

# People's March

## Special Supplement On the Advance of the People's War in Dandakaranya

It is of special significance that inspite of the massive attacks by State forces in Dandakaranya not only have the Maoists been able to successfully retaliate, they have been able also to advance the level of the people's war to a higher plane. It is a historic achievement in the advance of the revolutionary war in India. Not only that, even amidst this war they have been able to implement land reforms and develop agricultural production.

In this special supplement we print a number of articles portraying the real situation in Bastar; the lives of the people, their resistance to state oppression and their vision of the future.

We call upon all readers to take cognizance of these important developments taking place in the very heart of India, lend a helping hand to achieve justice and progress for the adivasis of Bastar, and support the embryonic form of a New Democratic Power taking birth in the most backward region of our country.

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# Why the Ruling Classes wants to continue their genocidal Salva Judum campaign at any cost ? - Sadhana

On June 5, of this year the genocidal 'Salva Judum' (literally meaning purification hunt) completes two years. Two years back, exactly on the same date this campaign was initiated with the handing over of some leaders of the revolutionary mass organizations to the police by bad gentry gangsters headed by Mahendra Karma. Those mass organization leaders were earlier lured through deceit. From that day onwards the gangsters of the 'Salva Judum', backed by armed police personnel, went on a massive murder and destruction spree all over the Dantewada district, terrorizing the people, burning down hundreds of villages and driving away thousands of peasants out of their villages. Let us briefly see what this campaign brought about in these two years..

One: More than 500 ordinary adivasi peasants were murdered by the marauding Salva gangsters and the state's armed forces.

Two: 644 villages have been burnt out of existence and 45,958 people were forcefully herded in to 27 of the so called 'relief camps'. People's properties worth millions of rupees were either destroyed or looted.

Three: Hundreds of women became victims of sexual atrocities including gang rapes perpetuated by the Salva gangsters and central para-military forces. Around 50 leaders and activists of revolutionary women's organization were brutally gang raped and murdered.

Four: According to government's own estimate about one lakh acres of cultivated land is lying fallow due to the displacement of peasants.

Five: No weekly markets are being allowed to be held in any of the villages by the 'Salva Judum' goons. As a result, the people are facing hard times as they can neither sell their produce nor procure even their minimum daily needs like salt, chilies, onions etc.

Six: Schools and ashram schools in dozens of villages were turned into camps for the additional armed police forces. As a result education of children came to a halt.

Seven: People had to travel under constant harassment of the Salva goons. These goons have set up their own check posts on all the roads and highways of this district. Those traveling in vehicles and even pedestrians had to pay these goons before being allowed to move on, if they don't pay their lives and limbs will be in danger.

Eight: People have been deprived of even the minimum democratic and civil rights.

Nine: The cultural life of the people got hit to a large extent in the areas under the control of the Salva goons. The adivasi 'Ghotul' tradition is fast disappearing from the villages. The extremely pleasing scene of the village youth singing and dancing with gay abandon in front of their 'Ghotul' from dusk on is

becoming a thing of the past under the shadow of constant police combings and harassments. The people are not able to even celebrate their traditional festivals collectively, as they used to do earlier as any gathering will bring the police and the Salva goons in to their village.

Ten: The collection of minor forest produce too was hit hard in the areas under the grip of the Salva goons. The people are not daring to go deep into forest areas as they are certain to face death if by chance they come across any police or Salva goon combing parties. Even if they are able to collect some thing or the other braving all the risks, they cannot market it as all the weekly markets were closed down by the state.

To put it in one word, the terror campaign unleashed on the people under the name of 'Salva Judum' caused immense damage to what all the people gained economically, politically and socially through decades of revolutionary struggle.

The central government has so far rushed thirty three thousand strong Para-military forces to the state of Chattisgarh since the onset of the genocidal "Salva Judum" campaign, so announced the Home Minister, Mr. Shivaraj Patil. In the last two years the strength of Chattisgarh's own armed police forces tripled, from 10,000 to 40,000. Apart from these forces, a special police officers (SPOs) net work of five thousand persons, selected from the worst lot of lumpen elements leading the 'Salva Judum' was raised to provide a helping hand to the armed police forces in their Naxalite annihilation operations in the deep forest areas. So at present eighty thousand armed state police and para-military forces, equipped with the most modern weapons are deployed mainly in the area of the old Bastar district (it is now divided into five districts, Dantewada, Bastar, Kanker, Narayanpur and Bijapur.) The innocent adivasi masses who used to run away as soon as they spotted a 'Poiko' (an outsider) now stand vertically divided due to the 'Salva Judum' and are groaning under khaki encirclement. Hundreds of families got separated as the wife got herded in to a relief camp and the husband ran away to an area in the neighbouring states of Orissa or Andhra Pradesh, to save his life from the Salva goons.

The question now is why the state is bent upon continuing this genocidal campaign which devastated the lives and livelihoods of the entire population of Bastar? Though the Maoist forces inflicted heavy damages on the marauding Salva gangsters and the police forces, though political parties, democratic and progressive forces and individuals, leaders of civil liberties organizations etc. have been demanding the immediate stoppage of this fascist onslaught, why the ruling classes insist on the continuation of this campaign? What are the key reasons behind such an adamant attitude of the ruling classes?

The adivasi society of Bastar is a class divided society. Until about three decades back the adivasi landlords and tribal chieftains



used to dominate the villages to a large extent. Apart from these feudal lords, some non-advasis who migrated to this area for some reason or the other grabbed vast tracts of adivasi lands using various vile means, brazenly violating all laws that are supposed to protect the adivasi lands. In course of time they too became big landlords, traders and big contractors. These two sections, due to their financial clout, dominated all the so called institutions of local power, the panchayati raj institutions, from the village to the block and district levels. It was either these people or their proxies who got elected to the state assembly and the Parliament. Their word used to be the law in the entire adivasi society. They used to utilize every adivasi custom and tradition to enrich themselves and to further cement their stranglehold on the adivasi masses. Mahendra Karma the leader of the fascist 'Salva Judum' goon gangs is one such, who using every foul means that he can think of, became one of the most richest and powerful man in that area.

The above mentioned landlord class, freely utilizing the state machinery to their advantage and extracting free labor from the innocent adivasi masses either through tradition or through coercion turned the lands they grabbed in to fertile lands, creating irrigation facilities. It was the adivasi peasant masses who shed their sweat and blood in those fields doing all the farm work, from tilling, sowing to harvesting of the crop. For all this work, what the adivasi masses got in return was a day's meals on the days they worked in those fields, as was the custom prevalent among the adivasi masses, an age old custom through which the poor adivasi masses used to pool their collective labor power to help each other and which these plunderers used to enrich themselves.

Apart from agriculture, collection of minor forest produce is one of the main sources of income both for the adivasi masses and the landlords. The landlords used to cash the fruits of people's labor even in this respect in the name of tradition. The adivasi masses collect Mahuva flowers, Mahuva seeds etc. by going deep into the forests. The landlords never go by themselves for this work. However, the adivasi masses have to hand over their entire collections of the first day to these landlords as per the custom. Here we would like to inform the readers that in every season, the first day's collection will be the biggest for all varieties.

All this came to an end gradually as the Maoists started organizing the people against such exploitative practices. Not only that, the people, moving under the leadership of the Maoists, initiated a radical land reform movement with the slogan "land to the tiller". At first, they occupied thousands of acres of forestland and brought it under cultivation while fighting against the state. Next, they seized the lands of the landlords. All the lands thus seized were distributed among the peasantry, especially among the landless and poor peasants. Thus, thousands of acres of forest land and landlords land came into the possession of the adivasi peasants, providing them with an economic security to some extent or the other during the last three decades. This land reform at the same time started to weaken the very foundations, based on which the feudal exploiters were able to dominate the adivasi society economically, politically and socially.

The old feudal oppressors lost their authority over the rural adivasi areas almost completely due to the impact of three decades of revolutionary movement. People's revolutionary committees or Janatana Circars, have replaced them. As a result, those forces who lost their authority started and are continuing this SJ campaign in a desperate bid to regain their lost authority. They openly announced that the stopping of the campaign means nothing but the acceptance of their total defeat. That's why they assert that they will continue this campaign of terror come, what may.

Even the most fascist government cannot exercise its power only through a policy of ruthless suppression. It is well known fact that it will use other methods too, in order to woo the people to its side. So the central and state governments launched a big false propaganda campaign to the effect that the 'Salva Judum' campaign was a mass movement launched by the adivasi masses of Bastar, who got vexed with the anti-people activities of the naxalites and who wish to drive them out. The state was able to convince at least a section of the population with this propaganda, so it has to continue the 'Salva Judum' or else it has to admit that it was not a popular movement but a state sponsored one. In order to sustain it, the central government may rush in additional forces, even the Army. It has already backed the state government, generously providing funds, latest weapons, helicopters etc. The center is show casing the 'Salva Judum' as a model for all the states facing the 'naxalite problem', to follow.

The Dandakaranya is an area comprising of deep forests, hills and water resources. This area has vast mineral deposits. In the Dantewada district alone there are an estimated 700 million tones of iron ore deposits. The Dandakaranya area has 18% of the countries total iron ore deposits. Apart from iron ore, there are graphite ore deposits in Kunta area, limestone deposits in Bijapur area. There are many more varieties of mineral ore deposits including uranium. There is no dearth of water resources for setting up of hydro-electric projects. With such an abundance of natural resources, this area naturally attracts the plunderers, and the imperialist MNCs and their Indian agents have been queuing up to grab this wealth. True to its comprador character the Chattisgarh state government recently signed MOUs worth 13 billion dollars with them. But the problem is that this area has strong revolutionary movement led by the Maoists with people establishing and running their own organs of political power in several villages. As such, it will not be possible for the MNCs and their Indian agents to easily carry away this wealth unless and until the revolutionary movement is destroyed root and branch. That's why the 'Salva Judum' was launched as a part of the plan to drain out the fighting capacity of the people by bringing in a division among them. Further, vast areas were cleared of human habitation, as the Salva goons and the police forces, acting according to the plan drawn by the ruling classes burnt down hundreds of villages and drove thousands of peasants into permanent settlements, called relief camps set up on high ways. But, the task of wiping out the revolutionary movement still remains even after all this, so the 'Salva Judum' had to be

continued.

