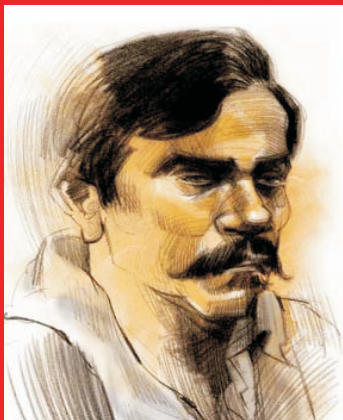


# PEOPLE'S MARCH

*Voice of the Indian Revolution*



***The repression by the  
Indian government  
and imperialism  
does not stop  
but feeds  
the People's War!***




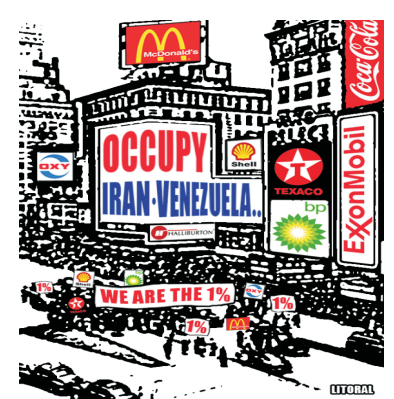
***May the wind of the  
People's war in India  
reach the  
proletarian masses  
all-around the world***

**14 - 22 January 2012**

**International Week of Action**

**dedicated to comrade Kishenji, Maoist leader  
of the Indian revolution**

**Internazional Committee in Support of the People's War in India  
csgpindia@gmail.com**

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# A word of caution for Indian Revolutionary cadres

In the end of 2006 Math Rothwell (a former RCP-USA) from Chicago, US E-Mailed me about one Harsh Takor from India met him and cautioned me in dealing with him. I enquired with many of our comrades and the response was that he has a lot of money to move around.

In the first week of June 2007 this Harsh Takor E-Mailed me that he wished to meet me at my place in Ernakulam in the early second week of June. Then I got a call on my mobile stating that he had reached Trivandrum and asked me to meet him at Trivandrum. I told him that I do not know who you are and told him that if he wished to meet me he can very well meet me at Ernakulam. He agreed for the next day and when I first received him his first uttering was “I am a sportsman, I swam the English Channel”. While traveling in the bus he slowly started enquiring about student Organizations. I told him my only job is Editing, Printing & Publishing People’s March and nothing else and have no knowledge of anything else. Then I asked him who he is and what are all his works. As no direct replies were forthcoming I bluntly told him on my way to my room “You are a globe trotter. Isn’t it? Where from you get money to move around? You have no other job. What for you are moving around? Tell me what all you have contributed for the revolution”. We as revolutionaries spend every pie carefully. He was walking 10 paces behind me. I told him you are 20 years younger to me. I really doubt whether you swam the English Channel.

Soon as we entered my room he relaxed on my bed saying I am rather very tired. A little later he attended a few calls on his mobile. Then he went down to STD booth and made a call and returned. He said he is going back to Trivandrum. He never discussed politics.

He took some books worth Rs 600=00 and said he don’t have cash and send Money Order. Sende Rajamouli was abducted from Kollam and killed in Anantapur in AP in June 2007.

He did send three money orders for Rs 14,000=00 I was surprised. Many Professors of Delhi University used to say “I can’t send money order or cheque to you. Take cash when you meet me”. Dr Binayak Sen told the same thing. I told Binayak “You are the national Vice President of PUCL. Take my complementary copy”. The whole world knows that one of the exhibits produced by the police in Binayak’s case was a copy of People’s March to prove that he is a Maoist. I wondered “Is he a brave-heart or a spy?” A few months later he sent a DD for Rs 50,000=00. He wanted a receipt. I wondered. Sent him a cash receipt. Then he wrote an article to be published in People’s March. I kept aside his article. Then my arrest in December 2007 and my struggle and release in February 2008. The police interrogation was only linked with source of funds for People’s March.

During my stay in Delhi in August 2009 I informed our comrades all this

to track him and alert our comrades.

He sent a note praising my jail struggle for freedom to be published in People’s March. Again I kept it aside. Again he sent a DD for Rs 50,000=00 He promptly asked for a receipt. In August 2011 he E-Mailed me enquiring about the print version and said was there any financial problems.

During my recent stay in Sept 2011 for collecting subscription dues and fund raising some of our comrades in Delhi referred his name. I shot back and told them he is a spy. If he gives money take it. Don’t trust him.

Of late an article appeared in Frontier Sept – Oct 2011 Mao Thought and International Communist Movement by him. Then came Com Kishenji’s killing November 2011.

Dear Comrades Indian Revolutionary Movement is passing through a very critical stage.

More than half of Central Committee & Politburo Members have fallen Martyrs or captured and languishing in jails during the past decade. For a revolutionary a single mistake is an end of him/her. The enemy assisted by MOSSAD/FBI is using most advanced modern technology to track down and eliminate the top leadership.

People’s March calls upon the revolutionary cadres to maximise their vigil to defend and protect the lives of leaders.

Editor

PM

# 1995-2010, more than a quarter of a million Indian farmers have committed suicide.

P.Sainath

Five States did manage a significant decline in the average number of farm suicides between 2003 and 2010. However, more States have reported increases over the same period.

The television story was genuine and sensitive. At least 90 farmers, it said, had committed suicide in two months in Andhra Pradesh. These were cotton growers. Actually, last year, Andhra farmers killed themselves at the rate of 210 each month on average, according to the National Crime Records Bureau. But it is heartening that somebody took note of what's going on. The more so when dishonest bureaucrats feed gullible sections of the press awful crud on farm suicides being at 'a 15-year low.' NCRB data show Andhra Pradesh has seen the second worst increase in farm suicides among all States (after Maharashtra) over the last eight years for which data exist.

However, five States did manage a significant decline in the average number of farm suicides each year between 2003 and 2010. Andhra Pradesh was not amongst them. Of those who did, only Karnataka is amongst the worst five States which account for nearly two-thirds of farm suicides in the country. On average, 2,259 farmers killed themselves each year in Karnataka between 1995 and 2002. In the next eight-year period, that figure was 2,123 — a fall of 136 in yearly average. But the fall is fragile, and the last two years 2009 and 2010 have seen the State's numbers rising again. And Karnataka remains the second worst State for farm suicides (in absolute numbers) after Maharashtra. It has seen 35,053 farmers kill themselves since 1995, according to the NCRB.

The NCRB data on farm suicides now cover 16 years. Let's divide that into two halves of eight years each. By comparing the first half (1995-2002) with the second (2003-10), we can figure out whether things are getting better or worse in the major States.

What qualifies as a significant decline? That's when a State's yearly average in the second eight years is at least 100 farm suicides less than in the first eight-year period. Tamil Nadu (-126) and Uttar Pradesh (-109) are two others in this bracket. But there's better. Kerala managed a drop of 221. And West Bengal pulled off the biggest decline among all States. Its 2003-10 average is 436 lower than its figure for 1995-2002.

Except Karnataka, all the Big 5 States show terrible upward spikes in their 2003-10 annual averages. The yearly average of farm suicides in Andhra Pradesh in this period was 711 higher than it was in 1995-02. In Maharashtra, the figure was 1,294 higher. Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh were one composite State for six of the 16 years and what

has happened in that region is best understood by still treating them as one unit in terms of data. They show a rise of 525 in the second eight years.

But comparing the two eight-year periods doesn't work for the smallest States with very few farm suicides. For instance, Manipur's average for 1995-2002 was one farm suicide. It was two during 2003-10, a massive 'increase' in percentage terms — and quite meaningless. However, among small States that have seen farm suicides, Tripura brought down its annual average by 90 in the second half, a drop of 78 per cent.

The decline Kerala has managed (-221) is in many ways the most significant one. Kerala is perhaps India's most globalize economy. Its agriculture is hugely cash crop-based and fragile at the best of times. Cash crop prices are highly volatile, and often rigged by powerful corporations at the global level. This makes Kerala more vulnerable to price shocks than any other State in India. In the early years of the last decade, for instance, vanilla fetched Kerala farmers prices of up to Rs. 4,000 a kilogram. It then crashed to under Rs. 80 a kg or less (where it remains), wrecking farmers who had invested huge amounts of (borrowed) money in its cultivation. Most plunged into debt, several committed suicide in despair.

Price shocks have also hit Kerala in coffee, pepper, and other cash crops into which the State is deeply locked. The price of coffee, for instance, is controlled by about four major global corporations. These companies always

**Farm suicide annual averages in select states  
1995-2002 & 2003-10**

State	Farm suicides Annual Average		Difference (2nd Avg-1st Avg)
	1995-2002	2009-2010	
Andhra Pradesh	1590	2301	+711
Assam	155	291	+135
Karnataka	2259	2123	-136
Kerala	1292	1071	-221
MP +Chhattisgarh	2304	2829	+525
Maharashtra	2508	3802	+1294
Tamil Nadu	992	866	-126
Uttar Pradesh	640	531	-109
West Bengal	1426	990	-436

*The table only includes States whose annual averages have risen or fallen by over 100 farm suicides between the two periods. It also treats Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh as one unit for data purposes.*

*Source: NCRB Accidental Deaths & Suicided in India reports 1995-2010.*

seek to drive down the share of the original producers to boost their own profits. They will do that even more strongly as economic problems mount in Europe — to where much of our coffee is exported. Across India, suicides amongst cash crop farmers are far higher than those amongst food crop growers. Cash crop farmers run far greater risks, incur much higher cultivation costs, and have to borrow a lot more money than their food crop-growing counterparts.

So that drop of 221 in Kerala’s yearly farm suicide average is remarkable and came against the odds. The period from 2008 to 2010 was better for that State than any other in the entire 16 years for which data are available. Kerala set up a debt relief tribunal in 2005, raised support to the farm sector and took other steps to mitigate distress. Even its troubled food crop sector received a boost. Between 2005 and 2010, Kerala doubled the support price for paddy from Rs. 700 to Rs.1,400. Yet, the State will take a worse hit than any other due to the multiple free trade agreements the Union government has signed or will enter. And reports of rising farm suicides again in the cash-crop citadel of Wayanad signal which way Kerala is now headed.

*Contd.... from Page 9*

mobilizing the masses and relying on them”.

- 1 <[www.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/Statements-2011/111125-CC-KishenjiMartyrdom-Eng.doc](http://www.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/Statements-2011/111125-CC-KishenjiMartyrdom-Eng.doc)>
- 2 Shiv Sahay Singh, “Kishenji’s Body Handed Over to Niece” (*The Hindu*, 27 November 2011).
- 3 Sumanta Banerjee’s In the Wake of Naxalbari (Kolkata: Sahitya Samsad, 2008) — first published

by the Calcutta publisher Subarnarekha in 1980, and then by Zed Press, London in 1984 under the title India’s Simmering Revolution: The Naxalite Uprising — is an authentic and moving account of the Naxalbari (chapter 4) and Srikakulam (chapter 5) movements.

- 4 For a “blow-by-blow” account of the Lalgarh movement, see Sanhati’s Lalgarh Movement Archives at <[sanhati.com/front-page/1083/](http://sanhati.com/front-page/1083/)>.

West Bengal’s (-436) drop in farm suicide yearly averages is perhaps best understood in comparison with Maharashtra. Bengal has a smaller population (91 million) than Maharashtra (112 million), but is a more rural State and has many more farmers. Yet, the annual averages are starkly different. During 2003-10, almost four times as many farmers (3,802) killed themselves each year in Maharashtra. In West Bengal that figure was 990. Though Bengal has its own sharp concentrations of cash crop, it produces more food crop than Maharashtra and has been the country’s largest producer of rice for some years. In the latter, cash crops continue to overwhelm food crop. In 2010-11, as Maharashtra’s Chief Minister informed his colleagues at a kharif review meeting earlier this year, the area under cereals and pulses dropped further by about 3.7 million acres. (BusinessLine May 28, 2011). West Bengal had, in fact, begun procuring grain through the panchayats (a scheme derailed by the Centre) and pushed other measures to promote rice and vegetable cultivation.

Overall, 15 of 28 States showed worse averages in the second eight years. Across the entire 16 years from 1995-2010, more than a quarter of a million Indian farmers have committed suicide. **PM**

- 5 ”Not Seen Son for 37 Yrs . . . Can’t Bear to See His Body: Kishenji’s Mother” (*Indian Express*, 27 November 2011).

Bernard D’Mello is deputy editor, Economic & Political Weekly, and a member of the Committee for the Protection of Democratic Rights, Mumbai. He thanks Gautam Navlakha — conversations over the phone with Gautam helped for bring a semblance of clarity to the thoughts expressed over here. **PM**

Dear friend,

Otherwise the article is fine except.... erring in handling in contradictions .....his aggressive sectarian and ultra left adventurist tactics ..... blunders

It is a war zone, class struggle is being tested with a mighty army by guerrilla tactics. You can’t have a Central Committee stationed right there get the nod of approval of all decisions taken by Kishenji.

I don’t say he ever committed errors. You know the work of a commander in a war zone. But he never practiced aggressive sectarian and ultra left adventurist tactics.

kutty

Dear Govindan kutty,

Thank you for responding. As is clear from my article, I have, rightly, I think, eulogized Kishenji. But, I did not elaborate on that paragraph wherein I criticized, what I think was, his sectarian and left-adventurist tactics because this article was not the right place to do this, and if I had done so, the central point (that Kishenji was an outstanding Maoist revolutionary) would have been lost.

I am in the process of writing a manuscript on the Maoist movement and hope to deal with the movement’s outstanding achievements as well as its failures therein. I only wish I could have the opportunity to discuss a number of issues, including the ones you have raised, with you before the manuscript goes to the printer.

