

## WHITE TERROR

Most parts of India are living in the midst of terror let loose by the landlords and their gangs in the rural areas. A few examples collected from the respectable Press were cited to show the growing ferocity of feudal landlordism in India. I have not so far heard of any severe action taken by the government against them except in the case of one or two when they were very respectably taken into custody to temporarily assuage the commotion that was apparently visible at the inaction of the government. Never has one come across a police party raiding the houses of landlords who have been responsible for hideous crimes committed by them against the rural poor. But, in addition to the violence let loose by the landlords, the government has proclaimed whole districts and large areas as - "*disturbed areas*" and handed them over to the Central Reserve Police and in some areas to the army itself. And this government, which swears by the Constitution has every hour and every minute of every day been acting openly, unscrupulously and unashamedly against the Constitution.

I had brought to the notice of the court how the bourgeois-landlord government broke through the legality of the Girijan struggle and adopted all the illegal methods. When the government found that "this growth going without interruption until of itself it gets beyond the control of the ruling governmental system," and finding that this struggle is getting "firm muscles and rosy cheeks and look like eternal life," "then nothing else is finally left for them but themselves to break through this legality so fatal to them." (Engels). "Breach of the Constitution" without proclaiming it became the policy of the government. As Engels has said, "if, therefore, you break the constitution of the Reich, then Social Democracy is free and can do." ("Introduction to the Class Struggles in France" Karl Marx : "Selected Works", Volume 1 Lawrence and Wishart Pages 189 and 190).

It is my duty now to show to the court how ~~the~~ government has been breaking through the constitutional facade to create terror to submerge growth of the revolutionary tide sweeping the country. Let me recount a few examples of the criminal actions of the government in a few states, before we enumerate the fascist methods adopted in our state.

## K E R A L A

"Report alleging that Kunnikalite leader, A. Verghese died while in police custody have stirred on ugly rumble, which threatens to blow up into a big scandal."

"Police sources claim he was killed in an encounter. The local people have, however, a different story to tell. Verghese, according to them, was reportedly sleeping in a hut when he was surprised by the police. Verghese did not offer any resistance. He was arrested near Manatody on the morning of February 18, it is reported."

"Many tribals allege that Verghese, was tied with a rope and dragged across the hilly tract. That evening came the shocking news of his death."

"The cause of his death calls for an immediate high-level probe if only to allay the uneasy suspicions in the minds of the people, especially the tribals among whom he lived and worked during the last two years of his life." (Blitz : March 7, 1970).

This gruesome incident in Kerala took place under the benign rule of Achuta Menon, the Chief of Kerala Communist Party (Revisionist) ; the minimum that one expected of this government was the immediate institution of a committee to probe into this ghastly incident. But probably to prove his loyalty to the ruling Congress which seated him in power and to save the other governments in other states from embarrassment, the Revisionist-led government, as all other governments of other states, condoned this savagery.

## P U N J A B

The following news appearing again in Blitz is a replica of what has been happening all over the country, except that the leaders of all the important parties - Communist Party of India (Revisionist), and Marxist Communist Party (Neo-Revisionist), along with the Chief of the Pro-Indira Congress, and a leading Akali leader - demanded a judicial probe. Of course, it never was held and the demand was left to die a natural death.

"The story spread by the Ropar police, that the death of the

socalled Naxalites was the result of their encounter with a police contingent seems unconvincing."

"According to the Superintendent of Police of that district, five persons Dilbarasingh Rashidpur, Ujjar Singh Dadowali, Balwanth Singh Kher, Dayasingh Kharwar, and Hari Singh Marigindpur, were killed in an engagement with the police party, headed by the S. P., himself. The incident reportedly occurred on the morning March 26, six miles from Ropar."

"Blitz learns that all the five persons were rounded up by the police the previous night from their respective homes."

"For instance, Pritam Singh of Bandowali village, alleged that his brother, Ujjar Singh and his father, Swaran Singh were taken away from their village at 8 p.m. on March 25 by a raiding police party."

"Pritam Singh sent a telegram, two hours later, to the Governor, the Inspector General of Police and the Additional Inspector General of Police informing them of their arrest. The post and telegraph department certified the despatch of the telegram at the indicated hour."

