

# Naxals kill 13 Jharkhand cops

State home secretary Sushma Singh spoke to reporters this afternoon, giving details of the incident on the foothills of Saranda — Asia's largest forest of sal trees — near Samtha village, 15 km from Manoharpur police station in West Singhbhum district. This iron ore bowl of the country has been hitherto free from the Naxalite menace that plagues 14 of 22 districts in this state.

Close to Samtha lies the house of forest guard Luther Tirkey who was shot dead by the Naxalites on Wednesday. Yesterday, the Munda (chieftain) of the nearby Soiya village, Vitkil Soy, was killed after his hut was set ablaze by them. They had alleged that Tirkey and Soy were police informers.

To take away the body of the Munda for post-mortem, a convoy of armed policemen had rushed to his village in the afternoon yesterday. On the way, they were reportedly encircled by the Naxals. "They overpowered some of them and compelled one cop at gun-point to call for more police forces on the wireless set. When the reinforcements arrived, they too were ambushed," said a senior police officer on the condition

of anonymity.

A joint team of the Jharkhand and Orissa police has launched a combing operation but no arrests have been made so far. A number of senior police officers, including East Singhbhum SP Manoj Mishra, are camping at the site.

Incidents of such organised attacks on the police are not new in this state where more than 110 policemen have been killed by them this year. But West Singhbhum had never witnessed Naxal violence of this magnitude earlier.

A few months ago the Orissa police had arrested two ultras. They were identified as Raghunath Soren of Mitra village and a woman, Pasu Hansda, from Kasidih village of Jadugoda, headquarters of the Uranium Corporation of India Ltd. The two had confessed during interrogation that Singhbhum youths were being enrolled and sent to MCC strongholds outside the district for arms training. This had been revealed by former East Singhbhum SP Amitabh Choudhary.

Later, the ultras had, with the help of some tribals, warned traders in Dumaria in East

Singhbhum, to either pay a higher rate for the tendu leaf collected from the forest or face the consequences. In March suspected People's War Group supporters had beaten up the family members of a chowkidar in Goriya Tanr village for allegedly passing on information to the police.

The police were aware of all these developments but did nothing to beef up their strength in this area. Even their intelligence gathering is pathetic. In fact, the state police learnt about the latest incident from the Orissa police. "That's because the topography of the place is hostile to us and the wireless set was looted by the extremists," West Singhbhum SP Manoj Mishra told *The Indian Express*.

Today the mood in the rank and file of the police was swinging between anger and grief. Janardhan Singh, a member of the Jharkhand Police Association, was inconsolable. "What can I say when so many of our brothers have died," he said in a broken voice.

The Chief Minister is likely to visit the site tomorrow. Back from Delhi, DGP R R Prasad has rushed to the area.

## Naxals strike again, kill 13 cops

■ JHARKHAND | 5 tribals killed first, police party ambushed

MANOJ PRASAD  
RANCHI, DECEMBER 20

CHIEF Minister Babulal Marandi's return home — after an eight-day trip to Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand for seeking investments — was marred by one of the worst incidents of Naxalite violence. At least 18 people, including 13 policemen and five others, were killed by Naxalites in West Singhbhum district on the Jharkhand-Orissa border after most of them were trapped and



IE Map/B.K. Sharma

ambushed. Seventeen bodies have been recovered.

Besides, 20 policemen were injured. All of them have been admitted to a hospital in Rourkela where the condition of four is said to be critical. Eleven vehicles were set on fire and a huge quantity of arms and ammunition, including a wireless set and 15 SLRs looted.

There was confusion over the actual toll with various figures being given by different officials and also on the identity of the group involved — MCC or the PWG.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# PWG apologises for bus blast blunder

Hyderabad, Nov. 22 (PTI): The People's War Group has publicly apologised for Monday's bus explosion in Warangal district that killed 14 people.

The rebel group admitted that it had made a "blunder" in choosing its target, thinking the vehicle was carrying policemen. "The incident was a result of miscalculation" that the state roadways bus was carrying police personnel," the outfit said.

"We seek pardon from

people and families of the victims. It is an unforgettable and sad event in the history of the revolutionary movement," spokesman of the PWG's north Telangana special zone committee M. Bhaskar said in a handwritten letter faxed to some vernacular dailies in Warangal yesterday.

The outfit expressed "deep regrets" for the loss of lives, but warned people against travelling with policemen who might use them as "human

shields" during combing operations.

"We thought that the bus was carrying policemen and targeted it. We had information that a police party was returning from Ilapur (where five Naxalites were killed over the weekend in a police encounter with the bodies of our comrades. But, because of our miscalculation, we blasted another bus carrying passengers," Bhaskar said.

On Monday, a landmine blast,

triggered by Naxalites, blew up the RTC bus near Chintagudam village in a deep forest area, considered their stronghold, about 150 km from Warangal town. The landmine blast was apparently a retaliatory attack targeted at policemen who were believed to have participated in the Ilapur encounter.

"In the last two months, police have killed 19 of our colleagues in a brutal manner. Ours was not an intentional attack on innocent passengers. We

appeal to the RTC staff not to allow policemen to use their buses," the PWG said in its apology letter.

This is the second instance of a "military blunder" in the blood-soaked history of the Naxalite movement for which the PWG has tendered a public apology. In 1990, Naxalites had burnt down a bogie of the Kakatiya Express in Warangal district by mistake, killing 40 passengers.

The state government has

hardened its stand in the wake of the blast and ruled out any initiative to resume the stalled talks with Naxalites. The government has asked them to first shun violence and join the social mainstream.

After three rounds of talks between PWG emissaries and the government in June-July this year, the dialogue process had collapsed with the Naxalite outfit pulling out of talks alleging continued "fake police encounters".

THE TELEGRAPH

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## EXTREMIST KILLINGS

10-10 21/11

THE GRUESOME KILLING of 14 persons by naxalites of the People's War in a landmine blast in Warangal district on Monday has enveloped the people of Andhra Pradesh in grief and cast an ugly shadow on the State's overall profile. Most of the victims, who were fatally trapped in the State Road Transport Corporation bus in the forests of Eturunagaram near Chintaguda, as in other instances, were tribals and the marginalised in society, including women and children. The PW's offensive has also spread to Guntur district where extensive damage to public property has been reported in the last few days. The brutal killings of Monday night were apparently in retaliation to the murder of five PW men by the police on Sunday. The PW's explanation that the incident was yet another case of mistaken identity on the part of its cadres hardly absolves it of responsibility for perpetrating violence and terror on innocent civilians whose cause it ostensibly upholds. While the general sentiment seems to be that people in the districts of northern Telengana are now sandwiched between the naxalites and the police apparatus, Monday's incident may well have given the police a tactical edge over the extremists.

The Chief Minister, N. Chandrababu Naidu, has ruled out resumption of parleys with the extremist outfits and the Opposition has joined the Government in condemning the brutal incident in unequivocal terms. However, viewed in the light of the recently aborted attempts at engaging militant groups in a dialogue, the sudden hardened stand of the State Government should hopefully be only a tactical retreat from his earlier initiative. Perhaps, it also reflects a lack of clear-sightedness on the law and order front as well as an appropriate response to the deeper social concerns thrown up by extremist politics that have been the bane of the policy of successive Governments in Andhra Pradesh

during the past three decades. Conversely, the more recent initiative of Mr. Naidu to talk peace with militants, although short-lived, infused fresh breath into the endeavour of breaking the deadlock between the Government and the militant outfits. In that context, the sense of realism concerning the respective postures adopted by the Government and the PW ensured that expectations were kept within reasonable limits. Against the background of the recent developments, a more realistic course for the State Government to follow would be to ensure that there is no let-up on the law and order front and at the same time seize the earliest politically proper opportunity to engage militant groups. No popular government could afford to ignore these basic imperatives of democratic governance.

It is difficult to imagine, at least in the foreseeable future, that there would be any enthusiastic takers for the view that an effective counter to left-wing extremism in Andhra Pradesh as well as in neighbouring States should be rooted in the socio-political process. Harking back to such a position at this juncture would sound hypocritical, given the immediate humanitarian implications of the aftermath of Monday's tragedy. Besides, it would also amount to underestimating the necessarily long-drawn nature of the so-called democratically-informed response. On the contrary, human rights groups must begin to ask whether the temptation to succumb to a law and order mindset was not in fact reinforced by recourse to the cult of violence which, at best, serves to embarrass the powers that be, besides exposing the desperation of the advocates of the so-called militant ideologies. The PW, which continues to swear by the power of the gun, has much to answer here and the longer it takes to enter the political mainstream, the faster will be the erosion of its appeal even in pockets of the feudal belt where it once held sway.

THE HINDU

21 NOV 2002

# Lecturer gets bail as state relents

7-10 9/10

P.M. CP.M.

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## OUR LEGAL REPORTER

**Calcutta, Oct. 8:** Three months after being picked up from his Dum Dum residence for his alleged links with the People's War, Rajabazar Science College lecturer Kaushik Ganguly was finally granted bail by Calcutta High Court today.

But a division bench of Justice Amit Talukdar and Justice Narayan Chandra Seal said Kaushik would not be able to leave the Calcutta Municipal Corporation and the Dum Dum municipality limits without po-

lice permission. Kaushik, who was lodged in the Midnapore jail, is in SSKM hospital, where he was admitted a few weeks ago. The bail order will have to be endorsed by the sub-divisional judicial magistrate of Midnapore before he can be released from custody.

Earlier, on two occasions, Kaushik's lawyer Dillip Dutta faced stiff opposition from the state government when he appealed for his client's bail on health grounds.

But today, public prosecutor

Kaushik's release and whether his government was turning lenient towards the Naxalites. "Wait and see," Bhattacharjee said while leaving Writers' Buildings for the day.

Kaushik was arrested from his Dum Dum residence on July 4 midnight when he was watching a cricket match on television. He was sent to Midnapore jail, and police started a criminal case against him at the sub-divisional judicial magistrate's court there.

Kaushik's father had alleged that his son was tortured in jail,

resulting in the lower portion of his body being paralysed.

While arguing for Kaushik's bail, Dutta told the court that Kaushik was a brilliant scientist — one whose talent was recognised by the Union government — and an expert on polymers.

Pleading that such a scholar should not be kept behind bars, Dutta said: "His research is being hampered by the false charges brought by the police."

Dutta added that his client was seriously ill and in need of urgent medical attention.

শ্রেণী-সংগ্রাম  
জন-যুদ্ধ

# জনযুদ্ধ কী এবং কেন

আজিজুল হক ২১/৯/০২

'জনযুদ্ধ' কথাটা বাংলাতে চালু হয়েছে মূলত চার-এর দশকে। 'জনযুদ্ধ' নিজে কোনও লক্ষ্য নয়। একটা লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছানোর উপায় মাত্র। অনেকগুলো উপায়ের একটা উপায়।

চীন বিপ্লবের সফল রূপকার চেয়ারম্যান মাও কথটার একটা প্রয়োগ করেন। আপাদমস্তক আধুনিক অস্ত্রে সজ্জিত, অপেক্ষাকৃত শক্তিশালী হিংস্র শক্তিকে আন্তে আন্তে শক্তিশীন করে তুলে পরাজয় স্বীকারে বাধ্য করার রণনীতির নাম দেন তিনি 'জনযুদ্ধ'। এটি একটি বিশেষ ধরনের যুদ্ধ। জনগণের দ্বারা, জনগণের জন্য, জনগণের অগ্রণী অংশের নেতৃত্বে পরিচালিত রণনীতির নামই জনযুদ্ধ। লক্ষ্য হল: রাজনৈতিক ক্ষমতা দখল করে জনগণের মধ্যে দীর্ঘদিন পড়ে-থাকা সমস্যাগুলোর সমাধান করা যাতে সমাজের উৎপাদিকা শক্তির মুক্তি ঘটে। এবং সামাজিক উৎপাদনের সূষ্ঠ বন্টন মাধ্যম সমাজকে এক নতুন স্তরে তোলা যায়। যেখানে মানুষের ওপর মানুষের নির্যাতন, নিপীড়ন অতীতের বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে।

অর্থাৎ 'জনযুদ্ধ' নিজেই রণনীতি হলেও একটা বৃহত্তর রাজনৈতিক লক্ষ্য সাধনের কৌশল মাত্র। রাজনৈতিক লক্ষ্যটার একটা অর্থনৈতিক কর্মসূচি থাকে, থাকে একটা সাংস্কৃতিক লাইন। এক কথায়, মানুষের হাত এবং মস্তিষ্ককে যুক্ত করে নতুন সম্পদ সৃষ্টির কাজে লাগাবার ক্ষেত্র তৈরি করে দেওয়া। 'বর্তমান'-কে উন্নততর ভবিষ্যতের জন্য পরিবর্তন করতে গিয়ে মানুষ নিজে নিজেকে পাশ্টে নেয়, খণ্ডিত মানুষ সম্পূর্ণ মানুষে রূপান্তরিত হওয়ার প্রথম ধাপ এই স্তর। এই বিশাল কর্মযজ্ঞ। এরই জন্য এই আর্থ-রাজনৈতিক কর্মসূচির উদ্দেশ্য না করে 'জনযুদ্ধ' কথাটার কোনও মানেই হয় না। এটা দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের সময় সোভিয়েত ভূমি আক্রমণ হলে পূরণগাঁদ যোশির 'জনযুদ্ধ' হয়ে যাবে। যোশির 'জনযুদ্ধ' ভারতবর্ষের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টিকে জনগণ থেকে চরম বিচ্ছিন্ন করে কার্যত 'দেশদ্রোহী' ব্রিটিশের দালাল প্রতিপন্ন করে ছাড়ে। যার ধাক্কা কমিউনিস্ট পার্টিগুলোকে আজও সামলাতে হচ্ছে। সেদিনের ভুল এটা ছিল না যে কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি জাপান এবং তার সহযোগী সমস্ত দেশ, রাজনৈতিক দল কিংবা ব্যক্তিকে (সঠিকভাবেই) নিন্দা করেছিল, ভুল ছিল 'ফ্যাসিবাদ' প্রতিরোধের কৌশলে। ফাঁদে-পড়া নখদস্ত বিগলিত ব্রিটিশ সিংহের পরিবর্তে উঠতি নরখাদকের খাদ্য হওয়ার জন্য নিজেদের সমর্পণ করা কোনওমতেই সঠিক ছিল না। প্রয়োজন ছিল সিংহের এই ফাঁদেপড়া অবস্থার সুযোগ নিয়ে নিজস্ব বাহিনী গড়ে তোলা। নিজেদের এলাকা গড়ে তোলা— সেটা না করার খেসারত দিতে হয়েছিল, আসে চরম বিচ্ছিন্নতা। যোশি লাইন বলে খ্যাত 'জনযুদ্ধের' সময়ে দীর্ঘদিন ধরে চলতে থাকা কৃষক আন্দোলনগুলো বন্ধ জলায় আটকে গিয়েছিল।

