

**OPERATION “GREEN HUNT” IN INDIA  
SOCIAL PRACTICES OF THE GENOCIDAL COUNTER-  
INSURGENCY STRATEGY “HEARTS AND MINDS”**

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*To Xosé Portela, in memoriam.*



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# **Introduction**

*“In war, they will kill some of us; we shall destroy all of them”.*<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Jefferson

Like a snail walking through a razor blade, where one cuts oneself slowly, I intend to start this research work. In it, the thin red line of blood is mixed with words such as “genocide,” “counterinsurgency,” “development,” or “legitimacy,” making “scientific neutrality” into the blade. The blade tears the flesh gradually, due to the difficulty of how to treat murder, rape, torture or mass humiliation, as neutral work, put down on paper and possibly discussed by social scientists. At the same time the small river of blood still runs where human lives are mixed with the earth, turning them into the red soil upon which the inhabitants of Central India tread and that marks the path of this research work.

This analysis aims to explore the hypothesis that the counterinsurgency strategy called “Hearts and Minds” applied in places like Malaysia, Kenya, Indonesia, Vietnam or Afghanistan, and which in India is defined as Operation “Green Hunt,”<sup>2</sup> shares social practices that are similar to those practiced in genocides, both recognized and not. And that in the case of several states of India, under the pretext of the war against the Maoist guerrillas—also known as “Naxalites”<sup>3</sup>—they are taking place against

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<sup>1</sup> This phrase is similar to that expressed by Mr. Kurtz in Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*: “Exterminate all the Brutes!”. But this phrase was said by Democratic US President, Thomas Jefferson, as noted by Michael Mann in *The Dark Side of Democracy*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mathew Sinu Simon in a May 2016 article for the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses: “In 2006, the Government of India declared a ‘four pronged strategy’ to deal with the menace of Left Wing Extremism (LWE). This strategy has, in fact, evolved over a period of time. Its four prongs include: security related interventions, development related interventions, ensuring the rights and entitlements of forest dwellers, and better public perception management. Winning hearts and minds through the Civic Action Programme (CAP) and the Media/Perception Management Plan is an important element in combating LWE propaganda.” Available at: [http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/perception-left-wing-extremism\\_mssimon\\_300516](http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/perception-left-wing-extremism_mssimon_300516).

<sup>3</sup> The term Naxalite comes from the name of a small West Bengal village, Naxalbari, where in May 1967 a faction of the Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) decided to take the path of armed struggle against local landowners. Charu Mazumdar, an ideologist of the movement in its early days, was inspired by the doctrine of Mao Zedong and the strategy of the People’s War. Since this peasant uprising, different Maoist armed groups have continued this strategy for years. Currently the organized political referent of the popular uprising is the Communist Party of India (Maoist), founded in 2004 as a result of the union of several Maoist organizations.

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these militants, the *Adivasi*<sup>4</sup> communities, *Dalits* and social activists for denouncing such actions.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (Congress Party) declared in April 2006, “Naxalism is the greatest challenge to internal security ever faced by our country.”<sup>5</sup>

Entering the “forest” of practices, concepts, stories, and facts requires situating the methodology and theoretical framework we can use, so as not to fall into the belief that we are inside that “forest”, but are actually in a well-defined “garden”<sup>6</sup>, where we can only see only what we are allowed. The difficulties are various, from the lack of information by the authorities to a hegemonic<sup>7</sup> and androcentric discourse in the social sciences that tries to prevent an analysis from other critical perspectives with this discourse, and that renders women invisible when they are the basis of life, and as such, are the main targets of genocide. That is why this work has the face of a woman, but not a woman “victim” of violence; a woman “fighter” who, despite the atrocities suffered, fights tirelessly against the capitalist patriarchal system. Thus, the “forest” is where the counterinsurgency operation is carried out, and I understand this study as a space where contradictory practices of power and social relations are built:

The study of these contradictions is crucial to dismantle the appearance of places as well bounded entities, for it reveals, first, the fractures and struggles that make them ongoing, unstable, and unfinished historical processes and, second, the relations that integrate them with other geographies. (Gordillo, 2004)

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<sup>4</sup> *Adivasis* are indigenous people of India.

<sup>5</sup> Speech of the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Manmohan Singh on the occasion of the second encounter of the Standing Committee of Prime Ministers on Naxalism, on April 13, 2006, in India. Press release available at: [http://pib.nic.in/release/rel\\_print\\_page.asp?reliid=17128](http://pib.nic.in/release/rel_print_page.asp?reliid=17128).

<sup>6</sup> Bauman (2016) claimed that modern culture was a garden culture, where ideal life and perfect management of human conditions are defined and that modern genocides, as well as modern culture, were the work of a gardener designing what kind of perfect society exists and which are the “weeds” to be removed.

<sup>7</sup> Normally the hegemonic discourse tries to “demonize” the two parties to the conflict; the perspective that the guerrillas are fanatics and because of their fanaticism, the State was forced to take “measures” that got out of hand. This makes it impossible to carry out an analysis of why some took up arms and why the State used all the wildest tools to stay in power (Feierstein, 2007).

We shouldn't forget what this “forest” means for the counterinsurgency, which would define it as a “battlefield”:

The inhabitant in his home is the center of the conflict [...] he is the stablest element. Like it or not, the two camps are compelled to make him participate in the combat; in a certain sense, he has become a combatant also. (Trinquier, 1964)<sup>8</sup>

That is why we must find the paths and places where the answers to our questions are shown to us. Is it possible to define a counterinsurgency strategy as genocide, considering that the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide does not recognize genocide for political reasons? What if the insurgency is composed of mostly indigenous peoples, with an “ethnic” character recognized in Genocide Convention? But what importance can such a Declaration have in an unequal war, where the Declaration itself is written by those who developed most of the counterinsurgency strategies?

The term “genocide” was created by Raphael Lemkin in 1944, who was impacted by the case of the Armenian genocide and the coming to power of the Nazis and their genocidal practices. In 1948 the United Nations established genocide as a legal term, but so many conditions were imposed that it does not apply to hardly any situation.

In fact, except for Rwanda and the Balkan War, this term has not been used legally in any other case, perhaps because otherwise most of the “democratic” Bourgeois States could be accused of genocidal practices, especially the imperialists states. These states are not accused because of the exclusion of the main motive of any genocide: the political one.

The hypocrisy of imperialist states, such as the United States of America,<sup>9</sup> is an example of how on the one hand, they were and are empowered to act with economic and military interventions in conflicts under the guise of defending human rights and preventing possible genocides. On

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<sup>8</sup> This text is taken from the work of Javier Giraldo Moreno S.J. (2004), *Genocide in Colombia: typicality and strategy*. Available in: <http://www.javiergiraldo.org/spip.php?article90>. Corroborated with the book “Modern War” by Trinquier.

<sup>9</sup> In November 2015, a study published in Global Research came out, where it spoke of between 20 and 30 million people who were killed by the United States of America in 37 countries. <http://www.globalresearch.ca/us-has-killed-more-than-20-million-people-in-37-victim-nations-since-world-war-ii/5492051>.

the other hand, they have carried out the majority of genocides. Bauman (2016) saw genocide as a latent possibility of modernity in “civilized” society, and imperialist states carried it out in all parts of the planet in the name of “civilized progress.” That modernity where capitalism developed, as Terence Turner (2011) recalls, was built by a process led by the Bourgeoisie that violently overthrew the feudal class of landed aristocrats, as well as the monarchical State, and which took on the following characteristics:

The modern state, with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly on the legitimate use of force, a uniform fiscal regime and a well-developed bureaucracy founded on a uniform administrative and legal code; the nation, with a nationalist ideology that identifies the nation with the State, and political forms such as citizenship and electoral democracy based on the principle of popular sovereignty. (Turner, 2011)

That new Bourgeois State, which promulgated the universality of rights with the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), established the inequality of “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity” that continues to this day. As Hunt pointed out about this Declaration: “We are not surprised that they considered children, the insane, the imprisoned, or foreigners to be incapable or unworthy of full participation in the political process, for so do we. But they also excluded those without property, slaves, free blacks, in some cases religious minorities, and always and everywhere, women”<sup>10</sup>. It is good to remember that Robespierre justified the terrorist method as a way for the population to adopt democratic behaviors. The term “terrorism” has its original meaning in actions committed by the Government. Years later, in 1871, the Bourgeois State applied terror against the Paris Commune participants, where between 20,000 and 30,000 people were murdered in the first days of the repression, leading to what was possibly the first genocide due to ideological causes of modernity.

But let’s keep moving on our way. Let us remember that genocide is an international legal term, which allows the seeking of reparations or the cessation of said acts in favor of the people who suffer it—but it also has

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<sup>10</sup>Text cited by Paz Moreno Feliú in *Encrucijadas Antropológicas*.

a symbolic value.

Consider the case of the Armenian genocide that Turkey “refuses to recognize,”<sup>11</sup> but that in 2015 the French Government did recognize. A diplomatic conflict with Turkey resulted, simply because France recognized the existence of genocide in Armenia in 1915. The definition of genocide has legal as well as symbolic value.

For this reason, many social and political movements use certain new words that end endemically, not because it is a legal question, but because it is a symbolic question. The symbolism has much more social impact and is reminiscent of the images of the concentration camps and the atrocities carried out by the Nazis that are in our “collective conscience.”

But this is also the very image that governments want us to have, and that we only think from our ethnocentric position,<sup>12</sup> forgetting the more than 40,000 Algerians murdered<sup>13</sup> by the French Government on the day of the celebration of liberation against the Nazis in 1945, the more than 500,000 communists murdered in Indonesia,<sup>14</sup> or what happened to hundreds of different populations of indigenous peoples who were eliminated or who are in danger of extinction around the world and which, aside from specific campaigns in their support, the majority of the western population

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<sup>11</sup> The ICC on Indonesia quotes Robert Cribb on the fact that denial of intention, in particular the lack of a concrete outlined plan, has been used in what he calls “hyper-skepticism”, as a means of suppressing the attribution of the genocide label to situations such as Armenia and Indonesia. Cribb argues that the qualification of acts must be analyzed through contextualization. In the case of Armenia, the context of a civil war has been used to deny the classification of genocide to the acts. Similarly, in Indonesia the context was crafted from a “malicious fantasy” that argued that the PKI had embarked on planned massacres and the seizure of state power. Available at: <http://www.tribunal1965.org/final-report-of-the-ipt-1965/>.

<sup>12</sup> “Germany put into practice the ‘final solution’ for its Jewish problem as if it were a practical exercise in instrumental reasoning. Humanity shuddered briefly when it could no longer look away from what had happened, when photographs of the murderers themselves began to circulate, and when the shocking survivors began to come to light. But in the end, nothing changed. The same logic, the same cold and inexorable application of calculating reason, killed at least as many as the Reich technicians of the thousand years during the next twenty years. We haven’t learned anything. Civilization is as threatened as then.” Joseph Weizenbaum cited by Bauman in *Modernity and the Holocaust*.

<sup>13</sup> Martí Font, Jose Maria, *Algeria asks France to recognize a massacre of 1945*, El País, May 9, 2005. [http://elpais.com/diario/2005/05/09/internacional/1115589611\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/2005/05/09/internacional/1115589611_850215.html).

<sup>14</sup> “The massacre of 500,000 people that took half a century to be declared a crime against humanity”. <http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-internacional-36845663>.

is unaware. That is why many of these resistance movements seek the declaration of genocide so that the mass media can focus on them and thus try to stop the atrocities suffered by the repressive apparatuses of the States and multinational companies. In genocide studies carried out so far, we find certain social practices, which are very similar in all cases; these would be: the planning by the State of the extermination of a particular human group and the use by said State of a dehumanizing language to raise the awareness and social legitimacy among the population for the State to exterminate this group.

Simultaneously, the State proceeds to the selective physical extermination of social and political leaders who could create another type of political discourse against the State’s measures. It also begins the group’s internment in concentration camps where they regulate all aspects of their life, such as birth, food, or health.

Finally, the physical extermination of the human group occurs. In this case, as representatives of the group’s continuity of life, women and children are the first to suffer all kinds of atrocities, from sterilization and medical experimentation, to rape, ending in physical extermination.

Likewise, there is an economic interest in any genocide, be it for the defense of the status of Bourgeois State to maintain its exploitative relations with the working classes or to seize land, natural resources, or properties. The act of genocide itself produces a specific economy for the State and new social relations.

Bourgeois States, in cooperation with multinational companies, benefit from the “legitimacy” of the State as the possessor of the monopoly of violence to repress, expel from their lands, assassinate, rape, and commit hundreds of other atrocities in the name of “development”<sup>15</sup> and “progress” against human populations that do not want, or are not willing, to leave their land, or to live in the way that the State and capitalism want. The development of the social instruments of domination and the state apparatus of coercion produce resistance by the oppressed classes (Izaguirre, 2009), which generates forms of non-violent resistance and denun-

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<sup>15</sup> Arturo Escobar describes “development” as an imposed concept that “arises from the particular experience of European modernity and subordinates other cultures and knowledge,” and “privileges economic growth, the exploitation of natural resources, the logic of the market and the search for material and individual satisfaction over any other goal.”

ciation—or may lead to the creation of insurgent political forces, as has happened in certain states of India with the Maoist guerrillas.

If a resistance movement initiates the armed struggle and, as such, the insurgency<sup>16</sup> itself, the State begins its counterinsurgency strategy.<sup>17</sup> Since Roman times, counterinsurgency methods were used against people who did not want to be subjugated and so on, until today. In this context, the “Hearts and Minds” strategy is a paradigm shift, since, starting from the maxim “know the enemy and know yourself” raised by Sun Tzu in *The Art of War*,<sup>18</sup> it systematizes the study of revolutionary and guerrilla practices, theories, tactics, and strategies.

One of the authors who has most influenced this strategy was Mao Zedong, whose works can be found in all the world’s military academies. Thus, while Mao Zedong affirmed that the guerrillas had to “move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea,” counterinsurgency studies and manuals countered with “drown the fish by removing the water” and win the hearts and minds of the masses.

In 1951 British Marshal Gerald Templer<sup>19</sup> led the campaign against Malaysia’s communist insurgency, called the “Malayan Emergency.” In that year, he coined the phrase that would mark the beginning of the classic counterinsurgency model, applied to this day: “the answer lies not in pouring more troops into the jungle, but in the hearts and minds of the people.” The counterinsurgency strategy “Hearts and Minds” seeks, on the one hand, the total elimination of the insurgency and, on the other, the legitimacy of government institutions by the population, in order to

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<sup>16</sup> The joint doctrine of the United States defines an insurgency as “an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict.”

<sup>17</sup> The joint doctrine of the United States defines counterinsurgency as “military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological and civic actions taken by a government to defeat the insurgency.”

<sup>18</sup> “The mentioned strategic and tactical doctrines are based on deception, the creation of false appearances that confuse and entangle the enemy; indirect approach, easy adaptability to the enemy’s situation, flexible and coordinated maneuvers (...). The successful application of such techniques requires shock corps and an extremely mobile and well-trained elite.” (Sun Tzu, 1999)

<sup>19</sup> Templer in 1968 referred to “Hearts and Minds” as “That nauseating phrase that I think I made up.” To see in: Cohen, Raphael S.: *Beyond “Hearts and Minds,”* 2014. Washington DC. Available in: [https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/710012/Cohen\\_georgetown\\_0076D\\_12716.pdf?sequence=1](https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/710012/Cohen_georgetown_0076D_12716.pdf?sequence=1).

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break ties with the insurgent forces. To accomplish this, it is necessary to force the population of the “infected” places to move to fortified camps, preventing their contact with the insurgency, leaving it isolated from the population.

Likewise, the local population is armed to create self-defense groups against the insurgency while emphasizing giving an image of efficient administration with goals as the well-being and “development” of the population, thus legitimizing the Government in its plans to “eliminate” the insurgency and exert social control.

Drawing inspiration from the experience gained during the counter-insurgency campaigns in Malaysia and Vietnam, Sir Robert Thompson summarized the basic points of the counterinsurgency strategy (González Calleja, 2002):

- 1) The Government must have a clear political aim: to establish and maintain a free, independent, and united country which is politically and economically stable and viable;
- 2) The Government must not limit itself to restoring law and order through military operations, but must have a political, social, administrative and economic vision of the situation and the measures to be taken in the military and civil order. It is about demonstrating that it governs effectively and efficiently.
- 3) The Government must respect the law, especially before the peasantry who will judge the behavior of the forces of order in comparison with that of the insurgents.
- 4) The Government must give priority, not to the crushing of the guerrillas, but to the liquidation of the political subversion that covers it. With the destruction of the political infrastructure, the aim is to “isolate the fish from the water,” avoiding the contact of the population with the clandestine organization.

This strategy was successful for the British army in Malaysia, leaving the areas where the guerrillas took refuge almost depopulated until their near extinction in 1960. From then on, the “Hearts and Minds” strategy was taken as a model for any counterinsurgency campaign.

