

"Whether it's the security forces or the Maoists or noncombatant civilians, the poorest people will die in this rich people's war. However, if anybody believes that this war will leave them unaffected, they should think again."

Critical Issues & Concerns for NGOs, Activists and others concerned with Justice & Social Change

'SINGLE LARGEST INTERNAL SECURITY THREAT'

OR

'THE BIGGEST LAND GRAB SINCE COLUMBUS'

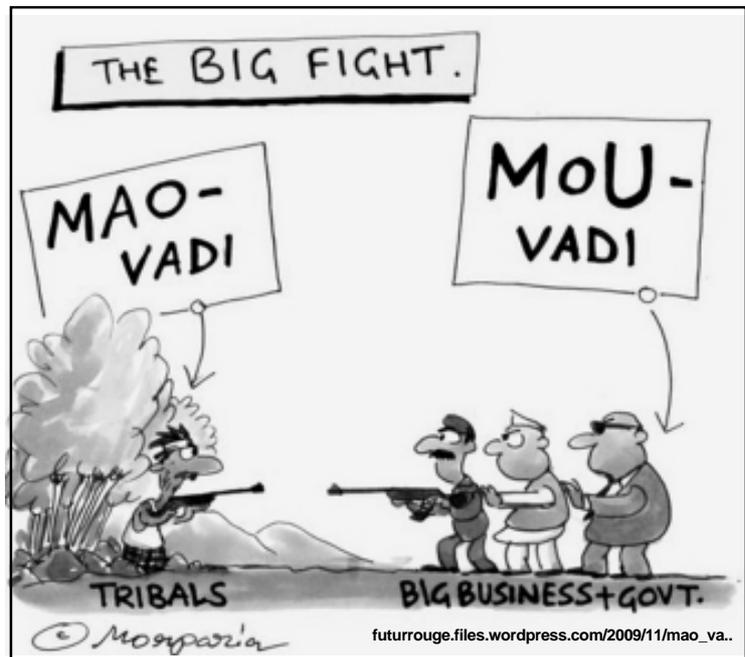
*"Once upon a time "the temples of modern India reduced millions of tribal people to ecological refugees"; now "the minerals seen as the building blocks of modern India" are putting them "at risk of losing their land through acquisition and further disruption of their societies and economies"**

No, that's no dire warning from some rights activist but, significantly, a part of a government report, 'State Agrarian Relations and Unfinished Task of Land Reforms', by a 15-member committee of the Union Ministry for Rural Development ministry in January 2008.

The report goes on add that the process currently unfolding across central and eastern India as the "biggest grab of tribal lands since Columbus". This area extending across parts of Maharashtra, Andhra, Chattisgarh, Orissa, Bihar and Jharkhand, houses the majority of India's minerals, our finest forests and bio diversity. Some of the major of India rivers originate and flow through these tracts. These districts home to nearly 60 percent of the tribal people in the country.

This is also the region dubbed by the media as the 'Red Corridor', where a fierce battle is going in between security forces and the Maoists led resistance for the control of the bounty that is in its belly.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce's Task Force on National Security and Terrorism in India calls it the "war in the heartland" It goes to the heart of the matter, when it talks of central India as "mineral rich heartland's" and points out that "the growing Maoist insurgency over large swathes of mineral-rich countryside could soon hurt some industrial investment plans". The report goes on: "Just when India needs to ramp up its industrial machine to lock in growth and just when foreign companies are joining the party, the Naxalites are clashing with the mining and steel companies essential for India's long-term success." Let us not forget that as of September '09, Rs 6,69,388 crore of investment had been pledged in



the troubled areas -14 per cent of the total pledged investments in the country

"Private sector investment, vital to the overall development of any region, may not take place if the government cannot find a sustainable solution to what it insists is a law-and-order problem," warned the brokerage firm Credit Lyonnais Securities Asia (CLSA).

There is the other view from the government which see things rather differently The Prime Minister, h sees the resistance to the ongoing land grab as the 'biggest threat to the internal security of India. His colleague, the Home Minister goes a step further and sees this as a 'threat to our way of life'

So, Mr. Chidambaram unleashes a media campaign under the banner "Naxals are nothing but cold blooded murderers" and launches Operation Green Hunt a massive military style operation to 'flush out the Maoists from their strongholds' and clear the ground for the corporates to access the minerals. At present, the total number of government forces presently engaged in this Operation is taken in its entirety (including the paramilitary forces and the state police) it comes close to a quarter of a million (2.5 lakh) is more than double the US forces presently deployed in the occupation of Iraq and bigger than the armies of Australia, Netherlands and South Africa put together.

* http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf

Under neo-liberal globalisation capital acquires unbridled power accompanied by a weakening of the state and the privatisation of common property resources. Resources, which were part of the commons and now transformed into commodities and enclosed or locked into private individual or corporate ownership. What is significant is it is done in the name of progress and economic growth. It is also to promote private investment into the country, which is seen as not only desirable and worthy in itself. For instance, the National Mining Policy was revised in-2008, with a clear motive to promote privately owned, large-scale, mechanized mines-if they happen to be controlled by multinationals, still better. Encouraging foreign direct investment (FDI) in the mining industry was the very reason that national mineral policy was revised.

What is happening in adivasi areas, (especially in Bastar) is an entirely different story - a no less brutal project of

dispossession of, what might even appear to the state's neo-liberal eyes as, an entirely dispensable population, for the sake of the treasure that lies beneath. There the logic of internal colonialism is combined and accelerated by the logic of neoliberalism and the desire to power India's fantasy of emergSing as the next world power The Centre, thus is intervening to assert its full coercive power to establish its control over the immense mineral and forest wealth, now under transfer to private capital.

Critical Concerns takes a closer look at, what is being dubbed by the media as the `Maoist Menace' - an issue that raises some fundamental questions for all of us who are gathered here for INSAF' National Convention on `Capitalist Crisis and emerging Neo-liberal Challenges: tasks for social actions" here in Bangalore. After all, it is the lives and future of nearly 40 percent of the most deprived and marginalised sections of rural India that is at

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AGRICULTURE, IF YOU WANT TO TAKE AWAY
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Vedanta plans to build a massive bauxite mine on land sacred to the Dongria Kondh tribe in Orissa. The tribe has protested against this project which will destroy their way of life, will lead to massive deforestation, threaten key water resources and endangered animals and destroy local ecosystems. On 28th April, 2009, Ministry of Environment and Forests gave environmental clearance to Vedanta to start mining. Our new minister of state for environment has made it clear that, "environment will not be a stumbling block to growth!" The Great Indian Clearance Sale. Come, exploit! We will take care of the rest.

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Orissa

The Heart of the Matter

It is the development disaster of the Indian State, the widening levels of disparity and the continuing problems of social deprivation and structural violence when compounded by the all-out effort to restrict access to common property resources that give rise to social anger, desperation and unrest.

Zone of the Conflict

The plains of peninsular India are ringed by two rows of hill ranges with their bases in the south, spreading up the coastlines in two great arcs west and east. The eastern ranges, "eastern ghats", start in the state of Tamil Nadu and cross the states of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and trail off into Bengal.

The forested regions are home to some of the oldest communities of India, described variously as adivasi (aboriginal), vanvasi (forest dwellers), girijan (people of the hills) and, in the sanitised language of the Indian constitution, under

the collective name of "Scheduled Tribes".

Their social being was considered so special that the state sought to bring them under its paternalist wing and bestow upon them the protection of that eminent document.

Constitutional provisions notwithstanding, little stands between them and the powerful coalition of local and global interests behind the twin steamrollers of "growth" and "development". Little, that is, apart from their dogged resistance and famous resilience.

But there is gold in them hills! A conservative list in-

cludes bauxite in Orissa, Iron ore in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand states, and deposits of uranium, limestone, marble, dolomite, tin, graphite, copper, gold, diamonds, corundum, beryl, alexandrite and fluorite, and possibly coal in addition to teak, hardwood, bamboo, waters of several rivers, wildlife and fish.

The bauxite deposits alone have been estimated to be worth between US\$2-4 trillion.

At the heart of this pirates' chest is the estimated 10,000 kilometres of uncharted dense forests spread over the states of Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh.

In the language of the government, its security agencies, the corporate media and assorted "security" experts, it is the "red corridor", "red zone" or "Maoist stronghold".

Along with the tribes in the forest, and assorted traders and petty tyrants of the police and forest departments on the edges, there are also the guerrillas known variously as "Naxalites", "extremists", "Maoists" or the self-described armed squads of the Communist party of India-Maoist.

There is more than gold in these hills by Narendra Mohan Kommalapati, 4 December 2009.

www.greenleft.org.au/2009/821/42195

The crux of the problem

One critical dimension of the problem is the unprecedented attack on the access of the marginalized and poor to common property resources. Compounding the persistent poverty and the continuing structural violence has been the State's recent attempt to usurp the meager resource base of the poor and marginalized, a resource base that was so far largely outside the ambit of the market.

The neoliberal turn in the policy framework of the Indian state since the mid 1980s has, therefore, only further worsened the problems of economic vulnerability and social deprivation. Whatever little access the poor had to forests, land, rivers, common pastures, village tanks and other common property resources to cushion their inevitable slide into poverty and immiserization has come under increasing attack by the Indian state in the guise of so-called development projects: Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and other "development" projects related to mining, industrial

development, Information Technology parks, etc

To the best of our knowledge, there have been no serious, rigorous cost-benefit analysis of these projects to date; but this does not prevent the government from claiming that the benefits of these projects, in terms of employment generation and income growth, will far outweigh the costs of revenue loss from foregone taxes and lost livelihoods due to the assault on land.