"One of those killed, Mr. Hari Singh Margindpur, was an 80 - year old veteran of the freedom movement, was a diabetic patient, and could not be expected to have participated in guerilla activities.

Mr. Avtar Singh Malhotra, Secretary of the CPI, Mr. Satwant Singh, CPM leader, Giani Zail Singh, Chief of the pro-Indira Punjab Congress, Mr. Ajaib Singh a leading Akali leader of Ropar district presented memorandums to the Chief Minister and the Governor to bring to his notice the widely-held suspicion and demanding a judicial probe." (Blitz : April 18, 1970).

## WEST BENGAL

West Bengal has become the centre of most unbelievable atrocities committed on the largest scale. The following news is a mass - scale savagery.

Frontier, in its issue of May 23, 1970 reports as follows : "About 2,000 Naxalites are reported to have been arrested by the police in two months of President's rule in West Bengal ..... Its reluctance to divulge the names of those arrested, especially of the

'top' leaders who are claimed to have been caught in the dragnet, may have more sinister implications. Normally, the names should have been announced gleefully; Governments are not known for reserve when collection of kudos is involved. The self denial may mean that it does not want the public to know who have fallen into police clutches so that it may not have to answer for the fate that may overtake some of them. The horrid tales of torture in police custody that are circulating suggest that there is need for such precautions. They have come to light because the government has not been able to prevent bail to all. But there must be untold stories also; for people suddenly whisked away and detained in secrecy cannot tell their tales, nor dead men."

"The government is not yet done with the round-up. Arrests are continuing."

There can be no count as to how many tens of thousands have been arrested in Bengal so far, as to the thousands of them tortured and finally murdered. All those conscience - stricken democrats who shed tears at the brutalities in East Bengal committed by dictator Yahya Khan, have not uttered one word of protest at the State terrorism against tens of thousands of people in West Bengal probably because there is a difference between democratic torture and dictatorial terror !!

Again, in its issue of June 6, 1970, Frontier reported that "the treatment they mete out to most of the arrested is barbarous. Meet some of those who had been released on bail, and they will tell you what is happening. The details are sickening. The Berhampore incident last week brought to light the torture of an arrested government employee. If one thinks that the arrests have, in most cases, anything to do with specific charges, one is living in a world of his own."

"The police repression in the countryside is immense."

A letter published in Frontier dated 27, 1970, from several mothers of undertrial prisoners in Midnapore Central Jail gives out the conspiratorial brutality perpetrated in the jails where revolutionaries are lodged in West Bengal. The letter - part of it - is as follows :

"After the incident involving Naxalite prisoners and Mr. Daben Das, M.L.A., who used to visit the jail, we made repeated

attempts to see our sons, but all our entreaties were rejected. Most of the injured are in jail hospital. According to old convicts, 400 are seriously injured, 80 are being given oxygen and blood transfusion. From the noon of June 16, we have seen car loads of doctors and bandages and medicines going inside the jail. The Eastern Frontier Rifles men were called into beat up the prisoners. Why can't we see our children?"

I wonder whether in the period of colonial regime at any time and in any province, the army was called into the jail to beat up the prisoners. That was a colonial regime and I forget this is a democratic regime! In democracy mothers have no right to ask to see their children!

So, further arrangements were made to shift some hundreds of detenus from West Bengal to jails in far-way places, like Tamil Nadu and Kerala, cutting them off from their families. People's Democracy, January 16, 1972, published that "handcuffed and bound together by coarse rope, these detenus were subjected to a brutal police lathi charge in front of the main gate of the Cuddalore jail in Tamil Nadu. Several were injured and several were trampled upon."

What is the difference between Nazi prisons for Jews and Indian prisons for Naxalites!

### **Raid on University Campus**

Nothing is sacrosanct. Temples of learning are no matters of concern for brute force. The following news from the 'respectable' New Age which firmly supports Indira Gandhi and her progressive party, gives a glimpse of how Bengal has been treated by Central Reserve Police - the army of occupation :

"The CRP men have again run amuck. On July 24, they raided the Jadavpur University campus, firing and beating teachers, students and employees of the university at random. At least 160 persons, including three girl students have been seriously injured and had to be removed to hospital."

"B.C. Kunda, Deputy Registrar of the University, told reporters, that there was absolutely no provocation from the students and the staff."

"The students were having meeting in the administrative

building to discuss some question regarding their examination. The staff were also having a separate meeting in another wing."

