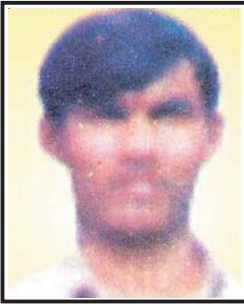


Martyrs Gallery

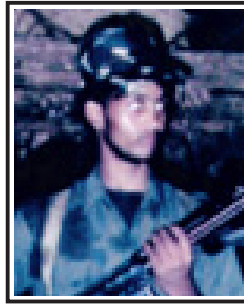
**BELOVED LEADERS AND BRAVE FIGHTERS OF INDIAN REVOLUTION
MARTYRED DURING THESE GLORIOUS TEN YEARS OF PLGA**



Com. Ashok
Jehanabad (Bihar)



Com. Indal
Jehanabad (Bihar)



Com. John
B-J



Com. Julius
B-J



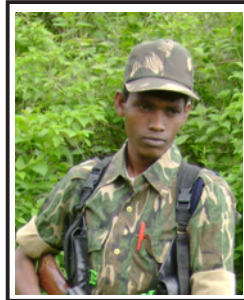
Com. Veerendra
B-J



Com. Madhu
Coy-2 Cdr - DK



Com. Tirupati
Coy-1 Cdr - DK



Com. Badru
Coy-2 Dy Cdr - DK



Com. Chandu
Coy-3 Dy Cdr - DK



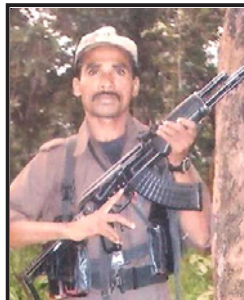
Com. Bandu
PI Cdr - Coy-1 - DK



Com. Kosa @ Aitu
DCM - DK



Com. Bhaskar
DCM, AT Cdr, AP



Com. Babu
PI Cdr - COY-8 - DK



Com. Rukmati
Sec. Cdr - Bn-1 - DK



Com. Karuna
Sec Cdr - Coy-1 - DK



Com. Shobha
Sub-ZCM, MR



Com. Ravi
DCM, OS



Com. Madavi Jangu
DCM-ADB, NT



Com. Rajendar
PL Cdr, 3U



Com. Rambatti
ACM (Cy-7) - DK



Com. Mangu
PPCM (Cy-7) - DK



Com. Ramal
PPCM (Cy-7) - DK



Com. Kamala
PPCM (Cy-7) - DK



Com. Shibu Chatterjee
ERB Area



Com. Natasha, ACM
DKCNM

Martyrs Gallery

**BELOVED LEADERS AND BRAVE FIGHTERS OF INDIAN REVOLUTION
MARTYRED DURING THESE GLORIOUS TEN YEARS OF PLGA**



Com. Ramana
DCM-GNT, AP



Com. Vidya
DCM(JNM), NT



Com. Padma
DCM-ADB, NT



Com. Sudha
ACM, GNT-AP



Com. Swarupa,
ACS, NZB-NT



Com. Vijaya
ACS, GNT-AP



Com. Chaitu
Cdr (PL-14), DK



Com. Jagadish
PL Cdr (Cy-1), DK



Com. Punnam
PL Cdr, NT



Com. Balanna
PL Cdr, ADB-NT



Com. Ratan
Cdr (PL-2), DK



Com. Raghu
Nalco Raid, OS



Com. Ramesh,
Cdr (PL-17), DK



Com. Komaranna
ACS, NZB-NT



Com. Sharada,
ACM, Maad-DK



Com. Rajeswari
Sec. Cdr(PL-1) NT



Com. Vema Radha
LGS Cdr, WGL-NT



Com. Kamala(Munni)
ACM (Cy-7)



Com. Chaite
ACM, DK(Press)



Com. Bhavani
ACM, AP



Com. Madhavi
Teacher, ACM, AP



Com. Lakshmi
ECM-APCMS



Com. Jeniya
ACM, MR



Com. Rajita
ACM, AP



Com. Yenki
SecDyCdr (Cy-2), DK

Martyrs Gallery

**BELOVED LEADERS AND BRAVE FIGHTERS OF INDIAN REVOLUTION
MARTYRED DURING THESE GLORIOUS TEN YEARS OF PLGA**



Com. Jaggu
LGS Cdr, DK



Com. Neelesh
ACM (Cy-7)



Com. Swarupa
PM (PL-3), DK



Com. Rina
PM (CY-2), DK



Com. Rajita
PM, DK



Com. Rajita
PM(PL1), NT



Com. Kajal,
PM, Maharashtra



Com. Latha
AP



Com. Vetti Sanni
KAMS, DK



Com. Poonem Jogi
DK (Kanchal)



Com. Kadi Penti
DK



Com. Madavi Latchakka
PM, DK



Com. Korram Salo
AOB



Com. Vimala
DK (Kanchal)



Com. Akhila
PM(LOS), GDCL-DK



Com. Somvary
Doula Raid, DK



Com. Mainabai Naitham
RPC President, GDCL-DK



Com. Punem Sammakka
KNR-NT



Com. Kumme
GDCL-DK



Com. Mangli
PM(CRC Cy-1)



Com. Vijaya
AOB



Com. Gangi
PM, AOB



Com. Limmi Thimma
RPCM, DK



Com. Sangeeta
NT



Com. Radha
GDCL, DK

THE HOLE IN THE HEART

The SC pulls up the Centre, Andhra Pradesh on the Azad 'encounter' death

OUTLOOK January 2011, by Madhavi Tata in Adilabad and Saikat Datta



Azad's body with bullet wound during post-mortem, inset Azad; Outlook's Sep 6, 2010, story which showed that Azad had died of close-range wounds

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 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 Pande 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 government 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 7cm.

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.

The post-mortem of Pandey was conducted by Dr Aravind, an orthopaedician, and Dr A. Bishma, the hospital superintendent. Dr Bishma 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*.

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 KG. 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 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?”

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.

The Magic-Realistic Slaughter of Azad

AMIT BHADURI, *OUTLOOK*, January 2011

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

“HERE 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 a 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 organisation, 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, Sukhamari 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 realise 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 Hemchandra 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 'overground' work. Azad, for instance, was found in a place not far from the Singarini coal mines, where he had worked to organise 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.

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 travelling 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 travelling 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 travelled 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.)

Azad encounter: SC upset over 'the republic killing its own'

Jan 14, 2011

New Delhi Upset over "the republic killing its own children", the Supreme Court on Friday sought the response of the Centre and the Andhra Pradesh government on a plea for judicial probe into the killings of top Maoist leader Cherukuri Rajkumar and journalist Hemchandra Pandey in an alleged fake encounter six months ago.

"We cannot allow the republic killing its own children," a Bench of Justices Aftab Alam and R M Lodha said while issuing notices to the Centre and the state government on a petition filed by social activist Swami Agnivesh and Pandey's 30-year-old widow Babita.

Seeking the two governments' replies to the petition within six weeks, the Bench said, "We hope there will be a answer. There will be a good and convincing answer."

"The government will have to answer so many questions," it said.

Rajkumar alias Azad, a senior member of banned CPI (Maoist) Central Committee, and Pandey, who was dubbed by the police as a Maoist, were killed in an alleged fake encounter on the intervening night of July 1-2, 2010, in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh, close to Maharashtra.

Seeking judicial probe into the killings, the petition alleged that the post-mortem reports of both the persons and a fact-finding exercise carried out by rights groups clearly indicate that the encounter was not genuine.

The petitioners referred to the fact-finding carried out by Coordination of Democratic Rights Organisations (CDRO), a national coalition of human rights organisations, that both were killed by the Andhra Pradesh Police in blatant violation of their rights under Articles 14 and 21 of the Constitution.

The petitions listed for hearing on January 14 alleged that Azad, 58, who carried a reward of Rs 12 lakh on his head and Pandey, 32 were killed from a very close range which is evident from the post-mortem reports of both the persons.

Is Kalpana asking too much ? UAPA Marches On

By Nisha Biswas, Dec 28, 2010

West Bengal police's Special Task Force (STF) claimed to arrest five persons including Sudip Chongdar alias Kanchan, State Secretary of CPI(Maoist), Kalpana Maiti alias Anu, wife of senior Maoist leader Anil Ghosh alias Akash, Barun Sur alias Bidyut, and Anil Ghosh alias Bijoy, all members of state committee. Arrested too is Shankar Mallick alias Buchu, said to be a Maoist linkman. This happened on December 3, 2010, though it is said that they were picked a week before by state police.

All five, so far, have been produced in court four times for extension of police remand, which is now extended till December 31, 2010. This is the longest police remand, 30 days at a stretch, so far awarded to any person arrested under UAPA (Unlawful Activities Prevention Act). On all these days of Court production, all of them were brought hand tied and blind folded. They also had to talk to their lawyer and sign on legal papers like Vakalat – Nama etc., blind folded. They were not even allowed to talk to their lawyer, leaving aside the presence of lawyer during interrogation according to NHRC guidelines. Their family members too are not allowed to meet them. Even Court too has denied them the right to meet their loved ones. Till date they are unable to provide them with additional set of clothes or warm clothes in this cold winter.

In the Court of Chief Metropolitan, all five of them including Kalpana Maiti are huddled together in Court lock-up. This kind of treatment towards a woman accused is unheard of. In Courtrooms where generally there is no separate lock-up for women, women accused are brought separately and are generally made to sit on a bench flanked by women guards. Kalpana Maiti is denied the minimum dignity that a woman commands. One wonders, if this is the kind of treatment Kalpana Maiti is receiving in a public place, what would be happening to her in secrecy in the name of interrogation?

December 27, 2010 was a heart wrenching experience in the Court of Chief Metropolitan. Not able to withstand indignity and torture, Kalpana Maiti sought permission from Court to say something. On not being allowed to speak, she started complaining on her own regarding the ill treatment and torture that she is meeting every moment of police custody. According to her, because of severe spondylitis she cannot sit for ten minutes, whereas in police custody she is made to sit for more than ten hours at a stretch every day. Though doctor has examined her and has prescribed medicine, no medicine is provided. With tears in her eyes and choked voice she complained in front of all that during her menstruation cycle, she is not provided with the sanitary napkins to maintain the necessary hygiene and is forced to suffer extreme indignity. Then her lawyer articulated her complaints before the honorable Court, but no remedy was provided. She was denied a life of dignity.

At a time when we are expressing our deep anguish, concern and anger on murder of justice in the case of Dr Vinayek Sen, Piyush Guha and Narayan Sanyal, it appears state's intolerance to dissent has reached unprecedented heights where basic humanity too is forgotten. ●

Support and express solidarity with the Political Prisoners who are on an Indefinite Hunger Strike in Medinipur Central Jail from 10th December (Human Rights Day) 2010

CRPP Press Release : 24-12-2010

Nearly 150 political prisoners-mostly under trial-incarcerated in the Medinipur Central Jail-which the government calls 'Correctional Home'-will start hunger strike from 10th December 2010 on the Human Rights Day for an indefinite period-true to the long tradition of hunger strikes organized by political prisoners in Medinipur as also other jails of West Bengal and outside in near and distant past. The prisoners include those arrested on the charge of having Maoist links, or becoming members of the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA) that spearheaded the Lalgarh movement from November 2008, or common villagers standing by the cause. Many of these prisoners have been languishing in jail for years together in abysmal conditions virtually without trial.

The Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) express wholehearted support to the striking prisoners and urge all democratic forces throughout India and other parts of the world to raise their voice in support of their just demands.

The demands placed by the prisoners to the authorities are as follows:

1. The joint forces should be withdrawn and the 'Operation Green-hunt' stopped immediately and the government should sit for a dialogue with the PCAPA without delay.
2. Section 144 should be immediately withdrawn, and there should be unrestricted entry of all newsmen, intellectuals and other people.
3. Legal steps should be taken against the CPI(M) hermits.
4. Judicial enquiry should be initiated for the murder of all leaders, members and supporters of the People's Committee including Lalmohan Tudu, Sidhu and Umakanto Mahato, and offenders should be brought to book.
5. The cooked up charges against all the prisoners incarcerated in the jails of West Bengal on political grounds, including those arrested from Jungle Mahal should be withdrawn and the prisoners released unconditionally.
6. Repeal all draconian acts including the UAPA and the AFSPA.
7. Prisoners imprisoned on political grounds should be given the status of political prisoners and the government should have to bear the cost of maintaining their families.
8. Prisoners should be given opportunity to meet the members of their families and receive necessary articles from them in Medinipur court.
9. After arrest, no participant in a movement should be made to "disappear" illegally. Everyone should be produced in court within 24 hours.
10. Nobody should be 'shown arrested' by tagging in one false case after another.
11. Judicial enquiry should be initiated in all cases of rape including those in Sonamukhi and the offenders brought to book.
12. Old men and women in the Jungle Mahal should be given adequate old-age pension and widows given widow-pension, and all in this connection should be paid off immediately.
13. All surplus grain kept in the FCI godowns should be immediately distributed among the poor people of Jungle Mahal, and not to be allowed to either rot or be burnt.
14. Stop biased investigation into the Jnaneswari Express sabotage and initiate neutral investigation; a neutral investigation team should be formed with people from cross-sections of society and actual culprits should be punished.
15. Indian army in Kashmir should be immediately withdrawn. The hopes and aspirations of the people of the land should be honoured.
16. Persons involved in the destruction of Babri Masjid and subsequent riots should be given exemplary punishment.
17. Prisoners confined in the cells should be allowed to meet other prisoners. The illegal system that segregates one prisoner from another should be immediately stopped.
18. Those among the life-convict prisoners who have already passed 14 years of incarceration should be set free immediately.
19. Telephone service should be introduced inside jails and every prisoner be allowed to avail himself/herself of this opportunity.
20. Instead of every prisoner being forced to have his beard cut with one common razor, each prisoner should be allowed to have a separate arrangement of his own.
21. Arrangement should be made for the supply of water inside the cells for 24 hours and the inhuman custom of carrying water drums over shoulders should be stopped immediately.
22. Arrangement should be made for political prisoners to take political classes inside prisons. No political literature can be seized by the jail authority.
23. Political prisoners should be allowed to contact media persons outside and they should be allowed the right to have their political writings published in different newspapers.
24. Intellectuals coming to meet political prisoners should be allowed to have table interview with them.
25. The newly-proposed system of payment of daily wage Rs.100.00 to convicts should be implemented immediately; wages should not be kept due.
26. Prisoners seeking a copy each of West Bengal Correctional Services Act and the Jail Code should be provided one copy each.
27. Canteens should be introduced inside Medinipur Jail.
28. Political prisoners should be provided with all the daily newspapers at government expense.
29. Proper infrastructure for treatment in Medinipur Jail Hospital should be made and necessary machines installed. ●

[We are publishing the following article by Executive Committee-Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines keeping in view its significance for revolutionaries in understanding the LIC policies of the US imperialists]

US Counterinsurgency Guide 2009 : Guide to imperialist intervention and aggression and counterrevolutionary war

The US COIN Guide was issued by the US government in January 2009. It presents US imperialism's current official doctrine in fighting revolutionary armed struggle in colonial and semicolonial countries.