It is, thus, the development disaster of the Indian State, the widening levels of disparity and the continuing problems of social deprivation and structural violence when compounded by the all-out effort to restrict access to common property resources that, according to the Expert Group of the Planning Commission, give rise to social anger, desperation and unrest.

In almost all cases the affected people try to ventilate their grievances using peaceful means of protest; they take our processions, they sit on demonstrations, they submit petitions. The

response of the State is remarkably consistent in all these cases: it cracks down on the peaceful protestors, sends in armed goons to attack the people, slaps false charges against the leaders and arrests them and often also resorts to police firing and violence to terrorize the people.

It is, thus, the action of the State that blocks off all forms of democratic protest and forces the poor and dispossessed to take up arms to defend their rights. The Indian government's proposed military offensive will repeat that story all over again. Instead of addressing the source of the conflict, instead of addressing the genuine grievances of the marginalized people along the three dimensions that we have pointed to, the Indian state seems to have decided to opt for the extremely myopic option of launching a military offensive.

It is also worth remembering that the geographical terrain, where the government's military offensive is planned, is very well-endowed with natural re-

sources like minerals, forest wealth, biodiversity and water resources, and has of late been the target of systematic usurpation by several large, both Indian and foreign, corporations.

So far, the resistance of the local indigenous people against their displacement and dispossession has prevented the government-backed corporates from exploiting the natural resources for their own profits and without regard to ecological and social concerns.

We fear that the government's offensive is also an attempt to crush such democratic and popular resistance against dispossession and impoverishment; the whole move seems to be geared towards facilitating the entry and operation of these large corporations and paving the way for unbridled exploitation of the natural resources and people of these regions.

Extracted from the Background Note to the letter sent to the Prime Minister of India by Naom Chomsky and others, October 12, 2009.

mrzine.monthlyreview.org/india141009.html

Biggest Land Grab since Columbus

A civil war like situation has gripped the southern districts of Bastar, Dantewara and Bijapur in Chattishgarh. The contestants are the armed squads of tribal men and women of the erstwhile Peoples War Group now known as the Communist Party of India (Maoist) on the one side and the armed tribal fighters of the Salva Judum created and encouraged by the government and supported with the fire-power and organization of the central police forces.

This open declared war will go down as the biggest land grab ever, if it plays out as per the script. The drama being scripted by Tata Steel and Essar Steel who wanted 7 villages or thereabouts, each to mine the richest lode of iron ore available in India.

There was initial resistance to land acquisition and displacement from the tribals. The state withdrew its plans under fierce resistance. An argument put forward was 'you don't play foul with the Murias? It's a matter of life and death and Murias don't fear death. A new approach was necessary if the rich lodes of iron ore are to be mined.

The new approach came about with the Salva Judum, euphemistically meaning peace hunt. Ironically the Salva Judum was led by Mahendra Karma, elected on a Congress ticket and the Leader of the Opposition and supported wholeheartedly by the BJP led government. The Salva Judum was headed and peopled by the Murias, some of them erstwhile cadre and local leaders of

the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Behind them are the traders, contractors and miners waiting for a successful result of their strategy. The first financiers of the Salva Judum were Tata and the Essar in the quest for peace?

It turned out to be an open war between brothers. 640 villages as per official statistics were laid bare, burnt to the ground and emptied with the force of the gun and the blessings of the state. 350,000 tribals, half the total population of Dantewada district are displaced, their womenfolk raped, their daughters killed, and their youth maimed. Those who could not escape into the jungle were herded together into refugee camps run and managed by the Salva Judum.

Others continue to hide in the forest or have migrated to the nearby tribal tracts in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

640 villages are empty. Villages sitting on tons of iron ore are effectively depopulated and available for the highest bidder. The latest information that is being circulated is that both Essar Steel and Tata Steel are willing to take over the empty landscape and manage the mines.

Excerpts from Committee On State Agrarian Relations and Unfinished Task of Land Reforms, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. Volume 1, 2009

http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf

So what kind of money are we talking about?

In their seminal, soon-to-be-published work, *Out of This Earth: East India Adivasis and the Aluminium Cartel*, Samarendra Das and Felix Padel say that the financial value of

the bauxite deposits of Orissa alone is 2.27 trillion dollars. (More than twice India's Gross Domestic Product). That was at 2004 prices. At today's prices it would be about 4 trillion dollars. A trillion has 12 zeroes.

That's just the story of the bauxite in Orissa. Expand the four trillion dollars to include the value of the millions of tonnes of high-quality iron ore in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand and the 28 other precious mineral resources, including uranium, limestone, dolomite, coal, tin, granite, marble, copper, diamond, gold, quartzite, corundum, beryl, alexandrite, silica, fluorite and garnet. Add to that the power plants, the dams, the highways, the steel and cement factories, the aluminium smelters, and all the other infrastructure projects that

are part of the hundreds of MoUs (more than 90 in Jharkhand alone) that have been signed. That gives us a rough outline of the scale of the operation and the desperation of the stakeholders. The forest once known as the

Dandakaranya, which stretches from West Bengal through Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, parts of Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, is home to millions of India's tribal people. The media has taken to calling it the Red corridor

or the Maoist corridor. It could just as accurately be called the MoUist corridor. It doesn't seem to matter at all that the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution provides protection to adivasi people and disallows the alienation of their land. It looks as though the clause is there only to make the Constitution look good-a bit of window-dressing, a slash of make-up. Scores of corporations, from relatively unknown ones to the biggest mining companies and steel manufacturers in the world, are in the fray to appropriate adivasi homelands-the Mittals, Jindals, Tata, Essar, Posco, Rio Tinto, BHP Billiton and, of course, Vedanta.

There's an MoU on every mountain, river and forest glade. We're talking about social and environmental engineering on an unimaginable scale. And most of this is secret. It's not in the public domain.

The heart of India is under attack by Arundhati Roy, *The Guardian*. 30 October 2009

<http://www.guardian.co.uk>

Projects planned in tribal belt states with active Maoist presence	
Investment (\$m)	
Chhattisgarh	
Texas Powergen, US <i>(power plant, sponge iron)</i>	1,207
Vedanta (aluminium smelter)	550
Jharkhand	
Tata Steel (steel plant)	10,109
Mittal Steel (steel plant)	8,696
Orissa	
Tata Steel (steel plant)	3,261
Posco (steel plant)	10,870
Vedanta (alumina refinery expansion)	800
Vedanta (aluminium smelter)	2,100
Mittal Steel (steel plant)	9,000
<i>Source: CLSA</i>	

A Journey across the 'Red Corridor'

The Naxal as the saviour and the state as the oppressor. The state as protector and Naxal as the villain.

Neat black and white portrayals have come to characterise one of the most complex stories of our times. But this narrative hides more than it tells.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist), born in 2004 after the unity of the People's War Group and the Maoist Communist Centre, leads the Maoist movement. It spreads across several states in varying degrees, and has a common political and military outlook. The movement is clearly national in character; the party is organised with a command structure and the aim of taking over state power.

Yet, the Naxalite movement looks different in Hyderabad, Raipur, Ranchi, and Patna. Go further deep in each state and Warangal, Dantewada, Hazaribagh, and Jehanabad - datelines that punctuate India's Naxal war - have more than their share of differences.

Across Andhra Pradesh, there is a large degree of sympathy for the Maoists, yet today they face their most severe setback in this traditional southern bastion. There has been a massive escalation of violence and conflict in Chhatisgarh due to a flawed and brutal government strategy. In Jharkhand, a powerful but degenerated Maoist movement coupled with a corrupt and inert state has made life miserable and dangerous for citizens.

What is certain however is that activities and strength of the CPI (Maoist) have increased in the past few years, particularly in the resource-rich states of central and eastern India. Inequitable government policies, absence of justice, land issues, a weak and corrupt administration, dearth of political actors who channelise people's concerns on the ground, forced displacement and insensitivity to non violent movements have all contributed to creating space for an armed outfit that questions the legitimacy of the political system.

The Machiavellian southern state

From the first ultra-left rebellion against the Indian state in Telangana six decades back to being the hub of Naxalite activity right from 1967 to the present, the state has been the ideological fount of the Maoist movement.

With the formation of a new government headed by the Congress party in 2004, there was a ceasefire between the state and the People's War Group. Talks were initiated at the behest of an active citizen's group. The two sides agreed to be on the table because of a behind the scenes understanding during the polls when the Naxals helped the Congress win in several constituencies and in return the Congress promised to go lenient after victory - a reflection that the line between the mainstream and rebel is often blurred. A section of Maoist activists emerged over ground, organised mass rallies, and participated in a round of negotiations. But it took little time for the process to collapse. Both sides had continued to distrust each other and saw the interlude as merely tactical to organise themselves more effectively.

In the last three years, the Maoists have suffered a major setback in Andhra, particularly in the Telangana region - a fact accepted by Naxalites themselves.

For one, a major challenge faced by the rebels nationally, and particularly in Andhra, is the inability to attract young people in urban areas and small towns.