সমস্ত কিছুই পুনর্মূল্যায়নের দাবি নিয়ে হাজির হয় দ্বিতীয় কংগ্রেসের সামনে। তেলেকানার সংগ্রামীরা 'জনযুদ্ধের' সত্যিকারের রূপায়ণের এক তত্ত্ব হাজির করেন। কার্যত, জনযুদ্ধের প্রথম ধারণা গড়ে ওঠে ৪৮ সালেই। হঠকারী কিনা জানি না, মানুষের তীব্র আকাঙ্ক্ষার স্ফূরণ ঘটে। কাশ্মীর থেকে কন্যাকুমারী— সমগ্র দেশেই সর্বত্রই পার্টির বিস্তৃতি ঘটে। (তারপর? কমিউনিস্ট আন্দোলনের মূলধারার দাবিদাররা 'কৌশল' করিতে করিতে আজ আঞ্চলিক হয়চু) ব্যাপ্তিতে-গভীরতায় বিশাল সে আন্দোলনকে 'সমাজতান্ত্রিক' আন্দোলনের সঙ্কীর্ণ গণ্ডিতে বাঁধতে গিয়ে সর্বনাশ ঘটে। গুলিয়ে যায় শত্রু-মিত্র। আধার ছোট হয়ে যায়, আধেয় উপচে পড়ে নষ্ট হয়। চীন বিপ্লবের সফল বিজয়, 'জনযুদ্ধের' রণনীতিকে এক আন্তর্জাতিক তাৎপর্য দেয়। এটা নিজেই একটা রাজনীতিতে পরিণত হয়। নিছক সামরিক নয়, বিশ্বের দেশে দেশে মুক্তিকামী জনতা নিজেদের মুক্তির জন্য এটা গ্রহণ করতে থাকেন। ভিয়েতনাম-সহ ইন্দো-চীনে এর চূড়ান্ত সফলতা, আমরা দেখেছি। জনযুদ্ধ 'কেমনভাবে চালাতে হয়? মাও বলছেন, 'জলের মধ্যে মাছের মত', এর মধ্যেই আছে 'জনযুদ্ধের' রহস্য। আধারের সমস্যা। একাত্মতার সমস্যা। 'জনযুদ্ধের' অপ্রতিরোধ্য হয়ে ওঠার রহস্য হল তিন জাদুদণ্ড। কী এই তিন জাদুদণ্ড? ক) সঠিক বৈজ্ঞানিক তত্ত্ব এবং কৌশলে সজ্জিত রাজনৈতিক দল, খ) গণফৌজ, (গ) যুক্তফ্রন্ট।

ক) বৈজ্ঞানিক তত্ত্ব সজ্জিত রাজনৈতিক দল বলতে কি বোঝায়? এমন একটি রাজনৈতিক দল যার সমাজ বিকাশের রসায়নটা জানা আছে। গভীর অনুশীলন এবং অনুসন্ধান করে বিশ্ব পরিস্থিতির পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে সামাজিক সমস্যাগুলোর বিভিন্ন ঝোঁক এবং ধারাকে আত্মস্থ করেছে। প্রধান সমস্যাটা খুঁজে বার করে সমাধানের জন্য আশু ও দীর্ঘস্থায়ী রণনীতি-কৌশল নির্ধারণ করতে সক্ষম। এমন একটি দল, সামান্যতম সামাজিক পরিবর্তনও (আর্থ-রাজনৈতিক-সাংস্কৃতিক) যার নজর এড়ায় না। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে নমনীয়তা গ্রহণ করতে সক্ষম। স্বাভাবিকভাবেই। যে কোনও আন্দোলনের মতই, এই আন্দোলনের প্রধান সামাজিক অনুসন্ধানের দিক হল: কে শত্রু, কে মিত্র, সেটা নির্ধারণ করা। এটা একটা জটিল কাজ। বারবার অনুশীলন করেই আয়ত্ত করতে হয়। এ-এর মধ্যে প্রধান শত্রু, অপ্রধান শত্রু থাকে। মিত্রদের মধ্যে নির্ভর করা যায় এমন মিত্র, দোদুল্যমান মিত্র। শত্রুযেঁষা মিত্র আর্থ-সামাজিক স্তর ভেদে বিভাগ থাকে। এককথায় শত্রু-মিত্র হয় না।

যে কোনও যথার্থ আন্দোলনেই 'দেখা গেছে, সামান্য অংশ থাকেন সক্রিয়, ব্যাপক মানুষ দোদুল্যমান, একেবারে হাতে-গোনা শত্রু। আমাদের কাজ হল সক্রিয়দের মেরুদণ্ড হিসেবে গেঁথে দোদুল্যমানদের পক্ষে টেনে শত্রুকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করা (একেবারে কমিয়ে আনা)। বলেছেন সভাপতি মাও।

স্বাভাবিকভাবেই এখানেই শ্রেণীবিচ্ছেদের গুরুত্ব। শ্রেণীসংগ্রামে বিশ্বাসী রাজনৈতিক দল ছাড়া এটা সম্ভব নয়। তাই শ্রেণীসংগ্রামে বিশ্বাসী রাজনৈতিক দলই পারে 'জনযুদ্ধ' চালাতে। এটি এই কারণেই দীর্ঘস্থায়ী এবং জটিলও বটে। শর্ট-কাট পথ নেই। চারু মজুমদার সুন্দরভাবে কথটা বলেছিলেন, 'শ্রমিক-কৃষক সংশোধনবাদীদের নয়, আমাদের...' একজন শ্রমিক বা খেতমজুর যে দলই করুন না কেন সেটা তাঁর পরিচয় নয়। শ্রমিকের হাত, শ্রমিকের হাতুড়ি শ্রমিকের মাথা ফাটাবার জন্য নয়, কৃষকের হাতের বন্দুক যদি কোনও অজুহাতেই কৃষকের রক্ত বরায়, সেটা শক্তিশালী করে প্রতিক্রিয়াকেই। 'জনযুদ্ধ' সূচনাতেই মার খায়। ধান্দাবাজদের হাতে পড়ে যায়, শ্রেণীসংগ্রামের উন্নততর রূপ হতে পারে না। কারণ জনযুদ্ধ হল শ্রেণীসংগ্রামের উন্নততর রূপ। শ্রেণী সংগ্রাম মানে অর্থনৈতিক সংগ্রাম রাজনৈতিক সংগ্রাম।

এইই জন্য নির্দিষ্ট অর্থনৈতিক কর্মসূচি ছাড়া 'জনযুদ্ধ' বিকশিত হতে পারে না। রাজনৈতিক লক্ষ্যমুখ ঠিক রেখেই অর্থনৈতিক কর্মসূচিই মাছের জলের গভীরে নিয়ে যায়। কেবলমাত্র সামাজিক-অবিচারের বিরুদ্ধে বিচার করে শাস্তি দেওয়া কিংবা 'চামচা' খতম করে, কৃষক-কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠা হয় না। প্রথমদিকে সাড়া পড়লেও সেই উৎসাহ খিতিয়ে আসে। এলাকা সঙ্কুচিত হয়। কৃষক উলোগে ভাটা পড়ে। শ্রেণী সচেতনতা ভাঙা হয়ে যায়।

বাংলাতে মনে রাখতে হবে, কোথাও কোথাও ভূমি সংস্কার হলেও কৃষি (পদ্ধতি) সংস্কার হয়নি। অবাধ আমদানি নীতি এবং অভ্যন্তরীণ শুল্ক বৃদ্ধির ফলে 'চিরাচরিত' চাষবাস মার খাচ্ছে। খাদ্যদ্রব্য উৎপাদন কৃষকের (যাদের জমি আছে) কাছে বোঝা হয়ে যাচ্ছে... (উৎপাদন খরচ দ্বিগুণ, অনেক কম দামে আমদানি শস্য পাওয়ার ফলে)। এর প্রভাব পড়ছে ভূমিহীনদেরও মধ্যে। ফলে, একদিকে যেমন জমির বেনিয়াকরণের তত্ত্ব হাজির করে হাঁপ ছাড়ার চেষ্টা চলছে, অন্যদিকে 'সেই পুরনো চাষে' জিদ ধরে লেগে থেকে ধ্বংস হওয়ার প্রবণতাও আছে।

পঞ্চায়েতের দুর্নীতির বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম যেমন জরুরি, তার থেকে একশোভাগ জরুরি, এই অস্তিত্ব বিপন্নকারী সঙ্কটমুক্তির পথ খোঁজা। এই পৃথের দিশা-ই তো গ্রামাঞ্চলে শ্রেণীসংগ্রামের ক্ষেত্র প্রস্তুত করতে পারে... গ্রামে যারা সচেতনভাবে কাজ করছেন, তাঁরাই পারেন এই দিশা দেখাতে। তাহলে 'চামচা'রা খবর দেওয়ার মত খবরই পাবে না, আর গরিব হত্যা করেছে এই অপবাদও নিতে হবে না কাউকে। 'চিরাচরিত চাষকে অব্যাহত রাখা। ভুক্তি দিয়ে ধান, গম, ন্যায়ামুল্যে খরিদ করো, জমি-নিরপেক্ষ কাজের ক্ষেত্র তৈরি করো... কৃষিকে ভিত হিসাবে ধরে

এলাকার বৈশিষ্ট্য অনুযায়ী ক্ষুদ্র শিল্প গড়ো...' এই ধরনের এক প্রস্থ কর্মসূচি কি শ্রেণীসংগ্রামকে তীক্ষ্ণ করবে না? এই 'সাধারণ গ্রাহ্য' কর্মসূচি রূপায়ণ করতে গেলেই জনযুদ্ধের তৃতীয় শতটি পূরণ হয়ে যাবে। 'যুক্তফ্রন্ট' গরিব ভূমিহীনদের স্বার্থ যেমন এই আওয়াজের দ্বারা প্রতিফলিত হবে মধ্য এমনকি ধনী কৃষকরাও এই দাবি সমর্থন করতে বাধ্য। গড়ে উঠবে পরস্পর স্বার্থবিরোধী দুই আর্থ-সামাজিক স্তরের ফ্রন্ট। বিরোধীদের সঙ্গে এই ফ্রন্ট গড়ার কৌশলই যুক্তফ্রন্ট। স্বশ্রেণীর বিভিন্ন অংশের মধ্যে জোট কখনই যুক্তফ্রন্ট নয়।

এই ধরনের যুক্তফ্রন্ট গড়ে তুলতে হয় অত্যন্ত বিচক্ষণতার সঙ্গে। ভাঙা-গড়ার মধ্যে দিয়েই এটা গড়ে ওঠে। বিচক্ষণ নেতৃত্ব সমর্থন করার জন্য চ্যালেঞ্জ ছুঁড়ে দিতে পারেন, রাজনৈতিকভাবে বিরোধী দলগুলির কৃষক সংগঠনের সামনে। এই দাবি থেকে নীতিগতভাবে তাঁরা বিচ্ছিন্ন হতে চাইবেন না।

দক্ষতার সঙ্গে এই দাবির সংগ্রাম চালিয়ে গেলে, একটা আত্মত্যাগী দল জনগণের গভীরে প্রবেশ করে। তাকে কেউই বিচ্ছিন্ন করতে পারে না। নির্মূল তো নয়ই। কোনও শাসক দলের 'দালাল'ই পারে না। শ্রেণীর প্রপটা প্রাধান্য পায়। প্রায় একশো বছর আগে মার্কস বলেছিলেন: 'বুর্জোয়ারা প্রায়শই শ্রেণীর পরিবর্তে দল বা পার্টিকে সামনে এনে সব কিছু গোলমাল করে দিতে চায়'। 'দালাল' শূন্য করার জন্য 'দালাল' কাটা যদি লাইন হিসেবে এসে যায়, বেঁচে যায় দালাল তৈরি করার প্রক্রিয়া আর দালাল-প্রস্তুতকারীরা। দারিদ্র্য এবং সহজে বাঁচার মানসিকতাই দালাল জন্ম দেয়। সাবধান তো হতেই হবে। কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির নামে এ কাজ 'লাইন' হতে পারে না। এই আন্দোলন ধৈর্য ধরে চালিয়ে নিয়ে যেতে পারলে যে গণঅভ্যুত্থান দেখা দেবে, বলা যায় না, সেখান থেকেই হয়ত জন্ম নিতে পারে প্রকৃত গণফৌজের সম্ভাবনা।

চীনের সঙ্গে আমাদের ফারাকটা এখানেই। চীনে মাও-সে-তুং এবং চীনা কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির আগে সান-ইয়াং-সেন জন্মেছিলেন। তাঁর মিলিটারি আকাডেমিতে লিন-পি-য়াও, চুওর মত (হ্যাংফোয়া) জেনারেলরা নেতৃত্ব ছিলেন, চৌ-এন-লাইও ছিলেন। ফলে চীনা পার্টি একটা সংগঠিত সেনাবাহিনী পেয়ে গিয়েছিল। কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির নেতৃত্বে সেটা আরও পরিশুদ্ধ হয়ে জনগণের ফৌজে পরিণত হয়। চীনের সমস্যা ছিল একটা স্থায়ী বাহিনীকে ভেঙে গেরিলা সংগ্রামে উদ্বুদ্ধ করা।

আমাদের দেশে এই গণফৌজটাই গড়তে হবে, যেটা না থাকলে জনগণের কিছুই থাকে না। এ সমস্যাই প্রধান সমস্যা। জনযুদ্ধের যুদ্ধটা করবে কে, যদি গণফৌজই না থাকে?

'গণফৌজ গড়া বললেই গড়া যায় না, ঘাটি এলাকা করো বললেই করা যায় না...' স্বয়ং চারু মজুমদারের কথা এগুলো। অস্ত্র খরিদ করে কতগুলো লোককে সশস্ত্র করে দিলেই সশস্ত্র বাহিনী তৈরি হয়ে যায় না।

প্রপটা বারবার করতে হবে, 'কেন ভিয়েতনাম পেরেছিল, কেন আফগানিস্তান পারল না...। মোদ্দা কথায়: জনযুদ্ধ একই সঙ্গে ভাঙা এবং গড়ার সংগ্রাম। পুরনো কর্তৃত্ব খতম করে জনগণের কর্তৃত্ব কায়েমের সংগ্রাম। এই পুরনো কর্তৃত্ব মানে অর্থনৈতিক কর্তৃত্ব। সাংস্কৃতিক সামাজিক কর্তৃত্ব, রাজনৈতিক কর্তৃত্ব। কোনও ব্যক্তি যদি দাঁতে দাঁত চেপে পুরনোকে টিকিয়ে রাখার জন্য হত্যা, অগ্নিসংযোগ-সহ ব্যাপক ধ্বংসকার্যে লিপ্ত থাকে, তাকে খতম করাটা 'ব্যক্তিহত্যা' নয়। কিন্তু এই প্রপণ্ডে চেয়ারম্যান মাও-এর কথাটাই স্মরণ করতে হবে, 'মানুষের মাথাটা গাছের ডাল নয় যে একবার কেটে দিলে আবার গজাবে, কাউকে এরকম শাস্তি দেওয়ার আগে একবার ভাবুন, দশবার ভাবুন, একশো বার ভাবুন... এই মস্তিষ্কটা তো, জনগণের কাছে লাগতে পারে।

চমক লাগানো ঘটনা ঘটিয়ে ইহঁটই সৃষ্টি করা আর দীর্ঘস্থায়ী জটিল শ্রেণী সংগ্রামের বিকাশের জন্য যথার্থ ঘটনার মধ্যে ফারাক অনেক। নতুন মানুষ তৈরি করে। যে মানুষ সমষ্টির স্বার্থে সবকিছু ত্যাগ করতে প্রস্তুত। এই সমাজতান্ত্রিক মানুষ ছাড়া সমাজতন্ত্র হলেও টেকে না। প্রকৃত 'জনযুদ্ধ' তাই নতুন মানুষ তৈরির সংগ্রামও বটে।

26 SEP 2002

# One prison, two worlds

57-6  
4/9  
9-P.P. CPIML

**Nalin Verma in Patna**

PATNA, Sept. 3. — Two inmates at Beur Central Jail. Entirely different living conditions for each of them, thanks to the dual standards adopted by the state administration.