Thus, the plan of a massive transfer of the population resides in places where the guerrillas are to fortified fields. The army controls everything

from food to the population's births in order to depopulate the territory and thus facilitate the insurgency's extermination.

This strategy, applied from the 1950s to the present day, has several fascinating practices for our research, such as the use of language as a "symbolic weapon"—e.g. the areas are "infected"—or the very name of operation: "Green Hunt" in India, alluding to the Maoist insurgency as animals that have to be "hunted". It should also be noted that the expression "hunt" is part of the counterinsurgent tactic "Hunter-Killer," used in language that appears in all genocides committed in the world. Another practice is that of turning the "people against people" or the "divide and conquer" widely used in the colonial periods of certain Western States. For the present case of analysis that would be of Great Britain and its "indirect government" in their colonies.

If we think about the time of the Nazis, weren't the Jews themselves the ones who watched and repressed their own when they wanted to rebel in the ghettos and later in the concentration camps?<sup>20</sup> The perversion and use of contradictions among the population have always been fundamental elements of control and legitimation of power. In the case we intend to investigate, the Indian Government organized the "Salwa Judum" (Purification Hunt) made up of members of specific *Adivasi* communities and a population of upper castes who see their status in danger due to the ideology of the Maoists, who seek to abolish the castes and social classes.

Bauman (2016) explains that the goal of genocide is achieved when:

- (1) the volume of violence has been large enough to undermine the will and resilience of the sufferers and to terrorize them into surrender to the superior power, and into the acceptance of the

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<sup>20</sup> Primo Levi in *If This is a Man* thus illustrated how it was manipulated in the ghettos and Nazi concentration camps: "Offer some individuals in a state of slavery a privileged position, a certain comfort and a good chance of survival, demanding in return the betrayal of natural solidarity with their companions, and surely there will be those who will accept. This will be subtracted from common law and will become intangible: for this reason, it will be all the more hated the greater power has been conferred on it. When he is entrusted with the command of a gang of wretches, with the right of life and death over them, he will be cruel and tyrannical because he will understand that if it were not enough, another, considered more suitable, would take his place. It will also happen that his capacity to hate, which was kept alive in the direction of his oppressors, will turn, irrationally, against the oppressed and he will feel satisfied when he has unloaded on his subordinates the offense received from those above."

order it imposed; and (2) the marked group has been deprived of resources necessary for the continuation of the struggle. With these two conditions fulfilled, the victims are at the mercy of their tormentors. They may be forced into protracted slavery, or offered a place in the new order on the terms set by the victors.

In 2009 the Government of India started the so-called Operation “Green Hunt” in the States of Chhattisgarh,<sup>21</sup> Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, and West Bengal with the same strategic bases of “Hearts and Minds,” in order to “eliminate” the “Naxalite” guerillas. The operation would later expand to the states of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Maharashtra.

The anthropologist Felix Padel (2006) states that in certain states of India, a “cultural genocide” is taking place due to the forced displacement of the *Adivasi* communities, as well as the extreme violence of the State to combat the guerrillas<sup>22</sup>—made up mostly of *Adivasi* and *Dalit* communities—with the intention of exploiting the mining resources found in these areas.

Padel analyzes the *Adivasi* communities’ social structure using the classic anthropology domains, such as the value system, the kinship system, political organization, education, and economy to corroborate a “cultural genocide” taking place. The sudden confiscation of the lands where their ancestors lived has caused the collapse of communities, which can no longer produce their food. The members are forced to earn a living through

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<sup>21</sup> In the case of the State of Chhattisgarh, the counterinsurgency strategy began in 2005.

<sup>22</sup> In one of the documents of the Communist Party of Peru, an organization that shares the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the Communist Party of India (Maoist), it defined the Guerrilla Army as follows: “The revolutionary army is of a new type, this is an army for the fulfillment of the political tasks that the Party establishes according to the interests of the proletariat and the people; character that is specified in three tasks: to fight, to produce so as not to be a parasite load and to mobilize the masses. It is an army that is based on the political construction based on the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the general political line as military that the Party establishes. It is an army that is based on men and not on weapons; an army arisen from the masses and always linked to them to whom it serves with all its heart, allowing it to move in its bosom like a fish in water. Without a people’s army, the people will have nothing, says Chairman Mao, at the same time that he teaches us the need for the absolute leadership of the Party over the *army and establishes its great principle: The Party commands the gun and we will never allow the opposite.*” Available at: [http://www.solrojo.org/pcp\\_doc/pcp\\_gd88.htm](http://www.solrojo.org/pcp_doc/pcp_gd88.htm).

degrading and exhausting jobs for the same projects that destroyed their homes.

In the name of development, a cultural genocide is being carried out against the *Adivasis*: a slow death of everything that made their lives meaningful. (Padel, 2006)

Following Daniel Feierstein (2007), in his thesis of understanding genocidal social practices as a process, this process began long before the physical destruction and ends much later.

As such, it does not develop overnight, but through years of practices of subjugation, humiliation and exploitation, and constructions of “other data” that had legitimised those practices. For Feierstein:

Genocidal social practices are a specific form of destruction and reorganisation of social relations, which have played a central and distinctive role at different historical moments: the possibility of annihilating enemy populations in antiquity, a requirement for the formation of a new social order under the figure of the nation state in “constituent” genocides, the possibility of appropriation of resources in colonialist genocides, retributive punishment against national liberation struggles in “post-colonial” genocides and, in the cases analysed, their appearance as a possibility to transform (through murder and terror) hegemonic social relations. In its specifically reorganising character, in which genocide goes beyond mere annihilation and does not end but begins with the deaths it produces, and which it attempts to capitalise on through the mechanisms of “symbolic realisation”.

In a classist, patriarchal and racist social structure within a semi-feudal and semi-colonial system<sup>23</sup> such as India, violence and genocide are

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<sup>23</sup> “Semi-feudalism exists because there is a feudal power coexisting and linked with the ‘national bourgeoisie’\* and imperialism. And semi-colonialism because it’s the foreign bourgeoisie that dominates the economy and politics. As the bourgeoisie spread with it media that the economy of India is growing, nothing’s being said about how this bourgeoisie is submitted to imperialism”. This is how the Maoists of the CPI (Maoist) define India. Taken from the book, *The People’s War in India*, Ediciones Templando el Acero, 2011. \*This term is incorrect and possibly a translation error, since the correct term would

part of the “normality” protected by the state and its “bourgeoisie comprador”,<sup>24</sup> in its predatory zeal and elimination of the “sick” parts of society. The social process experienced by the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* communities in the colony,<sup>25</sup> and the subsequent economic expansion of capitalism, are leading to their final extermination.

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be “great Indian bourgeoisie” as explained by Victory Martin (PhD in Geography and History).

<sup>24</sup> “Since the invasion by imperialism of China, the foreign capitalists started employing Chinese agents to carry out their economic aggression. Those agents are called the ‘compradors’, which make up the comprador bourgeoisie. They are supported by capitalists from imperialist countries so that they served their interests and are deeply related to the feudal forces of the country.” Footnote in the Spanish translation of *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, Mao Zedong (1968). Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/espanol/mao/escritos/AC26s.html>. The definition of the comprador bourgeoisie given by Mao is used by the CPI(Maoist) to describe the situation in India.

<sup>25</sup> See the famine suffered in the State of Bengal between 1943 and 1944 under the British colonial rule of Churchill, where it is estimated that between four and five million people died. It is estimated that more than 60 million people died under colonial law in India since the presence of the British in 1750. Maitra, Ramtanu (2015) *British Colonials Starved to Death 60 million-plus Indians, But, Why?* Available at: [http://www.larouchepub.com/eiw/public/2015/eirv42n27-20150703/20-25\\_4227.pdf](http://www.larouchepub.com/eiw/public/2015/eirv42n27-20150703/20-25_4227.pdf).



# **Methodology**

## Methodological Backpack

In order not to get lost in the “forest,” we have marked the path of this study as if it were a question of drawing a new hiking route, leaving signs (chapters) that can serve to enrich anthropological research on genocide, and providing keys to the research on counterinsurgency strategies as covert genocides. However, we are aware that, on a route like this, which is a short route, it is impossible to reach and investigate the depths of the “forest.”

Thus, using the comparative case method, we begin on this path. But to be able to make correct use of this method, it was necessary to carry out a historical analysis in order to have theoretical knowledge about the genocides, as well as the counterinsurgency strategy “Hearts and Minds,” since the purpose of this project is to detect the components of genocides found in this counterinsurgency strategy and, more specifically, in the case of India.

That is why we have tried in the first phase to detect the common factors found in the genocides recognized by the hegemonic discourse<sup>26</sup> and those known but not recognized for having a political character. It was necessary to read certain books, especially the texts by Zygmunt Bauman, Daniel Feierstein, Michael Mann, Enzo Traverso, and Paz Moreno, which gave us more information and helped to highlight the common practices in these genocides.

For the second phase, focused on the counterinsurgency strategy, we carried out the same scheme as above, comparing the strategy applied in various parts of the world with the genocidal components previously detected. For this, the historical study of the said strategy was necessary across multiple counterinsurgency manuals and the texts and books of specialists in the field, such as Joseph Celeski, Raphael Cohen, Andrew Birtle, or Belia Bhatia, among others.

Finally, with the previously contrasted data, the similarities with what is happening in India were sought. For this, it was necessary to have documents and reports on the events that are taking place, all this to be able to compare with the above and thus corroborate the hypothesis of this work.

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<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that no Nazi was tried in Nuremberg for genocide. In fact the only ones with the legal qualification of genocide were in Rwanda and in the Balkan War.

## Operation “Green Hunt” in India

The theoretical framework, which is usually located in a single specific section, in this study is “embedded” throughout the “tour,” given the importance of the topics covered in each of the signals (chapters).

In this work’s signals, an attempt will be made to be as aseptic and “neutral”—in spite of its difficulty. It offers certain theories and experiences historically contrasted and corroborated by reports from organizations that defend human rights.



# **Chapter 1**

## **PLANNING FOR DEATH**

*“[Glorious is the] civilization [if it has the] great problem of which is how to get rid of the heaps of corpses it made after the battle was over”!*

Karl Marx<sup>27</sup>

### 1.1. Genocide:

In carrying out any genocide, planning that allows an effective realization of the objectives set under the command of a State that exercises its legitimacy and the “monopoly of violence” is necessary.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the first thing to do is to determine which “enemy” or “otherness” is to be eliminated, be it for ethnic, religious or economic or political interests.

In the case of the Nazis, their hatred against the Jewish and Romani people and the communists was public and notorious before Hitler came to power. In fact, it is very possible that the extermination of the Jewish people was already in their minds and in those of other high Nazi officials, but it was not until they reached power, and were under the protection of the “legitimate” State, that they were able to carry out his plans.

Izaguirre (2009) reminds us that the ideological and material conditions that served as a “breeding ground” for the policies applied by the Nazis, came from the racism established throughout Europe against the Romani and Jewish people and the hatred of the communists.

The conditions of surrender after the defeat of World War I, where hunger and poverty were rampant in the majority of the German population, were another ingredient of this “broth”.

Under the “objective conditions” of hunger and poverty, and with the Russian Revolution still very recent, the Spartacists and the Bolshevik Fraction started an armed insurrection that was crushed in 1919 by the

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<sup>27</sup> Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France 1871*. Quoted by Izaguirre, 2009. Available at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1871/civil-war-france/>

<sup>28</sup> Regarding the monopoly of violence by the State, De Swaan argues that: Its canons may exclude certain categories of citizens from state protection, who may consequently be exposed to the violent resources of the state. In the process of destruction, victims can be dehumanized and stigmatized. All this implies a bureaucratization of barbarism. Barbarism is compartmentalized. This means the categorization of the victims as a “dangerous population”: they are usually physically isolated at the sites of destruction, where there is a brutalization of the forms of interaction. (De Swaan cited by Guerra Manzo, E., 2012. in *Civilization and violence in the work of Norbert Elías*. Iztapalapa Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, Issue 72, pp. 1-38).

Social Democratic government of Friedrich Ebert. This became the opportunity to create a new “communist and Jewish” enemy (many communist militants were of Jewish origin; one of them was Rosa Luxemburg). So began a “witch hunt” against this “new enemy”, where its most important leaders were assassinated. It culminated in 1923 with the construction of the first concentration camp in Germany, as Agamben<sup>29</sup> reminds us in Izaguirre (2009), to imprison and punish communist and pro-Bolshevik workers.

Then the State applies a series of previous measures so that its actions are legitimized by its population. Thus, it begins with a propaganda campaign, harassment and certain laws created against the “enemy” to achieve its “criminalization”, while promoting the exaltation of the “hegemonic culture” of the State. The Nazis, for example, extolled “race” and “Aryan” culture as an element of differentiation and legitimation against the Judeo-Bolsheviks, gypsies or homosexuals.

Hitler in a speech delivered on January 30, 1939 in the German Parliament, already made clear what his plans were:

During the time of my struggle for power it was in the first instance the Jewish race which only received my prophecies with laughter when I said that I would one day take over the leadership of the State, and with it that of the whole nation, and that I would then among many other things settle the Jewish problem. Their laughter was uproarious, but I think that for some time now they have been laughing on the other side of their face. Today I will once more be a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!<sup>30</sup>

With the necessary “social consensus” and under a context of war, on January 20, 1942 at the Wannsee Conference, the Nazis agreed to launch

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<sup>29</sup> Agamben, G. (2004) *States of Exception*. Buenos Aires: Adriana Hidalgo Editor. Quoted by Izaguirre, 2009.

<sup>30</sup> Wistrich, Robert S., *Hitler and the Holocaust*, Barcelona, Mondadori, 2002.

Operation Reihard to definitively end the “racial enemies”. The basic actions of this operation consisted of (Moreno Feliú, 2010):

- 1) Plan deportations;
- 2) Build the extermination camps;
- 3) Coordinate the deportations of Jews from the different districts to the death camps;
- 4) Killing the Jews in the fields;
- 5) Classify the victims’ assets and send them to the relevant Reich authorities.

### **1.2. Counterinsurgency:**

The State, threatened by groups who are against its policies and question its “legitimacy”, exerts all its force to “eliminate” the insurgents. At the birth of the “Hearts and Minds” strategy, the great danger was the “communists.” Thus the State extolled “capitalist economic development” and its “democratic” legitimacy against those who it considered “subversive”, “terrorists” or who opposed the “development” of the State.

The French counterinsurgency strategy of the 1950s in Algeria and Indochina, called *Guerre Revolutionnaire*, had the objective of “eliminating” the insurgency and gaining the support and loyalty of the population. According to the French, the French liberal and democratic ideology with a strong Christian base, was a system superior to any of the pre-existing political, social and religious systems.

In order to impose and promote this superior system, they resorted to a series of tactics, including (Di Marco, 2006):<sup>31</sup>

- 1) Isolating the insurgency from support;
- 2) Providing local security;
- 3) Executing effective strike operations;
- 4) Establishing French political legitimacy;
- 5) Developing robust intelligence units.

In 1961, under the Presidency J. F. Kennedy the U.S. Army intro-

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<sup>31</sup> Quoted by Rodríguez Álvarez, Glorianna, *Human Rights, Democracy and Torture*, Final Graduation Project, Masters in Human Rights, State Distance University, San Jose, Costa Rica, 2013.

duced the term “counterinsurgency forces” as “those elements of the Army specifically designated to help third world countries combat Communist subversion, primarily by providing advice and support, rather than direct action” (Birtle, 2006).

As we pointed out in the introduction, the basic points in the design of the counterinsurgency strategy “Hearts and Minds” were (González Calleja, 2002):

- 1) The Government must have as a priority political objective the restoration and maintenance of order and unity in a politically viable and stable country from an economic and political point of view.
- 2) The Government must not limit itself to restoring law and order through military operations, but must have a political, social, administrative and economic vision of the situation and the measures to be taken in the military and civil order. It is about demonstrating that it governs effectively and efficiently.
- 3) The Government must respect the law, especially before the peasantry who will judge the behavior of the forces of order in comparison with that of the insurgents.
- 4) The Government must give priority, not to the crushing of the guerrillas, but to the liquidation of the political subversion that covers it. With the destruction of the political infrastructure, the aim is to “isolate the fish from the water”, avoiding the contact of the population with the clandestine organization.

As we can see, it has many similarities with the French concept of counterinsurgency, although Thompson’s concept is more elaborate.

Raphael Cohen (2014) shows us the logic behind a successful counterinsurgency war, pointing out that with economic aid, certain political reforms and the use of the minimum possible force, the counterinsurgency would make the population feel emancipated and show them gratitude. This in turn would prevent the population from supporting the insurgency and instead help in counterinsurgency activity, thus reducing insurgent activity until its final defeat.