"Without any warning the CRP men attacked the campus. They came in three groups, entered the meeting halls, and mercilessly assaulted whoever they could lay their hands on."

"While the law and order situation has gone worse, after several battalions of CRP have been brought into the state, the CRP are behaving like an army of occupation."

"Only recently they went on rampage at Durgapur. They have killed a pregnant woman at Hamnipota and raped a number of women at Jarmajgram."

An army of occupation is supreme in its power. It is above every norm of common morality. Its supreme task is to save democracy and the rule of the constitution. In the process, even if the constitution is buried hundred fathoms deep, is not its concern. After all, the Indian ruling class is a successor of the British colonial power. All its traditions are its own. Jallianwala Bagh was one of such few traditions. The following news from Blitz : dated September 12, 1970 is of great importance to give a warning of the shape of things to come :

### **'Miniature Jallianwala Bagh Enacted'**

"Five retired senior government officials were made to stand with their hands raised on a south Calcutta street last week; at Dum Dum, a thana official was man-handled; and at Durgapur officials of Hindustan Steel were brought out of their cars and insulted. The oppressive force in all these cases was the Central Reserve Police, New Delhi's army of occupation in West Bengal."

"The Government senior officials make it plain that they have no control over the CRP who behave as if West Bengal was a colony of the Centre."

"An account given by a Calcutta corporation alderman reveals the situation. He had just returned home in south Calcutta when cries of women were heard. They were shouting, "We are beaten by the police." Panic-stricken, a few entered his house. Outside, male voices were heard uttering filthy abuses."

"Coming out of his house, the alderman found that a customs official, who was his neighbour, had been badly beaten

up together with his 14-year-old son. The brutes had also forced open the door of a nearby house and mercilessly assaulted some young people living there."

"What happened next was even more gruesome. At a house belonging to a retired district judge, a group of elderly people were playing cards. The CRP personnel entered this house also and beat them despite protests. The elderly people together with some others were forcibly taken to the local thana where they were forced to stand with their hands raised for an hour ..... CRP officials had the cheek to deny the whole incident, and then, on being pressed by some newsmen, to dismiss it as a minor affair."

"The death, the next day of a 20-year-old youth Abani Chakravathy, who was a victim of the day's outrage, proved the worthlessness of their statement. Released from the thana he went to his house, fainted and was removed to the hospital where he died. Abani was an employee of a commercial firm, and was the only earning member of his family. As a mark of protest, a day's bundh was observed in the area."

"CRP is not alone in torturing the people. Recently, a 17-year-old youth Samir Bhattacharya was reportedly beaten to death in a north Calcutta thana where he had been taken for interrogation following some Naxalite action in the area. The questioning was done by the head constable and others who, it is said sat on Samir's chest and beat him with their fists and lathis. All this was going on in the presence of the residents of the neighbouring bustees whose repeated pleas to policemen to leave him alone met with no response. While this brutality was going on in one part of the thana, the boy's uncle was reportedly being told by the officials that his nephew had been sent to court and that he could go there and bail him out. Even after the boy died, the uncle's anxious enquiries met with the same reply."

"After the boy had died, there was an attempt by the police officials to dispose of the body. But the local people raised a hue and cry and the whole thing came into the open."

Marx had said in "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte":

*Every demand of the simplest bourgeois financial reform, of the most ordinary liberalism, of the most formal republicanism, of the most insipid democracy, is simultaneously, castigated, as an*

*attempt on society and stigmatised as 'Socialism'. And finally the high priests of 'religion and order' themselves are driven with kicks from their Pythian tripods, hounded out of their beds in the darkness of the night, put in prison vans, thrown into dungeons or sent into exile; their temple is razed to the ground, their mouths are sealed, their pen broken, their law torn to pieces in the name of religion, of property, of family, of order."*

We have noted how "senior government officials were made to stand with their hands raised", how "retired district judge" and his friends were beaten in their peaceful homes.

New tactics form part of bourgeois rule to drown democratic and revolutionary forces in blood. Jail killings have become common news. We had seen how prisoners in Midnapore Central Jail were assaulted by Eastern Frontier Rifles. The following news is about Asansol Jail :

"On August 5, at Asansol Jail, a wild group of more than 60 warders and policemen attacked eleven alleged Naxalite prisoners who were said to have attempted a jail break. They were beaten up so severely that nine died on the spot and two were taken to a hospital with severe injuries."

