

PEOPLE'S MARCH

Voice of the Indian Revolution



**SOVEREIGNTY
AND
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
OF KASHMIR
VANDALIZED BY THE
INDIAN STATE**



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NOBODY CAN KILL THE IDEAS OF 'AZAD'!

NOBODY CAN STOP THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION!!

- Comrade Ganapathy

Recently some media persons sent some questions to Comrade Ganapathy, the General Secretary of CPI (Maoist). The martyrdom of Politburo member and party spokesperson Comrade Azad, the continuous losses to the Central leadership of the party, the issue of talks with the government, the deluge of militant mass movements in many areas, the situation of the revolutionary movement in the urban and plain areas, party stand on contemporary issues like Kashmir people's movement, Commonwealth games, judgment on Babri Masjid are some of the issues on which Comrade Ganapathy concentrated and gave his replies. We hope this interview would be useful to know about party's stand and understanding in the present situation.

– Editor

1. Many people think that your party had suffered a severe backlash with Azad's death. What are the circumstances which led to his death? How would you assess the role played by Azad in Indian Revolution? How do you plan to overcome his loss?

Com. Ganapathy: True, our party has suffered a severe backlash with the death of Comrade Azad. Azad was one of the topmost leaders in our party. He has been leading the Indian revolution since a long time. In our country, People's War is intensifying with each passing day. With the aid and support of imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, the Indian exploiting ruling classes are trying to suppress the revolutionary movement and are carrying on ruthless atrocities in an unprecedented severe manner. In this war between the people and the ruling classes, the enemy had particularly concentrated on comrades like Azad who are leading the revolution and schemed to murder them. It is as part of that conspiracy that comrade Azad was caught and killed in the most brutal and cowardly manner. The Home minister Chidambaram, who is leading from the forefront the 'War on People' launched by Sonia-Man Mohan-Chidambaram gang, central intelligence agencies and Andhra Pradesh SIB are directly responsible for this gruesome murder.

Comrade Azad was leading the entire urban movement on behalf of our Central Committee and was also looking after political propaganda, party periodicals, party education and other such crucial responsibilities. He was a most reliable mass leader. He maintained close relations with many comrades at various levels and with the revolutionary masses. In the midst of severe repression, he worked selflessly and unflinchingly in spite of the many risks involved. It is under such circumstances that the enemy came to know about his whereabouts somewhere and could catch him by laying in wait.

In July, Azad was to go to Dandakaranya. He was to participate in the political education training program planned for the party leadership cadres there. He had a contact with the Dandakaranya comrades in Nagpur city on July 1. But he and a journalist named Hemchand who was traveling with him were caught even before they reached the contact place. Both of them were taken to Adilabad forests and were killed the same night. Those who have seen his dead body said that they seemed have given him some sedative injection as soon as they caught him. This means that the enemy had caught him in a planned manner with the clear aim of killing him. They killed Hemchand Pandey too so that the truth about his murder doesn't come out. Both their bodies were thrown in the Jogapur forests in the Wankidi mandal of Adilabad district and a fake

encounter story was concocted as always.

Entire people along with our Party condemned in one voice this fake encounter and comrade Azad's murder. Many revolutionary parties, democratic and civil rights organizations had demanded judicial enquiry on this fake encounter. Intellectuals, journalists, writers and students from many states along with those in Andhra Pradesh had accused that the Central and state governments were responsible for Azad's murder. Many wrote articles and gave statements. Thousands attended the funeral procession of comrade Azad which was held in Hyderabad on July 4th. Many Maoist parties from all over the world had condemned the murder of comrade Azad and written letters to our CC hailing his services to the Indian revolution. On this occasion, I send my revolutionary greetings and gratitude to all these organizations and individuals on behalf of our CC. It is such democratic and revolutionary consciousness which would help sustain people's movements.

Azad was attracted to the revolutionary movement while he was studying in the Warangal Regional Engineering College in 1972. Azad who was exceptionally brilliant in his studies had played a dynamic role in the revolutionary movement too. He played a role in the formation of the Radical Students Union (RSU) in 1974. He was elected as the state president of RSU in 1978. He was one

of the founders of the All India revolutionary student's movement and guided it from its inception in 1985. He played a key role in conducting a seminar on Nationality Question in the then Madras city in 1981. Later he took up the responsibility of building the revolutionary movement in Karnataka and build up the Maoist party in Karnataka for the first time. He attracted many comrades like Saketh Rajan into the party. When opportunistic elements tried to split the party in 1985 and in 1991, comrade Azad had played a crucial role in keeping the party united and strong and in defeating their opportunist politics with a proletarian outlook. He worked tirelessly for twenty years as a CC member and Politburo member from 1990 till now. We cannot separate Azad's life from the revolutionary movement's history of the past forty years. Particularly, he played a key role in the ideological, political spheres, party education and running of periodicals and such. He fulfilled the responsibility of the party spokesperson since three years as 'Azad' in the most excellent and exemplary manner. He used his intellect and sharp pen outstandingly in fighting back the 'War on People' led by the Chidambaram gang. He stood as the voice of the people against the rulers and exploiters. In the development of the party's political line, in the development of the party, people's army and mass organizations, in extending the movement, in the emergence of new democratic power organs and in all the victories won, Azad's ideological, political work and practice played a key role. Unflinching commitment in face of any odds and during the ebb and flow of the movement, great sacrificing nature, selflessness, simple living, indefatigable work for the revolution and for the interests of the people, astounding study, study of changing phenomena in the society from time to time, being with the people always are some of

the great proletariat ideals established by Comrade Azad. Though he is no more, it is undeniable that he would serve as a revolutionary role model to every revolutionary and particularly to the youth, students and intellectuals.

It is true that it would be very difficult to fulfill the loss because comrade Azad's life has been completely intertwined with the advancement of the revolutionary movement. He was a great revolutionary who was steered in the ups and downs of the movement. Revolutionary movements give birth to leaders in this manner. In turn, these leaders lead the revolutionary movements down the path of victory. The sacrifice of many leaders is also inevitable in the revolutionary movement. **The very conditions which give birth to the revolutionary movements and help its advancement would give birth to its leadership too. This has been proven repeatedly in the world revolutionary history. So the material conditions which are favorable for the rapid advancement of the revolutionary movement in our country today would give birth to thousands of leaders like comrade Azad.** The ideological-political and practical work done by comrade Azad and the communist ideals he established have created the base for such an eventuality. The martyrdom of a Surapaneni Janardhan had placed an ideal in front of many comrades like Azad. Likewise many more revolutionaries would be born by taking the sacrifice of Azad as an ideal. They would lead the Indian revolution. The enemy could eliminate the physical presence of Azad but it would be impossible to stop the ideas he had spread in the party and among the people from turning into a material force.

In our history though we had lost important leaders many times and had faced many ups and downs, we had always stood up again and could advance the movement. We are still

attracting educated cadres into our party from various parts of our country. We are confident that we would be able to fill the void created by Azad's death by training them up well in practice. The ruling classes are ecstatic that they had broken the jar of knowledge by killing Azad. But those fools do not understand that thousands of Azads would be born from the land where that knowledge had been spilled. Azad had haunted the ruling classes with his political attacks when he was alive. Now even after his death he is haunting them. The ruling classes startle at the very mention of his name.

Before the death of Azad too, we had lost important leadership comrades in fake encounters and many more had been arrested. These losses are heavy too. But we would definitely overcome these losses and would definitely advance the revolutionary movement firmly.

2. In the interview you gave to Jan Myrdal and Gautam Navlakha you said that your party was ready for talks with the government. In the letter written by your spokesperson Azad to Agnivesh, he said your party was ready for simultaneous ceasefire from both sides. Now that the government had killed Azad in a conspiratorial manner, do you think it is possible to hold talks? Are you still reiterating the stand taken before the death of Azad?

Com.Ganapathy: In fact, you should put this question to Chidambaram and Man Mohan Singh. For the past one and half year, comrades Azad, Kishenji and I have been stating our party's stand regarding talks a number of times. The government has been hiding the endless brutal violence it had been perpetuating on the people and has been announcing each time that talks would be held only if Maoists abjure violence. Chidambaram has been repeatedly shouting these words from the roof top. Keeping in view the war

declared on the people and the difficulties they are facing due to it, Azad had continued declaring till the end that our party would be ready for simultaneous cease fire if the government is ready for it. His intention was to lessen the travails of the people to any possible extent. He mentioned the same demand in the letter written to Swami Agnivesh. Chidambaram and Man Mohan Singh had not only killed him in a conspiratorial manner but are shamelessly performing the same charade once again. The fact is that the government doesn't feel any actual need for holding talks. If the peace wished by intellectuals, democrats and the people is to be established, then the most meaningless thing would be to demand that the counter-violence by people should be stopped while the government continues with its killing spree. When Chidambaram announced that Maoists should stop violence for 72 hours and Kishenji responded by giving a time of 72 days, Chidambaram's answer was to target Kishenji and to intensify the attacks in order to kill him. Azad who had written the letter to Agnivesh was targeted and killed. As part of Operation Green Hunt nearly one lakh paramilitary forces and three lakh state forces have been deployed. Of these the major forces are Special Forces. Every day, every hour and every minute these forces are perpetuating countless atrocities on the people. They are targeting the people and democrats who are opposing this and putting them in jails under UAPA and other draconian laws of the states. Except for the reactionaries and their stooges in the media, nobody else is supporting this war on people in our country. Even if there are a few individuals who support it, it is not because they know the facts but because they innocently believe the false propaganda of the government. We feel that there is absolutely no conducive situation for holding talks now.

People like Agnivesh are asking us not to retreat from the dialogue

process and to come forward for talks even after the cold-blooded murder of comrade Azad. We want to ask them if they would be able to stop such conspiracies and plots the government is hatching to kill our party leaders. Doubtless, comrade Azad was killed by the government in a conspiracy. The post-mortem and forensic reports too prove this beyond doubt. So we request all democrats, peace-loving intellectuals and human rights' organizations to come forward with the firm demand that judicial enquiry should be conducted on Azad's murder.

It is crystal clear that there is no conducive atmosphere for talks. In spite of this we request the people and democrats to demand the government to prove its commitment towards the process of talks by coming forward to implement the following steps.

1) Stop Operation Green Hunt. Withdraw the paramilitary forces. If the government stops its offensive on the people, then the counter-offensive of the people would also stop. As many intellectuals are saying, if the offensive of the government doesn't take place then there would be no need for the people to resist.

2) Ours is a political party like many other parties in this country and the world. Our party has an ideological and military line and aim and correct, clear-cut policies on matters relating to culture, caste, gender, nationality, ecology etc. Even according to the laws formulated by these ruling classes, democratic rights would apply to our party. So the ban on our party should be lifted. Ban on our mass organizations should be lifted. Absolute democratic opportunities should be created for mass mobilization. Only in conditions where we could work democratically, we can come forward for talks.

3) In Andhra Pradesh, comrade Riyaz who had participated in talks with the government in 2004 was

caught and murdered after torturing him brutally. Others who participated in talks were targeted and attempts were made to assassinate them. Now comrade Azad who was working to facilitate the process of talks was murdered. So, it is not possible to believe the government and send underground comrades for talks. Therefore if the government releases our leadership comrades from jails, then they would directly represent our party in the talks.

So, you people should think about these three demands and place them before the government. We want to make it clear once again that any questions regarding talks should be put to the government first and not to us.

GK Pillai, Prakash Singh, Chidambaram and such likes are saying that we would come into line only if pressure is built up on us through intensification of fascist military offensive on our party and massacring the people. They are living in a fools' paradise. Building pressure, creating illusions in the name of talks, deceiving and destroying the party - this is the strategy of the government. In fact, our party is fighting for peace too. They believe only in suppression and they are incompetent in facing us politically and ideologically. People are fighting under the leadership of our party with the lofty aim of establishing permanent peace by ending the exploitation, oppression, brutal suppression and violence in our country and in the whole human society. **We see the issue of 'talks' and 'peace' as part of class struggle too. When class struggle intensifies, it would be in an armed form. In other circumstances it would be conducted in peaceful methods too.** So it is completely false that our party would come for talks if pressure is built up.

And then, a fake propaganda is being conducted through the media that there are differences in our party regarding talks and that they are mainly

on the lines of erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile People's War. This is hundred percent false. This is nothing but false propaganda by the enemy to create doubts in peoples' minds about our party to carry on their aims. Our Unity Congress has taken a clear stand on the matter of talks. The struggle between correct ideas and wrong ideas is a continuous process in the party. We would solve our differences of opinion by abiding the principle of democratic centralism and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This would only lead to the development of the party. We achieved great unity with the merger of the two parties. Now any discussions or conflict of ideas which takes place in the party would be in the form of ideological and political discussions in a united party and not in the form of differences between erstwhile MCCI and erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War). We categorically state that the differences would never ever take the form of conflicts before the merger.

3. You are saying that the government has declared a war on the people. The government is saying that there is no war and that Operation Green Hunt is a figment of imagination of the media. It is very clear that coordinated attacks are carried on your party in all states. How is this offensive going on? How are you facing it and plan to face it?

Com.Gsnapathy: It is not just us who are saying that the government had declared a war on the people. All the people are saying so in one voice. All the people of the areas where this war is going on are saying so. All the democratic organizations, progressive forces and democrats of our country are saying very clearly that government is carrying a war on the people and are condemning it. The government is carrying on war on people and is blatantly lying that it is not the case. While Longkumer, Kalluri and Viswaranjan announce that the

Operation Green Hunt is going on, on the other hand Chidambaram shamelessly declares that there is no such thing. It is increasingly getting exposed how terrible, how cruel fascist act this Green Hunt is and how dreadfully it is being carried on. In fact, in the various states where Maoist movement is present, nearly one lakh paramilitary forces are deployed. If we look at the number of police forces deployed in 9, 10 States against our movement it would be nearly three to four lakhs. What is the reason for deploying such a huge contingent of forces? What are these forces doing on a daily basis? Why are they increasing carpet security and construction of base camps, special training schools and jungle warfare schools? Why is the police budget of each state increased to such huge amounts and so rapidly? Why did the government release a package of thirteen and a half thousands of crores of rupees at once? Why huge sum of over one trillion rupees was allotted for internal security? Why are the central and state governments spending thousands of crores of rupees annually with the evil design of eliminating our movement? Why is the government carrying on mopping up campaigns in our strong areas like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Maharashtra, North Andhra and North Telangana? Mopping up means destroying everything. Anybody can be killed, arrested, missed, raped and property, houses, harvest and everything can be destroyed. All this is nothing but fascist rule.

It is as part of this war that the enemy is concentrating on our leadership and killing them in the most brutal manner and putting them in jails by arresting them in an undemocratic and illegal manner. The government has chosen armed repression as the main form and carrying on this war. However, in support of this it is carrying on the offensive in all other spheres, i.e.,

political, ideological, psychological, cultural spheres in a multi-pronged attack.

That is why the people are consolidating themselves under our party leadership with a clear strategy, intensifying the people's war and establishing a new political power, new economy and new culture as an alternative to the present rule of the exploiting classes. Under our party's leadership our PLGA, our new power organs and people are fighting a life and death struggle against MoUs worth billions of rupees which the central and state governments had signed with MNCs and big comprador corporate houses in many states such as Odisha, Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh etc. That is why; people are saying that this callous government is lying when it says that this is not a war. People, democrats and revolutionary forces are strongly and unitedly opposing and equally strongly fighting back the war on people which the government is intensifying day by day. Democratic forces, anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary proletariat all over the world are also strongly opposing and protesting this war on the people waged by the ruling classes of our country.

I want to clearly state one thing here. This war on the people is a brutal war launched by the government to suppress our just movement. This is an unjust war politically. This war by the ruling classes is carried on with a clear political aim. This would permanently continue the exploitation and oppression of the people. The self-defence war waged by the people also has a clear political aim. We are fighting with the aim of establishing a new society by destroying the exploitive and oppressive system. These two aims are completely at the opposite poles. At present revolutionary war is being

waged in our country. The rulers are waging counter-revolutionary war against this revolutionary war. Both of these are seriously confronting each other. They represent the interests of two completely opposite classes.

Firstly, we want to fight back this war politically. The political aim of our resistance war is very clear. Depending on how deeply the vast masses understand this, how much they consolidate themselves, how much they arm themselves, we will be able to end this war as soon as possible. We are striving hard for the same. That is why we are fighting the enemy in a multi-pronged manner in all spheres.

4. Chidambaram and Man Mohan Singh are repeatedly asking you to 'abjure violence'. But the attacks of your people's liberation guerilla army are continuing. Don't you think this is making it difficult to arrive at a solution? In the background of your recent attacks at Tadimetla (Dantewada), Kongera (Narayanpur), Silda (West Bengal) and Lakhisarai (Jharkhand), some people are expressing their anxiety that you are responding only with military means. They are saying that this would facilitate the deployment of army and that it would lead to more violence and greater loss of lives of ordinary citizens and adivasis. What do you say?

COMRADE GANAPATHY: Our central leadership has clearly stated our stand many times on this issue. I will do so one more time. It is nothing but a big deception and charade by the government to ask the people to abjure violence while the state continues its violence. It is violating its own laws and is massacring the people. So it is very necessary that every democrat and any politically conscious person questions the government on this and demands that it stop the violence and war on the

people. They should demand that it is the government which should abjure violence. When the government says that we are practicing violence, it is just like a thief shouting 'thief, thief'. It is trying to divert attention from the real issue by doing so.