<b>The logic of Raphael Cohen's "Hearts and Minds" (2014)</b>			
<i>Counterinsurgency Tactic</i>	<i>Population Response</i>	<i>Population Response</i>	<i>Effect on Insurgency</i>
Financial assistance	Gratitude	Stop supporting the insurgency	Goes down
Political reforms	Emancipation	Helps counter-insurgent activity.	Defeat
The least possible force			

Following this logic, Alfredo Rangel Suarez<sup>32</sup> says that the Kissinger report on El Salvador was based on the assumption that the key objective was to politically defeat the FMLN through:

...the formation of a legitimate government, elected through free elections, supported by the people and the consolidation of a stable economy. The military part focused on destroying the guerrilla rear, trying to isolate the population from the insurgents through bombardments and destruction of crops that forced the population to abandon the areas; Civil defense patrols were also created to remove the guerrillas from important areas and to consolidate the control achieved by the government; civic-military campaigns were carried out to assist health, food and clothing problems of sectors of the population; and psychological operations directed at the supporters and the militancy of the FMLN. But the condition for achieving an effective military response was to train and equip the military forces to make them a counterinsurgent force based on small-sized battalions of hunters, in a position to act autonomously to detect, persecute and exterminate guerrilla units.

In early 1983 the Pentagon devised a counterinsurgency strategy that contained five points:

<sup>32</sup> Rangel Suarez, A.: *Our War and Other Wars, Journal of Social Studies*, Colombia, Topic: War and Peace, December 1998, pp. 117-132.

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- Search and destruction, through offensive operations to locate, surround and annihilate the guerrillas.
- Security, deploying local militias and inexperienced troops to protect towns and infrastructure.
- Pacification, with reconstruction programs, land distribution, and provision of services to the population, with the help of the Inter-American Development Agency.
- Secondary offensives, which were minor persecution operations in less populated areas.
- Political consolidation, with the holding of elections in December 1983.

As we can see, this strategy is very similar to the one developed by Thompson, and in fact it could be framed within the counterinsurgency strategy, “Hearts and Minds”.

### 1.3. Operation “Green Hunt”:

In the case of India, from colonial times to the 1967 Naxalite rebellion and so on, the different governments have persecuted all groups that opposed capitalist oppression and exploitation and expansion, especially the *Adivasis* and the *Dalits*.

In 2005 the Indian Government started a counterinsurgency campaign in Chhattisgarh, and later in 2009 it launched Operation “Green Hunt” in various states of India in order to “eliminate” the “Naxalites”. These operations are also part of the “Hearts and Minds” strategy, as we will see below.

In 2014, the State began a campaign called “Make in India”<sup>33</sup> where it praised the economic power of India, legitimizing the continuous “development” in areas of great natural wealth and, therefore, “criminalized” those who opposed such “development”, either by armed means or by peaceful means.

At the same time, the State is carrying out a campaign to extol “nationalism” and the Hindu religion, to which Prime Minister Modi belongs,<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See in : [http://spain-india.org/es/noticia/narendra\\_modi\\_presenta\\_la\\_campana\\_make\\_in\\_india](http://spain-india.org/es/noticia/narendra_modi_presenta_la_campana_make_in_india).

<sup>34</sup> In 2002 he was Prime Minister of Gujarat, where he was an accessory to the murder

attacking the other religious minorities, especially Muslims. It has been labeling anyone who demonstrates against the government or in favor of the right of self-determination of peoples like the Jammu-Kashmir, Manipur or Assam, as “anti-patriots” or “anti-nationalists” with several arrests of University of Delhi students in early 2016 and carrying out a “witch hunt” against professors and intellectuals who demonstrated in opposition.

A paradigmatic case was the case of Professor GN Saibaba,<sup>35</sup> who is in a wheelchair and is immobilized in 90% of his body and was imprisoned for more than 14 months until the trial took place. Because he criticized and was a spokesperson for the campaign against Operation “Green Hunt”, the government accused him of being a “dangerous Maoist”. On March 7, 2017, Professor GN Saibaba and five other social activists were sentenced to life imprisonment for their relationship with the Maoists.

Wikileaks<sup>36</sup> documents show the US and Indian governments’ intention to link the Maoist guerrillas and the Islamic State (ISIS), in order to legitimize the presence of American military “advisers” and “support” in the global antiterrorist fight, as well as discredit the Maoists among the Indian population.

In a report by the Division against “left wing extremism”<sup>37</sup> created to combat the Maoists, it concludes:

It is the belief of the Government of India that through a holistic approach focusing on development and security-related interventions, the LWE problem can be successfully tackled. However, it is clear that the Left Wing Extremists do not want root causes like underdevelopment to be addressed in a meaningful manner since they resort to targeting school buildings, roads, railways, bridges, health infrastructure, communication facilities, etc. in a major way. They wish to keep the population

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of nearly 2,000 Muslims. See in: Mann, Michael (2009) *The Dark Side of Democracy*, Publications Universitat de Valencia.

<sup>35</sup> Question from MEP Lidia Senra to the European Commission about the situation of Professor G. N. Saibaba. Available at: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2017-006242\\_EN.html](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2017-006242_EN.html).

<sup>36</sup> [https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/19/1956740\\_re-ct-mesa-discussion-naxalites-and-ties-to-foreign-groups.html](https://wikileaks.org/gifiles/docs/19/1956740_re-ct-mesa-discussion-naxalites-and-ties-to-foreign-groups.html).

<sup>37</sup> The Indian Government uses the names “extreme left”, “Naxalites” and “Maoists” interchangeably.

in their areas of influence marginalized to perpetuate their outdated ideology. Consequently, the process of development has been set back by decades in many parts of the country under Left Wing Extremists influence. This needs to be recognized by the civil society and the media to build pressure on the Left Wing Extremists to eschew violence, join the mainstream and recognize the fact that the socio-economic and political dynamics and aspirations of 21<sup>st</sup> Century India are far removed from the Maoist world-view. Further, an ideology based on violence and annihilation is doomed to fail in a democracy which offers legitimate forums of grievance redressal.

Also, the manual of the Indian Army defines insurgency as follows:

Insurgency is an organized armed struggle by a section of the local population against the State, usually with foreign support. The many possible causes of an insurgency include nationalistic, ethnic, linguistic, religious or cultural separatism, poor governance, economic deprivation, corruption, discrimination and oppression. Its goals may be seizure of power and replacement of the existing regime or even liberation of a defined area. Employment of military force may not be able to stamp out an insurgency but may help to contain it. In most cases, it is a combination of military force backed by appropriate political and economic measures which can adequately resolve such situations. The latter part acquires even more importance than the use of force.<sup>38</sup>

The salient features of the Government’s policy to deal with the Naxalite “problem”, as indicated by the Ministry of the Interior<sup>39</sup> carried out in May 2006, were summarized as follows:

- (1) Naxalite violence will be dealt with severely;
- (2) Address the problem simultaneously on the political, security and development fronts in a comprehensive manner;

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<sup>38</sup> *Indian Army Doctrine*, Headquarters Army Training Command, 2004.

<sup>39</sup> *Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas*, Government India, 2008.

- (3) Ensure coordination between States to deal with the problem;
- (4) Prioritize rapid socio-economic development in Naxalite-affected or Naxalite-prone areas;
- (5) Complement the efforts and resources of the affected States on the security and development front;
- (6) The promotion of local resistance groups against the Naxalites (Salwa Judum);<sup>40</sup>
- (7) Use the media to highlight the futility of Naxalite violence and the loss of life and property caused by it;
- (8) Maintain an adequate rehabilitation policy for the Naxalites who surrender; and
- (9) The affected States will not have peace talks with the Naxalites, unless the latter agrees to renounce violence and weapons.

In the journal of military studies and analysis, *Small Wars Journal*,<sup>41</sup> Bibhu Prasad Routray and Shanthie Mariet D'Souza in an article on the “extreme left” in India wrote about the strategy of the Government of India in its fight against the Maoists:

India's interior ministry, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) propagates a two-pronged approach to counter LWE—combining security force action with accelerated development of extremist affected areas. In spite of the criticism that the two-pronged approach merely masks an overtly security force centric strategy to annihilate the extremists and clear the tribal inhabited areas for exploitation by the multinational corporations and the mining companies, development of the area under the domination of the CPI-Maoist and addressing the governance deficit remains a key pillar of the overall official strategy. Several ministers and officially appointed committees have underscored the need to win the “hearts and minds” of the tribal population who constitute the primary strength and local support base of the extremists through a sustained development campaign.

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<sup>40</sup> The parentheses are mine, since 2005 is when the paramilitary group Salwa Judum or Purifying Hunt was created.

<sup>41</sup> Bibhu Prasad Routray and Shanthie Mariet D'Souza, *Left-Wing Extremism: Rethinking India's COIN Strategy*, *Small Wars Journal*. LWE 2013.

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The Integrated Action Plan (IAP), launched since 2010 to develop 82 LWE affected districts, is one of the key developmental initiatives in operation. There are additional schemes for generation of rural employment, to build road infrastructures, schools, hospitals, and efforts to activate the public distribution system (PDS) with a bid to reach subsidized food items to the impoverished population. There have also been efforts to reform the land acquisition laws for new industrial units as well as mining activities in the tribal inhabited areas. Legislations have been enacted to protect the forest rights for the tribal population and initiate land reforms in various states. Implementation of each of these measures, however, remain a key challenge, affected by bureaucratic inertia, political myopia as well as challenges posed by the extremists.

These texts clearly show that Operation “Green Hunt” is within the military strategy “Hearts and Minds” and, as such, with the same practices applied in other parts of the world.



# **Chapter 2**

## **THE LANGUAGE OF PERVERSION**

*“Talking about language is talking about power”.*

Borja Puig de la Bellacasa<sup>42</sup>

## 2.1. Genocide:

The perverse use of language with the aim of humiliating and dehumanizing the opposition using biological metaphors such as “disease” or “infection”, is one of the fundamental practices applied in all genocides and serves as a “warning” sign of the consequences derived from this practice.

Under the legitimacy that the State has to exercise power, it attributes a series of negative characteristics to its “otherness” or “enemy” with the aim of depriving them of their humanity, demonizing and animalizing them, so that they are perceived by society as radically different and thus humiliated and treated with contempt. Let us remember the chorus of the Marseillaise, we see how the impurity of the blood and the extermination already appeared in 1795 when taken as the anthem of the French Republic:

To arms, citizens!  
Form your battalions  
Let's march, let's march  
That their *impure blood*  
Should water our fields.

In this process of dehumanization, pathological imaginary and biological metaphors are necessary, which allow us to explain, as if it were a disease, the need to apply “surgery” to “eliminate” or “remove” the disease from the “affected” areas in order to save the healthy parts. Thus, by transforming his victim, the murderer reverses the meaning of the crime: from the negative, the act becomes positive, a hygienic measure or a surgical intervention. (Ternon, 1995)<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Start of the Conference on “The perversion of language in the analysis of public financial information” organized by the UNED. Available at: [http://portal.uned.es/pls/portal/docs/page/uned\\_main/launiversidad/ubicaciones/05/docente/jose\\_antonio\\_martinez\\_alvarez/la%20%20perversi%3%93n%20del%20lenguaje.pdf](http://portal.uned.es/pls/portal/docs/page/uned_main/launiversidad/ubicaciones/05/docente/jose_antonio_martinez_alvarez/la%20%20perversi%3%93n%20del%20lenguaje.pdf).

<sup>43</sup> Cited by Martin Lozada in *The political devices of genocide*, within Lanata, José Luis (2014) (comp.): *Genocidal Practices and State Violence* in a transdisciplinary perspective. IIDyPCa-CONICET-UNRN.

In the case of the Nazis, this use was paradigmatic, employed in legislation, the press or art—to any other area of life. Hitler, described as “the doctor of the German nation”, wrote in his book *Mein Kampf*:

The Jew is the worm in a decomposing body, he is an even more terrible pestilence than the black plague of old, he is the carrier of bacilli of the worst kind, the eternal schizomycete of humanity, the spider that slowly sucks the blood of the people through its pores, a group of rats that fight until they see blood, the parasite in the body of other peoples, the most complete species among parasites, a freeloader that proliferates every day like a harmful bacillus, the eternal leech, the vampire of the peoples. (Traverso, 2003)<sup>44</sup>

This text highlights the use of biological terms and metaphors as a form of humiliation and dehumanization of the “enemy”. Thus the Nazis could justify the “extermination” on the basis of protecting “pure” Germans from an “infectious disease” that was very “contagious”.

Marco Iazzetta (2013) again cites Traverso (2003) in his assertion that Nazism used racism and the biologization of political subversion to shape the characterization of the “Judeo-Bolshevik”. According to him, this “class racism” had its beginnings in the Industrial Revolution and the racialization of the working classes, which justified exploitation and social inequality.

But in order to legitimize this “racialization”, it was necessary to justify it from a scientific perspective. In this sense, the birth of new scientific disciplines where positivism, racism, scientism and conservatism were mixed, was of great support to legitimize the condition of exploitation and oppression of certain classes and peoples. Thus, under a vocabulary of concepts and expressions such as: “subject races”, “subordinate peoples”, “dependence”, “expansion”, “authority” or “inferior”, imperialism made exploitation, conquest and genocide legitimate under a scientific discourse.

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<sup>44</sup> Cited by Iazzetta, Marco, *Genealogy of biological metaphors used to represent the “subversive enemy”*. *Violence and politics during the 1976 coup in Argentina*, Venezuela: Open Space, REDALYC. Available in: <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=12229041009>, 2013.

## 2.2. Counterinsurgency:

As we already mentioned, the counterinsurgency strategy “Hearts and Minds” was born as an “antidote” against the “Communist ghost”. In this context, politicians like Churchill defined the Bolsheviks as the “enemies of the human race” or a “vampire which sucks the blood from his victims” (Iazzetta, 2013), and demonstrated in the House of Commons on July 8, 1920:

But my hatred of Bolshevism and Bolsheviks is not founded on their silly system of economics, or their absurd doctrine of an impossible equality. It arises from the bloody and devastating terrorism which they practice in every land into which they have broken, and by which alone their criminal regime can be maintained.<sup>45</sup>

In fact, Churchill employs the same construction of the “Judeo-Bolshevik” enemy as the Nazis, and plays with the perverse dichotomy of the “good Jew” who follows his beliefs and the internationalist “bad Jew”, who, from Karl Marx to Rosa Luxemburg, have abandoned the faith of their parents in the spiritual hopes of the *other* world and have conspired all *over* the world:

[...] for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality [...].<sup>46</sup>

Longtime FBI Director Edgar Hoover compared communism to a “disease that spreads like an epidemic[,] and like an epidemic a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the nation.” (Hunt, 2007).<sup>47</sup> Thus, the concern for the “communists” and the attempt by the British, American or French governments to “cure the disease” spreading throughout the

<sup>45</sup> Available in: <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1920/jul/08/army-council-and-general-dyer>. In search of a serious source for this quote, I found in the minutes of the House of Commons, a very interesting debate on India and the application of terrorist tactics by the British Government to maintain the domination of the empire.

<sup>46</sup> Available in: <http://www.winstonchurchill.org/support?catid=0&cid=725>. In this article you can see many of the quotes pronounced by Churchill against the communists.

<sup>47</sup> *op. cit.* Iazzetta, Marco (2013)

colonies and at home is not surprising.

The use of a language of dehumanization and humiliation, against communist and national liberation movements, became part of the strategy of states like France, Great Britain and the United States. Like the Nazis, they had learned from new scientific disciplines, reconstructing the concept of the “Judeo-Bolshevik”. This time named “subversive” or “insurgent”—and more recently, “terrorist”—to legitimize their interventions in third world countries, as well as the extermination of millions of communists in every part of the world and as an element of “control” and “fear” for the population of their own States.

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Frantz Fanon (2001) managed to visualize in his analysis how the colonizer used zoological language in the treatment of the colonized in order to humiliate and dehumanize them: “He speaks of the yellow man’s reptilian motions, of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of gesticulations. When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary.” It is a language that takes us to the nineteenth-century natural sciences and serves to legitimize the dehumanization and oppression of the colonized.

But we must also remember how the colonizing language was inoculated inside the post-colonized people and used by them against other post-colonized people, such as in the Rwandan genocide,<sup>48</sup> where the Hutu treated the Tutsi as “cockroaches” and called for the extermination of this “plague”.

### 2.3. Operation “Green Hunt”:

If one of the objectives of a genocide is the dehumanization of the “other”, in the present case of this study, the Indian Government’s counterinsurgency operation already has a series of advantages over others. The name by the media as “Green Hunt” is just one more manifestation of a language that has been marked with iron since British colonialism.

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<sup>48</sup> To understand the conflict in Rwanda between Tutsis and Hutus, the text by Maquet, J. *The problem of Tutsi domination* compiled by Nuria Fernandez Moreno (2009) in the manual: *Anthropology and colonialism in Africa* sub-Saharan, is highly recommended from Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces. Where it poses the Rwandan society, as a caste society, built by Belgian colonialism where the Tutsi are the superior and dominant caste.