"Till now, 47 prisoners, all alleged Naxalites have been beaten to death. The number of injured could be more than one hundred." (Blitz, August 21, 1971).

### 'Horrible Conditions in Bihar Jails'

(1) In the Patna Central Jail, the warders fired on an angry mob of prisoners on July 7, killing 2 and injuring 42. "There were rumours, however, that more prisoners had died in the firing and the jail authorities had disposed of their bodies." In the melee 16 prisoners, including five Naxalites, were reported to have escaped.

(2) On July 25, warders opened fire on prisoners in Hazaribagh Central Jail, killing 25 and injuring 27. According to reports, the warders had to open fire to fail an attempt by the Naxalite prisoners to escape. A preliminary enquiry by the Commissioner of Chhotanagpore Division and Deputy Commissioner of Hazaribagh has established that 12 of the 16 prisoners killed had died not from bullets but from injuries. The prisoners killed and injured were teenagers. The parents of the boys killed were

informed two days later and were not allowed to cremate the bodies ..... There is evidence to show that the jail warders and some of the loyal convicts were not getting along with the victims who were educated and did not meekly submit to the ill-treatment meted out to them by the former."

(3) "During the last one year, there have been firings in Bhagalpur and Jamshedpur jails in which four prisoners were killed." (Naxalite prisoners not involved).

(4) There have been disturbances in the jails at Ranchi, Dhanbad, Barh and Begusarai, and agitation by the prisoners in protest against the treatment meted out to them by jailors and warders. The central and sub-jails of the state are packed with prisoners awaiting trial for four or five years. Here are some instances :

(a) In Purnea sub-jail a person is kept in prison for five years without trial because his records were missing.

(b) In Sasaram sub-jail, a person charged with house - breaking is awaiting trial for over four and half years.

(c) Mohan, a young man, charged under section 109, spent 10 months in Samastipur sub-jail. The maximum punishment for this section is six months.

(d) Another person, charged under section 107, has spent 14 months in the Dhanbad jail without trial as his papers were missing. His only offence was that he went to the police station to lodge a complaint that his wife had been kidnapped.

"So horrible are the conditions inside the jails of Bihar that a brief spell in the jail is enough to turn a decent citizen into a hardened Naxalite" says Mr. Karpoori Thakur, a former Chief Minister and Chairman of the Socialist Party.

The history of the world has shown that police and army alone are not the instruments which the bourgeoisie uses to put down revolutionary forces. Black Hundred gangsters in Russia before the revolution, fascist thugs in Germany known as 'storm troopers' in the pre-second World War period, are historic instances of other methods used to create counter revolutionary terror. Here is an instance which shows bourgeois democracy of Black Hundreds and Storm Troopers in action :

### Goonda Attack on Cossipore and Baranagar

"Never since the great Culcutta killing of 1946, has a greater massacre than that had happened in the city last week shocked its people, who are by now apparently immune to emotions caused by violence and murder."

"It was an organised attack on Naxalites in their alleged dens in the city's northern fringe, Cossipore and Baranagar. The total deaths could be as high as 150."

"From the evening on Thursday till late on Friday (August 13), a few hundred armed young men went wild, hounded out suspected Naxalites from their hide-outs, butchered them, and then carried their bodies in cartloads to be thrown into the Hooghly, flowing past Cossipore."

*"Shockingly, the police, stationed in the two thanas in Cossipore and Baranagar which are few furlongs from the rampage scene, were nowhere to be found for so long as 17 hours, during which frenzied killings went on."*

"Boys were brought out on public roads to be butchered in public and then burnt by soaking their bodies in petrol."

"In houses where so-called Naxalites were not found, their relatives, including an eight-year-old sister, father, and uncle were not spared. In many cases, the dead bodies, before being dumped into the river had their faces rubbed black with tar so that they could not be recognised." Siddhartha Sankar Ray, Union Minister in charge of West Bengal, later said in an interview :

"It was an expression of mass anger which had accumulated over a long period."

"When I went to the different areas, hundreds of people, while accusing the police of inaction, told me of the sense of relief they felt following the clearing of the Naxalites and anti-social elements from the areas." (Blitz August 21, 1971).