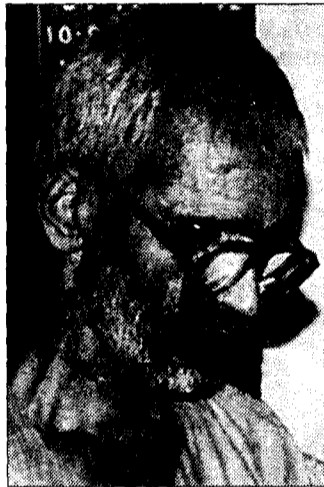
Barmeshwar Singh, Ranvir Sena chief, is lodged in the Sarswati ward and getting VIP treatment. Incidentally, Mr Laloo Prasad Yadav was lodged in this ward.

And Ajay Kanu alias Raviji, PW's Magadh zonal commander, is undergoing third degree torture barely next door.

Barmeshwar, accused of masterminding the massacre of 500 Dalits in central Bihar, was allowed to meet the press outside the prison gates yesterday. He announced to the world he would "control his cadre from the prison". "I believe in the philosophies of Subhas Chandra Bose and Mahatma Gandhi ... We have taken up arms to guard our rights and prestige against the Naxalites."

Ajay Kanu, arrested just a day before Barmeshwar, is in shackles and is being kept in specially prepared cell. He was reportedly beaten up black and blue before the court remanded him to jail and has not been allowed to meet anyone.

Jehanabad police has decided to take Kanu on remand for "interrogation to extract more information". According to the PW's state committee secretary Mr Prakash, "police may



Barmeshwar Singh, Ranvir Sena chief, is also a VIP prisoner

kill Raviji on way to Jehanabad from Beur jail".

SPs of Bhojpur, Jehanabad, Gaya and Aurangabad had come to interrogate Barmeshwar on 30 August at the police station. But none of them applied pressure to extract any information from him, Kotwali police station officers said. "They just noted down what Barmeshwar said."

For Kanu, things were different. About 12 policemen had reportedly beaten him up with lathis in the lock up after he was arrested on 28 August. The Naxalite leader was produced in court next day bruised, battered and bleeding

Asked about the "VIP treatment" given to Barmeshwar, prison superintendent Mr Mahendra Bharti said: "Barmeshwar is behaving like a gentleman in the jail." But he hurriedly added: "I am doing what I have been directed to do from the higher-ups."

Mr Laloo Prasad Yadav has compared Barmeshwar with the CPI-M MLC, Mr Basudeo Prasad, regarded as a very honest legislator. "Barmeshwar looks like Basudeo babu", the RJD chief had said a couple of days ago.

Political observers believe Mr Laloo Yadav is trying to promote Barmeshwar, a "hero" of the Bhumihars, in politics to win them over. Bhumihars are angry with the BJP for removing Dr CP Thakur from the Union Cabinet. And, Mr Yadav may asked the administration to "behave well" with Barmeshwar.

# Ranvir Sena chief shows no remorse

11-10  
TIMES NEWS NETWORK  
9.8.02  
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31/8

**Patna:** The prize catch of the state police, Ranvir Sena chief Brahmeshwar Singh, who is wanted in many cases of massacre, is proving to be a tough nut to crack as he is not giving away anything to his interrogators.

Right from Thursday night till Friday afternoon, senior officials of the Patna police, the Central IB, special branch, the Ara police and the Gaya police grilled Singh, but to no avail. "He was unyielding and evasive. He repeatedly asserted that farmers would continue their fight against 'terrorism' of Left extremists, and insisted that being in police custody, he would say nothing," fumed a police official, who had interrogated him.

The secretariat police station where Singh is being kept resembled an Army fort, with scores of policemen posted all around it. Over a dozen of them guarded the cell where Singh was kept. Entry to the police station was being strictly monitored.

The interrogators wanted to know who would succeed him as the Sena



**B. Singh**

chief as the Sena is considered to be a structured, hierarchical organisation. Singh is reported to have expressed ignorance about it. "It is for them to elect a new man," he told the police officials.

Though the Sena 'may' have engineered the massacres, he himself was not physically present at the spot in any of the massacres, Singh told his interrogators. He gave 1947 as the year of his birth. "Most of his replies were evasive and kept on saying 'If you know all about the Ranvir Sena, why keep asking me the same questions.'" At intervals, he gave sermons on the right of farmers to take up arms against economic blockade, massacre and terror inflicted by the MCC and the PWG," said a police official.

The police appear to be in a fix as to where to keep Singh, as there is no case against him in Patna. They have been thinking of producing him before a judge in Ara.

Top police officials have mooted the

idea of shifting him to Bhagalpur Central Jail as Beur Central Jail was thought to be unsafe for Singh, who is considered the most wanted person in Bihar. A controversy has arisen on who will get the Rs 5 lakh reward put by the state government on Singh's head. The official notification is yet to be issued. Nobody appeared sure about the beneficiary—the man who "tipped off" the Patna police or the policemen involved in his arrest.

The arrest of Singh comes at the right moment for the Justice Amir Das Commission, which is investigating the political links of the Sena. So far, the notices issued to the BJP, the Samata Party, the Congress and even RJD leaders were on the basis of statements made by the CPI(ML) workers. However, with his arrest, RJD chief Laloo Yadav claimed that the political links of the party concerned would be exposed.

However, the Amir Das Commission was unlikely to question Singh directly in the near future. "Instead, we are going to ask the police officials questioning him to file a report before the commission," said an official.

Catch them young: Working with poor villagers can be 'sedition' now

# Buddha's police pin PWG tag on students

SUBRATA NAGCHOUDHURY  
NAODA (BERHAMPORE, WEST BENGAL)  
AUGUST 19

**E**TON Sheikh is a Class VIII student, he has never travelled beyond his village of Bochadanga. The farthest he could have gone is Amtala, a market place 5 km away. Last Sunday night, a huge police contingent stormed into his village and picked him up. Their charge: Eton was "conspiring to wage war against the state of Bengal." He's in custody.

Shampa Dasgupta is the daughter

ter of a jute-mill worker whose mill has been closed for the past four months.

A 3rd-year student of a Kolkata college, Shampa's is the undergraduate zeal: to work in remote villages for the Revolutionary Youth Front, a Naxalite student wing. Last Sunday, the police picked her up from the same Bochadanga village. Same charge: she's trying to "conspire



Shampa Dasgupta

and wage war" against the government of Bengal.

It doesn't matter that this is a CPI(M) government, led by Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharya who's trying to put forward a pro-reforms face. It doesn't matter that this government is packed by party workers and former Naxalites who, on paper at least, swear by dissent and political freedom.

Besides the schoolboy and the college student, three small farmers from neighbouring areas have also been arrested and booked for the same offence.

In its crackdown against the Naxalites — particularly the People's War Group — these four are the state's latest "catch," those who do not agree with the Marxists. For the government, the best way to deal with them is to slap charges so serious that they will ensure their prolonged judicial or police remand.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

from the front page

## Buddha's police pin PWG tag on students

A visit to Bochadanga exposes the extent of police high-handedness. Sections under the Indian Penal Code that deal with "sedition against the state" (the same sections under which British national Peter Bleach was tried and convicted for air-dropping 300 AK-47 rifles in Purulia in 1995) have been slapped against the Class VIII student, the college girl and three others.

Villagers are angry. "We never heard the name of PWG, we knew them as Naxals. But they never ever did anything that should earn them a bad name. Instead, they wrested some vested char lands from unscrupulous people and distributed them among us," says a local resident.

In fact, because of this campaign led by the Revolutionary Socialist Party — which ironically is one of the Left's constituents in the government — there are few families here who don't have land to cultivate.

"Coming from a poor family, Shampa always empathised with the poor," says her father Nirmal Dasgupta who met her at the Berhampore jail on Friday. He finds it hard to understand why she has been arrested when there is no ban on her group.

Relatives of Eton say the

boy was asked to stay back in his house while they — some of them are elected functionaries of the RSP — went to attend a marriage. They are more upset about the manner in which policemen from the local police station visited the village after the raid and got blank papers signed by at least three villagers. "We refused to sign but they forced us. If there is an independent inquiry, we will definitely say this," says Israel Malithy, a farmer in his 40s. This was seconded by Habibur Rehman Mondal, another farmer in his 40s. When contacted, the officer-in-charge at the local police station at Naoda, Shyama Prasad Saha, said: "I can't speak to the press."

Superintendent of Police, Murshidabad, Virendra was hard put to explain the charges. "Their basic objective was to capture state power. They were certainly up to something. Or, why should they assemble in such a remote village and escape at the sight of the police?" he asked.

"They aren't accused of political murders," Virendra said, adding: "They are trying to set up their own system, an own justice system. Besides, there were cases of arms snatching and recovery of arms in recent times."



## 6 CRPF men killed in naxalite ambush

By Prafulla Das

**BHUBANESWAR, AUG. 11.** Seven security forces personnel were killed and five injured in a landmine blast triggered by naxalites of the People's War near a culvert at Gunupur sub-division of Orissa's Rayagada district today.

Those killed include six jawans of the Central Reserve Police Force and an Orissa State Armed Police driver. All of them died on the spot. The injured security men have been admitted to the Government hospital at Gunupur.

The incident occurred around 10 a.m. when a police party, headed by the Gunupur Sub-Divisional Police Officer (SDPO), was on its way to Gothalpadar village where an informant of the Andhra Pradesh police had been killed last night, according to the DGP, N.C. Padhi.

The naxalites started firing after the blast and the police returned the fire. No one was killed in the exchange of fire, Mr. Padhi said. The SDPO, the Circle Inspector and the Officer-in-Charge of the Gunupur police station escaped unhurt.

Top police officials have reached the spot and a combing operation has been launched.

The State Government has announced an ex-gratia of Rs. 1 lakh to the families of each victim, apart from the various benefits for those killed in action.

### Close to A.P. border

Our Srikakulam Staff Reporter writes:

The Orissa village where the blast took place is about 5 km from the Battili police station in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh.

A DSP was leading the police party going by three jeeps and a bus. Two jeeps crossed the point safely and the landmine was triggered when a vehicle carrying 22 policemen was negotiating it.

Going by the magnitude of the operation, the role of a "military platoon" in executing it was suspected. The 'Gotta' local guerilla squad is also said to be involved in the incident.

The Andhra Pradesh-Orissa border has been deceptively calm for sometime. The People's War had suffered a series of setbacks in Andhra Pradesh even as talks with the State Government were on. It struck in a big way on the Andhra-Orissa Border luring the police contingent with the killing of the informant.

# Talking peace to

*The talks between the naxalites and the Andhra Pradesh Government were bound to fail given the take-it-or-leave-it approach of both parties, writes K. Srinivas Reddy.*

*"A clever combatant imposes his will on the enemy, but doesn't allow the enemy's will to be imposed on him" — Sun Tzu in his classic treatise "The Art of War".*

THE APPLICATION of the military axiom penned about 2,500 years ago can be seen in the ongoing struggle by the CPI-ML People's War (PW) to bring about a New Democratic Revolution (NDR) and the counter-strategies by the Andhra Pradesh Government, especially after the recent effort to bring about a rapprochement between the two ended in a fiasco.

The peace efforts initiated by the neutral Committee of Concerned Citizens (CCC) were welcomed in general, especially by the populace forced to witness the spiral of violence in the "struggle areas" of the PW where it employed all its military tactics. However, there was an underlying sense of disbelief bordering on pessimism among those who had watched the extremist movement spreading from one area to another and the Government's steely resolve to suppress it.

Yet, it was a classic example of willing suspension of disbelief. When the PW announced a unilateral ceasefire in two spells from January 19 to March 16 and subsequently from May 10 to June 10, the Government was caught in a bind. It could not reciprocate, at least not officially, yet it reiterated on several occasions its willingness to create a "conducive atmosphere" for talks with the PW leadership. In retrospect, it appears as if it was all a game played by both sides; each out to impose its will on the other.

The first ceasefire was withdrawn after the police killed 10 naxalites and seized a huge cache of arms including a light machine gun (LMG). Even the during first spell, the PW resorted to destruction of public property



All that remains of the police and PW that killed each other in a fiasco.

and some violence.

The PW sprang a surprise subsequently, announcing a month-long ceasefire from May 10.

What prompted it to initiate a dialogue with the Government? Though the Chief Minister, N. Chandrababu Naidu, may have

convened all-party meetings to discuss the issue and announce the Government's resolve to invite the PW for talks, the police, after

initially keeping quiet, soon dropped enough hints that they believed the naxalites only wanted a breather.

The PW initially named poet Varavara Rao and balladeer Gaddar, both known for their extreme left leanings, as its emissaries for the preliminary rounds with State Ministers, K. Vijayarama Rao and T. Sitaram, to finalise an agenda for the direct talks.

As the preliminary rounds were being held on June 5, 9 and 20, the PW cadres continued to recruit people and organise public meetings in villages, causing concern to the police.

Police officers said the PW was utilising the ceasefire period to strengthen its base in the Telangana region, which had earlier seen its cadres retreating into the forest areas with the police gradually gaining the upper hand.

The police continued their operations and soon there were exchanges of fire in which ten naxalites were killed in Khammam, Karimnagar, Warangal and Guntur

districts. The PW, which was to send its top leaders for direct talks on June 20, called off the ceasefire. The violence began again.

The talks, in a way, were bound to fail since there was not much negotiating space. Both parties had adopted a "take-it-or-leave-it" approach. The PW made it clear that giving up armed struggle was not on while the Government insisted on this.

What then were the negotiations about? PW documents seized at different places indicated that the whole effort was part of the naxalite leadership's strategy to seize the opportunity and focus the people's attention on its political demands such as land distribution and the problems of

the Adivasis. The seized documents clearly spoke of how the peace process would only provide a temporary respite, which was to be used effectively to build up the revolutionary movement which had taken a beating in the last two years in the State.