Thanks again. Regards,

Bernard

# Indian ‘Republic Killing Its Own Children’

## Kishenji Fought for a Better World

by Bernard D’Mello

India’s Union Home Minister P Chidambaram, West Bengal Chief Minister (also in charge of the province’s home affairs) Mamata Banerjee, Union Home Secretary R K Singh, and the top bosses of the security forces involved in the operation have all been bent on establishing one point: that the alleged encounter in the Burisole forest in West Midnapore district, 10 km from the West Bengal-Jharkhand border, in which Mallojula Koteswara Rao, popularly known by his *nom de guerre* Kishenji, a member of the politburo of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) [CPI (Maoist)], was supposedly killed was “real”. Frankly, given the complicity of the media bosses and the journalistic profession (the latter, at the higher levels) with official mendacity, we must admit that the circumstances of his death are as yet unknown. A press statement from Abhay, spokesperson of the Central Committee of the Party, dated 25 November 2011, unambiguously states that Kishenji was killed “after capturing him alive in a well planned conspiracy”.<sup>1</sup>

The renowned radical Telugu poet Varavara Rao, who accompanied Kishenji’s niece Deepika to bring the body back to Kishenji’s hometown of Peddapalli in Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, is reported to have said: “In the last 43 years, I have seen so many bodies killed in so-called encounters but have not seen a body like this one. . . There is no place on the body where there is no injury.”<sup>2</sup> Indeed, according to CDRO (Coordination of Democratic Rights’ Organizations) activists who saw the body before the commencement of the postmortem, “on the back side of the head, part of [the] skull [and] brain [was] missing”; the right eye had come

out of the socket; the lower jaw was “missing”; there were four stab wounds on the face; knife injuries were observed on the throat; there were hand fractures and two bullet injuries under one of the arms; “one-third of the left hand index finger was removed”; there were signs of enrooted bullets through the lungs; the right knee was hacked; the foot of the left leg was “totally burnt”; in all, “there were more than 30 bayonet-like cut injuries on the front of the body”. And, while there were “bullet, sharp cuts and burn injuries”, “surprisingly” there were “no injury marks on his [Kishenji’s] shirt and pant corresponding to [those on] his body parts”. (The postmortem report is yet to be handed over to Kishenji’s relatives.)

A press release (“Killing the Talks and Faking an Encounter”, Kolkata, 2 December 2011) by the CDRO — based on the observations of a CDRO fact-finding team who visited the spot in Burisole forest where the alleged encounter took place on 24 November — states that “the extent of the damage caused to the body against the rather undisturbed surrounding of the spot where the body lay raises our suspicion about the official version”. Indeed, “right next to where his [Kishenji’s] body lay on the ground is a termite hill” that “remains undamaged by all the alleged exchange of fire”. Indeed, even nearby, “not a single termite hill was damaged and [there was] no visible sign of burn or fire due to heavy rifle and mortar firing!” Clearly, the veracity of the official story must be seriously doubted (actually, there are now versions of it that are contradicting each other!) and it is high time that an independent judicial inquiry headed by a sitting or retired Supreme Court or High Court judge into the

circumstances surrounding Kishenji’s death is constituted at the earliest.

### **You Couldn’t Have Remained Unmoved by His Spirit**

The Indian public knew Kishenji from the media’s cameras that showed his cotton-clothed back with a scarf around his head, a gun draped over his shoulder. Those who loved him were the ones who were to lose the most from the private expropriation and exploitation of *Jal-Jangal-Zameen* (water-forests-land), part of the natural resource base of India’s eastern and central states, by multinationals, Indian and foreign. Those who detested him — and considered him and his party, the CPI (Maoist), the biggest internal security threat for the power elite and the ruling classes — had, in the name of peace, declared war — “Operation Green Hunt” — on the very people who backed him.

Born in 1954 in Peddapally town (in Karimnagar district, north Telangana), Kishenji was raised by his father Venkataiah (a “freedom fighter”, he called him) and his progressive mother Madhuramma. Inspired by the Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements,<sup>3</sup> he became an active member of the Andhra State unit of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [CPI (ML)] in 1974 and played a prominent part in the peasant struggles in Sircilla and Jagtial taluks of his home district of Karimnagar that were declared ‘disturbed areas’ in October 1978. It was in the course of the struggle in Jagtial that both Mupalla Laxman Rao (“Ganapathy”), the present General Secretary of the CPI (Maoist), and Kishenji came to the fore in the Andhra Pradesh unit of the Party because of their excellent organizing abilities.

Indeed, it was in Karimnagar and Adilabad districts of north Telangana

that the first seeds of the fresh tactical line called “Road to Revolution” — formulated by Kondapalli Sitaramaiah and his close comrades after a thorough, critical review of the strategy and tactics of the CPI (ML) since 1967 — began to sprout in the peasant movement there, soon after the Emergency was lifted. Thus, the CPI (ML) (People’s War) [CPI (ML) (PW)], formed on 22 April 1980, was, so to say, the result of the actions of peasants, workers, and revolutionary intellectuals at the base.

The immediate aim was to build guerrilla zones in north Telangana and Dandakaranya (as per the Party’s “Perspective for a Guerrilla Zone”) by the early 1990s, and in this, Kishenji played no small part. Under the leadership of the CPI (ML) (PW), a section of the workers, the poor peasants and landless labourers, *dalits*, the backward castes, and *adivasis* (indigenous people), stood up, with a voice of their own, the courage to speak out against oppression and exploitation and resist political domination. Kishenji was a member of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the Party when he was transferred to Dandakaranya in 1986 to expand and strengthen the movement there, parts of which emerged as a guerrilla zone where the Party and its mass organizations exercised power as long as the guerrillas had the upper hand over the state’s forces, the zone reverting to the state when the guerrillas were forced to retreat. In such a context, and now in the midst of Operation Green Hunt, the Party, the People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA), the mass organizations and the Area Revolutionary People’s Committees are still not able to assure the tribal peasants a modicum of security by preventing the Indian big bourgeoisie and the transnational corporations from destroying the *adivasis*’ human and natural environment. Indeed, such

security seems a long way off, and the Party still has to work towards removing Jal-Jangal-Zameen, labour and money from regulation by the market forces of neo-liberal globalization. Besides *physical* security, there is also the question of assuring the habitability of the natural environment as well as the security of the tribal peasantry in their *socio-cultural* environment. Without the formation of base areas, all this will remain a far cry.

From the mid-1990s, Kishenji, now a member of the Central Committee of the Party, worked to bring unity among the revolutionary forces (those who had safeguarded the essential legacy of Naxalbari in the post-Emergency period) and to revive the Naxalite movement in West Bengal. In the Jangalmahal area of West Bengal, it was Kishenji and his close comrades, the late Sasadhar Mahato (killed by the security forces in an encounter in March this year) among them, who undertook — what Ho Chi Minh would have called — the long, patient organizational work which precedes the firing of the first shots. The unity of the CPI (ML) (PW) with the CPI (ML) (Party Unity) in August 1998 and later, in September 2004, of the CPI (ML) (PW) with the Maoist Communist Centre of India to form the CPI (Maoist) alarmed the Indian ruling classes; the revival of the movement in West Bengal in November 2008 unnerved the reformist CPI (M)-led government there.

Now in his mid-50s, Kishenji showed that he can still rough it out like a young guerrilla, inspiring his junior colleagues, those in the springtime of their lives. The energy and conviction with which he was imbued in the struggle for a better world led him to live a simple life, almost like that of an ascetic. The source of this morality came from, we think, the spirit and passion with which he went about the vocation of organizing the class

struggle. He lived what he advocated — that all comrades must care for each other, love and help each other, that the basic attitude of the “officers” in the PLGA should be one of sharing weal and woe with the “soldier”-guerrillas; the relationship with the latter had to be one of mutual respect; and respect for the human dignity of the “prisoners of war” once they had surrendered their arms had to be part of the guerrillas’ ingrained attitude. (The fair treatment of the former Sankrail police station Officer-in-Charge Atindranath Dutta, who was taken hostage by the Maoists in October 2009, might bear the latter out.) Kishenji built good relations with the people — he was always concerned about them and helped them overcome many of their difficulties — all through his long march from Jagtial to Jangalmahal. The PLGA had to become one with the people so that the latter see the guerrillas as their own.

### **Revival of the Combative Spirit of Naxalbari in West Bengal**

This brings us to the Lalgahar movement, which was led by Kishenji on behalf of the CPI (Maoist). The West Bengal government had handed over some 4500 acres of forest land to the Sajjan Jindal business group at Salboni in the district of West Midnapore even as the government’s land reform programme of allotting *pattas* (formal rights) for cultivable forest land and forest land under cultivation to poor tribal peasants was kept in cold storage. The reign of terror let loose on the *adivasis* — in the wake of the detonation of a landmine that narrowly missed the cavalcade of the then West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadev Bhattacharjee on 2 November 2008 on the way from after a foundation stone-laying ceremony at the site of the Jindal project — was actively resisted, for, with Maoist backing led by Kishenji, their dignity could no longer

be crushed. By mid-November, the *Pulishi Atyachar-er Birudhhe Janasadharan-er* Committee (People's Committee against Police Atrocities, the PCAPA) was formed to lead the mass struggle in Lalgarh and the adjoining areas.

From December 2008 to June 2009, as long as Maoist politics was in command, what was really heartening were the direct forms of people's democracy in practice: each village now had a gram (village) committee with five women and five men on it; two persons, a man and a woman from each village, were a part of the central coordinating committee; the manner of taking and ratifying decisions was utterly democratic; officials were made to sit on the ground on hand-woven mats on equal terms to negotiate with the committees. And, with the meagre resources at its command, the PCAPA-led mass movement was able to run health posts with doctors from Kolkata coming in once a week, construct and repair embankments, dig ponds, set up tube wells, teach the local language in some schools, a lot of all this through *shramdaan* (voluntary labour).<sup>4</sup>

Spring, it seemed, was truly in the air. As long as it lasted, for seven months the PCAPA and the CPI (Maoist), led by Kishenji, together seemed to have struck an astute balance between political mobilization, armed actions, and social welfare/ "development" activity. But when they destroyed the "White House", a symbol of the "ancient regime", the palatial house of Anuj Pandey, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)] zonal secretary, at Dharampur on 14 June 2009, that was the last straw. The Joint Forces (JF) of the central and state governments moved in like an occupation army, with the CPI (M) *harmads* acting as their local collaborators. The Maoist tactics of successfully combining mass political mobilization and armed

struggle suffered a setback. Moreover, Kishenji erred in handling the contradictions between the CPI (M), then the ruling party, and the Trinamool Congress (TMC), led by Mamata Banerjee, then the main opposition party. And, his aggressive sectarian and ultra-left adventurist tactics cost the Party and the mass movement dearly, for these acts brought on state repression a multiple of what it would have otherwise been. The contradictions between the Maoist revolutionaries and the social-democratic CPI (M) at the local level need not have been escalated to the point of becoming intensely antagonistic. And, some of the (excessive) killings — were the Maoists really annihilating *class* enemies? Ultimately, it was the Trinamool Congress who took advantage of the situation to defeat the CPI (M) candidates in the area in the assembly elections in April-May this year.

As part of her promise of ushering in *parivartan* (change), Mamata Banerjee pledged the withdrawal of the JF that, for the *adivasis*, has been an occupying force since mid-June 2009, the unconditional release of all political prisoners, especially the hundreds of *adivasis* arrested and dumped into jail in the course of the JF operations, and a dialogue with the Maoists; but, on assuming power, she has now reneged on all of these pledges. Instead, the recruitment of some 10,000 special police *havildars* (constables), on the lines of the Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh, is on the anvil. And, the TMC's own *Bhairav Bahini* has been assisting the JF just like the CPI (M)'s *harmads* did as collaborators of that occupational force. Indeed, many of the *harmads* have shifted allegiance to the TMC's *Bhairav Bahini*. A "development package" with "surrender" sops, the re-deployment of the JF with the Commando Battalions for Resolute Action, the so-

called COBRA, at its core, the stepping up of training of the state's armed police in jungle warfare, a strengthening of the Naxalite section of the Intelligence Bureau on the lines of the Special Intelligence Bureau of Andhra Pradesh (APSIB), and the state's Counter Insurgency Force along the lines of the Greyhounds, all these are seen to have yielded results — a mood of triumphalism now prevails after the "hunting" down of Kishenji.

Now, while much of the credit for the revival of the Maoist movement in the Jangalmahal area of West Bengal must go to Kishenji and his close comrades, like the late Sasadhar Mahato, they will have to bear much of the responsibility for the present setback there too.

### **'Encounters Are Murders'**

"Encountering" (extra-judicial killing) of Maoist leaders is not new; neither is the main component of the Indian state's counterinsurgency strategy of killing the top leadership of the revolutionary movement in order to wipe out the Party. Vempatapu Satyanarayana (popularly known as 'Gappa Guru') and Adibhatla Kailasham — school teachers who organized the Girijan peasants of Srikakulam since 1955, launched an armed struggle in 1967-68, and joined the CPI (ML) in 1969 — were "encountered" by the police in July 1970. Subbrao Panigrahi — known for *Jamukulakatha* (theatrical rendering of songs in a folk idiom) — who played a major role in extending the Srikakulam movement into the province of Orissa, was captured and murdered by the police in December 1969. Indeed, one recalls with horror the encounter killings in Andhra Pradesh prior to and during the dark days of the Emergency period, a few of which were investigated in detail by the committee (set up by Jayaprakash Narayan, as president of the Citizens for Democracy) headed by V M Tarkunde, due mainly to the painstaking



work done by K G Kannabiran as member-secretary and a group of committed civil liberties activists.

More recently, and again, much of it related to tragic happenings in Andhra Pradesh, at the core of the target of the counterinsurgency operation was the Party leadership — to be *physically eliminated*. We list here the killing, in cold blood, of some members of the core of the leadership of the Andhra Pradesh unit or the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist), among the most outstanding the Party had nurtured and developed over the years.

- ❖ Settiraju Papaiah (alias Somanna), a member of the Special Zonal Committee of north Telangana, was abducted by the APSIB in Bangalore (the capital of the province of Karnataka) on 29 June 2006, brutally tortured, and killed on 1 July; and his body was thrown in the forests of Warangal in Andhra Pradesh.
- ❖ Burra Chinnayya, alias Madhav, state secretary of the Party, and seven of his comrades were killed on 23 July 2006 when the Greyhounds and a special police force of a battalion size attacked the headquarters of the AP State Committee in the Nallamala forests. The attackers had precise information; it is said that they even knew the exact tent of which Madhav was an occupant.
- ❖ Raghaulu — a member of the A P State Committee of the Party who came from a poor peasant family and grew up as a cattle-herd boy — and eight of his comrades were killed on 8 November 2006 in a forest area in Cuddapah district.
- ❖ Chandramouli, a Central Committee member of the Party and a member of its Central Military Commission, and his wife Karuna, a barefoot doctor, were cold-bloodedly murdered in the Eastern Ghats on

the Andhra-Orissa border on 29 December 2006, when they were on their way to the Party Congress.

- ❖ Patel Sudhakar Reddy (alias Suryam, Vikas), a Central Committee member, and his comrade Venkatayya were picked up in Nasik (in the province of Maharashtra) on 23 May 2007, airlifted to Warangal, brutally tortured, and murdered the next day; and their bodies were thrown in the Lavvala forests there.

So Kishenji's killing is very much part and parcel of the established criminal practice of state terrorism.