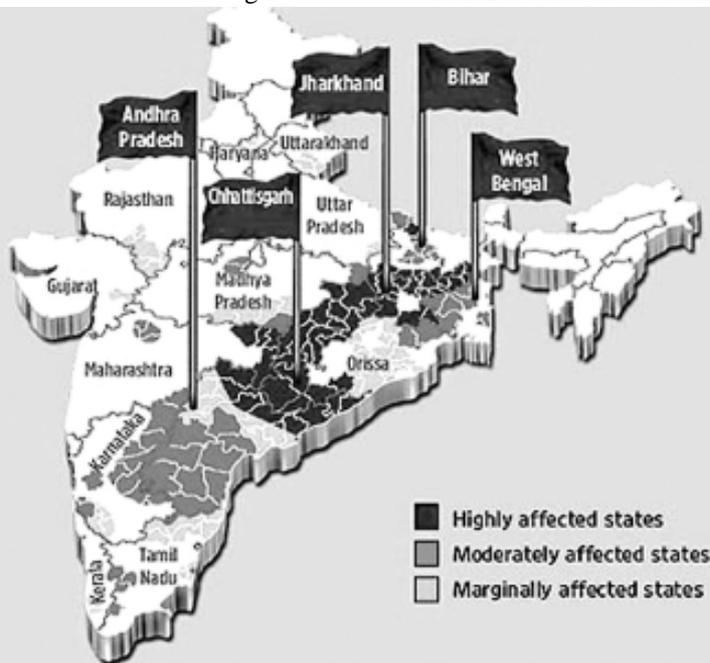
Varavara Rao, the pub-

lic face of the Indian Naxals and one of the emissaries in the aborted talks, does not seem to realise the irony when he beams with pride and says, "The Maoists have forced all other parties to become more progressive and take up their agenda." This not only reflects Maoist success in deepening democracy but also reveals the limits of their expansion, by showing the space within the system to raise issues.

Yet, it is undeniable that they have created space for dissent and influenced the way of seeing the world among large sections of Telegu society, across the political spectrum. A restaurant manager in the

tribals locked in state camps on the main road and marked as defenders of the Indian flag, and thousands inside forests branded as terrorists - both caught in politics not of their making.

The Naxals entered the area from Andhra in the late 70s and gained popularity soon after for standing up against exploitation of tribals by forest contractors, providing instant justice, organising people into sanghams and dalams, engaging in cultural activities, campaigning against the corrupt state which had done little for the adivasis, and living with the people. This was exploited by local politicians and the administration to start Salwa Judum



Secunderabad station area, when asked if he knew the way to Naxal balladeer Gadar's house, jumped up excitedly. "Of course, it is near the Lotakunta bridge. Who doesn't know Gadar? He sings for the poor and stands up against wrong."

A war zone

Across the border is literally the centre of India. Across the border lies the heart of the civil war that continues to rage between a ruthless state and a militant force; between tribals and tribals; between the Naga regiment, Mizo battalion, Central Reserve Police Force, state police on one hand and the Naxals on the other; between 50,000

in 2005. Tribals were mobilised against Maoists and as the Naxals began retaliatory attacks, the state forced them to flee into camps.

The logic behind Salwa Judum remains difficult to fathom, for it abounds with irony. On the surface, the state appears to be giving up the land in the interiors to the Maoists by displacing the people to camps instead of fighting the rebels directly or winning support of people in those areas.

The result - the poorest segment of the Indian population, tribals, are killed on both sides.

Most importantly, the state-sponsored campaign

has removed the tribals from their natural habitat, forced them into artificial camps, and divided families and communities. While there are 50,000 people in the camps, many others are reported to have fled across the border to Andhra to escape the wrath of the state and Naxals. It is difficult to put a figure to the number of refugees. The problem with Salwa Judum is that there is no easy exit route. There has never been easy escape when the state decides to outsource its responsibilities and use people as fodder.

The reign of terror

Jharkhand is the untold, and potentially the most dangerous, Naxalite story. A corrupt state that has given a free reign to Maoists who have lost their ideological moorings gives the place an air of anarchy. The rebellion can flare even further because the only sphere in which the government is active - signing mining contracts - will lead to displacement and force thousands into destitution. They will be the losers in this process of sustaining a shining and happy India. Losers who will be ready to pick the gun, and serve as foot soldiers.

Little wonder then that the Koda's, ministers, top bureaucrats, and local officers in lucrative posts - all want to make a quick buck in their moment under the sun.

The Maoists are active in more than 18 out of the 24 districts in Jharkhand, with a steady increase in their recruitment. And this expansion is not only to do with a weak and corrupt state but other systemic factors.

The absence of justice plays a far greater role in helping Maoists win cadre than is often understood or acknowledged. This is not only at the level of millions of cases which are stuck in the judicial system but at the level of the local thana. Land issues continue to remain a factor in alienating people from the mainstream. Feudalism may not be as powerful anymore and the image of brutal landlord is, more often than not, misplaced in several narratives.

A CPI (Maoist) member admits, "The politicisation of the cadre is weak. The top

leadership has a set of principles and we have no desire to kill innocents. But the command structure is not in place which gives the local units a lot of autonomy. And in the absence of politicisation, corruption seeps in."

The future in Jharkhand looks like one where there will be an escalation in the levels of violence. The government has signed MOUs worth billions with Mittal, Tata, RPG group, Jindal, and many others for extractive industries. The process of land acquisition will entail massive displacement. Only a few agreements have been implemented yet. But the government and big industries seem to have prepared a multi-pronged strategy for the process - offer attractive rehabilitation packages in principle, co-opt some locally influential people and encourage them to persuade the community, rig

Gram Sabha hearings in tribal areas, use hired goons to create pressure, and use state forces overtly and covertly.

The thinking cap

A quick scan of the Maoist movement in some key states is enough to reveal that all sides in this conflict need to sit back, look at their calculations, and reassess strategies.

This focus on violence has inevitably led to several 'mistakes'. Inadvertent or not, innocents are often killed. More often than not, these are people the Maoists claim to be fighting for and represent. This creates a sense of outrage and gives the state a pretext to repress. Not only do committed Maoists get crushed in the process, so do many others in politics and civil society who are seeking to dissent on fundamental questions within

the system by being branded as Naxalites.

But civil society needs to bear its part of the blame as well. Across the board, human rights organisations are seen as more sympathetic to the Naxals and unconcerned when people are killed due to Maoist actions

Journalists have not covered themselves in glory either. Most newspapers are heavily dependent on government revenues and usually toe the government line, especially on sensitive issues. This is true of Chhatisgarh where only a few papers have exposed the Salwa Judum story for what it is. Since the Naxal issue emerged in 1967, an easy way out for left-liberal academics has been to mouth the cliché that this is a socio-economic problem and development is the answer. It is true that development, defined as effective government services and creating opportunities, can lock people into the national mainstream and reduce their incentives to join the Naxalites. Yet, the issue here is as much of rights as of development

The Naxal movement is fundamentally a political movement. And the answer lies in politics and political parties.

The Indian Maoists have undoubtedly pushed the envelope by putting several issues of the marginalised on the agenda, and forcing the government to pay heed to it, if out of nothing than self-protection. Their support among many of the poorest people in India is testament to the fact. Even as the government needs to address these aspirations, the Naxalites would do well to realise there are clear limits to their possible expansion. The Indian masses have, over the past six decades, shown they may have complaints, but retain faith in the present democratic system. As an old man on a bus from Hazaribagh to Patna put it, " Sahib Naxal tu theek hain, par kaam tu sarkar hi karega na. Sir, the Naxals are fine but finally, it is the government which will do the work, isn't it?"

Posted in Countryside, Left watch, Movements, Politics, Violence-Conflict
<http://kafila.org/>

Who are we?

The Maoists are revolutionaries mainly consisting of the extremely poor people including a large number of dalits and tribals. They come mainly from the toiling masses of India and they are trying to organize the vast population of such masses of this country. They seek to arm and train them so that these masses can resist the onslaught of the rich. In this effort they go beyond the idea that mass movements should focus on some specific issues like increase of wages, better health care, more honesty of public servants and so forth.

The view of the Maoist rebels is that the poor and exploited people must first and foremost establish their own democratic political power and their own state power in various places. This is because without controlling state power, the poor and the exploited can at most hope for only limited improvements in their living conditions, i.e., so long as it does not inconvenience the rich who usually control the state power. So, the Maoists mobilize the poor to fight against the existing state, even armed fight if possible, as they consider the existing state to be a set of agents acting for the big multinational corporations, rich landlords and the wealthy in general.

The fight is an extremely challenging and unequal one as the rich are aided by the government bureaucrats, the police and even the military. Also, contrary to what the Government and the mainstream media are propagating, the Maoist rebels are actually completely opposed to individual killings, they openly denigrate such stray terrorism-like acts. What they have been attempting to build up is a mass movement, even armed, to take on the violence of the ruling classes and its representative state machinery.

The Maoist movement was born in India in the late 1960s, after a radical section of political workers broke away mainly from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPIM) because they felt the CPIM and other such parties like CPI, RSP, etc. had discredited themselves with their opportunist politics of placating and compromising with the rich. The movement has a long history of development. The present party, CPI (Maoist), came into being in 2004 by the merger of a number of fraternal organizations.

<http://revolutionaryfrontlines.wordpress.com/2010/04/07/a-primer-on-indias-maoists-and-their-work/>

A War within

Since June 2005, the Government of Chhattisgarh, with the support of the Home Ministry has been waging a counter-insurgency operation against the Naxalites in the guise of a 'spontaneous', 'selfinitiated', 'peaceful', 'people's movement' named the Salwa Judum in Dantewada district of Chhattisgarh. The district administration claims that upset with the Maoist strike call on collecting tendu leaves and opposition to development works like road construction and grain levies, people in some 200 villages began mobilizing against the Maoists, going on processions and holding meetings.

However the fact is that the Salwa Judum is being actively supported by the Chhattisgarh Government. Far from being a peaceful campaign, Salwa Judum 'activists' are armed with guns, lathis, axes, bows and arrows. Up to January 2007, 4048 "Special Police Officers" (SPOs) had been appointed by the Government under the Chhattisgarh Police Regulations. They actively participate in the Salwa Judum and are given military and weapons training by the security forces as part of an official plan to create a civil vigilante structure parallel to that of the Naxalites.