Here is proved what Marx had said : "Finally the scum of bourgeois society forms the holy phalanx of order and the hero installs himself in Thelliers as the 'Saviour of Society'".

Shooting of revolutionaries has become so common a daily occurrence that no count is possible. Tens and hundreds in

groups have been finished off by trigger-happy police, CRP, and the army, all over the country. Since it has become such a common occurrence, even announcement of the news has been stopped by the government. The following news of Saroj Dutta's silent disappearance, is one of the few of such incidents that appeared in the Press :

### **Saroj Kumar Dutta**

Saroj Kumar Dutta (Naxalite leader) killed by Police. Saroj Kumar Dutta is considered second among the top-ranking leaders of CPI (M.L.). He started his life as a journalist and was chief sub-editor of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Later he became editor of *Swadhinata*, the Bengali daily of the undivided CPI. He is known as a poet, literary critic, and political commentator, and he was a regular writer in CPI (M.L.) journals.

There was a reward of Rs 10,000 for his arrest.

His arrest was first reported in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, on August 8, 1971. But nobody knows what happened to him after that.

*Kalantar*, CPI organ, expressed on August 12, its suspicion that Saroj Dutta had been murdered in police custody. The police, however, deny this and say that they had not arrested him and that somebody was let off when it was known that it was not Saroj Dutta.

This is what the *Hindustan Standard*, another daily from Calcutta, wrote on August 24 :

"The police continue to deny that he has been arrested, but investigations reveal that he was arrested in a house in South Calcutta on August 5."

Recently, the CPI (M.L.) have issued a printed notice in which they allege that Saroj was tortured and killed by the police.

His wife, writing to the Prime Minister, says : "I have no means to find out what has happened to him. I have written to the police authorities in Calcutta but have not heard from them."

Can anyone expect truth from those who rule this country?

'Shoot to kill' is the policy adopted not only in cases of those who are arrested, but even in the case of ordinary circumstances probably as a target practice. Here is an instance reported by

Bhupesh Gupta, long-standing and experienced luminary of the Indian parliament, and a friend of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. This kind of unheard of savage behaviour was to be condemned even by the other Press in Calcutta city. Bhupesh Gupta's statement and a *Jugantar* editorial will show how West Bengal is being treated by the occupation army of the Central Government, both published in *New Age*, September 25, 1970 :

Bhupesh Gupta reports that : "On September 25 the police shot dead four young men in a single locality of Calcutta, in the Calcutta Square area - and they committed these crimes within a matter of few hours."

"Among the killed was one young man who had been arrested the previous day."

"One was a post-graduate student, Krishnaldas Biswas, was fatally shot at point blank as he was entering, with his hands up, the Calcutta University gates to attend his class."

"Shootings at random, brutal assaults, sheer marauding, in the name of searches, arrests, and imprisonment of whomsoever they like to lay their hands on, and last but not least, torture in police lock-ups - these have become the order of the day."

Editorial in *Jugantar*, a Calcutta daily owned by the family of the Congress (R) P. C. C. general secretary Mr. Tarun Kanthi Bose, on September 27, 1970, as reported in *New Age* October 4, 1970

"The police bosses of Calcutta and West Bengal should know better that the people of this city and the state are not so many games for their shootings and that although it is their responsibility to put down gangsterism and anti-social activities, they have no right to commit indiscriminate murder."

"Whatever the provocation, the police is recklessly resorting to firing and the people are being killed by bullets irrespective of whether they are guilty or innocent."

### **Attacks on Lawyers**

In the process of destroying the democratic movement, no scope should be allowed even for the lawyers to expose even a court any brutal acts of the goondas of the ruling party or the Nazi tactics adopted by the police. Therefore, all legal avenues available

to the arrested revolutionaries are to be blocked. The same methods of gangsterism were adopted to achieve this end, to terrorise the legal profession from defending the revolutionary accused. The following statement, published by the joint secretary, West Bengal Association of Democratic Lawyers, exposes the role of the anti-social elements in Bengal.

"The West Bengal Association of Democratic Lawyers notes with deep dismay and horror that legal practitioners are now increasingly the object of attack of anti-social elements backed by the Police. Within a short period, we have lost Bhadadish Roy, the advocate who was dedicated to defending the victims of police terror and goonda action. He was killed by the goondas. Sri Debu Bhattacharya, another advocate of Burdwan was badly assaulted because he was a similar defence advocate."