Can this utter contempt for the law go unchallenged? These state-sponsored terrorists have to be stripped of their impunity and brought to justice. Early this year, a bench of justices Aftab Alam and R M Lodha of the Supreme Court said, responding to two public interest litigations related to the fake encounter in which Cherukuri Rajkumar (“Azad”), CPI (Maoist) politburo member and party spokesperson, and journalist Hemchandra Pandey were shot dead in Adilabad district on the night of 1-2 July 2010 by the Andhra Pradesh police after being picked up at or near Nagpur: “We cannot allow the republic killing its own children”. Like the Azad fake encounter case, the Kishenji one too seems to be part of the genre where “impunity breeds contempt for the law”. Such scorn for the legal code is by now ingrained in the wielders of repressive power — recidivists in the coercive apparatus of the Indian state. Kishenji's elimination is really vendetta killing by such recidivists, for he, above all, combated state terror to the very end.

### **Raise the Red Flag, Sing the Internationale**

No doubt, as the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) puts it, “the martyrdom of comrade Koteswara Rao is a great loss to the

Indian revolutionary movement”, but it is that very movement — with all the ups and downs, blunders and triumphs — that still holds out hope for a better world. The unprecedented deployment of police on 27 November in Kishenji's hometown of Peddapalli couldn't deter the thousands upon thousands of mourners, a multitude, who came to pay homage to the memory of the Maoist revolutionary on the day of his funeral. His mother Madhuramma, now in her mid-80s, was inconsolable; she hadn't seen her son for more than three decades, and now, it was his dead body. The anguish Madhuramma felt must have been unbearable. The day after her son was killed, she put it poignantly:<sup>5</sup>

My son believed in something and he was murdered for that. I want to know how and who are the people behind his killing. I will go to the Calcutta High Court and, if necessary, to the Supreme Court to find out why they killed him like that. . . . I have not seen my son for 37 years. Now I cannot bear to see his body. I waited all these years to see him once before I die. I hope I die before his body arrives, I cannot live anymore.

Meanwhile, the songs that the balladeer Gaddar rendered brought tears to the eyes of those who had gathered there. Madhuramma was not alone, for there were thousands of saddened admirers of the son she had raised, who had gathered to form the multitude. Kishenji's memory, his life, his work belongs to those who want to create a better world. Cries of “*Amar rahe Kishenji*”, “*Johar Amarajeevi Kishenji*” and “*Comrade Kishenji, Lal Salaam*” filled the air — his heritage truly belongs to the poor peasants, the workers, the revolutionary intellectuals. No doubt, Kishenji will hold an important place in Maoist revolutionary history for he truly brought to bear on his practice the Maoist adage that “revolutionary war . . . can be waged only by

*Contd.... on Page 5*

December 3, 2011

## Fact Finding Report by Coordination of Democratic Rights Organization

Twenty two member team of four constituents of Coordination of Democratic Rights Organization namely Association for Protection of Democratic Rights, Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee, Bandi Mukti Committee and Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (Delhi) undertook a fact finding into the alleged encounter killing of Mallojula Koteswar Rao (aka Kishanji) on 1st December, 2011. The team visited Sorakatta hamlet of Burisole and Gosaibandh village of Paschim Mednipur. The team spoke to the residents of the two villages, the Sub Inspector and ASI of Jamboni Police Station, and visited the spot where the alleged encounter took place on 24th November.

**SPOT:** The place where Kishanji's body was found is about 300 metres from the hamlet Sorakatta of Burisole village. It is barely 50 metres from the village football ground and surrounded by thin cover of Sal trees. Right next to where his body lay on the ground is a termite hill. All around is a thin spread of Sal trees giving the impression that of little cover. The termite hill remains undamaged by all the alleged exchange of fire. Where the body lay on the ground there is a pool of blood where his head and torso lay but no blood spot marks where his legs lay. The trees which ostensibly carry the bullet marks show no burn marks caused by bullets. Indeed the contrast between the badly damaged body of the deceased with the undisturbed spot where his body lay gives rise to much doubt. If there was heavy exchange of fire there would be telltale signs around. What is most intriguing is that the termite hill, barely few inches away from the body, shows no corresponding damage if there was an exchange of fire and bullets flying all around him. Dried leaves show no sign of burn caused by sparks from bullet fire. Team members walked around to see for themselves signs of bullet-marks on the trees or termite hills or other signs but whereas some trees had cutmarks not a single termite hill were damaged and no visible sign of burn or fire due to heavy rifle and mortar firing!

**Villagers Account:** At Sorakatta hamlet we were told that two days before the incident security forces movement became evident and it picked up by 24th November when in the morning, between 10-11 am, police personnel asked the villagers to stay inside their house and not to step out. According to the villagers during these three days of heavy security force movement no announcements were heard of any kind let alone of police asking Kishanji to surrender. Between 4-5 pm of 24th they heard loud noise followed by sounds of bullet-fire for about 15-30 minutes. Significantly two villagers a local quack Budhev Mahato and Tarachand Tudu a 20 year old student were picked up

and implicated in the same case no. 46/11 dated 25/11/2011 and charged under S 307 and other sections I.P.C.

At Gosaibandh, which is about 5 kms from Burisole, one Dharmendra, third year student of geography at a local college, was picked up for allegedly sheltering Kishanji and the police claimed to have seized a laptop. The family said that the bag belonged to Dharmendra and there was no laptop in it instead Rs20,000 was stolen and family's ration card, certificates and OBC card were seized too.

**Police Station Jamboni:** The team members spoke to SI Sabyasachi Bodhak and asked him when did they receive information about the encounter, who informed them as well as who wrote the FIR since it fell in their jurisdiction. According to them they received the information from Additional SP of Jangalmahal Aloknath Rajori at night at around 10.30 pm. And it is the Addl SP who wrote the FIR. It is important to note that the investigation has been entrusted to the DSP CB-CID whereas the complainant is a superior officer. This violates the basic principle of natural justice that a superior officer than the complainant officer investigate the crime.

We wish to recall the nature of injuries on the body of Kishanji. There were bullet, sharp cuts and burn injuries. Surprisingly there was no injury marks on his shirt and pant corresponding to his body parts.

### 1. Injuries on Head:

Right eye was hanging from the socket.

Lower Jaw was missing instead there were burn marks.

On the back side of the head part of skull brain missing.

At four places on the face there was bayonet like stab marks.

One third of the throat was had been slash wound.

### 2. Right Fore Arm Bone was broken without the skin showing any external injury.

### 3. The right Arm has three Bullet Injury Marks.

### 2. On both legs ankles are broken and the left feet was half dangling.

### 3. The left sole skin was missing and burnt.

### 4. One third of the left hand index finger was removed.

### 5. There were more than 30 Bayonet like cut injuries on front of the body.

We were unable to get the Inquest Report prepared by the Executive Magistrate nor could we get the Postmortem

report although team members have read and taken notes from it. Surprisingly none of the above injuries were recorded except the bullet entry and exit injuries.

Our observations: Considering the extent of the damage caused to the body against the rather undisturbed surrounding of the spot where the body lay raises our suspicion about the official version. The reported official version themselves suffer from inconsistencies. For eg. Whereas Chief Minister Mamta Bannerjee claimed that for three days a Kishanji and his companions were encircled and they were asked to surrender, but the villagers deny having heard any public announcement over loud speaker of any kind much less asking him to surrender. Mr Vijay Kumar DG of CRPF went on record on 25th November that Kishanji along with three others were killed in an encounter whereas only a single body was found! The reported number of bullets fired said to be several hundred in the course of 15-30 minute long encounter do not correspond to the spot where his body lay.

The killing of Kishanji took place against the background of fledgling efforts to initiate talks between the state Government of West Bengal and the CPI (Maoist). With

his death these efforts have been dealt a fatal blow. We cannot but wonder if this is a repeat of what transpired last year on July 1-2 when Cherukuri Rajkumar @Azad was killed in a fake encounter.

We wish to point out that in the context of a crime committed in the area affected by armed conflict investigation by one branch of the administration into the conduct of another branch; in this case CB-CID investigating the role of joint forces can not be considered impartial and unbiased. We, believe that only an independent investigation for eg by an SIT can help unravel the truth.

This tends to confirm our suspicion that this appears to be a case of custodial killing. Therefore, we demand:

1. An independent judicial inquiry headed by a sitting or retired Supreme Court or High Court judge into circumstances surrounding Kishanji's death.

2. Register a criminal case under section 302 I.P.C

Debaprasad Roychoudhury (general secretary APDR)

C H Chandrashekhar (general secretary APCLC)

Bhanu Sarkar (secretariat member BMS)

Gautam Navlakha (member PUDR)

PM

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## Intellectuals protest against fascist tendencies of TMC government in Bengal

### *Mahasweta Devi calls TMC a 'fascist' party*

Kolkata: Noted writer and rights activist Mahasweta Devi, who had actively campaigned for Trinamool Congress in West Bengal Assembly election, on Monday described the government as 'fascist' and alleged it was trying to throttle the people's voices.

"The people are denied of their legitimate right to protest and this is nothing but a fascist attitude. The government will have to withdraw the undemocratic diktat," Devi told a press conference referring to the denial of permission by the government to hold a hunger strike and sit-in demonstration on November 23 and 24 in the city.

The press conference was organized by the Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) and 21 other human rights organizations.

"What has not happened in the last 64 years in West Bengal happened today. The people were robbed of their natural right to protest," the Magsaysay award winner said.

The hunger strike and sit-in were planned to demand withdrawal of Joint Forces from Maoist-hit Jangalmahal, of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and release of political prisoners as promised by Trinamool Congress before coming to power.

Permission was initially given by Kolkata police but was withdrawn later citing "administrative" reason.

Asked if her hopes of good governance were dashed, Devi said "I have protested against injustice of the Left regime and the entire country knows me as a rebel writer and for that I have received Padma Bibhusan and Magsaysay award."

Asked if she has any sympathy for Maoists, she said "I don't believe in the politics of violence and killing of people but what Joint Forces are doing is also not justifiable democratically."

She demanded the Joint Forces be withdrawn first and the government takes the initiative for peace talks.

Some other intellectuals, who had stood solidly behind Mamata Banerjee in her bid to come to power in the state, have also, voiced their protest in a letter written to APDR.

They include singer and Trinamool MP Kabir Suman, film-maker Aparna Sen, theatre personality Koushik Sen, writer Suchitra Bhattacharya and poet Sankha Ghosh.

PM

## The fascists will pay for the murder of Indian Communist leader Communist Party of the Philippines

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) condemns in the strongest terms possible the brutal torture and cowardly murder of Comrade Malloujula Koteswara Rao, popularly known in India as Comrade Kishenji, spokesperson and Politburo Member of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The reactionary Indian government claims that Comrade Kishenji was killed in an encounter in the Burisole Forest Area in West Midnapore District, Jangalmahal, West Bengal. According to information provided by the CPI-Maoist, Comrade Kishenji was, in fact, negotiating with officials of the West Bengal government when he was treacherously seized and arrested by the fascists.

Comrade Kishenji is a beloved comrade and servant of the Indian people. His brutal murder has unleashed a wave of sorrow and indignation among the oppressed and exploited people of India as well as among the proletariat and peoples of the world.

The imperialists and reactionaries and their fascist lapdogs in India have succeeded in satiating their bloodlust in torturing and murdering Comrade Kishenji. But they will pay for this brutal crime. The Indian people will continue to advance along the revolutionary path of armed resistance and mass struggle.

In the end, the reactionaries will be overthrown and put to justice as the oppressed and exploited stand triumphant in their struggle for national and social liberation.

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### “Red Salute! To our Beloved Comrade Kishenji”

It is a matter of deep sorrow that the reactionary Indian government has murdered Comrade Kishenji alias Malloujula Koteswara Rao, Politburo Member of CPI (Maoist), in a fake encounter in Burisole forest area, west Midnapore District, Jangalmahal, West Bengal on 24 November 2011. He was a leading figure and spokesperson for CPI (Maoist). According CPI (Maoist) statement issued to the media, Kishenji was arrested and tortured and then brutally killed.

Comrade Kishen is not unknown to us. We have already published his interviews in Nepalese magazines. In this moment, our Revolutionary Cultural-Intellectual Front strongly condemns the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Kishenji -a true revolutionary hero of the oppressed people of India. And we urge to all intellectuals and cultural activists of this region to denounce this cowardly killing of Comrade Kishenji by the Indian reactionary forces.

In a famous article ‘Serve the People’, Comrade Mao has mentioned: “Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather. To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.”

*Yes, it is true Comrade Kishenji died for the people, and his death is indeed weightier than Mount Everest. From the bottom of our hearts we express our Red Salute to the people’s hero Comrade Kishenji .*

The Indian reactionary government has murdered Comrade Kishenji, but not his ideology. They can’t kill Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. The movement will continue, the revolution will continue.

We know the reactionary government of Nepal; an Indian Puppet government led by Baburam Bhattarai and Prachanda, a new avatar of Samanta (Fedral) will not denounce it. Now they are turned into the real traitor of Indian expansionism. But we, the revolutionary intellectuals and the political activists who fought ten years People’s War and who are still fighting for the people’s liberation, are always with the brave communist fighters of India, oppressed people of India. In fact, the hundreds of millions of oppressed people of the world, who dream of liberation, are always with the oppressed people of India. The red flag of revolution will not be bent down. The long march of revolution will not be stopped. Let us march ahead.

**Rishi Raj Baral**, Convener: Revolutionary Cultural-Intellectual Forum

Kathmandu, Nepal, November 26th, 2011

# Arundhati Roy: “A few “pre-revolutionary” thoughts I had”

by Arundhati Roy at the People’s University, Washington Sq. Park, New York, November 16, 2011

Tuesday morning, the police cleared Zuccotti Park, but today the people are back. The police should know that this protest is not a battle for territory. We’re not fighting for the right to occupy a park here or there. We are fighting for justice. Justice, not just for the people of the US, but for everybody.

What you have achieved since September 17th, when the Occupy movement began in the United States, is to introduce a new imagination, a new political language into the heart of empire. You have reintroduced the right to dream into a system that tried to turn everybody into zombies, mesmerized into equating mindless consumerism with happiness and fulfillment.

As a writer, let me tell you, this is an immense achievement. And I cannot thank you enough.

We were talking about justice. Today, as we speak, the army of the United States is waging a war of occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan. US drones are killing civilians in Pakistan and beyond. Tens of thousands of US troops and death squads are moving into Africa. If spending trillions of dollars of your money to administer occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan is not enough, a war against Iran is being talked up.