There is no dearth in this country of such types of liberal bourgeoisie democrats, who go on saying that the Naxal issue is not a mere law and order problem but a political, economic and social problem. These elements demand that since all the naxal affected areas are marked by stark backwardness, 'developmental' activities and people's 'welfare' programs should be implemented in a big way to wean away the people from the path of naxalism. These elements unequivocally condemn revolutionary violence, but hold that 'Salva Judum' is a good beginning but it should be carried in a right way, purging it of the bad elements.

So with such reasons and more the state has no go but to continue with its genocidal campaign. But everything in the world has a dual character. So is it with the 'Salva Judum'. On the one side it is devastating the lives and livelihoods of the people. On

the other hand, it has brought into full bloom the inherent potentialities of the people in waging a war of resistance. Thanks to it the people and the revolutionaries have been fast learning the basic principles of a people's war and guerilla war. The guerilla actions carried out by the Maoists in the last two years are different both quantitatively and qualitatively from the ones they carried out earlier. Eight months after the start of the 'Salva Judum' campaign the Maoists raised a new militia, called 'Koya Bhoomkal Militia' as a part of their plan to arm the revolutionary masses. The intensity of Maoist's attacks, the casualties they inflict and the number of weapons seized by them in the last two years far surpass all such actions of theirs in the earlier period.

Through their fierce resistance, the revolutionaries of Dandakaranya succeeded in unmasking genocidal nature of the so called mission of peace, the 'Salva Judum'. ❖

## Resistance and Production Activities Are Going On Hand In Hand

The adivasi masses of the Dandakarnya area have been waging a war against the forces of oppression and plunder which unleashed a campaign of fascist suppression, the 'Salva Judum'. The masses are on the one hand resisting the campaign of terror with all their might, while on the other hand, continuing all their production activities, like cultivation of their lands and collection and selling of minor forest produce, and are celebrating all their traditional festivals. All these activities are going on under the leadership of their own organs of political power, the Janatana Circars.

At present their people's militia is rapidly growing through different forms. Thousands of youth are joining the organized people's militia, in the form of village protection squads, people's protection squads, Jana militia squads and Koya Bhoomkal Militia etc. This militia, while providing the leadership to the people in their resistance activities, is on the other hand working in close coordination with the other PLGA forces of the Maoists. In this context, it is reported that the newly emerging militia commands are playing a crucial role. The organized militia of Bastar region

Sl. No.	Crop Variety	Output (in quintals)
1	Paddy	1000
2	Ganga (oil seed)	100
3	Chillies	2
4	Lentils	3
5	Sorghum	2
<b>Details of the minor forest produce collected by the militia</b>		
1	Tamarind	30
2	Mahuva Flower	2000
3	Mahuva Seeds	30

*The militia collected the minor forest produce in order to meet the personal expenses of its members as well as to meet the needs of the war.*

participated in what the Maoists termed as the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign, during the period January- June, 2006, with full vigor and vitality and plunged into production activities as soon as the monsoon set in. This does not mean that it ceased to participate in war activities, since such activities do not depend on the will of one side. So their production activities went on amidst armed skirmishes with the states' armed police forces- Salva goon gangs.

One section of the militia was continuously engaged in resistance activities thus providing protection to the people, while the rest of the militia joined the peasants in their production activities. The people and the militia took up production activities, mainly in the fields under the collective fold. The following table gives details of the crops harvested during the last agricultural season.

## ‘Salva Judum’ – No hindrance to Radical Land Reforms

The revolutionary masses have been implementing their radical land reforms programme even amidst the terror created by the genocidal ‘Salva Judum’ campaign, under the leadership of their own organs of political power, the Jantana Circars (people’s governments.) Here we give an account of the lands seized and being cultivated by the peasant masses of Byramgarh block in Bastar area. This entire area was under the undisputed dominance of the arch leader of the fascist Salva goon gangs, Mahendra Karma and his close clansmen. Recently the people seized 180 acres

S.No.	Name of the Landlord	Village	Adivasi/Non-Adivasi	Land seized (in acres)
1	Sonar Patel	Takilode	Adivasi	40
2	Sundur Roddal	Takilode	Adivasi	50
3	Sundur Roddal	Sathva	Adivasi	25
4	Kuharama Sannu	Takilode	Adivasi	25
5	Lachhan Shaoukar	Dharma	Non-Adivasi	60
6	Ghaasi	Dharma	Non-Adivasi	30
7	Poyaam Ramchand	Belnar	Adivasi	20
8	Shyamnath	Belnar	Non-Adivasi	25
9	Madvi Mangdu (Takka)	Poosal	Adivasi	25
10	Gund Paiku (Mahendra Karma’s Brother-in-law)	Neerum	Adivasi	70
11	Bor Shaoukar	Pidiakot	Non-Adivasi	40
12	Jaaram Budhram	Pollevaya	Adivasi	20
13	Mangdu Kootal	Pollevaya	Adivasi	25
14	Chamuru	Palla	Adivasi	30
15	Budram	Kodanka	Adivasi	70
16	Panjal	Kodanka	Adivasi	40
17	Ungo	Kodanka	Adivasi	40
18	Madkam Bheema	Parkeli	Adivasi	35
19	Balram	Pollevaya	Adivasi	25
20	Raamal	Sathva	Adivasi	15
21	Sudru	Sathva	Adivasi	10
22	Rele Joori	Markapal	Adivasi	15
23	Boodu	Oorsapara	Adivasi	15
24	Manku Shaoukar	Oothla	Adivasi	18

of land of a landlord of Takiloda village, Podia Karma, a cousin of Mahendra Karma. The table below gives a picture of the lands seized by the people from the landlords after the onset of the ‘Salva Judum’ campaign.

Apart from the above mentioned land the people also seized the cattle (around 400), ploughs and other agricultural implements. All the 743 acres of land that was seized was distributed among the landless and poor peasants. However some amount land was retained in each village to meet the collective needs of that village.

All this took place at a time when the people were waging a bitter civil war brought on by the genocidal ‘Salva Judum’ campaign. ❖

## **People's Forces in Bastar Retaliate Against the brutal Para-military forces**

*[The People's March in its earlier issues reported about the Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign carried out by the Maoist's during the past twelve months. We now received some more reports, which are given below.]*

The TCOC, according to the Maoists was a total success and it laid the seeds for a qualitative change in the military sphere. Thousands of members of the militia participated in hundreds of armed actions. Everywhere in this vast area, guerilla actions intensified and harassed the state security forces, dissipating their fighting morale. Many attacks, big, small and medium, were carried out by the PLGA forces, in a well coordinated way, thus confining the security forces to their camps to a large extent. The security forces were able to conduct combing operations only during special campaigns, that too by mobilizing additional forces. The PLGA forces were able to capture 20 tones of explosives, large number of automatic and semi-automatic weapons and huge quantities of ammunition. The guerillas mainly concentrated on the destruction of the assets of the exploitative government. They destroyed time and again, the K.K. railway line, especially constructed to transport the vast mineral resources of DK to the Japanese and other imperialists. In the same way they destroyed the NMDC conveyer belt that carries iron ore to the Japanese imperialists. The guerillas also destroyed the assets of the big bourgeoisie ESSAR group.

During this period the people's resistance dealt a stunning blow to the genocidal 'Salva Judum' campaign, by specially targeting and annihilating its notorious leaders and the SPOs (Special Police Officers). Here are some reports.

### **Blast In Darbhaguda – One Killed, One Mortar Launcher And An INSAS Rifle Seized**

The PLGA forces of the Maoist launched what they call a counter-offensive campaign against the police and paramilitary forces and 'Salva Judum' gangster throughout the DK area. On 10<sup>th</sup> November 2006, while 10 jawans of the CAF (Chhattisgarh Armed Force) and 10 SPOs were on their patrol at 8 in the morning near Darbhaguda, a PLGA unit ambushed them blasting claymore mines. In fact the state forces were on their road-opening programme, which was blocked by the PLGA. They were moving in team by team manner, every team having 2-3 jawans. The PLGA targeted the first team. One jawan was killed on the spot and another seriously injured. Before the remaining teams could reach, the red fighters of the PLGA rushed to the site and seized an INSAS rifle and a 2" mortar from them. Exchange of fire continued for some more time between

the remaining policemen and PLGA fighters. The PLGA forces then withdrew safely without any losses

### **Jharaghati Ambush**

According to reports, the Maoist forces carried out an ambush against the state's armed police forces at Jharaghati of Narayanpur police district on 18<sup>th</sup> January 2007. To lure the state forces on to the ambush sight the red fighters of the PLGA eliminated a police informer and kept his body near the ambush site.

Armed police forces, numbering 50, comprising of CAF and DF police and CRPF personnel proceeded to that spot in 3 batches by motorcycles and by foot. An assistant commandant of the CRPF Vikas Chandra and an ASI of the local police, Shivchand Sahu, were leading those forces. Especially the state forces were cock sure about their safety as police camps were set up at every 5-10 Kms as a part of their carpet security plan and as they were wearing bulletproof jackets, and that they can strike any village at will. Their morale also was on the high because just 10 days earlier, i.e. on 8<sup>th</sup> January, they killed 4 People's Militia comrades through indiscriminate firing at Innar village of the same area. In that incident too, the same notorious asst. commandant and ASI were in the lead.

. The PLGA fighters exploded claymore mines as soon as the police reached the ambush spot causing injuries to some cops. The police opened rapid firing with auto weapons. The red fighters showing great courage and fighting skills advanced amidst the intense police firing using fire and movement techniques and killed all the 7 police personnel including the CRPF assistant commandant and ASI of police, who were in the first batch. A total of three AK-47 rifles, two INSAS rifles and two SLRs, two walkie-talkie sets and 4 bulletproof jackets were seized.

This incident took place between Vedamkot police camp and Doula police camp, both of which are hardly any distance from the ambush site. The fighting was so severe that the second and third batches of the police forces could not muster any courage to advance. Further, the PLGA fighters chased the other batches from the site, which ran helter skelter to save their lives and could only reassemble after one day. By seeing them running for their life, additional police forces, which were coming in support, didn't advance even a single step.



In this heroic fight a great son of the soil, the beloved comrade Kumma, member of Company-1 became a martyr.

In fact in the Innar killings, in which 4 People's Militia comrades were martyred, one of the People's Militia member's mother, when met by Party and PLGA comrades, asked "*my son laid his life for the people, now I expect you to retaliate at the earliest*". The PLGA forces fulfilled the wish of this mother of the martyr.