When state makes war on its own people

A fourteen-member team from five organizations conducted an investigation between 28 November and 1 December 2005 in Bijapur and Bhairamgarh blocks of Dantewada district, focusing specifically on the violation of human rights and the impact on people's everyday lives. The organisations are: People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) Chhattisgarh, People's Union For Civil Liberties (PUCL) Jharkhand, People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) Delhi, Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) West Bengal, and Indian Association of People's Lawyers (IAPL).

On the basis of the fact-finding, three facts stood out strongly, all of which ran counter to the government's assertions: First, it is clear that the Salwa Judum is not a spontaneous people's movement, but a state-organized anti-insurgency campaign. Second, it is misleading to describe the situation as simply one where ordinary villagers are caught between the Maoists and the military. The Maoists have widespread support and as long as people continued to live in the villages, it was difficult for the government to isolate the Maoists. Rather than questioning its own nonperformance on basic development, the government has resorted to clearing villages on a large scale. Tens of thousands of people are now refugees in temporary roadside camps or living with relatives with complete

disruption of their daily lives. Prospects for their return are currently dim. Third, the entire operation, instead of being a peace mission as it is claimed, has escalated violence on all sides.

However, only the murders by Maoists are recognized, and the Salwa Judum and paramilitary operate with complete impunity. The

rule of law has completely broken down.

Extracted from, 'When the State Makes War on its own People: A Report on the Violation of Peoples rights during the Salwa Judum Campaign, PUCL, New Delhi April, 2006

http://www.pucl.org/Topics/Human-rights/2006/salwa_judum.pdf

The Supreme Court Speaks...

The Supreme Court on Friday asked the Chhattisgarh government to implement some of the recommendations of the National Human Rights Commission, which went into the activities of the Salwa Judum (self-defence group) set up by the State to tackle naxal menace. A Bench comprising Chief Justice K.G. Balakrishnan and Justices P. Sathasivam and J.M. Panchal was hearing a petition filed by Nandini Sundar, Ramachandra Guha and E.A.S. Sarma. They challenged the setting up of the Salwa Judum which, they alleged, was indulging in killings and committing atrocities on tribals in the guise of countering the naxal movement.

The Chief Justice, who perused the NHRC report, told senior counsel appearing for Chhattisgarh, that the commission "has done a meticulous work. It has given a series of recommendations. It is very painful to read the report. It says there is arson and looting, people are armed and they [Salwa

Judum] are committing serious offences. It says people who are subjected to serious problems are still afraid of coming out."

The Chief Justice observed: "When somebody [Salwa judum] is given arms, he claims to be a pseudo police. Once he is given arms, he will commit an offence though he has no right to do any such act.."

In defence of Salwa Judum, the Chhattisgarh government said: "It is not state-sponsored, but a people's initiative to combat the menace of naxalites. The State is committed to resolving the problem of naxalism, and any peaceful movement which resists violent methods definitely gets support of States."

The Hindu, 20th September, 2008

<http://www.thehindu.com/2008/09/20/stories/2008092055941300.htm>

(The Report if the NHRC done by a group consisting of mostly police officers is available at nhrc.nic.in/Chattisgarh.pdf)

Who is Accountable?

It is interesting to note the observation of the Court in this regard. With all due respect, the Court has commented that the formation of a state sponsored army is justified to meet the end of handling the naxalites. In doing so, the Court has again given sanction to a means-end approach. That is, state action is to be held valid if it is purposeful in nature and meets a desired end. Such is the approach taken by the Court in the case of terrorism and emergency. The Naxal problem just got itself temporarily added to the list. Accordingly, in such a purposeful evaluation of law, even if it sacrifices individual liberty, it will be valid.

With this application of this approach, the Court seems to discount the fact that rights and constitutional obligations are inalienable and cannot be discarded to meet an particular end. The

point needs to be noted here that not only has the state outsourced its duty to protect its citizens but also has given them a free hand to commit human rights violations and not hold them accountable for killing people. Such state action cannot be justified at any cost. It is hoped that the Supreme Court would take note of such rights violations, disband the Salwa Judum and concentrate on the welfare of the lakhs of tribals in the State who have fallen victim to the clashes. The law has been violated and someone has to be held accountable for it and the State cannot get away with this.

Exta cted from STATE SPONSORED ARMED CONFLICT : THE SALWA JUDUM AND THE STATE OF CHATTISGARH1 by Aditya Swarup,,NALSAR University of Law, Hyderabad.

<http://thesocialblog.wordpress.com/2007/09/13/state-sponsored-armed-conflict-the-salwa-judum-and-the-state-of-chattisgarh/>

No Dissent!

"A democratic government has to make a distinction between the genuine and legitimate expression of dissent and disaffection and the manifestations of anti-national, anti-social and anti-people threats to our democratic way of life." - Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh in his address to the Conference of Chief Ministers on Internal Security and Law & Order in New Delhi on 15 April 2005136

Contrary to the assertion of the Prime Minister, the Chhattisgarh Special Public Security (CSPS) Bill, 2005 seeks to silence "the genuine and legitimate expression of dissent and disaffection". The Bill also fails

to differentiate it from "the manifestations of anti-national, anti-social and anti-people threats".

Since the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)-People's War, and all its formations and front organisations, and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and all its formations and front organisations are banned under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, 1967 as amended in 2004, there is no need for the Chhattisgarh Special Public Security (CSPS) Bill, 2005 to tackle the Naxalites.

The Bill appears to be aimed at silencing the media, thereby preventing the journalists and not to report on counter-insurgency opera-

tions, Salwa Judum campaign and ban any kind of protests by the Adivasis against the industrial plants being established in their areas in violations of the fifth schedule of the constitution of India and ban "the genuine and legitimate expression of dissent and disaffection" by the Adivasis. Any protest today against the government by the Adivasis is termed as "Naxalite activity".

Extracted from The Adivasis of Chhattisgarh: Victims of the Naxalite Movement and Salwa Judum, Report of the Asian Centre for Human Rights (AHRIC), New Delhi, 17 March, 2006.

<http://www.achrweb.org/reports/india/Chattis0106.pdf>

Under Obligation

The Indian central and Chhattisgarh state governments have an obligation to provide for the security of the population against crimes by Naxalites. However, government measures to maintain law and order must be in accordance with international human rights law. Instead of combining principled security measures with effective steps to address problems faced by tribal communities and the resentments that have made it easier for the Naxalite movement to recruit supporters, government authorities have subverted international human rights norms. Authorities have not only supported abusive Salwa Judum vigilantes but also have provided effective immunity from prosecution to persons responsible for abuses. This has perpetuated widespread human rights abuses for over three years..

The internationally recognized United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (UN Guiding Principles) state that government authorities have the primary responsibility to establish conditions, as well as provide the means, which allow displaced persons to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes or places of habitual residence, or to resettle voluntarily in another part of the country. They also state that government authorities should develop resettlement and reintegration packages in consultation with the displaced population.

In keeping with its international human rights obligations: The Indian central and Chhattisgarh state governments should take all necessary and appropriate measures to end unlawful Salwa Judum activities, end all government support to Salwa Judum, including the provision of weapons, and end all participation by government security forces in Salwa Judum operations, including raids and reprisals.

Extracted from the Report of Human Rights Watch, April, 2008, New York.

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/india0708/index.htm>



Mujhe Police Banna Hai.

At the Gayatri Vidya Mandir, on the Dharampura Road in Jagdalpur, a group of children hang around a television set watching the Ramayana serial in a darkened room, which is also a classroom, recreation centre and dormitory. On the terrace, overlooking a mini-Tirupati Balaji temple, another lot is sitting cross-legged on the floor, eating a mid-day meal of rice, dal and vegetables.

For the RSS and its affiliate organisations as well as for other Hindu outfits like the Gayatri Parivar, winning the hearts and minds of the orphans of the conflict in Bastar is the first step towards the rapid saffronisation of southern Chhattisgarh, once a Congress stronghold, with some CPI presence. Jagdalpur's Gayatri Vidya Mandir is one such of the many facilities in the state, others found in places as far away as in Raipur and Rajnandgaon, where the orphans of the conflict are exchanging their tribal culture for a brand new Hindu identity.

A plaque at the entrance reads: "Naxali hinsa se peedit bachchon ke liye punarvas yojana." They are taught English, Hindi, Sanskrit, maths, computers, moral science and something called Bal Gyan Mala.

While some of the children are fortunate enough to receive periodic visits from the surviving parent, as little Sonku does on the day we visit the shelter, 12-year-old Hemant has had no contact with his mother or four siblings who he believes are still alive. He has written many letters home, he says, but not received even one reply. Nor has the Gayatri Vidya Mandir bothered to try and locate his family, which lives just 150 km away in the village of Mankeli, near Bijapur.

The children are fed, clothed and are out of the conflict, but the education they are receiving leaves a great deal to be desired. Ask them what they want to become when they grow up, and the answer is no surprise. "Mujhe police banna hai," says Hemant, very sure.

<http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?264256>

The otherside of the War

The decision to launch such a massive armed operation on home ground - due to start this November - should have triggered animated political, civil society and media debate. But Operation Green Hunt - as the offensive is being termed - has been gathering force in almost complete silence. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Home Minister Chidambaram have variously called Naxals - or "Maoists" - "the gravest threat to India's internal security." Perhaps a military offensive against them is the answer, but is it the only answer? Is it the best answer? Will it provide a solution? Who will be impacted by this offensive? What will be its repercussions? Who are we really declaring war on? What are we declaring war on? Are we going into this with eyes wide open? Is there anything we should have learned from the seemingly irreparable psychological mess in Kashmir and the Northeast? These are the questions a democratic society should be asking. One can perhaps understand the well-heeled turning their back on such bleak issues. But with such a significant operation looming on the horizon, what can excuse the complete absence of debate from national political parties?