Ever since the Great Depression, the manufacture of weapons and the export of war have been key ways in which the United States has stimulated its economy. Just recently, under President Obama, the US made a \$60 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia – moderate Muslims, right? It hopes to sell thousands of bunker busters to the UAE. It has sold \$5 billion-worth of military aircraft to my country, India, which has more poor people than all the poorest countries of Africa put together. All these wars, from the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to Vietnam, Korea, Latin America, have claimed millions of lives — all of them fought to secure the “American way of life”.

Today, we know that the “American way of life” — the model that the rest of the world is meant to aspire towards — has resulted in 400 people owning the wealth of half of the population of the United States. It has meant thousands of people being turned out of their homes and their jobs while the US government bailed out banks and corporations — American International Group (AIG) alone was given \$182 billion.

The Indian government worships US economic policy. As a result of 20 years of the free market economy, today,

100 of India’s richest people own assets worth one-quarter of the country’s GDP while more than 80% of the people live on less than 50 cents a day. Two hundred and fifty thousand farmers, driven into a spiral of debt death, have committed suicide. We call this progress, and now think of ourselves as a superpower. Like you, we are well-qualified. We have nuclear bombs and obscene inequality.

The good news is that people have had enough and are not going to take it any more. The Occupy movement has joined thousands of other resistance movements all over the world in which the poorest of people are standing up and stopping the richest corporations in their tracks. Few of us dreamed that we would see you, the people of the United States on our side, trying to do this in the heart of Empire. I don’t know how to communicate the enormity of what this means.

They, the one percent, say that we don’t have demands” perhaps they don’t know, that our anger alone would be enough to destroy them. But here are some things — a few “pre-revolutionary” thoughts I had — for us to think about together:

We want to put a lid on this system that manufactures inequality. We want to put a cap on the unfettered accumulation of wealth and property by individuals as well as corporations. As “cap-ists” and “lid-ites”, we demand:

One, an end to cross-ownership in businesses. For example, weapons manufacturers cannot own TV stations; mining corporations cannot run newspapers; business houses cannot fund universities; drug companies cannot control public health funds.

Two, natural resources and essential infrastructure — water supply, electricity, health, and education — cannot be privatized.

Three, everybody must have the right to shelter, education and healthcare. [opednews.com](http://opednews.com)

Four, the children of the rich cannot inherit their parents’ wealth.

This struggle has re-awakened our imagination. Somewhere along the way, capitalism reduced the idea of justice to mean just “human rights”, and the idea of dreaming of equality became blasphemous. We are not fighting to just tinker with reforming a system that needs to be replaced.

As a cap-ist and a lid-ite, I salute your struggle.

Salaam and Zindabad.

PM

## Arundhati Roy Advocates Buffer State Status For Kashmir

*Kashmir Observer*

New York, Nov 12: Internationally acclaimed novelist and activist Arundhati Roy has reiterated her support for an end to what she termed as “brutal” Indian occupation of Kashmir.

“I think that the people of Kashmir have the right to self-determination—they have the right to choose who they want to be, and how they want to be,” she said in the course of a discussion on ‘Kashmir: The Case for Freedom’ at Asia Society.

“Kashmir is one of the most protracted and bloody occupations in the world and one of the most ignored,” Roy said.

The discussion was hosted by Asia Society in which Arundhati Roy, writer Pankaj Mishra and anthropologist Mohammad Junaid took part. The discussion was moderated by Prof Philip Oldenburg of Columbia University.

Roy said, “While India brutalizes Kashmir in so many ways, that occupation brutalizes the Indians. It (the occupation) turns us into a people who are able to bear a kind of morally reprehensible behaviour done in our name, and the fact that so few Indians will stand up and say anything about it is such a sad thing.”

She called for the demilitarization of Kashmir as a step towards peace in the region. “Why the international community doesn’t see that when you have two nuclear-armed states, like Pakistan and India, there couldn’t be a better thing than a buffer state like Kashmir between them, instead of it being a conflict that is going to spark a nuclear war.”

In her remarks, she lamented the fact that so little is known about the atrocities being committed by more than half a million Indian troops, the continuing repression and indignities let loose on Kashmiri men, women and children.

More than 700,000 troops were concentrated in the tiny valley, with check points at every nook and corner of Kashmiri towns and cities, the huge Indian presence is in sharp contrast with 160,000 US troops in Iraq, she pointed out.

Roy attributed the apathy towards Kashmir, especially in the western world, to their pursuit of commercial interests in India where they were more eager to sell their goods than human rights.

India had also successfully used the argument that if it gave up Kashmir, another Islamic state would emerge—a prospect the West feared.

That’s why India had made no effort to bring back to the valley the Kashmiri Pandits who fled to camps in New Delhi at the height of the 1998 uprising in the state. “Aren’t 7000,000 troops enough to protect the Pandits?”

“Even as the world speaks about the Arab spring—three years ago there was massive unarmed uprising in the streets of Kashmir,” she said, adding that the Indian army or the security forces were not looking away; they were killing young children.

Roy acknowledged that Islamic sentiment was prevalent in Kashmir, but the Kashmiris were not radical Islamists, Wahabis or jihadists as India portrayed them. In this regard, she strongly deplored the Indian attempts to demonize Kashmiris who were moderate Muslims.

She reminded that before his election, President Barack Obama had pledged to resolve the international dispute of Kashmir between Pakistan and India. But seeing “consternation” in India over the remark, Obama hasn’t said a word about Kashmir since, she said, adding that he was more interested in selling military aircraft and Boeings to India.

Two other Indian scholars—noted writer Pankaj Mishra and a Ph.D student, Mohamad Junaid, from Kashmir—also deplored the fact that the international community gave such little attention to the suffering of the Kashmiri people.

Both Mishra and Junaid read out their respective papers containing moving stories of the Kashmiri victims. **PM**

### **Referandum double standards Attack on Prasanth Bhushan**

Civil rights activist Anna Hazare’s team claimed the support of over 85% people for its version of the Lokpal bill in telecom minister Kapil Sibal’s Chandni Chowk constituency

Announcing the results of the “referendum” in Amethi, Team Anna claimed that 90% of Rahul’s constituents polled by them had supported their version of Lokpal Bill.

Prasant Bhushan said, “In my view, the present situation in Kashmir is such that there is tremendous pressure on the government... I think AFSPA should be withdrawn... army should also be withdrawn gradually. But if we still feel that people feel alienated in Kashmir then a UN-mandated plebiscite can be conducted,” Bhushan said adding that even former prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru had promised plebiscite to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

# Occupy Movement and India

Anand Teltumbde

Why did the Occupy movement fail to take root in India? The basic reason is that the Indian middle class is so infused with the ideology of the caste system that it can never easily identify itself with the lower strata of society to say that we are the 99.99%.

*The Occupy movement really is an exciting development. In fact, it's spectacular. It's unprecedented; there's never been anything like it that I can think of.* – Noam Chomsky

Ultimately, hundreds of police officers in riot gear clamped down on the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) encampment at Zuccotti Park in lower Manhattan in New York City in the pre-dawn darkness on 15 November. They demolished the tent city that had come up there since mid-September as the epicentre of a movement protesting against corporate greed and economic inequality. Around 200 people were arrested; their tents, sleeping bags and equipment were carted away, and by 4:30 am, the park was empty. Earlier, the police did a similar thing in Oakland. However, this leaderless movement had already sprouted in all kinds of places across the world from Australia through Asia, Europe and, of course, the Americas. In India, arguably one of the most unequal countries in the world, it failed to evoke much response. All that we saw of the Occupy movement was a small rally in Kolkata and an attempt to stage an "Occupy Dalal Street" in Mumbai, which died a still birth because it lacked support and, of course, the prompt arrests of a significant section of the protestors by the Mumbai police.

## The Form of Struggle

Every mode of production and every historical phase throws up its own form of struggles. Previously the anti-capitalist movements were marked by militant workers' strikes. But things

have changed fast with changes in the form of capitalism. It has, on the one hand, nearly succeeded in marginalizing the proletariat and, on the other, adopted increasingly predatory forms of exploitation. Advances in technology that not only displaced human labour but also human labourers from the sphere of production have helped blur the classical class divide. But technological change has not been able to save capitalism from the impending crises that gripped it from the mid-1960s. When, in order to stave them off, it adopted an offensive strategy of neo-liberal globalization, the resistance also manifested itself in novel forms. One of the first major protests it faced was in 1999 during the ministerial conference of the World Trade Organization in Seattle. The negotiations were quickly overshadowed by massive street protests outside the hotels and the conference venue. The crowd of over 40,000, which was mobilized through informal networks, effectively stalled the meeting and shook the citadel of global capital. It was compelled to devise, as we know, the vent of the World Social Forum (WSF) with its illusory slogan "Another World Is Possible" from 2001.

After 11 WSFs, and scores of regional social fora, the roughshod march of global capital not only distanced that "another world" but also brought the world itself to the brink of collapse. The massive financialization of economies to facilitate accumulation intensified the crises to un-precedented magnitudes. The Asian financial crisis of 1997, the sub-prime lending crisis of 2008 in the US, and the current European sovereign debt crisis are but markers in this continuing process of financing the accumulation of global capital. Each successive crisis was followed by a massive transfer of public funds

to save the crumbling banking system. The estimates of public funds channeled in the wake of the so-called sub-prime crisis is said to be as high as \$16 to 23 trillion. It was a naked illustration of the Marxian dictum that the state is but a committee of the bourgeoisie to advance its own interests at the expense of the public. Such transfer of public funds into private hands evoked a mass expression of disapproval.

The clue came from the Arab Spring protests in Tunisia. The accumulated mass dissent against the feudal regimes in Arab countries spread like wild fire from country to country and brought about changes, which although currently modulated by imperial America, are being carried on through a new upsurge in Tahrir Square. Taking inspiration from this mass rage, an artist at the Adbusters magazine in Vancouver drew a poster of a ballerina balancing on the Wall Street bull, putting a hash tag on her head "Occupy Wall Street". The poster resonated with people. It soon spread to over 100 cities in the US and even outside. Over 1,500 protest actions, took place all over the world on the "global day of action" in 82 countries. Although they have been crushed at various places, it may not be the end of them. Such forms of spontaneous mass upsurge sans leaders, indeed, do not have a beginning or an end; they only signify the beginning of the end of what they protest against.

## We Are the 99%

The slogan "We Are the 99%" of the OWS movement signifies the extreme concentration of wealth in the hands of the top 1% of income-earners and drives home the point that an overwhelming majority of the people are paying the price for the speculative dealing of a tiny minority. Paul Krugman, writing in the New York Times, said that the 99% slogan aimed too low. A large fraction of

the top one per cent's gains have actually gone to an even smaller group, the top 0.1% – the richest one-thousandth of the population. The top 0.1% of the population saw the sharpest increase in income share, taking home over 10.4% of the nation's earnings in 2008 as against 1% in 1970 and 2.6% in 1975. During the last two decades of neo-liberal globalization, in-equality has been growing all over the globe. Krugman cited a Congressional report that between 1979 and 2005, the inflation-adjusted, after-tax income of Americans in the middle of the income distribution rose by 21%. The equivalent number for the richest 0.1% rose by 400%. But deepening inequality in the so-called emerging economies like Brazil, China and India has been rather worse.

The rulers of these countries fooled the people saying that their free market policies would bring economic growth which would trickle down to the lower strata, making everybody better off. These policies led to an unprecedented concentration of wealth in the hands of the elite at the top, even as they simultaneously dis-possessed the vast majority. The resultant inequality was not a problem so long as people experienced a reasonable degree of improvement in their living standards. However, this has not been the case for the majority of people. The process of de-industrialization, jobless growth, devastation of the environment, commercialization of public services, etc, unleashed by these policies has eroded their living standards. The politics shaped by these policies has undermined democratic expression of the working classes and valorized the euphoric voices of the middle classes. The jolts of repeated economic crises have shaken the middle classes but they have still not realized the mirage of the free market and started seeing the stark reality.

### **Whither India?**

If corporate greed and inequality were the targets of the Occupy movement, India should have been fertile ground for such protests. Income inequality, both in rural and urban areas, has gone up during the post-1990s. The per capita consumption-based Gini coefficient (a measure of in-equality – zero signifying perfect equality and one, perfect inequality) has moved up for rural India – from 0.38 in 1995-96 to 0.41 in 2004-05 – and also in urban India – 0.39 vis-à-vis 0.43. At the all-India level, the Gini coefficient has moved up from 0.43 (1995-96) to 0.45 (2004-05) (Economic Times, 7 February 2008). The distribution of consumption expenditure does not however reflect the true magnitude of inequality. Reeve Vanneman of the University of Maryland and Amaresh Dubey of Jawaharlal Nehru University and the National Council for Applied Economic Research have in a working paper “Horizontal and Vertical Inequalities in India”, dated 21 June 2010, computed the Gini coefficient based on income distribution and found its value to be a whopping 0.54, well above conventional estimates, catapulting the country into the ranks of the most unequal in the world. “Cross-cutting this large vertical inequality are regional and social group inequalities...With the exception of the city state of Delhi, Ginis for Indian states vary between 0.45 (Chhattisgarh) and 0.59 (Karnataka), all well above typical OECD values”.

With regard to corporate greed, the government has been systematically fuel-ling it by ideologically valorizing the private sector. In just six years from 2005-06, it wrote off corporate income tax worth Rs 3,74,937 crore in successive union budgets. Besides these direct transfers, there have been massive transfers to the private corporate sector through disinvestment, giving away natural

resources and opening up business opportunities in public goods like healthcare and education. Corporate plunder has provoked people's resistance movements in various parts of the country. But the opulence of the corporate honchos, evident in their billion dollar residences, private planes and so on, knows no end.

Why then did the OWS movement evoke no response in India? As mentioned earlier, apart from a small rally in Kolkata, an attempt was made to “Occupy Dalal Street” in Mumbai on 4 November but it failed due to lack of public support and high-handedness of the police. It is interesting that the middle caste-class youth who excitedly thronged behind Hazare just ignored it. Paradoxically, some commentators mistakenly traced inspiration of the Occupy movement to the Anna Hazare-led campaign, not knowing the fundamental fact that while Hazare's movement seeks a surreal solution to the real problem of corruption, and that too, within the confines of the status quo, the Occupy movement has symbolically challenged capitalism itself.

Why did the “globalizing” middle classes of India ignore this global movement is an important question to ask. The possible reason, of course, is that they still feel that they are greatly benefiting from the system. After all, it is this system that extricated the economy from the five-decade long syndrome of the “Hindu rate of growth”, brought recognition to the rich migrant community in the US, their El Dorado, catapulted many of them to the top of the corporate ladder and restored their megalomaniacal pride in the nation. But there is something that is missing. The Indian middle class is a class that is infused with the ideology of the caste system. It will thus never easily identify with the lower strata of society of say that we are the 99.99%!