It is allegedly the product of summed-up experiences in implementing "counterinsurgency" in various parts of the globe for the past 40 years and was the result of collaborative efforts of nine US government agencies and/or offices led by the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, Department of State.

The agencies involved in writing the US COIN Guide 2009 are the Department of State, Department of Defense, Department of Justice, Department of The Treasury, Department of Homeland Security, Department of Agriculture, Department of Transportation, Office of the Director of National Intelligence and the US Agency for International Development.

Through the document, the US government speaks as a sole superpower and self-appointed international policeman. It unabashedly presents the various types and levels of interference and intervention, which are undertaken with or without the permission of the targeted subject of 'assistance' or client government, in the name of fighting "insurgency."

US imperialism estimates that it is armed revolutions that pose major and growing threats to the US' international power in the 21st century. With the crash of the international capitalist system in the Long Depression since 2008, the US anticipates the explosion of widespread people's dissent, armed revolutions and upheavals. US planners also anticipate only a remote possibility that the US will be embroiled in a thoroughly conventional war against other governments in the immediate future.

The Guide covers all aspects of COIN and intervention by the US' military and non-military agencies although it stresses the non-military components and tasks of civilian agencies. It clarifies that these are complementary to existing COIN manuals and guides issued by the US military.

In providing guidelines for US intervention, it noticeably avoids being colored by the jingoism, arrogance and unilateralism of Bush's "global war on terror." As a guide to COIN, it strikingly avoids Vietnam War-era terms and presentations. Its goal is to refurbish imperialist intervention to make it broader and more efficient, actively mobilize civilian agencies and personnel, and draw in more international and local agencies/actors.

The Filipino people have a particular interest in the US COIN Guide because ever since Bush declared the Philippines as the second arena in the "counter-terrorist" war, American troops have continued and expanded their direct intervention and permanent basing as well as their civil and military operations and foreign internal defense in the country. Although claiming to fight the terrorism of the Abu Sayaf bandit group, the growing targets of US intervention are the MILF and NDFP, with the COIN Guide being applied to the hilt against them.

The COIN Guide must be studied to enable us to more sharply monitor and grasp the operations and schemes not only of US troops but the aggressive networking being done by US Ambassador Harry Thomas Jr., the successive visits of high-ranking US officials, the USAID's prominent role, the enhanced military and economic aid, the psywar experts' hype of "Cory's legacy" upon her death and the support for Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino III's candidacy and the aggressive promotion of reformist illusions after the election.

We also anticipate that the COIN Guide will likely have a major influence on the COIN plan that the Aquino regime will be drafting in place of OBL.

The use of the terms "insurgency" and "counterinsurgency" was purposely done by the imperialists and their puppets to evade the historic-political, national and class-societal bases and framework for the struggle between revolution and reaction. Such terms are also instruments in the effort to criminalize and isolate the armed revolution. It is part of the bureaucratic, technocratic and technique-oriented style,

concept and presentation and muddles the issue of imperialist intervention and control and the suppression of the just and revolutionary struggle of oppressed nations and peoples.

Massive psywar operations simultaneous with violent armed repression

The document presents the counterinsurgency doctrine's formula—conducting massive psywar operations alongside violent armed repression with US imperialism playing a direct and calibrated role depending on its estimate of the needed level of intervention. The counterinsurgency doctrine has been redesigned and promoted in the name of counterterrorism, defense of democracy, reforming and stabilizing weak governments, resolving the people's poverty, long-term economic development and winning the people's support.

The massive psywar operations and violent armed repression formula should supposedly be undertaken simultaneously and molded into a single counterinsurgency strategy in every affected country. The counterinsurgency strategy has five components—the four tasks (“politics,” “economy,” “security,” and “information”) that all redound to “control” as the fifth component.

Of the four, the US COIN Guide states that “politics” is the key, and at its center lies the establishment of a prevailing political setup where formal democratic processes are credible and acceptable to the people. This is the key in a “counterinsurgency” strategy in the sense that it allegedly plays a decisive role in winning back the people from the insurgency to the fold of government and serves as the main framework for implementing the other components of the “counterinsurgency strategy.”

If the illusion of a government that implements reforms, addresses the people's interests and advances the agenda of economic development can be created, they can supposedly “eliminate the reason for the insurgency's existence,” win the people's support, marginalize the “insurgent” armed force and violently suppress it.

The components of the massive psywar operation, dubbed in the document as the “population-centric approach” are the following:

1. setting up a credible government
2. creating so-called genuine indicators of economic development
3. mobilizing the reactionary armed forces in non-traditional military tasks such as participating in socio-economic projects and providing assistance during calamities in order to create an image of public service
4. implementing so-called reforms in the security sector which comprises the police, armed forces and judiciary in order to strengthen the reactionary state
5. actively seeking and collating information from the population to shape their psywar propaganda in the mass media and manipulate public opinion in favor of reactionary rule and against armed uprising

The violent armed repression of the people's armed resistance comprises the so-called “enemy-centric approach” and covers the usual military parameters—number of “insurgents” killed, number of firearms recovered, extent of reduction of areas covered, neutralization of the leadership, destruction of identified centers of gravity of the enemy; use of various strategies against the revolutionary armed forces: “soft” and “hard,” direct and indirect, violent and non-violent, decapitation and marginalization.

The US will thus continue providing aid to the armed forces of affected governments in the form of financial assistance, equipment and resources, training and if needed, forces directly operating within the affected country as part of civil-military assistance or direct assistance in internal defense or direct military intervention by US troops.

The favored political atmosphere in a counterinsurgency strategy

US counterinsurgency strategy favors a political atmosphere that cultivates an image of reform in order to assert the legitimacy of the ruling system and government.

In determining the different ways of dealing with various forms of people's resistance, US imperialism presumes that it would be best for its interests if the political atmosphere is one that always provides opportunities to pacify dissent and resistance from the oppressed and exploited people. US imperialism also calls this the “release valve,” a way of channeling heat whenever dissent intensifies and the people are determined to wage resistance. Among the “tried and tested” methods of US imperialism and its local reactionary co-conspirators are:

- formal democratic processes in the form of elections, referenda and judicial systems. The more credible these processes are, the better.

For instance, in the recently concluded elections, we gathered from reliable sources that the US played a direct role, from choosing Noynoy Aquino as the favored candidate after sensing the people's sentiments upon former Pres. Corazon Aquino's death, helping form a "psywar team" that worked with the mass media in contesting other rival candidates for the presidency, manipulating the results of the automated elections to make it appear that Noynoy Aquino won through a landslide victory, and drumming up praise for the automated polls as an example of a clean and successful election.

- choosing a puppet who is acceptable to the people and is able to project a reformist image. This type of puppet can be used to continue creating the illusion among the exploited and oppressed people that there is "hope for change."

- implementing selective reforms that will not touch on substantive social issues, but are designed to deceive the people and lead them to "believe" in the ruling regime.

Among the examples that can be cited are President Aquino's pronouncements and steps focusing on small and shallow reforms—a ban on the use of sirens by VIPs, the revocation of midnight appointments, an alleged call to respect human rights, the implementation of economic projects mainly attuned to providing infrastructural support for foreign investments, the establishment of a Truth Commission—while purposely avoiding the issues of implementing genuine land reform and genuine industrialization, raising workers' wages and defending national sovereignty.

US imperialism considers an acceptable political atmosphere as the key or the decisive component in ending or defeating "insurgency" in a country. Using such an atmosphere, it aims to accomplish the following:

1. To have an effective channel for various types of US imperialist assistance to the ruling system, among them financial aid, economic projects and military assistance.

2. To facilitate the legal basis for further and more unencumbered US imperialist intervention in the country's economy, politics and military.

A particular agenda of US imperialism in the Philippines is changing the reactionary constitution to eradicate obstacles to its unhampered control of the country's economy, politics and military

3. Win over what it calls the "insurgency's soft support" among the people. (They consider as "soft support" those who they believe only sympathize with the "insurgency" not for reasons of ideology or adherence to its political program but due to personal circumstances).

4. Forge effective unity among the different government units and agencies.

5. Mobilize the middle forces (especially the urban petty bourgeoisie) as the voice of their support among the people.

6. Isolate the revolutionary movement through "psywar operations" in the mass media and among the people in accordance with the line that "there is no longer any reason to fight."

7. Achieve the armed suppression of the revolutionary forces with a minimum of disquiet or opposition from the middle forces and the people.

Parallel implementation and the right relationship between psywar operations and violent armed suppression

Identifying an acceptable political atmosphere as the key component of "counter-insurgency" does not mean that the armed mode of eliminating the revolutionary forces shall take second priority to "reforms" and the "soft" approach.

Different sections of the US COIN Guide repeatedly point out that the right relationship between the various components is not sequential or serial but rather parallel and emphasize that the subject is armed resistance. It thus points out that the establishment of an acceptable political atmosphere should be accomplished alongside economic reforms (actually economic projects in accordance with the policy of globalization), armed suppression of revolutionary forces and mass intelligence and information gathering among the populace to be used against revolutionary forces and employed by the political entity in its 'psywar operations' against the people.

In fact, among the important roles of an acceptable political atmosphere is to make the armed elimination of the revolutionary forces acceptable to the people.

The US COIN Guide is the doctrine now being applied by the AFP and used in guiding the extended OBL. The following operational principles of the AFP therefore remain: "holistic approach" which means the simultaneous conduct of operations in rural and urban areas, "operations in depth," identifying and striking supposed centers-of-gravity of the revolutionary movement, dissemination of what they consider

as successful models of “counterinsurgency” such as the Palparan model, the Gomez model, the de Mesa model, the Bustillo model, and the “Cougar concept of clearing the RA and WA.” But in accordance with the US COIN Guide, these principles will be made more deceptive and their psywar or CMO component enhanced.

The US has increased and upgraded its military assistance to the Aquino government and the AFP in the form of modern weapons, precision-guided missiles, state of the art equipment and training in intelligence gathering and the regular conduct of the Joint US-RP Balikatan military exercises.

The program of the reactionary and puppet Aquino government also includes the expansion of the AFP and the police in order to achieve a 10:1 ratio of reactionary troops to NPA fighters without abandoning the Abu Sayyaf and the MILF problem, and ostensibly to protect the country’s growing population.

The US COIN Guide teaches quick adaptability and flexibility of strategy.

US imperialism prescribes psywar operations as the center of gravity of the counterinsurgency strategy against “protracted and complex insurgencies.” But it immediately points out that the doctrine is only a guide and it expects that the strategy in the actual stage of conflict would not take a “linear” course but a combination of different approaches, strategies and methods.

Calibrated US intervention

The US defines various levels of intervention, from the lowest to the highest, in implementing the adopted counterinsurgency strategy in a particular country. Direct and open intervention is a sensitive matter that the US would not resort to as long as “low-profile” and “low-cost, small footprint” intervention works. It is always wary of public opinion in the US regarding direct armed intervention and the associated costs.

The US Mission’s Country Team, in close coordination with the State Department, is the central element in managing the implementation of US COIN strategies, plans and programs in the target countries. The Country Team is headed by the Chief of Mission (COM) in coordination with the Department of State. The US ambassador himself acts as COM and represents the US president in the country concerned and is responsible for endorsing and implementing US policies as well as supervising all government employees in that country.

The US ambassador has extraordinary authority as the highest official in the country being subjected to intervention in times of crisis and unstable situations. In the absence of the ambassador, the Charge d’Affaires represents the Secretary of State as the highest official in that country.

The different levels of US imperialist intervention from the lowest to the highest includes Mission Augmentation, Single Expert Advisor, Civil-Military Assistance, Foreign Internal Defense, and Direct COIN Intervention.

Mission Augmentation. Mission Augmentation involves the deployment of an additional team of specialists on civil and military affairs to assist the Country Team in its tasks. The entry of the augmentation mission is covert. It is considered to be most suitable when the “insurgency” in a certain country is at its early stages. It is also the method of choice if the other levels of US intervention are too sensitive politically.

Single Expert Advisor. The Single Expert Advisor (SEA) is an adviser (either military or civilian) who is directly embedded in the staff of the government involved. The SEA shall be in close consultation with the affected government to give advice and training and assist elected government officials in handling the insurgency. He or she assesses the situation, develops plans and capabilities to support the affected government and gives advice in employing and tasking additional US personnel.

Civil-Military Assistance. Civil-Military Assistance involves the deployment of specialists as a Joint Inter-agency Task Force that will directly work with civilian and military agencies of the government involved. It can embed group members or set up detachments in key positions in the affected government to extend support, advice, technical assistance, education and training.

However, team members usually do not engage in direct confrontation with the “insurgency.” It uses the Civil-Military Assistance Program to develop an Internal Defense and Development Strategy in consultation with the affected government and serve as conduit for assistance from the international community. It operates independently of the Country Team but under the COM. If the security threat is assessed to be severe, it can operate under a military authority. Unlike Foreign Internal Defense, it remains under civilian leadership and is just supported by the military. The US considers this level of intervention as less costly and sustainable in the long term. It intends to keep the small size of the civil-military assistance team and give it enough time before relief to increase its affectivity relative to cost.

In the Philippines, the level of US intervention can be assessed to be in the third level (Civil-Military Assistance) based on the US' own statement about its mission in the southern Philippines (Mindanao) against the Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamiyah and supposed al Qaeda operatives in the area. Also present in different parts of the country is the so-called US Humanitarian Mission being enforced by US troops along with the AFP. It has also been proven in several instances that US troops are directly engaging in combat operations against the Abu Sayyaf, MILF and the NPA.