In fact, a Central Committee document, believed to have been prepared by Katakam Sudershan, advised the cadres not to get carried away by the temporary respite (from police action) since the State was bound to crack down again.

Initially, the PW strategy of engaging the Government in talks did catch the latter unawares. There was an element of confusion in the police ranks too given the

## An olive branch

*Andhra Pradesh's Home Minister says the PW should lay down arms and participate in development activities, if not in elections.*



T. Devendar Goud

people and convince them about the futility of parliamentary democracy," says the Home Minister, T. Devendar Goud. Denying that the Government scuttled the talks, Mr. Goud

people." Insisting that the PW was responsible for the breakdown of the talks, he said, "on the one hand, they (PW leaders) continue to move with arms and resort to unlawful activities and, on the other, they want the Government to keep quiet and hold talks with them. What sort of logic is this?"

He said the Government was sincere in agreeing to talk to the naxalites. "We thought we could ask the PW leaders to shun violence and participate in development, but they went on prolonging the issue. There was no need for preliminary rounds of talks with PW emissaries".

"Telangana has seen an armed rebellion earlier. The leaders who were in the forefront at that time are now participating in elections. I am sure the PW leaders would also realise this in future," he added. — K.S.R.

THE ANDHRA Pradesh Government has come out with a fresh offer. It wants the PW to lay down arms and participate in development activities, if not in elections.

"If the PW is working for the welfare of the people, let it come out in the open and take part in development activities. If it does not believe in elections, let its leaders not participate in polls, they can work with the

said, "we are ready even now. We made it clear that there should be direct talks. But the PW was only interested in buying time to enable it to reconsolidate its position."

He said the PW could only succeed in killing some politicians, police and the "so-called" informants, but that its ideology would not work. "The ideology of the PW leaders is impracticable and outdated. They should stop misleading the

## Hoping it will go away?

OF THE 25 revenue districts in the country where naxalites of the PW and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) are dominant, Chhattisgarh accounts for seven. The thick forests of Bastar, Dantewada, Kanker and adjoining areas have always provided shelter for the groups and the terrain is just right for training their cadres.

"No doubt, the PW is more active here with a wider organisational structure than the MCC, which is active primarily in Surguja district, bordering Jharkhand," says Rajiv Mathur, Additional Director-General of Police (Intelligence).

As of now, the State Government seems to be in no mood to disturb the naxalites. While the naxalites have been banned in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh has taken no such initiative nor has it made any offer to hold talks with them. There were some murmurs of talks when the State was carved out from Madhya Pradesh and the naxalites raked up the demand for a separate Bastar State for the Adivasis. How-

ever, these seem to have died down, partly due to police pressure and partly due to lack of support from the Adivasis themselves.

The Government, meanwhile, has raised two battalions of special police, comprising exclusively of Adivasis, and trained them in modern weaponry to deal with the naxalites.

"The response has been tremendous despite threats issued by the naxalites to the Adivasis. While the naxalites always play the Adivasi card, we did the same and the men in these battalions are doing an excellent job as they are familiar

with the terrain and activities of the naxalites," says Mr. Mathur. "At the same time, we are treating naxalism as a socio-economic problem and trying to improve the facilities, strengthening the PDS and reaching out to the people. Today, we can say with authority that there is no naxalite-affected stronghold where we are not able to enter. We have even visited Raoghat, the biggest naxalite concentration camp in the Bastar region," he points out.

*At the moment, the Chhattisgarh Government seems to be in no mood to disturb the naxalites, says Aarti Dhar.*

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# Sinha widow moves court for CBI probe

J.P.P. - C.P.M.C.

**BY AVIJIT NANDI MAJUMDAR**  
Calcutta, July 31: Some three weeks after Abhijit Sinha's suicide, his widow moved the high court to seek a CBI probe into the government official's death.

Manasi, daughter of Moley Sinha, a deputy superintendent of police with the CID and a "favourite" officer of the chief minister, said in her petition that she had no faith in the state government, especially after it exonerated the Midnapur police. She alleged that her husband, who

was picked up for suspected links with the Peoples' War, was mentally tortured which led to his suicide.

"After the chief minister repeatedly turned down the demand for a CBI probe, we approached the high court for justice," said Alok Mitra, counsel for Manasi. Buddhaddeb Bhatnagar had maintained that the home department was competent to inquire into the matter.

The petition, filed before Justice Altamash Kabir on Tuesday, is expected to come up

for hearing either on Thursday or the next Tuesday.

Mitra said all the 22 respondents, including chief secretary Sourin Roy, home secretary Amit Kiran Deb and director general of police D.C. Vajpai, have been served notices regarding the petition.

Manasi alleged in the petition that the police had violated Supreme Court directives while detaining and interrogating Sinha. "Police harassment and mental torture forced my husband to commit suicide."

Mitra said Manasi filed an FIR against the Paschim Midnapur police at Dum Dum police station on July 14. Explaining the delay in filing the FIR, Manasi said in the petition that she needed time to recover from the trauma of her husband's death.

"The home department has not taken any action against police officers for violating the apex court's directives and abetting Abhijit's suicide," the petition reads. "This is why we were forced to move the court."

According to Amita Ghosh

and Rajesh Ganguly, advocates assisting Manasi's counsel, the police had violated several Supreme Court directives mentioned in the *All India Reporter*, 1997, (page 610).

First, the policemen should be in uniform and have their names clearly mentioned in the batches pinned on their chests, which was not the case when Sinha was detained.

Moreover, the police should provide a written document to the accused person's family, stating the reasons for the arrest or

detention. It should also state where the accused will be taken for interrogation. The document has to be signed by a relative of the accused or a respected elder of the locality. Manasi alleged that she was not informed about Sinha's destination.

Besides, an arrest warrant has to be issued in the accused person's name in case he is being arrested.

But a police official said "The state police has not done anything wrong. I am certain that this will be proved in court."

129

9/18

110

1 AUG 2002

# PWG backs out of peace talks

FROM G.S. RADHAKRISHNA

**Hyderabad, July 19:** The People's War Group today wound up its peace initiative and declared that there would be no "dialogue" with the state government.

The extremists, however, said they were open to talks if the government ensured a "conducive atmosphere".

The PWG issued a voice statement recorded on an audio tape that the outfit's state secretary, Ramakrishna, sent to the media. He later signed a press statement carrying the announcement.

The declaration came a day before the deadline set by the PWG for the government to create a "conducive atmosphere" for the outfit's top brass to come out of hiding and hold "talks".

After the last meeting between PWG emissaries P. Varavara Rao and Gaddar and the government representatives on June 20, it was decided that the extremist leaders would come for talks on July 20 provided here were no encounters for a month.

Both Rao and Gaddar had announced their "retirement from the assignment" of setting up the preliminaries, including modalities for the talks, following a spate of encounters in Warangal. They also cited inability "to contact their clients — the PWG" as a reason for quitting.

The withdrawal of the PWG was a foregone conclusion with the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet deciding to again extend the term of the ban on the extremist outfit by another year on July 15.

The ordinance on the PWG had virtually lapsed since June 22, providing leverage to the government to give "safe passage" to the top leaders of the outfit expected to attend the talks.

The encounters at Warangal and the appeasement of extremists through the surrender, relief and rehabilitation policy was the cause of discontent during talks the extremist emissaries had with government representatives since June.

The PWG men had thrown in the towel 10 days ago, saying they would no longer represent

the outfit for any talks as the police repression had reached the severest levels.

However, as Ramakrishna put it, since June 20, there have been four encounters in which 10 activists, including three senior extremists, were killed. The PWG said there have been 15 encounters since March.

Ramakrishna said the extremist surrender policy announced by the Chandrababu Naidu regime was "inconsistent". "The government argues that the police have the right to kill our party cadre but we do not have any right to protect ourselves," he said.

Ramakrishna said the PWG has been honest to its commitment on ceasefire but it was the state police who had exploited the situation to accelerate its crackdown on extremists.

"We had more or less given safe passage to the police, government officials and politicians during the last six months to conduct the panchayat polls, the Janmabhoomi programme and the Mahanadu convention at

Warangal," Ramakrishna says on the tape.

Dismissing the charge that the PWG has been consolidating, recruiting and strengthening itself during the last five months of peace efforts, Ramakrishna said: "We came out with a peace offer from a position of strength and not weakness." Describing the government's argument that the PWG should lay down arms before the talks as "meaningless", he said there would have been no need for dialogue if the PWG was not armed at all.

Ramakrishna claimed that the strength the PWG has displayed in countering the atrocities by the police in tribal areas and villages has won it popular support in over 11 states. "People see the PWG as a saviour from the harassment of the police and government officials."

The ball is once again in the court of the civil rights activists and the government. The PWG remained restrained during the two-day bandh on July 11 and 12, although everyone expected a major incident.

10 JUL 2002

THE TELEGRAPH

## People's War feeds on Citu, Trinamul

# CPM lobs back terms Naxalites in piggyback politics

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Calcutta, July 17: The CPM today rejected the People's War's conditional offer to hold talks to end the political violence scarring the tribal-dominated parts of West Midnapore.

State CPM secretary Anil Biswas said the possibility of sitting down for a dialogue would be considered only after the group formally repudiated the path of violence and joined the Left mainstream.

"We cannot hold talks with the Naxalites on conditions. Negotiations are possible only if they abjure the path of violence," he said after returning from a trip to China.

In a statement yesterday, the radical Left group had said it was willing to hold talks, but set four conditions.

In public, chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee refused to comment. "I have no reaction on the score at the moment."

However, he held a series of meetings with senior bureaucrats and police officers and asked them to continue the crackdown on the group.

Later, the inspector-general of police, western range, J.R. Bhagat, and senior officers of the special branch and the intelligence branch met in the home secretary's chamber to work out an action plan. The officers were told to make a list of People's War workers and sympathisers in the city and suburbs.

Sources said Orissa director-general of police N.C. Pari has sent documents seized from arrested People's War activists with ties to Calcutta and its suburbs. It is believed the secretary of the Orissa unit of the group has links to Dum Dum, which is emerging as a city reference point for the outfit.

"We are closing in on Asit Sarkar, the brain behind the People's War and it is a matter of time before we catch up with him," police said.

BY SUNANDO SARKAR

Calcutta, July 17: If it's the MCC in the Bankura-Purulia-Midnapore belt, it's the Citu — the CPM's labour wing — in the coalfields of the Asansol-Dhanbad belt. If it's the BJP in pockets of Midnapore, it's the Congress in parts of Murshidabad. And if it was the CPM in 1998, it's the Trinamul in 2002.

The CPI(M-L) People's War plan for a revolution in Bengal is following the decision taken at the party's 2001 congress to the letter. The resolution discussed and accepted there, and codified in an internal party document on the strategies to be followed, explained in detail how the party should use "secret methods, very cautiously" to expand its base.

Admitting that the party did not possess any significant organisational base in many areas, the document asked party members to build a "structure impregnable to the enemy". The party's modus operandi in many areas of Bengal would suggest that is exactly what it is doing now.

First, the CPM's labour wing. Reports available here say the group is "very active" in the colliery belt on the Bengal-Bihar-Jharkhand border, organising workers' movements and giving a strident shape to their demands through the machinery of other parties.

With the Citu being the dominant labour wing in the belt — with some influence of the CPI's Aituc in some areas — the Naxalite group is using these organisations to spread its ideas.

Next, the Opposition parties. With the Trinamul Congress still being the most influential political party in many areas of Midnapore, intelligence reports say the People's War has been ex-

ploiting its organisational base for its own interests. "With people in Bengal being sharply polarised along mainstream-party lines, the People's War has to take the help of one party or the other if it wants to spread its base in the state," an official said.

But the group's relations with the Congress in parts of Murshidabad — "stable" till a few months ago — are nosediving. "There have been differences of opinion of late," an official said, explaining why the situation there was fast snowballing into all-out violence with a spate of political killings of late.

But the agreement reached with the MCC for the Bengal districts bordering Jharkhand is of a more stable nature, say officials, referring to the decision reached at a meeting of the Committee of Maoist Parties of South Asia that all similar-thinking parties should cooperate with each other. Following that decision, the MCC sent a letter to the People's War about three months ago — called "historic" as it was the first MCC attempt at a rapprochement — calling for area- and manpower-sharing. This has already taken place in Purulia, Bankura and West Midnapore.

The ultimate aim of the People's War, as culled from investigations, is much more broad-based — and, possibly, improbable — than focusing on only three states. The group, say officials, has trained its sights on at least 10 states from Uttar Pradesh in the north to Karnataka in the south, encompassing the Marathwada region of Maharashtra, Telengana of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and, of course, Bengal.

Interrogation reveals People's War plan

# 3-state launch pad for strikes

FROM NARESH JANA

West Midnapore, July 12: People's War activists are planning to set up a "guerrilla zone" in the jungles of West Midnapore, from where they can trigger strikes across the state, including in Calcutta.

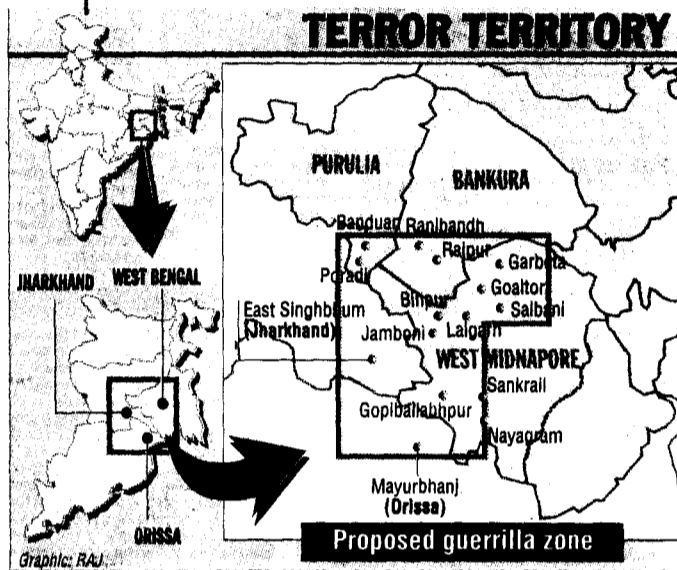
Parts of Bankura and Purulia in Bengal, Mayurbhanj in Orissa and East Singhbhum in Jharkhand will come under the zone, which will serve as the operational base of the group, interrogation of about 75 arrested Naxalites has revealed.

Calcutta has come within the gunsight of the militants for the first time, with the group chalking out plans of hit-and-run assassinations and explosions in the city. People's War activists had rented houses in fringe areas like Rishra, Arambagh, Dakshineswar and Dum Dum under fictitious names in preparation for the Calcutta strikes, police said.

"The plan is to use the forest areas as an operational base for their terrorist activities against the state machinery and the police," West Midnapore superintendent of police K.C. Meena said. The dense jungles could serve as a permanent shelter for the Naxalites.

The People's War activists have already identified 20 police station areas spread across Bengal, Orissa and Jharkhand, Meena said. An area of 450 sq km in the "guerrilla zone" is dense forest and about a hundred square kilometres comprises small hills.