**PM**



# A Note on the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA)

By Asit Das

*In this article, the author takes a critical look at the contents of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, and then proceeds to trace its historical background, touching on the trajectories of Nagaland, Mizoram, and Manipur. Ultimately, the author locates the Act as an instrument in the conversion of the North East into a neocolonial hinterland of India, and the central tool for the explicit military subjugation of peoples identified as the “Cultural Other” - Ed.*

## Introduction

The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958 (AFSPA) is one of the most draconian legislations used by the Indian rulers to enslave and oppress people under the garb of fighting separatism. For the past sixty years, the North East states, and for almost two decades, Kashmir, have been virtually under army rule. This rule by the army has had a drastic effect on the daily life of the average citizen residing in the North East and Kashmir.

In addition to a de-facto state of abrogation of fundamental rights in the above mentioned areas, the misery of citizens of these regions is further compounded by the large scale encroachment by the army on their lands and resources. AFSPA violates the fundamental constitutional rights of right to life, liberty, freedom of speech and expression, peaceful assembly, free movement, practice of any profession, and protection against arbitrary arrest and freedom of religion, as enshrined in Articles 21, 14, 19, 22 and 25 of the Constitution.

AFSPA has been used in these regions to inflict thousands of deaths, custodial deaths and rape, torture, encirclement of the civilian population, sadistic combing operations, looting of private citizen's property etc. Thousands of youth have simply disappeared.

Draconian laws are antithetical to modern democracy since they overturn the fundamental tenets of modern jurisprudence on which democracy rests - a person is presumed to be innocent till proven

guilty. Draconian laws thereby make it difficult for persons booked under it to redress their grievances and get relief, such as bail. It grants extraordinary power to the investigating agencies to elicit confessions. Thus the Act empowers the investigating agencies to easily frame a person whom they suspect to be guilty.

The provisions of the Act provide special powers to state Governors, whereby they can, on their own discretion, and without informing the elected political representatives, by notification in the official Gazette, declare the whole or part of the state or union territory to be a disturbed area. Bypassing duly elected and representative political authority is tantamount to de facto imposition of emergency.

More disturbingly, even while it provides the armed forces with such absolute powers, it also provides them with immunity from any legal accountability. Even though the Act is in operation in the states and union territories of the country, the elected bodies cannot initiate legal proceedings let alone administrative action against armed forces without prior sanction of the Central Government (License to Kill, INSAF, 2005).

## Provisions of the Act: A Critical Reading

Section 1 defines the title of the Act.

Section 2 (a) limits the jurisdiction of the Act to the seven states of the North East; it has also been extended to Kashmir.

(b) Defines “disturbed area” as area

notified under Section 3 to be a disturbed area.

Section 3 states that if the Governor of a state or Central Government is of the opinion that an area is in such a disturbed or dangerous state that the use of armed forces in aid of civil authority is necessary, then either of them can declare it to be a disturbed area by notification in the Gazette.

Section 4 gives the following special powers to any commissioned officer, warrant officer or non commissioned officer of the armed forces in a disturbed area:

(a) If in his opinion, it is necessary for maintenance for public order to fire even to the extent of causing death or otherwise use force against a person who is acting in contravention of an order prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or the carrying of weapons or of things capable of being used as weapon.

(b) If in his opinion, it is necessary to destroy any arms dump or fortified position, any shelter from which armed attacks are made or are likely to be made, and any structure used as training camp for armed volunteers or as a hideout for armed volunteers or as a hideout for armed gangs or absconders.

(c) Arrest without warrant any person who has committed a cognizable offence and to use whatever force is necessary to affect the arrest.

(d) To enter and search without warrant any premises to make an arrest or to recover any person wrongfully confined or to recover any arms, ammunition, explosive substance or

suspected stolen property.

Section 5 makes it mandatory for the Army to hand a person arrested under the Act to the nearest police station with the least possible delay.

Section 6 lays down that prosecution; suit or other legal proceedings can be instituted against a person acting under the Act *only* after getting previous sanctions of the central government.

A cursory reading of AFSPA reveals that the Act is an act of legitimizing the involvement of the military in the domestic space, not supplementing but replacing 'civil power'. The military character of the Act is reflected in multiple ways. AFSPA allows 'use of armed forces', defined as 'military forces and the air forces operating as land forces' and 'any other armed forces' of 'the union' (section 3) in the domestic space.

Section 2 (c) of the Act also clearly shows the close affinity between AFSPA and those laws governing the military such as the Army Act (1950). It reads, 'All other words and expressions used herein but not defined in the Air Force Act 1950, or the Army Act 1950, shall have the meaning respectively assigned to them in those Acts'.

In six sections, being one of the shortest Acts to be passed in the history of the Indian legislation, it unmask the military paradigm involved. For example, what constitutes the 'disturbed and dangerous condition' for an area to be declared a 'disturbed area' is not defined at all (Section 3). All that is required is it to be declared a 'disturbed area'. It is as good as declaring war. In fact, the principle of war is unmistakable here. Just like declaring war, once an area is declared as 'disturbed area', the personnel of the 'armed forces' simultaneously acquire powers to use 'force as may be necessary' based on their 'opinion' and 'suspicion' to effect 'arrest without warrant' or fire upon or otherwise use

force, even causing death. (Section 4).

The presumption of hostile intent as the legitimate basis for the 'armed forces' to take action, characteristic of a war zone, is highlighted when these powers can also be exercised for acts that are 'likely to be made' or 'about to be committed'. Besides the nature of the power conferred upon the armed forces, the fact that the commanding officer is given the power to judge and execute action on his own only proves that the Act is based on the business of war. In a war situation, any officer - irrespective of whether he is a commissioned, junior commissioned or non-commissioned officer-leading his men in the field has to be the judge as well as part of the body that executes his judgments. In the context of maintaining law and order within the domestic space, the same person or body cannot execute the job of the police, the attorney, and the judge.

Moreover, 'the soldiers' operational space that is 'alien and hostile' is a relatively undifferentiated space and it does not require elaborate conditions and procedures as in the case of the differentiated domestic space. Hence, unlike other Acts (including the erstwhile POTA) which provide explicit conditions and elaborate procedures running into pages, AFSPA is hardly a one page Act with six sections. All that the Act requires is to restate the assumption of the taken-for-granted hostile intent (based on 'opinion' and 'suspicion') of the inhabitants of the alien space to exercise the power to eliminate, destroy or neutralize the latter (Section 4).

AFSPA does not have any provision for interrogation and/or gathering evidence. Nor is it like any other so called 'special laws', meant to 'facilitate' trial or 'enhance' conviction rate. It is plainly an instrument of war empowering the military and forces operating under it to eliminate, neutralize and destroy the

enemy or 'suspected enemies', which more often than not practically includes every body residing in the 'disturbed area'.

### ***AFSPA: Constitutional Contradictions***

The large scale violations of fundamental rights in the north eastern states is a direct consequence of the provisions of the AFSPA, of areas declared as Disturbed Areas under Section No. 3 and the simultaneous acquiring of wide powers by army personnel under Section 4 of the Act.

The AFSPA, which grants armed forces personnel the power to shoot to arrest, search, seize and even shoot to kill, violates the Right to Life enshrined in Article 21 of the Constitution of India which guarantees the right to life to all people.

The AFSPA also violates the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). India signed the ICCPR in 1978, taking on the responsibility of securing the rights guaranteed by the Covenant to all its citizens. In particular, the Act is in contravention of Article 6 of the ICCPR guaranteeing the right to life.

Crucially, the AFSPA effectively undermines civil authority. For instance: After the Oinam incident (1987) the Chief Minister, wrote to the Union Home Minister, "The civil law has, unfortunately, ceased to operate in Senapati District Manipur due to excesses committed by the Assam Rifles with complete disregard shown to the civil administration. The Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police were wrongfully confined, humiliated and prevented from discharging their official duties by the Security Forces". And consequent to the Kohima incident in 1995, even the Superintendent of Police, Kohima, was stopped at gun point by army personnel.

At the same time, the AFSPA is an emergency legislation that constitutionally requires to be reviewed

every 6 months. Yet it has been imposed in Manipur and other states of the north east for years on end, which contributes to the misuse of unbridled and arbitrary powers by the armed forces.

### **Historical Background of AFSPA**

The AFSPA gives the armed forces wide powers to shoot, arrest and search in the name of aiding civil power. It was first applied to the north eastern states of Assam and Manipur; the act was amended in 1972 to extend to all the seven states in the north eastern region of India. They are Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland, also known as the seven sisters. The enforcement of the AFSPA has resulted in innumerable incidents of arbitrary detention, torture, rape and looting by security personnel. This legislation is justified by the Government of India on the plea that it is required to stop the North East states from seceding from the Indian Union.

A large part of the original region that constitutes the seven states of the republic of India had strong political, economic and socio-cultural links with South East Asia. The great Hindu and Muslim empires that reigned over the Indian subcontinent never extended east of the Brahmaputra River. Indian British colonizers were the first to break this barrier. In the early nineteenth century they moved in to check Burmese expansion into today's Manipur and Assam. The British, with the help of the then Manipur king, Gambhir Singh, crushed the Burmese imperialist dream and the treaty of Yandabo was signed in 1828. Under this treaty Assam became a part of British India and the British continued to influence the political affairs of the region.

This undue interference eventually led to the bloody Anglo-Manipuri Conflict of 1891. The British reaffirmed their position but were

cognizant of the ferocious spirit of independence of these people and did not administer directly but only through the King.

It was during the Second World War, when the Japanese tried to enter the Indian sub continent through this narrow corridor, that the strategic significance of the region was revealed to the Indian armed forces. With the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the defeated Japanese had to retreat from the Imphal and Kohima fronts. However, the importance of control over the region subsequently remained a priority for the Government of India.

With the end of the war, the global political map was changed overnight. As the British were preparing to leave Asia, the political department of the British Government planned to carve out a buffer state consisting of the Naga Hills, Mikir Hills, Sadiya Area, Balipara Tract, Manipur, Lushai Hills, Khusi Hills, and hills in Assam, as well as the Chin Hills and the hills of Northern Burma. The impending departure of the British created confusion and turmoil over how to fill the political vacuum they would leave behind. Ultimately, the various territories were parceled out to Nehru's India and Jinnah's Pakistan, according to strategic requirements. As expected, there were some rumblings between the New Asiatic Powers on who should get how much. Compromises were made, and issues were finally settled in distant capitals, to the satisfaction of the new rulers. The people who have been dwelling in these hills and valleys for thousands of years were systematically excluded from the consultation process. The Indian share of the disputed British colonial cake in this region constitutes the present seven sister states of the North east. Over the years local democratic movements evolved as the people aspired to a new social and political order. One important example is a strong popular democratic movement against feudalism and

colonialism in Manipur, led by Hijam Irabot Singh.

### ***The Annexation of Manipur***

After the departure of British, the kingdom of Manipur was reconstituted as a constitutional monarchy by passing the Manipur Constitution Act 1947. Elections were held under the new constitution. A legislative assembly was formed. In 1949 V.P Menon, a seminar representative of Government of India, invited the king to a meeting on the pretext of discussing the deteriorating law and order situation in the state in Shillong. Upon his arrival, the king was forced to sign under duress. The agreement was never ratified in the Manipur legislative Assembly. Rather, the Assembly was dissolved and Manipur was kept under the charge of a Chief Commissioner. There were strong protests but using violent and brutal repression the Government of India suppressed the democratic movement in Manipur and has continued applying the same methods ever since.

### ***The Deception in Nagaland***

At the beginning of the century, the inhabitants of the Naga Hills, which extend across Indo-Burmese border, came together under the banner of Naga National Council (NNC) aspiring for a common homeland and self governance. As early as 1929, the NNC petitioned the Simon Commission, which was examining the feasibility of future of self governance of India.

The Naga leaders forcefully articulated the demand of self governance once the British pulled out of India. Gandhi publicly announced that Nagas had every right to be independent. Under the Hydari Agreement signed between NNC and British administration, Nagaland was granted protected status for ten years, after which the Nagas would decide whether they should stay in the Indian union or not. However, shortly after the British withdrew the new Indian

rulers colonized Nagaland and claimed it to be Indian Territory.

Articulating the democratic aspirations of the people of Nagaland, The Naga National Council proclaimed Nagaland's independence in retaliation, and the Indian authorities arrested the Naga leaders. The AFSPA is one of the instruments where the Indian state used to violently suppress the democratic aspirations of the people of North East. In 1975, some Naga leaders held talks with the Government of India which resulted in the Shillong Agreement. Democratic forces of Nagaland smelt a rat in this deceptive agreement and rallied the people for national liberation of Nagas. One of the organizations which articulated the democratic demand of Naga people is National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN).

### **Mizoram**

In the Lushai Hills of Assam in the early sixties a famine broke out. A relief team requested for help from the Government of India. But there was little help. The relief team organized themselves into the Mizo National front (MNF) to liberate themselves from the neo-colonial occupation of India. Against the democratic aspirations of the people Indian army moved in. This is the only place in India where the Indian security forces actually aerielly bombed its own civilian population. The armed forces compelled people to leave their homes and dumped them on the road side to set up new villages.

This devastated the structure of Mizo society. In 1986, the Mio Accord was signed between MNF and Government of India. This accord was as deceptive as the Shillong Accord made with the Nagas earlier.

### **The North East: A Neo-colonial Hinterland**

Much of this bloodshed and genocides by the Indian state could have been avoided if the Indian ruling classes had listened to the voices of democratic aspirations of the people

of Nagaland and the rights of colonized nationalities.

Culturally the high-caste dominated feudal Indian society is totally incompatible with the ethics of North East cultures which were by and large democratic and egalitarian. To make matters worse the Indian ruling classes forcibly clubbed these different non-feudal ethnic groups with Adivasis, cheating them in the name of scheduled tribes and in the process forcing them to be marginalized and stigmatized by the upper caste ruling elites of India.

The languages of the Northeast are of the Tibeto-Chinese family rather than the Indo-Aryan or Dravidian like the rest of India. Until the later eight schedule of the Indian constitution, none of Tibeto-Chinese Languages were recognized as Indian Languages.

Politically dependant, the North East is being economically undermined; the traditional trade routes with south East Asia and Bangladesh have been closed. It was kept out of the Government of India's massive infrastructural development in the five year plans. Gradually it became the neocolonial hinterland for exploitation by the Indian state, where local industries were made worthless and now the people are entirely dependant on goods and businesses owned predominantly by those from the Indo-Gangetic plains. The new Indian unscrupulous businesses pull the economic strings of this region.