### **Pressure Mine Explodes in a Different Way**

The security forces were very much shaken by the series of pressure mine blasts that caused much causality among them. So, in order to boost up their morale the state government brought three mine defusion teams from the army to Bastar. On 8, February 2007, a team came to defuse mines arranged by the guerillas on the Byramgarh-Gangalur road. First they removed and defused three small mines. Then they unearthed a bigger one and removed the detonator in the bottom. Then in their enthusiasm to expose what elementary knowledge they thought the guerillas had, they called all those near by and removed the lid of the steel carrier containing 4 kilos of gelatin. That's all! The steel can exploded with a deafening sound, killing four Naga policemen and two SPOs on the spot while some more SPOs were severely wounded.

### **Landmine Blast Destroys Police Vehicle**

On March 8<sup>th</sup> the guerillas exploded a land mine under a vehicle in which a police combing party was returning to its camp at Vinjaram of Dantewada district. The vehicle was totally destroyed. Four Naga policemen and two SPOs died on the spot. The guerillas seized four AK 47 and two .303 rifles.

### **Blast At Bhuski (Kanker Dist.) – 5 Killed And Many Injured**

On 26<sup>th</sup> April 2007, , the PLGA ambushed a police vehicle killing 5 jawans on the spot and injuring more than a dozen cops in Kanker district. The policemen were traveling in a passenger bus in civil clothes and without carrying weapons. They put a poster reading "MARRIAGE PARTY" on their bus so as to hide their identity from the eyes of the red fighters of the PLGA and the people. But this deceit did not work. The people passed on the information to the PLGA. They planted a mine under a culvert and exploded it as soon as the bus was on it. These policemen had no weapons at all. Their bosses might have felt that saving weapons from being seized by the PLGA is more important than the lives of their constables. After hearing the sound of the blast no reinforcements were sent to save them. The policemen ran

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10 Kms to reach Durgkondul police station to save their lives. Even seriously injured policemen had to walk 10 Kms to save their lives. It took a whole night to reach for one who had fractured his leg in the blast. It shows how the police officers don't pay any attention at the lives of ordinary constables. All the tall claims of airlifting the injured police personnel proved as rubbish when it comes to ordinary policemen.

### **"Tiffin Box Bomb" Explosion Near Phundri**

Last year it was the 'pressure bomb' and 'radio bomb', now this year in 2007 it is the 'Tiffin box' bomb's turn to become a nightmare among the police and paramilitary forces in Bastar region of Chhattisgarh. The PLGA forces exploded a Tiffin box bomb near Phundri in Bastar, killing 7 Naga jawans and injuring many more.

### **Land Mine Blast Kill 9 Policemen**

In a major strike the PLGA forces of the Maoists killed nine policemen by triggering a series of land mine blasts in Chhattisgarh's Bastar district on May 27. These Policemen were on a anti- Naxal operation. The incident occurred when a police party from Mardapal police station, out on an anti-Naxal operation, riding on motorcycles, reached Kudur village, about 22 km from Mardapal, the PLGA set off as many as 24 landmine blasts. Nine policemen were killed on the spot and three were injured. Among those killed were an assistant sub inspector, two head constables and seven constables. It is reported that over 200 PLGA fighters participated in this action which lasted an hour. It is reported that the Maoists passed on false information about their movements in order to lure the policemen to the heavily mined area and the policemen fell in to that trap. It is also reported that the Maoists seized many weapons including automatic ones and ammunition too.

In another exchange of fire between security forces and the Maoists in the Gangalur police station area falling in Bijapur district, a CRPF jawan was killed. Elsewhere the security forces exchanged fire with the Maoists in the Bedre camp area in the same district, where a jawan was injured.

### **Fascist Chhattisgarh Government Goes on an arresting Spree**

The Chhattisgarh police arrested a member of the CPI(Maoist) Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, Comrade Gopanna (Satyam Reddy), and two other comrades and sent them to jail with foisted cases.

Now the Chhattisgarh government is not only targeting organizers of the people but also human rights activists. The renowned human rights activist, Dr. Binayak Sen, general

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## 'Festive' Protest

- Rago

A village in the forest. At one end of the village, a land, freshly harvested. A stream flows gently near by. There is a hill on the other side of the land. There are one or two houses at the foot of the hill. The land is full of stems of the harvested crop and dried mud blocks, a sign of a good harvest. The land is eagerly waiting for the festival.

Early in the morning before the sun rose, small fires appeared all over the land like stars in the sky. Children, youth and elders are sitting by the fireside. They have with them small utensils and small sacks of rice. Many have cocks brought for the scheduled cock fight. The whole area was filled with the 'Kokko' sound of the cocks.

As the early morning chill withdrew people started going to the stream to wash their faces. They fetched water and cooked rice and dal. As they were eating more and more people started coming. The whole village seemed to have filled with people coming from various places. All of them cooked and ate their meals. As the sun appeared on the horizon, everything seemed to be ready. It appeared to start any moment.

It was 1, February 2007. The village falls in the Indravati area of the Maad division in the Dandakaranya Special Guerrilla Zone. A people's festival was going to take place there. A revolutionary meeting was going to start at this place.

The government launched the Salva Judum as a part of the plan to swallow the forest people and the party leading them, in order to loot the forest wealth for the sake of the imperialists and the comprador industrialists. It did not allow the people to harvest their crops. It did not allow them to carry the harvested crop home. It did not allow them to stay in their homes. It did not give them a chance to celebrate the Gaade Pandum (Gaade festival) that is normally celebrated after bringing home the harvested crop.

What shall we do? Should we continue to suffer? No. The forest belongs to us. This is our life. This is our war, the people's war. Let us make war, thought the masses. Tilling the land is a war. Protecting the forest has become a war. Harvesting was done under the constant vigilance maintained by the members of the militias. Thus the people brought home and stored their grains. Then they shifted to another place. They thought this too was a part of the war. But now they need a little entertainment, a little relaxation, amidst this war.

A message must be given to the rulers – We will not allow you to suppress us. We are rising. You cannot play tricks on us. We have war tactics. Beware! So the Janathana

Circar (people's government) decided to celebrate the people's festival. That is, the gaade festival. It is a festival celebrated when freshly harvested crops reach home. The Janathana Circars told the people to celebrate the festival in their villages. It conducted the festival on a much larger scale.

Now the people are coming to attend this festival. A meeting too is going to be held. The mountains echoed with the slogans, 'Long live Janathana Circar', 'down with Salva Judum', 'long live Maoist party', 'long live PLGA', 'fight back the looters', 'we have total powers on the forest' and so on. The people began to get lined up along with the Maoist activists in olive green uniforms and weapons on their shoulders.

The cultural activists of the Chethana Natya Manch (CNM) took a position in the fore front of the procession with their green dresses and red cloths tied to their heads and hips and revolutionary songs on their lips. The president of the Janathana Circar is walking at the fore front with the red flag attached to a long bamboo stick.

One has to transform the whole body into eyes to grasp this spectacular scene. .

With the procession going around all over the area, the land became a plain. The remnants of the dry stems are not to be seen.

The land is always ready for a new crop. The PLGA, people's government, organizations and the masses stood in lines. The masses followed the PLGA and stood to attention. Together they sang the International song. It was as if they were saying that 'we are the sons and daughters of Indravati, we have an international proletarian consciousness'.

While the meeting was going on with the songs of the Chethana Natya Manch and the speeches of the Maoist leaders, the great and the proud 'militia' (who, with the consciousness that they have to aim their bow and arrow and the burmar, the home made gun, at the enemy, if they are to protect the land on which they were born and have grown up) were on sentry duties in six places around the place of the meeting. Coming at intervals, they assured the leaders, 'everything is fine'. Though they were actually not present they seemed not to be absent too, from the celebration. They saw to that the program went on well. The leaders of the organizations and the representatives of the people's government looked after the people's needs.

The meeting ended. People started the 'dhaka' (dance)



in hundreds. They stood around in a circle with hands on each other's shoulders. The 'Naanoli Veyyaa' song started echoing around the hills. In the middle there was another circle with big horizontal drums. There were 21 drums on the whole. In the nineteenth place was a woman! They were beating the drum with a stick on one side and with hand on the other. They were dancing to the sound of the drums – 'du du dum. Du du dum. Du dum du dum du dum'.

On one side was the 'kundud', a small drum hanged to the neck in the front and beaten with small sticks.

The whole body has to become ears to enjoy the sound. The Chethana Natya Manch activists were giving a revolutionary meaning to the people's song and dance with drums, bells and dolak (a percussion instrument) accompanying their revolutionary songs.

The scene and the sound was infusing new blood into the spectator's eyes. The song, the drum and the dance

were all symbolising a protest. Yes.

It was the protest declaration against the state repression that was stopping their celebrations. It was the protest against the government's repression that is not allowing them to cultivate their lands. It was the protest against the police atrocities. It was the protest against the rahath sibir (relief camp) that were inviting the people to come and become slaves. It was the protest against the attempt to suppress the Janathana Circars that were governing their own villages.

The protest has become a naanoli veyya song. The protest has become Dhaka. It has become the drum. It has become the kundud.

The protest became a meeting.

Individual is a drop, masses are an ocean.

This truth has been proved many times in history and now it was proved once again on the banks of Indravathi in this forest.

Beware, you rulers!



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## **A Brave Hearted Mother Dedicates Her Only Son To The Revolution**

Palli is a hamlet in Bijapur taluq (police district). All the inhabitants of this hamlet are adivasi peasants. This hamlet has been facing repeated attacks from the marauding Salva Judum gangsters and armed police personnel since January 06' as it is considered as one of the strong holds of the Maoists. These goons destroyed many houses, brutally murdered youth like Sannu, Kulle, Manglu, Idamel and others and committed heinous atrocities against several women during their raids. Infact the state had its eyes on this hamlet from long. One year before the start of the Salva Judum Campaign the police caught hold a married woman, Budili, of this hamlet, at dusk, tortured her, accusing that she was a naxalite, raped and killed her in cold blood. Then, as usual they put on a naxalite uniform on her body and grandly announced that they killed a naxalite during an 'encounter'. Such are the atrocities the people of this hamlet have been facing from long. One more incident of such ghastly atrocity encountered by an aged mother, Parusa Katte, steeled her and made her to resolve to dedicate her son to the revolution.