But let's look at it in parts. The media talks about Operation "Green Hunt", but what is usually hunted? A study by the PUDR<sup>49</sup> shows that the Government's special forces are considered by the population of the conflict zones as predators, both for their tactics and for their names, such as "Cobra" or "Galgos".<sup>50</sup> This is a good example of what Fanon said about the colonizer's zoological language. But this term "manhunts" is part of the counterinsurgency tactic "Guerrilla Hunter-Killer". This tactic is one of the most used in the counterinsurgent war, and that we will later develop as another genocidal practice.

Another agent operating in the counterinsurgency war is the paramilitary group "Salwa Judum"<sup>51</sup> (Purification Hunt). Again we find the word "hunting" and also with an adjective such as "Purifying", which speaks of the pure against the impure.

As Paz Moreno (2010) explains about "permanent impurity" in her book *Anthropological Crossroads*, the caste system in India is characterized by its hierarchical nature, where the pure and the impure is at the foundation of this system, as in the case of *Dalits*; they are characterized as pollutants, preventing relationships with members of other castes.

This system shows us how the language of dehumanization is fully integrated into the culture of India. Thus, the use of a language of humiliation and dehumanization against the Maoist insurgency or the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* communities is not strange and, actually, strategic for genocide planning.

Bhikhu Parekh argues that for the stability and survival of societ-

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<sup>49</sup> "War and the Lightness of Being Adivasi: Security camps and villages in Bijapur, Chhattisgarh"; People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) Delhi, February 2015. Available at: <http://www.pudr.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/PUDR%20Bas%20total%20with%20cvr.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> "Like its namesake that was historically bred by the nobility and wealthy for gambling, our home human greyhounds have set about dedicating themselves to the task of eliminating Naxalites as if the latter were game animals. And just like the canine that was prized for its speed and ability to spot its prey, so are our greyhounds. And like the elevation of that mestizo to the courts of the kings and rulers in Europe, the sovereigns of our country also cherish the contemporary version with a place of honor in the battle against the Naxalites." *The Terrible Cost of an Inhumane Counterinsurgency* (Human Rights Forum, 2013).

<sup>51</sup> In 2011, the Supreme Court declared the Salwa Judum group illegal, although it continued to carry out its counterinsurgency "work". In fact, Human Rights groups are denouncing the atrocities that the so-called Salwa Judum II is committing.

ies based on institutional humiliation, they need to be supported by four measures that are related to each other in the following way:

First, they need to persuade both the dominant and dominated groups that the prevailing social system is right and just. Although every social system needs a legitimating ideology to secure consent, one based on humiliation needs it more than others because of the way it assaults the human sense of dignity. The ideology is most effective when it becomes the common sense of society.... This is achieved by embodying the dominant ideology in the major educational, cultural, and other institutions of society.... Secondly, humiliation is most easily accepted when it is accomplished by degradation. Those living in degrading economic, social, and other conditions do not have the opportunity to develop their capacities, and are easily perceived and presented as legitimate objects of humiliation. They generally fail to develop their self-respect and tend to take a low view of themselves, which makes it easier for them to accept their humiliation. ...[A] society based on humiliation uses all means at its disposal to keep the humiliated groups in conditions of poverty, squalor, long working hours, ill health, political isolation, and social marginalization. Thirdly, a society based on humiliation requires an informal and diffused system of coercion administered routinely by the dominant group. The clear boundary that such a society draws between the dominant and subordinated groups needs to be diligently guarded and enforced.... Finally, every society based on humiliation depends on the physical force of the state to sustain it. (Parekh, 2009)

The writer, Arundathi Roy makes the following comment on the question of the language used by the Government against the Naxalites:

The drive from Raipur to Dantewada takes about ten hours through areas known to be “Maoist-infested”. These are not careless words. ‘Infest/infestation’ implies disease/pests. Diseases must be cured. Pests must be exterminated. Maoists must be

wiped out. In these creeping, innocuous ways the language of genocide has entered our vocabulary.<sup>52</sup>

Pavan Kumar Malreddy uses the concept of “domestic othering” to analyze how Maoists are treated; the language that is used by state-sponsored propaganda refers to them as “unpatriotic”, “undemocratic”, “contaminated zone” or “diseased zone” with the intention of demonizing and penalizing them.<sup>53</sup>

The counterinsurgency policy identifies the *Dalits* and the *Adivasis* as an “internal enemy”, as they are considered as providing support to or are members of the Naxalites.

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<sup>52</sup> Roy, Arundathi *Broken Republic: Three Essays*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Malreddy, Pavan Kumar, *Domesticating the “New Terrorism”: The Case of the Maoist Insurgency in India*, 2014.

# **Chapter 3**

## **HUNTING THE HUMAN**

*“I’ve been a psychopathic killer because they trained me to kill. I wasn’t born with this mentality. It was the Marine Corps infantry who taught me to be a gangster for U.S. corporations, a criminal. They trained me to follow blindly the orders of the President of the United States and bring home what he asked, without any moral consideration. I was a psychopath because they taught us to shoot first and ask questions later, as though I were sick and not a professional soldier that I was a psychopath because we were taught to shoot first and ask questions later, how would a sick person and not a professional soldier who only has to face another soldier. If women and children had to be killed, we did it. Therefore, we were not soldiers, but mercenaries.”*

Jimmy Massey, Iraq War Veteran.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.1. Genocide:

“Manhunts” were a very common practice in all genocides. Bauman (2016) affirms that the first objective of genocide is to “behead” its leaders and centers of authority, with the aim of eliminating cohesion and the ability to maintain its identity, thus losing its defense capacity, and its destruction as an autonomous and united entity.

“The inner structure of the group will collapse, thereby dissipating it into a collection of individuals who may be then picked one by one and incorporated within the new structure administered by the victors, or forcibly re-assembled into a subjugated, segregated category, ruled and policed directly by the managers of the new order.”

The systematization of these hunts focused on specific people who play a certain social role in society that we could say began with the Armenian genocide.

On April 24, 1915, the government of the Young Turks, with detailed lists of political, religious, intellectual and artist leaders, began the arrests and subsequent assassinations. 196 writers, 168 painters, 575 musicians, composers, performers and dancers, 336 doctors, pharmacists and dentists, 176 teachers and professors, 160 lawyers, 62 architects or 64 actors, were murdered in this first phase of the genocide,<sup>55</sup> giving start to what

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<sup>54</sup> Lopez y Rivas, G., *Studying the United States Counterinsurgency: Manuals, Mindsets, and Use of Anthropology*, Mexico, 2012.

<sup>55</sup> Figures taken from: <http://genocidioarmenio.org/inicio/>.

would later be the mass murder of the Armenian population.

Also, between 1936 and 1939, under Franco’s control, the practice of selective elimination was also applied in Galicia. Thus, in the first months of the Civil War, the four civil governors, the mayors of five of the seven Galician cities and 26 of the most important towns were murdered in Galicia. The highest Galician military authorities who opposed the coup and many social leaders such as trade unionists, teachers, doctors, pharmacists, or lawyers too. In total, 3,233 people died in the selective elimination in just three years

A practice similar to what happened with the Armenians and Galicians, with target lists of people to eliminate, happened in Rwanda, where these lists were so well known that even the Hutu militias were paid to have names erased from them. The International Commission of Inquiry revealed in its March 1993 report that more than 10,000 Tutsi were arrested and 2,000 killed from the 1990 invasion led by the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Mercenaries paid by the Government perpetrated at least three major massacres of Tutsi. This commission warned at that time of a possible genocide, of which no one took notice. (Powers, 2002)

But this practice of target lists can also be found in the cases of pre-Nazi and Nazi Germany, and in Argentina, Guatemala, Malaysia, Algeria or Indonesia, to give a few examples.

### **3.2. Counterinsurgency:**

As we already mentioned in the introduction, one of the genocidal practices is the elimination of specific people, social leaders, unions, students or political activists, which in essence is the same thing that Thompson synthesized in his principles of counterinsurgency:

“The Government must give priority, not to end the guerrilla, but to the liquidation of the political subversion that covers it. With the destruction of the political infrastructure, the aim is to ‘isolate the fish from the water’, avoiding the contact of the population with the clandestine organization”.

It is in this principle of counterinsurgency that the “Guerrilla Hunter-Killer” technique is framed. One of the States that began to use it in a systematic way is Germany during World War II, with the aim of eliminating the Partisan or insurgent struggle in the occupied territories, as well

as the harassment and annihilation of certain sectors of the population. These groups, called “Einsatzgruppen”<sup>56</sup> and “Jagdkommandos”<sup>57</sup> under the command of Nazi officers, were made up mainly of ex-convicts and former hunters, as well as local people from different occupied territories, thus fueling contradictions among the occupied population using different tactics, from arrest and torture, to targeted killing or the burning of villages.

Inspired by these “Jagdkommandos”,<sup>58</sup> by the experiences of the British and French in their colonies and by their own experience in their counterinsurgency struggles in the Philippines<sup>59</sup> and Greece,<sup>60</sup> the US Army published its FM-31-20 manual of Operations against Guerrilla Forces in 1951. It prescribes the methods for the organization, training and functions of the prototypical local or “indigenous” counter-guerrilla, as they are called. Likewise, at the beginning of the 1950s the “green berets” were created as a paradigmatic group of the counterinsurgency war.

Subsequently, and following the experiences of Malaysia or Algeria, the United States Army continued to develop the methodology of the “Guerrilla Hunter-Killer” tactic, publishing its manual FM 31-21 in 1961 called Guerrilla Warfare and Special Forces Operations. It was applied by “green berets” in Vietnam, Indonesia, Laos and Cambodia, and its development and application continued as “advisers” in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay in the 70s; Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama and Granada in the

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<sup>56</sup> See in: Mann, M., *The Dark Side of Democracy*. Publications University of Valencia, 2009.

<sup>57</sup> Celeski, J.D. : *Hunter-Killer Teams: Attacking Enemy Safe Havens*. Florida, The JSOU Press Hurlburt Field, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> The Federal Intelligence Service (BND), under the command of a former Nazi general, Reinhold Gehlen, supplied, according to an investigation by Der Spiegel magazine, and quoted in the ICC for Indonesia: “weapons, radios and some 300 thousand German marks of the time for the Suharto coup”. One of his assistants, Rudolf Oebser-Röder, a former SS colonel, would become Suharto’s direct assistant and biographer. Other Suharto generals, such as the feared Sukendro, in the second half of November 1965, in the middle of the massacre, visited Germany.

<sup>59</sup> In the “anti-Huk” campaign in the Philippines, since September 1950, Colonel Lansdale combined military action, “civic action” and psychological warfare. Available in: <https://foodfirst.org/wp-content/uploads/1987/12/dr02-u.s.-sponsored-low-intensity-conflict-in-the-philippines.pdf>.

<sup>60</sup> On March 12, 1947, President Truman allocated \$400 million, weapons, and advisers to curb Communist influence in Greece. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/truman-doctrine>.

80s; and so on until the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

One of the fundamental activities of this tactic, as Professor of Military Strategy Joe Celeski tells us, is to “hunt down” specific targets of individual persons or “high-value targets” (HVT) to behead the insurgent organization, as well as to the leaders of the organizations that can give support, both political and logistical.<sup>61</sup>

Likewise, the means of counter-organization are created, which consist of actions of identification, infiltration and “neutralization” of insurgent political organizations. They include sabotage, detention or “neutralization” of political “enemies” in combination with a counter-ideological campaign. Also, “pseudo-organizations” are created that adopt the appearance of guerrillas to gain access to the areas of “enemy operations” and carry out their objectives.

The Guerrilla Hunter-Killer<sup>62</sup> needs the support of the local population to be effective, which is why local militias are created under the command of the Guerrilla Hunter-Killer in rural villages and in government organized concentration camps. This is one of the most effective methods of extending control over the local population and ensuring their support.

Likewise, a civil organization or “ghost government” is created under the command of the Guerrilla Hunter-Killer that serves as a legitimation of the Government with its own propaganda, extolling the efficiency of the government to the local population.

With this tactic, the police are also used as an element of accessibility through so-called “police actions”, providing advice and training in the fight against insurgency.

In the case of Guatemala<sup>63</sup> these types of tactics were carried out in neighborhoods of the capital with the capture and disappearance of people linked to opposition political activities and who were branded as subversive. US agency USAID reports indicated that in the public security program in Guatemala begun in 1956, the police were organized in a military structure. The police stood out in their actions through the arrest,

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<sup>61</sup> Celeski, J.D., *Hunter-Killer Teams: Attacking Enemy Safe Havens*. Florida, The JSOU Press, Hurlburt Field, 2010.

<sup>62</sup> See *Guerrilla Hunter Killer Smartbook* (572<sup>nd</sup> Military Intelligence Company, 2009)

<sup>63</sup> A complete and detailed report on the case of Guatemala can be found at [www.nsar-chive.org](http://www.nsar-chive.org).

interrogation and secret execution of detainees, who were accused of being communists and terrorists.

The text *Modern Warfare* by the French military officer Roger Trinquier<sup>64</sup> synthesized the experiences of the counterinsurgent war in Algeria and Indochina, recommending the method of “police actions”, described as follows:

[...] In the process of extirpating the terrorist organization from their midst, the people will be manhandled, lined up, interrogated, searched. Day and night, armed soldiers will make unexpected intrusions into the homes of peaceful citizens to carry out necessary arrests. Fighting may occur in which the inhabitants will suffer. [...] Under no pretext, however, can a government permit itself to become engaged in a polemic against the forces of order in this respect, a situation that can benefit only our adversaries. [...] Police action will therefore be actual operational warfare.<sup>65</sup>

This manual also speaks, without any qualms, about the use of torture as a necessary method, referring to the detainee:

No lawyer is present for such an interrogation. If the prisoner gives the information requested, the examination is quickly terminated; if not, specialists must force his secret from him. Then, as a soldier, he must face the suffering, and perhaps the death, he has heretofore managed to avoid.

French torture techniques consisted of electrocutions and binding the prisoner’s feet and hands behind his back, passing a stick between them and suspending him in the air—but rape was also used, especially with objects. These methods were applied in Algeria, as well as in the rest of the French colonies. But they were also taken to other parts of the world where

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<sup>64</sup> Trinquier carried out training courses for the Argentine military who would later apply his teachings. He was also part of the paramilitary organization OAS based in the Spanish State, in the “Battle of Algiers”.

<sup>65</sup> This text is taken from the work of Javier Giraldo Moreno S.J., *Genocide in Colombia: typicality and strategy*, 2004. Available at: <http://www.javiergiraldo.org/spip.php?article90>. Corroborated with the book *Modern War* by Trinquier.

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these “experts” gave training courses. Some of their outstanding students were the Argentine military in the 70s.

According to a study of British police methods in Palestine:<sup>66</sup>

Suspects arrested for interrogation were now tortured as a matter of course; coarse, suspending suspects upside down and urinating in their nostrils, extracting fingernails and pumping water into a suspect before stamping on him, became commonplace.

This type of torture method was never recognized by any of the governments involved, “denying” the facts; if any evidence of these practices appeared, it was defined as an isolated act, carried out by some “rotten apples”. In no cases were the government responsible, if we remember Abu Ghraib,<sup>67</sup> the kind of perspective of which Trinquier reminded us:

Under no pretext, however, can a government permit itself to become engaged in a polemic against the forces of order in this respect, a situation that can benefit only our adversaries.

### 3.3. Operation “Green Hunt”:

In 2005 the Indian Government, within its counterinsurgency tactics, created the Salwa Judum group in the State of Chhattisgarh. This group, together with government security forces, initiated a series of raids in various towns with the aim of identifying and eliminating suspected Naxalite sympathizers. They carried out the raids in the Dantewada and Bijapur districts, where the *Adivasi* communities make up 79% of the population. It ended with the burning of more than 670 villages and the torture, rape and murder of the population.<sup>68</sup>

Between March 11 and 16, 2011, the State security forces carried out a “combing operation” in Tadmetla, Morpalli and Timmapur in Chhattisgarh, where more than 250 houses were burned, 3 men were killed and 3 women were raped. The Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI)<sup>69</sup> demon-

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<sup>66</sup> Newsinger, John, *Hearts and minds: The myth and reality of British COIN*, 2015.

<sup>67</sup> See also: [http://elpais.com/diario/2004/10/17/domingo/1097985160\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/2004/10/17/domingo/1097985160_850215.html).

<sup>68</sup> HRW, July 14, 2008, p. 7.

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.frontline.in/cover-story/nailing-a-lie/article9319186.ece>.

strated that the security forces were responsible for these actions and found them guilty.