For instance, Assam produces one fourth of all petroleum for India, yet it is processed outside Assam and the state is deprived of a major source of revenues.

The shifting demographic balance due to large scale immigration from within and outside the country is another source of frustration. The indigenous people fear that they will be outnumbered by outsiders in their own land. Laborers from Bihar and Bengal who live under rigidly feudal, casteist socio-economic conditions in

their own states are ready for all kinds of menial jobs at much lower wages. As they pour in more and more local laborers are being edged out of their jobs. Illegal immigration from Bangladesh and Nepal is also perceived as a threat. In Tripura the indigenous population has been reduced to a mere 25% of the total population of the state because of large scale immigration from the North east and Bangladesh.

The Indian state's primary interest in the North East was strategic, and so was its response to problems. A series of repressive laws were passed by the Government of India in order to deal with this rising National liberation aspirations of the people of North east. In 1953 the Assam maintenance of Public order (Autonomous District) Regulation Act was passed. It was applicable to the then Naga Hills and Tuensang districts. It empowered the Governor to impose collective fines, prohibit public meetings, and detain anybody without a warrant.

On 22 May 1958 a mere 12 Days after the Budget session of Parliament was over, the Armed Forces (Assam-Manipur) Special Powers Ordinance was passed. A bill was introduced in the Monsoon session of Parliament that year. Amongst those who cautioned against such blanket powers to the Army included then the Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha Mr. P. N Saprú. In a brief discussion that lasted for three hours, in the Rajya Sabha, parliament approved the Armed Forces (Assam-Manipur) Special Powers Act with retrospective from 22 May 1958.

### **Enactment of AFSPA: from colonialism to neocolonialism**

North east India is one of South Asia's most contested spaces. The resulting struggle has taken many forms: armed opposition to the Indian state, movement for separate federal states and autonomous units based on ethnic

lines, protest against extractive industries, and demand for more funds from central government. The AFSPA stands almost in centrality of creating spaces for such contestation, with the content of the Act having changed little over the last 50 years and impacting the North east, India and South Asia in profound ways. The Act itself stems from the specific context of North east's integration into post-colonial India which emerged out of a dominant mainstream Hindu (even enshrined 'secular') Nationalist imagination. Long drawn self determination struggles, first inaugurated by the Naga rebellion who asserted their own independent history, became the defining characteristic of the region which is materially, and ideologically a space distinct from the larger vision of a developing India. While India contains diverse regions and holistic national polity or even a national society, however unassimilated, there is a strong belief in both the Indian mainland and in most of the Northeast that an unbridgeable gap exists between the two regions. This, then, makes one understand how a law like the AFSPA, with its extraordinary provisions by any measure, persists in India's democratic polity for 52 years.

That disunity was a factor that led to British rule over South Asia had been a part and parcel of the awareness of Nationalist awakening since the 19th Century. The trauma of partition at independence accentuated the anxiety of 'disunity'. Emergence of the post revolutionary regime in 1949 in China heightened the sense of persecutory anxiety once represented by the "castrating Muslim Plunderer" and "bad British-colonial Mother". Thus long before insurgency became the defining characteristic of Northeast, referring to Assam, the land of nationalist Gopinath Bordoloi, and the political leadership of Manipur, Sardar Patel wrote to Jawahar Lal Nehru

"The People inhabiting these

portions have no established loyalty or devotion to India. Even the Darjeeling and Kalimpong areas are not free from pro-Mongoloid prejudices".

In other words, the entire population was clearly defined as the 'Cultural Other'.

### **Manipur: Irom Sharmilla's struggle and her body as site of contestation**

While there were other instances of 'Merger Agreements', being signed in situations of stress and duress (Jammu and Kashmir) as well as of military intervention (the police action that ended Nizam's rule in Hyderabad in 1948), what makes the Manipur situation unique is the stream-rolling of democratic institutions that the merger represented, the irony of a state (India) which at that time aspired to be a democratic republic, but was not one yet. Effectively undermining the foundations of an existing democratic state through what is basically a military maneuver makes the case of Manipur quite exceptional. That all this was justified not by reference to the 'will of the people' of the territories concerned (as was the case with Hyderabad) or by a response to internal aggression (as is said to be the case with Jammu and Kashmir), but by a 'strategic necessity' is all the more revealing. The reason cited for the decision to annex Manipur: Manipur is a 'border state' and 'backward' therefore its takeover is a 'strategic' necessity. These were the expressions used by V.P. Menon. The fact that he uses the expression 'takeover' to mean 'integration' speaks for itself.

"Indian army rapes us" read the banner which the women were holding when they protested against the murder and death of Manorama Devi in front of Army Headquarters in Imphal, Manipur in year 2004. Thangiam Manorama, a Manipuri woman, was raped and murdered by jawans of Rastriya rifles in July 2004. She became of symbol of atrocities

faced by the people North East for the past 60 years. If the abduction and cold-blooded murder of Manorama Devi showed the brutal face of Indian occupation, the indomitable courage of Irom Sharmilla signifies the strength of peaceful resistance of a beleaguered people.

The 39 year old Manipuri is about to complete 11 years of a hunger strike in protest against AFSPA that gives security forces powers to kill with impunity. The UPA promised as far back as 2004 to replace the act with a 'more humane' law but has shown little interest in taking up the task in the face of opposition from the internal security establishment. Union Home Minister P Chidambaram recently admitted there was no consensus within the Government on the issue. Ms Sharmilla's fast began on November 3, 2000, a day after security personnel shot down 10 people at a bus stand just outside Imphal.

Within days, she was detained by the police, since then, she has been nasally force-fed a liquid concoction of nutrients in a hospital, which serves as her prison. After every year in detention, she is released for a day and rearrested for attempting to commit suicide, because she refuses to call off her fast until the government repeals the legislation, which is in force in Manipur, Assam, Nagaland and parts of Arunachal Pradesh besides, Jammu and Kashmir. Hers may be the longest hunger strike in recorded history but it has generated little or no interest outside Manipur. In recent days, the attention Ms Sharmilla has received in the wake of Anna Hazare's anti corruption hunger strike has served to highlight her personal life.

### **Conclusion**

By legitimizing the use of military force in the internal affairs of the state beyond what is already provided in the Criminal Procedure Code and the provisions of emergency in the constitution, AFSPA seeks to supplant

rather than supplement civil authority with military authority in the administration of everyday life. To convert such an ordinance into a regular law that stays in place for almost half a century is to entrench a military structure and ethos in the polity and structure of the state. It sets into motion the process of reproduction and appropriation of the military structure and ethos by other instruments of the State (the paramilitary and police) as well as civil society itself. Ultimately, it leads to a complete subversion of the basic foundation of society and polity. It blurs the necessary distinctions between the police and the military, between the civilian and the combatant, and between 'domestic' and 'alien' space. This is what has happened in Manipur.

As Bimol Akoijam says: the single Act AFSPA has given rise to a plethora of Acts of horrors, like the thousands of murders, rapes, custodial deaths, disappearances, tortures, combing operations and genocide. Recently discovered unmarked graves in Kashmir are a chilling testimony to these hard realities of everyday life in Kashmir and the Northeast.

The lists of such acts of horror in the Northeast is long, but to name a few well known cases, from 1980, onwards they include: the massacres of civilians at Heirangoi thong (Manipur) in 1984, at RIMS Manipur in 1995, at Malom (Manipur) in 2000; the horror of army torture and violence on civilians during operation Blue bird (Manipur) in 1987 and operation Rhino (Assam) in 1991. Indiscriminate firing on civilians by armed forces personnel when their own vehicle burst in the town of Kohina (Nagaland) in March 1995, the shelling and destruction of the town of Makokchung (Nagaland) in 1994, the enforced disappearances of Loken and Lokendro (Manipur) in 1996, and the rape of Miss N Sanjita (who subsequently committed suicide) (Manipur) in 2003.

## Appendix

Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act 1958: A Fact Sheet adopted by the SAHELI and PUDR team from earlier reports and submissions to the Jeevan Reddy Committee:

Over the last five decades, heavy militarization in the north east has taken its toll on normal civilian life and led to innumerable instances of violations committed against the civilian populations there. Encounter deaths, extra judicial killings, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, rape and torture have been a regular feature among the relentless series of atrocities meted out to the people by the army with impunity, especially in areas where they are protected by legislation like AFSPA.

Some of the most widely known incidents of such horror in the north east are:

Army torture and violence against the villagers of Oinam (Manipur) in 1987 who were detained in army camps, beaten mercilessly, given electric shocks. At least 3 women were raped, 15 villagers killed, and many left permanently disabled;

-The gang rape of the women of Ujanmaidan (Tripura) by security forces;

-The terror wreaked by the army in Assam during Operation Rhino in 1991;

-the shelling of town of Ukhrul (Manipur) with mortars in May 1994 by the Assam Rifles when they violently ransacked the town, leaving many homes damaged, over a hundred men and women bleeding with serious injuries and 3 dead;

-four women raped at gunpoint, and homes and shops set on fire by the Maratha Light Infantry, killing others people in December 1994 in Mokokchung (Nagaland);

-indiscriminate firing on civilians and combing operations by the combined forces of the 16th Rashtriya Rifles,

CRPF and Assam Rifles when a tyre of an army jeep burst in the Kohima town (Nagaland) in March 1995;

-torture, forced detaining, starvation, sexual assault of women and looting in the 5 villages of Namtiram (Manipur) in 1995 by the 21st Rajputana Rifles;

-the army's reign of terror in Jesami (Manipur) in January 1996;

-the rampage of the village of Huishu (Manipur) by the Assam rifles in March 1996

-the massacre of 10 innocent civilians by the Assam Rifles in Malom (Manipur) on 2 November, 2000 by security forces

-the torture, rape and killing of Thangajam Manorama in Imphal (Manipur) in 2004

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SAHELI-PUDR Fact Sheet on Human Rights abused in Northeast.

PM

# India's Prisons are Schools of Resistance and Revolution

## *CPI (Maoist) leaders start movements in jails*

Hindustan Times

Kolkata, October 13, 2011

CPI (Maoist) has opened a new front, from behind the bars, away from Junglemahal. With senior leaders lodged in jails, the party is not only spreading its views among the inmates, but also leading movements and agitations on various issues. Since the past couple of years, a number of agitations have taken place inside the jails, including the central jails, where a large number of inmates even sat on indefinite hunger strikes. According to jail sources, Maoists have formed various jail committees, which not only look after rights of prisoners, but also make them aware of the current political situation. Intelligence sources admit that Maoists have also initiated indoctrination classes for young under trials in some jails." It is their strategy to catch the administration on the wrong foot. They have been organizing inmates behind the bars and prompting agitations. They are the brain behind most agitations, however frivolous for a cause it may be," said Ranvir Kumar, inspector general of jails.

"Last week, in Behrampur jail, a religious colour was given to agitations. Earlier in Krishnagar, the Maoist organized a hunger strike," said Kumar.

Several senior Maoist leaders, including the Politburo members, former state secretaries and state committee members, are lodged in different Bengal jails, including central jails such as Presidency, Alipur and Dumdum.

The inmates have been agitating over lack of basic amenities, like proper food and water, apart from agitations and hunger strikes demanding withdrawal of joint forces and release of political prisoners.

According to jail sources, Maoist leaders, most of whom are highly educated, have now become role models in the jails. Since they are aware of the jail code and laws, they are also lending a helping hand to common inmates, both under trials and convicts.

Leaders such as Chandi Sarkar (former state committee member), who is in Krishnanagar jail, and V Venkateshwara Rao alias Telegu Dipak (former state committee and military commission member), presently is lodged in Alipur central jail, have been organizing the inmates for various protests and agitations.

Former Politburo members, former state committee secretaries and members like Himadri Sen Roy alias Somen, Sudip Chongdar alias Kanchan and Patit Paban Halder are behind the bars.

"Previously inmates used to fight, shout abuses at the authorities over their demands. They were not organized. Now they jointly give us petitions, deputations and observe hunger strikes over various issues. They are more organized these days under Maoist leadership behind the bars," said a senior jail officer in Presidency central jail.

Interestingly, even prisoners charged with anti-national activities are also showing solidarity to the Maoists on different issues, even relating to Junglemahal. A few months ago, a number of inmates accused for terrorist activities, in Presidency, Alipur and Dumdum central jails, officially supported the hunger strike held by the Maoists in demand for withdrawal of joint forces and release of political prisoners.

A spate of agitations broke out in Bengal jails recently, including in Krishnanagar where over 200 inmates sat on hunger strike on August 15 and four had to be shifted to a hospital as their condition grew critical. On October 10, over 1300 inmates of Berhampore jail initiated agitations over lack of basic amenities. In Midnapore jail, which houses people like Chattrdhar Mahato, inmates organize agitations frequently for various demands under the leadership of Maoist leaders.

PM

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*Contd. from.... Page 31*

Our CC is appealing to the people of the country to observe protest week from November 29 to December 5 and observe 48-hour 'Bharat Bandh' on December 4-5 in protest of the brutal murder of Comrade Koteswara Rao. We are appealing that they take up various programmes like holding meetings, rallies, dharnas, wearing black badges, road blocks etc protesting this murder. We are requesting that trains, roadways, commercial and educational institutions be closed and that all kinds of trade transactions be stopped as part of the 'Bharat Bandh' on December 4-5. However, we are exempting medical services from the Bandh.

(Abhay)

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

To,  
The Central Committee,  
Communist Party of Philippines

Dear comrades,  
Red Salutes.

We convey our warmest revolutionary greetings to all the CC comrades on the occasion of the advance of the Philippines revolution achieved by fighting back bravely the “Oplan Bayanihan” campaign of the reactionary US-Aquino regime and we congratulate you for your appropriate plan to develop to the stage of strategic equilibrium from the stage of strategic defence. Please convey red salutes from our entire party to the entire rank and file of the party and brave commanders and fighters of New People’s Army. We humbly pay homage to all the great martyrs of Philippines who have laid down their precious lives in the fight to smash imperialism and all kinds of local reactionaries and establish a new democratic Philippines and then to march forward to establish socialism and communism.

As you had mentioned in the special issue of your magazine Ang Bayan, “Oplan Bayanihan” is nothing but a counter-revolutionary war on the Philippines people. The Philippines ruling classes are propagating that this is a plan formulated for the sake of peace-development and human rights. This is done in accordance with the US counter-insurgency guide-2009. With the connivance of the lackey Philippines ruling class representatives like Marcos, Aquino, Arroyo and Jr Aquino, the US is scheming to turn your country into a strong neo-colony through its military bases. Oplan Bayanihan has nothing to do with peace-development and human rights and the promise to make them available for the people is nothing but a big sham. We communist revolutionaries are aware that on the contrary this is a conspiracy to brutally suppress and divert the deluge of people’s struggles and revolutionary agitations. That is why, as you had mentioned, the Oplan Bayanihan which was launched for the interests of the imperialists and the Philippines comprador ruling classes is bound to face defeat.