"There was a dastardly attack on Syed Manur Habibullah, an advocate, when he was on the dais as a speaker at a meeting place in Burdwan. The situation in Kalna is so serious that advocates cannot go to court even to practise their profession. Sri Amiya Mullick, an advocate of Kalna Court has been forced to leave Kalna and is now in Calcutta trying to shift his lucrative practice from Kalna."

It is clear to everybody that the ruling circles are indulging in fascist terror against citizens, particularly those who are involved in the democratic movement. A further evidence of fascism is provided by these organised attacks on lawyers and advocates, abetted and directly supported and helped by the police.

"The West Bengal Association of Democratic Lawyers records its strongest protest against these attacks and calls upon the citizens as well as lawyers to organise themselves against the crudest ever fascist onslaught launched by the ruling circles in the unfortunate state of West Bengal."

Indira Gandhi and her coterie of rulers were aghast at the massacre of intellectuals by the hoodlums of Pakistani rulers in East Bengal. But, when they systematically connive at the same state of affairs in West Bengal, any decent, sensible, democrat would like to ask them what exactly is the difference between the two ?

### **Search and Destroy Operation in Howrah**

We had noted how, in Baranagar and Cossipore, the fascist thugs of the Congress ruling class had been responsible for the murder of 150 citizens within 48 hours and how the personal representative of Indira Gandhi in Bengal, Mr. Siddhartha Sankar Ray had heaved a sigh of relief at what he called "the clearing out of Naxalites".

Taking the clue from his statement, a second round of clearance was enacted within a month, this time in Howrah. The report in Frontier of September 18, 1971, says that "the search and destroy operation" which was conducted for two days in two localities of Howrah produced an immediate toll of 2 murdered. The '*indignant mob*', closely supported by the police, destroyed shops and houses belonging to Naxalite sympathisers and supporters ..... How many more murders occurred in the area during the operation will be never known because in police democracy, the sources of knowledge is the police and their obliging friends, the newspapers." Frontier further reports that "in Howrah, unlike in Cossipore-Baranagar, the police actively joined the forces of Indira Gandhi, instead of standing by. One newspaper reported that, "after the man-hunt, the hunters came back and handed over at the thana the weapons used in the operation".

These democratic tactics of terror in facist style are reaching the stage of perfection under Indira rule !

### **Exhibition of Sadism in Tollygunj**

The following letter written to Frontier, September 11, 1971, reveals a part of unknowable methods of Congress democratic rule. A housewife, terror-stricken appeals : "I pray to all : save us from the impending massacre, check by all possible means the recurrence of another Baranagar." What was the reason for her panicful prayer?

She writes : "we, the saner section of Tollygunj, are seeing with horror and panic the upper hand given to the police here. Brutal murder of innocent youths in the presence of lamenting, poor, helpless parents is not uncommon. An example terror :"

"On September 2, at about 11 a.m. four police officers appeared in the locality on trucks loaded with arms and followed

by a CRP convoy. They asked the people at the point of the bayonet to shut their windows. Thereafter they dragged two youths, who had been arrested on August 31, 1971, from one of the trucks kicked them, brutally all over causing multiple injuries and bone fractures. The youths bled profusely, their arms and limbs were cracked by bricks. While they cried people had to watch with tears in their eyes. Some women in my house fainted. When one of the youths prayed for water, the police officer pissed. Then they played with the senseless bodies and soon after heaped them on the truck - before leaving they shouted in chorus, "If any bastard dares to disclose what we have done, we shall create another Baranagar here."

Is it not necessary that 'Mahavir Chakra' be presented to the heroic officers - the Saviours of Non-violent Truthful Democracy !!

### **General Pattern of Deliberate Killings**

The general pattern of deliberate police killing is capture, torture and shoot. It is impossible to give an account of the total number arrested, tortured and murdered, since the police alone can give an account, if they have kept the account. The following account of such tactics of naked terror by the police are only to show the general pattern adopted in all states all over the country - "deliberate police killing", as a correspondent in Frontier termed it, and warned this may soon engulf the CPM also.