In 2012, already under Operation “Green Hunt”, the NGO Human Rights Watch denounced the harassment and repression suffered by the population, as well as the defenders of Human Rights:

Human rights workers and activists, particularly those that speak out against abuses by government forces, fear being labeled “Maoist” supporters and being taken into custody or worse. Local activists concede that they do come into contact with the Maoists: working in remote parts of in Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, and Andhra Pradesh makes that inevitable. State security forces, frustrated by their inability to track Maoist fighters who slip into the forests in the adjoining states, often direct their attacks against “soft” targets—villagers from areas that support the Maoists and activists who criticize police abuses and state policies.

At the beginning of 2016, various media outlets started talking about “Mission 2016” as a continuation of Operation “Green Hunt”. Although undeclared, one of its main objectives was to finish and destroy the urban support network of the CPI (Maoist). This is how the Indian magazine *Frontline* referred to the “Mission”:

An objective of Mission 2016, though not formally stated, is to crack down on the urban network of the CPI (Maoist) and demolish it. This network, according to the security machinery behind Mission 2016, consists of overground Maoists and Maoist sympathizers. Asides made by the people in the security forces hint at cutting the “oxygen” of the CPI (Maoist) by finishing off the urban Maoist sympathizers and thus “asphyxiating” the Maoists. The problem with this premise is that anybody who disagrees with the state’s version of democracy or nationalism, or who raises questions about human rights violations by the paramilitary forces or simply refuses to take sides in the unfolding war is branded a Maoist. Reporters, researchers, activists, lawyers and students easily fit into this simple definition of a

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Maoist sympathizer who deserves to be “exterminated”. Under this new strategy, an atmosphere of insider versus outsider is also being created in Chhattisgarh, where journalists, lawyers and activists from outside the State are seen as potential threats to be barred from the State. Local people, especially in the big towns and cities, are being instigated against this category of people. In a sense, the documentation of truth is being prevented by removing independent witnesses.<sup>70</sup>

Lawyer Shalini Gera,<sup>71</sup> in an interview conducted by *The Caravan*, said:

We believe that the recent streak of evictions—of journalists, lawyers and documenters—is part of this new design. It seems that there is going to be an increase in human rights violations—signs of it are already visible—and they want to make sure that there are no witnesses left. They don’t want any news to come out; they don’t want fact-finding teams going there to document what they are calling a “clearing operation.” In the first 22 days of November alone, there were 18 encounters. Now, the number is 56. These are large numbers. We are talking about 56 deaths that nobody has been able to go and investigate except for the one in Mardum that Soni Sori brought to light. That was the point when all this hell broke loose.

On the situation in Bastar, Chhattisgarh region, activist Soni Sori told *The Hindu* the following:

The crackdown on human rights activists, journalists and lawyers is still on. Every day people are being jailed, tortured and killed in encounters in Bastar. The entire crackdown on me and other progressive forces is to make sure that the real picture of Bastar is not presented to the world outside.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Lawyer for the Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group, a non-profit organization that provides free legal services to *Adivasis* in the area.

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/tribal-activist-soni-sori-back-in-full-swing-in-bastar/article8669979.ece>.

One of the most common tactics practiced in this counterinsurgency operation is that of “fake encounters”. These are selective killings of militants, social leaders, activists or the civilian population, where an armed confrontation is “dramatized” by the armed forces or paramilitary bands, “disguising” the victim in the guerrilla uniform and “placing” a weapon by his side to “legitimize” his murder as an act of self-defense, when it is in reality an unscrupulous murder framed in the strategy of eliminating social support and the creation of “fear”.

A 2014 report on Human Rights in India written by the US Department of State, defines these “encounters” as follows:

Most “encounter killings,” a term used to describe the extrajudicial execution of alleged criminals or insurgents by security forces and police, occurred in conflict areas [...].<sup>73</sup>

The US Department of State makes it very clear what human rights organizations, as well as Maoists, denounce as “fake encounters”.

The State Department itself offered the following data on “fake encounters” between 2010/2014:

There were 555 “encounter” cases registered across the country during the past four years, with the most reported in Uttar Pradesh (138), followed by Manipur (62), Assam (52), **West Bengal (35), Jharkhand (30), Chhattisgarh (29), Odisha (27)**,<sup>74</sup> Jammu and Kashmir (26), Tamil Nadu (23), and Madhya Pradesh (20); 144 of 555 cases were closed as of July.

According to Bastar Solidarity Network, in October 2016 there were more than 100 *Adivasis* killed in “fake encounters”.<sup>75</sup> On October 23, 2016, in Malkangiri there was another “fake encounter” where 31 people, 22 “Naxalite” militants and 9 *Adivasis* were murdered. The APDR condemned the murders and the “fake encounter”, since according to sources

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<sup>73</sup> Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2014 United States Department of State – Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. Available in: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/236850.pdf>.

<sup>74</sup> States where the “Heart and Minds” strategy is being applied are in bold.

<sup>75</sup> <https://asongfornextday.wordpress.com/2016/10/03/more-than-100-Adivasis-killed-in-fake-encounters-in-bastar-in-the-last-7-months-to-facilitate-the-biggest-land-grab-after-columbus-bastar-solidarity-network/>.

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from human rights organizations and journalists, it was not an “encounter”, but rather people who died in captivity: “According to a report they were poisoned and sedated by agents beforehand and were targeted while asleep, some of them after brutal torture.”

According to the APDR complaint:

It has become amply clear that the State and the security forces are pursuing a policy of physically eliminating political activists and dissenting voices who are opposing various state policies including dispossessing the indigenous people of their livelihood and clear the ground for corporate loot. To keep such illegal and anti-human rights crimes outside the purview of the citizen of the country and outside world, persecution and hounding out journalists, rights activists and lawyers from such areas have become part of state policy in these areas for the last couple of years. Only on 21 October, report of a CBI investigation in a 2011 incident of burning down of 160 houses in an Orissa village Tadmatela was made public. The CBI found that the carnage for which the Maoists were blamed was actually the handiwork of security forces. The response to these findings was the ridiculous programme of burning of effigies of journalists and rights activists who dared to bring out the truth on October 24 by the uniformed security personnel. APDR strongly opposes the state policy of physically eliminating political activists and dissenting voices and persecution of journalists, lawyers and rights activists.

In a study carried out by the Calcutta Research Group in 2007 in the Dantewada region, in Chhattisgarh, the following assessment was made of “fake encounters”:

While our team was Dantewada, we came across two people who were killed by security forces who not only had no weapons but also looked to be simple villagers. Our team witnessed that they were wounded as though shot from behind and other witnesses said they were trying to run away in fear. Security forces argued they were Naxalites and that is why they were running.

This is an all too common scenario that is ripe for further disaster. It represents a serious break down in the rule of law and the laws of war, where civilians are too easily mistaken for combatants and killed. Usually these killings are covered up and almost always the victims are later named as combatants. These sorts of incidents create more fear and terror within the camps. This also makes it increasingly difficult to ascertain the actual status of camp in-mates, as they prefer to appease security forces by giving answers that remove them from suspicion.<sup>76</sup>

A 2015 Amnesty International report reflects the deaths by torture of detainees and detainees in police or judicial custody.<sup>77</sup> Although it is the whole of India, it is an interesting piece of data to see the degree of violence that occurs within the state instruments of coercion against the population:

Statistics released in August showed that 93 cases of deaths and 197 cases of rapes in police custody were reported in 2014. In August the National Human Rights Commission recorded 1,327 deaths in judicial custody between April 2014 and January 2015.

An example of the use of torture by the Indian Government was shown by the social activist Prashant Rahi, who wrote an open letter detailing his experiences of police torture during his detention.<sup>78</sup> The police arrested Rahi in 2007 and released him on bail in 2011; this activist is one of those sentenced to life imprisonment along with Professor GN Saibaba. During that time, they beat him mercilessly “in parts of the body where the pain is unbearable”, and they even put gasoline in his anus. That same year the activist Arun Ferreira was arrested, tortured and imprisoned, accused of being a Naxalite. In 2014 he published a book entitled *Colours of the Cage*<sup>79</sup> where he narrates his experience.

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<sup>76</sup> Mohapatra S. & Jayasooriya C. *Conflict, War and Displacement*. Kolkata, 2007.

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/india/report-india/>.

<sup>78</sup> <https://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2014humanrightsreport/index.htm>.

<sup>79</sup> <http://www.alephbookcompany.com/book/colours-of-the-cage-a-prison-memoir/>.

**Deaths in the Armed Conflict between the Government of India and the Naxalites<sup>80</sup>**

<b>Years</b>	<b>Civil</b>	<b>Security Forces</b>	<b>Naxalites</b>	<b>Total</b>
2005	524	153	225	902
2006	521	157	274	952
2007	460	236	141	837
2008	490	231	199	920
2009	591	317	220	1128
2010	720	285	172	1177
2011	469	142	99	710
2012	301	114	74	489
2013	282	115	100	497
2014	222	88	63	373
2015	168	58	89	315
2016	192	63	193	448
<b>Total</b>	<b>4940</b>	<b>1959</b>	<b>1849</b>	<b>8748</b>

<sup>80</sup> [https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/maoist/data\\_sheets/fatalitiesnaxalmha.htm](https://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/maoist/data_sheets/fatalitiesnaxalmha.htm).



**Chapter 4**  
**SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST**  
**WOMEN AS A WEAPON OF WAR**

*“Sexual violence in conflict needs to be treated as the war crime that it is; it can no longer be treated as an unfortunate collateral damage of war.”*

Zainab Hawa Bangura,

UN Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, 2012<sup>81</sup>

#### 4.1. Genocide:

In a patriarchal system where women are valued as territories of conquest, rape becomes a weapon of war. At the same time, history itself eliminates women from the official narration of genocides and wars, when in reality they are the “main targets” of these practices, because they are the carriers of life.

Thus, sexual violence constitutes a “perfect” means for the destruction of the group, since with this violence, biological and social reproduction is prevented with permanent damage to the reproductive organs, psychological problems and social stigmatization. In the long term, the destruction of the group will be total.

“Sexual violence”<sup>82</sup> against women was a common practice in the genocide carried out by the Nazis. Romani and Jewish women were gassed almost at the moment they arrived at the death camps. Experiments were carried out on them, and if they were pregnant they were forced to abort or tortured until the mother and baby died in the process. Thousands of

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<sup>81</sup> <http://www.un.org/es/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgsexualviolence.shtml>.

<sup>82</sup> According to the United Nations, the term “sexual violence” refers to many different crimes, including rape, sexual mutilation, sexual humiliation, forced prostitution, and forced pregnancy. These crimes are motivated by a multitude of factors. For example, a common viewpoint throughout history has been that women are part of the “spoils of war” to which soldiers are entitled. Deeply rooted in this notion, is the idea that women are owned-object at the disposal of victorious warriors. Sexual violence can also be seen as a means of appeasing troops. This is particularly the case where women are forced into military sexual slavery. Another reason why sexual violence occurs is to destroy male pride and, therefore, that of the community. Men who have not been able to “protect their women” are seen as humiliated and weak. It can also be used as a form of punishment, particularly when women are politically active, or associate with others who are politically active. Sexual violence can also be used as a means of inflicting terror on the general population. It can shatter communities and lead people to abandon their homes. Sexual violence can also be part of a genocidal strategy. It can cause potentially fatal physical and mental injuries, and are part of the conditions imposed to carry out the ultimate destruction of an entire group of people. Available at: <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/public/w2apr98.htm#21>.

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surgical sterilizations were performed and they were used as sex slaves in the concentration camps. Nazis also committed thousands of rapes in their “hunts”.

Ceija Stojka, survivor from Ravensbrück, outlined the methods for sterilizations:

From the adjoining barracks you could hear the screams of women being intervened. They had their ovaries cut open and their ovaries burned with X-rays or removed... without anesthesia... with full consciousness to see to what extent they were able to bear the pain. I saw eight- and nine-year-old girls coming out screaming from the medical barracks, drenched in blood and sweat, wandering senseless through the streets and screaming in pain... their ovaries had been removed.<sup>83</sup>

The Geneva Conventions of 1949 did not expressly designate sexual violence as a serious offense, despite the view that sexual violence falls within other categories of serious offenses, such as “willfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health” and “torture or inhuman treatment.”

This shows the scant interest of the international community and its rulers on this issue, showing the most brazen face of patriarchy. This position continued during almost all the armed conflicts of the 20th century, until on December 18, 1992, the United Nations Security Council declared that “massive, organized and systematic detention and rape of women, in particular Muslim women, in Bosnia and Herzegovina” was an international crime.

Thus, in 1993 the International Criminal Court for the former Yugoslavia included rape as a crime against humanity, when committed in armed conflicts and directed against the civilian population. A year later, the International Criminal Court on Rwanda also declared rape a war crime and crime against humanity.<sup>84</sup> In a trial held in 1998, this same

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<sup>83</sup> See in Betata Martin’s article, Yolanda, *Normative Femininity and Sexual Violence in the Third Reich. Reconstruction of Female Identities and Sexual Exploitation of Women in Concentration and Extermination Camps*, Madrid, 2012.

<sup>84</sup> In Rwanda, between 100,000 and 250,000 women were raped during the three months of genocide in 1994. About 70% of the victims were infected with the HIV virus.

Court determined that rape and sexual assault constituted acts of genocide, inasmuch as they had been committed with the intention of destroying, in whole or in part, the Tutsi ethnic group.

But for the international community and the International Criminal Court to make these decisions, women had to suffer millions of rapes and sexual assaults throughout history and that continue to occur throughout the world, while these organizations did nothing but belch condemnations from their satisfied bellies of patriarchal capitalism.

#### **4.2. Counterinsurgency:**

Political scientist Elizabeth Woods points out that the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war has different characteristics depending on the conflict and the actors operating in it.<sup>85</sup> Thus, in Bosnia, Rwanda or Sierra Leone, sexual violence was common on all sides, but it was less frequent in El Salvador, Sri Lanka and Peru, where the vast majority of violations were committed by the Government or by paramilitaries; this is one of the main reasons women were willing to join the insurgents.

In Peru the rape of women by the security forces was a common practice in the armed conflict between the Communist Party of Peru, commonly known as the “Shining Path”, and the counterinsurgency forces.<sup>86</sup> In 1992, Human Rights Watch documented more than forty cases of rape of women committed by soldiers during interrogations in the Emergency Zones,<sup>87</sup> or during security force actions. The reports demonstrate the different ways in which the rape, although not explicitly, was a matter of military policy, functioning as a tactical weapon. Under the Fujimori government, the violation of human rights became something “common” and where indigenous women, apart from being systematically raped by the military and paramilitary forces, also faced a sterilization campaign forced upon them by the State.

More than 300,000 women, mostly rural indigenous women, were

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<sup>85</sup> <http://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/the-trophies-of-operation-green-hunt/265964>.

<sup>86</sup> <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Peru-Soldiers-Face-Human-Rights-Trial-for-Raping-Women-in-1980s-20160710-0006.html>.

<sup>87</sup> The emergency zones were areas where civil power was subordinate to military power and many constitutional rights were suspended.

forcibly sterilized between 1995 and 2000.<sup>88</sup> Peru’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission did not make a single mention of the thousands of forced sterilizations that took place at that time. What kind of truth can it be when no reference is made to a systematic act of genocide like this?

Rita L. Segato (2014) referred to Lily Muñoz’s investigation regarding the *Center for Military Studies Intelligence Manual* in Guatemala, on how the military affirmed the deliberate and calculated nature of sexual violence.

Troops employed against subversive forces are subject to moral and psychological pressures different from those normally encountered in conventional warfare operations. This is particularly true due to: The deep-rooted reluctance of the soldier to take repressive measures against women, children and the elderly.

For this reason, it was necessary to train the Guatemalan soldiers to be capable of exercising violence against that group of people without any scruples:

The soldier normally has a great dislike for police-type operations and for repressive measures against women, children and the sick of the civilian population, unless he is extremely well indoctrinated in the need for these operations.

The Prosecutor’s Office of the International People’s Tribunal in The Hague for the case of Indonesia concluded that “sexual violence was pervasive (...)”, including all kinds of practices such as: “rape, sexual violence as torture, sexual enslavement, and other forms of sexual violence (including sexual assault).”

This Tribunal delivered a 200-page report, which included more than 20 individual case studies, concluding that:

The range of sexual offences, and the many conditions in which they were perpetrated, are evidence [of] the widespread and systematic nature of sexual violence as crimes against humanity

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<sup>88</sup> [http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/11/151108\\_esterilizaciones\\_forzadas\\_historias\\_interes\\_nacional\\_peru\\_bm](http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias/2015/11/151108_esterilizaciones_forzadas_historias_interes_nacional_peru_bm).

during the anti-communist violence in Indonesia.<sup>89</sup>

### 4.3. Operation “Green Hunt”:

In her play *Capitalism: A Ghost Story*,<sup>90</sup> Arundathi Roy shocks us with the story of the activist and defender of the *Adivasi* communities in Bastar. Soni Sori<sup>91</sup> was detained and tortured while in police custody: “Stones were pushed up her vagina to get her to “confess” that she was a Maoist courier”.