Though Parusa Katte is just over 50 years of age, drained by poverty, malnutrition and repeated pregnancies she appears like woman above 60 years. She is a widow living by placing all her hopes and aspirations on the well being of her only son. A couple of months back the Salva Judum gangsters and the police raided her hamlet. All the villagers hastily retreated in to the deep forest as soon as they sighted those gangsters. But Parusa Katte stayed back thinking that those gangsters may spare an aged woman like her. But to her horror she realized latter that these Salva goons don't possess even an iota of what is called humanity as she faced their naked brutality. Those goons finding the village empty save this old woman vented their wrath on her. Those merciless goons attacked this aged woman with swords, inflicting severe injuries on her head. She lost her consciousness due to profuse bleeding and was laying in that state for two days by the time her fellow villagers returned. Finding her in such a state what all the villagers could do was only to shed tears of sympathy as they themselves were all in dire straits and could do nothing to save her life.

But to their delight and certainly not surprise, help came in very quickly from the quarter on which they have been depending on for decades. The local PLGA forces and the cadre of the Maoist party rushed to that village as soon as they got the news of the attack. Though none among them was a trained doctor, two years of continuous fighting in what can be termed as a civil war invariably led them to learn many things among which one is to treat severely wounded persons. The comrade in-charge of the local party unit cleaned her wounds, stitched the deep sword cuts with an ordinary needle and thread and dressed her wounds,

The brave mother, who survived for two days through sheer will power, slowly responded to the treatment and by the evening she regained her consciousness. Seething with anger she slowly narrated about the brutality of the Salva goons that led to this ghastly incident. She then called for the party in-charge, her eyes reflecting a glow, indicating that she has come to some

firm decision. As soon as the party in-charge came to her, she placed the hand of her son in his hands saying “How many lives were lost due to the murder spree of the blood sucking Salva gangsters and police forces! The sorrows of the mothers of murdered boys of my village can never get abated! I don’t want my son to die helplessly in the hands of those goons. Please give a gun to him and take him along with you. Even if I have to face death for this I will die gladly with the sure knowledge that my son is there to avenge the brutal murders perpetuated by these goons.” So saying this brave hearted woman patted the head of the party in-charge affectionately while taking leave of her son. The son of this brave hearted mother is now performing his duties as fighter of the PLGA forces. ❖

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### *Continued from page 7*

secretary of the Chhattisgarh PUCL, and vice-president of the all-India PUCL, was arrested on May 14<sup>th</sup> under the draconian Chhattisgarh Special Security Act 2005, which prevents even the grant of bail for a whole year. Not only that he has been framed in false charges and even his house has been sealed. His only crime was that he stood up and exposed the inhuman atrocities taking place in Bastar under the banner of the Salva Judum. The President of the Chhattisgarh PUCL, Rajendra Sail, who later took up the task of getting Dr. Sen’s release was also arrested. Demonstrations have been taking place throughout the country demanding the release of Dr. Sen and others.

People’s March strongly condemns these arbitrary arrests and calls for the immediate, unconditional release of all those arrested. ❖

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### *(Continuation of Page 17)*

the name of ‘Salva Judum’ basing on the evidence collected by a team comprising of Malini Bhattacharya and Manju Snehalata. This team visited the relief camps where the women victims narrated their horrible plight and the atrocities they were subjected to.

The People’s March calls upon all the democratic and progressive forces to come forward and condemn this state sponsored campaign of violence against women, and make a demand on the government for its immediate stoppage. ❖

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## **Exclusive Interview with Com. Sonu some where within the DK Guerrilla Zone**

*(Com. Sonu is a member of the CPI(Maoist) Central Committee incharge of the Dandakaranya Special Zone. In light of the recent decision of the Unity Congress-9<sup>th</sup> Congress to take the people’s war from the level of guerrilla war to mobile war Com. Sonu elaborates on the measures being taken and the problems faced. This interview must be seen in the backdrop of the continuing hostilities of the para-military forces and SPOs, in the name of Salva Judum, where raids continue to be conducted on villages, killing villagers on a daily basis, destroying crops, houses and reducing villages to ashes. .... Editor)*

**Question 1: How far is it true that the tactics, military mass mobilization and political struggles brought forward by the State through the Salva Judum Campaign (SJC) led you to into a civil war and encircled you?**

**Answer:** The tactics that the *enemy* brought forward through the Salva Judum Campaign are nothing but counter-insurgency tactics and ‘mopping up’ military tactics. They mainly brought forward the cruel most tactics of ‘burn all, destroy all, kill all’. They also took up certain development activities to convince ‘civil’ society, as the masses of the world are increasingly becoming conscious. These are the stick and carrot tactics the enemy had been implementing in any revolutionary war for a long time. They openly say that whatever the actual objective behind the massacre of the Salva Judum military campaign might be, the main issue is to eliminate the terrorist Naxalites. They have been trying to distance the revolutionaries who have been working for the past three decades from the masses by taking to murders, atrocities, house burnings, destroying crops, looting other properties and other such repelling methods. This had been named a ‘peace campaign’, as a voluntary revolt of the masses and a peaceful/non-violent revolution against the ‘naxalite terror’. This propaganda is of the Goebbels kind. In such a situation it has become inevitable for the masses to intensify their self defense.

Masses are making war through their unique sacrifices. They are facing the unjust war imposed on the oppressed masses by the ruling classes. They are resisting the massacre by the reactionary forces. The enemy is portraying this to be a situation of civil war in this area.

Perhaps, the war created by the enemy by sending the police and paramilitary forces in thousands on the adivasi masses, who have been severely neglected for the past generations and have been facing unlimited exploitation, could not be anything but a civil war. You have said that the enemy is taking up military mass mobilization through the Salva Judum. We cannot say this in regard of a fascist organization. No wise person would believe that they are taking up mass mobilization. If we see the 500 and more villages where the Salva Judum goondas and the police created terror, we could understand the situation in which the 50 thousand masses reached the camps. If we consider this to be military mass mobilization, we would commit mistake in understanding the broad masses. When I think about your question I remember what Gramsci said. He said that a fascist organization too tries to obtain *the acceptance* of the masses for its *actions*, that is, it tries for legitimacy and to mobilize the masses. Comrade Mao too said very clearly — ‘Moulding people’s opinion becomes necessary for counter revolution and revolution’. It is

necessary for them to mould the opinion of the masses to permanently exploit them. This is exactly what they are trying through the Salva Judum. This is what they have been doing recently and with force.

Coming to encirclement, the enemy is following this tactic. In the name of carpet security they are establishing camps extensively (at a distance of 3-5 kms). As a part of encircling the Maad hills they have established camps around the Maad hills in big numbers. They have established camps on roads, rivers and other vital areas. They are trying to cut the contacts between the divisions and between the sub zones. The camps and the deployment of forces remind us of Jammu & Kashmir and the forces deployed on the borders of the country. Encirclement is going on. This has to be countered only through counter encirclement. The broad masses are the great source for our counter encirclement.

In essence ours is a struggle at both the political and military levels.

**Question 2: Organisations with liberal bourgeois ideas and progressive ideas brought forward two issues—solving the problems through the announcement of unconditional ceasefire by both sides and talks. Your comment?**

**A:** Who has to make the ceasefire statement first? This is an important issue. It is the government that sent thousands of forces against the oppressed masses and as you said indulged in civil war. First the government must establish a peaceful atmosphere. It has to withdraw *all the forces*. It has to provide conditions for the masses to enjoy the minimum civil and democratic rights. These are the actions *that* the government has to take up immediately after announcing a ceasefire. It would then be meaningful to have talks later. Then we would not hesitate to announce a ceasefire. Acting contrary to this would only be like the sheep believing the butcher. We were never against talks. The differences between the Chathisgarh state government and the central government in this matter are clear. The Centre throws the ball into the court of the State government saying talks are the affair of the State government. The State government says that Naxalite problem is a national problem and that the Centre must conduct talks, throwing the ball back into the Centre's court. In fact none of them actually wish to solve the problems of the masses through talks in a peaceful atmosphere.

However intellectuals with progressive ideas are mainly confined to press statements. They need to bring greater pressure on the government. They would gain greater credibility as progressives only when they could think and practice unconditionally on the side of the masses. We hope that they do move in that direction, as with the policies of LPG and the inhuman and genocidal forms of repression used, the masses of our country are being pushed to the brink.

**Question 3: Political agitation too is needed along with armed resistance to counter the imperialist/CBB exploitation which loots the natural resources. How do you respond to this issue? What are the problems and solutions you have in mind?**

**A:** Let us start the answer with the well known principle that 'war is the continuation of politics by other means'. We are not

only depending on armed resistance, though it is a fact that the main form of struggle is war. The masses in this area are facing problems like those across the country. Mainly the evil consequences of globalization have become most dangerous. Displacement of people has become a burning problem. People are relentlessly fighting against the same. People took up a militant political struggle opposing the Bailadilla mine exploration and laid down their lives in that struggle. Five years back women, men, children and even the old came on to the roads opposing the construction of the Nagarnar Steel plant. The Police butt charged people including pregnant women and put many in jail. Many were arrested and put in the lockup. The officers conducted fake gram sabhas and declared that the people accepted the project. They have laid the foundation stone for the construction of the Steel Plant. Now the people of Lohandiguda, Bansi, Chargam, Raoghat, Bodhghat and many such areas are fighting against being displaced. In the first week of March 2007 thousands of people blocked the road to achieve their demands, despite police repression. Singurs and Nandigrams will break out everywhere. In the Chathisgath State alone the Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalists on the one hand and the Multi National Corporations on the other are making agreements to establish big industries. By now investment plans upto 130 billion dollars is on hand. We have to understand the relation between this capital and Salva Judum. In fact these capitalists designed Salva Judum with agents like Mahendra Karma to continue their investment without problems and to eliminate the revolutionary movement. So the masses have to take up militant political struggles against the exploitative ruling classes for their existence. They are doing that too. When necessary they have to take up armed resistance too in continuation to these politics. We are participating in these struggles to the best of our strength. But the TATAs, Essars, Mittals, Ambanis, Jindals, etc have put pressure on the state governments and it banned our party and revolutionary mass organizations. So we are forced to work with many limitations in this 'democratic' country. Coming to solutions to problems, the heroic masses of Nandigram showed a solution recently. The people of Kalinganagar and Posco too are in the path of struggle. The people in Chargam chased out the Nikko Company and showed a solution. Thus, the solution to any problem depends on the level of mass struggles.