But silence, perhaps, is only the lesser worry. A few days ago, the government announced an ad blitzkrieg as part of its psychological offensive. "Naxals are nothing but coldblooded murderers" the ad screamed across all major news dailies. The visual showed a series of men, women and children brutally killed by Naxals.

On the night of September 22, discussing Kobad Ghandy, Arnab Goswami mouthed the same line. "Terrorist or ideologue?" he intoned, with the moral certitude of a man who has never got off his urban chair to trudge the interiors of the country. "Six thousand innocent Indians have been killed on Mr Ghandy's 'watch,'" he said (as if Kobad Ghandy was some Idi Amin figure presiding over a banana republic), "and yet

human rights organisations and NGOs are asking for his release." (Mr Goswami always reserves special scorn for human rights activists, as if they are a uniform subspecies of anti-national humankind, rather than men and women with differing and individual views.) "What about the 12-year-old girl the Naxals killed in Jharkhand?" he thundered. "What about the 15 CPM cadres they killed in Bengal last night?" Every time one of his panelists tried to introduce the larger political context behind Naxalism or a more complex argument, Mr Goswami swatted them down: "The question we are asking is very simple," he said, "is he a terrorist or an ideologue? Is he responsible for violence or not? Can he be blamed for 6,000 dead or not?"

Watching the show was like straying into a child's playroom, watching the grave judgments of infants playing at Good and Evil. As an individual point of view it would have counted for nothing, but as the voice of Times Now, currently deemed the most popular English channel, Mr Goswami's unthinking edit line seems symptomatic of a wider, urban, English-speaking constituency. Coupled with the government ads, it presents the disturbing prospect of a public discourse that is marked by reductive official propaganda on the one side and infantile ignorance and simple-mindedness on the other. We can afford neither.

AT THE heart of the Naxal riddle, there are three primary questions: Who is a Naxal? What is one's position on violence as a tool of struggle? And why is Naxalism on the rise across the country? To understand the first, try a useful metaphor. Imagine fish in water. Naxal leaders are the fish, finite, identifiable (even punishable); the water is the vast, infinite constituency they speak for. And swim in.

As Kobad Ghandy proves, a Naxal ideologue, commander or politburo leader can come from any milieu. The disempowered dalits of Andhra Pradesh,

the destitute tribals of Chhattisgarh, the middle-class intellectuals of Bengal or the privileged rich of Bombay. These "informed revolutionaries" function at two levels. At a political level, they do not believe in parliamentary democracy (where they see power still concentrated in the hands of the feudal upper class) and their long-term objective is to seize State power for the people through armed struggle. In this, they threaten the sovereignty of the Indian State and many humanist thinkers, including men like K Balagopal of the Human Rights Forum, who was part of brokering peace talks between the government and Naxals in Andhra Pradesh in 2004,

there is a government? Their only experience of the State is the police, contractors, and real estate goons. Besides, the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution grants tribals complete rights over their traditional land and forests and prohibits private companies from mining on their land. This constitutional schedule was upheld by the Samatha judgement of the Supreme Court (1997). If successive governments lived by the spirit of the Constitution and this judgment, tribal discontent would automatically recede."

Mr Sarma is probably right. Human rights activists have long argued that the real intention of the Salwa Judum in Chhattisgarh was to capture tribal land - brimming-rich with minerals - and hand

THE RED SCOURGE

The Maoists intend to attack India's high tech and export sectors thwarting foreign investment and threatening to bring India's economic and political progress to a halt. The burgeoning US-Indian economic and strategic relationship is threatened by India's Maoist menace. The US is ill-equipped to deal with Maoist insurgency as insurgency studies and counterinsurgency strategies have focused on insurgent approaches from Iraq and Afghanistan. They have largely discounted the Maoist strategic approach as irrelevant and dated yet it is rampaging unchecked in South Asia.

THE RED SCOURGE RETURNS: THE STRATEGIC CHALLENGE OF MAOIST INSURGENCY IN INDIA AND SOUTH ASIA BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM R. FLORIG United States Army Reserve

believe the State is within its rights to confront them. "The Maoists themselves would not tolerate such a challenge if they came to power," says he. Balagopal is also critical of Naxal leaders creating "liberated zones" where the Indian State cannot function. "If they claim to be the voice of the people, can they pursue a political agenda that injures people - either by their actions or the repercussions they invite? Does the current tribal generation of Chhattisgarh want to sacrifice itself for a utopian future that may never come?"

EAS Sarma, former Commissioner of Tribal Welfare and former secretary, Expenditure and Economic Affairs, unlocks the real heart of the matter. "Left extremism is a secondary issue. How many tribals even know

it over to private companies. The fact that 600 tribal villages have been evacuated in the last few years gives credence to this theory. If tribals no longer live on that land, the inconvenient Fifth Schedule of the Constitution will not apply.

Operation Green Hunt is the second lap. In any case, whether for ill-intention, poor execution, or unplanned collateral damage, there is much to fear in the impending operation.

In the meantime, we would all do well to read the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution.

Weapons Of Mass Desperation by SHOMA CHAUDHURY

Telhelka Magazine, October 03, 2009.

http://www.telhelka.com/story_main42.asp?filename=Ne031009coverstory.asp

Operation Green Hunt

Every conscious citizen is aware that the proposed operation Green Hunt, ostensibly to deal with the Maoist armed struggle, is an event with ominous portents. It can be argued that the events that are unfolding have consequences that go much beyond the attempted military solution to problems that are essentially political and economic in nature.

That the intended target of the government is much larger than the stated target is becoming obvious in the statements and actions of the state. Witness how in the aftermath of the Silda action the Home Minister Mr. PC Chidambaram tried to steam roll all the critiques of the government into Maoist sympathisers, completely ignoring the fact that criticising the human rights violation of the government is not tantamount to a support of the Maoists. More recently, the charge sheet on Mr. Kobad Ghandy, filed by the Delhi Police, mentioned some prominent democratic and civil liberties organisations and activists as fronts of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). Obviously, the intended targets of the state are not simply the Maoist party but all such organisations and individual that have been critical of the state's developmental policy and track record on human rights. A fact testified by the assault of rights activists and Gandhian organisations in Chhattisgarh.

The manner in which the central government wants to deploy paramilitary forces in the so-called sensitive states betrays the state's unstated agenda in three respects. First, the attempt to cajole and pressurise the reluctant chief ministers of Bihar and Jharkhand through media propaganda and other kinds of pressure and persuasion is a testimony of the attempt to redefine centre-state relationship in the favour of the centre; even on the issue of law and order which is a state subject.

Second, deployment of armed paramilitary forces through a central fiat

amounts to imposition of armed paramilitary forces over civilian administration. This is permissible only under emergency. Yet the government is not declaring emergency since such a declaration obliges the government for a mandatory review of the declaration every six months. The government has therefore imposed a de facto emergency without actually declaring it. Thus it has claimed unfettered power without any legal or time bound restraint, in other words it has claimed impunity in the area of operation Green Hunt. In other words the casualty, repression and oppression of the civilian population living in the areas of operation green hunt will be dramatically higher than the stated targets of operation green hunt. In fact, the plight of the civilian population is

further compounded since they have been also targeted in some instance by the guerrilla forces.

Third, the initiation of the inter-state counter naxal operation is actually a part of the oft stated plan of the centre to restructure and centralise internal security apparatus. Thus, this is a decisive shift of law and order and policing from the state subject. Over the period of last more than two decades several issues of state subject have been taken over by the centre, for instance forest, roads, port management and now policing.

To cut a long story short the current operation while stated to be against the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has a much larger unstated target. It threatens to trespass the safety and

security of the indigenous and tribal people in the operation area, it seeks to trespass on the fundamental rights of the citizens of the country and finally, it seeks to redefine the structure of governance of the country. It is evident, therefore, the current offensive is quite comprehensive and seeks to impact upon a cross section of political process and the life and rights of common citizens. It stands to reason that such a challenge requires a resistance that is imaginative and flexible enough to include the opinions of all the stakeholders that are to be impacted.

Operation Green Hunt: its stated and unstated targets

Kumar Sanjay Singh
(Source:Radical Notes)

<http://sanhati.com/articles/2199/>

Transactions in a Violent System

The stark reality is that the confrontation between the recalcitrant Indian state (which is adopting an oppressive neo-liberal model of development) and its opponents (the rural poor and tribal villagers who are facing displacement by that model) is fast acquiring the dimensions of a civil war. In such a war situation, the liberal-bourgeois pacifists can condemn both the disputing parties, and wash their hands off, shouting: "Plague on both houses." But can we afford to withdraw and refuse to take sides in this war?

If we are opposing the Indian state's neo-liberal model of development and its oppressive policies to impose it on our people by displacing them from their homes, we should define our position with regard to the various popular protest movements that are breaking out in different forms-ranging from Gandhian non-violent types like the Narmada Bachao Movement or the anti-steel plant agitation in Kalinganagar on the one hand, to armed resistance by forest-dwellers and tribal people

organised under Maoist leadership on the other. The mainstream media propaganda builds up a peculiar dichotomy between these two types of movements-describing the former as part of 'democratic' protest, and denouncing the latter as 'terrorism' -as if the Maoist movement is not democratic. It is as if protests and agitations can be termed democratic only if they are non-violent. But what if thousands of people in a particular area, comprising the majority of the population, decide to opt for armed resistance, after their non-violent forms of protest are violently suppressed by the state? This is what is happening in Chhattisgarh. The reasons why the tribal people in Dandakaranya have taken up arms have been well-documented-not only by human rights activists, but also by no less an important body than the Planning Commission Experts Group in its report on extremist-affected areas a few years ago. For years together, their basic needs had not only been ignored by the state, but whenever they tried to assert their eco-

nomic demands through peaceful democratic avenues-like demonstrations asking for higher prices for tendu leave collection, or access to forest produce-they were ruthlessly suppressed by the police.