Under the logic of the monopoly of violence by the State: “The superintendent of police who conducted the interrogation was conferred the President’s Police Medal for Gallantry on Republic Day”.

In February 2016, Soni Sori was attacked by men who threw acid on her face and burned her home. When the family reported these events to the authorities, her sister was detained by the police. This type of attack and harassment is very common in these areas, since in the counterinsurgency strategy, another of the fundamental factors, before the total elimination of the guerrillas is the elimination of political and social support, as well as of those who criticize their actions, such as activists or journalists.

*The Caravan* magazine conducted an interview on March 9, 2016 with attorneys from the Jagdalpur Legal Aid Group.<sup>92</sup> To the question “What is happening at the moment in Bastar?” Attorney Shalini Gera responded:

In the last three or four months, we have witnessed wanton, large-scale violence by the security forces in the villages—something of the scale that we haven’t witnessed in over two years that we have spent there. Violent incidents were still not unheard of then, but this is something entirely different. In two different districts, there have been three cases since October 2015 of mass sexual violence. To someone who has seen things on the ground,

<sup>89</sup> <http://www.tribunal1965.org/final-report-of-the-ipt-1965>.

<sup>90</sup> Roy, Arundathi, *Capitalism: A Ghost Story*, Verso Books, 2014.

<sup>91</sup> Soni Sori is an *Adivasi* school teacher turned political leader of Aam Aadmi Party in Sameli village of Dantewada in south Bastar, Chhattisgarh, India. She was arrested by the Delhi Police’s Crime Branch for Chhattisgarh Police in 2011 on charges of acting as a conduit for Maoists. During her imprisonment, she was tortured and sexually assaulted by Chhattisgarh state police.

<sup>92</sup> <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/vantage/interview-jaglag-lawyers-evicted-bastar>.

## Operation “Green Hunt” in India

it now seems to be their strategy. Sexual violence is being used as a weapon for war and victimized women are being seen as an enemy of the state. What we are hearing now from the villagers is that people are being picked up in buses and taken. This scale of terror is completely new. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that villages, at this point, are on fire.

An association report, “Women against Sexual Violence and State Repression”,<sup>93</sup> stated that as of January 16, 2016, many young women from Chhattisgarh who are between the ages of 13 and 30 have been attacked. Their blouses and lungis have been torn off and torn based on the so-called “Naxalite test”<sup>94</sup>; under the premise that women who are not married are “Naxalites”, the test consists of the soldiers taking young women and squeezing their breasts and pinching their nipples to detect if breast milk is present. According to the tests, if they are married they have milk their breasts; if not, the women are arrested and accused of being “Naxalites”.

This report also records testimonies of women who have been raped by the security forces:

When I tried to stop them from taking my chickens, they dragged me into my house. One of them pinned my legs to the ground, another my shoulders, while the third sat on me and raped me.

In another case, police and security officers asked a woman where the men from the village had gone and why they ran away. When she responded by saying that the men were running for fear of what they would do to them, the rape was carried out by two men who took her inside their house:

They threw me on the floor. They took off my clothes, tore

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<sup>93</sup> Interim Report drafted by Women Against Sexual Violence and State Repression (wss-net.org). The team visited the village on January 16th 2016 along with CDRO members. “The Violent Truth of Anti-Naxal Operations in South Chhattisgarh” (“The case of villages on the border of Sukma and Dantewada”)

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.aktivasiemergence.com/naxalite-test-aktivasi-women-as-the-subject-of-experiment-and-breast-milk-as-the-evidence/>.

my blouse and squeezed my breasts. One of them raped me and said, “You give food to the Naxals. We will set fire to your homes. You’re lucky it’s daytime. If it was night, we would kill you.” My two children held me and began crying. That’s when they let go of me and threatened me not to tell anyone what they had done. They took my chickens and left.

In addition to rape, another typical case of sexual violence and genocide carried out in the Indian states where counterinsurgency warfare is applied is sterilization. In Chhattisgarh State, forced sterilizations are being carried out in “sterilisation camps”<sup>95</sup> against *Adivasi* women.

As was done in Peru or Guatemala with indigenous women, the Government of India is using forced sterilization to eliminate certain *Adivasi* communities. Although for a time the Government of India excluded certain *Adivasi* communities from the forced sterilization program for population control due declining population, in 2012 it started this program again for all *Adivasi* communities. In 2012, approximately 7,000 women in Chhattisgarh State underwent forced hysterectomies.

Agencies such as the UK Department for International Development, USAID<sup>96</sup> and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation are also performing sterilizations on *Dalit* and *Adivasi* women in India in the name of “family planning”. These agencies are implicated in the mass sterilization deaths that took place in several states. Likewise, these agencies, in collusion with multinational pharmaceutical companies such as Glaxo or Merk, experiment with certain contraceptive techniques and methods on these populations. Despite being methods rejected in the agencies’ countries of origin because they are not safe for women, in India they have no problem trying them. In this research we have not been able to find exact figures for the number of rapes and sexual assaults produced in conflict areas, probably because as they are perpetrated by government forces they are not in the official statistics, and because many of the cases have been reported out of

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<sup>95</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/12/india-sterilisation-deaths-women-forced-camps-relatives>.

<sup>96</sup> Between 2003-2006 USAID had 60,000 sterilization camps in India, where 810,000 sterilizations were performed on women and men. See USAID’s involvement in counterinsurgency tactics at: <https://woborders.wordpress.com/2011/03/09/usaid-and-counterinsurgency-five-decades-old/>.

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fear.

However, below, we collect a series of data that we were able to collect regarding the State of Chhattisgarh (the State with the most rapes in India by percentage), where according to government sources the following number of rapes occurred:<sup>97</sup>

<b>Rapes in the State of Chhattisgarh (2012-2015)</b>	
2015	1560
2014	1436
2013	1380
2012	1034

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<sup>97</sup> <http://english.pradesh18.com/news/chhattisgarh/chhattisgarh-ranks-first-in-cases-of-rapes-in-context-to-population-density-912659.html>.



# **Chapter 5**

## **CONCENTRATION CAMPS**

“(...) *The Lager*<sup>98</sup> was a great machine to reduce us to beasts, (...)”  
Primo Levi<sup>99</sup>

### 5.1. Genocide:

The Nazis used the concentration camps as a form of repression, experimentation and subsequent extermination, both of the Jewish people and the Romani people, homosexuals and communists. Although we cannot make a linear continuum with past and present experiences since each one has its own characteristics, it is no less true that they share many common points that are important to take into account for this study.

The concentration camps involved a series of practical measures that led to the destruction of the individual and their social relationships. This fact is important for this study since, although physical elimination was not “officially” intended, an elimination of identity and cultural practices did occur little-by-little, forcing assimilation to the hegemonic culture and, as such, its subsequent physical disappearance, as in the case of the *Adivasi* communities (denounced by Felix Padel), or in the case of Guatemala, with the Mayan communities.

Paz Moreno (2010) summarizes certain elements that forced imprisonments share with each other that we take into account. They:

1. Occur at critical or politically defined moments. The different propaganda techniques of the governments justify the need for the camps not only because of the exceptional situation but also because the consequences of the critical situation are officially declared a real danger for maintaining order.
2. Unlike prisons, camps tend to be a rapid and provisional response to an exceptional situation.

It is also noteworthy to see the meaning that the Nazis gave to the concentration camps, as well as to the ghettos. They used them as a form of control of a certain population, relying on the protection of the Aryan population (Law for the Protection of German Blood and of the German

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<sup>98</sup> Lager means “camp” in German.

<sup>99</sup> Primo Levi, *If This is a Man*, The Orion Press, 1959.

Honor, of September 15, 1935) so as not to be “contaminated” with the Jewish people and other groups that they defined as “impure”. The impurity issue, and as we discussed, biological metaphors, are also deeply rooted in India.

But we cannot forget that concentration camps also play and played a role of “exemplification” for the rest of society, demonstrating what could happen to them if they decided to oppose or not collaborate with the Government.

In 1933 the Nazis used the Dachau concentration camp as an example to German society of what would happen to those who were unwilling to assume Nazi authority. But, as we already said, ten years before, the German Social Democracy had already the concentration camp as a form of “discipline” and of “warning” to the rest of society if they decided to rebel.

In this topic, Feierstein (2007) gives us the following reflection, which can help us understand certain behaviors that we experience today:

If genocide and concentration camps are thought of as a policy that is directed towards the whole of society, the analogy could continue to point out that the “partitioning” to which society was subjected with respect to the capacity for self-determination, the possibility of dreaming, to imagine a rebellion or a rebellious attitude is still present to this day.<sup>100</sup>

## 5.2. Counterinsurgency:

The fortified or refugee camps, as defined in the counterinsurgency manuals, are one of the basic components in the “Hearts and Minds” strategy, since with the control of the population in these camps, they can be isolated from the insurgency. The counterinsurgency manuals themselves recognize that the camps are not to protect the population, but to prevent their contact with the insurgency.

These fortified camps were started by the English in the fight against the Boers in South Africa through the burning of farms and the subse-

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<sup>100</sup> Feierstein (2007) understands “septum” to be the instruments applied against the detainees that made it impossible for them to see, such as hoods or bandages. He also speaks of “symbolic walls” which are those that, despite our eyes being open, prevent us from seeing. “[T]he purpose of the ‘wall’ is to place subjects in a situation where they can be seen but cannot see.”

quent transfer of the population to heavily guarded concentration camps, where about 20,000 died from an outbreak of cholera (Power, 2002).

This method of mass transfers of the population to concentration camps was also used by Italian fascism to end the Libyan anti-colonial resistance led by Omar Mukhtar. In the feature film *Lion of the Desert* by the Libyan director Moustapha Akkad, you can see real images of these concentration camps.

However, the first documented historical example occurred during the Cuban War of Independence. Starting in 1896, General Valeriano Weyler transferred the civilian population to concentration camps, surrounded by hawthorn, with the intention of isolating the rebels from the population, cutting off the possibility of obtaining means of subsistence and aid, as well as reducing propaganda and demoralizing the rebels (Moreno Feliú, 2010).

This tactic, with the “valuable” experience of Cuba and the Boers and the contribution of the Nazi ghettos and concentration camps, led the British to apply it successfully in Malaysia, and it was taken as one of the fundamental elements in the counterinsurgency strategies, not only by the British, but by the French and the Americans.

Crucial to this end were the extensive resettlement of half a million ethnic Chinese squatters, pervasive food controls and food-denial operations, and tough population controls. As the other side of a carrot-and-stick approach, the U.K./GOM undertook a variety of political, economic, and social measures, accompanied by an information campaign, to win “hearts and minds”. (Komer, 1972)

This practice was carried out in Vietnam, Indonesia, Algeria, Guatemala, Peru or Argentina.<sup>101</sup>

### **5.3. Operation “Green Hunt”:**

The anthropologist Felix Padel (2006) reported that in the Bastar region (State of Chattisgarth) between June 2005 and June 2006, more

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<sup>101</sup> It would be interesting to be able to investigate in greater depth in which parts of the world this system of “population concentration” was practiced.

than 60,000 *Adivasis* were transferred to fortified camps called “Refugee Camps”. In this region alone, where more than 670 villages were burned and destroyed, there are 23 of these “camps”.<sup>102</sup>

Some reports speak of more than 350,000 *Adivasis* forced to leave their villages and live in the fortified camps. In these camps, the population is controlled in all aspects of their lives, from feeding to birth—in November 2014, 14 women died after undergoing sterilization operations in one of the “camps”.

According to the Human Rights Watch, thousands of people were forcibly transferred to government-run Salwa Judum group camps near police stations or paramilitary camps.<sup>103</sup> In 2008, IDPs and internally displaced people housed in these Chhattisgarh camps had limited access to food, with only some people receiving free rations. They also lacked shelter, sanitation facilities, access to health services, or access to education.

The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) stated that in the state of Andhra Pradesh, there were displaced people from Chhattisgarh due to the armed conflict.<sup>104</sup> These people had limited access to clean water and food. As of July 2009, only ten percent of IDPs had ration cards, and malnutrition was a big problem. In addition, boys and girls were not admitted to schools in Andhra Pradesh, because they did not have school certificates and did not understand Telugu, the language of instruction in this state.

In March 2013, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), operated by the Norwegian Refugee Council and the United Nations, reported that there were at least 148,000 displaced and internally displaced persons in conflict zones, the majority located in the states of Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh.

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<sup>102</sup> <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/indian-doctors-use-bicycle-pump-to-inflate-womens-abdomens-during-sterilisation-surgery-9897277.html>.

<sup>103</sup> HRW, July 14, 2008, pp. 74-75.

<sup>104</sup> NCPCR, July 24, 2009, p. 2.



**Chapter 6**  
**THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF**  
**TERROR**

*“There’s class warfare, all right, but it’s my class, the rich class, that’s making war, and we’re winning”.*

Warren Buffett<sup>105</sup>

## 6.1. Genocide:

We are reaching the end of this path, and now is when I realize that my shoes are Adidas, a company that collaborated with the Nazis’ manufacturing footwear for the German army and their missile launchers. And on this trip I was accompanied by a notebook and a Pelikan pen, whose ink was used in the days of the Nazis to tattoo the concentration camps prisoners.

If we look at ourselves from time to time and analyze what we are wearing, the objects that surround us or what we eat, we would realize that we are surrounded by death, and the blood and sweat of millions of people. In fact, we wash our blood-stained clothes in blood-made machines. The directors of IG Farben and Himmler signed agreements for the construction of a factory in Auschwitz.<sup>106</sup> Companies such as BASF, Siemens, Bayer or AEG, all from the same parent company IG Farben, benefited from this agreement by using the workforce of the prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps.

Also, companies like Hugo Boss designed and made uniforms for the German army and the SS,<sup>107</sup> and Volkswagen and Porsche, benefited from slave labor. Let’s not forget the case of the US company IBM, which carried out the entire system of control of concentration camps,<sup>108</sup> demonstrating that capital only understands accumulation, regardless of the cost of human lives and the atrocities and destruction that a genocide or war can create.

In fact, many of the companies that benefited economically from the genocide carried out by the Nazis continued to benefit from future genocides that occurred in various states, producing a continuum of cap-

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<sup>105</sup> <http://www.abc.es/20120304/economia/abci-warren-buffet-201203040038.html>.

<sup>106</sup> Moreno Feliú, Paz, *In the Heart of the Gray Zone: An Ethnographic Reading of the Auschwitz Camps*, Trotta, 2010.

<sup>107</sup> <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/09/22/economia/1316710191.html>.

<sup>108</sup> [http://elpais.com/diario/2001/02/13/ultima/982018801\\_850215.html](http://elpais.com/diario/2001/02/13/ultima/982018801_850215.html).

ital accumulation thanks to those genocides. A good example is told by a chronicle of the Argentine newspaper *Page 12*:<sup>109</sup>

In the 1960s and 1970s, front-line companies cooperated with the dictatorships of Brazil and Argentina to repress trade unionists. Volkswagen, Phillips, Firestone, Chrysler and other companies helped in the repression of dictatorships in Latin America, especially in Argentina and Brazil. This is indicated by an investigation by the newspaper *O Globo*, which publishes unpublished documents from the Brazilian Department of Political and Social Order. The documents show that the companies formed a “working group” with the Brazilian security agencies to detect those employees who had union membership, who were fired and in many cases tortured and killed.

The coup against Joao Goulart occurred in 1964. In November ‘66, at the beginning of a very harsh period of repression that would last for three years, representatives of General Motors,<sup>110</sup> Volkswagen, Chrysler, Firestone, Phillips and Constanta met with the head of the Department of Political Order of São Paulo and a delegate from the army.

According to the minutes of the meeting, *O Globo* says, they discussed the “problems” in the factories and created a coordination center. The documentation, compiled and revealed by the journalist José Casado, indicates that the companies gave the intelligence services lists of the workers considered suspects, and that they maintained “strong” but “discreet” cooperation over time.

“We were defending our companies from terrorists, from subversion”, declared Synesio de Oliveira, representative of the Constanta group (a company incorporated into Phillips in 1998). Based on documents obtained in Washington, São Paulo, and

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<sup>109</sup> “The multinationals of the Condor”, *Page 12*, May 16, 2005. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/elpais/1-51120-2005-05-16.html>.

<sup>110</sup> To read about General Motors’ collaboration with the Nazis, see: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/daily/nov98/nazicars30.htm>.

Buenos Aires, the investigation reveals that Volkswagen “set up an internal department” with DOPS and military agents to spy on workers, while Chrysler, Scania, and Firestone “created espionage” in factories.

For example, a document dated July 1978 by the Brazilian subsidiary of the Swedish firm Saab-Scania presents to the police the case of two workers whose dismissals “are due to the fact of having participated in the strike movement”.