People whose consciousness has risen would not sit quiet and suffer these attacks carried on with the aim of looting their resources and to turn them into permanent slaves using the government mercenary armed forces. They would resist them by arming themselves. **All the members of our people's guerilla army are none other than masses who have armed themselves voluntarily. These masses who had been exploited and oppressed like slaves since generations have understood the laws of historical development of society and are fighting by arming themselves. Our party is repeatedly making this clear – there is only one way for the people to achieve their liberation and that is the armed way. It means arming themselves, forming themselves into an army and waging an armed struggle.** When crores of people of our country increase their political consciousness and build up a vast, strong army and when this army fights effectively, it would be possible to put an end to this exploitative rule. The soon this happens, the better for the people. That is why our party gives a call to the youngsters of this country every year on the occasion of the anniversary of the formation of our PLGA to arm themselves. This call is increasingly spreading widely among the people. The attacks carried on recently by our people's army under the leadership of the party and with the active support of the people at Tadimetla (Mukaram), Silda, Lakhisarai, Kongera etc., are all military attacks. Who is anxious about these attacks? Is it the ruling classes and its mercenaries or the people?

People are celebrating each occasion of a successful raid like a festival. Each such attack is giving a political message in a practical manner and showing them the path of liberation. The people understand this exactly in this manner. On the contrary seeing all these, the ruling classes are trembling with fear.

However, people who do not understand our movement and those who are not clear about it are anguished about the losses on both sides. We can understand their anguish. But the people cannot stop their war and resistance just because they are anguished. What they should understand is why is such an intense war going on? Why are hundreds of people participating in each attack? Where are we getting the active support of the people? Why are we getting it? If they try to understand this it would become clear. Then they would realize the need for such big attacks, more such big attacks and the need for more such attacks to take place more frequently. Then even they would celebrate whenever such attacks take place. They would also wish whole heartedly that such attacks should take place. But enemies of the people would always oppose them and they would resort to bigger attacks on the people in a more reactionary manner. They would foolishly choose suppression as the only way and would be hated by the people. As a result, they would again become victims of bigger attacks by the people.

As to the question if our attacks are facilitating the deployment of army - if people do not fight back, if they silently bow their heads and suffer exploitation and oppression which are going on since centuries, then there is no need even for police and paramilitary, leave alone the army. Then there would be no need for the ruling classes to carry on attacks too. As people have gained consciousness and have understood the real story behind exploitation and

oppression, the fraud of parliamentary system and fake democracy, as they are fighting for land to the genuine peasants and for genuine democracy for the people, the rulers are resorting to serious suppression fearing that their foundations are being shaken. These fools, who do not realize that their policies would only lead to an intensification of the people's resistance, are making all preparations to deploy the army. In fact, the army had planned for counter-revolutionary Salwa Judum military campaign during Vajpayee's rule when Advani was the home minister. The home ministry approved it. The Congress which came to power after Vajpayee's government was toppled at the centre and the BJP which came to power in place of Congress in Chhattisgarh implemented this decision. From then onwards, the army has been very actively using all its commands (Northern, Central, Southern, Western and Eastern), has formed special structures in all of them and has been giving all kinds of advices to the state police departments through them. It formulated the strategy for the war on people and is providing all kinds of training, intelligence, technology and deployment plans to the central home ministry. It applied LIC policy formulated by the imperialists to suppress the Maoist movement in the concrete conditions of India and is implementing it with its own characteristic features and with increasing intensity. At present the army is not directly participating in attacks carrying guns. But army officers, some specialists and intelligence officers are directly giving guidance to the counter-guerilla operations in our strong areas. This has been happening since three, four years. So it is not true that they would be deploying the army because of us doing some attacks. They would deploy the army as part of their evil design to suppress the peoples' struggles. Counter-insurgency forces

are built inside the army for this purpose. They are building new cantonments, air-bases and helipads, as if on the borders, on a war footing. They are restructuring the whole state system in accordance with their counter-insurgency policies. This means that the rulers had made all kinds of preparations to perpetuate unprecedented level of atrocities, massacres and destruction on the people of our country. Our party feels that all revolutionary parties, democratic organizations and intellectuals, nationality liberation organizations, anti-imperialist patriotic organizations and the entire Indian people should realize this and resist this actively and intensely without any delay. The people of our movement areas are also thinking in similar terms and are hoping for it.

It is true that the deployment of the army would lead to more violence on the poor and the adivasis and would lead to greater loss of lives. When people are fighting in self-defence it is the exploiters and their stooges who constitute just five percent of the population that are suffering casualties. **But in the violence perpetuated by the state, it is vast masses of oppressed people who are facing losses. People who are in the form of PLGA, the Maoist party, mass organizations and Janathana Sarkars are losing their lives.** So one should understand this. When ordinary citizens and adivasis are suffering losses on such a large scale, one should firstly question as to why this is happening? It doesn't serve any purpose to make confused arguments, either innocently or deceptively, that innocent people are dying. In this background of loss of lives, the oppressed people and the vast masses are putting a straight question to everybody – are you on our side or on the side of the rulers? It means there is no neutral ground left in between. So we request all those who express

anguish about loss of lives to rethink in the background of this question.

On this occasion I want to bring some things to your notice. On June 12th, 2,000 state police and central paramilitary forces had attacked a political camp being held by our party's Eastern Regional Bureau in Korhat forest of Jharkhand. Cobra forces, BSF and Jharkhand STF were involved in this attack. Three Air Force helicopters were used. Though the government said that 2,000 forces were involved, in fact more forces were involved. There were only two guerilla companies of our PLGA in that area. Our weapons were inferior. What was the reason for thousands of government forces to carry on this massive attack on our party and PLGA which are in that position? Is this war or not? Why are they hiding the glaring fact that this is a war? Why did they have to wage this war? Since the attack was done by mercenary forces, since it was done for the interests of a few exploiters, whether it was the commandos or Special Forces that had attacked, could not withstand the heroic resistance of our guerillas. Our comrades who have high political consciousness and sacrificing nature have fought back this attack bravely. In our counter-attack some Cobras have died and more were injured too. But the officers who led this attack do not even have the guts to announce how many of them were injured and how many had died. They are afraid that if the facts are announced, the morale of their forces would come down.

Between 25th and 27th of September, again in Jharkhand, the government forces attacked on a huge scale, a political camp being conducted by our Eastern Regional Bureau in Saranda forest with information. The police and paramilitary higher officials had themselves announced that five thousand (equivalent to a regiment) troops were deployed and helicopters

were pressed into service. In fact, the number of troops which attacked would be much more. So one can understand how big a war the government is waging. What would you call this if not war? Once again, why are they hiding the fact that it is a war even after attacking at a regiment level? Would they perhaps agree when they attack with a division level force? On whom are they waging this war? Here too, like in Korhat, our comrades bravely retaliated this enemy attack. In Korhat comrade David lay down his life. In Saranda too a comrade was martyred. The enemy forces faced more losses. But to hide this fact, they resorted to false propaganda that three of their men were killed and ten to twelve Maoists were killed, huge quantities of weapons and other material were seized and training camps were destroyed by them.

Under the guidance of US imperialists, the number one enemy of the world people and taking the help of Israel, one of the cruelest governments of the world and a stooge of US, the Indian government is waging this war. Whatever the government may say, how much ever Sonia, Man Mohan and Chidambaram gang and their boot-licking intellectuals may lie, the massive attacks in Korhat and Saranda were nothing but war. We are also candidly and clearly announcing that all our attacks have been carried out as part of our war of self-defence. Ordinary people are facing huge losses in the unjust war waged by the government. So we are once again appealing to all people to oppose and resist this unjust war.

5. The ruling classes of our country are saying that Maoists are not sincere about people's issues and they are not bothered about people's welfare and that their only aim is to 'overthrow the democratically elected government using armed force and establish communist rule.' What is your explanation for this?

Com.Ganapathy: The ruling classes are not at all morally qualified to hurl accusations against Maoists, who are sacrificing their lives for the people or to comment on their concern and commitment regarding people's interests, people's welfare and people's development. Our aim is to overthrow this 'democracy' and 'parliamentary rule' which are nothing but means for the dictatorship of the feudals and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and which stand in complete opposition to 95% of the population's interests, using armed force and to establish new people's power. We feel it is wonder of the wonders to say that these elections and parliament are sacred and that the present rule is the highest form of democratic rule!

We are telling the people to overthrow this dictatorial government and build a government of their own which is genuine democracy of the four classes, i.e., workers, peasants, urban middle class and national bourgeoisie. People are consolidating themselves and fighting for it. Anybody who knows the ABC of politics would know this. But the rulers are saying that the constitution and parliament are sacred and above class interests. **This dictatorial and bourgeois parliament and state machinery which they had established by colluding with the imperialists would serve none else than those classes. They may be sacred for those classes but they are a big menace for the people. So it is their birth right to pull them down. It is their democratic right. They should establish a genuine democratic political system which constitutes new legislative bodies and a new constitution.**

And, we are not the ones who are obstructing development. It is the ruling classes who are doing so. People are performing agricultural tasks while fighting back the horrible violence and destruction perpetuated by fascist gangs like the Salwa Judum,

police and paramilitary in Dandakaranya. The militia is doing sentry in defence near the fields and reaping the harvests. The People's Liberation Guerilla Army is safeguarding the harvest of the people. The mercenary forces of the government are attacking such units and killing them. The government forces are wreaking havoc in the adivasi areas by destroying their property, burning homes and whole villages, seizing hens, pigs, cattle and what not from the hapless poor people, destroying the fields and burning the harvest. This enormous destruction is the development policy of the rulers. Here, it is crystal clear that who the bitter enemies of the people's welfare are.

Of course, we are calling upon the people to overthrow this unholy state. We are calling upon the people to destroy this menace of the people and to liberate themselves. Only through this liberation struggle the people would be able to establish new power and be able to achieve all-round development with an alternative line in all spheres. The development we are talking of is definitely not the one dictated by the IMF and the World Bank and also not the development policy proposed by Ahluwalias, Rangarajans, Man Mohan Singhs, Chidambarams and Pillais. The development policy we are proposing would change the relations of production qualitatively and thus would lead to the qualitative development of the productive forces. It is a real development policy which says that one should oppose placing the sovereignty of our country at the feet of foreign firms, that it should also be an independent and a self-reliant one, that the resources in our country should be used not for the imperialists but for the people. Many intellectuals and researchers who have visited our areas had already written that an alternative political power is being established in

our areas. Many are realizing that we are having an alternative line in all spheres like in ideological, political, organizational, military, economical, cultural, and ecological spheres. Observers have written clearly about the increasing development in all these spheres, though at a primary level.

6. Many democrats had raised their voices against Operation Green Hunt. But don't you think that your party would lose sympathy with incidents such as beheading of Francis Induvar, Jamui massacre, blasting of bus in Dantewada and Gnaneshwari Express accident? What is your explanation about these incidents?

Com.Gsnapathy: Firstly, I am sending my revolutionary greetings to all the democratic forces which are opposing and protesting this cruel and unjust war on the people waged by the government. Now coming to bad propaganda and the accusations on us, we do not have any hand in the incident which led to the accident of Gnaneshwari Express. Already our West Bengal party has clearly issued statements in this matter. This incident occurred due to the conspiracy hatched by CPI (M) and the central intelligence agencies. Though judicial enquiry in this matter has been handed over to the CBI, Umakant Mahato who was portrayed as the main accused was caught and killed in a fake encounter. This is also a part of that whole conspiracy. **Our party which is fighting with the aim of liberation of the people had never conducted any raids or attacks targeting the people or with the aim of killing them and would never do so in future too.**

Our party had already clearly given a statement stating the facts which led to the bus blasting near Chingavaram in Dantewada district. Our party had issued an apology too for the mistake. In the case of Induvar's beheading Com. Azad had already answered clearly. Our party's stand on such

issues is very clear. When exceptions occurred our party had given explanations. But the ruling classes are intentionally doing bad propaganda to defame the revolutionary movement and the people's resistance. The Gnaneshwari Express case is an evident example of this.

There is a lot of difference between the Induvar issue, Dantewada bus blast and the Gnaneshwari incident. Near Chingavaram, our targets were clearly the Koya Commandos and SPOs. These blood thirsty forces had raided a village named Kutrem, killed three adivasis, raped women and were returning. But we did not know that there were people inside the bus. The information we had was that SPOs had got into the bus after forcing the people to get down. On the roof top of the bus too it was these armed killer gangs who were traveling. So we considered it a military target and attacked it. **We do not have any hand in the Gnaneshwari accident. In Induvar's case, our party had given a clear explanation. While resisting the killer gangs and the endless cruel violence perpetuated on them, people may in some places, very rarely as an exception, resort to such acts as part of taking revenge. Unless we understand the uneven social conditions in our country, we will not understand this problem.** The conditions in urban areas are different in one sense. In the remote rural areas, where there is the cruelest feudal and upper caste oppression, where people are suffering from the inhuman violence perpetrated by Salwa Judum, Sendra, Harmad Bahini and such killer gangs, where they are victims of the huge destructive campaigns of the state, the resistance of the people may sometimes take such forms too. Even in the urban areas, in the bastis where people are victims of the notorious usurers, slum lords, politicians, mafia gangs and police officers hand in glove with the gangsters and politicians, the resistance of the people may take such

forms too. The killing of the notorious rapist and goon in Nagpur by the basti women is just one instance out of many such incidents. This is just an explanation as to why such things happen and it is very clear that our party doesn't carry on such incidents as a policy. Our attitude is that we should educate our people and ranks in this matter. Some intellectuals who lick the boots of the corporations are doing such bad propaganda on us by making a mountain out of a molehill.

In the Jamui incident, a reactionary gang sponsored by the government had caught eight of our comrades in Phulwaria-Kodasi village and killed them in the most heinous, brutal manner by chopping off their limbs. When such incidents happen, we will never be able to safeguard our movement or our people if we keep quiet and do not act. That was why we were compelled to counter attack. In this attack, nine people died including three main *goonda* leaders. It is extremely sad that a woman and a child were caught in flames and had died accidentally. All the other seven were hard-core criminals, killers and lumpen elements. Our Bihar-Jharkhand Special Area Committee had issued a clear statement on this. It was published in the Bihar papers and in the Maoist Information Bulletin-17.

On the whole, the governments and some paid intellectuals in their service who blow their trumpet are falsely implicating us and trying to defame us. In some incidents where we committed mistakes, they are not even bothering to listen to our explanation and are continuing the bad propaganda on us. So our request to the people and pro-people intellectuals is not to get deceived by the government's psy-war. **Our people's army which had been formed to defend the interests of the people would lay down lives for the people but would never try to harm the people.** So try to know the facts behind each incident. We are always

prepared to accept any proper criticism and are always ready to correct our mistakes, if any.

7. The police and paramilitary forces which are losing their lives in your attacks belong to the poor and middle class families. On the one hand you say that you have taken up arms for their liberation and on the other hand you annihilate persons from these classes who join the police and paramilitary forces. Does this not send the wrong message to poor and middle class families? How do you look at this problem?

Com.Ganapathy: Any politically thinking person should understand that the state and state machinery are the means of the ruling classes for carrying on exploitation and oppression. The crucial components in these are the police, paramilitary and military. The number of the exploiters is always very limited. They would not even constitute five percent of our population. But they hold the means of production under their control and have built up the police and military to exploit and suppress the vast masses that constitute the majority. The rulers are recruiting them from among the people. That is why; the majority of these forces belong to the poor and middle classes. These forces are waging war on the people on behalf of the exploiting classes. As these are the forces that stand in the forefront in the war, it is inevitable that they would die in the self-defensive war of the people. But if exploitation and oppression are to be ended, if oppressed people are to be liberated and this agonizing situation is to end, then this war of self-defence is inevitable.

In our areas some individuals from the police and paramilitary forces meet us. They help us and we help them too in various forms. Only when the government forces come to attack us carrying guns, we are attacking them in self-defence. **Our repeated appeal to the lower level personnel in the police and paramilitary forces is –**

please do not betray your own class, don't serve the exploiting classes, don't attack the people and revolutionaries on your own consciously in a revengeful manner, join hands with the masses and turn your guns against the real enemies and not on your class brothers and sisters. What you are doing is not service to the people but service to the exploiting classes. So stop serving the exploiting classes like slaves. Don't just think of your livelihood, please think about the people, and think about the country.

Our appeal to their families is that they should see to it that their family members do not serve this exploiting system for temporary interests; encourage them to be on the people's side. When these families reside in our areas, our people's governments will ensure that they get proper livelihood and necessary help as part of whatever the oppressed people get. We want to make this clear on this occasion to those families one more time.

8. Your party had immense support of the people in the initial days in areas like Lalgarth and Narayana-patna. But these movements are facing severe state repression at present. What is your party's strategy to advance these movements and to build such movements in other areas?