**Question 4: Suppression campaigns like Jan Jagaran Abhiyans of the government are nothing new to the people of Bastar and your party. Why and how is it, there is a qualitative change in the present SJC when compared to the earlier two campaigns?**

**A:** This is a very interesting question. We have to look for an answer historically. Of course, let us do it in brief.

As you said these suppression campaigns were nothing new. Earlier too, two campaigns were conducted, one in 1991 and the other in 1997 under the name of Jan Jagaran Abhiyan. But, there is really a qualitative change between the earlier campaigns and the present one. It is because there are a lot of qualitative changes in the revolutionary movement. An alternative people's democratic system is being formed in Dandakaranya. This is advancing on the path of protracted revolutionary war. You must have been going through the sensational news in the media about this



progress, describing it as ‘Pasupathi to Tirupathi’ and ‘Lohapatti Red Corridor’. So the ruling classes are determined to fight with this so that the revolutionary movement does not get strengthened and spread; and to see its end.

Coming to the second issue — we must see this in the light of the globalization, liberalization, privatization economic policies. There are abundant mineral deposits in Jharkhand, Chathisgarh and Orissa. There are valuable resources in these forests. As I mentioned above, in Chathisgarh alone the state government entered into agreements for an investment of 130 billion dollars. In Orissa the agreements were for an investment of 250 billion dollars. The revolutionary movement has become a hurdle for the implementation of these capital intensive projects. Unless this problem is solved the agreed investment cannot come into practice. New ones too would not come. So the ruling classes decided to fight to root out the revolutionary movement in order to make these regions safe for big capital.

The third and the last, but important issue is the local one. After the launching of Salva Judum, the revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary masses in Indravathi area alone of Bhairamgarh block seized 800 acres of land belonging to landlords under the leadership of the people’s governments (Janathana Circars). It was distributed to 150 poor peasant families. Certain amount of land was taken for collective agriculture in all the villages. This did not end here. People are tilling all these lands. In 1991 the revolutionary masses seized thousands of acres of lands in Telangana, and Andhra areas. Some of this was distributed too. But the ‘state’ forcefully obstructed tilling of those lands. Gradually some of these lands once again went under the control of the landlords and some of them sold the lands tactically. Or else, they were left fallow. But this is not the case in Dandakaranya. Salva Judum has to continue if the landlords are to seize the lands that the peasants took control of. Therefore there must be many more forces to crush the movement. All the landlords know that they cannot live if this continues the same way. The landlords have left their villages and are guiding the Judum from the towns. Another issue worth realizing is that all of them are close relatives to the agents of hard core big feudal, trader classes and the opposition Congress party leader, the Bastar ‘tiger’, Mahendra Karma.

All these conditions mentioned are different from those of 1991 and 1997. The fundamental difference in the nature of the campaigns could be understood only if we see it in this background. The earlier campaigns were led at local state government initiative; the present one is being directed by the Centre as part of its counter-insurgency methods of LIC (Low Intensity Conflict) against the Maoist movement as a whole.

**Question 5: Can the SJC being jointly conducted by Congress-BJP bring about changes in the contemporary Indian politics and in political alliances? What is your Party’s analysis on the intensifying internal contradictions among the ruling classes? What is your opinion about how the SJC will reflect on the politics of Chattisgarh? Will there be any effect on alliances and fronts in future elections?**

A: I don’t think there would be countrywide changes with

Salva Judum at that level immediately. This is related with the existence of the exploitative ruling *classes* in Dandakaranya. It is also related to the revolutionary movement making a severe impact on Chathisgarh state politics. The Congress leader Mahendra Karma approached the BJP with his seasoned opportunist politics. He claimed to be a member of Raman Singh’s cabinet. The BJP is not that strong in Bastar. So they had to patronize Mahendra Karma. Now both these parties have stood as man-eating parties that the Bastar masses could never confide in. On the other hand the revisionist CPI in its normal way is trying to utilize this situation for its benefit. It is gaining certain positive results in this regard. However the CPI and CPM are not in a position to have alliances with the Congress in the background of Salva Judum. The Congress and BJP would not enter into open alliance. So there might not be major changes in the coming elections in the background of SJC. But in the two bi-elections (Kota assembly and Rajnandgaon Lok sabha) an anti establishment vote won, more than the SJC. As our People’s War intensifies there might be changes in Indian politics. Presently all the parties are supporting the suppression of the revolutionary movement in some or the other form, under the label of law and order. It is but natural for the politics of these parties (tactics) to have a difference in tone.

**Question 6: The Congress and BJP are taking up countrywide propaganda and the CPM too is joining them, though tactically. America is interfering and there are responses to this as a country wide problem. In this situation how far do you think you have gone forward in voicing your opposition together with your friendly forces?**

A: We are very much backward in this regard. America is coming forward to suppress the revolutionary movement developing in this part of the globe. The patriotic forces, democrats are condemning it severely and this is a good and welcome sign. But we have to yet voice our opposition to American interference together with these forces, as you said. Our Unity Congress-9th Congress took this as our immediate task in our United Front work.

**Question 7: The revolutionary movement in AP around the Dandakaranya guerilla zone has weakened and the greyhounds of AP have become part of the forces of suppression in this area directly. What political changes would this lead to?**

A: It is true that we were weakened in Andhra Pradesh. Our Unity Congress-9th Congress decided that the movement underwent a temporary setback. In the wake of the weakening of the movement, the greyhounds of AP are increasingly penetrating into this area. They are combing in Sironcha, Ahiri areas of Maharashtra, Kunta, Gollapalli, Kishtaram, Madded, Usur in Danthewada district and other such areas. Our guerillas were martyred and greyhounds forces were injured during these operations. This is the objective reality.

The Andhra police established the special greyhounds with a foresight, in Khammam and Visakhapatnam. Later a joint command of AP, Chathisgarh, Maharashtra and Orissa was formed under the leadership of the Andhra DGP. As our people’s attacks are intensifying in Chathisgarh, they are conducting meetings frequently for better coordination between Andhra and

Chathisgarh. After the Rani Bodili attack the Chathisgarh Home Minister, DGP and other higher officials met the Andhra police for two days. One the whole, establishing the greyhounds and the SIB like in Andhra to suppress the Naxalites countrywide and intensifying the economic reforms under the dictates of imperialist International Financial Organisations has become the policy of the central and the state governments. The Andhra police are claiming to be heroes because of their success. However, on the other hand, the revolutionaries of Dandakaranya, Bihar and Jharkhand are intensifying People's War as a good antidote to the greyhounds. All the enemy forces have joined hands and are taking up severe measures to intensify the attacks. A military airport is being established in Moonji in the heart of Maad. In Nagpur, military airports are being established to control the Naxal activities in all the states. All these are being taken up by the enemy with a long term view to suppress our political struggle with their brutal military strength. In this situation the weakening of Andhra movement is a loss. Our Congress took serious decisions to revive that movement.

**Question 8: For the past few months there is a discussion going on about sending the Indian army in the place of paramilitary forces to DK. How does your party assess the political impact and consequences not only in DK but all over the country? How are you prepared politically in this regard?**

**A:** It is true that there is such a discussion. But the reality is that an army established study group is playing an active role in directing the entire para-military operations. The military has already set up a jungle warfare school in the region and are consciously involved in guiding and directing the paramilitary. Military experts are coming all the way to study all the main attacks taking place here, for the past three years. In Moonji and Nagpur, military airports are being built. Long term arrangements are being made with this view. Thirty years back our people feared the police who were then going around with lathis. Now they are seizing weapons from the paramilitary forces. These people would in future fight with the army too. In this background the Centre is encouraging the states to establish Indian Reserve Battalions in the mould of the army, instead of deploying the army for internal security. Army would take up large scale suppression methods. The security forces of the exploitative ruling classes would be increasingly severe and cruel in suppression. They would in a sense teach the masses to fight.

**Question 9: We have come to know that your Main force has increased two to three times and the Base force increased 10 times during the Salva Judum campaign. Without a qualitative change how would you enhance fighting power?**

**A:** You are right. Our Main forces, Secondary forces and Base forces have increased in number. But, the numbers are different from what you mention and is a technical matter. Your auxiliary question is more important. Your question about how we are going to increase our fighting ability without a qualitative change is serious. There would be a qualitative change only when our fighting capacity is enhanced. Quantitative increase of forces alone would not help. This is only one dimension of the issue. Another and important dimension is the improving of striking power of the increasing forces. In order to increase the striking

power, the fire power has to increase. War skills too should increase. All these issues are interlinked.

In my answer to your second question I said that we have to increase the war skills in order to advance to mobile war. But how will the increase come about? War skills would develop only through making war. We could see this clearly in our practice in the past two years. Earlier we faced a lot of problems in fighting back the enemy coming by foot. We must admit that we could not deal them big blows. So we could not seize their weapons too. But the Salva Judum taught us a lot. It is constantly engaging us in war actions. This increased our forces. We are gaining new experiences in guerilla actions. In the light of lessons from these experiences, we made necessary changes in the training of our forces. We achieved certain improvements in our weapons. I shall now tell you a few fresh examples of 2007. In January our PLGA guerillas ambushed 30 policemen coming by foot at Jaraghati in the Maad area. They separated and eliminated seven of them and seized their weapons. We followed a new technique in arranging mines near Pundri near Bhairamgarh in February and eliminated seven police there too. On 1st March we killed the police forces coming by truck near Darbha near Kunta in Danthewada district and seized 9 weapons. It is of particular importance that it was the notorious Naga police that were killed in these incidents in February and March. The Rani Bodili incident on 15<sup>th</sup> March is well known. It is unique in the history of India where enemy forces have been killed on such a large scale at the hands of revolutionaries. We seized 36 weapons in this daring attack. We lost 6 of our heroic guerillas in this heroic raid. Their ideals and their war skill would help us a lot in our future practice.

**Question 10: Could you elaborate some more on the nature of the forces involved in countering the massive forces of the State machinery and the nature of the type of battles that you are likely to face in the near future?**

**A:** There are three kinds of forces in our PLGA —1. Main force; 2. Secondary force (Regional force); 3. Base force (militia). We have clearly defined the three kinds of forces. According to this definition the Main Forces does not confine to one area. They engage in war actions in any part of Dandakaranya. They plan these actions mainly in the leadership of the Zonal Military Commission. However as the forces increase, the war actions are planned in the leadership of the Sub-Zonal Commands. Overall, all the Main Forces are under the direct leadership of the Special Zonal Military Commission.