Foreign Internal Defense. Foreign Internal Defense involves the deployment of military teams usually from the US Special Operations Command to support the affected government. Its difference from Civil-Military Assistance is its military leadership although it also receives substantial support from various agencies of the US government. The scope, size, budget allocation and level of direct open intervention may vary but the level is definitely lower than Direct COIN Intervention.

Direct COIN Intervention. Direct COIN Intervention involves the outright deployment of sizable US troops to undertake a military counterinsurgency campaign in the affected country. Depending upon the objectives of the US, this can be the first option or measure (as in Iraq and Afghanistan) or the last resort if the intervention levels discussed above fail.

The US COIN strategy is bound to fail

The US COIN strategy is bound to fail in eliminating the legitimate and just resistance of the people against the domination of US imperialism and the local ruling class. It can be compared to a swimmer diving into the water with a heavy rock tied to his neck.

The heavy rock is precisely the objective of eliminating the people's legitimate and just resistance in order to perpetuate their rule, exploitation and oppression. No real change can be expected so long as the people are oppressed and exploited. The US only intends to deceive them through token schemes in order to further squeeze and impoverish the people and weaken their struggle.

The severe crisis besetting the world and the country is unmistakable. As exploitation and oppression worsen, the people's resistance will also intensify. Whatever volume of resources or number of personnel the US pours in will end up in the dustbin of history as it confronts a people determined to gain their freedom and achieve genuine democracy.

Our Tasks

Although we are certain that the US COIN strategy will fail, it requires considerable effort to expose, fight and frustrate the scheme in part and in whole, in the short and the long run.

To be able to expose, resist and frustrate the US COIN strategy, we must accomplish the following urgent tasks:

1. Sharply draw the line between revolution and reformism. Firmly grasp, uphold and put to practice in every revolutionary undertaking the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and antifascist line. Reformism and any pretensions at instituting reforms can only be exposed and defanged by upholding the class struggle, the real and basic interests of the people against their class enemies.

2. Establish closer links with the masses through the advancement of the basic mass movement and mass struggles. Through this, we can reach the people in their millions, draw them to the path of armed revolution and strengthen the just basis of armed struggle.

3. Resolutely raise the people's war to a higher level. Fulfill the requirements to advance to the stage of full-scale guerrilla warfare and lay down the basis for advancing to the strategic stalemate.

4. Tirelessly raise the level of political consciousness of the people through intensive and extensive political education, propaganda work and cultural work.

5. Establish the broad united front of the oppressed and exploited, divide the ranks of the enemy, isolate and fight one chief puppet of the reactionary state after another.

6. Intensify tit-for-tat and intensive and extensive propaganda work in order to shatter all kinds of deception, expose the fascist crimes and counterrevolutionary designs of the US and its local puppet and other local ruling classes.

7. Expose and oppose US imperialist schemes in the country and bring these issues to the US and international arenas.

The leading Party organs and committees at the national and regional levels will formulate particular plans to direct the entire Party organization and the revolutionary movement at various levels. ✱

MIB condemns gagging of Kurdish Newspapers by the despotic Turkey Government

Turkey: Two Kurdish newspapers suspended; magazine copies seized

IPS Communication Foundation, 7 September 2010

Kurdish newspapers “Azadiya Welat” and “Rojev” have been suspended for one month under allegations of “spreading propaganda for a terrorist organization”. Similarly, copies of the left-wing “Gunev” magazine were confiscated.



The “Rojev” paper had just resumed publishing after a long break on 24 August 2010 before the Istanbul 11th High Criminal Court decreed the one-month publication ban. The decision was based on the 36th issue of the Kurdish paper, published on 28 August, which featured a picture of Abdullah Ocalan, imprisoned leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), and a PKK flag on the front page. Additionally, a chart depicting Ocalan and other members of the militant organization published on page eight of the same issue was given as a reason for the ban.

On 21 August, the Istanbul 14th High Criminal Court suspended the publication of “Azadiya Welat”, the only nation-wide Kurdish daily published in Turkey, on the grounds of “spreading propaganda for an illegal organization” and “praising criminals”. The decision stemmed from the paper’s 21 August issue.

Editor-in-chief M. Nedim Karadeniz said that the newspaper has “faced unlawful bans” for eight issues within the past four years. He added that the daily had already been closed down three times since the beginning of the year.

“None of these suspension punishments were in line with universal law. As a matter of fact, Turkey was convicted by the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in similar cases related to newspapers stemming from the tradition of the Free Press. Imagine a judiciary system where all the news and articles in the current issue of a twelve-page newspaper are considered a crime,” the editor-in-chief said.

The decision is based on the Anti Terror Law (TMY). While the Constitutional Court recently ruled that this law does not contravene the Constitution, the use of the law resulted in several rulings against Turkey at the ECHR. While the seizure was ordered in accordance with Article 25/2 of the Press Law (Confiscation and Prohibition of Distribution and Sale), the publication ban was based on Article 6/last paragraph (Disclosure and Publication) of the TMY.

Former “Azadiya Welat” chief editors Vedat Kursun and Ozan Kilic are still in prison, as is “Hawar” newspaper official Bedri Adanir.

The 2010 first quarterly issue of “Gunev” magazine was confiscated following a decision by the Mersin 2nd Magistrate Criminal Court. However, the issue does not mention the name of any illegal organization. The police seized the copies on 26 August from the magazine’s printing house in Mersin (eastern Mediterranean coast), after informing the staff about the ruling. The police delivered a written notice about the court decision to the magazine’s central office in the Esenyurt district of Istanbul.

The article entitled “Rights of (Kurdish) children in the dungeon”, written by Ali Dagdeviren, was given as the reason for the seizure. However, the article does not mention the name of any organization. The writing criticized the “treatment of thousands of Kurdish children” despite the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, both of which have been ratified by the Turkish government.

A statement by the magazine said, “This mentality which fills prisons with thousands of children could not tolerate an article criticizing this situation”.

From: Frontlines of Revolutionary Struggle, at:

<http://revolutionaryfrontlines.wordpress.com/2010/09/10/turkey-two-kurdish-newspapers-suspended-magazine-copies-seized/#more-7699>

ITBP tries to become a champion of OGH – Gets ambushed by PLGA as a result

Condemn the brutal killing of children and villagers of Savargaon by ITBP

ITBP forces have been perpetrating innumerable atrocities on the people since they were deployed in 2009 in Rajnandgoan district. Since their base camp was established in Kohka there was no end to their harassment of people. They used to attack the Maharashtra villages on the border. In the first week of October, 2010, the enemy forces attacked three villages at night and arrested 24 persons and took them away. They were beaten and sent to jail. Posters were put up condemning the arrests of villagers done by the police in September and October and demanding their release. The people and the PLGA wanted to teach a lesson to the forces which were going on harassing people with atrocities, arrests etc and stop them in their tracks. So they planned an ambush on ITBP.

The Savargaon ambush took place on ITBP jawans who were traveling in two gypsy vehicles on 8-10-2010 between Kohka and Savargaon in Tipragad area (Dhanora tehsil, Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra). Three ITBP jawans were wiped out and one was seriously injured. One gypsy vehicle was completely damaged. One Insas LMG, two magazines and 93 cartridges were seized by the PLGA guerillas. The PLGA could conduct this ambush in a plain area and within just a distance of one or two kilometers from the camp only because of the support of the people. The people were indeed fed up by the day to day violence of the jawans.

There was no resistance whatsoever from the “brave” jawans supposed to guard the borders to “defend” the country against “enemy forces” but are strangely deployed in the heart of India against the people of their own country?! But there was retaliation and how?! They took their revenge on innocent school children by firing shells on their ashram school from inside their camp as they were afraid even to come out of their camp. Three school children, one old man from the village and one woman peon were killed in this attack and ten children were wounded. This has once again proved that the security forces are indeed deployed to attack the poor peasants and not any ‘enemies of the country’.

Afraid that this would backlash against them they immediately began foul propaganda that the Maoists had attacked the school and killed the children and villagers. The people who were direct victims of their atrocities and who also knew the fact that PLGA never attacks its own people refuted these claims and stated very clearly to the fact finding teams(s) which visited the place about the truth behind the massacre. The height of the ‘terror tactics’ of the security forces can be gauged from the fact that even before the FF team returned, the police began arresting those villagers who had talked to the team. The team immediately turned back and got them released. This is just one more instance which proves the increasing fascization of the forces.

Perpetrators of atrocities will be taught a lesson by the poor peasants

Perimili – Talwada ambushes prove this fact

Sub-Inspector More of Perimili station was a notorious goon and went on harassing the poor peasants of the area. The people were so fed up with his atrocities that they wished to eliminate him. Accordingly, PLGA had conducted an ambush at Perimili on 4-10-2010 at 4.40 p.m. on the vehicle carrying him. Thanedar More (SI), an inspector rank officer from CRPF, a head constable and a driver of head constable rank were wiped out in this ambush and the PLGA team seized an AK-47 from the site.

Another ambush was conducted at Talwada on 5-1-2010 at 8.30 a.m. on a mine-proof vehicle carrying C-60 commandos while they were going to the place of Perimili ambush the next day morning. They were going in five mine-proof vehicles and the PLGA blasted the fifth one. Eight C-60 commandos traveling in that vehicle were injured in this blast. After this the enemy did not dare to come by road and finally took the dead bodies of the police from the Perimili ambush site in helicopters. C-60 commandos are hated by the people for their brutality on ordinary peasants and particularly on young women and girls who are raped by them. The people of Gadchiroli would never forget the abduction and gang rape of Vandana, a teenage girl by the notorious C-60 commandos.

That was why people gave active support to the PLGA guerillas who but numbered very few to conduct these two ambushes and they could not have been conducted without their help. *

News from the Counter-revolutionary Camp

Interview | DG CRPF, Vikram Srivastava

'Intelligence Set-up of the CRPF is in the Process of Being Put in Place in Various Theatres'

Director General, Central Reserve Police Force, Vikram Srivastava

Challenges as the DG

'The CRPF is deployed in various states to assist the state government/state police to meet the challenges of internal security 'The CRPF has to ensure that this is done smoothly in close coordination and cooperation with the state authorities. In order to meet the challenges of internal security, particularly the Naxal menace, the CRPF is conducting intelligence-based joint operations along with the state police. These joint operations along with the state police will effectively contain the Naxal menace in the times ahead. The force is also effectively meeting the challenges of providing connectivity at all operational locations, so that the troops deployed in remote areas are able to get in touch with their family members from time to time. Their families also feel relaxed once they are able to personally speak to the jawans.



Criticism of the CRPF

I have seen various newspaper reports, wherein the CRPF has been criticised for its training and tactics. These critical comments are the personal perceptions of those who have authored the reports and I don't agree with those. I may clarify that the CRPF is a time-tested force, which has exclusive units for various roles and operational theatres in different parts of the country. For instance, we have the Rapid Action Force, the Special Action Force, the Mahila Units, etc. We need to understand that the CBPF is deployed in different theatres throughout the country and each theatre has its own challenges. The terrain in each theatre is different, the adversary is different and hence the modus operandi that the CRPF has to adopt is also different. The troops are imparted pre-induction training when they are deployed in a new theatre which enables them to reorient themselves to face the challenges of that particular theatre.

Importance of Training

Basic training and specialised training is extremely important. The CBPF has five training centres to impart basic training and four institutions for specialised training and to undergo pre-promotional courses. We ensure that the troops are adequately trained to keep the CBPF flag flying high.

Modernisation

Up-gradation of equipment is an ongo in process. The CRPF is deployed in different theatres and hence different kind of additional equipments are provided to handle the challenges. In various theatres the situation is dynamic and hence the requirement has also to be suitably met. We have procured modern riot and crowd control gear, particularly for the troops deployed in various areas in Kashmir to meet the challenges of severe stone pelting which has caused injuries to large number of our jawans.

Security Related Expenditure

The CRPF has been provided with enough funds to meet all our expenditures. I may clarify that funds for security related expenditure (SRsE) is being provided to the state governments. The requirement of infrastructure at various locations is also being met by the state governments from these funds. The requirements of the CRPF, in terms of funds, are being fully met and the force has no problem as far as funds are concerned.

SAF Vs CRPF

Special Action Force is a part of the CRPF. It is a well trained force for ensuring 'resolute action'. Yes, we have six battalions and would be raising some more this year. There will be a rotation of personnel of the SAF at the appropriate time.

Age Profile

I may clarify that a young age profile is maintained in our specialised units as per ground requirements. Further, the CRPF units have a suitable mix of the young and the experienced personnel. After all, we have different ranks and they all cannot be of the same age profile.

Shortfall of Officers

I may clarify that direct recruitment of gazetted officers is being done by the UPSC and for the sub inspectors, recruitment is being done by the staff selection commission. Vacancies arise from time to time for various reasons. While some personnel avail voluntary retirement schemes, some also leave when they are selected for the All India Services.

War on Maoists

The CRPF and other CPMFs are deployed in the LWE-affected states to meet the challenge of Naxalism. The CRPF and other CPMFs are conducting joint operations along with state police. We are also facilitating various developmental initiatives which are being undertaken by the state authorities in the areas of our deployment. I am sure that the CPMFs would be able to effectively contain and eradicate the Naxal menace in the years ahead. Four inspector generals of CRPF have already been placed in the state of Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and West Bengal to exclusively coordinate anti-Naxal operations. This arrangement would surely result in focussed and meticulous planning of all intelligence-based joint operations in the Naxal-affected states.

Integral Intelligence

The intelligence set up of the CRPF is in the process of being put in place in various theatres. Intelligence inputs at all places of deployments would further improve the effectiveness of intelligence-based operations.

Two CRPFs

I am not aware of any suggestion regarding bifurcation of the CRPF. It is a well-knit time tested force, where the personnel and officers are rotated from one theatre of operation to another. Rotation of troops is a well-recognised principle in all armed forces of the Union.

Men and Morale

The morale of the personnel is a very important aspect and remains uppermost in the minds of supervisory officers. Proper rotation of troops, provision of all basic facilities/amenities, grant of leave, messing arrangements, medical back-up, time for rest and recuperation, welfare measures for the family and education of children are very important aspects, which go a long way in maintaining high morale and we are doing our very best to ensure high level of morale.