Com.Gsnapathy: In Lalgarth and Narayanapatna, our party gained the vast support of the masses. When mass struggles erupted and spread like a prairie fire in these areas, they not only got the support of the people of those states but also attracted the democrats and people of our country. It is no exaggeration to say that our country had not seen struggles with such huge and vast support of the masses in the past 20 to 25 years. Our party is working in Lalgarth area since three and half decades. As the revisionists who were in power since three decades had been carrying on social fascist repression on the people,

severe discontent and hatred simmered and finally erupted like a volcano. Most of the land lords, bad gentry, goons, contractors, traders and police officers who were exploiting the people at local level are the revisionist CPI (M) hoodlums. They had oppressed the people in all spheres. In the background of such a situation, the anti-people CPI (M) government had allowed the steel plant of Jindal in Salboni and this led to the Lalgarth movement. Later the atrocities of the police on the people of that area added fuel to the fire. The distinctive feature there is that people had been under the social fascist oppression of CPI (M) since decades.

The ruling class parties of Congress, Trinamool and CPI (M) have been clashing with each other in West Bengal. In some places clashes took place between CPI (M) and Trinamool and in some places between CPI (M) and Congress. During the Nandigram struggle, this contradiction between the ruling classes intensified more seriously. Its impact could be seen in Lalgarth too. The Lalgarth struggle started mainly as an anti-state movement and spread to all spheres of life. As it consolidated and spread vastly, it brought to a standstill the state machinery and by arming itself had established new political power though at a primary level. It established itself as a political power system in all spheres such as education, health, sanitation, irrigation facilities, transport, trade, economy, culture etc. This is one of the characteristic features of that struggle

And in the Narayanapatna struggle - from a class point of view, land lords, usurers and bad gentry drank the blood of the people there. The Narayanapatna peasantry consolidated and armed itself against their exploitation and oppression. They occupied thousands of acres of *patta* land. They fought most militantly on a vast scale and politically broke down the feudal-bad gentry, usurer system

and started new democratic political power organs. As the right opportunism of fake revolutionaries like Kanu Sanyal and Ramachandran became a hindrance in this anti-feudal struggle and in getting the peasantry organized, it became inevitable for them to fight against it. So, when seen from an ideological point of view, this became possible as the peasantry raised its political consciousness and revolted against revisionism by rejecting their leadership.

These two struggles were waged with a clear political stand and with the aim of establishing new political power. They were very just struggles. They had mobilized huge majority of the people in those areas. They had established new leadership. They were struggles with immediate aims which were waged in coordination with the higher aim. The people rose like a hurricane and these struggles had challenged the state, exploiting classes and the imperialists. So the state launched a massive attack on them. In these two areas, many changes occurred in struggle forms and organizational forms. In Narayanapatna right opportunist forces had also joined hands in the most reactionary fashion with the feudal forces and bad gentry and jointly carried on attacks on the people.

Seeing these growing struggles, the central and state governments schemed against them and deployed paramilitary forces on a large scale. In Bengal, Harmad Bahini, the neo-fascist force under the leadership of CPI (M) is conducting attacks along with the central paramilitary forces and the state police. As the central and state governments had jointly undertaken a massive attack on the Lalgahar movement, we had to make changes in the struggle forms and organizational forms which were in vogue till then. When continuous attacks are taking place without any respite, changes should necessarily be

made in the mass struggle forms and organizational forms. Then sustaining the movement in the face of attacks becomes primary and the changes made would also be in accordance with this. It is not correct to assess that mass support for these struggle organizations has become less, by looking at this phenomena. If these movements sustain themselves, become more consolidated, more armed, gain more active support of the masses and extend to more new areas and strengthen the party and army, then they would be able to develop further. This process is underway under our leadership.

We would definitely strive to advance these movements and to build such movements in other areas. These struggles have given us great lessons. Taking them as a model we are trying to build movements in other parts of our country. The conditions which led to the eruption of these movements are exactly prevailing all over the country. Wherever the big corporate companies and MNCs are rushing forward to loot our resources, wherever feudal exploitation is severe there is every chance for struggles on the lines of Kalinganagar, Nandigram, Lalgahar and Narayanapatna to break out. We will lead these struggles.

9. At present it looks as if your movement is confined to the remote forest areas and adivasis. You are not getting large scale recruits from urban areas and universities as you used to get in the past. Some people are also thinking that you can never extend to urban areas. Isn't this worrying you?

Com.Ganapathy: After merger, we have emerged stronger in some areas and become weaker in some areas. Among the areas where we have become weaker, there are some plain areas and some urban areas. Among the areas where we strengthened ourselves, there are some remote areas and some plain areas. Such ups and downs may be inevitable in a

protracted war. It is not true that we have been completely eliminated from the urban areas and plains as some people are propagating or as some others believe. As I had mentioned before, India is one of the countries where Maoist movements are on going in the world. Imperialists and the ruling classes of our country are together intensifying the offensive to suppress our movement. When they so concentrate and carry on attacks, we may suffer losses. And we have suffered losses. This is just one aspect of the problem.

We have gained many experiences in the urban areas. We have enriched our policy on urban work. We have studied the changes in the economic and political conditions of our country and the world and had formulated a program accordingly. Communists never work according to their wills and wishes. They work by studying objective conditions in the society. Basing on the positive and negative lessons we have learnt, we are trying to overcome the losses.

The second aspect of this problem is that we may suffer losses due to enemy attacks, but on the other hand due to their suppression campaigns, their pro-imperialist policies and anti-people acts they are getting more and more isolated from the people. This means that they themselves are creating the conditions for the people to turn against them. It is true that at present we are not able to mobilize workers, students and intellectuals as we had done in the 70s and 80s. There have been some considerable changes and phenomena in those conditions. It has become very complex to work in areas where the enemy is strong and in the trade union movement where the revisionists have entrenched themselves. This is not just the case in India. This condition is prevailing in the whole world. But revolutionaries would definitely overcome this. In order to liberate this country we have to concentrate on organizing the

peasantry. At present we would strengthen our movement among the peasantry and definitely extend to the urban areas. On the other hand, this peasant movement is inspiring the urban and people and is having a great impact on them. So, the days when we would vastly organize peasantry of plain areas, the suburban people and urban people are not that far off.

Today, the workers in our country are once again facing the conditions which the workers had faced in 19th century Europe. Most of the workers are turning into contract and casual labourers. They are forced to work for 12 to 16 hours in horrible conditions. Government is changing all labor laws to facilitate the imperialist exploitation. Workers' families are forced to live like slaves in the barracks built for them. Everything is being restructured. The enemy may be happy about the losses he has inflicted on us. But since people are suffering, they are fighting against them in various forms. Our party would definitely lead these struggles bravely and firmly. All the conditions required for the proletariat and the urban masses to rise like a storm and destroy the exploiting system are gradually ripening.

The Indian government has finished implementing the LPG policy of second generation reforms and is going to take up third generation reforms. Under these circumstances, it is bringing many kinds of changes in the education policy according to the needs of the imperialist capital. In the background of the imperialist-dictated changes taken up by the ruling classes in the education policy, education opportunities are diminishing for the poor children and for women belonging to working class, peasantry, adivasi, dalit and religious minority families. Privatization of education is decreasing the opportunities with each passing day. At present, education mainly means corporate-dominated education. This education system mainly caters to the interests of the

domestic and foreign corporations. This is creating a big chasm with the students, teachers, parents on one side and the ruling classes on the other. Within a short period this would erupt. Our party is recognizing the need to study and lead this. We will do everything possible in this matter.

Allowing imperialist capital into retail market and the increasing grip of the imperialist and corporate companies over our country's economy in order to overcome the economic crises have led to the bankruptcy of the small traders and small and medium bourgeoisie in the urban areas. In the name of beautification of cities slums are evacuated and middle class people are chased away to the suburban areas. The life of the working class and slum population is in turmoil. Among these people, there are many people who had migrated to the cities from our movement areas. All this is speeding up the process of these cities and towns turning into gun powder centres. We are studying all these phenomena and trying to work among them with proper tactics.

All the riches between villages and mega cities have been produced by people from poor rural areas. It is the poor, dalit and adivasi labourers who are spilling their sweat and blood for the construction of huge mansions and infrastructure by Indian and foreign corporate lords. The majority of the workers and employees who work in the shopping malls and companies are from rural areas. **Either in terms of social, economic and cultural ties or in terms of movement relations villages and cities are not two unconnected islands as such. They both are influencing each other. This is creating a strong base for our extension. So it is ridiculous and unreal to say that we would never be able to extend to urban areas. If rural areas are liberated first, then basing on its strength and on the struggles of the working class in urban areas, cities would be liberated later. Along**

with the liberation of cities the comprador rule and imperialist control would also be forced to end in our country.

10. In the urban areas, the middle classes have many doubts and apprehensions about the Maoist movement. They fear that if the Maoists come to power, they would be annihilated and that their properties would be confiscated. Would you like to say anything to allay these fears?

Com.Ganapathy: Our very revolution is concerned with the proletariat, peasantry, middle class and the national bourgeoisie. Among these classes we consider the middle class to be a reliable ally of the proletariat. They are completely affected by the pro-imperialist policies of the government. They are in fact facing great insecurity. **The lives and livelihood of middle classes are seriously threatened by the pro-imperialist policies of the ruling class and by the economic crises shaking the world and not at all due to us. The properties which we would confiscate as part of the new democratic revolution belong to the land lords, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialist corporations and none other.**

Only a very small percent of the upper crust in the middle classes join the upper classes and turn anti-people. But the entire middle class, the majority of the intellectuals and democrats who belong to the middle class would either join the movement or would stand in support of the movement. Not only during the revolution but in a post-revolutionary society too, the role of the intellectuals in building a new society would be excellent. When they join their hands with the working people, we will be able to complete the revolution sooner and also build the new society at a rapid pace. Due to the prejudices propagated by the ruling classes and some of their stooges who lick their

boots, a negligible number of them may have some fears but we want to clearly say that it is not at all the truth.

11. The central government had recently cancelled the permission given to the Vedanta Company for mining in Niyamgiri hills. Even in other states the government has itself cancelled some leases where rules were ignored. Some are commenting that there is no need for violent movements like the Maoists and problems can be solved by bringing pressure through peaceful and legal movements.

Com.Ganapathy: This is a result of the determined, united struggle of the adivasis of Niyamgiri hills and a result of the impact of the struggles at Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram etc. People's movements are carried on in various forms. The determined struggle of the people is the main factor. In fact, the very permission given to Vedanta is against their so called laws and regulations, you know. The central government had to cancel the permission in an inevitable situation and now they are falling heads over heels to portray Jairam Ramesh, Rahul Gandhi and the likes as the saviors of the people. In fact, they should have arrested and punished the Vedanta management for gross violation of rules and regulations and the political leaders and government officials for their patronage. On the other hand, this same government had given permission to the massive Polavaram project at the same time when this permission was cancelled. This is one of the biggest multi-purpose projects in the whole world. This would lead to the biggest displacement in the whole of India. After permission was cancelled to Vedanta, the very next day Rahul Gandhi went to Kalahandi and said that he was on the side of the adivasis. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Just a few days before this, it was his very same Congress government which had fired upon and killed some people and injured a large

number of people of Sompeta who were opposing the construction of a thermal power project. The people revolted because this project is being built by displacing people from their fertile agricultural lands. The ruling class gang of Jairam Ramesh, Sonia, Man Mohan Singh, Chidambaram et al had signed MoUs worth billions of rupees with MNCs and big bourgeoisie. Movements are ongoing in several parts of our country against projects which are displacing millions of people. Movements have erupted and are still continuing in Kalinganagar, Singur, Bodhghat, Lohandiguda, Dumka, Kakinada, Polepalli, Rayagadha and other places against the various projects brought forward by the big comprador bourgeoisie and the MNCs. Among these, except in Nandigram, none took the armed form. Even where we are leading them, the resistance is not yet in the armed form in all the places. Struggle forms come to the fore according to demand of the movement and the level of consciousness of the people. **There is no doubt that armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in people's war. But people's war doesn't mean fighting using guns alone. This is a form which would come to the fore depending on the level of consciousness of the people and the response of the state. We consider our people's war to be the consolidated and integrated whole of the entire stage of revolution which consists of many peaceful/violent, unarmed/armed forms of struggles and open/secret, legal/illegal forms of organization.**

If the adivasis of Niyamgiri hills think that they have won complete victory with this, it would be a mistake. They have to stand on their own feet and prepare themselves for a protracted armed struggle in a united and consolidated form. Instead of that, if they place their hopes and trust on Rahul or on the NGOs and have illusions about them, then another

company may replace Vedanta, or we need not be surprised if Vedanta itself is given permission in some other form. In Odisha, in spite of serious violations of rules and regulations by the POSCO Company, granting permission is a clear proof of its pro-corporate policy. Even Kalinganagar struggle has not been completely successful till now. Repression is being carried on again on a large scale there. Some people were murdered. There is no chance at all for the issue to be solved in a peaceful manner. If our country is to be protected from the imperialist exploitation and oppression or if Niyamgiri hills are to be protected, people need a people's army. It is a must. Even if some intellectuals or voluntary organizations take up these issues and fight, this won't be solved permanently. The world capitalist system is completely bogged down in economic crisis at present. If it has to come out of it, then it has to frantically seek cheap raw materials. So the problem would return to square one. Whether in Niyamgiri, Visakha, Sompeta, Lohandiguda or in all such places, people have to fight in a united, consolidated, militant and armed manner to solve the problems of displacement and loot of resources.

12. What is your party's response to the recent deluge of people's movement in Kashmir and the repression carried on by the government armed forces on it? What is your solution to the Kashmir issue?

Com.Ganapathy: Kashmir people have been fighting for their independence and right to self-determination for the past sixty years. Countless atrocities, massacres and violence are being perpetuated by the Indian government to suppress this struggle. More than 80,000 Kashmiris have been murdered. Though Indian rulers claim that they have eliminated militancy, the Kashmiri people have been rising in waves during various instances. Recently, in the protest

marches held from June 11th, more than a hundred Kashmiri youth were killed in firings by police, paramilitary and military. With a deployment of 7 lakh military and paramilitary forces, Kashmir valley has been turned into the most militarized zone in the whole world.

Our Party strongly supports the just movement of the Kashmiri people. Their demand for 'Azadi' (independence) and right to self-determination is fully justified. Kashmir belongs to Kashmiris. It has never been an integral part of India. Neither India nor Pakistan has any right on it.

Our party condemns this horrible repression on the Kashmiri people in the most serious terms. Indian people should condemn in one voice the government massacres continuing in Kashmir. Our party is making it clear that without doing this, it is not possible to effectively fight back or defeat the ruthless offensive of the ruling classes on the fighting people of India. Our party is concretely putting forth the following demands to resolve the Kashmir issue.

1. The massacres by the Indian government's armed forces in Kashmir should be immediately stopped!
2. Withdraw paramilitary and military forces from Kashmir immediately!
3. Immediately annul the AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Powers Act) which authorizes the military to indiscriminately kill people!
4. Conduct plebiscite in Kashmir and let the Kashmiris decide their future on their own!
5. Release all political prisoners unconditionally!

13. Commonwealth games are creating a furor all over the country. What is your party's stand on these?

Com.Ganapathy : The ruling classes conducted a big farce in the name of Commonwealth games by spending 70,000 crores of rupees in a callous

manner with least bother or concern about the poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, homelessness, displacement, floods and other such unbearable problems of the majority of our population. While 77 percent of the people are living on less than 20 rupees per day they amassed crores of rupees under the pretense of games. The crores of rupees supposed to be spent on stadiums, roads, buildings that are built for the games and in buying various equipments found their way into the pockets of corrupt officials, ministers and contractors. The labourers worked in these construction works were exploited by giving them appalling wages.

On the other hand, the lives of working class and middle class people were in turmoil due to these games. In the name of beautification of Delhi, hundreds of thousands of slum people, roadside vendors and beggars were chased away. Daily movements of the people were restricted in the name of security. All this was nothing but an exercise carried out for profits of corporations and commissions of ministers and officials. Particularly, to divert the youth from their basic problems, to make them live in an illusory beautiful world and to douse their growing discontent too, these games were held. The people gained nothing from these games except heavy tax burden.

Moreover, these Commonwealth games are themselves a remnant of the colonial past which reeks of slavery. The past colonies of Britain join it. Except the comprador rulers who serve the neo-colonialists (imperialists) none of the citizens who aspire for the country's independence and none of the patriots could ever digest the fact that our country is a member of it. Any country with self-respect would reject membership of such an association. We appreciate the participation of players from various countries in games as part of some forums. But this

could be supported only when they are held on an equal basis, without this entire extravaganza and when it does not compromise the sovereignty of those respective countries.

14. The Lucknow Bench of Allahabad High Court gave a judgment dividing the disputed site into three parts. What is your say on this? What is the solution you suggest for this dispute?

Com.Ganapathy: Our party has stated very clearly our stand on the demolition of Babri Masjid many times in the past 18 years. Recently comrade Abhay, spokesperson of our CC has in a statement clearly stated our party's stand on this. It is really very sad that the Lucknow bench of Allahabad High Court distributed the disputed site into three parts. There is no scientific basis for this at all. Nor is there any historical evidence to support this. Our party has been consistently and clearly saying from the beginning that Babri Masjid should be rebuilt on the same place where it stood. It is a crime of Himalayan proportions to demolish it. Our party's stand is that the whole site should belong to the Muslim community. Through this judgment, injustice was done to the Muslim community.