Our party the CPI (Maoist) is extending its full support to the People’s War being waged by the revolutionary and democratic forces of Philippines under the leadership of CPP which also took up concrete tasks to defeat Oplan Bayanihan. We are striving to vastly propagate about your struggle in our country and rally the support of the people of our country for it. We promise to take up this propaganda at the international level too.

Our Central Committee on behalf of our entire party, PLGA, emerging organs of new people’s power, revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary masses of India conveys its red salutes to the CPP for building a solidarity campaign against Operation Green Hunt as part of the international solidarity against War of the Indian state on the people. This international solidarity campaign of your party and other International revolutionary parties in true international spirit has given great moral support to all of us in our fight against imperialism and all kinds of local reaction.

The Protracted People’s Wars (PPWs) in Philippines and India under the leadership of our parties have gained recognition as genuine alternatives to the decadent and corrupt systems in our countries against whom we are fighting. Maoist parties of Turkey, Bangladesh and some more countries are trying to consolidate themselves and are trying to advance the people’s war. This is an optimistic situation in terms of the development of revolutionary subjective forces in the world. Wishing that the Philippines revolution would advance and achieve more successes....

**With Revolutionary Greetings,  
Central Committee,  
CPI (Maoist).**

**25 June 2011**



# **CRPP Statement against the vilification campaign of the state targeting people's organizations**

December 14, 2011

CRPP condemns strongly the statement of Jitendra Singh, Minister of State for home affairs, India that the committee is a frontal organization of the CPI (Maoist) [See TOI 8 December 2011]. This is nothing but a calculated attempt from the state to castigate any platform, organization or political opinion that is against the policies of the government.

The CRPP has been consistently bringing out the acts of impunity of the government in the form of illegal detention, arrests, torture of political dissidents be it Maoists who believe in the well being of one and all through a society free from all forms of exploitation and oppression, the Kashmiris, Nagas, Manipuris, Assamese, Kamtapuris who have been fighting for their right to self-determination, the dalits and adivasis who have been fighting for their lives and livelihoods and last but not the least the Muslim community in India who have become the target of hate campaigns by the state further emboldened by the so-called war against terror. Against this tyranny of lawlessness of a state aggressively promoting the policies of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG) totally subservient to imperialist interests, the CRPP has been steadfastly demanding, ever since it came together as a platform of various individuals and organizations, the unconditional release of all political prisoners who have been kept behind bars, many of them without trial for years and with numerous politically motivated cases slapped on them.

The CRPP for the first time brought forth the demand that the Indian government should recognize the status of political prisoners as it is also a signatory to the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICPR) of the United Nations in which the rights of the political prisoners have been mentioned categorically. Through all its activities what CRPP has tried to highlight and at the same time unite public opinion has been on the growing concern and anger of the diminishing democratic space for the most exploited and oppressed masses of the people of this subcontinent. That to argue for the enhancement of democratic space for everyone so that they can live a life of dignity and well being goes against the interest of the powers that be so as to be vilified as a "threat" speaks volumes of the real face of democracy in the subcontinent. More so at a time when the largest military mobilization—the paramilitary, army, police—of the state are being utilized to maim, rape and kill the adivasis and dalits of the subcontinent which is euphemistically called by the home minister of India as Operation Green Hunt, all in the name of development. And it is in the backdrop of an alarmingly growing number of political prisoners from the regions of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Jangal Mahal etc., who were fighting against the four dreaded Ds—Displacement, Destitution, Destruction and Death—and a large number of Muslim political prisoners let alone from the nationality movements that the CRPP came into existence as a demand of various people's movements. It becomes important for a desperate state as an extension of the same policy to silence all voices of dissent and to create fear psychosis among the people to vilify and criminally profile platforms such as the CRPP. It also shows the strength of the CRPP in that it could bring together all possible voices across the subcontinent which is arguing against the anti-people, lawless acts of the Indian state.

We at the CRPP further take strong exception in the manner in which the media has carried the report which was more insinuatory than mere reporting only to add to the grist mill of sensation driven news.

We call upon all democratic and freedom loving people of the subcontinent to come forth and condemn unequivocally this desperate attempt of the state to vilify and criminalize all political opinions that are contrary to its will. The detailed statement of the Minister of State showing a whole lot of organizations as "being watched" closely by the eyes and ears of the government provokes only a sense of siege mentality that the state wants to instill in the psyche of the general public. We need to stand firmly against all such fascist intentions of the state while arguing for the inevitable need to roll back all anti-people policies of the state that has threatened the lives of the masses of the people.

In Solidarity,

**SAR Geelani**  
Working President

**Amit Bhattacharyya**  
Secretary General

**Rona Wilson**  
Secretary, Public Relations

December 8, 2011

## **PUDR statement against state suppression of democratic organizations in the name of Maoism**

PUDR denounces the statement given by state home minister Jitendra Singh in Rajya Sabha on 7 December 2011 in which he asserted that the CPI (Maoist) is active in Delhi and named several groups as being the Party's front organizations.

Answering question no. 1637 raised by BJP MP Kusum Rai, Jitendra Singh stated that in Delhi, the CPI (Maoist) is operating through the Delhi City Committee. Apart from the Party itself, Singh went on to say, left-wing extremist organizations like CPML-New Democracy and CPML-Liberation have an active presence in Delhi. Besides, Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), People's Democratic Front of India (PDF), Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) and Democratic Students Union (DSU) were also named as front organizations by Singh, who also admitted that no inputs have yet been received to indicate that 'sleeper cells, of Naxalites are functional in the capital.

The organizations named have not played a part in armed resistance or violent struggle but have consistently raised their voice against state suppression. It is clear that by labeling such groups as Maoist, the state is trying to curb their dissent.

The minister of state also named some separatist groups active in the county's north-east as having close ties with the CPI (Maoist). By taking such a stand, the state wants to obliterate all difference between terrorism and Maoism. The minister added that a Maoist sympathizer was arrested in Delhi with regard to the issue of monetary transactions between the Essar group and Maoists. This case is a sub judice matter in the court and no charges leveled against the accused have been proved. At this stage, it is erroneous to brand the accused as a Maoist sympathizer.

When the entire country is openly criticizing the state's policies today, the state is still engaged in suppressing such voices, rather than cleaning up its own act. The branding of civil liberties and democratic rights groups as Maoists is an extension of the state's policy of throttling opposition through draconian laws like the UAPA, which it has been pursuing with dogged determination. In the light of this situation, PUDR strongly condemns the minister's statement and sees the targeting of such groups as a frontal attack on democracy.

*Harish Dhawan, Paramjeet Singh (Secretaries, Peoples Union for Democratic Rights)*

*Contd..... from Page 28*

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enemy offensive, if we do not defeat the conspiracy to wipe out the revolutionary movement, Maoist party, PLGA, alternate people's power organs and mass organizations, then all the valuable fruits won by the revolutionary movement would be destroyed. So, play your role in isolating and defeating the enemy! Join the PLGA in huge numbers, increase its force manifold and strengthen it! Integrate with the deluge of mass movements rising in several areas in our country with the slogans land-power-democracy-building of people's army and self-reliance! Join hands with them! Stand shoulder to shoulder with the armed resistance struggles of PLGA! There can be no fundamental change without completely destroying the exploiting classes. The reforms thrown by them as bread crumbs are useless and would only destroy the lives of the people further. Let us advance for an alternative new democratic society by declaring that reforms are part of the conspiracy to damage the unity of the people and fight them back! Come! Dare to fight and ultimate victory belongs to the people!

- ✍ Let us develop PLGA into PLA and guerilla warfare into mobile warfare with the aim of developing Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand into Liberated Areas!
- ✍ Let us oppose the deployment of army by the Indian ruling classes for wiping out Maoist revolutionary movement!
- ✍ Let us teach a lesson to the mercenary Indian Army which loots, repress and suppress the Indian toiling masses by intensifying our glorious People's War!
- ✍ Long live CPI (Maoist)!

With Revolutionary Greetings,

(Deoji)

Member of Central Military Commission, CPI (Maoist)

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**  
CENTRAL MILITARY COMMISSION

**Let us intensify People's War with the aim of  
defeating "Operation Green Hunt" – War on People!  
Call of Central Military Commission, CPI (Maoist) on the occasion of  
PLGA 11th anniversary**

Beloved people!

By December 2, People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) would complete eleven years. On this occasion Central Military Commission (CMC) is giving a call to celebrate the 11th anniversary in all our guerilla zones and red resistance areas with the determination to defeat Operation Green Hunt (OGH) of the exploiting ruling classes. In the People's War ongoing for the liberation of toiling masses in India nearly 150 best daughters and sons of the soil and ordinary people have laid down their precious lives since December 2010 to September 2011. Let us pay revolutionary homage to all the brave fighters. Let us vow to fulfill their aims.

In the past one year, hundreds of local mass organizations, revolutionary people's government activists and people were arrested, booked under black laws and put in jails. To suppress the revolutionary cultural movement, death sentences were pronounced on four cultural activists of Jharkhand Abhen including Jeeten Marandi. It is necessary to build a strong people's movement to annul these death sentences. Particularly, as part of inflicting losses on our party leadership in the dog hunt of the enemy intelligence agencies on April 29, 2011 three Central Committee members and in July comrade Bhupeshda and many other leadership comrades and activists were arrested by the enemy. The enemy is making conspiracies to incarcerate them in jails permanently. CMC is giving a call to the people to build agitations everywhere for the release of these political prisoners.

In the operations conducted by our PLGA forces against fascist OGH all over the country, 150 mercenary policemen were wiped out, 180 were injured and seized 60 weapons all over the country successfully since December 2010 to October 2011. Moreover, in the continuous single actions conducted by the PLGA forces, 170 anti-people elements were wiped out. Particularly, the role of people's militia forces is worth mentioning in this.

The central and state governments have announced that the second phase of the fascist OGH is ongoing. From mid-2009, as we all know, this unjust war (Green Hunt military offensive) unleashed by the Sonia-Man Mohan Singh-Chidambaram clique against the people of this country is nothing but a war to let the comprador companies and MNCs to loot the mineral wealth in the adivasi areas. In order to brutally continue the 'War on people' the government deployed a brigade level army force in the name of training in May end of this year. In fact, army officials have been guiding the counter-insurgency operations of the paramilitary forces since six years with the aim of wiping out the revolutionary movement which is proving to be a hurdle to corporate loot. The army on its own established counter-terrorism Jungle Warfare schools including the ones at Kanker of Chattisgarh and Ambikapur in North Chhattisgarh and is giving special training to police-paramilitary forces. Army higher officials have conducted Bastar tours several times. During the days when Salwa Judum was at the height of its cruelty, American consulate officials have visited the Jungle Warfare School in Kanker and had consultations with Raman Singh and police higher officials in Raipur. All these undoubtedly prove that all this is happening under the guidance of the US imperialists.

Attacks on people, murders, sexual atrocities on women, razing down houses, loot, destruction of harvest and looting of hens, pigs and goats have become commonplace in the fascist Green Hunt military offensive. The Chintalnar murders-atrocities-razing of houses-loot, the massacre conducted in Netai village (Lalgarh, PB) by the CPM with the help of central and state Joint Forces and the massacre by PLFI goons in Jamgai village (Gumla district, JH) are living

examples for this. Ninety nine percent of the persons killed by the reactionary Salwa Judum, Sendra, Nagrik Suraksha Samity, Santi Sangams, government armed forces including several kinds of killer gangs in Bihar and Jharkhand are unarmed people. The armed guerillas dying in encounters and fake encounters will not be more than one percent. This hugely indicates that this is 'War on the people'.

By portraying DK as a stronghold of Maoist guerillas, the Indian Army stepped in DK in the name of 'training' by violating the laws banning land transfer, PESA act and the acts giving all powers to the Gram Sabhas. But the actual aim of the army is to chase the adivasis away from their ages old abode to wipe out the most ancient human community and their primitive culture and to nip in the bud the Janatana Sarkars being established by the adivasi people under the leadership of the Maoists. For this sake, the central government gave all powers to the army to implement the majority aspects in AFSPA and to do anything in the name of self-defence. Indian Army which is supposed to defend the borders of the country is now ready to wage war on its own people in the heart of the country. All adivasi communities all over the country must now agitate against the conspiracies of the Indian ruling classes to safeguard the interests of the imperialists and MNCs and to extend the atrocities and massacres carried on by the Indian Army and paramilitary forces on Kashmir and North-East national liberation struggles. People belonging to all classes and sections, democrats, patriots and mass organizations must stand firmly in their support.

Beloved people!

As a consequence of the distorted development of the imperialist LPG policies, the impact of the world economic crisis is severe on our country too. Increase in corruption, unemployment, price rise, poverty and displacement and due to loss of lands, forests and water, the living conditions of the oppressed working class, peasant and middle class people became unbearable and they do not have anywhere to turn except towards revolution. Material conditions are ripening for revolution. Strikes and agitations of all sections of people are increasing. Economic struggles are turning into political struggles. The political agitations of the backward adivasi peasantry are intensifying. Struggles like Lalgah, Kalinga Nagar, Narayanapatna, anti-Posco, Niayamagiri, Mali, Deomali, Singareni Open casts, Polavaram, Sompeta, Kakarapalli, Jaitapur and Greater Noida, struggle of people displaced due to urban development in Jharkhand, countrywide anti-SEZ struggles, price rises, anti-corruption struggles, struggles on peasant issues and the struggles of dalit and women indicate the political consciousness of the people. People are rallying militantly for the formation of separate Telangana state. The national liberation struggle of Kashmir is continuing to rage. In order to divert the militant struggles of the people, NGOs run with the guidance of imperialists and those under the leadership of persons like Anna Hazare are bringing forth struggle forms like hunger strikes in the name of non-violence. Fascist repression of the ruling classes is increasing on our Maoist party which is serving as the beacon light of the oppressed masses and also on working class, peasantry, middle class and oppressed masses. The economic and political crisis is intensifying every where and so vast masses must display revolutionary spirit and take up political agitations with the slogan that we will fight till our last breath. We must rally on a huge scale on daily issues and political issues. We must realize that it is not possible for the economic interests of the oppressed masses to be fulfilled without decisive political struggles and develop these agitations to a higher level by linking it with the slogan that "Political Power must be seized through People's War".