Garbeta, Goaltor, Lalgarh,



Salboni, Binpur, Belpahari, Jamboni, Gopiballabhpur, Nayaqram and Sankrail police stations in West Midnapore, Banduan and Poradi in Purulia and Ranibandh and Raipur in Bankura have been earmarked by the People's War activists.

The "guerrilla zone" can also be used as an escape route to Orissa and Jharkhand in case of an emergency because, being covered by forests, it is usually shunned by the police. Besides, villages, whose poor residents often sympathise with the Naxalites, encircle the forests.

The group has drawn up a blueprint of the routes they can use through Orissa to reach People's War strongholds in Andhra Pradesh. The June 26 arrest of People's War activists such as Sudeep Chongdar alias Manik revealed that "Deepak", a front-

line Naxalite, had used one such route to elude state police and escape to Andhra Pradesh.

The People's War had entrusted 12 frontline activists to draw up the blueprint for the proposed zone, police said. However, all of them have been absconding since the crackdown on the Naxalites began.

Police sources said the force has identified sites in the hills of Bhallukkhola, Bhallukbasa, Rajabasa, Metalia forest, Mayurbhanj Machkandna and Chedapathar where the militants practised using firearms. Most People's War activists based in Bengal were believed to have undergone guerrilla training in these hilly areas.

The activists are being fed arms and cash from their central committee based in Telengana in Andhra Pradesh, police said.

1 3 111 2002

# Examine Ganguly's injuries: CJM

Statesman News Service

MIDNAPORE, July 11. — The Chief Judicial Magistrate, Midnapore West, today ordered that the injuries sustained by Mr Kaushik Ganguly, Calcutta University lecturer, be "examined at the SSKM Hospital or at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital where better treatment is available". Forensic experts there would be able to find out the exact date on which the injuries were sustained.

Mr Ganguly, Mr Tinku Ghosh and Mr Parashar Bhattacharya, arrested for suspected PWG links, were produced in the CJM's court today. They have been remanded in 14 days' judicial custody.

The CJM said the medical report submitted by the Salboni Rural Hospital is "found wanting on the exact nature of the injuries".

Defence counsel Mr Dashrath Nanda said: "The

medical report does not state the exact date when the injuries were inflicted or their cause. The statements of the accused are also not there in the report." The CJM rejected Mr Nanda's bail plea. He also rejected the defence counsel's plea for an order to seize the baton with which Mr Ganguly was allegedly beaten up in Baguiati police lock-up. The court rejected public prosecutor Mr Raicharan Roy's plea for 10 days police remand for the accused.

Three persons arrested yesterday in connection with the killing of Goaltore CPM leader Ajit Ghosh were released today for lack of evidence.

**PW activists killed:** Four Peoples' War activists and a policeman were killed in an encounter at Maranpur village in Bhojpur district last night, adds a report from Patna.

**Andhra bandh :** A MDO office was damaged in a blast on the first day of the 48-hour PWG-sponsored Andhra bandh, adds PTI from Hyderabad.

12 JUL 1992

THE STATESMAN



# PWG ploy strikes at government roots

**D**uring the 1999 elections, the People's War Group bible, Sun Tzu's Art of War — the oldest and finest military treatise ever — enjoyed pride of place on the table of Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N Chandrababu Naidu. Not any more, maybe indicating the extent to which the zeal to evolve and execute strategy has dimmed in the man, once regarded as a master strategist.

The PWG-government talks have reached a phase where the former is blaming Mr Naidu for its collapse, if not in so many words. The guerrillas, however, shrilly blamed Mr Naidu's "murderous politics" — a reference to seven Naxalites killed in the first week of July. The aim of giving substantial respite for replenishing and motivating their depleted cadres may be partly fulfilled in these three months. But if they were to return to talks, what would they be aiming at?

PWG documents with *The Statesman* demonstrate the guerrillas' aims and show how well thought out their talks strategy is and what they intend doing in this period. It is more than just respite — they never hoped for much of it — but to strike at the very roots of Mr Naidu's government.

PWG politburo member T Sudershan, alias Anand, who guides the Andhra Pradesh comrades, drafted a six-page confidential letter to the powerful central committee. The 6 April letter is brilliant in its analysis and sublime foresight of the unfolding situation while enunciating the need for talks. This, in effect, formed the basis of the politburo's circular to the central committee, state committees and special zonal committees on their strategy during this period.

He fully anticipated the government's unwillingness to offer any "space" — meaning respite — from police operations and wrote, "We have to go for long-term gains and take decisions in that direction. We must not limit ourselves to using the talks only for space." The PWG is fundamentally asking for democratic rule and to that it has added some economic demands.

"People will be educated to the extent we take these demands to the people. We will be able to educate hundreds of thousands of them and in this way our party will be further strengthened." Mr Sudershan further said: "We must face the government politically so that its duplicity is exposed." He mentioned three things towards that end. One, "The government not implementing a ceasefire while accepting talks would raise too many questions and create a new political atmosphere." Two, "Exposing the government and its strategy (of isolating us from the people) is the most critical element." Three, "Our retaliation (armed attacks) while taking part in talks would appear as if we

The guerrillas' criticism of the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister for his 'murderous politics' and the talks collapse should be seen in the larger context of a strategy based on Tzu's *Art of War*, writes **STANLEY THEODORE**. The Naxalites are using the talks to demonise the government and gain footholds in democratic space



Emissaries of the Andhra Pradesh government: excise minister T Sitarum (left) and commercial taxes minister K Vijayarama Rao. PWG representatives balladeer Gaddar (left) and revolutionary poet Vara Vara Rao.



attack, which it said it would explain publicly. The Naxalites have a "tactical counter offensive campaign" where they explain the application of weapons, grenades, remote explosive devices, communications and even toxins. The general impression is that the police are enough to deal with the PWG. The number of armed militants in Telengana has over the past five years dwindled from 800 to 400.

"In about three years, they would have been down to about 100 and reduced to just another fringe Naxalite outfit, had it not been for these stupid talks and the subsequent confusion," berated a senior government official. In this bizarre game of blood and tactics, Mr Naidu's advantage is being part of a legitimate political milieu. For the PWG, everything is legitimate — blood, gun, tactics and propaganda.

Mr Naidu's disadvantage is — none in the Telugu Desam Party or the government is either willing or gutsy enough to talk about Naxalites. The rest is equally hopeless. All that the Opposition parties are willing to concede is that they favour negotiations.

Mr Naidu's home minister, T Devennder Goud, makes himself inaccessible to avoid being quoted by newspapers. His responses go by the book, "It's undemocratic to hold the weapon", and are clichéd. "The government is for peace."

But this does not help the cause. Mr Naidu and his government are not helping the state either. The issue is not PWG versus Naidu or PWG versus TDP. The issue in full is: PWG versus the state.

Mr Sudershan's crafty schema need not elucidate its final objective — "state power through a protracted armed struggle". This is the crux of the 33-year-old bloody battle. The PWG will return to negotiations to fulfil its tactics.

The state needs a strategy, as comprehensive as the PWG's, where military operations are a part, not the whole. This preconceives a political counter-strategy involving an honest demeanour to explain what it means to whom and not just a rehabilitation policy for the Naxalites.

The objective cannot be achieved with a half-baked disposition of inputs from anti-Naxalite wings or closed-door discussions with Intelligence officers.

The answer lies in statesmanship and commitment to democracy. And, perhaps, shrewdness, if *Art of War* is still around in Mr Naidu's office. Tackling the PWG is as much about warfare as it is about modern management.

(The author is The Statesman's Hyderabad-based Special Representative.)



HP-10  
11/2

## CONFLICTING POLITICAL SIGNALS

S-P-P- COIML (PW)

THE DECISION BY the two emissaries of the People's War Group (PWG) of naxalites to pull out of the ongoing dialogue with the Andhra Pradesh Government is somewhat of an anti-climax in the negotiating process considering that the representatives of the outfit slated to take part in the talks were promised safe passage just a few weeks back. Yet, the decision is merely indicative of an unfortunate, though by no means unforeseen, resurfacing of mutual suspicions and a pervasive mistrust between militant outfits and the political establishment in the State. This is the reason why neither the Government nor the militant groups were prepared to lower their guard during the prelude to the negotiations. The latest turn of events may not therefore adversely impact on the commencement of the dialogue later this month or on its long term outcome. But the withdrawal from mediation by the balladeer, Gaddar, and the revolutionary writer, Varavara Rao, has certainly heightened the level of mutual apprehensions, apart from setting the clock back at least temporarily.

The most glaring evidence of the persisting unease amidst a seemingly growing climate of hope was encapsulated in the widely known perception among the PWG naxalites that the Government's recent offer of safe passage to their top leaders slated to participate in the dialogue was nothing but a conspiracy to eliminate them. Such a reading may or may not have any real basis. But there has been concrete evidence that encounter killings have continued with alarming regularity right through the past few months despite a PWG declared unilateral ceasefire last May. Thus, the gunning down of four leaders of the extremist outfits in Karimnagar district last

week and two more in Khammam a few days earlier by the police in the name of encounters raises questions regarding the Government's sincerity in bringing the decades long tangle with extremism to an end, let alone, its desire to acquiesce in the framework proposed by the PWG for negotiations. The currently vitiated atmosphere thus appears far removed from the enthusiastic advocacy by the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, N. Chandrababu Naidu, of a dialogue with extremist groups outlawed under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

In what is by no account a politically astute calculation, the PWG's announcement of a ceasefire first in February this year and then in May during the prelude to the current dialogue was not matched by any toning down of its hardline or political rhetoric. For instance, the justified concern about the persistence of encounters should have led to isolating the police administration for its unrelenting use of strong-arm methods. Instead, the PWG chose to concentrate on the other issue of questioning the motives of the political leadership with whom it is engaged in a dialogue. In doing so, its interlocutors may have contributed to vitiating the atmosphere. It is crucial that the important distinction between restoration of political space for furthering the democratic movement on the one hand and the recourse to armed insurgency on the other hand is recognised. Significantly, the purported objectives of extremist groups fall in the domain of the former, notwithstanding the highly dubious means they have deployed to achieve their ends. The challenge before the administrative machinery lies in ensuring that it does not blur the division between means and ends.

THE HINDU

11 JUL 2002

# Naxalite Violence

## Legacy of Another Era

By Bhaskar Roy

the mainstream communist movement.

In a typically irreverent but incisive comment, Salman Rushdie once wondered whether the Indian inability to tell the future from the past stems from the fact that the Hindi word for yesterday (*kal*) is the same as for tomorrow.

The continuation of ultra-left violence in several parts of the country despite the ban on the People's War Group (PWG) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), has thrown Rushdie's civilisational inquiry under sharper focus. India, a nuclear power and satellite manufacturer, is grappling with an armed political campaign that best belongs to another era, and is admittedly an outcome of the unresolved contradictions of a backward agrarian society.

Though violent left-wing politics has spread over a large part of the country and its neighbourhood, successive regimes in Delhi have shown a reluctance to address the questions of land alienation and rural exploitation, particularly in the tribal belt. Had a similar extremist movement erupted in Delhi's vicinity — say Haryana or western Uttar Pradesh — the political bosses would have undoubtedly reacted much earlier.

Historically, the Maoist movement, fed by rural deprivation, has been significantly different from violent agitations in Punjab and Assam in the past. It is based neither on religious fundamentalism nor on any sense of regional or linguistic injustice. Sustained by the theory of class struggle, Naxalite extremism, therefore, is unlikely to die down with the ebbing of any momentary madness. Linked to social and economic inequities, it is clearly more durable than a fundamentalist campaign. So long as feudal exploitation continues and the local administration sides with the affluent landlords in their dispute with the landless poor, the cause for such ultra-left extremism will exist. The ongoing bloody confrontation between the Maoists and the authorities in Nepal attests to this.

The history of the Naxalite movement is as gripping as any account of rebellion anywhere else in the world. In the backdrop of a worsening food crisis and political unrest, a lean communist activist, still recuperating from a heart attack in a small town at the Himalayan foothills, came out with a radical thesis in 1965. That man was Charu Mazumdar. He drafted the first of his eight political documents in his Siliguri home on January 28 that year. The document he prepared still has its echoes in every act of daring by the CPI(ML) factions in the tribal belts of Jharkhand, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. The radical thesis sowed the seeds of a million mutinies and expectedly caused acute unease in

Rejecting the agitational aggression of the established communist parties, Mazumdar proposed that every party worker form a five-man secret group as part of revolutionary activity. Laying a major emphasis on underground political training, he prepared an outline for revolution on the basis of agrarian inequalities, borrowing heavily from Mao Zedong's experiment in China. The next four documents were written in the following months. Before he could complete the fifth one, Mazumdar was arrested. In these theses, he made a radical departure from the established practices of the conventional left by dismissing trade union activity and farm workers' agitation as a mere way of getting marginal economic benefits. Instead of a large-scale campaign to seize political power, he directed his followers to create liberated zones by armed struggle. The "secret active groups", the fourth document said, would play a crucial role in organising "revolutionary violence to counter reactionary violence" and fight the police forces.

Mazumdar surmised that it would be impossible for the police to zero in on all the workers participating in the secret groups. In the fifth document, he directly attacked the mainstream communists, accusing them of using unarmed people as "cannon-fodder" instead of training them in guerrilla warfare.

In the remaining three documents he criticised the established left for adhering to the path of parliamentary democracy and participating in the non-Congress coalition governments in some states in 1967.

Charu Mazumdar's call for area-wise liberation campaign and eliminating "class enemies" had an adventurous appeal to a section of the youths and farm workers. Mazumdar's close lieutenant Kanu Sanyal announced at a farm workers' meeting at Naxalbari: "From tomorrow we will not recognise the big landlords, new boundaries of land holdings will be drawn with the mouth of the plough." Though the uprising was brutally crushed by the state machinery with active support from the cadres of the mainline communist parties, the eight documents survived as a pointer to an alternative political route for the future.

More than 35 years after he wrote his first radical document Mazumdar's idea of revolutionary violence, liberated zones and armed campaign are still being put to practice by the MCC and PWG activists. Despite the heavy toll of lives extracted by this violence and its threat to parliamentary democracy, we have seen no perceptible urgency anywhere in the political establishment to understand the cause of this warfare evolve an effective response.

### IN BRIEF

- Ultra-left violence has spread over large parts of the country in recent years
- Successive dispensations in Delhi have refused to address the root causes of this phenomenon

# PWG bandh today, Andhra on edge

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
HYDERABAD, JULY 10

**W**ITH talks between the Andhra Pradesh government and the outlawed People's War Group (PWG) at a standstill and incidents of violence and retaliatory violence on the rise, and now with the PWG declaring a two-day bandh, it's no surprise the state police is on red alert.

Superintendents of police have been directed to stay in the district headquarters and people's representatives and politicians advised not to venture into remote areas.

Just as the PWG's 48-hour state bandh is about to begin (from tomorrow) to protest the killing of its men, two more Naxalites were killed in an alleged police encounter. The PWG retaliated to the killing by blasting the house of a TDP leader in Guntur district today.