The companies were consulted by O Globo, but all denied the facts or assured that they did not know what the documentation indicated. Volkswagen maintained that it maintained an “apolitical” line and an “advanced” relationship with its employees, while Firestone and Chrysler said they were “unaware” of the issue.

In Argentina there was a similar scheme. The US embassy informed Washington between April 1976 and June 1978 about episodes that showed “the great cooperation between managers and security agencies.” One of the best known cases is that of Mercedes Benz. In 1975 Carlos Ruckauf, Minister of Labor, ordered the dismissal of 115 workers for political reasons. In 1976, already under the dictatorship, all the union leaders of the González Catán plant were kidnapped. Of the 16 delegates, 14 are still missing (...).

It would be very interesting to carry out an analysis from the perspective of historical materialism to discover which companies have benefited from genocides throughout history, as well as from the “Hearts and Minds”, counterinsurgency strategy, allowing us to more accurately analyze the processes of the capital accumulation of these companies.

## **6.2. Counterinsurgency:**

According to Birtle (2006), the counterinsurgency strategy “Hearts and Minds” was linked to the promotion of democracy, Human Rights, development and economic liberalization. During the Cold War, the

development and promotion of democracy were instruments to combat the spread of communism.

These “promoters” built an official “natural” narrative under the theory of evolution, in relation to how modernization and the construction of a democracy develops. According to this, societies, through various stages, go from primitive and traditional forms towards Western-style industrialization, secularization and political pluralism. But despite the “natural” evolution, it is necessary that:

Winning hearts and minds has become a much maligned and often misunderstood concept that conjures up images of soldiers building playgrounds for smiling children, diverting personnel and resources from their proper task of fighting wars. A hearts and minds campaign, however, consists of soberly assessing what motivates people to rebel and devising a strategy to address the underlying causes of unrest. In most cases discontent stems from bread-and-butter issues. Lack of jobs, decent housing, electricity, running water, health care, and education can motivate people to accept or even support insurgents (Thomas Mckaitis, 2010).<sup>111</sup>

Once their basic needs have been met, however, people may desire political freedoms, the absence of which can also fuel an insurgency (Wade Markel, 2006).<sup>112</sup>

As both McKaitis and Markel make clear, the strategy of “Hearts and Minds” not only has its military aspect but also seeks a policy that prevents the radical transformation of the structures of exploitation and domination.

Raul Zibechi (2012) explains to us how in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, US imperialism and the World Bank introduced the policy of “fighting poverty”, with the aim of curbing, isolating and liquidating insurgent movements, as well as avoiding conflict and demands for structural changes and creating the contradictions that would allow for the

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<sup>111</sup> *Small Wars Journal*, November 11, 2010.

<sup>112</sup> Markel, Wade, *Draining the Swamp: The British Strategy of Population Control*, (2006). <http://strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pubs/parameters/articles/06spring/markel.pdf>.

strategy of “divide and conquer”.

This campaign, which is part of the “Hearts and Minds” strategy, was designed by Robert McNamara, who led the Pentagon from 1961 to 1968 and later the World Bank until 1981. It should be remembered that it was precisely in 1961 when the US Government, under the presidency of J. F. Kennedy, introduced the concept of “counterinsurgency forces”.

Zibechi gives us the example of Chiapas for these new “social policies”:

The “progressive” government of Chiapas has tried new forms of counterinsurgency that seek to generate a confrontational scenario between Zapatista support bases and non-Zapatista families, as an excuse to involve paramilitaries on the side of the latter in order to isolate and annihilate the latter the first. Instead of distributing the land of landowners and caciques, it hands over the lands that the Zapatistas conquered fighting after January 1, 1994 to “social” organizations allied to the paramilitaries. To this way of operating must be added the discretionary and conditional distribution of food in times of hunger, as well as the denial of resources to the Zapatista communities.

And if any government of the “peripheries” is not willing to take economic measures that favor imperialism, the contradictions are accentuated—and that is when it adopts less subtle measures.

The memory of September 11, 1973, when the military commanded by General Augusto Pinochet with the “support” of the North American imperialists and the comprador bourgeoisie, conducted a coup overthrowing the democratic government of Salvador Allende is still present. But there were other cases before this, which are not bad to remember.

In 1954 in Guatemala, a military coup forced the President, Jacobo Arbenz, to resign after carrying out important economic and agrarian reforms. The promoters of the coup were the CIA and the multinational United Fruit Company—better known on many supermarket shelves as Chiquita Brands—which did not agree with the agrarian reform. This military coup left the ground seeded for the genocide that was carried out a few years later against the Mayan people and the communist militants.

In the minutes of the International People’s Tribunal for the Indone-

sian case appears this small statement by the BBC Asia correspondent at the time, Roland Challis, noting that:

British warships escorted a ship with Indonesian troops to participate in this terrible holocaust. The deal was that once Sukarno, who had gotten rid of the IMF and the World Bank, was deposed, Suharto would bring Indonesia back into both forums. Said and done.

These are a couple of examples of imperialist politics, of what happens to the governments of other countries who do not do “what they have to do” or who go against “the natural evolution of development”. This shows us how imperialism, as the highest phase of capitalism, applied and applies its doctrine in order to maintain the exploitation and oppression of classes and peoples.

### 6.3. Operation “Green Hunt”:

In India, around 632 million people live in poverty, 55.3% of the total population, according to the United Nations multidimensional poverty index.<sup>113</sup> The 100 richest people in India have wealth equivalent to roughly 25% of India’s GDP.<sup>114</sup>

The *Adivasi* communities represent 8% of the Indian population, but they their social group has suffered the most forced displacement in the name of “development”. Since the 1950s, more than 21 million *Adivasis* have been internally displaced (Internally Displaced People, IDP’s). *Dalits*, for their part, represent 16% of the total population of India. 93% of *Adivasis* and 80% of *Dalits* live in rural areas where the largest poor population is concentrated, but under their feet are large mineral reserves, and they live in environments of great natural wealth.

Since 2005, the year that coincides with the start of the counterinsurgency strategy in Chhattisgarh, the Government of India signed hundreds of “Memoranda of Understanding” (MOUs) with multinational companies. These are large-scale resource exploitation and infrastructure projects, such as dams, power plants or steel mills, as well as mining exploitation.

<sup>113</sup> <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/IND>.

<sup>114</sup> <http://www.forbes.com/india-billionaires/#658924931c00>.

One of these “Memoranda” was signed by the Government of Chhattisgarh and Tata Steel for the construction of steelworks in this state. The Salwa Judum paramilitary group appeared shortly thereafter. It should be noted that the company Tata Steel it was founded in 1907 under the British colonial Government.<sup>115</sup> Thus, the “capital accumulation” of the Tata family stems from collaboration with British imperialism and the atrocities committed by it. Therefore, the Tata family benefited—like the aforementioned companies in Nazi times—from exploitation, misery and death, in this case at the hands of the British, a practice that continues today.

Since the start of “Green Hunt” in 2009, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, Bihar, Telengana, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal were the states most affected by this counterinsurgency operation aimed at suppressing the rebellion, although some intellectuals have argued that its true objective is the creation of a “war zone” to force the *Adivasis* and *Dalits* communities to leave their mineral-rich lands and give way to a large commercial exploitation of natural resources by multinational companies.

Gautam Navlakha on the situation of the *Adivasis* states:<sup>116</sup>

A war is being waged to usurp the rights of the forest dwellers and seize their land, forests and water to allow the transfer of these assets, owned by the *Adivasis*, to the business class. It’s a virulent kind of class war.

In the same text, Gautam Navlakha quotes Michael Levien, on the observation he makes about the dispossession and the relationship of the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* peasants in large parts of India, who refuse “to value their land at its exchange value, these farmers cannot be brought to a class compromise in the field of commodification”. It goes on to say that dispossession is a “deeply political process in which the owners of restraints redistribute assets from one class to another”, and adds that dispossession “requires a state that is willing to use its monopoly of means of violence to expropriate land from certain classes”.

In the article on “Mission 2016” in *Frontline* magazine, this observation is also made about the economic interests in the counterinsurgency

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<sup>115</sup> <http://www.tatasteel.com/about-us/heritage/century-of-trust.asp>.

<sup>116</sup> *Coining COIN: A Glib anti-People Approach*. Available at: <http://sanhati.com/articles/14149/>.

operation:<sup>117</sup>

(...) The anti-Maoist operation of the security forces relies on the existence of rich natural resources in Chhattisgarh, particularly the areas where the *Adivasi* communities live. It has been observed on several occasions that corporate interests have directed the policy of the Government and security units in such a way as to evict the *Adivasis* from their homeland and occupy those lands. There are apparently a number of top security officials who brag that no amount of criticism against them in the media would work, as they have been specifically sent to the region to help set up big projects for big companies. On the ground, you can see the increase in militarization in the areas where new mines were found. Every time a corporation settles down, the security forces surround it to protect it from the so-called Naxalite violence and cleanse the area of the *Adivasis*. There are several instances where the *Adivasis* refused to vacate and have been harassed and branded as Naxalites. Until a decade ago, non-governmental organizations could work in these areas in the fields of education, well-being or malnutrition of women. However, any organization that works sincerely is now being persecuted. An example of this is the famous Ramakrishna Mission, which was used for the public distribution system and health care. Obviously, the authors of the “Mission 2016” do not want any witnesses to speak of their operation.

Gautam Navlakha (2015), shows us how one of the Civic Action programs of the Indian Government consists of taking *Adivasi* boys and girls between 14-18 years old to visit Bombay and Pune with the intention of teaching them how “good development is. “This action is carried out five times a year. The police take 80 boys and girls and take them to these cities for 10 days. The idea is to expose the 14-18 age group, considered most vulnerable to Maoist persuasion, to a series of incentives to take sides in the official discourse of “capitalist development”.

Although the Constitution of India recognizes the rights of the *Adi-*

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<sup>117</sup> <http://www.frontline.in/cover-story/war-on-bastar/article8465544.ece>.

*vasi* peoples and there are laws that are supposed to protect them, the reality is quite different; those rights and laws are crushed in the name of “development”. These people are being expelled, massacred and exterminated, with the exception of the *Adivasis* and *Dalits* who are fighting, not only as a resistance struggle, but as a struggle for the future to change the relationships of exploitation and oppression of an unjust system.<sup>118</sup>

Since 2013, the NGO Survival International has engaged in a campaign where reference is made to the fight of the Dongria Konhd against the Vedanta mining multinational, showing their similarities with the people from the movie *Avatar*.<sup>119</sup>

The Dongrians *have been praised for their determination* to save their hills from intimidation and harassment by paramilitary police on their land, and from repeated statements by Vedanta that they supported the mine. During their fight to defend Niyamgiri, Dongrian leaders have been imprisoned and tortured, but have remained steadfast in their resistance.

Communist intellectual Muraleedharan K, known as Ajith,<sup>120</sup> in an interview for a publication against Operation “Green Hunt” said:

But here, in a large part of India, the *Adivasi* peoples are making control of land, resources and society a reality through struggle. This is an immediate fight to end the exploitation, the oppression of the aggressive movements of big business and the state. But even more important, it is the long-term struggle where a different kind of living is projected.

What is this life? Sustainable development; people-friendly education; emancipation of women; the cessation of domination and plunder by foreign and Indian exploiters; a new culture that rebuilds the *Adivasi* traditions anew, instead of making fun of them. The fact is that all of this is being created by *Adivasi*

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<sup>118</sup> Marta Harnecker defines the class struggle as a confrontation that occurs between two antagonistic classes when they fight, not exclusively for their immediate interests, but for their long-term interests, that is, for their class interests.

<sup>119</sup> <http://www.survival.es/noticias/9486>.

<sup>120</sup> Arrested on May 9, 2015, accused of being a Maoist.

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peoples who are despised as “primitive” by the so-called mainstream of society. The “backwards” are teaching the “forwards” (...). The motivation that this could give to the many oppressed and exploited sectors in the country is a real threat to the rulers.

Leaving aside or minimizing this political significance and limiting resistance to the defense of resources and human rights *Adivasis* is not good.<sup>121</sup>

The European Union,<sup>122</sup> through the German GIZ Agency,<sup>123</sup> has been collaborating with the Government of Chhattisgarh since 2007 on the second point of the “Hearts and Minds” strategy, as Thompson taught us:

The government must not limit itself to restoring law and order through military operations, but must have a political, social, administrative and economic vision of the situation and the measures to be taken in the military and civil order. It is about demonstrating that it governs effectively and efficiently.

The European Union contributed 80 million euros, with the aim of advising the Government, alleviating poverty and improving educational and health infrastructures in the “areas affected” by the guerrillas. As we pointed out before about the “social policy” of “fighting poverty” designed within the counterinsurgency strategy, the European Union is playing its role as guarantor of the interests of imperialism and the destruction of any alternative to it.

But this does not only remain within the collaboration of the German GIZ Agency and the European Union, since the British Government also has a “cooperation” program called “Civil Society in the Poorest Areas”

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<sup>121</sup> *Operation Green Hunt-India’s War on People*, a selection of articles from *Democracy and Class Struggle*, 2009.

<sup>122</sup> <https://www.giz.de/de/downloads/giz2011-en-poverty-impact-assessment-report.pdf>.

<sup>123</sup> See how this Agency acts in the case of refugees from Sudan, being an accomplice with the President of that country, who is accused of Crimes against humanity by the International Tribunal in The Hague. See: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/eu-to-work-with-despot-in-sudan-to-keep-refugees-out-a-1092328.html>.

(PACS),<sup>124</sup> with the supposed objective of alleviating poverty and improving health and educational infrastructures. This program was started in 2009, in the states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, just when Operation “Green Hunt” began in the states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and West Bengal.

The Spanish State, for its part, is one of the largest arms sellers to the Indian Government and has several signed “Memorandums” on intelligence and security.<sup>125</sup>

On the occasion of the visit of H.M. the King to India, a MOU for Defense Cooperation was signed in October 2012 between the Defense Ministries of Spain and India that has served as a framework to establish institutional cooperation in the sector.

Narendra Modi wants to improve Indian defense technology, reduce the high dependence on abroad (which is estimated at 65%), and stop being the world’s largest importer of weapons. In this context, the visits of the Spanish Minister of Defense, Pedro Morenés, and the Secretary of State for Defense, Pedro Argüelles Salaverria, in 2015 were an excellent opportunity to intensify bilateral relations in the field of defense, as well as to sign the Bilateral Agreement on Protection and Exchange of Classified Information.

We cannot forget the “good” relations that these two governments have. In 2013, the niece of Indian billionaire Lakshmi Mittal celebrated her wedding in Barcelona,<sup>126</sup> thanks to the contacts of the former Spanish ambassador Gustavo de Arístegui, now accused of corruption. An example of these good relations is given by her collaborator in “corruption matters”, the former deputy Gómez de la Serna, quoted in the newspaper *El*

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<sup>124</sup> <http://www.pacsindia.org/>.

<sup>125</sup> [http://www.exteriores.gob.es/documents/fichaspais/india\\_ficha%20pais.pdf](http://www.exteriores.gob.es/documents/fichaspais/india_ficha%20pais.pdf).

<sup>126</sup> <http://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20131207/54395943772/la-boda-millonaria-india-sorprende-a-barcelona-con-exotismo-y-lujo.html>.

*Mundo*:<sup>127</sup>

It should be remembered that Arístegui is accused along with the also former deputy Pedro Gómez de la Serna, and that in some recordings included in the summary, De la Serna explains to a client of his office how “Gustavo has a relationship with fat companies in India, for Mittal example”, which has been one of the clues to specify that Arístegui could have skipped the incompatibilities imposed by law on senior administration officials, as is the case of an ambassador.

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<sup>127</sup> <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2016/10/06/57f55d2622601d8a508b456c.html>.



# Conclusion

When we began, we started from a forest full of “contradictions”—but after traveling on this path full of millions of corpses mixed with natural resources, wealth, exploitation and oppression, cynicism, hypocrisy, rotten values and corruption, we have found the “theater of operations” of the battlefield defined by Trinquier, where we are all part of this counterinsurgency war. As such, my conclusions cannot be other than the following:

The genocide enacted under the mask of the counterinsurgency strategy “Hearts and Minds”, is the most extreme practice of class struggle by the exploiting classes, which uses the “maximum accumulated force” of the monopoly of violence, with the intention of eliminating the sectors that resist selling their lands or their bodies, and as a form of “discipline” for the rest of the exploited classes, so that they see what can happen to them if they decide to rebel.