On the question of arguments about the birth place of Rama which is supposed to be the spot where Babri Masjid was erected, when we look at the history of India, there were no Masjids at all at one time, you know! Just as Hinduism and Buddhism spread from the countries of India and Nepal to the entire Indian sub-continent and to some East Asian countries, all religions including Islam have spread to various parts of the world from their place of birth. So, by showing this reason and by making this judgment a model every Masjid can be turned into a disputed site, conflicts can be given birth to. Every minority community's praying site can be demolished. Now this danger has come to the fore more clearly. After

this judgment there is every chance for the insecurity among the minority people to increase further. As our party spokesperson Abhay has stated, the people should stay alert with the fundamentalists, particularly, the Hindu fundamentalists. In Bhiwandi, Mumbai, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Gujarat and Odisha all the incidents which took place in the name of religious riots were plotted and perpetrated by the ruling classes, particularly the Hindu religious chauvinists. This judgment has given legitimacy to the demolition of Babri Masjid. Now this court judgment has created conditions for the aggressiveness of Hindu religious chauvinists to increase in various forms on the religious minorities. So we are opposing this court judgment. Our party opines that only when people of all religious minorities including Muslim minority, secular forces, democratic forces and oppressed people of our country fight unitedly and isolate the fundamentalist forces, particularly Hindu religious chauvinist forces, a proper solution could be found for this issue or other such issues.

15. Mamata Banerjee had demanded judicial probe into Azad's murder. The CPI (M) party has been repeatedly hurling accusations about the close relations between Trinamool Congress and the Maoists? Are you having some undercover relations with Trinamool even while describing it as a bourgeois party? How do you justify this?

Com.Ganapathy: We are not at all surprised that Mamata Banerjee had demanded judicial probe into Azad's murder. Anybody who is familiar with the political situation of Bengal would not be surprised with this. Democratic organizations and renowned personalities and mass organizations are demanding judicial probe and that the murderers of Azad should be held in trial for murder and punished. This demand represents the people's

aspirations. She demanded judicial probe by taking this into consideration. Why would she have any respect or affection for Azad? Who would feel that Azad had been murdered in the most unjust manner? People only who think that the political aim for which Azad had fought is justified, only those who support it and only those who are committed to genuine democracy would sincerely condemn his murder. Others may condemn it for various reasons. Mamata is also one of them. They would do so for their own interests. Though she had made this demand taking into consideration her clashes with CPI (M), and the upcoming elections, it is a welcome demand. Her demand would to some extent help the struggle of the people.

Moreover, for the past fifteen years or more, severe clashes are going on between Trinamool and CPI (M). Sometimes in some places this is taking the form of armed clashes too. The CPI (M) formed armed social fascist gangs like Harnad Bahini and is attacking Trinamool, Maoists, democrats and people to suppress them. Trinamool took up arms to fight CPI (M). So, in order to fight back these attacks and to come to power in the next elections it is natural for Mamata to speak some words to attract the people. In our country, nearly for the past 30 to 35 years the characteristic feature which is continuing in the Bengal politics is that the ruling classes have set up armed clashes with each other. We don't find this in most of the other states. Though this contradiction between the ruling classes is very severe in various forms in other states, it is not at the level of armed clashes. This contradiction got reflected in Nandigram and it was useful for the people. In the parliament and municipal elections held later, Trinamool won more seats. Now in the upcoming assembly elections the competition would be even tougher. If she has to come to power now, she is compelled to talk as if she is on the

people's side. People who hate and abhor CPI (M) would definitely teach it a lesson. **Now the entire people and democrats of Bengal want to escape from the tiger they are facing on the front side. Now for them the tiger in the front is more dangerous than the bear which is at their back. But after they chase away the tiger they cannot escape the bear's hug. Our party would continue to caution the people about this danger too. We would ask them to chase away the bear too in the future. They would have to certainly fight against the bear too. Unless people get rid of these two menaces, any one of them would continue riding on the back of the people.**

Tomorrow, even if Mamata Banerjee comes to power, she would not seize the lands of land lords and distribute them to the poor peasantry nor would she seize the industries of the imperialists and big bourgeoisie. People would not have a chance to participate freely in the elections too. This means that even if she comes to power there won't be any fundamental change. However, if Trinamool comes to power after a long rule of social fascists, it would definitely try hard to gain a tight grip over the administration. During this period keeping in view the election promises she had made, she may temporarily stop attacks on the people. But this would be only temporary. Later, people would have to fight against her government too.

And our party doesn't have any open or undercover relations with Trinamool. But on some occasions even ruling classes may talk in the interest of the people. They would take up some pro-people demands on some occasions for mobilizing the support of the people and for votes. They would even conduct some struggles. Such struggles also exist though their scope is very limited. When such people talk in the interests of the people, we would examine them

concretely. As the contradictions among the enemies are indirect reserves for the proletariat, depending on the concrete situation our party would clearly state its stand. Our party would never support or oppose such things blindly. But people should seriously try to understand their class nature and their political and economic policies and should not entertain any illusions about them. If such illusions exist, it would be a task of our party to bring them out of it.

When our stand is so clear, it is not at all proper to say as if we have relations with her party and as if we are justifying it.

16. There is a criticism on you that your party has mainly only leadership from Andhra Pradesh and that there is no adivasi leadership. How factual is this assessment?

Com.Ganapathy: This criticism is farther from the truth. Among the comrades who were elected into the CC in our Unity Congress-9th Congress there were comrades from various states. Majority of our leadership was elected from the states where our movement was strong and it is not true that they were elected from Andhra Pradesh alone. On the whole comrades from nine states who represent our party in 18 states were elected into the CC. It is very natural for more comrades to be elected where our movement is strong and from those who have led these movements since a long time. So, more comrades from Bihar, Jharkhand, Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Dandakaranya were elected to the CC.

When we look at the Indian Communist Movement from 1925, for the first time three comrades from adivasi background were elected to the CC in our Unity Congress. Before the Congress, our CC member Comrade Shobha from adivasi background was arrested. When we take into consideration the class, caste and

social conditions of our country, more of the comrades who were elected were from the background of basic classes and castes. There are comrades with long experience and efficient young comrades too among them. Our CC was formed with the three-in-one combination taught by Mao (belonging to the three generations). Some intellectuals who are not much associated with our movement or who do not know about us repeatedly question us as to why there are no women, dalits and adivasis in your leadership. This very revolutionary movement in India is carried out for the liberation of the oppressed people. The working class, peasantry and the middle class who are crushed under the exploiting classes and imperialists are the ones who are participating in the revolutionary movement. Our party has taken roots among the oppressed people and is extending among them. But from the days of Naxalbari till date, more than 12,000 comrades were killed by the state. Many of them were marvelous comrades. The vast majority of them, i.e., more than 80 percent belonged to the oppressed classes and castes. Comrades from rich peasants and upper middle class are less in number. Though we are striving to have more leadership from the oppressed classes, we had lost a majority of them in the enemy offensive and we want to clearly say that it is becoming a hindrance in achieving this goal. For example, in Andhra Pradesh more than four hundred women comrades were killed by the fascist governments. Most of them were from the background of oppressed classes and castes. Many educated women comrades who came from a middle class background were killed too. Many martyred women comrades were quiet capable of developing and were supposed to come into state committees and central committee of the party.

Not just in the CC, but in the state committees too we have comrades

from a background of oppressed class, caste, gender and tribe. As we go further down, the vast majority of the leaders are from a background of oppressed classes. It is obvious that it is these comrades who would be elected to the higher committees in the future. **We also have a goal of breaking down the monopoly which the exploiting classes and upper castes have over knowledge in a bourgeois society and handing it over to the people. After the completion of revolution, we would achieve this by generating working class intellectuals and experts in countless numbers. Today, with this understanding, we are striving very hard to educate and develop all our comrades.**

At present it is a known fact to all that the enemy is targeting the comrades from higher committees and killing them, but in the past 30 years, great, outstanding comrades and comrades who could develop were killed is a fact that you also should acknowledge.

And one more thing, when movements develop strongly in other states too, more number of oppressed people from all states would join the party and raise to the leadership ranks. This is a certainty.

Our Unity Congress has concluded that the caste-based feudalism entrenched and riding over the Indian society since centuries is built on the ideological basis of Brahmanism. Nothing can be more ridiculous than this state which has an upper caste, patriarchal, Hindu religious bias and which represents such a decadent system making false allegations against us in this matter. Some people innocently believe this false propaganda. The stooges of the ruling classes in the media are parroting the same and creating uproar. However, our people do not have any doubts on us revolutionaries.

17. There are even allegations that women activists are exploited

sexually in your party. Recently a woman commander gave an interview in the Times of India that many senior Maoist leaders had sexually exploited her. Do you think these are rare occurrences?

Com. Ganapathy: In the psychological war of the enemy on us, such allegations are an important part. The woman commander you mentioned was in fact kept in illegal custody by the West Bengal police for almost one year and later was asked to make this statement. The police bring lot of pressure and threaten in many ways the surrendered and arrested women comrades belonging to various states and make them issue such accusing statements and allegations on revolutionaries. This has been developed as a method by them after the 80s. So in this background one can assess how credible such allegations can be.

But we never said there are no shades of patriarchy in the party or that the men and women comrades haven't become its victims. We are fighting against the manifestations of patriarchy by increasing the political consciousness of our comrades and people, by taking up anti-patriarchal rectification campaigns and more than anything, increasing the consciousness, self-confidence and individuality of the women comrades and implementing pro-women policies firmly. It is a part of our practice to take disciplinary actions which include severe warning to expulsion from the party according to the severity of the mistake, on comrades who commit mistakes, however high they may be placed in the party.

In fact, in the ongoing revolutionary movement and people's war under our party's leadership women are participating on a large scale. The participation of women in the struggles against various forms of patriarchy, under our party's leadership is very inspiring to us. It is an undeniable fact that no where else in our country and

under no other party is there such a huge mobilization of women as in our party. Women warriors in our PLGA are fighting the enemy very bravely. If the accusations made against us are true, then this would have been impossible. In fact, it is an irrefutable fact that women are finding only in our movement the security, respect and equal rights denied to them in the society or elsewhere.

On the other hand, the police and paramilitary forces, reactionary militias like Salwa Judum, Harmad Bahini, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and SPOs are resorting to countless atrocities and violence on women as part of suppressing the revolutionary movement. Hundreds of village women were insulted, gang-raped, killed and tortured. They are languishing in jails under the burden of false cases. They are getting convicted. It is really surprising and sad that some organizations and individuals belonging to the civil society are making these allegations against us without bothering to speak or condemn this violence and atrocity on the women.

18. The Home ministry has recently hurled accusations at you that you are getting weapons and money from foreign countries, especially from China, Myanmar and Bangladesh. They are also alleging that you are getting help from the separatist organizations in North-East. What is your explanation?

Com. Ganapathy: This allegation is part of the psy-war against us by the ruling gangs to portray our Party as a terrorist and traitorous organization and isolate us from the people. Our weapons are mainly country-made. All the modern weapons we have are mainly seized from the government armed forces when we attack them. The enemy himself knows that seizure of arms is our main source for getting weapons. Our party supports the various nationality struggles waged for the liberation of their nationalities and

their right to self-determination. We have political memoranda of understanding with some of the organizations which are leading the struggles there. We have published open statements about these in our magazines too. **As a revolutionary political party which represents the vast masses and as a party which would lead the government that would be completely responsible for this country after we come to power, we would establish relations with countries having different political systems in the world on the basis of Panchsheel policy. Now and later too we would decide about maintaining these relations with various organizations and parties in the world in the interests of the world revolution. This is one of our candid basic policies. We have announced this policy through our party programme long back.** We would also buy weapons to fulfill the needs of our people's war from domestic and international market. This is the third and last source for our weapons. And the allegations made by Chidambaram-GK Pillai about getting weapons and money from those countries are nothing but baseless rubbish.

In fact, it is the Indian government which is buying weapons, war material and modern technology from US, Russia, France and other imperialist countries, from Israel and other countries to suppress the people's democratic movements, nationality liberation struggles and revolutionary movements. With this huge arsenal the Indian expansionists are becoming a peril for the South Asian countries and this is also increasing the arms race with Pakistan. It is sending officers from here to notorious intelligence agencies like the Mossad and CIA for training in order to target the comrades leading the revolutionary movements and kill them. It is the ruling classes and their military higher officials who are wasting the people's money, filling

their pockets with billions of rupees in the name of commissions in these transactions and betraying the country as traitors downright. Everybody should condemn this, question this.

19. Recently there have been allegations that the Maoist leadership is getting funds on a large scale from mining industries and other corporate companies. What is your answer to these allegations?

Com.Ganapathy: This is also part of the foul propaganda of the government on us. They are even alleging that we are collecting five thousand crores of rupees annually. GK, PC and Prakash Singh never tire of harping on our 'extortion'. This is the falsest allegation that has been made on us. We out rightly reject this. Perhaps their eyes are used to seeing commissions worth thousands of crores of rupees and out of habit they see our collections too in those terms. If we could have collected even one percent of that amount, we could have done so much for our people! In fact, our party mainly collects donations from the people and funds from the traders in our guerilla zones. We have a clear people's financial policy. And our party also collects rational levy from contractors who take up various works in our areas. A considerable part of these funds is spent for welfare of the people through our people's power organs. As for mining organizations, our people are fighting their best not to allow them into our strong areas. Our party is leading these struggles, it is supporting them. So the issue of collecting funds from them does not arise, you know. The police officers, government officials and ruling class parties who illegally collect crores of rupees from various organizations, pocket commissions and stack away their money in Swiss banks do not have any moral right to point a finger at us.

20. What is your assessment about Obama's policies regarding

withdrawal of US army from Iraq and Afghanistan, Indo-US nuclear deal and nuclear liability bill which was passed recently? How do you see Obama's visit to India who'll be coming next month?

Com.Ganapathy: The economy of US broke down as US had to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to continue the war in Iraq and with thousands of US soldiers dying by getting bogged down in this war and Bush losing his face as he waged the war with the arrogance that he would be able to take hold of it within a few months and could not do so. Due to these reasons, leave alone Obama, even Bush had to talk about withdrawal of forces long back. The very attack on Iraq by US is a heinous crime against humanity. In fact, the US had not fought any heroic war there. US has superior force. But what it did was to rain lakhs of tonnes of bombs on Iraqi cities and towns, kill millions of Iraqis, create havoc and destroy one of the oldest civilizations of the world and its rich heritage, culture and society. So from the day it occupied Iraq, US has been continuously facing the resistance of the rebels, patriots and freedom-loving people of Iraq.

The US imperialist completely destroyed the state, army, judiciary, legislative bodies and administration machinery built by Saddam and is building a neo-colonial state by keeping their puppets in the front. It formed a new state with the puppet forces. It could destroy Saddam and his followers but it could not solve the new contradiction which had cropped up between the people and its puppets. They are unable to suppress the people's resistance. The army withdrawn by Obama is less and that which he is continuing is more. Recently when Iraqi national forces conducted a huge raid, the US army in Iraq barracks immediately stepped out.

After Obama came to power, more than 30,000 additional troops were

sent to Afghanistan by him. A fake election farce was conducted amidst severe opposition of the Afghan people and he had his puppet Hamid Karzai elected. Ninety percent of the persons dying in US bombing are ordinary citizens. NATO troops under US leadership are indiscriminately killing Afghan citizens. The atrocities committed by US are so horrible that even their puppet Karzai was forced to open his mouth. In West Pakistan, they are killing hundreds of ordinary citizens in drone attacks. Till date, Karzai's power is confined to the cities. Afghan people have never bowed to the rule of any intruder in their whole history. They chased away the imperialists and occupiers from their land enduring all kinds of travails. Exactly as in the case of Russian imperialists, Afghan land would prove to be the graveyard of the US imperialists too. Obama is implementing the same diplomatic policies followed by Bush in Middle and South Asia, if not more callously. The US strategy for world hegemony to gain control of Caspian Sea gas and establish permanent bases in Afghanistan to surround China is bound to fail.

During UPA-I, Prime Minister Man Mohan Singh ignoring stiff opposition from the people, had civilian nuclear deal with the US passed proving himself a trustworthy servant of the US imperialists. The Nuclear Liability Bill which has been passed by the Parliament recently is nothing but a continuation of this servility. Regarding the Bhopal gas leak accident which led to gruesome death of thousands of people and disaster for hundreds of thousands of people in Bhopal, the wounds in the hearts and minds of the people of India continue to pain till this day. And now the UPA government has in a most shameless manner dared to prepare this Bill enabling many more 'Bhopals' to make their way and ensuring even if such holocausts take place, the foreign capitalists

responsible for those would be set free with far less 'liability' (just like Warren Anderson and Dow Chemicals were set free). While BJP has helped UPA government in passing this Bill, the parliamentary Left parties who call themselves Communists, have once again proved their compromising nature by not opposing this traitorous Bill firmly and not initiating people's movement against this. Man Mohan Singh worked hard to ensure this Bill passed before the arrival of Obama.

US imperialism, which has been plundering the poor countries across the world, suppressing the oppressed nationalities, pushing the notorious thugs and dictators into the power, bullying those countries who wouldn't cooperate, going to any extent to loot oil, minerals and all other natural wealth and sources, is the no. 1 enemy of world people. Its leader Barack Obama is such a person whom the entire humanity must hate. As his predecessor George Bush had accumulated the hate across the globe, US imperialist masters brought Barack Obama in a plan that people could be deceived with his skin color. Though Obama was so much rhetorical opposing the policies of Bush, after entering into the White House, all the policies and decisions taken by him till this day are nothing but continuation of the Bush administration. In fact the difference between George Bush and Barack Obama lies just in their color and in the name of their representing parties. There is no difference between them in exploiting and suppressing the world people, oppressed nationalities, countries and working class of the US. It's an irrefutable fact that this black color President was selected by the most notorious white vultures of US monopolistic corporations.