According to reports from Warangal, one of the slain Naxalites was identified as

## Man picked up by cops kills self, villagers allege excess



**SANGAREDDY:** Police claim the villager — who they picked up along with two others on Tuesday night when they exchanged fire with Naxalites in Amsarpally — committed suicide. But villagers allege G. Venkati (40) died of police excess. Police maintain the three including the deceased, were let off at night after interrogation, adding, Venkati killed himself by hanging from a ceiling fan in his house.

— Agencies  
Adilabad who surrendered on Tuesday. P71

Two died on the spot while another got shot in the leg. The villagers say the police dumped the injured Naxalite in a Tata Sumo and drove away.

Reports from Guntur say PWG extremists blasted the house of local TDP leader A. Vasudeva Reddy in Bollapalli mandal. No one was injured as the house was empty. Locals say the Naxalites woke up the neighbours and asked them to shift to a safe distance, then planted explosives in the building and set them off by remote control.

Vehicle checking and patrolling will be intensified as intelligence inputs indicate possible retaliatory action by PWG to avenge the killing of its activists. Police teams engaged in combing operations were advised to be cautious about possible landmine attacks.

Armed pickets are being posted at government establishments, bus stations and railway stations. The state Road Transport Corporation has decided to limit its services to the interior villages for the next two days.

Chital local guerrilla squad commander U. Rajaiah alias Vasanth. According to the police, a team went to Ponugondla village to convene a gramsabha this morning, when it was tipped off about the presence of Naxalites in a house. The team circled the house and that resulted in an exchange of fire in which two Naxalites died while a third escaped. Police

recovered a carbine, 45 revolver, hand grenades and party literature from the spot. "We tried our best to catch the Naxalites alive, but we were forced to retaliate," SP Nalin Prabhat said.

Villagers say the police team circled the house in the morning, captured the three Naxalites, then asked them to run, and then fired at them indiscriminately.

People's War mows down CPM leader

# Naxalite murder challenge to govt

OUR BUREAU

*P.P. P. CPIMC 10/7*

July 9: The spectre of a full-blown confrontation between the People's War and the Bengal government loomed large tonight after the Naxalites stuck to an audacious ultimatum by gunning down a CPM leader and his guard.

The murders in Paschim Midnapore came within 24 hours of the outfit circulating leaflets warning the government to either free the four persons arrested in Calcutta last week for alleged Naxalite links or risk retaliation.

The CPM state committee late tonight asked the government to step up the campaign against the outfit, terming it an "extremist organisation".

"We are appealing to all democratic people and organisations to counter and isolate the People's War. The CPM is all for safeguarding the democratic rights of all citizens and political parties. But it will not allow space for violence and terror in politics," CPM state committee

member Benoy Konar said in Calcutta.

Ajit Ghosh, secretary of the CPM's Goaltore Anchalik Samity, and Rajkumar Sardar, his guard, were attacked this afternoon near Chotonagdonga village, a few km from Goaltore town. The 48-year-old teacher of Bulanpur High School was returning home on his two-wheeler when the guerrillas waylaid him and opened fire.

Ghosh's guard — he was recently allotted one after the Naxalites made four attempts on his life — returned fire but could not match up to the flying bullets. Both died while residents were ferrying them to a nearby health centre.

Chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee said the twin killings were reprehensible but his government had decided not to proscribe the People's War. "This is PW for you," he said at Writers' Buildings, "But, we will not be banning them... it's not the government's policy."

Bhattacharjee refused to concede that the Naxalite problem in Bengal was spinning out

of control. He said the guerrillas needed to be curbed in neighbouring states so that his government did not have to grapple with the spillover effect.

The chief minister said the Centre was aware of the Naxalite menace in Bengal. There was even a committee comprising representatives of six states to monitor the problem, he said.

As news of the killings broke, tension spread in Goaltore police station area. Angry CPM supporters demonstrated outside the police station, blaming the police for having failed to protect the CPM leader. Hundreds blocked the highway. The CPM has called a 12-hour bandh in Garbeta block to protest the killings.

"Police should have been more cautious and taken adequate steps after the PW-MCC issued an ultimatum yesterday. Besides, the militants have been targeting Ghosh for the last few weeks. The miscreants attacked him at least four times but he somehow escaped each attempt..." a senior CPM leader of Garbeta said. (See Page 10)

THE TELEGRAPH

10 JUL 2002

# PW guns down CPM leader, guard

HT Correspondent  
Midnapore/Kolkata, July 9

PEOPLE'S WAR members gunned down a CPI (M) leader and his bodyguard in West Midnapore today in a revenge strike against a statewide crackdown on Naxalites. The Chief Minister reiterated after the attack that the raids would continue.

CPI (M) leader Avijit Ghosh was a teacher like Kaushik Ganguly, who was picked up last week from the city for alleged

links with PW. Ghosh had been campaigning against the rising PW activities in the area and had escaped a bid on his life a few months back.

Ghosh and his guard were on their way home from Bulpapur Junior High School around 3 pm when a gang of seven stopped them and fired at pointblank range. The 48-year-old teacher died before his guard Raj Kumar Sardar could whip out his revolver. The men then gunned down Sardar.

The CPI (M) district committee has called for a 12-hour bandh in Goaltore, where the leader hailed from, on Wednesday.

"This is the real face of PW. Though we don't consider them too big a threat, we cannot lower our guard and must go after them with all our strength," the CM said at the Writers'.

Asked about the measures being taken to tackle the problem, Bhattacharjee said, "It wouldn't have posed much of a problem

had PW activists stopped sneaking into West Bengal. An interstate border problem is closely linked with the problem. There is a committee comprising six States, including West Bengal, to tackle the problem. We are in contact with each other and coordinating our actions."

He added that the Centre was aware of the crimes committed by these groups against innocent civilians and political activists of various parties. Ghosh, he said, had received several

threats to his life and had engaged the bodyguard because of this.

Ghosh had organised rallies and campaigns against PW activities in the area in the past few months. The last such rally was staged in Goaltore about 20 days ago. Ghosh's campaign fetched results as PW seemed to lose its grip on some pockets in Goaltore.

Months ago, the PW shot at him in front of his house in Chotonaakdona.

9. P.P. CP 1ML  
41-3 10/7

# Rush on Naxalites leads to suicide ✓

OUR BUREAU 9/17

July 8: The son-in-law of a senior police officer involved in the crackdown on the People's War threw himself in front of a running train yesterday, apparently traumatised by his interrogation on unsubstantiated links with the Naxalite outfit.

Bengal's political establishment convulsed after Abhijit Sinha's family said shame and pain caused by mental torture in police custody drove the 32-year-old Central excise inspector to kill himself.

"They (the police) are behind my innocent husband's death," said his widow, Manasi, the daughter of Moley Sinha, deputy superintendent of police (crime), CID. He is in charge of the crackdown on the People's War in Paschim Midnapore.

"My son could not take the insult and pain," Abhijit's father, Ashok Sinha, said. "So he killed himself."

At Writers', chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee said Abhijit did not have any direct link with the Naxalites. "There was only a telephone call that connected him with the investigation. One of his friends (a suspected sympathiser) had used his telephone... His suicide is unfortunate," he said.

Bhattacharjee asked the special secretary (home), Arun Mishra, to probe the circumstances that led to Abhijit's interrogation. He would also look into complaints of police excesses on Abhijit and Kaushik Ganguly, a lecturer, who were picked up on Thursday for alleged links with the People's War.

Abhijit was pulled out of bed, dragged down the stairs and taken to Baguiati police station, family members said. His wife contacted her father and the two rushed to Baguiati to convince senior officials to release him on condition that the police officer would produce his son-in-law when needed.

On Saturday, Moley Sinha accompanied Abhijit to Midnapore town. He was interrogated there by officers. The shrill cries of several other suspects being grilled in the next room haunted Abhijit for quite some time, his family said.

"Abhijit was disturbed," Moley Sinha said. "There were several calls from Paschim Midnapore police. He told me one caller had rebuked him for keeping the phone off the hook, which he had not done." The officer said he did not think his son-in-law was tortured. "But, of course, he was mentally upset."

The chief minister made it clear there would be no let-up in the raids. "Outfits like the People's War and the MCC believe in the politics of murder and annihilation. Raids will continue." (See Page 10)

THE TELEGRAM

9 JUL 2002

Raids point to People's War activity in urban areas

# Naxalite haven tag on Calcutta

OUR BUREAU

July 8: With the arrest of several alleged activists of People's War from Calcutta last week, police are a worried lot as they do not rule out the possibility of Naxalite activity in urban pockets of the state.

Intelligence sources said those belonging to the Naxalite group's think-tank are mostly city-bred low-profile professionals and government officials.

"We have evidence suggesting that some of the well-placed people living and working in areas around Calcutta are PW ideologues," said inspector general of police, western range, J.R. Bhagat.

Senior police officials of Paschim Midnapore said at least four hardcore PW activists, including two doctors and two more professors, have taken shelter in Calcutta and that they would soon be arrested.

Reacting to allegations that lecturer Kaushik Ganguly was arrested merely on suspicion, Bhagat said the police had "thoroughly investigated and found clinching evidence about his involvement with the PW before picking him up from his Dum Dum residence".

"The PW has set up a revolution corridor from Andhra Pradesh to Nepal. Its city-based sympathisers co-ordinate with their colleagues in Nepal, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. They exchange information, collect funds and arrange for arms and ammunition," a senior intelligence branch officer said.

Chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee said at Writers' Buildings that it was the policy of the government to allow political parties to carry out their activities.

"The government believes in democracy and does not obstruct parties like the Trinamul Congress, the Congress, the BJP and even various Naxalite factions to carry out their activities. But the declared policy of PW is annihilation and the government will not allow it," he added.

Left Front chairman Biman Bose said there have been complaints of police excesses on some of the persons arrested for suspected PW links and it was the duty of the government to



Mourning relatives of Abhijit Sinha, who committed suicide after he was interrogated by police on his alleged links with the People's War. Picture by Aranya Sen

carry out a thorough probe.

The police have confirmed that the professor of Rajabazar Science College, Ganguly, was a hardcore PW activist, having links with front-ranking guerrillas of the Naxalite outfit from Andhra Pradesh.

"We have enough evidence to believe that Ganguly has been working for PW guerrillas for quite a long time. Besides, we have received important information after interrogating him on PW activities in the state and their sources of funding. He has also confessed to his involvement with the militant group," said Bhagat at a press conference in Paschim Midnapore.

The police official added that the lecturer belonged to the PW

think-tank and used to prepare blueprint of operations and selected persons to carry them out.

This apart, the officer said Ganguly's responsibilities included selecting places for shelter, organising arms training and maintaining contact with MCC and PW units in Andhra Pradesh.

Bhagat, however, refused to disclose the information obtained from Ganguly and three other arrested persons in the Saturday midnight swoop, saying the lecturer was given the charge of "waging war against the state".

The police have seized his cellphone and are verifying the calls he made and received

in recent times.

Some teachers from Calcutta University today submitted a letter to the chief minister, demanding the immediate release of Ganguly.

Several college teachers, research scholars and Ganguly's students are camping in Midnapore town where the lecturer has been kept in police lock-up. They protested against the alleged torture of Ganguly and said the police should not misbehave with a brilliant scholar and professor.

An NGO, Liberty for Citizen, has threatened to move the state human rights commission against the alleged torture of Ganguly in the name of interrogation. Ganguly also told the

court that he was severely beaten by the police during interrogation, showing injury marks on his body. The court has asked the police to submit a medical report.

"Doctors have checked Ganguly and a medical report has been submitted to the court," Bhagat said, adding that he would not comment on the matter as it is sub-judice.

However, the official said the police arrested Ganguly not for being a professor but as a hardcore PW radical involved in subversive activities. "The PW is not banned in Bengal but if any of its supporters is found involved in any subversive activities, he should be arrested," Bhagat said.

# Govt plotting to kill us: Varavara Rao, Gadar PWG emissaries walk out of talks

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

HYDERABAD, July 6. — PWG emissaries have walked out of the peace talks with the Andhra Pradesh government to protest against the latter's belligerent attitude and the continuing encounter killings. They even alleged that the government was planning to kill them.

The outfit is, however, yet to comment on the development. (And one of the government emissaries at the talks, Mr K Vijayarama Rao, expressed hope that the dialogue would continue, PTI adds.)

Six PWG activists had been killed in three days. One of them is the outfit's North Telengana special zonal committee member Padmakka. Varavara Rao and Gadar today issued a press note saying: "The encounter killing of Padmakka, who was part of the leadership that began the talks process, exposed the Chandrababu Naidu government's intention to abandon the talks process.

"The government seems to be nervous that the PWG would come for talks, come what may. It seems the Naidu government is caught in the web of talks and wanted to come out, regardless of whatever damage is going to happen to its image. It also decided to regain the initia-



A Statesman file photograph of Gadar & Varavara Rao.

tive through police onslaught," the press note said.

The emissaries alleged that the government had conspired to eliminate them. "We came to know reliably that a huge number of surrendered Naxalites were organised under top police officers and a plan is being hatched to eliminate us, some leaders of other mass organisations and Shakhamuri Appa Rao (a Naxalite) if he comes out for talks.

"As we came to know of this murderous plan on 1 July, we

took it to the notice of the Committee of Concerned Citizens (instrumental in bringing both sides to the negotiating table). We would like to iterate that it would be the government's responsibility if this evil design is implemented."

Though their role as PWG emissaries ended on 20 June, they wished to distance themselves from the talks process. They refuted the government's argument that the encounters occurred after the Naxalites were found extorting money from people.

THE STATESMAN

7 JUL 2002



# PWG emissaries back out of talks

FROM OUR SPECIAL  
CORRESPONDENT

Hyderabad, July 6: The proposed talks between the People's War Group and the Andhra Pradesh government seem to have hit a hurdle with PWG representatives expressing their inability to continue because of the state government's one-sided campaign.

PWG mediators P Varavara Rao and Gaddar today withdrew from their assignment to work out the modalities for the talks with the government.

Accusing the government of "belligerence and insincerity", the mediators said they were pulling out of the negotiations

because they were unable to contact their clients, the PWG. "Our links with our clients has snapped. We cannot contact them. Hence, we cannot continue to represent them," the mediators said.

Addressing a news conference today, Varavara Rao and Gaddar blamed the state government for violating the "cease-fire" by carrying out indiscriminate combing operations and encounter killings in Naxalite-dominated zones. "The government should take responsibility for the killings of top brass of the PWG even as they had been lying low," they said.

In a three-page note, the PWG emissaries accused the

government of deliberately sabotaging the negotiations process. "Even before the talks began they had delayed the modalities, but were compelling the PWG to disarm themselves first and then talks," they said.

Varavara Rao said the penalty for illegal possession of arms is a maximum of 10 years. "How come the government of Andhra Pradesh give capital sentence by killing the extremists in cold blood just because they possessed arms?" he asked.

Rao also charged the government of a conspiracy to kill the mediators, including S. Appa Rao and the two who were already talking with

the government.