What needs to be asserted-and which is deliberately suppressed by the mainstream media -is that even the non-violent protest movements (accepted as 'democratic' by the bourgeois-liberals) are violently opposed by the state through the use of military force (witness the experience of the Narmada Bachao Movement, or of the Gandhian Himanshu Kumar whose ashram in Chhattisgarh was destroyed by the police). If the followers of these non-violent movements, after their disillusionment with the 'peaceful' means of constitutional protest, take up arms tomorrow to protect their homes and occupations, should we denounce them as 'terrorists'?

Other Side of Transactions in a Violent System

Mainstream, April 17, 2010
www.mainstreamweekly.net/article1983.html

Voices of Dissent and Hope

"Our brief review of various disturbing aspects of the socio-economic context that prevails in large parts of India today, and that may (and can) contribute to politics such as that of the Naxalite movement or erupt as other forms of violence.

It should be recognized that there are different kinds of movements, and that calling and treating them generally as unrest, a disruption of law and order, is little more than a rationale for suppressing them by force. It is necessary to contextualize the tensions in terms of social, economic and political background and bring back on the agenda the issues of the people - the right to livelihood, the right to life and a dignified and honourable existence. The State itself should feel committed to the democratic and human rights and humane objectives that are inscribed in the Preamble, the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of the Constitution.

The State has to adhere strictly to the Rule of Law. Indeed, the State has no other authority to rule. Though its professed long term ideology is capturing state power by force, in its day to day manifestation it is to be looked upon as basically a fight for social justice, equality, protection and local development ".

Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas - Report of an Expert Group

http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf

Will the mindset change?

There has been a flurry of concern as also vituperation over the activities of the Maoists in the forests that are mostly home to tribal society. There is a confrontation between the state and this society through the intervention of the Maoists. One pauses while reading the speeches of those in authority and thinks back to the past. The texts of the past represent the people of the forest, the forest-dwellers, largely as "the Other" - the rakshasas, and those who moved like an ink-black cloud through the forest with their bloodshot eyes, who ate and drank all the wrong things, had the wrong rules of sexuality and, as strange creatures, were far removed from 'us.' Kautilya in the Arthashastra condemns them as trouble-makers and Ashoka threatens the atavikas, the forest-dwellers, without telling us why. The interest of various kingdoms in extending control over forests has an obvious explanation. The forests supplied elephants for the army, mineral wealth including iron, timber for building, and by clearing forests the acreage of cultivable land increased and the consequent agriculture brought in revenue. In later times, the conventional attitude towards them was that they were outside the social pale and had to be kept at a distance.

Perhaps we should look at it less as an 'us' and 'them'

situation and more as an 'us' and 'us' situation. At the end of the day, we are all involved as people who live in this country and what is more, as people who have to go on living in this country. Even those whose lives have not been remotely touched by what goes on in 'tribal societies' will find themselves ill at ease with expanding civil strife.

If we see it as an 'us' and 'us' situation, then the need for a dialogue with all the groups involved becomes

the most immediate concern. The question is who should be talking to whom and about what. If the state has to start the dialogue - as the strongest party in the conversation - it should be conversing with several groups

Violence is a dead end even for the Maoists. When practised by the state on its own citizens, its collateral damage is unacceptable in a democracy; lasting civil strife escalating into a civil war in these areas will cre-

ate its own demons of the arbitrary repression of ordinary citizens. An alternative form of intervention ushered in through a multi-lateral dialogue involving all the concerned parties is not merely an option, it is imperative.

Will the mindset from the past change? by Amit Bhaduri/Romila Thapar, Hindu 8 November, 2009

<http://beta.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/article45409.ece>

The war must stop

It is easy enough to condemn both the Maoists and the state for their violence. But a clear distinction must be made between the two. The state is meant to be answerable to the people and the Constitution. The Maoists are not. The Constitution prohibits the arbitrary use of force or restrictions on individual liberties by the state. It is futile to argue that the state is at war, that "war is hell", and therefore that excesses are inevitable and hence acceptable. A democratic state cannot be at war with its own people. Even where it undertakes military operations against insurgent groups, which have declared war on it, it must respect the principles

of just war - both the justice of necessity of war in the first place, and justice in the conduct of war.

Operation Green Hunt fails on both criteria. It is eminently logical to treat Maoist violence as crimes amenable to normal police methods - not as warrant for war, with large-scale civilian casualties. In any case, no civilised society can permit the targeting of non-combatant civilians, use of indiscriminate force or cruel, inhuman and degrading means like torture, without risking the mutation of the state into a rogue.

This is exactly what is happening under Operation Green Hunt. This is wholly unconscionable and unacceptable - just as condem-

nable as Israel's occupation of Palestine by near-barbaric means, or Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo and the killing of 100,000 Iraqis in the United States-led war and occupation. If the operation continues, the civilian death toll is liable to rise from several hundred to several thousand a year, as had happened in Argentina and Peru, where 50,000 to 100,000 people "disappeared" in decades-long counter-insurgency operations.

That is why Operation Green Hunt must be immediately called off.

War on Maoists
PRAFUL BIDWAI Frontline, Volume 27 - Issue 06
:: Mar. 13-26, 2010

Physiognomy of Violence

It is good and necessary to insist that Maoism shall not be treated as a mere problem of crime and disorder but should be seen as a socioeconomic issue. It is fine that one hears more and more persons say this these days, even if that means little in practice.

But nothing is gained by ignoring the fact that Maoism is not some social reform movement that uses guns for greater effect, but a political movement aimed at smashing the existing state and building an alternative state, not at one go but by proceeding from remote and neglected rural areas to the more developed rural areas, and the urban areas finally. A liberated zone is an area where an incipient state of the future has been or is declared to have been established, forcing out the existing state. One is free to like this or dislike this wholly or conditionally, but one cannot ignore this is analysing the Maoist movement and the reactions to it such as the Salwa Judum phenomenon.

It would be idle to pretend that any state would with equanimity tolerate the proclamation of "liberated areas" within its territory from where its authority is pushed out by force. It is very doubtful that the Maoists themselves would behave more tolerantly in a similar situation. This is not because sovereignty is some unbreachable quality but because it has guns in its defence. But there are many points that the establishment in Chhattisgarh would need to ponder before it draws from the very notion of its territorial sovereignty the conclusion that the support that it is illegitimately extending to the brutal gang called Salwa Judum is legitimate.

One, these areas were outside the ken of its administrative, let alone developmental, lens for decades before the Maoists declared them liberated areas. If sovereignty, like property, provided for a prescriptive right, the Maoists can certainly claim the right to sovereignty in Dantewada by

prescription since they took over an area practically unoccupied by the Indian state. More seriously, given this fact, the Chhattisgarh government should in all humility be less righteous in its response to the Maoists. Two, and this is the more difficult point to drive into the heads of sovereigns, however inviolate territorial sovereignty may appear, if you gave guns challenge to it arises from a political force having substantial base among the people, especially the poor or other-

wise disadvantaged sections of the people, it calls for a political handling of the issue and not suppression by brute force.

But brute force is what the government of Chhattisgarh is deploying. The idea is plainly that the jungles will be cleared of all habitations, and the inhabitants driven to camps located in patrollable areas, which will later be replaced by colonies. By this means the Maoists will be cut off from their popular support

and deprived of food and shelter. Thus isolated they will be forced to surrender, leave the area, or else engage with the paramilitary in suicidal battles. The chief minister has openly declared that "those in the camps are with the government and those in the forests are with the Maoists".

CHHATTISGARH

Physiognomy of Violence
by K BALAGOPAL, Economic and Political Weekly
June 3, 2006

Where is justice?

"At a recent conference with director-generals of police, the prime minister asked why Naxalism showed no signs of abating despite the deployment of 'Cobras' and other paramilitaries. The crucial word that neither the prime minister nor the home minister mention is "justice". While the home ministry spends taxpayers' money calling Naxalites "cold-blooded murderers", not a word is said about the hundreds of victims, including children and old people, murdered by the security forces and Salwa Judum vigilantes. These are citizens too, and their deaths are equally horrific. But no newspaper carries photos of them, no inquiry is held, their relatives get no compensation. Human rights activists are repeatedly called upon to condemn the Maoists, even if their statements are blacked out. However, I have yet to see one instance when the home minister has acknowledged, leave alone condemned, the increasing number of encounters faked by the police. You cannot speak of violence by one side while remaining silent on the other.

When people are attacked and see no hope from the state, who else will they turn to but insurgents? If a rape victim complains to the SP asking for an FIR to be filed, and his only response is to actually ask the rapists

for their explanation, what is she supposed to do? Such has been the practice in Chhattisgarh for the past five years. It is this which accounts for the massive growth (22 per cent by intelligence estimates) in recruitment by the Maoists since Salwa Judum began".

When the home minister says that the Maoists are "the gravest challenge to our way of life", he must clarify which "way of life" he means—the right of ministers to live in five star hotels while 50 per cent of Indians are below the poverty line in terms of calorie intake, the right of companies to fraudulently and forcibly acquire land, the right of farmers to commit suicide? If "our" way of life depends on exploiting the resources that the adivasis of

Chhattisgarh live on, taking their lives falls perfectly into place.

The Maoists follow the same dehumanising practices, when they see nothing morally wrong in killing the security forces. Their language reeks of blood-sacrifice, their own and others. Their intolerance towards other groups working in their area and their disregard for the consequences of their actions on ordinary citizens hardly makes them a model of alternative democracy.

(The author is a professor of sociology at the Delhi School of Economics, Delhi University.)