"On the night of Thursday, June 24, 1971, the police entered a house Taltola, forced their way into an inner apartment and came upon three alleged Naxalite youths who were sleeping there. According to the people of the neighbourhood, the officer asked another member of the raiding party presumably a spy, "Is not this Biplab Bhattacharya?" The spy replied "Yes". Biplab was immediately shot dead and the other two were taken into custody. Two days latter, papers published a police version of the incident which said that Biplab Bhattacharya was killed when the police were obliged to fire to defend themselves against a bomb attack."

"The next day, the hartal day, at about 3 p.m. the East Calcutta police, completely by - passing the Nadia district police, came to Kalyani in five Ambassador cars and raided a house in the university staff quarter area. From the account we got from the

Kalyani University staff and from certain people in Beliaghata and Narkeldanga, it would appear that about nine people, including a woman, were rounded up from the house at Kalyani."

"To the best of our information, the house in question belongs to a university lecturer who is away in America. It had been turned, obviously with his or the caretaker's consent, into a sort of bachelors' mess, where some of the daily passengers among the lecturers and scholars, ate and slept casually. Of the arrested, one was a research scholar attached to the Maths Department who used to live there occasionally. Another was a lecturer in physics who was only a casual visitor and who, we learnt, was widely admired and respected. Both had decided left sympathies, but neither was ever found associating with political activists of any colour. Another was a university student. They have been refused bail and kept in the Beliaghata police lock-up where atleast two of them have been subjected to ruthless torture.

"The police are supposed to have arrested five others from the same place - four young men and a woman all of whom, according to the police were seasoned Naxalites. It is significant that the police caught them on the day following the night on which they had with cool purpose, shot Biplab Bhattacharya. Maybe, it was the same spy who guided them to both places. The police kept these five young people in custody for a couple of days, inflicting every possible torture on them, and then, putting the girl away, allegedly shot them dead with cool deliberation and removed all traces of the murders by burning up the bodies. From what we could gather from sundry folk in Beliaghata and Kalyani, one of these youths murdered by the police was called Kajal, another was Nityagopal, while a third was some Kar. It is widely rumoured in Beliaghata that when the parents of one of these supposedly murdered youths went to the Beliaghata P. S. to make enquiries about their son, they were told that their son had been shot and his body already burnt."

All this is in accordance with the laws of history. When a bourgeois regime, run in the interest of the corrupt, blood-sucking profiteers and black marketeers and ministers and bureaucrats lose political and economic control, - as it is bound to do sooner or later - and is faced with the prospect of extinction, it starts shedding its democratic disguise and shows itself up for what it is - a rapacious, a ravenous wolf. The police and the military in a



reactionary State represent the fangs and claws of their bourgeois rulers, and the exposure of their wolfish image is in direct proportion to the explosion of the democratic myth. Police terror is most brutal in West Bengal because it is here that the myth has come to wear thinnest.

Having had a field day for three years against Naxalites and revolutionaries all over the country, and in particular in West Bengal and Andhra, the fascist hoodlums have now turned their benevolence on the others - in particular, in Marxists in West Bengal where "the CRP, police and Congress storm troopers continue their semifascist attacks by way of kidnapping, maiming, and murder, molesting women, setting houses on fire, exaction of money and loot of properties." According to official organ of the CPI (M) People's Democracy, January 16, 1972, it is reported that, "During the first five months of the current spell of president's rule in West Bengal, more than 125 trade union leaders have been murdered by the police, CRP, and Congress killers, hundreds detained without trial, and thousands implicated in false cases".

The reign of terror in the villages is unabating with assaults on peasants, setting houses on fire and humiliating women, tortures of arrested in police stations. Attacks on educational institutions and even municipalities not controlled by the Congress (R) are not spared. Is it only a second edition of what the police started against revolutionaries in the U.F. regime being enacted now to create a celebratory climate to Indira and company for peaceful elections! Jyothi Basu had once said as chief minister that anti-social activities of the revolutionaries and Naxalites would not be tolerated!

The same story of police atrocities against revolutionaries, peasants, and workers, is being enacted all over the country in different degrees of intensity. With tens of thousands arrested and tortured and thousands murdered, there is a complete black-out of news in the Press except sometimes the version of the police published as per their dictates; no news of this savagery has come out in the so-called free and democratic Press, except a few bits here and there.