The comprador ruling classes of India are busy laying red carpet to welcome Obama. Welcoming Obama means nothing but a betrayal to the values of sovereignty, freedom,

independence, self-reliance, peace, justice and democracy. Inviting Obama to our beloved country means showing servility to its warmongering, invasive, exploitative and hegemonic policies. Therefore, on behalf of the Central Committee of Communist Party of India (Maoist), I call upon entire people, revolutionary and democratic organizations and all patriotic forces of India to register your protest in various forms and to raise the slogan 'OBAMA! GO BACK!!' loudly in one voice.

21. How do you assess the revolutionary situation in the whole of South Asia? What do you think would be the impact of the recent changes in Nepal on it?

Com.Ganapathy: According to our party's assessment, the revolutionary situation in the whole of South Asia is excellent. The assessment of the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) is also the same. In all the countries of South Asia the condition is more or less the same. Though the chauvinist Sinhala government may be arrogant that they had completely suppressed the Tamil Eelam movement under LTTE's leadership, it is impossible for them to permanently suppress the Tamil national aspirations. The conditions for it to raise its head within a short period in another form exist there. The struggle forms and organizational forms may vary. Tamil people have made immense sacrifices and have a long experience of struggle. Freedom-loving Tamil people would never rest. It would be an illusion of the chauvinist Sinhala government if it thinks that it had established permanent social peace by eliminating LTTE.

Severe revolutionary crisis is still continuing in Nepal. The state machinery has become paralyzed. All class forces are intensely clashing with each other. But the unfortunate thing is that, the Maoist party there let go the opportunity to seize political power

using this excellent crisis situation. At a time when it should continue the people's war and seize political power, it wants to come to power through the parliamentary system instead. Our party's Central Committee wrote an open letter to that party in this matter and had issued statements too.

Though such excellent revolutionary situation exists, the Maoist party is not giving primary importance to the movement in rural areas, is not mobilizing peasantry, working class and middle class masses militantly against feudalism, imperialism and Indian expansionism and just whiling away its time. It adopted a right opportunist line. It won't be much long before it becomes clear if the Nepal Maoist party would utilize the present excellent revolutionary situation, train its people in struggle and plunge into the decisive battle for final victory or if it would get bogged down permanently in the parliamentary mire. Anyway, it would depend on whether they are ready to abandon their wrong line and adopt the correct line or not. It is a fact that internal struggle is going on in the Maoist party there.

Our party's analyzes the situation in our country to be excellent. All the social contradictions in our country are sharpening too. The people of India are fighting a bitter struggle against feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism under our party's leadership. We would be able to influence the situation in South Asia by defending ourselves against the enemy offensive and intensifying our People's War.

The situation in Bhutan is excellent. Though a so-called parliament was formed in Bhutan, it is a peculiar form of constitutional monarchy masquerading as parliamentary democracy. Even in the new government the members of the king's family are the main players. Bhutan is still under the grip of feudalism and Indian expansionists. But

revolutionary party has already been formed there. The peasants there have to fight too.

The Pakistan society is facing the most severe crisis in its history. It has become a playground for the US super power's strategy for world hegemony. The phenomena in Afghanistan are intensifying the crisis too. Pakistan has become the centre point in the US plan to surround China. Oppression of nationalities is continuing severely there. Its contradictions with the Indian expansionists on the one hand and the horrible exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism on the other hand are continuing and intensifying further. So there is severe discontent among the people. But as there is no Maoist party there, it is not in a position to utilize it. This is a very unfavourable aspect.

Bangladesh is one of the most poor and backward countries in the world. The peasantry is living under the yoke of feudalism, comprador capitalists and imperialists and is the victim of their terrible exploitation. Along with this, the pressure and threats of the Indian expansionist ruling classes are also continuing severely there. The Maoist party there is facing many losses but it is trying hard to overcome them and strengthen itself. On the whole, South Asia is facing severe social crisis in the present world conditions and is having favourable conditions for the revolution.

The Maoist communist party in another Asian country, the Philippines is developing day by day and is having a strong mass base. It is strengthening its New People's Army and is fighting back the biggest ever military offensive campaign of the enemy. The government's army there is taking along the US military advisers with it and is making large scale attacks on the Maoists with the support of military helicopters. But it is the government's troops that are suffering more

casualties. The New People's Army is winning victories by bravely fighting back the attacks of the Special Forces.

In such circumstances, it is impossible for the Indian expansionists, the ruling classes of the respective countries or the imperialists to permanently suppress the Maoist, democratic, progressive, patriotic forces and national liberation struggles in South Asia. The more they try to suppress it, the more they will rise up. Moreover, the world revolutionary situation is also excellent. The situation for the flaring up of revolutionary movements all over the world is developing further.

22. Finally, how do you assess the main successes and failures after you held your Unity Congress in 2007? What do you feel about the future of Indian revolution on the whole?

Com.Ganapathy: Our Unity Congress held in January, 2007, took up the main, immediate and central task of intensifying the people's war all over the country, developing guerilla war into mobile war and developing the People's Liberation Guerilla Army into People's Liberation Army (regular army) with the aim of establishing Base Areas. As part of it, our Congress gave us many tasks such as intensifying mass struggles, extending the movement, building and strengthening the United Front. For the past three and half years, our entire party fought by keeping everything at stake to fulfill these tasks basing itself firmly among the people. In this process, we achieved some significant successes. We faced some serious failures. We gained many valuable experiences. We learnt some important lessons. On the whole, when we look at our successes, we can surely say that the necessary foundation for advancing the Indian revolution down the path of victory by gaining more successes in future has been strengthened further.

If we look at the successes....

1. In the past three and half years, in many areas of our country a deluge

of mass struggles erupted under our party's leadership. Especially in Dandakaranya, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, people participated on a large scale in struggles against the loot of their resources by the Indian and foreign corporations and particularly against the displacement of adivasis. Though the Indian ruling classes formed *goonda* gangs like Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagarik Suraksha Samiti and Harmad Bahini and perpetrated terrible violence and atrocities on the people, they fought bravely under our party's leadership and with the support of our PLGA. In Kalinganagar, Singur, Nandigram, Lalgah, Narayanapatna, Dumka, Polavaram, Lohandiguda, Raoghat, Pallamad and many other places people mobilized on a large scale and participated in struggles. Nandigram, Lalgah and Narayanapatna came to the fore as new models of mass struggles. In the various programmes we took up on political issues, we mobilized lakhs of people. People responded greatly to our political programme of boycotting the elections to various state assemblies and the parliament. In our movement areas, people boycotted elections on a huge scale and brought to the fore very strongly the need for people's political power. As part of Operation Green Hunt carried on with coordination between the central and state governments since mid-2009, people were massacred. In spite of it, thousands of oppressed people, especially the adivasis and women participated in several programmes against state repression and on various political issues in Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha and Andhra Pradesh.

2. Another important victory is the emergence of people's democratic political power at a primary level and its strengthening and extension as an alternative to the state system of the

feudal, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, run with the support of the imperialists. In our main guerilla zones of Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPCs) have been formed and are functioning. They are strengthening and extending. In Lalgah and Narayanapatna which have newly emerged on the political scene of our country, the people's power organizations which were formed at a primary level by having people's development at the core even amidst severe enemy offensive have attracted the attention of the people of our country. They overthrew the rule of the local exploiting classes and are running people's rule at a primary level. These new political power organs are working in the spheres of education, health, sanitation, water facilities and agriculture development etc having people's real development as their aim. They are a great inspiration to the oppressed people, the democratic organizations and intellectuals all over the country. They are coming to the fore as the genuine people's alternative system. As an answer to the fake development model of the exploiters, these new political power organs are bringing forth a genuine development model of the people.

3. In the past three and half years, the guerilla warfare intensified and is continuing at a higher level. Our people's guerillas conducted valiant attacks on the police, paramilitary and commando forces that are resorting to endless atrocities and violence and massacring people to accomplish the interests of the exploiting classes. Our guerillas eliminated hundreds of mercenary troops and seized hundreds of modern weapons and ammunition and improved our armoury. The guerilla war going on under our leadership is giving inspiration and self-confidence to the people. Defending the people's political power which is developing at a primary level and

defending the lives and properties of the people, our people's army had emerged as the real saviour of the people. Though the enemy is carrying on many suppression campaigns, implementing carpet security by deploying lakhs of police and paramilitary forces and carrying on attacks continuously, with the active support of the people our PLGA is growing ever more.

4. Particularly, when we observe from our Unity Congress onwards, the emergence of our party on the political scene of the country as a major alternative political force is another significant success. People increasingly understand that our political line is correct. Now, citizens of our country are showing more interest in knowing about our stands and solutions regarding many problems faced by our country. For the past 63 years people are frustrated with the bankrupt politics of the various exploiting ruling class parties, revisionists who call themselves left parties and the Hindu religious chauvinists. It is now clearly seen that they are getting increasingly influenced by the politics of Maoists and moving nearer to it than in the past. We believe that this would serve as an assurance for the formation of a strong, broad and countrywide united front in the future.

Along with these main successes, we had faced some serious failures and losses too. The main ones are...

1. As we had lost leadership forces in the enemy attack we faced serious losses. After completion of our party Congress, a considerable number of our CC members were caught by the enemy and were either killed in fake encounters or put in jails. This is the very big hindrance we are facing in achieving our goals. No doubt, this would have a grave impact on the Indian revolution.

2. Due to the severe offensive of the enemy and our failure in understanding it properly, formulating

proper counter tactics and implementing them, we were weakened in some areas and we retreated from some areas.

These are our main successes and failures. Meanwhile, the living conditions of the working class in our country are increasingly becoming worse. The peasantry is increasingly becoming penniless due to the policies imposed by the feudal and imperialist exploiters and are resorting to suicides in lakhs. In the name of new policies, the penetration of foreign capital into the fields of education, health, industry, defence, transport, media, trade etc has intensified. The exploitation, oppression and control of the imperialists increased to an unprecedented level since 1947. Severe repression is continuing on the Kashmir and North-East people who are fighting for their national liberation and right to self-determination including the right to secession. Due to the policies followed by the Indian expansionists by colluding with the US imperialists, they are bitterly hated by the people of South Asia. The socially most oppressed sections of dalits, adivasis, women and religious minorities that constitute are suffering from several problems. The state is unleashing terror on those forces which are fighting against these problems. Civil rights are becoming completely absent. None of the basic problems of the people are in a position to be solved in this present setup. **The announcement by the Prime Minister that we would become a strong economic force in the 21st century and would achieve a two-digit economic growth is a big sham. While corporations belonging to the likes of Ambani, Tata, Mittal, Jindal and Essar are amassing enormous wealth and increasing their 'development' rate at a rapid pace, they are throwing the vast masses into the whirlpool of insufferable poverty, hunger, unemployment etc.**

When we examine all these problems, it would become

increasingly clear that the fundamental contradictions in our country, i.e., the contradiction between feudalism and the vast masses, between imperialism and Indian people, between capital and labour and the contradiction among the ruling classes are intensifying further. Our party is advancing forward with an attitude of taking up the problems of the people. Our political line lays emphasis on the solution to these problems. We believe that the Indian revolutionary movement would advance down the victory path only through the People's War waged under our party leadership while strengthening our people's army with the aim of establishing Base Areas and the United Front formed by uniting all these forces under the leadership of the proletariat. We also believe that its future would depend on how this process advances. On the whole we are looking at the future of the Indian revolutionary movement with great optimism.

Our party is serving as a beacon of hope for the oppressed masses of our country. In the midst of this decadent, corrupt and loathed system our party shines like a bright star. We are not at all saying that we have ready made solutions to all the complexities existing in the world revolution and the Indian revolution. But we have a correct political line. We are confident that we can solve all these problems in a process of making the new democratic revolution a success as the first step towards socialism and communism. We believe that all the problems faced

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Fifth, strict environmental controls should be established and under no conditions should the land, water, air trees, etc. be destroyed. This too must be overseen by the people and their committee. Massive afforestation programmes should be undertaken to make up for the loss of foliage. Environmental standards must at least be equivalent to those adopted in the West.

These are just some minimum steps to be taken if mining projects are to be linked to the development of the country and its people. The essence must centre around the livelihood of the dwellers of the region and preservation and

by the society can be solved in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Likewise we will learn from international experiences too. We will apply Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology to the concrete practice of Indian revolution. We will fight dogmatism and empiricism which raise their head in practice. We will firmly adhere to mass line and dedicate ourselves to fulfill the aspirations and hopes of our people. We will determinedly fight the left and right opportunist trends and revisionism which may crop up in our party and in the international communist movement. However, there are chances for mistakes and accidents to happen in the process of revolution. So, we would accept our mistakes with a genuine self-critical attitude and humility. We will correct our mistakes. We will advance in the path of revolution till the final victory in this great war waged to establish a society where there is no scope for hunger, injustice, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, price rise, displacement, untouchability, discrimination, social evils etc by liberating our beloved country from the exploitation and oppression of feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. Our party has emerged out of the innumerable sacrifices of our cadres and leaders. They lay down their lives unflinchingly for people's democracy and communism. These selfless, exemplary martyrs are the ray of hope in our society. We will definitely hold

high their esteemed revolutionary tradition. We will establish their lofty human values in this society. We will steer clear of avoidable losses and display communist consciousness, courage, determination and sacrifice to fight back the cruel enemy. In this process, our party would steel itself in the flames of class struggle.

Many areas have already developed into guerilla zones in our country. In many areas people's state power came into existence in an embryonic form. The PLGA is growing in strength and capacity. Guerilla war is intensifying. This new power is developing as the primary form of a new democratic state. But in comparison with the more than 110 crores of our population and the vastness of our country, our party is very small. We have to travel very far. True, the path is thorny. But if we continue in the revolutionary path, the future would brighten a lot.

Contrary to the parliamentary parties and all kinds of reformist organizations, the CPI (Maoist) which is based on a cadre that has unflinching faith in their aim, a sacrificing nature and dedication is shining like a bright sun, lighting up all the darkness surrounding our country. Indian people want revolution. They are advancing in the path of People's War for building a new society. The dawn of New Democratic revolution is unfolding. Let us march into the bright sunlight of the new society which is unfolding on the horizon. Lal Salaam !

PM

development of the life and culture of the traditional inhabitants. This alone would mean development of the region as part of development of the country. Till today what is entailed is mere development of the mining houses and those who gain from the spoils of collaboration. One hopes that the spirit of the latest Supreme Court decision is taken up in government policy.

Meanwhile RTI activist Amit Jethwar was killed in broad day light in Ahmedabad as he was seeking to expose the illegal mining taking place in the Gir forests.

PM

**Hail the Historic 6th Anniversary of the Party Formation Day!
Defeat the fascist Operation Green Hunt!!
Come together for a united struggle against the loot of our country!!!**

Call of the Polit Bureau of CPI (Maoist) on the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the party to be celebrated with revolutionary enthusiasm and great fervor from September 21 to 27, 2010

Our beloved comrades and people!

On the 6th anniversary of our party formation day on September 21, 2010, our PB extends hearty revolutionary greetings to the Party, PLGA, Revolutionary people's committees and comrades of all mass organizations and to the revolutionary people who are advancing the people's war by fearlessly fighting back Operation Green Hunt, the countrywide massive counter-revolutionary military offensive of the enemy, who is bent upon annihilating our party. On this fervent occasion our PB also congratulates the comrades in the jails who are bravely facing the enemy.

Our PB humbly pays homage to the more than 10,000 great martyrs, 1500 of them after the unified party was formed in 2004, and 300 in one year, who sacrificed their invaluable lives for the success of the New Democratic Revolution in India and for the achievement of the greatest cause of human kind, i.e. socialism and communism. The fact that a majority of these martyrs are common people, revolutionary mass organizations' members and militia member shows how the vast masses of India are thronging into the revolution.

Since we celebrated our party formation day last year, the war between revolution and counter-revolution in our country has intensified further. There have been many significant changes of strategic importance in this period which would affect the Indian revolution for a long time to come. It is necessary to look into our strengths and weaknesses, the favourable and unfavourable conditions for the revolution on this occasion and place before the people and the ranks of the party.

Firstly - starting from May 2009 to July 2010, eight topmost comrades including PBM and beloved leader Azad and ten state level comrades had either been caught and killed by the enemy or had been put behind bars. Many leadership comrades from district level to lower ranks were either arrested or killed. These losses had all affected our party and movement seriously. Particularly, losing comrade Azad who had been fulfilling key responsibilities in the highest committee and had been rendering multi-faceted services most efficiently in many fields is a great loss.

The formation of the new party in 2004 placed before the people of our country enriched political, organizational, military lines, a strong party, a strong leadership, a people's army, the PLGA and a vast mass base and struggle areas. This created very favourable conditions for the advancement of the revolution. Fearing all these favorable conditions, the enemy sought to crush our party and all the losses in 2005 and 2006 occurred due to this conspiracy. Yet, the Unity Congress - 9th congress had strengthened the unity of the party and the party leadership and laid down a thorough plan for the advancement of the revolution. Though Andhra Pradesh movement and North Chhattisgarh movement suffered setback and though we suffered heavy losses in North Odisha, the successes won filled the revolutionary camp with self-confidence.