[From 'FORCE' August 2010 issue]

Chidambaram visits Gadchiroli to review security

Mumbai, December 28. Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram visited the Maoist stronghold of Gadchiroli district in eastern Maharashtra to review the security scenario and discuss development plans for the area, an official said.

Chidambaram was accompanied by Maharashtra's Home Minister R.R. Patil and Director General of Police D. Sivanandan. Chidambaram met Gadchiroli District Collector Atul Patne at the district headquarters, reviewed the security measures taken, and also discussed development plans with officials.

He then visited a Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) camp in the Murunga forest, about 30 km from the district town. He later addressed local police personnel and CRPF troopers in Dhanora area, which had seen Maoist guerillas set a panchayat building afire ahead of his visit. No casualties were reported. Officials said it was the first time that a union home minister has visited Gadchiroli, one of the districts affected by Maoist violence. Chidambaram returns to Mumbai in the evening. Gadchiroli, about 950 km from here bordering Andhra Pradesh, has been a troubled area with Maoist guerillas frequently targeting security forces and government property. In October last year, 18 police personnel were killed when Maoists ambushed the police.

[We are giving excerpts from three articles written by two research assistants and a research fellow at 'Institute for Conflict Management' to understand the perception of the ruling classes about the Maoist movement in the country]

A Withering Green

By Fakir Mohan Pradhan/ South Asia Intelligence Review

The Union Ministry of Home Affairs' (MHA) rhetoric during the early months of the United Progressive Alliance II (UPA II) Government, about facing down the Communist party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist) squarely excited great enthusiasm in the media, and a 'massive crackdown' on the Maoists was much awaited.

A 'clear, hold and develop strategy' was projected by the MHA, and an impression created that major operations were imminent. Some Central Forces were shuffled about, and an 'intensification of operations' did occur, but, insufficiently thought out, the strategy quickly backfired, producing massive Security Forces (SF) fatalities.

At about the same time, the Chhattisgarh Police, along with the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) Combat Battalion for Resolute Action (CoBRA, also known as the Special Action Force, SAF) launched an operation against the Maoists in the Dantewada District in September 2009, christening it Operation Green Hunt (OGH).

The name stuck with the media, and every anti-Maoist operation anywhere in the country was quickly dubbed OGH, and attributed to the Centre's 'massive and coordinated operations'.

Thus, when 18 companies of the Central Paramilitary Forces (CPMFs) were deployed in Maoist infested areas close to the tri-junction of Maharashtra-Andhra Pradesh-Chhattisgarh in the first week of November 2009, this was reported as the beginning of the first phase of OGH. However, Police later clarified that this operation merely signalled the observance of 'Police Week'.

Again, on December 3, 2009, against the backdrop of anti-Maoist operations in Chhattisgarh it was widely reported that the Centre had launched its 'major offensive' against the Maoists in Chhattisgarh. The MHA again denied this, insisting that what was being witnessed was nothing but an "intensification" of earlier operations.

By December 18, 2009, when Jharkhand Assembly polls were coming to an end, the Union Government was set to send an additional 17,000 CPMFs to Maoist affected States to step up their anti-Naxalite [Left Wing Extremism] operations under its planned "major offensive". The idea was to have simultaneous operations at the junctions and tri-junctions of the affected States of Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa (now known as Odisha), Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Maharashtra.

A senior MHA official said the States already had 58,000 CPMFs — drawn from the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Border Security Force, Indo Tibetan Border Police, Sashastra Seema Bal and SAF — at their command. The additional deployment would increase the strength of CPMFs to nearly 75,000 [these calculations are based on full battalion strengths. Actual field deployments are roughly 40 per cent of these numbers].

An unnamed CRPF officer, stating that there were in for the "long haul", disclosed, "Operations are supposed to be launched secretly so that the forces can catch the ultras off guard. We are on the job and we will expand the area of operation gradually."

Roughly one year after the purported launch of the "major offensive", it was claimed on October 7, 2010, that Security Forces (SFs) had regained control over more than 10,000 square kilometres areas dominated by the Naxals in the six worst-affected States. Official sources described the success of the SFs as "very significant" as nearly 40,000 square kilometres had been 'controlled' by the Maoists in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh 'for the last several years'.

The source claimed, "We have got maximum gain in Chhattisgarh. We hope that the success will continue in the coming days." An earlier MHA report had claimed that, till June 2010, the SFs had managed to destroy as many as 120 Maoist training camps.

These gains, however, have largely been the consequence of quiet, intelligence-based operations, rather than the 'area domination' or 'clear and hold' approach, that had been projected as the Centre's operational strategy.

The claim of having 'recovered' 10,000 square kilometres area from Maoists, moreover, loses credibility as there is no clear identification of the areas supposedly reclaimed, or prior identification of areas allegedly controlled by the Maoists. The combined forces battling the Maoists in the seven worst-affected

States have also had little success in keeping fatalities – and particularly civilian and SF casualties – down.

Evidently, far from ‘intensifying’ their offensive, the SFs have been forced to go slow in the wake of a series of setbacks they have suffered, even as the Maoists have become more careful to preserve their strength in the unequal fight they are waging. [MHA data puts the total fatalities in 2010 (till October 31) in Left Wing Extremist Violence at 974 against the previous year’s total of 908 (or 1,125). The MHA released two different figures on different occasions for 2009].

Despite their reverses, the Maoists have been able to mount dramatic attacks on the SFs since the ‘offensive’ or ‘intensification of operations’ was initiated by the Centre.

The attacks on CRPF personnel at Chintalnad in Dantewada in Chhattisgarh on April 6, 2010, in which 75 CRPF personnel and one State Policeman were killed; the attack at Chingavaram in Dantewada on May 17, 2010, in which 44 persons – 16 Security Forces (SF) personnel and 28 civilians – were killed; the ambush near the CRPF’s Dhudhai base camp in Narayanpur District, Chhattisgarh, on June 29, 2010, in which 27 CRPF personnel were killed; the encounter in Lakhisarai District, Bihar, on August 29, 2010, in which eight SF personnel were killed; and the attack on the Eastern Frontier Rifles (EFR) camp at Shilda in West Midnapore District, West Bengal, on February 15, 2010 in which 24 EFR personnel were killed; are the most dramatic in a wider series of Maoist attacks on SF targets.

The claim that the SFs have made their ‘maximum gain’ in Chhattisgarh also holds little water. SATP data on major Maoist Incidents (involving three or more fatalities) indicates that, out of a total of 32 such incidents in Chhattisgarh in 2009, the Maoists took the offensive in 18.

In 2010, thus far, only 17 major incidents have been recorded, in which the SFs took the initiative in just seven; five of these came before the April 6 Chintalnad massacre.

After Chintalnad, the SFs have relinquished the initiative, and the Maoists have led the offensive in another nine incidents. The retreat of the SFs into a posture of passive defence is the principal reason for the significant reduction in major incidents in 2010 in Chhattisgarh.

Worse, the SFs have also conceded a huge psychological and strategic gain to the Maoists when the Centre decided to shift the CRPF Zonal Headquarters from Raipur (capital of Chhattisgarh) to Kolkata “for reasons of safety” in the wake of killing of 27 CRPF personnel in the Narayanpur District, Chhattisgarh, on June 29, 2010.

It has been the intelligence-based operations, overwhelmingly led by the Andhra Pradesh Police, which have resulted in the most significant damage to the Maoist structure, particularly through the neutralization of eight top Maoists (and a number of lesser commanders) over the May 2009 – October 2010 period.

Despite their geographical dispersal across the country, the Andhra Pradesh Police was involved in most of these cases. Crucially, it was not the numerical strength of Andhra Pradesh Police (the Force has a police population ratio of just 99, as against the severely deficient national average of 128 per 100,000), but years of investment in developing an intelligence network that underpins these successes.

Conspicuously, the Centre’s much-vaunted ‘massive and coordinated operations’ have lost momentum because of their inherently false assumptions and inaccurate assessments.

Unless drastic changes are now made in the orientation and execution of anti-Maoist operations, reconciling these to the realities of the ground, the state will fail to recover the initiative.

Regrettably, there is no coherent evidence of such a crystallization of strategy and Forces, and a bloody and extended confrontation remains inescapable, belying the MHA’s rhetoric claiming that the state “will control the situation in 2 to 3 years”. (*The writer is Research Assistant, Institute for Conflict Management*)

Bihar Maoist surge

By Ajit Kumar Singh / South Asia Intelligence Review

On March 8, 2010, the then Minister of Home Affairs, Brijendra Prasad Yadav, had disclosed in the State Assembly that, out of 40 Districts (including two Police Districts) in the State, 33 were Naxalite (Left Wing Extremist)-affected. Of these, 20 — Gaya, Aurangabad, Rohtas, Jamui, Munger, Kaimur, Bhojpur, Nawada, Jehanabad, Arwal, Motihari, Patna, Sitamarhi, Bagaha, Bettiah, Banka, Sheohar, Lakhisarai, Vaishali and Begusarai – fell under the ‘A’ category of highly affected Districts; five — Buxar, Khagaria, Muzaffarpur, Saharsa and Nalanda – fell in the ‘B’ category of moderately affected Districts; and eight – Siwan, Saran, Samastipur, Katihar, Purnea, Bhagalpur, Sheikhpura and Darbhanga – were in the marginally affected ‘C’ category.

According to National Crime Records Bureau data (as on December 31, 2008), Bihar had a dismal 64 Policemen per 100,000 population, the lowest in the country, just half of the severely inadequate Indian average of 128 per 100,000. Four Battalions of Central Paramilitary Forces (CPMF) are also currently deployed in the State, yielding barely 1,600 CPMF personnel in actual field deployments, minuscule numbers for a State as large and as problematic as Bihar.

The State currently has just 700 officers and personnel deputed to the Special Task Force (STF), the Bihar Police unit dedicated to carrying out operations against the Maoists and hardcore criminals operating in Bihar.

There has, however, been some emphasis on recruitment to, and modernization of, the Police. Bihar and Union Governments initiatives in 2010 in this direction include:

January 7: Bihar Government sent 428 Police Personnel, from Constables to Deputy Superintendents of Police, to different Central Police organisations for specialised training in jungle warfare, weapons training, and counter-insurgency commando operations.

March 5: The Union Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) decided to send an additional two battalions of CPMF personnel, trained in jungle warfare, to Bihar and Jharkhand, to help the Police counter the LWE violence.

March 17: The Bihar Government raised the cash rewards for those providing information leading to the arrest of CPI-Maoist leaders, ranging between INR 50,000 to INR 300,000 for 'area commanders'. Earlier, the range was between INR 20,000 and INR 100,000.

March 29: DGP Neelmani disclosed that the Bihar Government would raise the insurance cover of Policemen and Home Guard personnel posted in 15 Maoist-affected Districts from INR 1,200,000 now to INR 1,375,000.

June 16: The Bihar Government cleared a INR 92.4 crore Police modernisation plan for the current fiscal. The plan envisaged an expenditure of INR 30 crore on every Police Station located in Maoist-affected Districts. The money would be spent on fortification, construction of buildings and other infrastructure. The purchase of over 1,000 bullet-proof jackets was also approved. The Government also decided to recruit 952 wireless operators. Wireless sets and vehicles had been provided to all Police Stations.

July 17: The DGP disclosed that the Centre had included an additional five extremist-hit Districts of Bihar in the list of Districts to be covered by the Union Home Ministry's Security-related Expenditure (SRE) scheme. Under the scheme, all the security-related expenses are reimbursed by the Centre. The scheme earlier covered the 15 Districts in the State. The newly-included Districts were Lakhisarai, Banka, Sheohar, Vaishali and Begusarai.

August 4: The State Government approved the creation of the post of Additional Superintendent of Police (ASP), Operations, in eight Maoist affected Districts. In 2009, the post of ASP Operations had been created in another eight Districts.

August 9: The State Government allotted INR 11.2 million to each of the 38 Districts of the State as advance money for the Police Stations for their self-sufficiency and contingent expenditure. DGP Neelmani stated, "All the 872 Police Stations in the State, including around 300 which fall under the Naxal-belt, have been allotted money to meet their contingency expenditure..."

December 12: The Bihar Government decided to recruit 50,000 Police Officers over five years. As many as 5,000 Sub-Inspectors and 45,000 Constables would be appointed over this period, in a phased recruitment. The decision was taken at a high-level meeting of top officials chaired by Chief Minister Nitish Kumar in the night of December 12. The State Government would appoint 9,000 Constables and 1,000 Sub-Inspectors annually over the following five years.

Despite the apparent magnitude of these initiatives, these would remain far from securing the critical mass of capacities necessary to deal with the Maoist threat in the State. The efficiency of implementation still remains to be seen.

Worse, both operations and SF morale continue to be undermined by Chief Minister Nitish Kumar's continuous reiteration that the Maoists cannot be countered by force, and that all-round development and welfare measures alone can bring the Maoists back to the mainstream. The State Government has remained unwilling to join the Centre's 'coordinated' operations in the worst affected States. On September 9, 2010, the Chief Minister again stated that only long-term development could deter the poor and tribal people from the "lure of the ultra-left insurgency".

His own State Police Chief, Neelmani, however, has articulated a radically different position, declaring, on March 22, that he was "very much in favour of supporting" the Centre's Operations. He added, further,

that “unnecessary confusion was created on the State’s ambivalence or even opposition” to the Centre’s move. “We had in fact started raising our own anti-Naxal force on the lines of Andhra Pradesh’s STF (Special Task Force) in the absence of the Centre meeting demands for additional Forces.”

Nitish Kumar has distinguished himself by turning Bihar around from the brink of administrative collapse in just five years. His ambivalence and confusion with regard to the Maoists, however, has prevented comparable successes from accumulating with regard to the challenge the rebels have thrown at the state. If the Chief Minister is to consolidate the developmental and administrative gains of his first tenure, he will have to bring widening areas of Maoist dominance, where governance is non-existent, within the ambit of effective service delivery.

This can only happen after these areas are freed of the Maoist threat. A failure to secure this outcome could easily jeopardise all that has been achieved in Bihar in recent years.

