely offered his services to the dalits and poor peasants in Bihar and other struggle areas. Due to his services, many peasants could escape the gallows. The revolutionary masses, dalits, adivasis and national liberation activists would always fondly remember KGK for the legal services he rendered to their movements as well as the moral support and material help he gave them.

KGK was a voracious reader and a creative writer. He wrote extensively against state violence and on people's issues. Particularly during his last days his writings on revolutionary leaders brutally murdered by the state and eulogizing their contributions had earned an eternal place in the hearts of the oppressed masses.

**Contd..... on Page 18**