Presently we consider the Company (strength 70 to 100) as the Main Force. We considered that the Company would be the primary unit in the regular army. This could be said to be the *first measure in the serious efforts to transform* the PLGA into the PLA. So we did *not* confine the Secondary forces and the Main forces to just one area. In view of the needs of the war actions all these forces may be brought together. But their responsibilities differ. They have commands of their own. Party committees too exist in the respective military formations.

Coming to the Secondary forces they are now working under the direct leadership of the respective Divisional Committees (Divisional Commands). They have been formed upto the platoon level. *Anyhow* there is *one important* issue to be mentioned in

*this* regard. Whenever there is a special operation they would have to implement the instructions of the Central Military Commission, Special Zonal Military Commission and get down to actions of war. All the forces together need to intensify the guerilla war. The guerilla war must develop into mobile war, failing which, it would wither. This is a military principle. This was put forward strongly by Comrade Mao, Comrade Giap and many others.

**Question 11: There have been reports of advancing the war to 'mobile warfare' from 'guerilla war'. What does this mean and entail? It is difficult for the common person to understand its implications?**

**A:** One of the primary characteristics of mobile war is big formations. The second is improved war skills.

Big formations must be seen as the centralization of forces. Normally guerilla war would entail hit and run methods and here the concentration of forces too would be to facilitate this approach. But mobile war is a higher method of war than guerilla war. Initially it would have the nature of guerilla war and the principles of regular war gradually come forth clearly and develop accordingly.

In order to eliminate the enemy forces in a big number and liberate the territory, guerilla war has to gradually change into mobile war. This is the reason why forces must be centralized in mobile warfare. Mobile war is also called a War of Annihilation. It means it needs relatively more time to fight with the enemy than the guerilla war. Only thus could the enemy be annihilated. Centralization is necessary to fight back the enemy.

We have to seriously consider forming regular higher formations at the same level at which we initially centralized the forces. If we are to get down to effective war actions we have to improve the military formations. Unless we do so we cannot face the enemy.

There are two probable deviations when we take up centralization of forces or building higher formations. One is to reject big units due to localized thinking. The second is to take the big units as the main issue while neglecting local and small units. Both are wrong. So paying attention to local and small units is as important as the centralization of forces for building big units. We cannot conduct successful war actions with centralization of forces alone. Coordination between the forces and actions is very important.

If we think that increase of forces means merely centralizing existing forces, there would not be any progress in the war. Merely centralization of forces without expansion of our overall forces would create an imbalance between the Main Force on the one hand, and the Secondary and Base forces on the other. The Main Force can be increased only by recruiting new forces into the people's army on a large scale. That is what we are doing now. This is the right way to improve the forces. Centralization could be enhanced only through such increase in strength of the entire forces.

**Question 12: The Indian para-military and armed forces have the most sophisticated weaponry and huge strength. Many doubt whether you can be successful in fighting such a powerful enemy. What is your response to these doubts?**

**A:** It is very true that our weaponry is no match for that of the reactionaries who are getting all sorts of assistance from the US and Israel. This weakness has been haunting us for a long time. We have just started to overcome this weakness. Even now the 12 Bore weapon happens to be the main weapon in our PLGA in DK. The Bow and Arrow happens to be the main weapon of the masses and people's militia. We are putting in severe efforts to bring a change in this situation. The seizing of 20 tons of explosive material from an attack on the NMDC godown by our guerillas, masses and militia, helped us a lot. As a result our people's militia has been taking up mine warfare for quite some time. It is bringing about miracles. The enemy shudders with fear at the pressure mines of our people's militia. We cannot arrange modern weapons for all. We cannot compete with the enemy in this regard. But there is a need to bring a great change in our weapons for all. Leaving aside the question of which division was able to seize arms and which was not, the PLGA guerillas must seize the enemy weapons during every action daring their lives. Our PLGA's actions are progressing in this direction. We are still waging a guerilla war. Guerilla war is a popular form of struggle. Guerilla war is the method of struggle where war is conducted depending on the heroism of the masses. Modern weapons can be countered through guerrilla warfare and success achieved. We must not forget this. This was earlier proved in Vietnam; it is once again being proved in Iraq. Yet, this doesn't mean rejecting the fact the weapons have a vital role in war. Utilizing weapons too is a part of tactics. This is the reason why we are fighting intensely to arrange weapons as per the level of our present war actions. We are achieving certain progress.

**Question 13: Finally, what is your vision of the future and what would you call on the people of the country to do vis-a-vis your struggles and battles in this one corner of the country?**

**A:** Firstly we are not only restricted to any one corner of the country and our Party has a presence in 17 States; and guerrilla war is taking place in Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra and many other states. Our struggles are part of this. These struggles may be at varied levels of development but they will advance according to the laws of protracted people's war. To liberate our country from the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and build a genuinely free and prosperous India there can be no short cut. History has shown that however torturous the path there is no alternative. What do we see today? The imperialists and their agents are impoverishing the masses on a scale unheard of in these past fifty years and also we see the imperialist stranglehold over our country grow by the day. Peaceful dissent is crushed ruthlessly. There are hundreds of such examples in just the past two years. So what is the alternative? It can only be armed resistance, like we are undertaking in Dandakaranya. There is no other path. Our struggle is nothing but a part of the struggles of the oppressed peoples and nationalities going on in this country. The only difference is that it may be more advanced. It is part and parcel of a common battle. We are facing great atrocities; there is urgent need for others throughout the country to raise their voices against it. The preservation and advance of our struggle will play a dynamic role



for all other struggles going on in the country; just as the advance and support of other struggles in the country will be of great assistance to our struggle. It is a dialectical relationship of each assisting the other to take on the monster that is the Indian State, backed by the imperialist, particularly US imperialism. We expect

this support from the masses of India and all progressive forces. The vision of a new India can already be seen, in embryonic form in the new power and Janatana Circar being established here. It is bound to grow. ❖

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## **Condemn the State sponsored violence against women going on in Bastar in the name ‘Salva Judum’**

*(This article is based on an article published in the April 2005-September 2006 issue of Poru Mahila, the organ of the KAMS, the revolutionary women’s organization of Dandakaranya.)*

Everywhere in the world the exploitative ruling classes use violence against women as a weapon to subdue the oppressed and exploited masses, when ever they rise in revolt. So is the case in Bastar area of the Chattisgarh state, where the state sponsored campaign of terror, the ‘Salva Judum’ is going on for the last two years committing heinous atrocities against women, among other such acts of terror. Hundreds of women became victims of sexual violence including gang rapes in the hands of the central paramilitary forces and Salva Judum gangsters and more than 150 of these victims became pregnant. Around 50 leaders and activists of the revolutionary women’s mass organization were brutally gang raped and killed by these monsters. The 27 or so of the so called relief camps that were set up by forcefully herding people, have been turned in to rape centers by the central para-military forces and the SPOs, with hundreds of young adivasi girls becoming victims of their lust. Scores of innocent adivasi girls have been turned in to sex slaves or comfort women to satiate the carnal desires of the security forces and the SPOs. More than a hundred women were tortured inhumanly, and were incarcerated in various jails.

### **Violence against Women**

Numerous incidents of violence against women by the state’s security forces and the Salva gangsters have come to light. These beasts are particularly targeting women members and activists of revolutionary mass organizations and women of the villages considered as Maoist strong holds. Here we narrate some of the ghastly crimes these goons perpetuated on women.

Saritha was the leader of KAMS of Karremarka village, Bhairamgarh block of Dantewada district. The police and the goons captured her. They stripped her naked and thrashed her till she lost consciousness. Then they tied her like an animal to a big pole in her naked state and carried her to Bhairamgarh and lodged her in a relief camp there. From that day onward they have been torturing her daily and molesting her regularly. These goons attacked Majjimbendi village in the same block and abducted some women, raped them before putting them in the Parsagarh police camp.

Kursam Lakke and Modium Sukki, two brave adivasi girls, stood as sentries at one of the entry points to their village, to be on the guard against the sudden attacks of the Salva goons. The Salva goons and the Naga police some how got wind of this, they

raided that village, chased these two girls, caught them and killed them after raping.

There are many incidents which reveal the sadistic and inhuman nature of these goons. Vedinje Nangi (a pregnant woman) and Vedinje Malli, two peasant woman went to work in their fields taking their children with them. Suddenly a combing party of Salva goons and police men reached that spot and showered bullets on this hapless woman without any warning. Both of them died on the spot. Not content with killing them those monsters ripped the stomach of the pregnant woman and cut the nine month old foetus to pieces. The deplorable incident that took place in Neelam village makes one to shudder. Bogam Gooze was an ordinary peasant woman. She was nine months in to her pregnancy. One day she as usual, she went to a water point to fetch water. There she saw the Naga police and the Salva goons on a combing mission and she started running in a bid to escape. But, she was unable to run fast due to her state of advanced pregnancy. Soon those goons caught her and gang raped her showing no concern on her pregnant state. She lost consciousness as result of this brutal act and those goons left her for dead. Later, her fellow villagers rescued her. She is still living in that village as a live example of the barbarity that is going on in the name of ‘Salva Judum’. Korsa Santho was a leader of the KAMS unit of her village. She shifted to a nearby village to protect her self. The Salva goons and the Naga police attacked that village one early morning. They caught her and killed her after raping her brutally. Moreover, they cut her breasts and slashed her private parts with swords. Then they threw her corpse in to the bushes.

The Salva goons caught a woman of Etegatta village in Kutru area and took her to Bejji police station, where the goons and the police stripped her naked and made her to stand in the middle of hundreds of men, saying that they will give back her clothes only when she provides information about the Naxalites. In another shameful incident the same policemen of the Bejji station, arrested dozens of woman from nearby villages and kept them in the station the whole day. When some of those woman who had suckling babies at home pleaded that they should be allowed to go home to feed their babies, those monsters in khaki demanded that the woman must squeeze their breasts to prove that they do have milk in their breasts. These helpless women had no way but to obey that humiliating order or else their children will go hungry.

The atrocities perpetuated on women of Poombad village are heart rendering. This village in Gangaloor area is considered as one of the strongholds of the revolutionary movement. The Salva gangsters burnt down seventy houses in this village and killed four youth. Early last year, the police killed an ex-activist, Sannu and then rounded up some women of that village. The police stood on the palms of four women, trampling with their iron heeled boots. The fingers of these four women were broken permanently and they are unable to do any work with their hands. The fate of another woman of the same village, Kunjam Mangli, was still worse. The Salva gangsters caught her when she was returning from a near by weekly market, gang raped and killed her.