Nandini Sundar, Outlook, Oct 26, 2009

<http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?262355>

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Resistance and arms

The story of the Naxalite movement on the ground certainly has had beautiful aspects and inspiring moments. However, the use of violence has taken a heavy toll. The downside of violence has been so wide-ranging that it may well end up negating what the Naxalites stand for.

The Naxalite movement has been a significant political movement of our times. Individual Naxalites, including many exceptionally fine human beings who have lost their lives at the altar of revolution, have been an inspiring example of idealism, sacrifice and commitment. Politically, the movement has raised important questions regarding India's democracy and underlined the need to bring about "a people's democracy".

There have also been significant practical achievements in specific areas: curbing of feudal practices and social oppression; confiscation and redistribution of ceiling surplus land; more equitable access to village commons; higher agricultural wages; elimination of the stranglehold of landlords, moneylenders, and contractors; protection from harassment by forest department officials and the police; heightened political consciousness and empowerment of the poor, amongst others.

The question remains whether the same results could not have been achieved through non-violent or at least less violent means.

In the Naxalite movement, the inevitability of violence tends to be taken for granted on the grounds that there is no other way of overthrowing the state. In practice, however, the movement has, for the most part, not been involved in overthrowing the state but in practical struggles for land, wages, dignity, democratic rights and related goals that can be pursued no less effectively through open mass movements. In fact, it is worth noting that the success and popularity of the Naxalite movement

itself owes more to the achievements of its open mass movements than to armed action.

The growing displacement of open mass movements by militaristic action in recent years has been a loss for the movement, not a gain.

I agree with Noam Chomsky that "No person of understanding or humanity will too quickly condemn

Today, in Bastar, there is no mainstream political party willing to address the aspirations of the adivasis, no organisation allowed to take up their cause, no journalists permitted to function freely, no civil administration prepared to take care of their basic needs, no justice system ready to respond to the crimes being committed against them. And at election time, the polling booths are located so far - as they were during the recent panchayat polls - from their villages, that it is difficult to vote without fear. So, what are the options before the adivasis? It is this narrowing of choices that has forced the few "educated" adivasis to look within for strength. In the few days and nights that I spent in a village in Dantewada's Kuakonda block at the end of January and in early February, I was able to experience the sense of siege first hand. It was there, sitting up late into the night with my hosts and their guests - people from nearby villages also came there to talk to me - that I began to understand the crisis better. They told me that they knew that the Maoists could not solve their problems. They said they had lost faith in the local administration which, they said, was in cahoots with their traditional oppressors, wealthy Thakur and Marwari traders and contractors. They were frightened of the SPOs and the Koya Commandos. The CRPF men, they said, with rare exceptions were not humane. They mentioned a

violence that often occurs when long subdued masses rise against their oppressors or take their first steps towards liberty and social reconstruction."

However, it is one thing to acknowledge that the downtrodden may resort to violence in situations of acute crisis or oppression. It is another to endorse organised violence. Perhaps the time has come to revive the more humane ap-

proach advocated by Bhagat Singh: "Use of force justifiable when resorted to as a matter of terrible necessity: non-violence as a policy indispensable for all mass movements

On Armed Resistance by Bela Bhatia, Economic and Political Weekly July 22, 2006.

<http://naxalrevolution.blogspot.com/2006/08/on-armed-resistance.html>

Third Way

CRPF CO called Bruno. While he was posted in the area, the villagers told me, he would visit them often, listen to their problems, take sick children to hospital, explain why the Maoist ideology would not work for them - and, most important, punish any policeman who had harassed them. "But then he was posted out", the government schoolteacher,

who was my host, told me, "and the harassment began again. To counter it, H (one of her fellow villagers) became a sangham member and saved our village. We are very grateful to him."

Searching for a Third Way in Dantewada by Smita Gupta, Economic & Political Weekly, April 17, 2010 (vol xlv no 16)

<http://epw.in/epw/uploads/articles/14662.pdf>

- But all those committed to deepening Indian democracy are morally much more on the line. Without sufficient energy behind our conviction, we will, by default, empower the purveyors of "class war". And they could be Maoists or elected representatives or private players-anyone who extracts their own benefit at the cost of equity and democratic rights.

So what can we do? We could start by being seen and heard together in public. Joint fact-finding and action involving leaders of the private sector, social activists, academics and bureaucrats could play a historic role.

We could seek answers to some basic questions:

- What is the extent of displacement where people are being evicted without adequate compensation and rehabilitation?
- What new business models would create win-win situations for people, the environment and business?

Some companies have gained, financially and socially, by respecting local people's right to say "no". Why are such examples not being highlighted and replicated in India?

Caught in a crossfire of ideas by Rajni Bakshi, *the Mint* 9 Sep 2009

<http://www.livemint.com/2009/11/05205232/Caught-in-a-crossfire-of-ideas.html>

A New Hope?

This is one rebellion which will test the resilience of the Indian state as never before. Precisely because it is a rebellion in which people are fighting to save their land, forests, water and minerals from being grabbed and they are convinced that they have an alternative vision.

The Maoists are certainly not saints or sinners, but as mortals they show what an unflinching commitment to bringing about social transformation actually means and how far even limited resources can go to help people. Here was an alternative development model being put into practice by the Maoists in the course of which many aspects of social relations have been

democratised quite significantly. However, it is a small step considering the vast canvas that is India.

The war on the Maoists is not because they want to overthrow the Indian state, an endeavour they have been engaged in for nearly half a century. By their own admission, it would take them 50 to 60 years more to succeed. The reason for launching "Operation Green Hunt" on jungle bases is because the Maoists offer formidable resistance to implementing hundreds of memorandums of understanding for mining and mineral-based industries in predominantly tribal India where they enjoy considerable support. Without weakening this resistance,

the government of India's mining policies will remain unrealised.

That the Maoists pursue a different path sets them apart from every left formation in India. For this reason, they are under a microscope. It is true that today's critics can become tomorrow's admirers. Nevertheless, to reach there, the Maoists will have to work out how they negotiate their way through the diversity and plurality of India.

People need more than rhetoric to believe that change is not only possible but also that it will result in real democracy, where people can participate in making their own lives.

Political plurality has become as much, if not more, a hallmark of India as its cultural diversity. Thus, they will have to accept and

respect the fact that they may become a leading force but not the only force. And accept that democracy is not a tactical question. More than 100 years of struggle has won India's working class, rural as well as urban, a variety of freedoms. Much of these freedoms have been legislated and are today under attack. If the Maoists have to win over the working people in areas where they have no or little presence, how will they go about doing it without advancing these freedoms?

Days and Nights in the Maoist Heartland by Gautam Navlakha

Economic & Political Weekly, April 17, 2010 (vol xlv no 16)

<http://epw.in/epw/uploads/articles/14662.pdf>

Some questions?

If the Citizens Initiative for Peace really wants "peace" they must demand that the Government of India must first address the very real grievances of the adivasis in the region when the Maoists and Government enter into a dialogue. Those issues which have been raised by the Maoists have also been raised by other organisations and parties working in the region (the so-called Red corridor). Above all, those are the issues around which there has been a sustained adivasi movement since Indian independence.

The political and economic issues in question are broadly related to:

1. hunger, malnutrition and starvation deaths of adivasis largely due to massive land alienation and the dispossession of adivasis due to development projects;
2. the secret dealing with the Transnational Corporations by which hundreds of MoUs have been signed which will allow the TNCs to exploit the rich mineral resources of the region without benefit to either the local people or the nation as a whole; this is an issue related to corporate governance;
3. denial of basic rights to health, water, housing, education and above all food.

The Citizens Initiative for Peace must make a list of specific demands for each of the affected States: Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar and West Bengal. And then demand that the State governments and Government of India announce the measures they will take in a time-bound

fashion on each of these issues. This will bring back focus on the real urgent issues.

The Resolution of the Citizens Initiative for Peace includes the demand: "People's basic livelihood rights and democratic control over their natural resources must be urgently ensured. We resolve to work for this." But it does not state what those demands are and how the people have systematically been deprived of their means of livelihood. More importantly, how the Citizens Initiative for Peace intends to work on these issues-something which would be of great interest to those who read their Resolution.

After all, the systematic denial of citizens of food, medicines and homes

is institutionalised violence which cannot be equated with the beheading of a state official. Apart from the violence on the entire adivasi population of this region (not to speak of other parts of the country) the security forces have been committing human rights violations of individual adivasi activists, and anyone else they decide to dub as Maoist. The law does not allow the torture of even the members of a banned organisation.

If the Resolution is genuinely meant for the people at large then it must spell out the political issues; otherwise the language of the Citizens Initiative is indistinguishable from that of the language of the State.

Citizens Initiative For Peace And The Maoist Challenge

By Nandita Haksar, 05 November, 2009, Mainstream

Peace talks?

"The proposal of talks is neither a ploy to buy time or regroup ourselves, nor is it a part of the general re-evaluation of the political strategy of the party that could lead to its coming overground, entering the electoral fray and multi-party competition as in Nepal. You asked me what we want to achieve with talks. My one sentence answer is: we want to achieve whatever is possible for the betterment of people's lives without compromising on our political programme of new democratic revolution and strategy of protracted people's war. People have a right to enjoy whatever is guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, however nominal and limited these provisions are. And the government is duty-bound to implement the provisions of the Constitution. We hope the talks would raise the overall consciousness of the oppressed people about their fundamental rights and rally them to fight for their rights. Talks will also expose the government's hypocrisy, duplicity, and its authoritarian and extra-constitutional rule that violates whatever is guaranteed by the Constitution. So talks would help in exposing the government's callous attitude to the people and may help in bringing about reforms, however limited they may be."