"A team of brigands — surrendered extremists — has been unleashed in the state capital to silence the opponents of the government viewpoint. We are on top of the list. We do not know how many might be killed. The team of brigands are supervised by two senior police officials," he said.

The mediators said the state government could not ignore the objective behind holding the talks. "Chandrababu Naidu's gimmicks of providing succour and relief to effect surrender of the extremists is just a ploy to defeat the purpose of the talks," they said.

Varavara Rao said the gov-

ernment should not have any objection to the PWG collecting donations as a political party. "The government has invited them for talks as a political party and not as an armed gang," he said.

The state government is yet to react to the withdrawal of the two PWG mediators from the talks and their abstaining from working out the modalities with the government.

However, both the chief minister and the state director general of police have turned down the PWG's demands for judicial probe into the encounter deaths as well as the suggestion for observing and respecting the "ceasefire".

# CU professor arrested for PW links

HT Correspondents  
Kolkata/Midnapore, July 5

A PROFESSOR of Rajabazar Science College was arrested last night from his Motijheel Colony home for alleged links with the People's War. A West Midnapore police team raided the home of Kaushik Das Ganguly and took him to Midnapore by train.

This is the fourth arrest

in the second such swoop operation by the district police in the city and on its outskirts. Kolkata Police officials are tight-lipped on last night's arrest.

Police also arrested Tinku Ghosh from his Baguihati home and Rabindranath Mahato from Sovabazar. One person was picked up from Uluberia. But both Howrah SP Rajesh Kumar and DC (North) K L Tamta pleaded igno-

rance of the development.

Ganguly, a chemistry professor and a Presidency College graduate, was at home with wife Tanushree, father Narayan Das Ganguly and mother Anima when police arrived. Police offered no explanation for taking away the professor. The family went to the Dum Dum police, who washed their hands of the matter saying they were not responsible for arresting Ganguly.

IG (law and order) Chayan Mukherjee refused to divulge any details. "I am aware of the arrest but unaware of the specifics," he said. IG (western range) Jeetram Bhagat confirmed the arrests and said four people were picked up for alleged links with the Naxalites. He too refused to say anything more for "the sake of investigations".

In Midnapore, no senior officials were available for

comment. The four arrested would be produced in a Midnapore court tomorrow.

The arrests followed leads provided by PW State secretary Manik, who was arrested from Belghoria. Sources said Manik had revealed names of several prominent persons who sympathised with the Naxalite ideology or were active supporters. All the suspects were apparently under surveillance for sometime.

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Another hiccup in Naxalite talks

9-P.P.-CPIML

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Hyderabad, July 4: Hopes of an early breakthrough in the negotiations between the extremists of the People's War Group and the Andhra Pradesh government were dashed today with reports coming in of yet another encounter killing in the jungles of Warangal.

This is the third encounter since the last meeting between PWG emissaries and representatives of the state government. It took place near Konapur village of Mulugu Mandal.

Local PWG guerrilla squad commander Sanjeev was killed on the spot while 14 persons fled the scene leaving behind some arms, ammunition and

their kit-bags.

Warangal director-general of police P. Ramulu told reporters that the Naxalites opened fire on the police party, which was proceeding to Konapur village to conduct a gram sabha.

"We suspect that PWG secretary Ramakrishna was among those who fled the scene," Ramulu said.

Denying allegations by PWG emissaries, Ramulu said the police never attacked the extremists on their own. But they could not allow people to run around with weapons like SLRs and AK-47s. The extremists had been exploiting the period of talks for strengthening their forces and finances, he said.

"Documents seized from the venue of the Nerella encounter,

in which district secretary Padmakka alias Rajita was killed, reveals that she had collected nearly Rs 2 crore of which accounts were written for Rs 88.71 lakh," the director-general of police said.

Arguing that the PWG has been very active during the "ceasefire" declared on February 10, another officer said that extremists of the banned outfit had committed 72 offences, including 16 murders, 17 attempts to murder, 21 assaults, nine each of arsons and bomb blasts. There had been 20 exchanges of fire during the ceasefire period between the police and the extremists in which 24 extremists were killed, 22 arms stockpiles and seven landmines were recovered.

"One sub-inspector was killed and one DSP was injured in these attacks," Ramulu said.

The DGP further said the state police had no intentions of sabotaging the PWG-state government talks. "Though we are not a party to it we wanted the deliberations to be fruitful and succeed in bringing peace to the villages. We are not opposed to them as is misconstrued by others," he said.

PWG emissaries Varavara Rao and Gaddar had separately condemned the state government's attitude towards the negotiations.

"It is a deliberate attempt to scuttle the negotiations which will put an end to the Police Raj in the villages," Rao had said.

Prominent civil liberties

leaders, including Rao, Gaddar, K. Balagopal and K.G. Kannabiran attended the funeral of Padmakka at Jammikunta town yesterday amid a tearful farewell by thousands of villagers and admirers.

"The Nerella encounter in which prominent PWG activist Padmakka was butchered while eating lunch is evidence enough to show that the state government was indifferent to talks with the PWG," said S.R. Sankaran, convener of the Committee of Concerned Citizens.

"I feel that all our efforts have been wasted," said Sankaran, who, along with Varavara Rao and other civil rights activists, have demanded a judicial inquiry into the Karimnagar encounter.

# Encounter cloud on PWG-govt talks

Stanley Theodore in Hyderabad

July 2. — The talks between the PWG and government appeared to be doomed with the killing of four Naxalites, including a special zonal committee member, in an encounter at Nerella village in Karimnagar district.

A police team en route to Dharmapuri Mandal was informed that the PWG's zonal committee member, Padmakka, was extorting money in the village. When police reached the village, six militants fired at them and the latter retaliated. A self-styled section commander, Sagar, and two bodyguards were also killed in the encounter which lasted for 30 minutes.

Police have seized an AK-47 rifle, an SLR, two .303 rifles, PWG literature and some food from the site.

A PWG statement today said it would walk out of the talks if the government does not announce a cease-



N Chandrababu Naidu: he will have to use all his guile to resolve the PWG crisis

fire and stop anti-Naxalite operations.

On 20 June, PWG emissary Mr Varavara Rao had said the Naxalite leaders would directly participate in the talks only if there was no loss of life. Four days later, two Naxalites were killed in an encounter in Khammam district. Condemning the encounter,

the PWG had yesterday warned that if the government did not "respond properly" to its stand on encounter killings the "we would have to re-consider our attitude". PWG state secretary Mr Ramakrishna also demanded the government to apologise for the Khammam encounter.

On the chief minister's observation that the law would not allow anyone to move around with weapons, Mr Rao said: "We are trying for an understanding for a ceasefire and not on the issue of arms. Holding arms or renouncing arms could be part of the peace process."

Asked about the impact of today's encounter on talks, the DIG in charge of Karimnagar and Warangal said: "The PWG wants every run in the field while engaging the government and the media in-talks. They can't expect us not to do our statutory duties. We only acted on information ... that Naxalites were extorting money."

2 JUL 2002

# PWG blasts govt on peace process

FROM G.S. RADHAKRISHNA

**Hyderabad, June 16:** The People's War group has accused the Andhra Pradesh government of lacking the political will to continue with the peace talks.

"They were not even keen to listen to our protestations that there was no conducive atmosphere in which the extremist leaders, who were in the jungles, could come out confidently and hold discussions with the government," the poet and PWG emissary, P. Varavara Rao, said about the reaction from government representatives.

Both government emissaries, state ministers K. Vijayrama Rao and T. Seetharam, had expressed their embarrassment over the encounter deaths of extremists at the first preliminary

discussion on June 5.

However, at the second preliminary on June 9, they defended the police action.

Rao said the first two rounds of talks with the government had accomplished little and the two sides merely ended up debating over two contentious issues — continued encounter killings by the police and the government's refusal to temporarily lift the ban on the PWG.

"We took up both the issues during these meetings as they had become topical and committed by the police even as we were to hold the preliminaries for talks. What we really wanted to discuss was the modalities for the talks, which took a back seat. This was not intentional but accidental," Rao said.

The poet said the ban on the

PWG had helped the police to ruthlessly crush any kind of public discontent against the government in Telengana, be it public grievance for more water, or jobs, or student's agitation or protests by women and peasants. All agitations are suppressed cruelly by the government and their leaders are charged under the Public Securities Act under which the police have been given extraordinary powers.

He said both the PWG and the police observed a ceasefire for 24 days since May 10. But there were five to six encounters from June 5 in which several innocent persons have been killed.

"All that we wanted the government to do was implement the verdict of the Supreme Court and the NHRC to file a criminal case under IPC 302 against

the police officials involved in fake encounters, but the government emissaries said the police had protection under Article 268. There ended the talks," Rao said.

On the government stand that the PWG had exploited the ceasefire to expand its activities, Varavara Rao said the ceasefire only meant "no use of firearms and no possession of firearms". He defended the extremists holding public meetings in the villages with armed guards.

"Will the government guarantee that the police will not fire on the extremists holding peaceful meetings in the villages?" he asked.

The PWG emissary said the Naidu government had toughened its stand ever since its relations with the NDA improved and particularly after Naidu's

recent visit to Delhi. Naidu was keen to square up with the PWG after the last panchayat polls in which the Telugu Desam Party fared poorly because of opposition from the extremists.

Moreover, the BJP did not appreciate Naidu resolving his problems with the PWG as it would hurt the former's votebanks in Telengana. The BJP votebank in Telengana comprised four Lok Sabha and nine Assembly constituencies.

Rao wondered how the government expected the PWG leaders to come for talks when a ban existed on their organisation and there were cash rewards on their heads.

"The safe passage for the Naxalite leaders proposed by the government is impractical and not legally possible," Rao said.

# Govt killing while talking: Naxalites

FROM G.S. RADHAKRISHNA

**Hyderabad, June 9.** Peace talks between the Andhra Pradesh government and the People's War Group were adjourned till June 20 today amid allegations of continued police operations against the rebels and the state's refusal to lift the ban on the Naxalite outfit.

"We will finalise the agenda for talks and other modalities — venue, time and date — in the

next meet," said the government representative, commercial tax minister K. Vijayarama Rao.

Describing the second round of talks as a "good beginning", Vijayarama Rao said: "We have better understanding among ourselves on the burning issues and where we stand. We hope to find a durable solution."

The PWG emissaries, revolutionary poet P. Varavara Rao and folk singer Gaddar, however, said the atmosphere for dialogue had

been vitiated by the state's strategy of encouraging police action even while holding the talks.

"We doubt whether the government is sincerely interested in controlling certain police officials from killing people in the name of encounters," Varavara Rao said. Today's meeting was not fruitful because the government was adamant on its stand on the ban on PWG, he added.

During the talks, Varavara Rao lodged his protest with the

government representative on reports from Warangal of the surrender of 12 Naxalites and the killing of three extremists in separate encounters in Anantapur and Vijayawada districts.

The PWG emissaries raised slogans against the police and the government and staged a protest within the secretariat before the start of the second round of talks. They displayed placards that read "police killings are killing the talks" and "no talks if

false encounters continued".

The highlight of the protest was the song-and-dance routine by Gaddar. This was perhaps the first time in the history of the extremist movement that PWG activists could stage a protest within the secretariat complex.

The PWG has declined to lay down arms as a condition to the dialogue. "The armed struggle policy of the PWG ideology is not negotiable," its emissaries said.

# Andhra Govt-PWG talks soon

Ashok Das  
Hyderabad, June 3

AFTER MORE than three decades of murder and mayhem, the Naxalites appear to be ready for talks with the State Government though they are quibbling over modalities.

Past efforts for talks never took off, with the People's War Group, the principal Naxalite group, never responding.

This time around, both the Government and the PWG seem to have their own compulsions in holding talks. The Government realises that no development is possible as long as Naxalites continue violence.

The PWG, if some senior police officers are to be believed, has suffered serious setbacks and needs a breather to rebuild cadres.

The talks have been welcomed by all sections of society though top echelons of the police have reservations: officers stand the risk of losing perks, privileges and unbridled power that went with anti-Naxalite operations. Their argument: the Naxalites are not sincere and will hit back with vengeance.

But Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu is going ahead. On its part, the PWG has named revolutionary writer Varavara Rao and folksinger Gaddar as its

emissaries. Rao and Gaddar said they would set the agenda for the next round of talks in which Naxalite leaders will participate. They said the Naxalites wanted talks with political representatives and not bureaucrats.

Naidu has not said who will take part in the talks but has rejected a suggestion by the mediators that the dialogue should be open to public. The Government is expected to name its team in a day or two after consultation with other parties. The PWG has set no preconditions but wants the Government to create a conducive atmosphere for talks.

0 4 JUN 2002

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Five Dalits killed in Bihar

Patna, May 8

BARELY 48 hours after the killing of six Rajasthani Dalits in Bhojpur district, five Dalits were mowed down by the outlawed People's War Group (PWG) ultras in Patna district of Bihar, additional director-general of police Ashish Ranjan Sinha said today.

Heavily armed PWG men led by the Jaynandan Yadav faction swooped on Bhadaura village late last night and sprayed a hail of bullets killing five Dalits on the spot, Sinha said. Old enmity was described to be the reason behind the killing.

Following the killing, an additional company of Bihar military police was despatched to Masaurhi police station area to tackle the situation. Senior police officials were camping at the spot and a combing operation was launched to nab the killers.

PWG leader Jaynandan Yadav along with his six associates were killed in an encounter with the police in extremist-hit Jehanabad district last year. Despite Jaynandan's death, his gang still operates in Patna and Jehanabad districts.

Meanwhile, seven activists of the outlawed Ranvir Sena, a militia of landlords, have been taken into custody in connection with the killing of the Rajasthani Dalits. Police superintendent Ashok Verma said that the Sena men, including its self-styled area commander, Awadh Bihari Pande, were arrested during raids conducted at different places in the district on Monday and Tuesday.

He said 18 persons were named accused in the gruesome killing and special task force personnel were engaged in apprehending the killers.

Verma said steps had been taken to provide adequate security to rest of the Rajasthani labourers working for expansion



AP PHOTO

Relatives of the Dalits killed in Masaurhi village, 50 km south of Patna, grieve on Wednesday.

## MCC ends blockade with twin blasts

THE THREE-DAY economic blockade in Jharkhand called by the MCC ended on Wednesday with the ultras blasting rail tracks at two places. Another constable died of his injuries, pushing up the toll in yesterday's landmine blast at Koderma.

The Naxalites, protesting against Pota, damaged railway tracks near Karaunda village between Mohammedganj and Kushiara railway stations in Palamau, a rebel stronghold.

"But the tracks were repaired soon after and are fit for rail movement," I-G (Railways) Niyaz Ahmed said. The ultras also blasted tracks between Barwadih and Chhipadohar stations on Garhwa Road-Barkakakana section in Dhanbad division. Train movement was disrupted in Garhwa, Palamu and Latehar districts, Ahmed said.

PTI, Ranchi

and modernisation of the Sone canal in the district.