Thus, although before the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis many other genocides were carried out, it is not until that moment that imperialist states such as France, Great Britain and the United States discovered how to manipulate and appease their exploited classes, with fear, without having to reach extreme violence, applying the teachings of Sun Tzu: “The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting”. Thus, genocide becomes a practice of reorganization and crushing of any dissent, eliminating the class struggle based on the factor of “surplus rebel population”.<sup>128</sup>

Let us remember what Bauman (2016) said about the supposed non-violent character of modern civilization, which he defined as a fantasy and a legitimizing myth:

What has actually happened in the course of the civilizing process is that violence has been reoriented and access to it has been redistributed. Violence, like many other things that we have

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<sup>128</sup> I take this concept from Karl Marx on the “surplus population” on the issue of unemployment in his work *Capital*. I include the adjective “rebel”, since, in my understanding, what has always worried the exploiting classes are the exploited classes in certain places that are willing to rebel even with weapons if necessary. The exploiting classes and the imperialist states know that the “Hearts and Minds” of the majority of the exploited classes have already been won, and that if they have “excess population” it will be easy to eliminate it without the slightest resistance. That thousands of emigrants die in the Mediterranean, for example, is not a problem in itself for these States, but rather their concern begins when the exploited classes decide to organize and rebel against the exploiters and oppressors.

been taught to hate and loathe, has been removed from our sight, but it has not been eliminated. From the point of view of personal, limited and privatized experience, it has become invisible. It has been locked up in segregated and isolated territories, generally inaccessible to normal members of society, it has been expelled for the vast majority of people (of the majority who count) to the “gray areas”, beyond the limits, or has been exported to faraway places that are irrelevant to the professional lives of civilized humans.

Feierstein (2007) already raised the specific nature of the reorganization of genocide, due to its ability to alter through death and horror, social relations and its usefulness for the imposition of the neoliberal economic model in Argentina.

The “Hearts and Minds” strategy is fundamentally a strategy aimed at the population of the exploited classes of the imperialist states, useful to international organizations—and not to “help” the people in conflict or solve the problems that arise from it, since it is impossible under a predatory economic system based on exploitation among human beings and the accumulation of capital to solve these problems.

As such, even when the intention is to improve certain living conditions in the conflict territories, there will not be more than a few crumbs, since relations of exploitation and oppression are maintained.

Marc J. Swartz, Victor W. Turner and Arthur Tuden raised questions about the legitimacy and support that the State needed that:

If political systems are to survive, they must be able to cope with the dissatisfaction resulting from unmet demands. One way to do this is to resort to the use of force (...) it can be a satisfactory means of dealing with disobedience. Other survival techniques include, of course, diplomacy, intrigue, manipulation of interest groups, divide and rule, and other mechanisms.<sup>129</sup>

According to John Newsinger (2015), the British Government invented the notion of winning “Hearts and Minds” to address the repres-

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<sup>129</sup> Perez Galan, Beatriz and Marquina Espinosa, Aurora (Eds.), *Political Anthropology: Theoretical and Ethnographic Texts*. Barcelona. Bellaterra Editions, 2011.

sion for the consumption of its population, when in reality it was the classic colonial strategy of “divide and conquer”.<sup>130</sup> That strategy was already used by the Roman Empire and was, and is, used by all the imperialist states, utilizing political-economic mechanisms to achieve the subordination of the people. For this, it is enough to count on friendly governments and comprador bourgeoisie in the “periphery” who oppress and repress their own people to deliver to the imperialist states all the raw materials they need. If at some point these peripheral states or their exploited classes rebel against the imperialist state, it is then that it applies the most extreme violence—genocide—without any scruples.

Fred Kaplan (2013) summarizes the counterinsurgency strategy as follows:

Successful counterinsurgency campaigns were also wars of impressive brutality: In Malaysia, four hundred thousand civilians were forcibly relocated and thousands of insurgents were killed; In the Philippines, sixteen thousand guerrillas died in battles, and two hundred thousand civilians died from the transmission of disease and starvation through the transfer centers (“concentration camps”); in Algeria, the routine use of torture in ‘pacification’ campaigns, and yet the Philippines, Malaysia, Algeria and so many other cases are still seen as victories.

Capitalism, in its highest stage, imperialism, shows that it moves “like a fish in water” in regards to the extermination of human beings, since that is its own predatory nature. As such, genocide is a “common” practice.

To demonstrate its destructive nature, we will use the practices and actions carried out in Guatemala<sup>131</sup> to show how they reproduce their practices in conflicts and different places of the world, always under the hand of the same executioners.

<sup>130</sup>Newsinger, John, *Hearts and minds: The myth and reality of British COIN*, 2015.

<sup>131</sup>These acts of violence are taken from the Master’s work of Sosa López, Vanesa Albertina: *Surviving Genocide and War Violence in Guatemala*: New Mexico, San Vicente Pacaya, Escuintla, taken from the book *Convicted of Genocide. Conviction against José Efraín Ríos Montt* (fragments), (F&G Editors, 2013, pp. 60-62), and those proposed by the CEH to comply with the Oslo Agreement (Balsells, 2009, pp. 114-117). “These acts are generalized because it is considered that they were repeated systematically and repeatedly during the internal armed conflict in Guatemala”.

<b>Genocidal Practices in different countries where the “Hearts and Minds” strategy was applied</b>						
	<b>Algeria</b>	<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>Peru</b>	<b>El Salvador</b>	<b>India</b>
	Under the French presence. “Battle of Algiers”	Under the British presence. “Malaya Emergency”	Under the Government of Suharto	Under the conflict against the PCP	Under the conflict against the FMLN	Operation “Green Hunt”
Selective executions in which the population was killed individually and collectively.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Destruction and burning of villages.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Individual and collective sexual violations of women	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Interrogations under torture of persons captured or suspected of collaborating with the guerrillas.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Control and siege of displaced communities, preventing access to food and medicines essential for the subsistence of the populations.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Concentration of ethnic groups and civilian population in camps run by the government or paramilitary groups.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Tracking and encircling operations in order to identify refuge areas in order to capture and / or execute the population.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

## Operation “Green Hunt” in India

It is clear that the events and practices narrated here, and what the *Adivasis*, *Dalits* and “Naxalites” are suffering constitute crimes against humanity, but as Feierstein argued in the International People’s Tribunal on Indonesia:

The big difference between genocide and crimes against humanity is that the victims are not seen as part of a “national group”, but as individuals whose individual rights have been violated. This is the most important legal difference between the concept of crimes against humanity (which refers to indiscriminate actions against members of a civilian population) and the concept of genocide (which refers to deliberate attacks on specific groups of the population for its complete or partial destruction).

Therefore, we are going to take the definition of genocide to refer to all the aforementioned conflicts, as well as to the strategy deployed by the Indian Government in its counterinsurgency operation against the Maoists.

The evidence provided in this investigation certifies that a genocidal practice is being carried out that complies with all the legal characteristics to be able to be brought to the International Criminal Court. Here are some examples based on the definition of genocide:

Genocide is understood to be any act perpetrated with the intention of destroying, totally or partially, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group.

In the case of Operation “Green Hunt” developed by the Indian Government:

### *a) Killing of group members;*

We will point to the following example recorded by the Coordination of Democratic Rights Organizations (CDRO), which visited the Bijapur area (Chhattisgarh district) where 17 *Adivasis* died as a result of an operation by the CRPF<sup>132</sup> military forces on the night of June 28, 2012. We col-

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<sup>132</sup> Central Reserve Police Force.

lect below the names and details of these murdered *Adivasis*, since all these people have names and families and are not just a number of victims.

In Kottaguda:

1. Kaka Saraswati (12), daughter of K. Rama.
2. Kaka Sammayya (32), farmer, husband of K. Nagi.
3. Kaka Rahul (16), student of class 10 in Basaguda, son of K. Narayana.
4. Madkam Ramvilas (16), student of class 10 in Basaguda and classmate of Kaka Rahul, son of M. Butchiaiah.
5. Madkam Dileep (17), studied until class 8 in Pamed, helped her father M. Muttaiah on the farm.
6. Irpa Ramesh (30), farmer, husband of I Lachmi, father of three girls.
7. Irpa Dinesh (25), farmer, husband of I Janaki, father of four girls, was the youngest brother of Irpa Ramesh.
8. Madkam Nagesh (35), farmer and professional dholak musician who played during the Festivals, husband of M. Sammi, father of two girls. His wife was pregnant with her third daughter.
9. Madkam Suresh (30), farmer, husband of M. Sammi and father of two girls, was the youngest brother of Madkam Nagesh.
10. Irpa Narayana (45), farmer, husband of I. Narsi, father of four girls.

In Rajpenta:

11. Irpa Dharmayya (40), farmer, husband of I. Bheeme, father of five daughters.
12. Irpa Suresh (15), studied until class 5, son of I. Chandrayya. Died in Bijapur Hospital on June 29.

In Sarkeguda:

13. Sarke Ramanna (25), farmer, husband of S. Somulu, father of three girls.
14. Apka Meetu (16), son of A. Sukhram, helped his father on the farm.
15. Korsa Bichem (22), son of K. Gutta, previously worked for a

well company in Hyderabad, came home a month ago to help his family in agriculture.

16. Kunjam Malla (25), farmer, son of K. Lakmadu.

17. Madvi Aithu (40), farmer, husband of M. Kamli and father of four girls.

Also, as an example of the massacre of members of the group, we can highlight the one carried out on October 23, 2016 in the Malkangiri area, between the Andhra and Odisha borders, where 22 “Naxalite” militants and 9 *Adivasis* were killed in a “fake encounter”, as reported by the Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR).

*b) Serious injury to the physical or mental integrity of the group members;*

In this characteristic of genocide, we can frame the different examples of sexual violence mentioned, such as the “Naxalite test” or the sexual violations against *Adivasi* and *Dalit* women.

*c) Intentional submission of the group to conditions of existence that will lead to its total or partial physical destruction;*

This would be the case of the 350,000 *Adivasis* of the State of Chhattisgarh who were forced to abandon their villages and live in the fortified camps (concentration camps) of the Salwa Judum military and paramilitaries, as well as the burning of villages by these or the looting of food, etc.

Also, there is the policy of expulsion of the population from the forests and the land to facilitate the exploitation of their natural resources, which endangers the means of subsistence of the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* peoples.

*d) Measures to prevent births within the group;*

In 2012 in Chattisgarh State, approximately 7,000 women underwent forced hysterectomies. Although for a time the Indian Government excluded certain *Adivasi* communities from the forced sterilization program for population control due to the lack of children from these populations, in 2012 it started this program again for all *Adivasis* communities.

As we stated in relation to the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war, rape is another important factor in preventing the births of children within the group.

*e) Forcibly transferring children from the group to another group.*

As we have noted, the National Commission for the Protection of Children's Rights (NCPCR) stated that in the state of Andhra Pradesh there were displaced people from Chhattisgarh, who had limited access to clean water and food.<sup>133</sup> As of July 2009 only ten percent of IDPs had ration cards, and malnutrition was a big problem. Children were not admitted to schools in Andhra Pradesh because they did not have educational certificates and did not understand Telugu, which is the language of instruction in Andhra Pradesh. This is a good example of the forcible transfer of children to other groups, with the aim of removing them from their culture and social relationships and keeping them in miserable conditions of subsistence.

But, as we suggested at the beginning of this work, is it possible to define genocide if it is a political group?

Following Feierstein on the legal plane, denying the status of “genocide” to atrocities against political groups would imply a violation of the principle of equality before the law, in addition to not registering solid legal arguments. How can a law discriminate against a social group and allow it to be exterminated for not falling within the definition of the Genocide Convention?

Let us think about what is happening in the Philippines to those that the Duterte Government calls “drug addicts”, where more than 2000 people have already been murdered.<sup>134</sup> How can a law define the crime based on the characteristics of the victims and not on the characteristics of the fact of the action?

Recall what the International Criminal Court said in the case of Rwanda in 1999:<sup>135</sup>

<sup>133</sup> NCPCR, July 24, 2009, p. 2.

<sup>134</sup> “Duterte compares himself to Hitler and says he would exterminate three million drug addicts” See in: [http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/09/30/actualidad/1475226573\\_805987.html](http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/09/30/actualidad/1475226573_805987.html).

<sup>135</sup> Quoted by Feierstein in *Genocide as a social practice*. “The prosecutor against Rutaganda (Case No. ICTR-96-3), Judgment and Judgment, December 6, 1999, paragraphs 56-58,373. The mixed approach, cause by cause, is also expressed in the prosecutor against Musema (Case No. ICTR-96-13), Judgment and Judgment, January 27, 2000, paragraphs 162 and 163”.

The concepts of national, ethnic, racial and religious groups have been analyzed in depth and, at present, there are no precise definitions of them accepted by the international community. Each of these concepts must be evaluated in the light of a specific political, social and cultural context. Furthermore, the Chamber notes that, for the purposes of applying the Genocide Convention, group membership is, in essence, a subjective rather than an objective concept. The perpetrator of genocide perceives the victim as belonging to a group destined for destruction. In some cases, the victim may perceive herself as belonging to that group.

I would like to highlight the position of International Criminal Court judge Anita Ušacka, which states that deliberate policies to destroy the usual means of subsistence, and as such the gradual disappearance of a certain human group, may constitute a subjective element of the crime of genocide due to the final disappearance of the group “in whole or in part”.<sup>136</sup>

According to this magistrate, even if the strictest concept of genocide as physical or biological annihilation is maintained, it would be enough “prove that the intention is to destroy the group through physical, biological, social or cultural destruction”. Therefore, the intention to physically eliminate a group is not necessary for there to be genocide, according to this magistrate.

Following this argument, certain policies towards a certain group, such as the restriction of food or water, or making impossibility the usual means of subsistence, could be considered genocide. In this sense, this research has shown that the *Adivasis* and *Dalits* suffer from policies of expulsion from the lands and forests that they inhabit and work, as such losing their usual means of subsistence, all for the benefit of large multinational companies and the Indian Government.

The Prussian military man Carl von Clausewitz said that the war was the continuation of politics by other means. So, in the face of the application of these “other means”, many of the *Adivasis* and *Dalits* channel their

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<sup>136</sup> See in: Clavero, Bartolomé, *Are there everyday genocides? and other perplexities about indigenous America*, 2011.

resistance to these policies, in the participation both actively and passively in the insurgency. After 50 years, “Naxalism” has become a practical reference for the resistance of the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* communities against the power of the Bourgeois State, with a system of values, beliefs and specific practices.

If we start from the Maoist conception of the people’s war (which in India is the ideological characteristic of the insurgency), the People’s Liberation Guerrilla Army is made up of the masses. In the case of India, the majority of these guerrillas are made up of *Adivasis* and *Dalits*. In the case study that concerns us here, the Indian Government intends to partially destroy (that is, destroy those who resist) a national group (the *Adivasis* are recognized as such in the Indian Constitution), which in turn is an ethnic group with a worldview of one’s own life.

In the case of the *Dalits*, when dealing with the “untouchables” we would have to ask ourselves, despite being recognized in the Indian Constitution, if they are recognized as a specific group or are simply regarded as “waste” by the Hindu system. But regardless of their definition, it is clear that they are an important group within Indian society with an equal right to live with dignity, without being considered the “impure” of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society.

In view of the characteristics exposed in the present investigation, it is quite evident that the attacks that are taking place in India against the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* peoples—both those who resist peacefully, as well as those who belong to the Maoist armed movement—is a genocide. It is clear that “in part” some national groups in India are being eliminated with the aim of altering social relations within the nation itself.

The annihilation is not spontaneous: it is a systematic destruction aimed at eliminating the “rebel part” and transforming the rest of the national groups, redefining their way of being, their social relationships, their destiny and their future. It is the annihilation of those who resist and practice another way of seeing social and economic relations. It is the class war applied in its superior phase, genocide.

To conclude this study, it should be remembered that at the beginning of it we asked ourselves: How important can the declaration of genocide be in an unequal war, if the Genocide Convention itself is written by those who have throughout history developed the majority of counterin-

surgency strategies?

And the answer leads us to the conclusion that, even if the existence of a genocide were declared against the *Adivasi* and *Dalit* communities or against the Maoist movement itself, it would only have a symbolic effect, since the interests of the multinationals and their imperialist states will not allow another form of development. Its development based on human exploitation and natural resources will continue to be present, and if necessary, human groups who refuse this policy will be eliminated, since that is their nature, that of wild and genocidal predation, and their history is full of numerous examples.

So, if after the genocidal operation that the Indian Government is carrying out there are some *Adivasis* left, it will possibly be in “reserves” for tourists who want to continue seeing the Rousseauian “noble savage”, as the United States of America has already done with its indigenous peoples, and as it is increasingly proceeding to do so with many of the world’s indigenous peoples.

And in case there are some *Dalits* left, it will be to maintain the Hindu caste system and for some social scientists to continue doing thoughtful studies on the caste system.

In the case of the Maoist or Naxalite movement, there will be only one paragraph of history left, as “fanatics”, because of whom the “largest democracy in the world” was forced to carry out brutalities and exterminate certain *Adivasis* and *Dalit* peoples.

*That is why the only alternative for the survival of the Adivasis, Dalits and Naxalite militants who believe in another society, is a radical change in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society of India, as well as the international support and solidarity to stop this massacre, so that they can advance in their objective of building a new society without classes, castes, racism and patriarchy.*



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