The successful completion of the Unity Congress and the later successes worried the enemy camp to no end and so the enemy had intensified war on people at an unprecedented level to annihilate the party leadership. These losses which occurred since 2009 May are larger in number and more serious in nature than before. However, serious they may be, in the past 45 years, revolutionary movement had been giving birth to new leadership constantly and it will do so again. As long as masses need a revolution, they give birth to its leaders too.

Secondly - UPA-2 had launched the fascist 'Operation Green Hunt' (OGH) as a concrete form of the multi-pronged offensive strategy. Of all the offensive strategies formulated by the Indian ruling classes to crush the revolutionary movement in India, the one which started from mid-2009 (and continuing) is unprecedented, country-wide, most severe, deceptive, centralized and protracted one till date. The military suppression campaign is concentrated on our strong rural areas and guerilla zones, especially Dandakaranya, Jharkhand-Bihar, Lalgah and bordering areas of Jharkhand-Odisha, Andhra-Odisha and Telangana-Chhattisgarh. This 'War on People' has intensified social contradictions. No other suppression campaign had earned the wrath and resistance of people as much as the OGH in the past 45 areas.

Thirdly - after UPA came to power for second time, there was a qualitative change in implementing the counter-insurgency theories which are restructuring or influencing the state machinery, Indian constitution, judiciary, legislating bodies, administrative bodies, politics, economy, culture, media and so on. This is inspired and led by the 'War on Terror' waged by the imperialists under the leadership of US imperialists. This will lead our country to a disastrous

situation. The more they try to wage this brutal war, the more protest and resistance they would encounter from the vast masses. Such resistance is clearly seen all over the country.

Due to the struggles waged by us in all the fields and due to the immense sacrifices of our most revered and beloved three hundred martyrs in the past one year we have won significant successes. They are:

1. The successful attacks in Singanamadugu, Mukaram (Tadimetla) and Kongera of Chhattisgarh; Laheri in Maharashtra; Sankrel and Silda in Bengal; Gumla, Vishnupur and Latehar in Jharkhand; Sono, government toll plaza (Gaya) and Tandwa bazaar in Bihar; Potakal and Baipharguda in Odisha, particularly the historical Mukram (Tadimetla) attack had broken down the initiative of the enemy and increased that of the guerilla forces. These attacks had armed the PLGA with more weapons and new experiences in guerilla war. Tadimetla experience is of the highest level of all these. If not for this active resistance of our forces and people, the enemy would have found more ground to obliterate our movement. These great experiences would definitely help us in fighting back the enemy forces employed for a bigger attack. It was nothing else but the active support of the people which served as the foundation for all these successes.
2. The struggles of Kalinganagar, Singur and Nandigram shook the ruling classes and later Lalgah and Narayanpatna struggles had burst forth on an extensive and higher scale than these struggles. These were led by our party against revisionism or right opportunism and were waged against the enemy classes, imperialists and the state. We had not seen a deluge of such vast, militant, long drawn mass uprisings in the past 25 years. The lessons of these revolutionary mass uprisings for the development of people's war in our country are invaluable.
3. Lalgah armed peasant movement which had erupted, spread and consolidated in a period when the enemy had deployed forces on a large scale and was attempting to crush the peasant uprising, is very significant and earned a special place in the annals of Indian armed agrarian revolutionary struggle history.
4. Vast masses under our party's leadership have successfully thwarted the attempts of the MNCs and CBB corporations to loot the natural resources in Eastern and Central India. Our PB sends revolutionary greetings to all the people, revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic organizations and individuals who stood firmly in these struggles and promises that our party would stand in the forefront in these struggles.
5. Our party had conducted ideological and political propaganda war against the enemy's psychological war, under the leadership of Comrade Azad. If our entire party had not fought along with Com. Azad at various levels, the people's war would not have won this much credit. His services in this field are most significant and paramount. Let us continue the struggle in this field with Com. Azad's inspiration.

Along with these five main successes, in some states, we had expanded to new areas, consolidated party, PLGA, politically and militarily, consolidated the existing Revolutionary People's Committees/Janatana Sarkars and expanded them in newer areas. All these successes had won us the support of many revolutionary forces, intellectuals, and democrats, progressive and patriotic forces.

Comrades!

Our losses had been very severe. Unless each committee from the CC to the lower committees and the entire party strives very hard to build up new forces in a planned manner on a wide scale and continues the rectification campaign effectively we will not be able to fulfill the losses incurred, particularly that of Com. Azad and other leadership comrades at central and state level.

Only when we understand the real reasons behind the losses, we can prevent them and only then we can strengthen the party as an impregnable fort to the enemy. To identify the real reasons we have to take lessons from the experiences of our party and Maoist parties of other countries.

We have to expand and intensify the self-defensive war waged under the party's leadership by PLGA, people and by uniting with all struggling forces of our country and other countries. If we firmly rely on the masses and make use of our PLGA properly in the war, we would definitely be able to defeat Green Hunt.

Let us prepare ourselves to wage people's war with utmost courage and determination. Celebrate the 6th anniversary of our party formation day with brimming revolutionary enthusiasm and zeal. Let us propagate widely the successes won even amidst severe repression in the past one year.

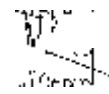
Our beloved comrades and people of India!

The CPI (Maoist) is issuing a call to all the people of our country to unify under the leadership of the party and rise against the feudal and comprador rulers who are selling our country to the imperialists. We cannot liberate our country from the clutches of these predators without a revolutionary party. The party calls upon all the resistance struggles

against the loot of our country to come together which would lead to a broad united front. The fight for land to the tiller, democratic power to the people and basic needs and against SEZs, displacement, corporate mining, plunder of our natural resources, price rise, corruption and all such burning problems have to be carried out in an united manner. We can win only through our unified strength. As our fight intensifies, the state onslaught on all the democratic and revolutionary struggles would also intensify. Let us prepare ourselves for this. Jan Jagrans, Salwa Judums, Sendras and Green Hunts can never break a determined people or their revolutionary party. Final Victory belongs to the people.

- ★ *Let us consolidate our party as an impregnable fortress and avoid huge losses to leadership and ranks!*
- ★ *Hail and follow the exemplary model battle of Tadimetla to defeat 'Operation Green Hunt'!*
- ★ *Let us unite with and bring together all resistance movements paving the way for a countrywide strong United Front!*
- ★ *Let us hail and follow the exemplary model of Comrade Azad in effectively fighting back the enemy's psychological warfare!*
- ★ *Let us extend to vast areas to fulfill the multi-faceted tasks of People's War!*

For Polit Bureau,



(Abhay)

Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

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APSIB- the Indian avatar of Mossad

The Andhra Pradesh Special Intelligence Bureau, which has been partially trained partially by the Mossad, has acquired the notoriety of its master trainer-Mossad, in India. It has been moving across the state borders, and conducting abductions and cold blooded murders with impunity. This is all happening with clear blessings of Manmohan- Sonia and Chidambaram. This fascist gang has established its tentacles all over India, resorting the killings of revolutionaries, scoffing at the recent AP high court judgement that all encounters are to be first booked as murders under IPC 302, Ultimately these killers will be taken to task by the revolutionary masses.

Will Chidambaram expect CPI (Maoist) to sit for talks with his blood on his hands of com. Azad and com. Hem Pandey?

CPI (Maoist) never contested or raised any hue and cry in the case of real encounters. The AP Police is resorting to globbeian lies, not believed even by gullible. CPI (Maoist) stood for truth and accountability to the people, and always stated facts. There is no such programme of Azad going to Sarkepally forest of Adilabad. Azad was going to discuss with our comrades, inter alia, the concrete proposals of well meaning people like Swamy Agnivesh about particular dates for the mutual cease fire. He was carrying the confidential letter of Swamy Agnivesh written to Azad dated- 26th June 2010. Will Chidambaram expect CPI (Maoist) to sit for talks with his blood on his hands of com. Azad and com. Hem Pandey? He calls repeatedly to us to abjure violence? Killing the unarmed comrades by AP Police with your blessings – is it not like devils chanting scriptures?

White lies by AP Police

When there is no movement and organization in Adilabad, what is the necessity of Azad going to Azad? That the police found AK47 is again white lie. He alighted from a train around 10 am along with com. Hem Pandey in Nagpur Station, and was caught by the APSIB unarmed. Is the government following its own constitution of article 21? Is the government following kernel of the Geneva Convention that “defenceless persons” should not be harmed? Is it not utter hypocrisy and hoax that on one hand the government is placing the prevention of torture bill and the police every minute resorting to the torture of the detained? It is a concocted story of encounter repeated ad nauseum, by the AP Police, churned out to the media umpteen times. The right life, guaranteed under the constitution is mocked and the right to be produced within 24 hours of the arrest is metamorphasized into killing within 24hours of arrest, so that there is no scope for any redressal by their near and dear.

We appeal to the civil rights organizations, democrats, patriots to raise to raise to the occasion thoroughly investigate this fake encounter as an example of extra judicial killing that are happening in scores in this country and bring out the truth before the people.

Ajay,
Spokes Person, CPI (Maoist)

Whose Development Is It, Anyway?

For Vedanta, mining means development, but for Adivasis it means plunder.

Vedanta continued its activities creating environmental devastation in the Niyamgiri hills, particularly, three villages on the foothills face devastation.

Our defeat was always implicit in the victory of others; our wealth has always generated our poverty by nourishing the prosperity of others—the empires and their native overseers. In the colonial and neo-colonial alchemy, gold changes into scrap metal and food into poison.

— Eduardo Galeano in *Open Veins of Latin America*

It is ironic — the richer the land the poorer its people: Eduardo Galeano, in his above mentioned book said: “The Indians (local inhabitants) have suffered, and continue to suffer, the curse of their own wealth; that is the drama of all Latin America”.

In India too, the richest states of Jharkhand, Orissa and Chhattisgarh are amongst the poorest in the country. Of course, unlike two centuries back in Latin America they no longer exterminate the local population. They induce slow death through starvation, disease and lack of livelihood. Development for some has always been at the cost of ‘development’ for the many.

Tantalum, a necessary ingredient of computers, cell phones, ipods, and so on, is to a large extent, extracted cheaply from Congo which has one-fifth of the world’s deposits. But to extract that (together with gold and tin) MNCs have tied up with warring warlords which has taken a toll of 5.4 million lives since April 2007. Killings continue at the rate of 45,000 per month and Congo has become the world capital of rape, torture and mutilation.

Yes, computers are huge development, but for the people of Congo what does it all mean? Can the super profits of the mining companies and computer manufacturers be slightly reduced so that the people of Congo share in the wealth creation?

In India, too, the concept of development seems to be different for different people. For FICCI, the representative of big business interests, it is one thing and for the Supreme Court of India another.

FICCI, in a report released on 9 November 2009, said: “Just when India needs to ramp up its industrial machine to lock in growth and just when foreign companies are joining the party, the Naxalites are clashing with the mining and steel companies, essential for India’s long term success”.

The Supreme Court of India in a judgment dated 20 July 2010: “Why is the State’s perception and vision of development at such great odds with the people it purports to develop? And why are their rights so dispensable? Why do India’s GDP and Human Development Index present such vastly different pictures? With the GDP of \$1.16 trillion (of 2008) the Indian economy is the twelfth largest and it is the second fastest growing economy in the world. But according to the Human Development Report 2009, the HDI for India is 0.612 which puts it at 134th place among 182 countries”.

And when we see the Bellary Reddys’ scam who are said to be earning through iron ore mining over Rs 15 crore per day (mostly illegal), the mining scams of Orissa (about Rs 3 lakh crore), the Madhu Koda scam (the Chief Minister earned about Rs 4,000 crore through mining contracts in just two years), one begins to really wonder whose ‘development’ all this mining really entails!!

And yet again, one wonders how much the country gains when we read (*Indian Express*, July 13) that 30 million tonnes of iron ore has been exported illegally. With royalty ranging from Rs 4 to Rs 27 per tonne of iron ore, the income to the state governments is a pittance. While the mine owners make anything from Rs 4,000 to Rs 6,500 per tonne in profits for every tonne of iron ore, the government gets a mere Rs 27 for best quality ore. Here again, is it the development of our country or that of the mine owner?

Besides with iron ore exports (legal) having increased six-fold in just eight years from Rs 358 crore in 2000-01 to Rs 21,725 crore in 2008-09, does the iron go to build our country or others?

Such are the disturbing questions which face us when we think of the development paradigm related to the mining projects of our country.

Let alone ‘development’, we find massive ecological destruction due to these mining projects. An estimated 164,000 hectares of forest land have been diverted for mining in India. The speed of forest destruction is increasing apace. During 1998-2005, 216 mining projects were granted forest clearance annually as against 19 per year in the 1980-97 periods. Just iron ore mining used up 77 million tonnes of water in 2005-06—enough for the annual daily needs of 3 million people. In addition mining of major minerals generated 1.84 billion tonnes of waste in 2005-06—most of which is not properly disposed.

In human terms too the number of those employed in mining is in fact coming down though production is going up. The formal mining sector employs just 5.6 lakh people.

Between 1991 and 2004 the number of people employed in mining came down by 30 percent but the value of mineral production went up several times.

Such then is the devastation that accompanies mining in India. With royalties consciously set low, together with massive illegal mining what nation/region building is at all possible? The following examples indicate precisely this reality at the ground level.

Bellary and the Reddy brothers

Recently in July 2010, the Karnataka assembly had been in a state of paralysis over the issue but as is the norm there is now silence. Estimates suggest that Bellary is one of the poorest districts of Karnataka which has 1 billion tonnes of iron ore reserves, 60 percent of which are high quality fines.

The mining of manganese and iron ore, mostly in the last 12 years in the reserved forests of the neighbouring districts of Bellary (Karnataka) and Anantapur (Andhra Pradesh) have played havoc with the region. Environmental organizations claim that about 120 hillocks, 500,000 lakh trees, 2,000 hectares of forests, 10,000 acres of agricultural land, four streams, 17 lakes and 28 ponds have been destroyed. Farm lands surrounding the 4500 hectares of mines have been declared drought-prone and red dust from mining has drastically reduced agricultural produce.

The Reddy's entered the scene late—around 2005 after involving in the by-election of Sushma Swaraj who was pitted against Sonia Gandhi in Bellary. Till then the Reddy brothers were running a chit-fund company which spread throughout Karnataka with 46 branches. This closed down in 2005 with reports of charges of cheating. Though the mere sons of a head constable of Bellary, it is after this election that the Reddys witnessed a meteoric rise.

With Bellary mines already leased out to 65 mine owners the Reddys entered the field from neighbouring Anantapur, with the assistance of the erstwhile Chief Minister YS Rajasekhara Reddy. But with the quality of ore being poor in Andhra they had their eyes on Bellary. Using a combination of muscle power and political clout, they took 48 of the 56 mines on 'contract'. Though they mined in Bellary they showed the ore came from AP while transporting it to Karnataka ports for export.

The boom in iron ore demand since 2005-06, fuelled by huge demands from China, resulted in gigantic profits with prices soaring to Rs 7,000 per tonne. Transporting 10,000 truckloads a day, the Reddy would make over Rs 20 crore per day when prices peaked. Even on lean days they would make Rs 12 crore. That means they were making a cool Rs 5,000 crore per year.

Added to this with the two brothers now as cabinet ministers, and one as Bellary city MLA, and close confidant

Sriramulu as state health minister it was not surprising that the Reddys could make even the chief minister bend to their dictates. Today they run Bellary as their personal fiefdom and have built an empire that would make big-time dons look small fry. Janardhan Reddy is building a virtual palace in Bellary. The 500 metre approach road is monitored by CCTV round the clock. One part of the house is shaped like a cottage. The newer part has 60 rooms spread out over an acre. He has over 20 armed guards guarding the place round the clock. There are rows of SUVs waiting. A helipad is being built for his two helicopters. There are bomb-proof shelters. Next door is an equally magnificent palace of Sriramulu—both being connected by an underground passage.

The present commotion in the assembly was over the disappearance of 500,000 tonnes (worth Rs 260 crores) seized at a port as being termed illegal by the High Court. But this was just the tip of the iron ore iceberg scandal. The Deputy Conservator of Forests' application to the High Court revealed that between November 2009 and February 2010 a total quantity of 57 lakh tonne was exported from Karnataka ports; but the total amount of transport permits issued was for just 22 lakh tonne. That is, a huge 35 lakh tonne was transported (and exported) illegally.

In May 2010, 5 lakh tonne was seized. But on June 10, it was discovered even this had been exported. Sometime later, the Deputy Conservator of Forests was transferred.

Orissa and Vedanta

Orissa has 33 percent of the country's iron ore and 50 per cent of its bauxite; yet it is one of the poorest states with 60 per cent living in abject poverty.

Broadly, there are two methods of plunder. Firstly, there is the mining mafia without any license. Second, mining is allowed to take place well beyond the licenced limits. Some of the largest mining companies are involved in these rackets.

To take the first category: over 60 per cent of Orissa's mines do not have clearance. The Supreme Court appointed CEC (Central Empowerment Committee) has found that 215 out of 341 working mines in Orissa are operating without statutory central government clearances. Even more shocking is the fact that some mines have been in business for years without even submitting a statutory mining plan—37 have been in operation for 15 years.