(The writer is Research Fellow, Institute for Conflict Management)

West Bengal Maoist surge

Replying to a question in the State Assembly on December 23, 2010, West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee claimed, Because of sustained joint operations by 35 companies of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), six companies of Nagaland Police and 51 companies of State Police, the situation in Goaltore, Salboni and Midnapore Sadar blocks of West Midnapore and that in Bankura and Purulia has greatly improved... The situation has changed in the past three months. Some of the blocks [in Jungalmahal] are terror free... (However) Till the situation improves in Jharkhand and Orissa, it would be difficult to keep Bengal unaffected. Till such a time, the paramilitary forces should be there.

Expecting that the pressure mounted by the SFs would induce some Maoists to lay down arms, the State announced its new surrender policy on June 15. The ‘package’ followed Central Government guidelines, with a one-off payment of INR 150,000, vocational training for three months, and INR 2,000 in a monthly stipend for each surrendering cadre.

If arms were also surrendered, they would receive, in addition, INR 15,000 for an AK-47 rifle, INR 25,000 for a machine gun, and INR 3,000 for a pistol or revolver. On June 17, West Bengal Director General of Police (DGP) Bhupinder Singh stated, “We have received feelers that a number of people are willing to surrender.” By December 26, 2010, however, only five Maoists had surrendered, after the announcement of the ‘package’.

Despite the many SF successes, however, there is little reason for any great optimism. The Chief Minister’s claim that ‘the situation has changed in the past three months’, while not altogether incorrect, nevertheless glosses over the reality of continuing killings in the State, despite the deployment of 92 SF companies in the Jungalmahal area.

Again, the Chief Minister’s claim that “some of the blocks are terror free” cannot be accepted without qualification. It is, of course, the case that, on October 18, 2010, at least 12,000 CPI-M cadres marched 12 kilometres from Dharampur and Goaltore to Lalgarh and ‘reclaimed’ the area amid tight security. According to media reports, earlier, an armed rally of CPI-M party cadres, led by its Zonal Committee Secretary Annuj Pandey, who was driven out of his residence in Dharampur in June 2009, ‘reclaimed’ Dharampur and opened the party office located near his residence.

However, the role of armed CPI-M cadres in these ‘recoveries’ can hardly be overlooked. Even Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram acknowledged, on September 1, 2010, the existence of armed CPI-M camps in the State. Again on December 21, 2010, Chidambaram wrote to Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee asking him to ensure the armed cadres — including those from the ruling party-supported ‘Harmad Vahini’ – are “immediately disarmed and demobilised”.

In August 2010, the State Government advertised a call for recruitment to 4,767 Police Constables, essentially to fill existing vacancies. The State has a dismal Police Population ratio of 89 per 100,000, way below the national average of 128, as on December 31, 2008 (National Crime Records Bureau Data). There is little possibility of raising the size of the State Police Force to an acceptable level to secure operational efficiency against the Maoists in the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, the State Government has sent a proposal to the Union Government to declare another three Districts – Birbhum, Murshidabad and Nadia – Maoist-affected, and the matter is under consideration by the Centre. West Midnapore, Purulia and Bankura were already in the list of Maoist-affected Districts. According to reports submitted by the State Police to the State Home Department, eight Police Stations in Nadia, six Police Stations in Birbhum and three Police Stations in Murshidabad have seen increased Maoist activity.

(The writer is Research Assistant, Institute for Conflict Management)

India: Torture and Rape by Security Forces

[The following article from The Hindu gives insight into the crimes being perpetrated by the Border Security Forces in India]

Villagers in Chhattisgarh accuse BSF of torture

A wreath of lesions coils up Sunita Tulavi neck; lesions she says were caused in the course of a three-day interrogation at a Border Security Force camp in Chhattisgarh's Kanker district. "They blindfolded me, tied my hands and then electrocuted me with wires wrapped around my neck and stomach," said Sunita, a resident of Aloor village, "They questioned me for three days and then released me. My sister is still in custody."

On September 8, Kanker police arrested seven alleged Maoists, including six girls aged between 15 and 19 years, from the Pachangi and Aloor villages in connection with an August 29 ambush in Kanker in which three BSF soldiers and two policemen were killed.

Picked up

Adivasis from these villages told The Hindu that the girls were picked up in a two-day search-and-comb operation on September 5 and 6 in which, residents allege, the BSF and the district police brutally assaulted over 40 men, molested two teenaged girls and picked up 17 villagers in all: 10 from Aloor and seven from Pachangi.

A senior BSF officer involved in the operation has categorically denied the villagers' allegations. "The BSF is a disciplined force," he said, "not a single person was assaulted or molested."

"Part of propaganda"

The officer said the villagers' claims could be part of a Maoist propaganda effort, and that all the suspects had been arrested on the basis of specific information provided by Kanker police informants.

The three neighbourhoods of Pachangi village lie scattered around a low hill in the heart of the settlement. On September 5 and 6, villagers allege, a joint team of the district police and the BSF gathered all the men of the village, dragged them up the hill in pairs and assaulted them.

"On Monday [September 6] the BSF took me and two others up the hill, forced us to strip and then beat us with sticks," said Narsingh Kumra, 24.

"They threw me on the ground, pushed my knees up and pushed a stick into my private parts," Narsingh said.

Account corroborated

Narsingh and four other men from Pachangi are currently admitted in Kanker Hospital, recuperating. His account was corroborated by fellow patients Sukram Netam, 45, Premsingh Potayi, 32, Rajju Ram, 30, and Bidde Ram Potayi, 31, who said that they too were sodomised with sticks.

While the men were gathered at the base of the hill, a 20-year-old woman of Pachangi (name withheld) said that a BSF soldier tore open her blouse and skirt and molested her.

"He stopped only when my aunt saw him and started screaming," she said. A schoolgirl, aged 16 and currently in class X, said that a soldier cornered her in her house, groped her and tried to tear open her blouse. "He kept saying I just want to love you," she said. He stopped when her mother raised an alarm.

In the course of the two-day raid in Pachangi, the BSF allegedly picked up two girls, Mangte Potayi and Baiju, and five young men, Paru Ram, Devin Ram, Dalla Ram and Ringlu Ram. While the girls were presented as suspected Maoists on September 8, the men were paraded as Maoists on September 10.

Similar raid

Meanwhile, a similar raid was under way in neighbouring Aloor. The BSF picked up sisters Sunita and Sarita Tulavi; Rajkumari Sori, Dhansu Kumra, and Anita Kureti. While Rajkumari was picked up on September 4, in the nearby Badgaon market, the families of the remaining six girls said they were picked on September 5 from their homes.

"The BSF took away both my daughters [Sunita and Sarita]," said Manobai Tulavi, "When their father,

Punnim kumar went to stop them, they took him away as well.” Manobai said that her brother Sukluram Kowachi also tried to stop the BSF. He was arrested as well. Ramnath Dugga, Tursingh Dano and Shyamlal Hidko were working in their fields when they were apprehended.

Turned away

Villagers said that they made several visits to the nearby BSF camp in resettlement colony P.V. 34 but were turned away. On September 9, Sunita Tulavi and her father were allowed to return to Aloor village, where she met this correspondent.

Her younger sister Sarita, and the five girls from Pachangi and Alnoor, are currently in Kanker jail on charges of ambushing the BSF on August 29 this year.

Dalit Activist Sudhir Dhawale Arrested under UAPA in Maharashtra

January 3 2010

Source: Mumbai Mirror

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 organisation and providing support to a terrorist organisation. 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 Sannam near Wardha on Sunday, and was on a train when he was arrested. Gondia Sub-Divisional Police Officer Borate said they had been trailing him for the last few days, emphasising that his arrest had nothing to do with the Sannam.

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.

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 organising the parallel Vidrohi Marathi Sahitya Sannams,” 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.”

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Nisan Sammelan-2010: “Cultural Resistance: War on People in Corporate Interest” - A Report from Bhubaneswar, Odisha

[Excerpted from an article By Gunjan]

“Combating the impending corporate imperialism backed by the state along with white terrorism in the name of Operation Green Hunt, political as well as cultural resistance is the call of the time in order to protect the life and livelihood and to safeguard the rights of the poorest populace of world’s greatest democracy”, was the unanimously resolved voice of the “Nisan Sammelan-2010”, Bhubaneswar on “Cultural Resistance: War on People in Corporate Interest”.

The two tiered conference was attended by more than five thousand people from around 30 co-operating organizations from various corners of Odisha, along with progressive intellectuals like writer-activist Arundhati Roy and Varavara Rao. It was a cool Nov, 21st forenoon and the Shahid Smaraki Swadhinata Sangrami Sadan campus was over flooded with roaring banners, flags, slogans and the village and tribal folk with their traditional attire and armaments.

Speaking on the occasion Arundhati remarked that the people ruling the state are the formulators of the constitution and laws for people and they are the ones who are violating it ruthlessly, waging war against their own people to serve the interest of the corporate sector, both national and transnational. The power lines begin from Prime Minister to the Home Minister to the Chief Minister Navin Pattanayak who, it seems is determined to fulfill his father’s dream to metamorphose Odisha into a steel state.

“Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996, which was brought to safeguard land of tribal areas, is being grossly violated. But now the people in power say that it is imperative on the part of the state to acquire land from tribals in the name of development”, said Arundhati. She re-asserted that the people who raise their voice to protect their ancestral land from corporates are being termed as Maoists and terrorists and are being terrorized by the state. “People’s sovereignty is at stake. The Indian state is using military forces in places like J & K, Punjab, North East, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Jharkhand and West Bengal to suppress the voice of the people against the land acquisition attempts by big corporate houses supported by the state. Planned strategy is being enforced to snatch away the rights of the people on their land, water, forest and hand them over to corporate forces, making people fight among themselves. Their sole aim is to vacate these lands. They are openly using the military to take hold of the affairs. The country is swiftly turning into a military state, even though in the neighbouring Pakistan, the people are fighting against military rule to establish democracy in their country” she explains. Force, according to Arundhati, is being used by the Govt. and not by Naxalites.

Further she added that “Democracy in India is changing fast and those at the helm of the affairs want the country to be militarized. One should not trust the organizations of democratic set-up, even judiciary and media are being influenced. Media has joined hands with the state and the corporate, and has become more dangerous than terrorism itself. The situation is quite similar to what we had during emergency. The media has lost its credibility, origin and ethics, and has become a tool of oppression to justify the voice of interest of the state backed corporate world. Likewise, democracy is being administered by the capitalists. After 1986 two faces of fascism have emerged in India, namely, company fascism and communal fascism, proliferated by the congress and the BJP, respectively. This gave rise to the Maoists and the Islamic terrorists. Ruling parties have 10 percent of voters while the rest 90 percent of the people are fighting for their rights. As there is no judiciary, we are now talking about human rights”.

Staying firm on what she earlier said on Kashmir issue, Arundhati maintained her support to the national liberation movements in Kashmir and the North East. She stated that the Maoists are patriot of a kind but their patriotism is very complicated. “I do not think there could be only a Maoist revolution solution to the problems. There will be a new kind of alliance of all kinds of people and all forms of resistance. I ask the people to think on how to confront the challenges thrust upon the country by the corporations. How do the people, whose land, right, river, jungle, livelihood are snatched, whose women are raped and houses gutted, should react? They can’t go on hunger strike because they are already hungry. Even they can not launch non violent agitations in the deep jungle which is controlled by armed forces of the state. It should now be left on the people to decide whether they would resort to violence or non-violence to safeguard their life and livelihood”, clarified Arundhati.

Commenting on the role of writers, she remarked that a writer has every right to express her views. She did not see any problem in that and told “I am not a politician. I am not asking for any vote. The people have a right to protest and I have a right to express my views”.

She re-iterated her thoughts on the plight of the tribals and said that the condition of the poor people, especially the tribals, in Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and West Bengal is critical. The attention of the whole world has now turned towards Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand because the poor here have fought off and stopped the biggest corporate houses on the globe from enacting their plans. Recalling the successful anti-BALCO movement in 80s in Gandhamardan in Odisha, she said activists have to think and devise strategies to win battle against Vedanta, POSCO and other corporations. She also added that people’s mass movement in Odisha against POSCO and mining in Niyamgiri and Gandhamardhan Hills are a success so far, but it still lacks complacency and therefore appropriate strategy should be formulated to continue the struggle in the forthcoming days. Successful resistance against projects in Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand should not mean that the movement has translated into victory since there is a huge amount of capital, power and force which is backing these monstrous projects. Places like Niyamgiri, Kandhamal and Lalgarh have already been militarized. The tribals cannot confront the state terror within the apparatus controlled by the state, and to lecture them on violent and nonviolent forms of struggle is totally futile. Let the tribals decide how to wage the struggle. There is a bio-diversity of resistance and she greeted the militant milieu of the state for their strong resistance - of various forms – against Operation Green Hunt.

Revolutionary poet Varavara Rao in his eloquent deliberation also affirmed that tribals are being targeted for corporate interest. Thousands of people are languishing in jails for their struggle for water, forests, and land. Demanding immediate release of the tribals illegally detained in jails, he alleged that the Naveen Pattanaik government is following a policy of making Odisha a steel state, which would ruin the tribals. He asserted that the Polavaram project is against the tribals of Andhra Pradesh and Odisha. Rao also criticized the state for using media to generate propaganda around the issue of violence in the resistance struggle, in order to divert the public discourse from its large-scale violently repressive measures on resistance movements which are seeking justice and control over the livelihood resources. Hailing the Nisan Sammelan in this critical juncture he further said that the so called builders of Odisha and modern India, Biju Pattanaik and Nehru have converted Odisha as well as various other regions of the country into jungles of steel plants that gave death instead of life, and these so called temples of development debarred all dalits and adivasis as untouchables and outcasts depriving them of their own land and resources. Further he stated that the definition of Nationalism propagated by communal, capitalist-politico forces and media is against the ideal of nationalism of the struggling masses that are fighting as citizens to save the country from disaster. He questioned whether the plundering of rich natural resources by the corporations, backed by capitalism can be equivalent to nationalism, whereas the struggle by the poor to retain their livelihood and for upholding democratic values like equality and justice is equivalent to anti-nationalism.

“The state is trying to suppress the tribal movements against displacement and their refusal to the corporate bodies taking over their land, water, forests”, said Rao. In electoral politics the political parties are supporting the corporate houses as they are being funded by them, he added, and called upon the people to unite and support the tribals in their fight against corporate bodies. They are being targeted by administration and the military. An armed struggle is a must to combat the atrocious violence of the state in form of Operation Greenhunt.