- Azad, Spokesperson of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

- A ceasefire will create conducive atmosphere for talks', Siddharth Varadarajan

The Hindu, 14 April, 2010.

<http://www.hindu.com/2010/04/14/stories/2010041452901300.htm>

Democracy and state

Had struggles like the Narmada Bachao Andolan not been cynically crushed and suppressed by the Rule of Law (at each stage, literally, by the Supreme Court), there might not have been a Maoist insurgency for the state to deal with. What made them attractive is that "rule of the extraordinary", the violence of the law .

There is a real danger today that all spaces of radical political movements and indeed the entire space of the Left, part of it gradually vacated by the parliamentary "Left" in recent decades, will now be virtually erased. In its place will be installed the phantom of an "armed struggle" that threatens to completely swallow up the spaces once occupied by different shades of the left. Needless to say, this strategy suits the plans of corporate plunderers and their cheerleaders in the media, as well as the Maoists. That is why it is necessary to uncover the symbiosis between the state and its mimicry - in the form of the "state-to-be", codenamed "Maoism/Maoist". Each needs the other. A pervasive myth is manufactured through this symbiosis that has lately found expression: the myth of the Maoist as the only answer to special economic zones (SEZs) and corporate designs in the forest and mining areas.

It is precisely because the task of thinking about alternative, post-capitalist futures has been banished in the interests of a self-fulfilling one of "capture of state power" that all that revolutionaries can do once they take power is to do what states do: build capitalism. Behind this lies an article of faith: non-capitalist relations can only come into being after the bourgeois state is overthrown. What 20th century experience suggests is that logic of the modern state itself is bourgeois and unless alternatives to this state-form and its implication in the juridical form of bourgeois property right (for reasons of taxation and economic "accountability" of "informal" economic activities) itself is rethought, revolutionaries may be barking up the wrong tree.

One only needs to look with different eyes to be able to see that non-capitalist relations based on an ethos of sharing (and rejection of the accu-

mulative logic) pervade our societies. It is these diverse economic activities that modern states seek to bring under control by instituting the juridical bourgeois property right and making them accountable.

Is democracy in India a sham, as the Maoists and indeed many other leftists claim?

Bullets are not the answer

We have to rethink the development India has practised so far. Let's just think forests. These are the very lands where India's tree wealth exists. Some 60 per cent of the country's dense and most bio-diverse and economically rich forests are in these tribal districts. Think minerals now. The bulk of what we need for growth-iron ore for steel, bauxite for aluminium and coal for power stations-is located here. These are also the same districts-poor and backward-our beloved tigers roam in. Here's where the country's major watersheds are located.

How can we build a growth model which uses the wealth of the region for local development first? Such a development model would mean listening to people who live on these lands, about what they need and want for their growth. It means seceding to what people want:

If so, how do we understand the experience of many oppressed groups who have found this democracy enabling in many ways? A possible way out of this endless debate is to see democracy not as a fully-formed end product of liberal-constitutionalism but as its untamed other - the mass politics which escapes and exceeds the Law and the injustices of Order. It is from here that the

greatest challenges to capitalism and the State arise. The Maoist strategy, by merely trying to mimic the State, is actually inimical to this democratic upsurge.

Democracy, State and Capital: The 'Unthought' of 20th Century Marxism, by Aditya Nigam, Economic and Political Weekly, 19, December, 2009

<http://epw.in/epw/uploads/articles/14264.pdf>

the right to decide if they want a mine in their backyard, or the forests cut. It means taking democracy very seriously.

If this is accepted, protests will have to be seen in a new light. There are no misguided people, or naxalites, holding up Vedanta in Orissa, or Tata in Chhattisgarh. These many, and there are many, mutinies will have to be carefully heard. This country cannot brush aside people's concerns, in the name of a 'considered' decision taken, in Delhi or somewhere else. Government must stop believing it knows what is best.

Once we accept local veto over development decisions, the tough part begins. For, this means seriously engaging with people to find ways that benefit all. It means sharing revenue from minerals with villagers, not the poisoned peanuts they get now. It means chang-

ing priorities: valuing, for instance, a standing forest as protector of water, wildlife, even a low-carbon future. It means paying directly to local communities so that they decide to protect forests, because it benefits them.

Ultimately, listening to dissenters means reinventing development. Accept we cannot mine all the coal, bauxite, iron ore-whatever-that lies below forests people live in, and depend on. It will make us get careful about how to use less minerals for more growth? Can India do more with less? There's a lesson India's poor teach: walk lightly on the earth you have. Let us not riddle them with bullets.

by Sunita Narain

www.downtoearth.org.in/editor.asp?foldername=20100430&filename=Editor&sec_id=2&sid=1

Rights to defend their resources.

For the first time after 50 years of India's Independence, a significant step was been made by the introduction of the Provisions of the Panchayats (extension to the scheduled areas) Act, 1996 whereby the village communities (Gram Sabha) have been granted legal recognition as a community entity. It has also recognised control over their commons. This new law (which provides an extension to the provision of Part IX of the Constitution of India) for the scheduled areas came into force on December 24, 1996. It envisages Gram Sabhas as being the basic unit of the self-governing system. According to Section 4(b): "A village shall ordinarily consist of habitation or a group of habitations, or a hamlet or a group of hamlets comprising a community and managing its affairs in accordance with traditions and customs".

The village community as Gram Sabha has also been endowed with specific powers concerning vital matters such as ownership of minor forest product, enforcement of prohibition, restoration of unlawfully alienated lands, control over money lending and marketing etc.

In 2006, India passed the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act to correct the historic wrong of violation of the rights of tribals.

But after when tribals have exercised their constitutional, democratic, resource and human rights, they have been met with violence. The decision of the Gram Sabha was torn and later the tribals - men, women, and children - were thrown into jail. This war against India's "green" capital - the forest regions, and against India's original inhabitants - is being called the "green hunt".

The justification of operation Green Hunt is hunting out the Maoist, the red threat. The reality of operation Green Hunt is terrorising the tribals, treating every tribal as a Maoist so that they leave their homes in the forest, and the mining corporations and the steel and aluminum giants can have direct, uninterrupted access to the minerals that lie under tribal homes.

The tribals have rights to defend their resources by Vandana Shiva, www.asianage.com

A Letter of Dissent

Dear Mr P. Chidambaram,

I am part of the much maligned group, the human rights activist, that you often challenge.

You suggest we protest at the wrong time and at the wrong things. You seem to think we point too many fingers. Actually, we raise some simple issues. As cottage industries of dissent and democracy, we may not be doing it effectively.

We are as concerned as you are about violence. Our voices may not carry far but while your emphasis is on the stability and the sovereignty of the state, ours is on the vulnerability and fate of ordinary tribal people. They face a cruel choice: Development destroys them and when they agitate against its inequities, the state destroys them all over again. You are asking the human rights groups to stand up. We have and we are. As a part of some of them, I can say Maoism is wrong, misguided, is murderous and often gets criminalised. Most of these groups do function as extortion agencies. But will you own up to all the women and children, and old people killed in your operations? Will you dismiss it as part of the logic of internal war?

Mr Chidambaram, logic is deceptive, managerial logic is worse. Using the Air Force against the so-called Naxal zone is to Vietnamise it. Very logical, very rational people have pursued this strategy. As David Halberstam, a great journalist and an authority on Vietnam, said, the best and the brightest came from Harvard and Yale.

The future of democracy is not just your responsibility. To condemn intellectuals who question and to label them as "sympathisers" is to inaugurate a tacit McCarthyism - the concern for internal security forces, an unnecessary homogeneity, or the dualism of "you are with me or you are against me".

Democracy is troubled and troublesome, but it is the availability of dissent and diversity that protects both you and me. This panchayat of pluralisms needs expansion. Our sense of doubts demands that we rethink "development", "security" as currently defined. Let me add the word "rights". All three need to be questioned, not just academically as formal definitions but as practices. Let us ask, does development allow the rape of tribals through dams and deforestation? Does security give every policeman the right to brutalise a people? Have these words become ironic and counter-productive? To address it to a more general audience, what can the worlds of Nilekani, Pitroda and Prahlad do for these people? Does the state need a hearing aid or does it think that machine-gunned silence means consent?

Dissent will sound anachronistic, museumised, and even idiotically Gandhian. We must still dissent, both against you and the Maoists. The use of landmines is utterly cowardly and brutal. The Maoists should be told that. The use of sanitisation operations does not legitimise murder and harassment. You should recognise it. Torture is a stigma, the unforgettable mnemonic which both, Maoism and the state will leave for future generations to gasp in horror.

Maoism has been in the making for years, Mr Chidambaram. Once made, it cannot be unmade through violence. The pacification you propose may be seen as the equivalent of ethnic cleansing. This is not an issue for a hysterical media or the parties to legitimise. If democracy is at stake, the issue has to be solved democratically. Terror and murder can only lie defeated by the inventiveness of democracy. Body counts are not equivalent to electoral votes that we tot up for victory. In fact, by treating casualty rates as low-level production statistics, both society and state have waited too long to act.

Conflict resolution often becomes a formal settlement between state and adversary as the insurgent party. Let us involve civil society and community in it, maybe even a few imaginative corporations. We need to create a third space of "constructive labour", as Gandhi called it, to challenge Maoism. This also needs the tolerance which does not treat people who empathise with suffering as suspect. It will also allow the state not to be hemmed in by machismo solutions which add little to problem solving.

The request, Mr Minister, is simple. Do not undermine democracy in attempting to save it. This is the irony the politics of good intentions faces today.

October 12th, 2009, Deccan Chronicle
Shiv Visvanathan

Shiv Visvanathan is a social scientist
<http://www.deccanchronicle.com/op-ed/letter-dissent-922>

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