Now let us turn to examples of the second category:

According to a report of the Indian Bureau of Mines, between 2001-02 and 2005-06 ESSEL Mining dug out 20.6 million tonnes of iron ore in excess of its permitted limit of just under 2.6 million tonnes. The value of the excess

ore exceeds Rs 4,000 crore. Another mine, operated by SR Rungta Ltd, one of the largest ore exporters in the country, was discovered (in 2007) to have extracted 20 million tonnes of ore illegally over ten years from 22.6 hectares deep within the forests. The enquiry revealed that Rungta had manipulated the production and dispatch of iron ore to the tune of 10 million tonnes in 2007-08 alone.

Even given the low royalty rates the state exchequer has lost some Rs 14,000 crore through such frauds. Most of the illegal mining is in the Maoist districts of Keonjhar and Sundergarh.

And now, into this scenario, enters the notorious Vedanta, mining bauxite. Surprisingly this company has been allowed to mine in the face of intense opposition both in India and abroad.

In 2004, the Supreme Court's CEC deputed a fact finding team. In its report submitted to the Court in 2005, the CEC recommended closure of the project citing grave environmental and human rights concerns. It also stated "the displacement was opposed vehemently by the villagers despite being offered large cash compensation. In the face of resistance, the District Collector and company officials collaborated to coerce and threaten them. An atmosphere of fear was created through the hired goons, the police and the administration. Many tribals were badly beaten up by the police and goons".

Yet what is astounding is that the Supreme Court, in a 2008 judgment ignored the findings of its own committee and allowed construction (albeit under the banner of Sterlite Industries India Ltd, a subsidiary of Vedanta).

In addition a report of a 3 member team of the Union Environment and Forest Ministry said that Vedanta failed to follow the Forest Rights Act. It added, 'The Niyamgiri forest has been proposed as a wild life sanctuary ...removal of bauxite will impact ground water levels and consequently the quality of forest lands.'

Acting on the basis of these reports other foreign investors withdrew their money from Vedanta. The Edinburgh based investment Management Company Martin Currie sold its stake of £2.3 million (Rs 20 crore) in Vedanta in August 2008 on ethical grounds. The Church of England following advice of its Ethical Investment Advisory Group disinvested its holding in Vedanta of £810,750 (Rs 6.5 crore).

But in India Vedanta continued its activities creating environmental devastation in the Niyamgiri hills, particularly, three villages on the foothills face devastation. Rengopalli village is enveloped in smoke with the refinery just 500 metres away. It is also close to the Red Mud Pond, built for the refinery's alkaline waste disposal—containing iron oxide, silicon and titanium (radioactive). Villagers complain

of cattle dying and trees not bearing fruit due to contamination of the ground water. The Pond also pollutes the Vamsudha River—the main source of water. The amount of waste dumped is huge as for every tonne of Aluminium produced one tonne of toxic waste is dumped.

Chattrapur village also faces similar problems from the ash pond located just outside the village.

Meanwhile, Vedanta, at its Annual General Meeting reported a quantum leap in its profits. Yet, Orissa and its 7 million adivasis continue to live in the quagmire. For the shareholders of Vedanta and its owner the mining project signifies development, but for the residents of these areas it means despoliation.

Mining around the Country

The three tribal dominated states of Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand are the most productive mineral bearing states of the country. They account for 70 percent of India's coal reserves, 80 percent of its high grade iron ore, 60 percent of its bauxite and almost 100 percent of its Chromite reserves. Of the top 50 mineral producing districts in the country, almost half are tribal and are among the 150 most backward districts of India. But 'development' there has been as mineral production has been rising exponentially from Rs. 25000 crores in 1993 to Rs. 84000 crores in 2005-06—and this is only the ore mined legally. While tribals who are just 8 percent of the population comprise 40 percent of the 6 crore displaced people in the country.

In spite of the devastation mining projects have been planned on a scale unseen in the past. According to estimates of the Centre for Science and Environment the land required for mining in the next 20 years is equivalent to the land leased out for mining in the last 60 years.

So the Chhattisgarh government, since 2006, has signed 102 MoUs with industrial houses for production of steel, iron, power, cement, Aluminium and even for gold and diamonds. Some of the MoUs are with foreign giants like De Beers, BHP Billiton, Rio Tinto and Arcelor Mittal. All agreements were signed on the basis of private negotiations without any fare competition.

In Jharkhand, if all the 104 MoUs the state government has signed with 66 companies resulting in mining licenses materialize, 1.33 lakh acres of land would have to be evacuated and around 20 lakh families displaced. Already, Jharkhand tribals have witnessed the maximum devastation. According to the Annual Report of the Union Ministry of Rural Development, Jharkhand tops the list of Adivasis who are land alienated in India with 86,291 cases involving a whopping 1,048,930 acres. Of these, only 20 percent have been officially rehabilitated. So, more of the same devastation is in store.

In Andhra Pradesh huge deposits of bauxite in the Araku valley (in Vizag) have virtually been gifted away by the state government to the Anrak and Jindal groups. As per the agreement, assuming 7.5 million tonnes mined per year, the state government would get a royalty of just Rs 64.5 crore per year. On the other hand Anrak will make a profit of Rs 2,350 crore per year and Jindal Rs 1,260 crore. While one lakh, mainly tribal people, will be rendered homeless in the Araku valley alone; barely 400 tribals will get job.

It seems a pattern whereby state exchequer gets next to nothing—either through illegal mining or ‘legal’ mining with agreements like the AP-type. So we find that even in the North East massive illegal coal mining activities are taking place in Meghalaya, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh by small producers at the behest of big players.

Government Realization, Question of Implementation

Unfortunately it is the Maoist problem which is inducing a re-think of the government regarding the mining policy, tribal welfare and environment protection. The problem needs to be seen in its own light, regarding the future and development of our country, and not merely as a knee jerk reaction to a Maoist problem. No matter even if a reaction, it will be positive if the fruits of development really begin to reach the people.

As yet, most of this re-thinking is at the consideration, statement or ‘reports’ level, and yet have to be converted into policy.

The first is the finalization of the proposed Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act which is considering giving tribals 26 percent equity in the ownership of the these mines or an equivalent in revenue. It is also being debated whether this should go to the individual tribal or to the community. But of course it adds that it is the state government who will identify the affected people...of course through the gram sabha or district council or panchayat. But it is the state governments that have been primarily responsible for the massive mining loot, sharing in the spoils.

We have seen above the state governments and local politicians are deeply intertwined with the mining interests—legal and illegal. The less the royalty they take, there is no doubt the more they take personally—eg. the Madhu Koda affair. But this is not mere speculation; it is concretely mentioned in a government’s own report of the Union Rural Development Ministry.

The report entitled “State Agrarian Relations and Unfinished Land Reforms” was comprised of a 15 member high profile committee headed by the then minister CP Joshi himself. It was set up in January 2008 and the watered down version of the original report was presented in March

2009. Yet, it presents a scathing indictment of the government policy.

The report says the present policy “is the biggest grab of tribal land since Columbus”. The report is devastatingly frank about collusion between government and big business, even accusing the latter for funding and fuelling the Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh. It suggests radical changes in land management, stressing that the cycle of growing landlessness, poverty and violence is a natural outcome of the governments’ neo-liberal economic agenda. It also warns that if immediate steps are not taken, it is bound to result in a downward spiral.

In fact the Prime Minister himself has gone on record as saying (Hindustan Times Nov. 14, 09) that “there has been a systematic failure in giving tribals a stake in the modern economic system...the alienation built over decades is taking a dangerous toll...The systemic exploitation of our tribal communities...can no longer be tolerated”.

Also very recently the Attorney General has allowed the Environment Ministry to, if necessary; take action against the Vedanta project in Orissa, notwithstanding the Supreme Court Judgment.

All these reports and statements reflect at best good intentions, but where is the action? For intention to turn into policies the politicians will have to take on the Reddys, the Khodas, the Vedantas and the big business houses (India and foreign) and make them toe the law and interests of the people and country. The nexus between politicians and big business will have to be broken. Immediately, after the 26 percent equity suggestion came, the powerful mining lobby headed by Rungta vehemently opposed it.

The question here is to turn intentions into implementable actions. For this, to begin with, all MoUs should be made public and not allowed to be signed in secrecy. Then, the first step would be to implement a total ban on the export of iron ore as suggested by the Union Minister (ToI, June 5 2010) and also the Karnataka Chief Minister.

The second step would be to implement a strict ban on all illegal mining and increase the royalty to a minimum of 10 percent. This has also been suggested by the government.

The third step must be that the benefits of mining projects go to the people of the area. This cannot be restricted to 26 percent equity with the beneficiaries being decided upon by the state government. Besides this, it has to entail a detailed holistic approach where the stakeholders are the direct beneficiaries—with no go-betweens. All know that most funds meant for the poor are generally swallowed up by the numerous intermediaries. The gram sabhas and their committees must be the direct stakeholders. The holistic approach should entail employment, education, health, cultural and other facilities.

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‘Azaadi: the only way’

This report on a meeting in Delhi, India, marked by sharp struggle and debate over the demand for Kashmiri Azadi, is followed on Frontlines by several articles and video clips from the meeting and a TV debate over whether Kashmiri freedom should be advocated or debated in India.—ed]

by *Shuddhabrata Sengupta*

Friday, October 22, 2010

I was present and speaking a few hours ago at a meeting titled ‘Azadi: The Only Way’ on the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, organized by the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners at the Little Theatre Group in Delhi yesterday (21st October). I was not present from the beginning of the meeting as I was traveling from another city, but can vouch for what occurred from around 4:30 pm till the time that the meeting wound up, well after 8:00 pm in the evening.

The meeting took place in the packed to capacity auditorium of the Little Theatre Group on Copernicus Marg at the heart of New Delhi. Several speakers, including the poet Vara Vara Rao, Prof. Mihir Bhattacharya, Sujato Bhadra, Gursharan Singh, Mr. Shivnandan an activist from Jammu, Professor G.N.Saibaba, Professor Sheikh Showkat Hussain – Professor of Law, Srinagar University, the journalist Najeeb Mubarak, Dr. N. Venuh of the Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights, the writer Arundhati Roy and myself spoke at the meeting. (I may be missing out some names, for which I apologize, but I was not present for a part of the meeting, at the very beginning)

The climax of the meeting was a very substantive and significant speech by Syed Ali Shah Geelani of the Hurriyat Conference (G), which spelt out the vision of liberation (Azaadi) and Justice that Syed Ali Shah Geelani held out before the assembled public, of which I will write in detail later in this text.

The artist known as ‘Inder Salim’ originally from Kashmir, currently living in Delhi, made an intervention by inviting the assembled people to take (with him) the stance of a masked stone pelt for a brief, silent moment. Students from the Jawaharlal Nehru University sang a song, ‘Tu Zinda Hai to Zindagi Ki Jeet Mein Yakeen Kar’ invoking the delights of life and liberation. In conclusion, the meeting adopted a resolution, which was read, on behalf of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners, by Mihir Bhattacharya.

The atmosphere, for the several hours that I was present, was absolutely electric. The vast majority of the audience was warm and appreciative of all the speakers. They were patient and respectful – and despite grave provocation from a section that identified themselves as ‘Indian patriots’ and partisans of the ‘Kashmir as indivisible part of India’ position - that repeatedly tried to interrupt the meeting and heckle

speakers, and on one occasion even tried to throw an object at the dais – did not stoop to be provoked by these pathetic attempts at disruption of a peaceful gathering.

No provocative, sectarian or hateful slogans were raised by the majority of the people present. The only provocative posturing that I witnessed was undertaken by the self-declared Indian patriots, who were not stopped from having their say, but were requested simply not to disrupt the proceedings.

When their behaviour crossed the limits of public decency, they were escorted out of the premises by representatives of the Delhi Police. The Delhi Police, to their credit, did not act against the majority of the audience, simply because the majority of the audience conducted themselves in a completely civil and democratic manner.

There was no attempt made at intimidation of any kind. Professor SAR Geelani, who was conducting the proceedings on behalf of the organizers – Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) , repeatedly asked the people obstructing the speakers to conduct themselves in a cultured and dignified manner. His pleas were disregarded by the section of the crowd that let its ‘Indian patriotism’ get the better of its civilization. When things got a little too hot on occasion, the majority of the audience present simply drowned the rude remarks and indignant posturing of the small minority of self styled Indian patriots and champions of the ‘Kashmir as indivisible part of India’ position – in wave after wave of cheerful but firm hand clapping.

While there as enthusiastic cheering and sloganeering from the majority of the young men and women assembled at the gathering, there was no attempt while I was present to give the slogans a religious or sectarian colour. When Syed Ali Shah Geelani said that the people of India and Kashmir are tied together by the bonds of *insaaniyat* (humanity), when he quoted Gandhi, or spoke of the necessity of conducting a non-violent struggle that was devoid of hatred, or even when he said that he wished to see India rise as a great power in the world, but as a power that felt no need to oppress others, he was wholeheartedly and sincerely applauded, by the majority of people present in the auditorium, regardless of whether or not they were Kashmiri.

Yesterday's meeting needs to be seen in the context of a momentum of different events, which have included public meetings at Jantar Mantar, meetings in the Jawaharlal Nehru University and Delhi University, film screenings and talks, independently organized exhibitions on the history of Jammu and Kashmir in educational institutions, photographic exhibitions on the situation in Kashmir today that have taken place recently at the India Habitat Centre, while Kashmir has reeled under the brutality of the occupation that has resulted in a hundred and eleven deaths of unarmed or stone pelting people, including children and teenagers.

The momentum of this process, which recognizes the urgency of the situation in Kashmir, needs to be taken to its logical conclusion, until the world and the international community sits up and takes notice of the true nature of the hold of the Indian state on Kashmir and its people. We need many more such meetings and gatherings in Delhi, and indeed in every large city in India.

It must be maintained so that even a Barack Hussein Obama, scheduled to visit New Delhi in November, is compelled to recognize the fact that the conduct of the Indian state in Kashmir, based as it is on brutal violence and intimidation, based as it is on a disregard of every norm of the conduct of civilized governance is unacceptable to the world. You simply cannot claim to be the world's largest democracy and preside over the deaths of 70,000 people in twenty years. You cannot claim to be judged as a democracy and have laws like the Armed Forces Special Powers Act.

You cannot claim to be a democracy and have your police and paramilitaries beat children to death openly on the streets, or rape and kill young women with impunity. A state that does so is an oppressive, immoral, occupying power, and needs to be resisted by every right thinking person in the world. The Indian state's record in Kashmir over the past several decades is not only oppression visited on the people of Kashmir, it is an insult to the United Nations, to the world community, and to every principle of justice, fairness and democracy. It is an insult to all the peace loving and freedom loving citizens of India that do not wish to see oppression carried out in their name.

This is the message that needs to go out, and is going out, not only from the streets of Sringar, Baramulla and Kupwara, but also from gatherings, such as yesterday's, from the heart of Delhi, the capital of India. We, who are the friends of liberty and justice in India, need to stand besides our Kashmiri brothers and sisters and say to the world that we do not accept the lies put out by the Indian state and its apologists on Kashmir. That is the true significance and import of the process in which yesterday's meeting plays an important part.

This process will not stop until the world takes notice. The United Nations, and the broad democratic currents as well as the political leaderships of Europe, the Americas, and of every significant power in the world needs to know that hundreds of people, young and old, intellectuals, writers, activists, lawyers, teachers and others, Indians and Kashmiris, can stand united, in Delhi, at the heart of the Indian Republic's capital, in refusing to accept the continued occupation of Jammu and Kashmir, by India and by Pakistan. That they believe that it is only the people of Jammu and Kashmir who must decide for themselves their own future destiny, peacefully, in a climate free of coercion and intimidation.

As Syed Ali Shah Geelani and Sheikh Showkat Hussain said, all that they are asking for is the right to self determination, promised by India, before the United Nations, to be freely enacted through a plebiscite, in conditions of peace and liberty, without the presence of armed force, for the inhabitants of every part of the undivided state of Jammu and Kashmir – regardless of whether the results of that plebiscite are in favour of India, Pakistan or an independent, united, Jammu and Kashmir that can live in peace with all its neighbours in South Asia.

There was a great diversity of statements and styles present in abundant splendour at yesterday's meeting. There was no way by which the meeting could be reduced or simplified a single monotonous statement. Yes, all the panelists spoke unambiguously about the necessity for ending the military occupation by the Indian state in Kashmir. This does not mean that their statements and sentiments were a manufactured and processed uniformity. The people on the panel may have significant political and philosophical differences amongst themselves, they may even think differently about what 'Azaadi' might mean, but this was a sign, not of the weakness, but of the strength and vitality of yesterday's gathering.

'Azaadi' if and when it comes, will not be the parting gift of an exhausted colonial power; it will be the harvest of the fruits of the imaginations and intelligences of millions of people, of their debates and their conversations. The significance of yesterday's meeting needs to be understood in this light.

What was extremely heart warming was the fact that each speaker spoke of the fact that the voices of the people of Kashmir are no longer alone and isolated, that there is a chorus of voices in different parts of South Asia that echo and endorse their desire for liberation from a brutal militarized occupation.