Opposition parties, including BJP, JD-U and Lok Janshakti party, have taken serious exception to the killing of Dalits and demanded immediate resigna-

tion of the Rabri Devi ministry.

"The state administration has virtually collapsed and criminals are ruling the roost...If a government cannot protect the lives and property of the people, it has no moral right to continue

in office", BJP state spokesman Kiran Ghai said.

## Dalit killed in Kanpur

A 50-year old Dalit, a defence employee, was killed in a clash involving two groups of the community in Panki police circle area near Kanpur on late on Tuesday night.

The incident took place when a group of Dalits allegedly got infuriated for not being invited by their community members of Sarai Meeta village for an annual function celebrated in memory of Dr B R Ambedkar, on Tuesday. The two groups engaged in heated arguments before one of the members opened fire hitting Gaya Prasad, a defence employee, who died before being shifted to hospital.

PTI



# Surrender in Andhra

Rural uplift better than symbolic gestures

Trying desperately to get out of his party's ambivalence on the Gujarat issue, Chandrababu Naidu had reason to be delighted with a moderate success; surrender of 46 Naxalites of the Janashakti group leader led by Ranadheer who masterminded the kidnapping of a relative of a Union minister last October. With this at least one group of extremists known to be responsible for the killing of scores of civilians and destruction of property worth crores in the last ten years has been immobilised in some of the worst affected districts. But the satisfaction needs to be tempered with the thought that Naxalites, now most active in Andhra and Bihar, are divided into factions. In Andhra the biggest faction is the People's War Group with whom talks have not even begun. The chief minister has expressed a desire to respond to the PWG but there is no let-up in the attacks on political activists and police stations. Still worse is the climate of terror to which the administration does not seem to have an effective answer.

It is no secret that the extremist menace is rooted in rural distress. Years of apathy and neglect by successive governments have taken a heavy toll, so much so that the local population seem to derive a sense of protection and confidence from the presence of Naxalite groups who run a parallel administration. Naidu's task is unenviable: he must recover lost ground and inspire the same degree of confidence in the rural sector as he has in the technology-driven urban sector. The recent hike in power tariffs has come as a blow to farmers and encouraged Sonia Gandhi to target the agricultural community during her recent rally at Anantapur, Naidu's home ground, making full use of the despair that drove many farmers and handloom weavers to commit suicide in the last two years. Congress hopes of a comeback may yet be premature but Naidu has been delivered a clear warning that he must perform. Gestures like laying down arms are welcome but not enough. The roots of despair need to be tackled energetically.

THE STATESMAN

9 MAR 2002

# Naxals run riot during Jharkhand-Bihar bandh

MANOJ PRASAD  
RANCHI, FEBRUARY 20

**N**AXALITES protesting against POTO unleashed widespread violence in Bihar and Jharkhand today, killing at least four people in two attacks and seriously disrupting road and rail traffic during a 24-bandh called by the outlawed MCC and the PWG.

An armed Naxal squad of 200 sprayed bullets on vehicles near the Kobri bridge along the Ranchi-Patna highway in Hazaribagh district, killing four people, including two truck drivers and a khalasi, and injuring six others. In another incident, one person was shot dead at Sisai in Gumla district.

A rail track was bombed and its sleeper removed last night at Parasnath station in Giridih, leading to derailment of 12 bogies of Hatia-Patna Express. Naxalites set afire an empty Tata 407 on the Petarwar-

## Marandi puts up brave face

**RANCHI:** Jharkhand CM Babulal Marandi claimed the bandh had had no effect and accused the MCC of resorting to violence out of "frustration".

"There is no effect. Whatever the impact was just routine. MCC activists were being 'uprooted' from their bases, he claimed, adding there was no place for them to hide.

—PTI

Gola highway in Bokaro district. They kidnapped the station manager of Mahadeosal railway station in West Singhbhum district. He was subsequently released.

The station master of Hendegiri near Patratu in Hazaribagh was baldy assaulted. An engine and a

bogie of Barkakana-Mughalsarai train were burnt at the station under Dhanbad division. The bandh, called to protest against POTO being invoked by the state against Naxals, is the third in past one year.

On the November 26 bandh, called to protest against the conviction of MCC activists in the Bara massacre, three truck drivers and a khalasi were shot dead in Gumla. Life in MCC heartland, Palamau, Chatra and Garhwa, remained unaffected. Earlier reports had said armed squads of 1,500 had moved in from Bihar, West Bengal and MP to enforce the bandh.

They had taken out torch-light processions and fired in Bishrampur and Parasnath on bandh eve. In Ranchi and its adjoining towns of Jamshedpur, Bokaro and Dhanbad the life was near normal. A Coal India spokesperson said production and loading in ECL, CCL and BCCL collieries were unaffected though transportation was hit.

INDIAN EXPRESS

21 FEB 2002

## CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

# Left unity on CPM agenda

HT Correspondent  
Kolkata, January 4

THE THREE-DAY central committee meeting of the CPI(M) started today at Muzaffar Ahmed Bhavan, the party headquarters, in Alimuddin Street.

Special emphasis is being given to poll prospects in Uttar Pradesh. The committee will discuss threadbare the role of the People's Front in uniting the democratic, secular and progressive forces in the country to end the rule of the NDA.

Politburo member Sitaram Yechury said: "We are going to decide on the future course of action by the CPI(M) in the country's political scenario and also discuss how to strengthen Left unity. We are also analysing how to strengthen the People's Front, which is neither with the BJP, or with any other force, but is essentially pro-people," he said.

Refusing to accept that the party was obstructing Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee from performing freely, Yechury said: "That's ridiculous, why should the party interfere in the activities of the Chief Minister. Moreover, Buddha is also a politburo member of the party so how can his policies be different from that of the CPI(M)?"

Jyoti Basu, Bhattacharjee, Prakash Karat, Anil Biswas, Biman Bose and other central committee members including Nirupam Sen and Somnath Chatterjee were present at the meeting, which was chaired by Jyoti Basu.

The committee is deliberating on the present political situation and the political ramifications of the NDA Government's policies for the country.

The Central Committee would not only take a strong stand against the "anti-people and communal" Union Government, it would also take a hard look at the Assembly polls in five States next month.



SUBHANKAR CHAKRABORTY/HINDUSTAN TIMES

Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee and CPI(M) politburo member Sitaram Yechury at the party's central committee meeting on Friday.

Sticking to the earlier stand that the CPI(M) did not make a mistake by not joining the Government at the Centre in 1996, Yechury said the party still held on to the view that it would only consider to be a part of the Union Government when it can implement its policies, and not just remain a silent spectator of a

coalition.

It was thus wrong to say that it was a "Himalayan blunder", as Basu then said, Yechury added.

On Sunday, after the deliberations, the central committee will finalise the draft of the CPI(M)'s 17th party congress and the political resolution of the congress to be held in March in Hyderabad.

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THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 5 JAN 2002

# Revolution resurgent

By Ajay K. Mehra

10-10  
17/1

**C**OINCIDING WITH the Maoist insurgency in Nepal and a fierce debate over the Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (POTO), the recent resurgence of naxal 'revolutionary' violence in six States has thrown up several questions. Even though a plan by the naxalite groups to create a 'red' corridor from Andhra Pradesh to Nepal running through Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Bihar was revealed in early 2000 for the flow of arms and coordinated efforts, there is no evidence of any linkage between the naxal resurgence and the current events in Nepal. The fractious naxalite groups had coordinated their retaliation in early 2000 in three States against the 'encounter' deaths of three of their comrades at the hands of the Andhra Pradesh police in December 1999. However, their coordination in the current incidents is not yet established.

Predictably, in the first assertion of the utility of the controversial anti-terror law, the Centre has banned the Maoist outfits under POTO. It is a different matter that earlier bans by some State Governments under TADA did not deter the naxalites. Bihar had outlawed these organisations in 1986, while Andhra Pradesh banned them twice — from 1992 to 1995 and again in 1996. The ban orders led to three problems. First, the police action became more belligerent, if not brutal. Second, since the bans were nomenclature-specific, the organisations changed their names and continued operations. Finally, the fractious nature of the movement — there are over two dozen variations of the CPI(ML) under whose cover the PWG could operate — made identifying the banned groups and their cadres difficult.

Obviously, the overstretched police forces welcome the ban order. It helps them put some identified activists behind bars without bail and legally protect themselves in cases of "encounter" deaths. However, far from solving the problem, this might create complications. As in the case of Runu Guha Niyogi, who headed the anti-naxalite cell in the West Bengal during the 1970s and was sentenced to an year's imprison-

ment in 1996 after his retirement. He was charged with torturing Archana Guha — a former schoolteacher, suspected of harbouring naxalites in 1974; she was paralysed as a consequence.

It is ironic that what began as a communist-led, marxism-oriented peasant movement in Telengana in 1944 should now be perceived as a law and order problem. The Telengana movement was the outcome of a strained social fabric

Srikakulam provided active support for the naxalbari movement. However, the movement subsequently went through several splits due to differences on ideology, strategy and logistics, till the PWG founder, K. Seetharamaiah, resuscitated it by stressing on mass organisation of peasants and tribals. The movement has survived violent state repression from time to time and persisting internal contradictions. Presently there are 18 naxa-

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*Without economic development, strong-arm tactics will not succeed against the naxalites even with the strongest possible anti-terror law.*

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and an iniquitous political economy, in which the awesome *doras* (landlords) extracted free labour from Harijan men and humiliated their women. The CPI galvanised ferment among peasants, revolutionising it in 1946. They redistributed several acres of land seized by the peasantry from fleeing landlords. Before the CPI gave up the movement in 1951 under Soviet pressure, it had successfully organised a militia of 10,000 village squad members and 2,000 guerilla squads. The 'Spring Thunder' (peasant revolt) in Naxalbari, West Bengal, in March 1967, that gave the Maoist movement in India a name and identification in perpetuity, was indeed significant for the unprecedented peasant mobilisation. It also highlighted the intense ideological contradictions within the communist movement.

A salutary effect was that the administration was compelled to take up land reforms which could be tackled "completely and quickly" and thereby restore confidence among the panic-stricken people in the affected areas. Despite inherent bureaucratic anomalies in the process of land reforms and ideological and strategic contradictions, the naxalbari movement had a salutary effect for the West Bengal peasants, before it was tamed.

The communists had organised hill tribals in the late 1950s and early 1960s in Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh. Naturally,

lite groups, 54 dalams (forest squads), 1,100 full time underground cadres, well trained in guerilla warfare, and over 5,000 other militants in Andhra Pradesh. The precise strength of the naxalite groups, in other States is not known.

The naxalite movement in the country has tended to slide downhill ideologically and in revolutionary fervour after reaching a plateau. It has over the years become party-based, conspiratorial and violent, relying on terror struck by its guerilla squads, rather than on peasant mobilisation. However, the survival of 'revolutionary' Marxist-Maoist politics over half a century since Independence means the Indian state has left a space for this brand of politics.

In fact, the "revolutionaries" have won goodwill wherever they have maintained a pro-people image. In Palamau district of Jharkhand (previously Bihar), for example, they run schools and health services and reportedly even landlords do not have complaints against them for, the State administration has ceased to be effective in the district.

Unfortunately, the Indian state has failed to make use of this opening to tame the naxalite movement. The Centre has not taken any step over the years either to effect land reforms, which so successively neutralised the movement in West Bengal, or to expedite development in the areas where underdevelopment feeds the movement. The Governments

in the affected States have proved completely incapable of either attending to the root causes or taking advantage of the popular ire against the naxalite terror. The apathy of the Andhra Pradesh legislators was evident on April 3, 2000, when very few, particularly from the Opposition parties, turned up for a discussion on the issue.

In Orissa, where exploited poor tribals become easy volunteers for the naxalite movement, the Government has attempted to provide them with employment, but their recruitment has mostly been in the armed police. Obviously, the potential for this short-term strategy to sustain itself is limited and the beleaguered State Government has no long-term strategy for economic upliftment of the tribals.

The Union Home Secretary, Kamal Pande, had accused the naxalites of having links with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). M. K. Narayanan, an ex-IB chief, in an article ('Naxal Movement's Cruel Spring', *The Asian Age*, February 28, 2000) claimed that the naxalites had a nexus with the Shining Path movement of Peru, with the ULFA, the LTTE as well as the ISI. If these claims are true, the naxalite movement has reached a less principled stage of its development. However, despite the claims the nation has not been presented with the evidence of such a decline in the movement.

Recently, V. R. Krishna Iyer, whom the naxalites would certainly not regard as inimical to their ideology and cause, appealed to them to stop mindless violence. While they should heed his advice and indulge in a social audit of their movement without compromising on the principles they stand for, the same is true for the Indian state as well. In fact, the Indian state should take a lead in approaching the ideologues and leaders of the movement to help it formulate and implement land reforms in the affected areas. It should realise that without economic development, strong-arm tactics will not succeed against the naxalites even with the strongest possible anti-terror law.

THE HINDU

12 JAN 2002

## CPI(M) criticises PM's musings

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 4. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) has observed that the Prime Minister, Atal Behari Vajpayee's "musings" did not contain any roadmap on how he would achieve the "lofty and laudable objectives" in it.

It also said that by concentrating solely on cross-border terrorism, the Prime Minister had attempted to divert the country's attention away from "pressing life and death issues confronting the majority of our people," an editorial in the latest issue of the party organ, *'People's Democracy'*, said.

The scourge of terrorism needed to be urgently eliminated, but deaths due to starvation or distress suicides were as important to prevent as were those due to terrorist attacks.

The party said that before the September 11 attacks on the U.S., the Government had expressed "concern" about the plight of the people and the "health of the

economy". "Special expert committees were set up, promises made to inject at least Rs. 75,000 crores as public investment to bolster domestic demand and generate employment; the scandalously-large foodgrains stock was to be distributed to the poor to prevent starvation deaths; and the peasantry assured protection from cheap imports through higher import tariffs. Not only is there not a single reference to these issues in these musings, there is absolute silence on the fact that to appease foreign capital, Mr. Vajpayee actually reduced import duty on palm oil during his official visit to Malaysia," the editorial said.

Criticising Mr. Vajpayee's thoughts that he dreamt of India becoming a 'prosperous global power', the CPI(M) noted that the Government had no idea of how to go about the task. "Such sanctimonious rhetoric is meant only for public consumption, not to direct governmental policy, especially as governmental policies,

on the contrary have been quite the opposite."

In his musings last year, Mr. Vajpayee had assured the country of resolving the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan, and the Ayodhya temple conflict which were not referred to at all this time. It also charged the Prime Minister seeking to use the Ayodhya passions to bolster the electoral prospects of the BJP and that in pursuance of this "it does not matter if unity of the country is jeopardised; it does not matter if crores of minorities feel more insecure."

Maintaining that the Indian people, had risen as one against terrorism and would continue to do so, it warned that "they shall also rise as one man against your cynical exploitation and misuse of their sentiments — religious or patriotic — for your partisan political interests. India, of course, has the potential to emerge as a "strong and prosperous global power, but this requires a political leadership vastly different, and much better."

5 JAN 2002