In the Indravati area of Maad division too, the Salva goons and the police forces are on a rampage, just like what they have been doing in south Bastar. The Salva goons caught hold of one Mase Parsa, a fifty year old woman of Chinnapalli village, gang raped her and slit her throat with sharp weapons. A member of the KAMS of Eedveda village, Lakke, was gang raped by Salva gangsters of Gottimetta and Jegur villages, and was then shifted to Jangla camp. Two SPOs of Nungar village abducted and raped a girl, Jaini of the same village and then shifted her to a relief camp at Vedire village.

## **Relief Camps turned into Rape Centres**

During the second world war the Japanese imperialist forcibly turned thousands of Chinese and Korean women as sex slaves or comfort woman as the media termed, to satiate the sexual desires of their soldiers. The American imperialists did the same in Vietnam. Following the foot steps of their imperialist masters, the Indian ruling classes too have, at the point of guns, turned scores of adivasi women in to sex slaves to satisfy the carnal desires of the jawans of the central paramilitary forces, of the local armed police forces and of the SPOs.

Almost all of the so called relief camps have been turned in to pleasure centers for the paramilitary forces and the SPOs, where in, these gangsters pick up any woman, young or old and rape them, some times en masse.

The most notorious leaders of the 'Salva Judum' campaign like Madhukar, Anif of Kutru area, Vikram Mandavi, Ajay Thakur ( earlier the people gave him a good thrashing for raping a woman), Budram Rana of Bijapur, and Seekamanji of Gangaloor, even gathered some young men and purposefully turned them in to drunkards and debauchers. Some of them were recruited as SPOs and some others were organized into goon gangs going by the name of Grama Suraksha Samiti (village defense units). All these goons are egged on to rape women, especially, members and activists of revolutionary mass organizations, held captive in the so called relief camps.

The relief camps have become a virtual hell for the women, especially young girls. They are forced to do 'begar' (free) work like, sweeping, cleaning the toilets used by the police forces, fetching fire wood from the forest, cooking and cleaning the utensils etc. As soon as the night sets in the Salva goons, the SPOs and the policemen catch hold of any young girl of their fancy, sometimes even young mothers with suckling children and rape them right inside the camps. The central para- military forces, especially the jawans of the Naga battalion are particularly notorious in this respect, claiming hundreds of victims.

Bairamgarh turned in to the main center for rapes and other atrocities against the women. More than a hundred women are held in this camp. A room in front of the camp serves as the pleasure house for these monsters in human form. This is the place where the leader of these gangsters Mahendra Karma hob knobs with them. Women from the camp are brought here during the night either by luring them with some thing or the other or are by brute force and raped. These sadistic monsters go on a drinking binge and make a demand on the girls to dance in front of them saying "you bitches worked in the CNM (a revolutionary cultural organization) so sing and dance for us." So saying, they strip those innocent girls touch them in an obscene manner, embrace them and humiliate them in many ways.

. Some of the women ran away from these camps to escape this daily torture. Some others, like Kunjum Lakke of Pottanar village, a range committee member of the KAMS, who became pregnant in this way, is forced to work as an unpaid house maid in the house of one of the leaders of the Salva goon gangs, Vikram Madavi (Janpadh president of Bairamgarh block).

The living condition of women in those camps is horrible, to say the least. There is no security for them. The goons are forcing the women to sleep without their under garments so that they will be ready when ever the goons desire. Even the women recruited as SPOs too, are being used as comfort woman. The people have definite information that about 50 of the woman SPOs who were used as comfort woman got their unwanted pregnancies aborted.

## **Dubious mass marriages scheme - Another form sexual violence against women**

The Chattisgarh government, alarmed by the exposure of the violent atrocities being committed by the security forces and the Salva goons on helpless adivasi woman, in spite of its best efforts to suppress the facts, hit upon the idea of arranging mass marriages for adivasi woman, to dupe the outside world. It is giving money, clothes and utensils to those who get married in this way, and the chief minister and home Minister duly get their photos published in the media while gracing these occasions. Thus a huge propaganda campaign has been launched to make the people believe that the government is really concerned about the welfare of the adivasi women of Bastar. But the reality is something quite different.

Most of the brides in these mass marriages were those who were brought under coercion from the so called relief camps and most of the grooms were none other than the Salva goons and SPOs.

Though most of these goons were already married, they are abandoning their wives and are marrying the woman in the relief camps in these mass marriage ceremonies, employing all sorts of coercive methods. These goons have been violating even their traditional marriage norms like age, blood relationship kinship etc. As such these mass marriages are nothing but a cover to provide legitimacy to the sexual violence being perpetuated against women in Bastar, during the terrorist 'Salva Judum' campaign.

## **Other forms of atrocities against women**

The Chattisgarh government imposed an economic blockade on the people of Bastar as a part of its all out effort to destroy the revolutionary movement, root and branch. Collection and selling of minor forest produce like the Mahuva flowers and seeds, tamarind, dried mango pieces, broom sticks etc. is a major source of income for the adivasi peasants, and with the money earned in this way they purchase their daily needs of life like salt, chillies, clothes etc. All this economic activity takes place in various traditional weekly markets, spread all over the interior area. The state, after launching the 'Salva Judum' campaign forcefully closed all these markets and opened some markets in Parsagad, Kutru, Naimed, Bhairamgarh, Nelsanar, and Bijapur. These markets were placed under the authority of the Salva gangsters, who using this control too, are harassing people, especially, the woman, in many ways, from extorting money to outright looting.

Vangopal village is in the neighbourhood of Parsapal village, the native village of the supreme leader of the Salva goon gangs, Mahendra Karma. There is a police camp in this village. The Salva goons operate from here and harass/ abduct and rape women coming to the Nelsanar weekly market. When two girls of Paralnar

village, Sukki and Ungi went to Gangalur market, those goons abused, stripped and thrashed them till they bled. They through away all the items those girls purchased, accusing them of making these purchases for Naxalites. If any adivasi woman purchases an extra kilo of onions to meet some unforeseen demand in her house, these goons pounce on her and thrash her saying that the purchase is meant for the Maoist. If a woman happens to wear a new lungi, these goons strip her of it and carry it away. The women have been terrorized in so many ways that now they are not daring to go to the weekly markets.

Such are the violent atrocities going on against the adivasi women of Bastar. The Chairperson of the Chhattisgarh State Women's Commission Sraddha Varma is refusing to acknowledge that such inhuman violent acts are going on. The media is bent on propagating about so-called naxal violence by exaggerating it beyond one's imagination but is fully covering up whatever sexual violence, atrocities being committed against women. However, as the scale and spread of these atrocities is such that even the National Commission for Women, which normally closes its eyes on the issues in which the state is involved directly, had to openly admit the horrors going on in

*Continued on page 10*

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## **Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee Press Communique On Ranibodili Action Ranibodili raid – an answer to white terror, mass killings, loot and burnings that have been going on in Bastar in the name of 'Salva Judum' for 21 months!**

At midnight of 14-15 March the PLGA conducted a glorious and historic raid on the Ranibodili police outpost in West Bastar Division (Bijapur police district). In this short-surprise attack 55 policemen including 39 SPOs (special police officers) were killed and 11 others injured, 9 of the injured were SPOs. The PLGA seized a total of 33 weapons from this camp which includes 3 - AK-47s, 13 - SLRs, 8 - .303 rifles, 7 - muskets, 1 - INSAS rifle, 1 mortar launcher, hundreds of rounds of various types of ammunition and some hand grenades. But this victory was not achieved so easily. Six heroic comrades laid their invaluable lives to make this history. These immortal People's heroes are – Comrade Mohan (member of the West Bastar divisional party committee and commander-in-chief of the same division), Comrade Bhagat (People's Militia Squad commander), Comrade Lingal (section commander in Company-2), Comrade Kailash (section deputy commander in Company-2), Comrades Chaitu and Bhimal (both red soldiers of the PLGA). These death-defying comrades not caring at all about their safety challenged the mercenaries of the enemy classes and displayed exemplary dedication and tremendous courage for the cause of New Democratic Revolution of India. They wiped out the enemy almost completely. Certainly, this is the biggest attack in the history of Indian Communist Movement till date.

21 months back, in June 2005 in Ambeli village of Bijapur police district of Bastar, which is located near Ranibodili, anti-

people feudal gangsters and police forces had attacked adivasi people. There the notorious 'Salva Judum' was started, which in fact means 'massive hunt'. In this most barbaric campaign which has been propagated as spontaneous and peaceful movement of adivasis against Maoists, till now more than 400 adivasi people have been brutally killed by the CRPF, Naga police, Mizo police, CG state police, SPOs and the goons of Salva Judum. People of all ages, from 10 year old boy to a 60 year old man, men and women have been killed by these mercenaries. Many people were cut into pieces and thrown away into the river Indravati. More than a hundred adivasi girls and women were gang-raped. Among these many were killed too. Thousands of houses in hundreds of villages were burnt to ashes. Thousands of people were forcefully kept in the so-called relief camps where they are subjected to unexplainable brutalities. The government kept the media under its strict control and suppressed all these facts from the people of outside Bastar. With the active support and participation of the people, whenever the Maoist activists would attack in reply to these brutalities, they exaggerate and distort the facts and media would go with one-sided and biased stories. This has become a custom in fact. Those who would dare to speak and write the truth, not only they would be intimidated, but they would be beaten black and blue. Not only journalists, so many elected representatives of local bodies, traders, drivers and teachers too were beaten by Salva Judum goons and SPOs, in many incidents



in the presence of the top police officials themselves. Many a human rights activists too were beaten and abused. Particularly, the notorious Naga and Mizo mercenaries have till now raped dozens of adivasi mothers and sisters. For all these atrocities, rapes and brutalities by the government armed forces and SJ goons, in the hearts of the thousands of *Bastariya* people the flames of revenge were ablaze. These very flames devastated the Ranibodili police camp in the wee hours of 15th March 2007. **Blood-thirsty politicians like Mahendra Karma and Raman Singh, dalal capitalists like Tatas, Essars and Jindals and above all the number 1 enemy of the world people US imperialism are only responsible for this.**

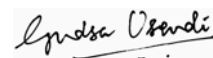
Hours prior to this attack, in Nandigram of West Bengal, at the behest of the social fascist CPM government, police had indiscriminately fired at the unarmed agitating people who were opposing to give up their lands for an SEZ there. More than 14 people were killed and 60+ were injured according to the government figures. It was not just a coincidence. In India, governments, in the interest of comprador bourgeoisie and MNCs of the imperialists, are all set to displace lakhs of adivasis and other oppressed people at gunpoint. They do not hesitate to kill the people who oppose their model of so-called development, as witnessed in Kalingnagar, Singur and now in Nandigram. Salva Judum too was started so as to make the land of Bastar a hunting ground for the Tatas, Essars, Jindals and so on. But the struggling people from various parts of India under the bold leadership of CPI (Maoist) have vowed to uproot feudalism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism and liberate the oppressed people of India. If the reactionary rulers resort to the massacres like Kalingnagar, Nandigram and Salva Judum, the people and their army – PLGA have every right to choose the path of resistance and retaliatory actions like Ranibodili.