From my notes of the time that I was there, I recall that the writer Arundhati Roy, while endorsing the demand of Azaadi for Kashmir, reminded the audience of the need

for the people of Kashmir not to be selective about justice and injustice, that they must find methods to forge webs of solidarity with all the suffering and oppressed peoples of India. She was heckled and rudely interrupted by a small group of Indian nationalists in the audience, who repeatedly raised the situation of Kashmiri Pandits, Arundhati Roy, when she was able to resume speaking, spoke unambiguously about the fact that she considered the situation of Kashmiri Pandits to be a tragedy.

She was echoed in this sentiment later by Syed Ali Shah Geelani who said that he personally stands guarantee for the safety and security of all minorities, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhists, Christians and others in a future free Kashmir. He implored the Pandits to return to Kashmir, and said that they are an integral part of Kashmiri society. He spoke of the need for ensuring that a free Kashmir was a just Kashmir, and that justice meant that the freedom, safety and security of all minorities, of their property, their places of worship, and their freedom of conscience be given the utmost importance. He reminded the assembled people that throughout these turbulent months, the people of Kashmir have continued to be hospitable to Hindu pilgrims, have set up 'Langars' (Kitchens) for them, and have cared for them when they have fallen sick, despite being at the receiving end of the violence of the Indian state.

I spoke briefly, about the fact that I was proud that so many of us had gathered in my city, Delhi, putting aside the abstraction of our politically determined, state given construct of citizenship, and standing, here, now, on the grounds of a concrete human solidarity with the people of Kashmir. I spoke of the fact that there are significant voices, even in the mainstream media who have been compelled to recognize the urgency of the situation in Kashmir, by the sheer determination of the youth of Kashmir to get the news of what is happening in Kashmir out to the world. I spoke of the role played by face book sites like 'Aalaw' and blogs, and the fact that the people of India and the world can no longer be kept in the dark by a pliant media, as happened in 1989-90. I spoke of the ways in which the viral circulation of leaked videos of the humiliation of Kashmiri youth on face book pages and online fora has successfully shown us what the reality of Kashmir is today. I urged media professionals in the mainstream media to introspect and reflect on the role that they may be compelled, against their own professional ethics, to play in the psychological and propaganda war that the Indian state is currently conducting. I spoke of my sense of shame and remorse at the evasive and dissimulating role played by sections of the mainstream media in India while reporting (or not reporting) atrocities that make even the images from Abu Gharaib pale in comparison.

I am ashamed to say, that despite my respectful plea to the media to play a responsible role in their reportage of Kashmir related matters, major channels like Times Now and NDTV once again let the truth down in their reports on the days events. NDTV saw it fit to simply report this historic meeting in the terms of an incident of 'shoe throwing at SAS Geelani'. A shoe (or some other indeterminate object) was indeed thrown, but not at Geelani. It landed on a bottle of water in front of another speaker, while he was speaking. So let's at least set that record straight.

Arnab Goswami of Times Now, while conducting what he likes to call a 'debate; on the programme called 'News Hour' (neither News, nor just an Hour) repeatedly uttered hysterical untruths, such as the presumption that 'No State permits the advocacy of secession and self determination' and that a meeting such as the one I participated in yesterday, were it to take place, say, in the United States, would immediately lead to all speakers present (including, presumably, myself) in being imprisoned on charges of sedition. I have to inform my readers here, that on both counts, Arnab Goswami is wrong. Seriously wrong. Either he is a misinformed idiot. Or he knows that he is wrong, and is lying to his public through his teeth. We can choose to be generous about how he would interpret his motives, and assume he is simply a fool.

Goswami consequently demanded to know why we were not immediately imprisoned under section 124 of the Indian penal code. Arnab Goswami needs to be reminded, that in United States law, the provisions of the Sedition Act are applicable only in times when the country is in a declared state of war. And therefore his analogy does not apply, as I am not aware that the Indian republic is currently in a declared state of war, as per international law, (unless Arnab Goswami has lost his marbles to the extent that he confuses the shadow boxing that he does on television with a war declared by a state under international law). That, furthermore, the provisions of the US Sedition Law have been declared substantially void by the US Supreme Court ruling in the Brandenburg vs. Ohio (1969) judgment, and of course, by the US Supreme court guaranteeing the primacy of free speech, including 'seditious' speech, including the burning of the United States flag, under the provisions of the first amendment to the US constitution.

There have been repeated attempts made to pass a law that would make 'flag burning' an offence under US Law. Fortunately, (for liberty and free speech) as of now, these attempts have not come to pass, and currently, under US Law it is perfectly legal to advocate self-determination and secession, if done peacefully, even to the extent of burning or destroying or desecrating symbols of state authority like the national flag. Furthermore several

constitutions, such as the constitutions of Canada, Ethiopia, Austria and France, implicitly or explicitly, provide for a legal expression of right to self determination, provided it is exercised in a peaceful and democratic manner, as part of the freedom of expression principle.

But the point that needs to be made is larger than whether or not Arnab Goswami is a fool and a charlatan. Yesterday's meeting was a historic opportunity for his channel, and indeed for all of the Indian mainstream media, to report and take cognizance of the fact that there is a significant section of Indian public opinion that is actually in favour of 'Azaadi' in Kashmir. I am not suggesting that this section constitutes an overwhelming majority at present (that might change) but, that it does exist, and that it presents, cogent, precise arguments, that cannot be dismissed, (as is being done by Times Now and its ilk) by invoking the spectre of 'terrorism'.

There is hardly any 'terrorism' in Kashmir today (if we don't count the Indian state and its terror). The 111 people who have died in the past months, have not died at the hands of non-state insurgents, they have died, unarmed, facing the bullets of the Indian state. The movement for Azaadi in Kashmir has left the culture of the gun and the grenade behind. It fights today without weapons, armed only with courage. If there is a terrorist in Kashmir today, he wears the uniform of the forces of the Indian State, and carries the weapons supplied by the arsenal of the Indian state. To discount the voices that rise in dissent against this reality as 'terrorist sympathizers' as Arnab Goswami has done on his channel is to insult reality.

Syed Ali Shah Geelani spoke of the bonds of insaanity that tie the peoples of Kashmir and India yesterday. I heard him say this. I was barely five feet away from him. I heard him speak of his regard and respect for the minorities in Jammu and Kashmir. I do not agree with much of what Geelani Saheb represents politically, or ideologically, but I have no hesitation in saying that what he said yesterday was surprising for its gentleness, for its consideration, for its moderation, even for its liberality and open heartedness. This should have been big news. That Syed Ali Shah Geelani said that he wants to see a strong and resurgent India. I heard him say this. And was this reported by anyone? NO. Was it reported that he was cheered when he said this? NO. Was it reported that no one had any thing angry to say against the struggling peoples of India? NO.

Was it reported that SAS Geelani explicitly said that he is NOT against dialogue, provided that the five point formula put forward by him (none of whose provisions – 1. acceptance of the disputed nature of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, 2. repeal of AFSPA and other black laws, 3. release of political detainees and prisoners, 4. withdrawal

of the disproportionate presence of the armed forces and 5. punishment to those guilty of taking life in the past few months – require the government of India to think 'outside' the framework of the Indian Constitution) are accepted as the basis of the dialogue? NO.

Don't you think that it makes BIG news that the tallest separatist leader in Jammu and Kashmir actually, in a moderate voice, spells out, in Delhi, the fundamental basis of a considered dialogue with the Indian state, while offering it a chance to do so on bases that are absolutely reasonable and sound, and honourable to all concerned? Do you not think that a responsible media organization would consider this a scoop, a major news story? But that is not what happened.

Instead, Times Now (and I am waiting for the morning newspapers to see how far this muck has spread) chose to focus on the deliberately staged disruption of a handful of agent provocateurs, our familiar posse of self styled patriotic champions of the continued occupation of Kashmir, who posed for the camera, hyperventilated, and occupied, perhaps no more than five percent of the attention of several patient hours. If you saw the news reports on Times Now's 'NEWS HOUR' programme, you would have thought that all of what happened was their presence as a 'protest' against the meeting.

As someone who was present through much of this, I am totally, utterly aghast that a lie of such magnificent proportions could be dished out with such ease. I am aghast that Aditya Raj Kaul who was one of the panels invited by Arnab Goswami to the Times Now New Hour show could lie with a straight face by saying that there was no attempt made to 'disrupt' the meeting by those who were there to represent his point of view.

Someday, I hope that all of these people, the Arnab Goswamis of the world find reason to repent for continuing to keep the people of India and Kashmir in the dark. They had better think hard, because the day when they will have cause to repent, is not far. Azaadi will come to Kashmir, and with it, a glimmer of Azaadi will be the share of those people in India who stood by their Kashmiri friends in their darkest hour. Going by what I witnessed yesterday, there will be many such people, so Arnab Goswami and his ilk had better start practicing how to say sorry, several hundred times a day.

PM

CORRECTION

In page 23 of July-Sep Issue the title De-Militarise Kashmir, Revoke Black Loss be read as De-Militarise Kashmir, Revoke Black Laws.

8 months back I had a minor haemorrhage in my left eye leading to total loss of vision. With prompt treatment and monitory assistance from well wishers I could regain 80% vision back.

Editor

The History of accession of Kashmir and Junagadh

Ranbir Singh's grandson Hari Singh, who had ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1925, was the reigning monarch in 1947 at the conclusion of British rule of the subcontinent and the subsequent partition of the British Indian Empire into the newly independent Union of India and the Dominion of Pakistan. As parties to the partition process, both countries had agreed that the rulers of princely states would be given the right to opt for either Pakistan or India or in special cases to remain independent. Kashmir's population was overall 77 per cent Muslim but with internal areas of non-Muslim majority. The ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, whose state was situated between the two new countries, could not decide which country to join. He was Hindu, his population was predominantly Muslim. He therefore did nothing and pretended an attack of colic, which had spared him the decision Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General had wanted him to take before August 14. Instead he signed a "standstill" agreement with Pakistan in order that services such as trade, travel and communication would be uninterrupted. India did not sign a similar agreement.

As it shared a boundary with both India and Pakistan, Pakistan anticipated that the Maharaja would accede to Pakistan, when the British paramountcy ended on 14-15 August. When he hesitated to do this, Pakistan launched a military attack disguised with a front of guerrilla infiltration of Pashtun tribals meant to frighten its ruler into submission. Instead the Maharaja appealed to Mountbatten for assistance, and the Governor-General agreed on the condition that the ruler accede to India." Once the Maharaja signed the Instrument of Accession, "Indian soldiers entered Kashmir and drove the Pakistani-sponsored irregulars from all but a small section of the state. The United Nations was then invited to mediate the quarrel. The UN mission insisted that the opinion of Kashmiris must be ascertained, while India insisted that no referendum could occur until all of the state had been cleared of irregulars."

Exactly when did Hari Singh sign the Instrument of Accession, has been hotly debated for over 63 years. Official Indian accounts state that in the early hours of the morning of October 26, Hari Singh fled from Srinagar, arriving in Jammu later in the day, where he was met by V P Menon, representative of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and signed the Instrument of Accession. On the morning of October 27, Indian troops were airlifted in to Srinagar to repel Pakistani's raiders.

However a research from British sources quoted by Victoria Schofield, author of Kashmir in Conflict has indicated that Hari Singh did not reach Jammu until the evening of October 26 and that due to poor flying conditions, V P Menon was unable to get to Jammu until the morning of October 27, by which time Indian troops were already arriving in Srinagar.

Junagadh was a princely state of India, located in what is now Gujarat, under the suzerainty of British India.

In the independence and partition of India and Pakistan of 1947, the 565 princely states were given a choice of whether to join India or Pakistan or to remain independent.

The Muslim Nawab of Junagadh, Muhammad Mahabat Khanji III, whose ancestors had ruled Junagadh and small principalities for some two hundred years, decided that Junagadh should become part of Pakistan, much to the displeasure of the people of the state, an overwhelming majority of whom were Hindus. The Nawab acceded to the Dominion of Pakistan on 15 August 1947. Pakistan accepted this on 13 September. When Pakistan confirmed the acceptance of the accession in September, the Government of India was outraged that Muhammad Ali Jinnah could accept the accession of Junagadh despite his argument that Hindus and Muslims could not live as one nation. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel believed that if Junagadh was permitted to go to Pakistan, it would exacerbate the communal tension already simmering in Gujarat.

The princely state was surrounded on all three sides by India, with an outlet to the Arabian Sea. The unsettled conditions in Junagadh had led to a cessation of all trade with India and the food position became precarious. The region was in crisis and the Nawab was forced to flee to Karachi with his family fearing for his life and established a provisional government with his followers.

Patel offered Pakistan time to void the accession and to hold a plebiscite in Junagadh. Samaldas Gandhi formed a government-in-exile, the Aarzi Hukumat (in Urdu: Aarzi: Temporary, Hukumat: Government) of the people of Junagadh. Eventually, Patel ordered the forcible annexation of Junagadh's three principalities. Junagadh's state government, facing financial collapse and lacking forces with which to resist Indian force, invited the Government of India to take control. A plebiscite was held on 20 February 1948, in which all but 91 out of 190,870 who voted (from an electorate of 201,457) voted to join India i.e 99% of the population voted to join India. **PM**

Pakistan immediately contested the accession, suggesting that it was fraudulent, that the Maharaja acted under duress and that he had no right to sign an agreement with India, when "standstill" agreement with Pakistan was already in force. . India did not sign a similar agreement.

Pakistan's also argued that because Hari Singh fled from the valley of Kashmir, he was not in control of his state and therefore not in a position to take a decision on behalf of his people. **PM**

Press statement3rd July, 2010

It is not an encounter at all!! It is a cold blooded murder by AP Police!!
Red Salutes to Martyrs com. Azad (Cherukuri Rajkumar) and com. Hem Pandey (Jitender)!!
Let us avenge the killings of the beloved comrades by the khaki clad fascist gangs of AP government!!

Azad was arrested at Nagpur on June 1st along with com. Hem Pandey

On June 1st, the notorious Andhra Pradesh Special Branch Police for its abductions and cold blooded murders, have arrested com. Azad, Polite Bureau member and Spokesperson of CPI (Maoist), and com. Hem Pandey, a zonal committee level comrade in Nagpur city around 11'o clock when they went to meet a comrade who was supposed to receive them from Dandakarnaya zone. Com. Azad reached Nagpur around 10 am on the fateful day along with com. Hem Pandey, after travelling from long distance. With specific information, the lawless goons of AP SIB abducted them, perhaps flown them in a helicopter, to Adilabad jungles near Maharashtra border and killed them point blank and in cold blood.

We pay our red homage to our beloved comrades and vow to take vengeance of these killers.**Life of com. Azad**

Comrade Azad is one of the senior most party leaders of CPI (Maoist). He was born in Krishna district of AP, in a well to do family. He did his school education in Sainik School, at Korukonda of the present Vizianagaram District. Com. Surapuneni Janardhan, a legendary comrade of the student movement brought com. Raj Kumar into RSU in 1974. A brilliant student at the Regional Engineering College, which became famous as Radical Engineering College in those days, he finished his Mtech in Chemical Engineering and moved to Vishakhapatnam as per the Party direction. He was the second president of AP Radical Students Union till 1984. He was the catalyst behind many all Andhra wide student agitations and peoples movements in that period. He became the district committee member of vizag unit of the CPI (ML) (PW). He moved length and breadth of India, to organize the Seminar on Nationality question held in Madras (now Chennai) in 1981. He was shifted to Karnataka in 1982 and com. Azad was one of the founder members of the Karnataka Party and worked as the secretary of the Karnataka State Committee. He was taken into CC, after the Central Plenum in 1990. He was the elected member of CC in the All India conference in 1995 and since then he served in CC and PB. He continued in those posts after the formation of CPI Maoist too in 2004. He has been the spokes person of the CC since then.

Known for his simple life and hard work; voracious reading and brilliant analyses of situations, crystal clear articulation and sharp logic, and fine organizational skills, he contributed widely to the revolutionary movement in many spheres. He wrote profusely to the People's March, Peoples war (theoretical organ of the CPI (Maoist)), and to the Maoist Information Bulletin. He wrote a fine critique of the intellectuals of AP, who got disillusioned and lost faith in revolutionary movement after the 1990 events of collapse of soviet imperialism and its satellite regimes.

In his death, the Indian revolutionary movement lost an exemplary comrade and a shining star, who served the movement more than three and half decades.

Just before his last journey, he received questions for interview from a well known magazine. He replied that he was in the journey and would send the answers as early as possible.

It is not Sukhdev, but com. Hem Pandey of Uttarakhand who was killed by APSIB

Com. Hem Pandey, 30, hailed from a nearby village of Pithoragarh town of Uttarakhand State. He did his MA history in Nainital University and got himself registered in PhD. While he was in college, he was active member of AISA, and slowly realizing he pseudo revolutionary character of AISA politics, he moved to the radical groups, later in 2001 he joined the then CPI (ML) (PW). He organized peasantry in the mountainous villages in Almora district, taking up umpteen numbers of issues of peasantry, including the problems arose out of Binsar Sanctuary. Soft-spoken, bespectacled, lean and energetic Com. Hem won the love of people of that region. He was moved into more important works in 2005. He had done his new assignments with patience and endurance. His appetite for learning new things, reading more and more, and zeal for penning his ideas are things for the emulation for all the revolutionaries. He has written various articles to newsmagazines under various pen names. We request the civil rights organisations to demand the A P police to send the body of com. Hem Pandey to his bereaved mother who is in Haldwani, Uttarakhand state, who is his sole surviving parent.

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