Anti-Vedanta tribal leader and member of Niyamgiri Suraksha Samity, Lado Sikoka said that the people are fighting for their land and are being detained. Police is acting as an agent of the corporate and physically assaulting them, in a hideously brutal fashion, for raising their voice for justice.

Abhaya Sahu, leader of the POSCO Pratirodh Sangram Samiti, raised a similar concern and told that the state is working for corporate houses and unleashing atrocities on the hardworking people.

Diksha Majhi, a resident of Mohana village in Gajapati district narrated the plight of her daughter Arati Majhi, who was gang raped by police personnel and thereafter jailed on the charges of sedition.

Lokashakti Abhijan leader Prafulla Samantaray stated that economic imperialism invites cultural imperialism. According to him, to resist imperialism altogether, we ought to fight against cultural imperialism armed with art, literature, theatre, etc. Lingaraj of Paschim Odisha Krusak Sangathan Samanway Samiti further elaborated on this by saying that we don’t want gun rather we require more ploughshares, ponds, farms, check dams. Lingraj described the meeting, involving the various mass movements and the literary intellectuals on such a huge platform, organized by Nisan, as historic.

Odisha Forest Majdur Union Leader Dandapani Mohanty gave a clarion call for a third war of independence to face the fire of repression by state. The struggle of Mandrabaju, Gajapati, Kalinga Nagar and others, he said, are the struggle of life and livelihood. Police atrocities herald a dark administration. He criticized severely the present Operation Green Hunt, specifying it as a war against the people struggling for their life and livelihood, and demanded political prisoner status for the jailed activists. According to his research, till now more than 600 people are languishing in various jails, in the name of sedition.

Kalia Mullick of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh, Ghumusar along with Vidika Soma and Ram Andro of CMAS, Narayanpatna described that they are fighting for their survival and are being jailed and tortured. Their paddy, foodgrains and household are being looted, villages and houses are being raided, and women are being sexually harassed. More than 200 activists of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangathan are in jails while Ganguli Tadingi and Rata Sirika lost their lives in jail as they were deprived of medical facilities. They invited the writers and intellectuals of the Capital to come down to their villages and see the real picture themselves and called for their support.

Bhagaban Majhi of Prakrutika Sampad Suraksha Parishad, advocate Biswapriya Kanungo, Satyabadi Mahar of Kalahandi Sachetan Nagarika Manch, Vikram Mallick of Adibasi Adhikar Andolana, Kandhamal, Guptaeswar Kanhar of Gandhamardan Surakshya Yuva Parishad, Paikmal, Viswanath Nayak of Bruttanga Birodhi Manch, Santosh Mohapatra of Dakshin Odisha Shramika Federation, Narendra Mohanty from Banbasi Suraksha Parishad, Kandhamal, delegates from Odisha Janabadi Lekhak Sangh, Bhubaneswar, Kalahandi Janabadi Lekhak Manch, Behera, Oriya Bhasa Bikash Manch, Rourkela, Prakrutika Sampad Suraksha Parishad, Kucheipadar, Malkangiri Zilla Adibashi Sangh, Tarlakot, Rajnaitik Bandi Mukti Committee, Cuttack, AISF, Bhubaneswar, Rastriya Yuva Sangathan, Jagatsinghpur, Rajdhani Basti Unnayan Parishad, Bhubaneswar, Jal Jamin Jungle Surksha Manch, Sundargarh, Adihak Jana Sangharsha Committee, Sundargarh, Aanchalika Bisthapit Sangh, Rourkela, Janaswartha Suraksha Parishad, Mahanga, Chilika Matsyajivee Mahasangh, Balugaon and others also addressed the sammelan and opined that in this juncture of history, besides diversity of struggle and thought, everyone should come together to pave the way to fight against corporate bodies, Operation Green Hunt and resist state atrocities and massacre, bravely. They condemned both the Odisha government and the centre for their anti-people policy to safeguard the corporal interest and called for an effective cultural resistance.

The conference was co-chaired by radical poet Kumar Hassan and eminent writer Bibhuti Pattanaik. Reception committee chair person, eminent poet Rajendra Kishore Panda, Veteran Journalist Ravi Das, revolutionary octogenarian writer Prafulla Das, Poet Ashutosh Parida, poet Aswini Kumar Mishra and others also addressed the congregation.

Poet and president of Odisha Janabadi Lekhak Sangh Kumar Hassan delivering his presidential address defined the unsustainable and anti-people industrialization as death toll of human future and stated that whenever there is any attack by selfish interests a resistance is a must, be it political or cultural or of any kind. The combined resistance of people is the need of the hour. He called all the like minded people to unite and ceaselessly fight against anti-people state and corporate bodies for land and life.

A detailed resolution was tabled in the sammelan and was accepted by all with a reverberating and wide applause. The points in the resolution include, 1) Stop all sorts of attack on people in corporate interest including Operation Green Hunt, 2) All the fake cases against people's movement be withdrawn; unconditional release of all the nabbed activists of Narayanapatna movement, 3) Proper and impartial investigation on fake encounters and punish the real culprits accordingly, 4) Withdrawal of police and paramilitary camps from areas of mass movement, 5) Stop the attack on freedom of creative expression which is intended to establish a real democratic social order, 5) Stop industrialization induced displacement and stop industrialization for luxuries of few, devastating the land, water, jungle, livelihood of the majority, 6) Cancel all the MOUs with native and foreign companies and cancel SEZs, and 7) Safeguard the natural resources, forest, peasantry, wage earners, tribals, labourers, youth, students, slum dwellers, displaced, fishing folks, political prisoners, language, writers, poets, intellectuals, artisans and art. The conference also condemned arrest of activists and members of Laxman Nayak Yuva Chhatra Manch and Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh while coming to attend this conference, near Rayagada station. It was declared as a heinous crime and the sammelan demanded to set them free immediately.

Earlier when Arundhati arrived at the venue, she faced tussle perpetrated by a group of eleven Sangh Parivar activists shouting "anti-national", "go back", etc. The police remained mute spectator to the clash that followed between ABVP activists and the organizers. The ABVP activists were driven away and later the police arrested all of them. At the start of the conference, the attack on Arundhati by communal Sangh Parivar was condemned and the conference considered it as a facet of ongoing corporate conspiracy against the struggling masses.

Politics of Fake Encounter in Odisha

By Dandapani Mahanty, General Secretary, Odisha Forest Mazdoor Union, January 14 2011

Odisha is full of mountains and hills containing a substantial quantity of nations wealth of minerals. Odishas resources in percent of Indias total mineral resources in parenthesis: coal(25%), bauxite (50%), chromites (98%), iron (27%), nickel(91%), and many other minerals. Exploitation of these mineral deposits is taking place legally as well as illegally at an increasing speed, causing large scale evictions of tribals, dalits and poor peasants from the lands, forests, rivers, mountains etc. In the so-called process of development the broad masses are denied access to the forests and forest produces, affecting their livelihood adversely as well as causing pollution of entire ecology system. The plundering of natural resources by the national and multi-national companies in the name of mineral based industries is not accepted by the people of state which has resulted in militant mass movements in different parts of the state.

54 MoUs have been signed with the national and multinational companies and capitalists by the Odisha Govt. to loot the natural resources and minerals. If the said schemes are implemented, around 1,10,000 hectors of agricultural land, 10,000 hectors of forest land and 50,000 hectors of grazing land will be affected and lakhs of poor people will be displaced from their hearth and home. Since long, people are raising their voice and organizing resistance movements against the anti-people destructive projects in the name of so-called developments. From Baliapal to Gopalpur, Gandhamardan to Kasipur, Dinkia to Niyamgiri, Kaling Nagar to Narayanpatna - everywhere the oppressed, poor mainly tribals are organizing themselves against the state patronized exploitation and conspiracy, which open the doors for the corporate, multinationals to loot the natural resources. Different forms of of resistance movements are going on including armed struggle led by CPI (Maoist). Instead of addressing the fundamental political economic issues of the broad masses, the state has been persistently continuing terrorism to suppress the dissent voice, politics as well as peoples militant resistances.

The fundamental issues like life and livelihood of broad masses are treated as law and order issues by the state and the state security forces including Border Security Forces, CRPF etc are deployed in the movement areas. In the process of state terrorism about 700 fighting people have been imprisoned and most of them are under trial prisoners and languishing in the jails for years together. Custodial violence including deaths in the custody has become a policy of the state. Gang rape of tribal women in the custody is also not uncommon in our state. The complaint of a gang rape victim is also not properly inquired into by the judicial magistrate of R.Udaygiri in spite of mandatory provision enumerated as under section-176(1-A) of Code of criminal procedure.

In the name of combing operation the security forces have obtained license to kill any person under the cover of encounter with Maoists. It has become a general practice in our state that when an innocent person is killed by the police bullets, at that moment the police create a story that the person was a Maoist who died in the encounter. Very recently between 28-12-2010 and 12-01-2011, twenty innocent persons including ten women were killed by the bullets of security forces in the name of encounter with Maoists. Since the militant mass movements are continuing in Kaling Nagar, Kashipur, Niyamgiri and Gandhamardan areas, the state has adopted the politics of encounter to create a reign of terror in the said areas to suppress the mass movements and to serve the corporate interests.

It is not out of place to mention that although a number of so called encounter incidents have occurred in the tribal areas of the state, in no case any independent and credible enquiry has been ordered by the state government. In one case only the victim lady of village Birubai under Rayagada district made a complaint before the state human right commission that her husband was killed on 7-7-2006 by the security forces in a fake encounter. The commission decided the case in her favour and came to the conclusion that the husband of victim lady was innocent, who was killed by police in fake encounter. But the recommendation of Comission regarding taking action against responsible police officer is yet to be carried out.

I have reason to believe that there are only four cases of exchange of fire (encounter) between the arms squad of Maoists and security forces of the state during the period of 2004 to 2011 and which are in Koraput, R.Udaygiri, Gasama and Damanjodi and all other cases are fake encounters and which require free, fair and credible investigations after registration of criminal cases in the respective police stations.

Under the above facts and circumstances, I appeal to all concerned persons /groups/forces to condemn and raise their voice against the state policy of fake encounter to kill innocent persons as a part of repression and suppression of dissent voice/politics/ideology with a motive to serve the corporate interest.

"In Gandhamardhan, the slain activists are ironically members of the BJP. It is probably the most emblematic cases amongst fake encounters in the war against the communist guerrillas where people with right wing political affiliations were killed and branded as left wing extremists. Vedanta is one of the companies that has been trying to acquire mining rights for Gandhamardhan hill.

While all this mayhem is unleashed upon people by the police, the corporations have been making major announcements. Vedanta has gone to court challenging the MoEF's decision. Tata has released statements that they will turn Kalinga Nagar into Jamsedhpur."

"To start with we have to register our opinion about the way media reports on these killings, celebrating the death of people as if some big evil force has been defeated. All news agencies without exception have been rendered into propaganda publishers of the Govt and the Corporations. Let's not forget the shocking expose of the media a few months ago when the Radia tapes were made public. Let's not forget that it was Nira Radia (PR Agent) who told Vir Sanghvi (Top Journalist) "We (tata steel) are fighting the Maoists in Kalinga Nagar." Let's not allow the Nira Radias to brand our movements and pave the way for such horrific brutalities."

[From the article "Anti Mining Activists killed in Odisha" by Surya Shankar Dash]

Revolution and Counter-Revolution: Indian State Bares its Fangs as the Class Struggle Intensifies in Odisha!

January 17, 2011

"Once they (Vedanta Aluminium Ltd.) get the final clearance and come here for mining, we will have no option but to fight them tooth and nail... We have started preparations for the confrontation and that is when the government will declare us Maoists and unleash CRPF troops on us. But we have nothing to lose. We will fight it out and die but will not let go of our forest..."

- Lenju, activist of Niyamgiri Surakhya Samiti in an interview to Frontline, 5-18 June 2010

Lenju was among the nine people gunned down by the armed forces in Badangmali of Rayagada district last week. After staging this 'encounter' on 9 January 2011, the police claimed that nine 'Maoist ultras', including four women, were killed and advertised it as the biggest 'catch' in its ongoing war against the Maoists in Odisha. The police identified the dead as Ravi, Rajendra, Lenju, Ramesh Kulsika, Rinky, Nirmala, Mamata Sipka, Karuna and Kamala. However, not even a single policeman got injured after this 'fierce encounter' that supposedly lasted for six to seven hours! In spite of the one-sided reports in the corporate media which uncritically blurted out the police version of the 'encounter', anyone who is aware of the realities of India would know that it was not encounter but cold-blooded murder. Like Lenju who was a member of Dongria Kondh tribal community and a leader of the Niyamgiri movement fighting against Vedanta's incursions, all the dead were activists or supporters of the anti-displacement movements in Rayagada and its adjoining districts.

This was preceded by another 'encounter' staged on 2 January 2011 in Tamka forest of Jajpur district. Five people, including four women – Sabitri, Sujata, Baby and Janga – were killed by the police. The usual claims of heroic success against the Maoists were made. All five of them, however, were picked up by the police from different villages on 20 December 2010 and made to undergo two weeks of illegal custody and torture before being shot. Among them Janga, of merely 12 years in age, was a resident of Baligotha



village near Kalinga Nagar. In April 2010, the police attacked her village and razed it to the ground. Though there was no proof of 'illegal activities' against any of them, the murderous gang of police executed the five without taking the 'trouble' of carrying out constitutional and legal niceties, such as arresting or producing them before a court of law. The only crime of the five villagers was to oppose the forced displacement of people

to make way for mining. The 'encounter' was staged just a day before the 5th anniversary of the Kalinga Nagar killings where 14 adivasis were shot dead in January 2006 for protesting against the proposed Tata steel plant. It was meant to be a lesson to the people that the state would not hesitate to replicate the mass murder of Kalinga Nagar if they did not submit to the wishes and interests of the ruling classes.