More than a hundred and fifty heroic red fighters of our PLGA under the leadership of dozens of our brave commanders who were fully charged with the new and higher tasks and slogans adopted in the Historic Unity Congress – 9<sup>th</sup> Congress of our Party which was successfully concluded recently, with the active support of the local people and Koya Bhumkaal Militia made this raid a big success. There were at least four heavily armed police camps on four sides of Ranibodili. They were only 7 to 10 KMs away from it. In spite of this the PLGA commanders with the creative support of people meticulously planned this attack. With electrifying speed, the heroic fighters of the people stormed into the camp at 2 AM from almost three sides with an amazing co-ordination and command. There were 9 sentry posts in and around the police camp. But the attack was so rapid that most of the mercenaries could not retaliate. Only a few sentries and some mercenaries stationed in one of the three barracks resisted the attack which resulted in the martyrdom of six comrades and some minor injuries to some other comrades. But the attack continued in spite of these losses. Fallen and injured heroes were brought back and more fighters took their places. Thus the attack continued. Some mercenaries ran away in panic and some hid themselves under the cots of the girls hostel. It took almost 3 hours to completely wipe out the camp. The top police officials and the CG

government have falsely claimed that their jawans went out of ammunition and thus they became the targets of the PLGA. The fact is apart from 33 rifles of various kinds, our PLGA seized hundreds of rounds of ammunition, more than 20 hand grenades and a number of mortar shells. This shows their desperation to boost up the morale of their mercenary forces that are running with a very low morale in fact. The 33 rifles till now used to kill the people at their will, now have come into the safe hands of people's forces whose sole aim is to protect people from the exploiters and oppressors.

On this occasion, on behalf of the oppressed people of this area we warn all the reactionary rulers, who are dreaming of wiping out the Maoist movement in Dandakaranya and thus making this entire area vulnerable for the plunder by imperialists and MNCs, to stop the Salva Judum immediately, send back SPOs to their homes and stop this fascist genocide and destruction going on in the name of Salva Judum since the last 21 months. Otherwise attacks like Ranibodili will be repeated. We demand immediate withdrawal of all Central Paramilitary Forces including Naga, Mizo battalions and stoppage of fake encounters. Stop killing people, burning and looting their houses and raping women. Punish all those who have committed these heinous crimes against the people. We also declare that **THERE IS NO PLACE FOR TATA (LOHANDIGUDA) AND ESSAR (BHANSI) IN BASTAR** who are about to displace thousands of adivasis.

We also appeal to the SPOs to rethink about the crimes they have been committing against their own people knowingly and unknowingly. In the Ranibodili attack your fellow SPOs were killed in greater number. This should be an eye-opener for you. This must have taught you that in spite of the presence of hundreds of police and Paramilitary forces on all sides, nobody will can you from the wrath of the people. In fact the government is playing a dirty and dangerous game of keeping you in the front and making you kill your own brothers and sisters, mothers and fathers. That's why we are asking you to quit this job. Don't make your own brothers and sisters targets of your guns. Go back to your villages and apologize for your crimes and mistakes. Don't think that the people and the PLGA will kill you. If you really apologize with an open mind and seek to live a normal life, then no harm will be done to you. We promise you. Till this date a number of SPOs have already come back to their villages quitting their jobs and guns. In spite of our repeated appeals, if you remain in the inhuman Salva Judum campaign and continue to co-operate with the police and paramilitary forces, then the people and their army – the PLGA will have no other option but to intensify this type of resistance campaigns. It's up to you to decide. Time is still there.

  
Gudsa Usendi  
(Spokesperson)

# A Proletarian Militia by Lenin

*(We reproduce an article by Lenin on the worker's militia. In this he speaks of the need to arm the entire masses as an essential step towards exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today some are presenting it as though this question is something new. Besides the significance of building a workers' militia brings out the importance of working in a revolutionary way amongst the workers unlike all types of reformism which confines all activities to trade unions struggling around partial demands. - Editor)*

On April 14 our paper [Pravda] published a report from a correspondent in Kanavino, Nizhni-Novgorod Gubernia, to the effect that "a workers' militia paid for by the factory managements has been introduced at practically all the factories". Kanavino district, our correspondent reports, has sixteen factories and about thirty thousand workers, not counting railway employees. The organisation of a workers' militia paid for by the capitalists therefore embraces a considerable number of the largest enterprises in the locality. The organisation of a workers' militia to be paid for by the capitalists is a measure of tremendous—it will be no exaggeration to say, gigantic and decisive—importance, both practically and in principle. The revolution cannot be made safe, its gains cannot be assured, its further development is *impossible*, until this measure has become general, until it is carried through all over the country.

The bourgeois and landowner republicans, who turned republican after they saw that it was impossible to rule the people *otherwise*, are trying to establish a republic that would be as monarchical as possible; something like that in France, which Shchedrin called a republic without republicans.

At the present time, when the landowners and capitalists have come to realise the strength of the revolutionary masses, the most important thing for them is to *safeguard* the most essential institutions of the old regime, to safeguard the old instruments of oppression: the police, the bureaucracy, the standing army. They are trying to reduce the "civil militia" to an institution of the old type, i.e., to small detachments of armed men standing apart from the people and as close as possible to the bourgeoisie and under the command of men from among the bourgeoisie.

The minimum programme of the Social-Democrats calls for the replacement of the standing army by a universal arming of the people. Most of the official Social-Democrats in Europe and most of our own Menshevik leaders, however, have "forgotten" or put aside the Party's programme, substituting chauvinism ("defencism") for internationalism, reformism for revolutionary tactics.

Yet now of all times, at the present revolutionary moment, it is most urgent and essential that there be a universal arming of the people. To assert that, while we have a revolutionary army, there is no need to arm the proletariat, or that there would "not be enough" arms to go round, is mere deception and trickery. The thing is to begin organising a universal militia straight away, so that everyone should learn the use of arms even if there is "not enough" to go round, for it is not at all necessary that the people have enough weapons to arm everybody. The people must learn, one and all, how to use arms, they must belong, one and all, to the militia which is to replace the police and the standing army.

The workers do not want an army standing apart from the people; what they want is that the workers and soldiers should *merge* into a single militia consisting of all the people.

Failing this, the apparatus of oppression will remain in force, ready today to serve Guchkov and his friends, the counter-revolutionary generals, and tomorrow Radko Dmitriev or some pretender to the throne and builder of a plebiscite monarchy.

The capitalists need a republic now, because they cannot "manage" the people otherwise. But what they need is a "parliamentary" republic, i.e., one where democracy would be limited to democratic *elections*, to the right of sending to parliament individuals who, as Marx aptly remarked, *represent* the people and *oppress* the people.

The opportunists of contemporary Social-Democracy, who have substituted Scheidemann for Marx, have memorised the rule that parliamentarism "should be utilised" (which is absolutely correct), but have forgotten what Marx taught concerning proletarian democracy as *distinguished* from bourgeois

parliamentarism.

The people need a republic in order to educate the masses in the methods of democracy. We need *not only* representation along democratic lines, but the building of the entire state administration from the bottom up by the masses themselves, their effective participation in all of life's steps, their active role in the administration. *Replacement* of the old organs of oppression, the police, the bureaucracy, the standing army, by a universal arming of the people, by a really universal militia, is the only way to guarantee the country a maximum of security against the restoration of the monarchy and to *enable* it to go forward firmly, systematically and resolutely towards socialism, not by "introducing" it from above, but by raising the vast mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians to the art of state administration, to the use of the *whole* state power.

Public service through a police standing above the people, through bureaucrats, who are the most faithful servants of the bourgeoisie, and through a standing army under the command of landowners and capitalists—that is the ideal of the bourgeois parliamentary republic, which is out to perpetuate the rule of Capital.

Public service through a really universal people's militia, composed of men and women, a militia capable partly of replacing the bureaucrats—this, combined with the principle of elective office and displaceability of all public officers, with payment for their work according to proletarian, not "master-class", bourgeois standards, is the ideal of the working class.

This ideal has not only become a part of our programme, it has not only won a place in the history of the labour movement in the West, namely, in the experience of the Paris Commune; it has not only been evaluated, stressed, explained and recommended by Marx, but it was actually put into practice by the Russian workers in the years 1905 and 1917.

The Soviets of Workers' Deputies, in point of significance, in point of the type of government they create, are institutions of precisely that kind of democracy which does away with the old organs of oppression, and takes the road of a universal militia.

But how can the militia be made universal when the proletarians and semi-proletarians are herded in the factories, crushed by unbearable labour for the landowners and the capitalists?

There is only one way: the workers' militia must be paid for by the capitalists.

The capitalists must pay the workers for the hours and days which they give to public service.

This reliable method is being adopted by the working masses themselves. The example of the Nizhni-Novgorod workers should become a model for all Russia.

Comrade workers, make the peasants and the rest of the people see the need for a universal militia in place of the police and the old bureaucracy! Introduce such and only such a militia! Introduce it through the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, through the Soviets of Peasants' Deputies, through the organs of local self-government that fall into the hands of the working class. Do not under any circumstances be content with a bourgeois militia. Draw the women into public service on an equal footing with the men. See to it that the capitalists pay the workers for days devoted to public service in the militia!

Learn the methods of democracy by actual practice, right now, on your own, from the bottom up—rouse the masses to effective, immediate, universal participation in government—this and this alone will assure the full triumph of the revolution and its unswerving, purposeful and systematic advance. ❖