Call of the CMC:

Beloved workers, peasants, adivasis, toiling masses, women, students, youth and intellectuals! Thousands of people, particularly adivasi peasantry are rallying into struggles with the aim of defeating the 'War on People' - OGH which was unleashed by the central and state governments. All classes and sections of the toiling people must integrate themselves with these struggles. Extend support to the! Rally actively to stop the brutal attacks of the mercenary police who are massacring hundreds of adivasis and looting their properties, dignity and everything dear to them like a pack of wolves attacking a flock of sheep, in the name of fighting terrorism. Maoists are not advocates of violence. In fact, they would be in the forefront among those who wish for peace. Do not believe a word of the vicious propaganda unleashed by the bourgeois media on Maoists! Stand firmly with the revolutionary movement! If we do not defeat this

*Contd. on... Page 26*

## **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

### **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

#### **SEPARATE TELANGANA STATE MUST BE IMMEDIATELY FORMED!**

#### **MAKE SUCCESS “BHARAT BANDH” ON OCTOBER 11, 2011**

#### **IN SUPPORT OF THE “SAKALA JANULA SAMME”**

#### **(ENTIRE PEOPLE’S STRIKE)!**

Telangana people’s aspiration for a separate state has turned into an unprecedented upsurge. Unity of Telangana people is blooming. In the “Sakala Janula Samme” initiated by employees, Singareni, RTC, Electric workers with students, lawyers and teachers being in the forefront - artisans, auto drivers, unorganized workers, municipal workers, traders, priests and peasants have joined. With the participation of all sections of people, artisans and intellectuals the strike is intensifying with every day. The participation of family members of the entire people right from old persons to women and children indicates how widespread this strike has become. Worried that they may become isolated from the people with this entire people’s strike the ruling class parties like congress, TDP and BJP are vying with each other to tender resignations which are any way rejected. Congress is trying to show as if it is bringing pressure on the high command for Separate Telangana. As the strike intensified congress leaders started immediate consultations in Delhi with Gulam Nabi Azad. In his report to the Congress high command, Azad has stated that it would take ‘some more time’ to take any decision on Telangana issue and thus displayed his betrayal nature once again. On the other hand all kinds of possible political alternatives are coming to the fore. Congress high command is hands in glove with the Seemandhra wealthy classes and is trying to bring to the fore pre-planned moves. The conspiracy to separate Hyderabad from Telangana and making it a Union Territory or to make it the common capital of two states is part of this. They are propagating another proposal where Hyderabad would be separated and a separate state would be formed by joining Kurnool with the rest of Telangana. Telangana people would never accept any of these proposals. That Hyderabad is an inseparable part of the Telangana is an undeniable historical truth. Telangana people must stand united and defeat the conspiracies to form Separate Telangana state without Hyderabad.

Government is resorting to severe repression to suppress the entire people’s strike which is raging like wild fire since 18 days. It is using ESMA to suppress the rights of workers and employees; is turning factories, mines and offices into police camps, lathi charging and firing rubber bullets on processions, making illegal arrests and resorting to threats. On the other hand it is trying to bring a divide between Telangana people and Andhra settlers and trying to suppress the movement. As part of this, it is bringing black legs into the strike and they are resorting to attacks on workers. NGO leader Swami Goud was attacked as part of this. As part of this conspiracy Lagadapati Rajgopal came to Hyderabad under the pretext of a courtesy visit to RTC workers and was also in the forefront in trying to fizzle out the strike by bringing in drivers on hire from Seemandhra. Governor Narasimhan, Chief Minister Kiran Kumar Reddy and DGP Dinesh Reddy are severely trying to suppress the entire people’s strike under the orders of the Central Government. Congress ministers from Hyderabad Danam Nagender, Mukesh Goud and Owaisi brothers who are Majlis leaders are working against the demand of Separate Telangana and have turned into traitors of Telangana. Governments and ruling classes are controlling the media following the suggestions given in the 8th chapter of Sri Krishna Committee that this entire people’s strike going on at higher level should not be propagated in Andhra Pradesh and in other states of our country. Thus they are trying to continue their rule by keeping the people of our country in dark.

#### **Beloved people of Telangana!**

Carry on the entire people’s strike with more determination and intensify it. Formation of a Separate Telangana state would be possible only by preparing ourselves for bitter struggles. We cannot expect the ruling classes which suppress even the basic rights of people to start the process of formation of Telangana state so easily. When we look at the past history too it can be seen how the Telangana people had to shed blood even for fundamental rights. Preparing ourselves for long term, united and militant agitations and advancing forward along the path of struggle is the only way to achieve Telangana state by bending the Central Government. We all know that the ruling classes and their leaders would try to

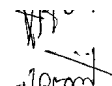
fizzle out the movement at the first chance by resorting to compromising agreements always. We must expose these conspiracies from time to time and defeat them. When the movement rages for a long time, we must fight back the vacillations occurring among the leaders and keep alive the movement. TRS which believes strongly in achieving Telangana through lobbying is participating in the entire people's strike in an inevitable situation to save itself from getting isolated from the people. But on the other hand it is trying to get its candidate (who jumped from TDP to TRS) elected in Banswada by-election and this is nothing but tactics to divert the people from entire people's strike. Congress which claims that it is committed to Telangana had exposed its opportunism by contesting this election. TDP which had always been opposing Telangana state announced that it would not participate in elections till Telangana is formed and boycotted the Banswada by-election. This is nothing but rank opportunism. The various JACs must advance forward in accordance with the struggle unity coming to the fore very strongly in the entire people's strike in Telangana. They must keep aside their vacillations and lead the militant agitation of the people properly. This is the appeal of CPI (Maoist) to the various JACs at this juncture.

The entire people's strike is creating a great impact on the people of our country. It is serving as a strong inspiration to movements for separate states. It is an important task before the people of our country to stand in support of the Telangana people at present. Our Party is whole heartedly issuing an appeal to the people of Seemandhara to respect the aspirations of the Telangana people which are blooming during the entire people strike and stand in support of the separate statehood demand. We appeal to them not to give in to the conspiracies of the exploiting ruling classes which are scheming to create a divide between Telangana and Seemandhra people and to welcome the democratic demand for Telangana state.

We demand that Separate Telangana State be immediately formed in accordance with the strong aspirations of the people of Telangana and are issuing a call for Bharat Bandh on October 11, 2011 in support of the entire people's strike. We appeal to workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, women, democrats, progressive mass organizations, progressive elements, poets, artistes and the vast masses to participate in observing the bandh and make it a success. We appeal to the people of our country to shut down offices, educational institutions, trade organizations etc completely and show solidarity to the movement for separate statehood of Telangana.



(Pratap)  
Spokesperson  
Central Regional Bureau  
CPI (Maoist)



(Abhay)  
Spokesperson  
Central Committee  
CPI (Maoist)

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From 1994 onwards he mainly worked to spread and develop the revolutionary movement in Eastern and Northern parts of India including West Bengal. Particularly his role in uniting the revolutionary forces which were scattered after the setback of the Naxalbari movement in West Bengal and in reviving the revolutionary movement there is extraordinary. He mingled deeply with the oppressed masses of Bengal and the various sections of the revolutionary camp, learnt Bangla language with determination and left an indelible mark in the hearts of the people there. He worked tirelessly in achieving unity with several revolutionary groups and in strengthening the party. Comrade Koteswara Rao was elected as a Central Committee (CC) member in the All India Special Conference of erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's War) held in 1995. He strived for achieving unity between People's War and Party Unity in 1998. In the Party Congress of erstwhile CPI (ML) (PW) held in 2001 he was once again elected into CC and Politburo. He took up responsibilities as the secretary of the North Regional Bureau (NRB) and led the revolutionary movements in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Delhi, Haryana and Punjab states. Simultaneously he played a key role in the unity talks held between erstwhile PW and MCCI. He served as a member of the unified CC and Politburo formed after the merger of the two parties in 2004 and worked as a member of the Eastern Regional Bureau (ERB). He mainly concentrated on the state movement of West Bengal and continued as the spokesperson of the ERB.

Comrade Koteswara Rao played a prominent role in running party magazines and in the field of political education inside the party. He took part in running 'Kranti', 'Errajenda', 'Jung', 'Prabhat', 'Vanguard' and other party magazines. He had a special role to play in bringing out various revolutionary magazines in West Bengal. He wrote many theoretical and political articles in these magazines. He was a member of the Sub-Committee on Political Education (SCOPE) and played a prominent role in teaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the party ranks. In the entire history of the party he played a memorable role in expanding the revolutionary movement, in enriching the party documents and in developing the movement. He participated in the Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress of the party held in 2007 January, was elected as CC member once again and took responsibilities of Politburo member and member of the ERB.

The political guidance given by Comrade Koteswara Rao to the Singur and Nandigram people's movements which erupted since 2007 against the anti-people and pro-corporate policies of the social fascist CPM government in West Bengal and particularly to the glorious upsurge of people's rebellion in Lalgarh against police atrocities is prominent. He guided the West Bengal state committee and the party ranks to lead these movements and on the other hand conducted party propaganda through the media too with initiative. In 2009 when the Chidambaram clique tried to mislead the middle classes in the name of talks and ceasefire, he worked significantly in exposing it. He did enormous work in keeping aloft the importance of People's War and in taking the revolutionary politics into the vast masses. This great revolutionary journey which went on for almost four decades came to an abrupt end on November 24, 2011. Beloved People! Democrats!!

Do condemn this brutal murder. It is the conspiracy of the ruling classes to wipe out the revolutionary leadership and deprive the people of correct guidance and proletarian leadership. It is a known fact that the Maoist movement is the biggest hurdle to the big robbers and compradors who are stashing millions in Swiss banks by selling for peanuts the *Jal*, *Jungle* and *Zameen* of the country to the imperialist sharks. The multi-pronged, country-wide brutal offensive named Operation Green Hunt of the past two years is exactly serving this purpose. This cold-blooded murder is part of that. It is the duty of the patriots and freedom-loving people of the country to protect the revolutionary movement and its leadership like the pupil of their eye. It's nothing but protecting the future of the country and that of the next generations.

Even at the age of 57, Com. Koteswara Rao led the hard life of a guerilla like a young man and had filled the cadres and people with great enthusiasm wherever he went. His life would particularly serve as a great inspiration to the younger generation. He studied and worked for hours together without rest and traveled great distances. He slept very little, led a simple life and was a hard worker. He used to mingle easily with people of all ages and with people who come from various social sections and fill them with revolutionary enthusiasm. No doubt, the martyrdom of Comrade Koteswara Rao is a great loss to the Indian revolutionary movement. But the people of our country are very great. It is the people and the people's movements which gave birth to courageous and dedicated revolutionaries like Koteswara Rao. The workers and peasants and the revolutionaries who have imbibed the revolutionary spirit of Koteswara Rao right from Jagityal to Jungle Mahal and who have armed themselves with the revolutionary fragrance he spread all over the country would definitely lead the Indian New Democratic Revolution in a victory path. They would wipe out the imperialists and their lackey landlord and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and their representatives like Sonia, Man Mohan, Chidambaram and Mamata Banerjee.

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## **COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)**

### **CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

***Condemn the brutal murder of Comrade Mallojula Koteswara Rao,  
the beloved leader of the oppressed masses,  
the leader of Indian revolution and CPI (Maoist) Politburo member!***

***Observe protest week from November 29 to December 5***

***and 48-hour 'Bharat Bandh' on December 4-5!!***

November 24, 2011 would remain a black day in the annals of Indian revolutionary movement's history. The fascist Sonia-Man Mohan-Pranab-Chidambaram-Jairam Ramesh ruling clique who have been raising a din that CPI (Maoist) is 'the biggest internal security threat', in collusion with West Bengal chief minister Mamata Banerjee, killed Comrade Mallojula Koteswara Rao after capturing him alive in a well planned conspiracy. This clique which had killed Comrade Azad, our party's spokesperson on July 1, 2010 once again spread its dragnet and quenched its thirst for blood. Mamata Banerjee, who had shed crocodile's tears over the murder of Comrade Azad before coming to power, while enacting the drama of talks on the one hand after assuming office, killed another topmost leader Comrade Koteswara Rao and thus displayed nakedly its anti-people and fascist facet. The central intelligence agencies and the killer intelligence agencies of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh chased him in a well planned conspiracy and killed him in a cowardly manner in a joint operation and now spreading a concocted story of encounter. The central home secretary R.K. Singh even while lying that they do not know for certain who died in the encounter, has in the same breath announced that this is a big blow to the Maoist movement. Thus he nakedly gave away their conspiracy behind this killing. The oppressed people would definitely send to grave the exploiting ruling classes and their imperialist masters who are day dreaming that they could wipe out the Maoist party by killing the top leadership of the revolutionary movement.

Comrade Koteswara Rao, who is hugely popular as Prahlad, Ramji, Kishenji and Bimal inside the party and among the people, is one of the important leaders of the Indian revolutionary movement. The tireless warrior who never rested his gun while fighting for the liberation of the oppressed masses since the past 37 years and who has laid down his life for the sake of the ideology he believed in, was born in 1954 in Peddapally town of Karimnagar district of North Telangana, Andhra Pradesh. Raised by his father Late Venkataiah who was a freedom fighter and his mother Madhuramma, who has been of progressive views, Koteswara Rao imbibed love for his country and its oppressed masses since childhood. In 1969, he had participated in the historic separate Telangana movement while he was in his high school studies in Peddapally town. He joined the revolutionary movement with the inspiration of the glorious Naxalbari and Srikakulam movements while studying graduation in SRR college of Karimnagar. He started working as an active member of the Party from 1974. He spent some time in jail during the black period of the Emergency. After lifting up of the Emergency, he started working as a party organizer in his home district of Karimnagar. He responded to the "Go to Villages" campaign call of the party and developed relations with the peasantry by going to the villages. He was one of those who played a prominent role in the upsurge of peasant movement popular as 'Jagityal Jaitrayatra' (Victory March of Jagityal) in 1978. In this course, he was elected as the district committee member of the Adilabad-Karimnagar joint committee of the CPI (ML). In 1979 when this committee was divided into two district committees he became the secretary of the Karimnagar district committee. He participated in the Andhra Pradesh state 12<sup>th</sup> party conference, was elected to the AP state committee and took responsibilities as its secretary.

Up to 1985, as part of the AP state committee leadership he played a crucial role in spreading the movement all over the state and in developing the North Telangana movement which was advancing with guerilla zone perspective. He played a prominent role in expanding the movement to Dandakaranya (DK) and developing it. He was transferred to Dandakaranya in 1986 and took up responsibilities as a member of the Forest Committee. He led the guerilla squads and the people in Gadchiroli and Bastar areas of DK. In 1993 he was co-opted as a member into the Central Organizing Committee (COC).

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