In 2008, Sirimajhi Paleka was gunned down by the police in Birubai village of Rayagada district in a fake encounter for allegedly belonging to the 'Surya dalam of CPI (Maoist)'. When this concocted story was challenged in the Odisha Human Rights Commission, no proof could be provided by the police for his alleged involvement, nor could it give any justification for the 'encounter'. It was impossible to believe that any encounter really took place when none of the 50 policemen who supposedly took part in the exchange of fire were injured, the OHRC observed. It ordered the Odisha government to provide Paleka's widow compensation and a pension. As for the punishment of the guilty policemen, not a word was heard.

None of the perpetrators of state violence has been brought to justice, nor will they ever be in the given political and judicial system. Because the police and armed forces merely implement what the state wants them to do, and thereby receives its full protection. This makes it amply clear to the people that the state, being an instrument of class oppression, sanctions the murder of the vocal members of the exploited classes. This is what happened in Narayanpatna on 20 November 2009 when the police shot dead two members of Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha, including its president Wadeka Singana during a peaceful protest demonstration. Therefore, the oppressed masses at times decided to respond with retaliatory violence, much like when a policeman was killed by the people after four persons died in police firing in Gochapada of Kandhmal district on 13 September 2008. And these are but a few recent and more blatant instances of state violence. It is estimated that in the last four decades since 1969, 130 people have been killed in fake encounters in Odisha. Of them, 23 have been killed in the last two months alone, for being part of various anti-displacement and democratic movements. At least three adivasis have been killed in police custody after undergoing torture in October-December 2010.

The intensification of state violence in the last few years signifies a sharpening of the class contradictions, where Odisha has become one central arena of class struggle. This shows the growing influence of the communist movement among the oppressed classes, and the proportionately growing desperation of the ruling classes to crush it by unleashing state terror. Threatened by the growth of the revolutionary movement, the Indian state has abandoned all its democratic pretence, treating all peoples' movements in a dictatorial manner. In this way the ruling classes are desperately trying to preserve the age-old exploitative social and economic relations, be it the feudal land relations or the stranglehold of the comprador big bourgeoisie and international finance capital over Odisha's people and resources. However, these relations are constantly being attacked by the revolutionary and democratic peoples' movements, be it in Narayanpatna where adivasis have reclaimed thousands of acres of land occupied by big landlords of Odisha and Andhra, or in other regions where the exploitation and incursion of extractive industries have been stalled by the people.

It is the same forces of domination that kept the vast majority of the people of Odisha in poverty, misery and subjugation over the years, and fulfilled the needs of a handful of rich and powerful belonging to the ruling classes. Post-liberalisation, multinational companies of various imperialist countries have entered Odisha with renewed vigor, expecting super-profits from the plunder of resources. For instance, out of the total mineral resources of India, Odisha contains 99 percent chromate ore, 92 percent of nickel ore, 65 percent of graphite and pyrophyllite, 66 percent of bauxite, 32 percent of manganese, 28 percent of iron ore, and 24 percent of coal deposits. Posco of South Korea therefore has plans to construct a mammoth \$12 billion steel plant near Paradip port, which would be the largest single investment in India's history. Arcelor-Mittal likewise has announced plans to invest in another mega steel project amounting to \$10 billion. Russian major Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Company plans to set up a 10 MT steel plant. Anil Ambani's Reliance Industries is putting up the world's largest power plant with an investment of US \$13 billion at Hirma in Jharsuguda district. The 1.4 million tonne alumina project in Kalahandi district undertaken by Vedanta Resources is the largest investment in aluminium in the country. Profit and not the people are at the centre of these projects.

The Indian state, which is the joint dictatorship of the feudal forces and comprador big capitalist class, is now being boldly challenged by the oppressed masses all over Odisha, be it in Narayanpatna, Kalinganagar, Kashipur, Gandhamardan, Malkangiri, Koraput or Rayagada, etc. And the people here, as elsewhere in the country where the revolutionary movement led by the Maoist revolutionaries is taking shape, are not only fighting to defend what they have – jal, jangal, jameen – they are also fighting to build what they aspire for: a real democracy. Organs of peoples' power are taking shape in many parts of

Odisha which are restructuring the society in a revolutionary way, and are putting up the most resolute fight against feudal oppression and corporate plunder.

These areas of revolutionary class struggle, spread over nearly half of the 30 districts of Odisha, are now being identified by the state as 'Naxal affected'. The most blatant instances of state violence in the name of fighting Naxalism are taking place in these areas, and it is here that the counter-revolutionary war waged by the state on the revolutionary and democratic masses and their movements is most intense. Here everyone who is not with the state is a potential target of 'encounters'. But inspired by the revolutionary spirit of Naxalbari and guided by a communist consciousness, the oppressed people of Odisha are boldly carrying forward the banner of class struggle. It is time that we too choose our sides.

[Posted by Democratic Students Union]

Punjab: Protest march and rally for Binayak Sen and companions

January 9, 2011

On a call of the Democratic Front Against Operation Green Hunt, Punjab, a protest march and rally was organized at Bathinda on 8th January 2011.

In chilling cold, protestors, including a good number of intellectuals, peasants, agricultural laborers, women, students, youth & children assembled at the local Teachers Home lawn. N.K.Jeet Advocate, State Committee Member of the Democratic Front described in detail, how Dr. Sen and his co-accused were implicated in a false criminal case, as he raised his voice against violation of democratic & human rights of tribals under the Salwa Judam campaign and expropriation of the mineral wealth lying underneath the tribal areas of Chhattisgarh, by imperialist Multi National Companies. The rules of evidence have been changed under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act and the Chhattisgarh Special Security Act, putting the burden of proving his innocence on the accused. He further said that the conviction & sentencing of Dr. Binayak Sen is a warning to all pro-people intellectuals, human rights activists and social workers. Dr Sen, a heart patient, has already spent over two years in prison from May 2007 to May 2009 and was released on bail by the Indian Supreme Court.

Sh. Attarjit Singh Kahanikar, another State Committee member, rendered a beautiful poem dedicated to Dr. Sen calling upon the people to fight this brutal attack on the democratic movement. Sh. Bagga Singh, President Association For Democratic Rights, Punjab and Sh. Jagmohan Kaushal President Teachers Home Trust Bathinda and a noted educationist, described the conviction & sentencing of Dr. Binayak Sen & his companions as a black spot on the face of Indian Democracy. They said that in our country corrupt politicians claim themselves to be patriot even after swindling lakhs of crores in kick-backs, but those who dedicatedly serve the people, are branded as traitors and put in jail.

The protestors, carrying banners and placards, marched through the crowded city bazaars, raising slogans demanding release of Dr. Binayak Sen and his companions, repeal of black laws and an end to operation Green Hunt.

The protest march culminated in District Court Bathinda, where a rally was held. Master Jagmail Singh, addressed the rally, demanding immediate release of Dr. Binayak Sen & his companions. He said, it was a matter of shame to Indian citizens everywhere that the world's largest democratic country cannot tolerate criticism and non-violent human rights activism. This attitude of intolerance should invite widest possible condemnation. Lok Kala Manch Mansa, staged a Nukkad Natak (Street Play) " KURSI NAACH NACHAYE ", portraying the politicians deep lust for power and betrayal of the people by them.

The rally ended demanding immediate release of Dr. Binayak Sen & his co-accused Narayan Sanyal and Piyush Guha, repeal of all anti-people black-laws and putting an end to Operation Green Hunt.

N.K.JEET Advocate, State Committee Member, Democratic Front Against Operation Green Hunt, Punjab.

'Operation Mineral Hunt'

- From Frontier

Anti-Naxal operation has been in operation in the state of Jharkhand since March 2010. And it has created tremendous uncertainty, brought threat to life and seized the freedom of the villagers, mostly the Adivasis in different parts of the state. The Adivasis who live in or around the forests and depend on it for their livelihoods are not allowed to enter/roam in the forests any more by the security forces, the water

resources are captured by them, the villagers are unnecessarily harassed, children are denied their right to education as the schools have been transformed into military camps and women are also misbehaved by the security forces.

People have been told for several years that the Palamu region of Jharkhand is the most Maoists infested area. Presently, Simdega district comes under the same category but everybody is surprised to know about the anti-Naxal operation, which was first launched in the Kolhan region, where most of the MoUs were signed with the corporate houses for establishment of the mining industries, the power projects and the steel plants. It is very clear that the anti-Naxal operations are being carried out in those districts (East Singhbhum, West Singhbhum, Khunti, Gumla, Bokaro, Giridih, Chatra, Latehar, Ramgarh and Hazaribagh) where the villagers are opposing the proposed projects for steel plants, mining industries, Power projects, Dams and sponge iron factories.

Ironically, the government of India has launched another operation on March 17th in the same areas where the anti-Naxal operations are being operated, which can be called an 'Operation Mineral Hunt'. According to the latest report, the choppers are engaged for conducting an aerial survey to find out the existence of minerals in Chhotanagpur region. Both the operations are being carried out simultaneously in these areas by the government of India. Therefore, people have every reason to believe that the so-called 'operation green hunt' or anti-Naxal operation is to get the Adivasis' and other local settlers' lands clear for the Corporate Houses rather than cleansing the Maoists from the areas. It seems that the state is essentially batting for the corporate houses in the name of combating the Maoists and instead of creating peace the government is creating insecurity in the state to displace the tribals.

The demands of the tribals are simple. They urge the union government to ensure the livelihoods to the villagers and their remaining resources should not be taken away, they demand MoUs signed with the Corporate Houses since 2000 till the date must be withdrawn, the people whose lands had been taken away for the development projects must be rehabilitated in proper manner and in case of signing a new MoU; the traditional Gram Sabhas must be made a party to it. The existing land laws must be enforced strongly, address all kinds of land related problems and the Adivasis must be returned their snatched land. The agro-forest based development process should be enhanced in the state with the complete involvement of the villagers rather than pushing the corporate model of development in the state. No that is not happening. Blaming it on the Maoists for all the evils under the sun cannot hide the real design of the Government of India.

Green Hunt Debate on Web

Ranchi, March 2: Blogs and posting messages on Facebook, Orkut and Twitter are passé. Netizens eager to voice their opinions have found a new way to do so — drop a mail into your inbox.

At least, that's what National Forum, a community floated by human rights activists, social workers, writers and intellectuals, is doing to justify "Why Operation Greenhunt Will Fail"?

Cutting across boundaries, participants, most of who belong to Naxalite-affected states of Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, are voicing their opinions on the net. A majority of the members oppose the Centre's crackdown plan on Maoists.

"I am surprised that some intellectuals based outside the state and the country argue for hunting the Naxalites/Maoists instead of proposing to bring them to the mainstream. Is pleading for killing human beings not a greater crime? Should such Devil's advocates be encouraged and supported by the people of our country?" wrote Prashant Patnaik, a resident of Bhubaneswar.

It is not Patnaik alone, there are many others arguing on this line and swearing that Union home minister P. Chidambaram's plan will fail. Even Catholic priests have joined the debate.

"More than six decades of injustice is not going to be solved by force overnight. If the government both at the state and the Centre think that they can taste victory, they are fools," said Jothi SJ, a priest residing in Arruppe Institute in Damon-Raia (Goa). He claimed to have visited Lalgargh in Bengal.

Some participants of National Forum have even termed the operation a "hunt for minerals".

"The rural hunt is for the mineral wealth of the tribal land. Greenhunt is actually a hunt for green forests where tribals live," said Stan Swamy, a social activist of Jharkhand.

Very few support Chidambaram's view. ●

Statements from Other Organisations

Dr Binayak Sen's Conviction And Life Sentence Mock Justice

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL Press Release 24 December 2010

The life sentence handed down against Dr Binayak Sen by a court in the India state of Chhattisgarh violates international fair trial standards and is likely to enflame tensions in the conflict-affected area, Amnesty International said today.

“Life in prison is an unusually harsh sentence for anyone, much less for an internationally recognized human rights defender who has never been charged with any act of violence,” said Sam Zarifi, Amnesty International’s Asia-Pacific director. “State and federal authorities in India should immediately drop these politically motivated charges against Dr Sen and release him.”

Dr Binayak Sen was convicted of sedition and conspiracy under the Chhattisgarh Special Public Safety Act, 2005, and the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, 2004.

He was immediately taken into custody after the announcement of the sentence, having been out on bail since May 2009.

“Dr Sen, who is considered a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International, was convicted under laws that are impermissibly vague and fall well short of international standards for criminal prosecution,” Sam Zarifi said.

“Instead of persecuting Dr Sen, authorities in Chhattisgarh should be acting to protect the people of the region from the abuses committed by the Maoists, as well as state security forces and militias.”

“This sentence will seriously intimidate other human rights defenders who would provide a peaceful outlet for the people’s grievances, especially for the indigenous Adivasi population,” Sam Zarifi said.

India’s central government has acknowledged that the intensifying armed conflict with the Maoists in central India is a reflection of serious inequities and a history of human rights violations in the area. Amnesty International believes that the charges against Dr Sen are baseless and politically motivated.

Dr Binayak Sen is a pioneer of health care to marginalized and indigenous communities in Chhattisgarh, where the state police and armed Maoists have been engaged in clashes over the last seven years. He has reported on unlawful killings of Adivasis (Indigenous People) by the police and by Salwa Judum, a private militia widely held to be sponsored by the state authorities to fight the armed Maoists.

Dr Binayak Sen was first detained without proper charges for seven months, denied bail, and kept in solitary confinement for three weeks. He spent two years in jail before his release on bail in May 2009. Many of the charges against him stem from laws that contravene international standards. Repeated delays in the conduct of his trial have cast doubts about its fairness.

Amnesty International has repeatedly called on the Indian authorities to immediately drop all the charges against Dr Binayak Sen.

For more information please call Amnesty International’s press office in London, UK, on +44 20 7413 5566 or email: press@amnesty.org

International Secretariat, Amnesty International, 1 Easton St., London WC1X 0DW, UK

War, this monster of mutual slaughter among men, will be finally eliminated by the progress of human society, and in the not too distant future too. But there is only one way to eliminate it and that is to oppose war with war, to oppose counter-revolutionary war with revolutionary war, to oppose national counter-revolutionary war with national revolutionary war, and to oppose counter-revolutionary class war with revolutionary class war. . . . When human society advances to the point where classes and states are eliminated, there will be no more wars, counter-revolutionary or revolutionary, unjust or just; that will be the era of perpetual peace for mankind. Our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars; herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes.

["Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" (Dec. 1936), MSW, Vol. 1, pp. 182]

The need to enlarge protests around Binayak Sen to all cases of Sediton - PUDR Statement

January 4, 2010

Dear friends and comrades,

The recent countrywide demonstrations against the unfair verdict in the Binayak Sen case have been really heartwarming. The demonstrations have brought many of us together, who feel enraged and upset over the judgment. Clearly, if our numbers continue to grow, we will soon be in a position of strength and will ensure the release of Binayak and many others.

The case against Binayak Sen has become a focal point to oppose the attempts by the state to criminalise civil rights activities. Yet, we strongly feel that in order to make the entire campaign into a success we have to enlarge the present focus from the individual, Binayak Sen, to include the co-accused, Piyush Guha and Narayan Sanyal, and also take into consideration the plight of others who are similarly imprisoned in unfair cases of sediton.

Consider the following : Piyush Guha, the supposed courier in this case, has never been granted bail. He lost his parents in the course of these three years but was not given the right to even attend to the last rites of his parents. Piyush was kept in illegal custody and tortured for five days and he was only produced when the Chhattisgarh PUCL issued a statement demanding his whereabouts. His family lost its breadwinner and his wife, Rupa Guha, has been carrying out a lone fight for three and half years. Our efforts in demanding the release of Binayak must include the release of Piyush Guha.

Narayan Sanyal, the other co-accused has been in jail for five years already. He is old and ailing and is suffering from a chronic and painful ailment, fibromatosis. Despite directives from the court, he has not received any serious medical treatment in prison. The argument that his being a Maoist ideologue is sufficient to keep him in prison for the rest of his life is unfair, cruel and undemocratic particularly since the other cases in which he has been arrested have nearly collapsed. As has been pointed out by many, the decision to charge him with sediton happened only after the police arrested Binayak Sen. Narayan Sanyal's case (even his supposed role in the present one) is a fit case for us to ask not only for his release but also to demand a repeal of the ban against CPI(Maoist).

Our campaign must focus on demanding the repeal of undemocratic 'security' legislations like UAPA, CSPA etc or under unfair provisions of the IPC like 'sediton' (S 124 A) and 'waging war' (S 121 of IPC). The most recent conviction of Asit Sengupta, editor of the well known journal, World to Win is most worrying. Sengupta was arrested by Chhattisgarh police (and illegally detained, of course!) in January 2008 and never granted bail. On the same day when Binayak, Piyush and Sanyal were given life imprisonment, the same day Asit Sengupta was convicted and sentenced to eight years imprisonment for his work as an editor and publisher by another Raipur court. Kopa Kunjam, activist of Vanvasi Chetna Ashram (Dantewada) who was working to re-settle displaced Adivasis in Netra villa, has been implicated in a murder case. Nine activists, including Kartam Joga of Adivasi Mahasbha, campaigning against landgrab in Lohandiguda, (Bastar) have been accused of involvement in the attack on CRPF personnel. There are innumerable incidents of this nature which are taking place in Chattisgarh and elsewhere where joint operations are going on.

Friends, we need to fight together to ensure that :

1. The entire miscarriage of justice begun in 2007 should be rectified and all the victims should be unconditionally released and compensated for their unfair stay in jail.
2. Withdrawal of undemocratic 'security' legislations like UAPA, CSPA etc
3. Repeal of archaic and colonial provisions like sediton and waging war from the IPC
4. Improvement of facilities in jails, particularly medical treatment of prisoners

Harish Dhawan and Paramjeet Singh
(Secretaries PUDR)

Revolutionary war is an antitoxin which not only eliminates the enemy's poison but also purges us of our own filth. Every just, revolutionary war is endowed with tremendous power, which can transform many things or clear the way for their transformation.

["On Protracted War" (May 1938), Mao Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 131.]

Press Note from

OFMU, Odisha and Revolutionary Writers Association, A.P.

January 11

On 24th December, 2010, the police raided the village of Lundang in Gajapati District, brutally tortured all village people. The Adivasis there belongs to the catholic christian community. Their preparation for Christmas was totally destroyed. From there, they have taken four young men - Somnath Majhi, Pradeep Majhi and two others to the S.O.G camp inside SPs office, Paralakhemundi and severely tortured. Pradeep Majhi died there because of torture but the SP has concocted a story that he committed suicide in the Police lock up with shoelaces. The villagers blocked the road and protested. The district collector announced one lakh rupees ex-gratia from the Red Cross Fund. The other three were sent to judicial custody to R.Udayagiri after fabricating false cases against them.

In the month of October two Adivasi people - Gangul Tharangi (Chandrapur) and M. Suba Rao (ward member from Konda Baridi village) were picked up and tortured, causing their death in custody in Rayagada district (Gangulu in Chandrapur P.S and Suba Rao in Ramnaguda P.S). Their custodial deaths were also shown as suicides. After the people's protest blocking the road, Rayagada collector announced ex-gratia for Suba Rao.

On 28th December 2010, two activists of Gandhamadan Surakshya Parishad, Madhab Singh Thakur and Ramesh Sahoo, were killed by Bargarh police in Paikamal and floated the story of encounter. Madhab Thakur is the BJP mandal president.

When the preparations for the anniversary of Kalinga Nagar Martyrs (5th January) was taking place, 5 people from different places were forcibly taken by the police on 20th december and an encounter of these five people was shown on 2nd January, 2011 after two weeks of illegal custody and torture. They were not Maoist squad members. They are all innocent villagers and there were 4 girls among the 5 people. One of them is a 12 year girl. The encounters was shown to have taken place near Tamka Forest, Main road.

Since 1969 in Odisha, 130 people were killed in fake encounters. One in Gasma, one in Koraput armoury action (2004), one in R. Udaygiri (2006) and another in Damonjodi in Nalco (2009) are the only real encounters. Rest are fake. Even in these fake encounters except in Kopardang, Gotaa, Kutinganda and Betasing, people killed are innocent people. In the last 40 years among the 130 people died. But with Operation Green Hunt, the pace of encounter killings has increased. It has become a frequent practice and 30 innocent people are killed during Operation Green Hunt.

Though there is a state Human Rights Commission chaired by a retired high court Judge, no justice is delivered to the kith and kin of deceased nor any enquiry has been conducted into the facts of encounter killings. There are 700 people in different jails in Odisha including 120 people in Rourkela and 200 people in Koraput.

This kind of state repression and encounter killings are only to suppress the resistance of the Adivasi and democratic forces in the state, who are resisting their displacement and the plunder of resources of this state by the multinational and big companies.

We demand the state government to stop these encounter killings an illegal arrests and stop the displacement of Adivasis in the name of development. And we urge the democratic forces to raise their voices in solidarity with the fighting people.

Issued by ,

Dandapani Mohanty (General Secretary. OFMU , Odisha)

Vara Vara Rao (Revolutionary Writers Association, A.P)

We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

["Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), Mao Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 225]

Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things that are decisive. The contest of strength is not only a contest of military and economic power, but also a contest of human power and morale. Military and economic power is necessarily wielded by people. *["On Protracted War" (May 1938), Mao Selected Works, Vol. II, pp. 143-44.]*

CPI (Maoist) Statements

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

December 4, 2010

OBSERVE 'BLACK DAY' ON DECEMBER 6 OPPOSING HINDU COMMUNALISM!

**Rebuild Babri Masjid At The Same Site!
Isolate And Defeat Hindu Fascist Forces!!**

**Punish Severely Saffron Terrorists Responsible For Malegaon,
Mecca Masjid, Ajmer Sherief And Samjhouta Express Bomb Blasts!**

Exactly 18 years ago, on 6th December, 1992, Hindu religious fundamentalist goondas in connivance with the then Congress government at the centre, demolished Babri Masjid at Ayodhya. Firstly, these Hindu fundamentalists made 500 year-old Babri Masjid a controversial site by claiming it as the birth place of Lord Rama and on that pretext many a time instigated communal disturbances in the country killing thousands of Muslims. Demolition of Babri Masjid was the biggest attack by Hindu fascists in the history of our country. The likes of LK Advani, Ashok Singhal, Murali Manohar Joshi, Praveen Togadiya, Uma Bharati, Sadhvi Ritambara, who were directly involved in it were not punished by any court even till today. On 30th September, giving its verdict on the ownership rights of the controversial site, pending for 61 years, the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court with its Brahminical Hindu religious ideology did injustice to Muslims. Without any historical evidence and archeological proof it stated the controversial place to be the birth place of Lord Rama. First occupying Masjid, then demolishing, now by giving verdict to build temple, that too to handover the very forces involved in demolition, clarifies Indian state's Hindu fascist mindset. By this verdict, once again it has been proved that the Houses of justice in this country favour only exploitative classes and Brahminical Hindu religious fanatics, but not peasants, workers, dalits, women and religious minorities. By court verdicts a solution to this cannot be found, only by smashing the present system and by establishing New Democratic State, a solution to this can be found.

In the recent past, many evidences surfaced proving the involvement of saffron terrorist groups of the Sangh Parivar in bomb blasts at Malegaon, Ajmer Sherief, Hyderabad's Mecca Masjid, Samjhouta express. The leaders of VHP, RSS, Bajarang Dal and other organizations on the proxy name of 'Abhinav Bharat' conspired bomb blasts and killed many innocent people. It has become a norm for the police and intelligence agencies to blame Muslims as culprits, wherever and whenever bomb blasts take place, even if at Masjids. Arresting hundreds of youth without any reason and severely torturing, killing in fake encounters, implicate false cases, accusing of having links with ISI and thus playing with the lives is part of the Hindu communal and fascist policies of the governments. By projecting every Muslim as a terrorist through media, governments are trying to suppress them by all means. Those who demand to hang Ajmal Kasab who is involved in Mumbai attacks, at the same time keeping mum or not raising their voice loudly against Hindu fascist killers of Sangh gang is a dangerous sign. Governments are not arresting these saffron terrorists, even if they arrest a few on some occasions, are setting them free declaring innocent by not conducting thorough probe. On the other hand, those intellectuals, journalists, media organizations, newspapers and activists who dare to raise their voice against these Hindu fundamentalist forces are being attacked by Sangh gang at several places. On the whole, the communal fascistic trends of the Indian state are taking a severe form day by day.

Secular forces of all religions, democrats and progressive thinkers should come forward and fight unitedly against Hindu communal fascism. All of us must condemn the attacks of Hindu fascist forces on Muslims, Christians and all other religious minorities. At the same time all other kinds of religious fundamentalism should be opposed.

Our Party has been maintaining that the place of Babri Masjid belonged to Muslims; it should be given to Muslims and has been demanding that Babri Masjid should be rebuilt at the same site and those fascist

leaders who had demolished it must be punished severely. Our Central Committee calls upon all democratic, secular, progressive and revolutionary forces, organizations and parties to support this demand. Our CC also calls upon entire people to observe 'BLACK DAY' on December 6, by conducting meetings and processions and wearing black badges in protest of Hindu communalism.



(Abhay)

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

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

December 24, 2010

Serving people is not conspiracy!

Supporting peoples 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 2nd to 8th, 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 CSPA 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 Viswanathan, 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-Manmohan-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)

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

January 5, 2011

Revolutionary homage to Civil Liberties leader Comrade KG Kannabiran!

KG Kannabiran (KGK), the civil liberties leader, democrat and close friend of Indian revolution, breathed his last on 30 December, 2010 in Hyderabad. He was 82. His demise had left a void in the civil liberties movement of India. Kannabiran's whole life was dedicated to the civil rights movement and he fought on behalf of the poor people in the bourgeois courts to protect them from the injustices of this system. He stood firmly with the oppressed people fighting state violence on them. He always stood in support of the revolutionary masses. KGK's life was inseparably intertwined with the more than four decade long revolutionary movement in our country. He did not cave in even in the face of severe repression on 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. He was not only a civil rights leader but also an efficient and bold lawyer who undauntedly argued for the just things he stood for. In the post 70s, he left an indelible mark as a rare personality who had carved a niche in the field of civil liberties and also as a people's lawyer in India.

Kannabiran was influenced by communist politics in his youth and since the wake of Naxalbari he walked in step with the revolutionary movement in our country waged under the leadership of Maoists. Kannabiran's activity as a civil rights leader started with PUCL in 1970 and served in it for more than four

decades including being its President. 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 proved since the dark days of the emergency period of Indira raj that the “encounters” staged by the state are nothing but brutal murders. Even in his last days, as an unflinching civil rights leader he strongly raised his voice against the brutal murders of Comrades Rajkumar (Azad), Patel Sudhakar, Apparao and accused the state of perpetrating these murders.

Since the days of emergency, KGK had stood in full support 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 hundreds of prisoners which included several revolutionary leaders. 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. In his last days, he worked as the President of Andhra Pradesh chapter of Committee for Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP).

KGK had persistently argued in courts for years together in the Parvatipuram, Secunderabad, Ramnagar and Bengaluru and several other 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. KGK’s legal service were not limited to AP alone, he freely offered his services to the dalits and poor peasants who fought against age-old feudal oppression 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. He gave material help to fellow civil rights activists’ families when the activists faced state repression. 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 of Eastern Ghats 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 criticized the government when it withdrew from the talks and began a grave offensive on the Maoists and exposed the sham behind its mantra of peace chanted till then. Even when the revolutionary movement faced a setback in AP he fought firmly against state violence and inspired others.

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

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. Our party sees this decades-long service of KGK for genuine democracy, independence and oppression less India as an inseparable part of the broader movement for the establishment of people’s democratic society. The establishment of a new democratic society would ensure in the real sense all the democratic rights fought for by comrades like KGK to all the marginalized and deprived people of India and we once again appeal to all to vow to carry on the struggle for such a society on this solemn occasion. It is appealing to all democrats, intellectuals, lawyers and writers to continue the ideals and values he established and to continue his fight for the democratic rights of the oppressed masses of India. That would be the real homage one could pay to this great democrat.



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

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Press Release

January 12, 2011

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 Rayagadha 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 Kalinganagar area in Jajpur district, five Maoists including three women comrades were martyred. One among these martyrs was an Area Committee member of the Kalinganagar 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 Kalinganagar 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 Kalinganagar 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)

April 6, 2010

PLGA

Mukram-Tadimetla

PLGA

**Blowup of
Mineproof
Vehicle**

CRPF

Encirclement

Attack

PLGA