### **Punjab Intellectuals**

For example, look at this shocking bit of news from announced by Kendri Punjab Lekhak Sabha, through its organising secretary,

S. S. Desraj, Jallundur :

Two college students in tehsil Batala (Punjab) were arrested and shot dead before a large number of people. They were suspected to be Naxalites but had not been tried in any court. All the political parties, students, and trade union leaders demanded a judicial enquiry but the state government was silent.

In another incident, in tehsil Barnala, the police tortured an entire village, criminally assaulted the womenfolk, destroyed property and crops. All this was done to arrest an alleged Naxalite.

The Punjab police interrogate the intelligentsia, including university teachers and writers, search their houses, take away their belongings, and harass them in whatever manner it thinks proper. Many teachers, writers, students, and trade union leaders have been implicated in false cases.

On October 31, 1971, some 500 Punjabi writers took out a procession at Jullundur protesting against police atrocities. The bourgeois Press did not find it worth publishing.

Shooting dead before a large number of people without even the formality of a trial, torturing and assaulting an entire village including women, arresting and interrogating the intelligentsia including university teachers and writers, is not news worth publishing in our democratic Press. Goering and Goebbels must be happy in their graves at the sophisticated methodology of Indira Gandhi in adopting their policies with a finesse unknown to them.

### **Berhampore - ORISSA :**

Look at this bit of news relating to prisoners in judicial custody lodged in a jail : A citizen from Berhampore writes thus to Frontier, December, 7, 1971 :

"The cold-blooded murder of 11 Naxalite prisoners in Berhampore jail in February has not yet perhaps faded from public memory. Another attempt to repeat the performance has come to light. On November 7 at Berhampore jail the Naxal prisoners were shouting slogans on the occasion of the 54th Anniversary of the October Revolution when the legalised hooligans and murderers fell upon them and severely beat them up. At least four prisoners were seriously wounded. When this incident became public, the jail authorities gave a list of four 'minor' wounded

prisoners. But when the local jail visitors and a pleader went inside the jail, they found that the wounds of the prisoners were by no means minor and they had not been given any medical treatment and that above all, the list given by the jail did not at all tally with the actual list of the wounded."

The innocent citizen who penned the above letter probably did not know that truth, out of fear, had fled by the back-door long ago to escape from the deprivations of the swadesi rulers, in this great land of Rishis and Mahatmas.

### Andhra Pradesh

Having glimpsed the savage fascist terror tactics adopted by the various state governments in India in their furious anger at the growing democratic revolution in the country, let us now enter Andhra Pradesh and look at things here. We had previously noted how the government and the landlords had promulgated a lawless jungle law in their dealings with the tribal movement in Srikakulam district. It was not limited to that district alone. If one goes through the record of the legislative Assembly, hundreds of cases can be sighted of landlord goondaism, supported by the police, and brought to the notice of the country having gone unheeded. In not a single case has the government taken any action. A few of the incidents which occurred in that period should be recounted to understand the growing landlord police goondaism in the area.

In 1966, the landlords and goondas raided the house of the sarpanch in Tonda village in **Nalgonda district** and shot a Communist cadre, Konda Venkataiah. I visited the village and tried to highlight the growing landlord goondaism with no great success to bend the government to take action.

During the 1967 elections, on the very day of the poll, in Polumalla village Suryapet taluk, comrade Ramachandram was dragged out of his house and was shot dead, even though the police was present in the village.

In the same taluk, in the same year, in Miryal village, a Harijan worker was tied to a tractor and dragged till he died.

With the active co-operation of the police, year after year, the brutal savagery of the landlords and goondas is growing without any hindrance.

In 1968, Brahmananda Reddy as Chief Minister went on a **padayatra** on a peace mission, but mainly to mobilise the landlords more firmly. The result was evident when a bangle seller of Sirikonda village was murdered by the landlords and one Eleti Bishamayya of another village was beaten so mercilessly that he died within a few days.

In Chilukur village, the sarpanch, Candela Pullaiah, belonging to the Communist Marxist was murdered in 1968 in Huzurnagar taluk. In Nelamarri village, of the same taluk, the landlords opened fire on the villagers near the reading room and the public loudspeaker of the village radio in the evening when they had congregated in that public place to hear the evening news.

In Mukundapuram, in 1968, goondas and police together raided the village and shot at the people. A few of them were admitted to hospital.

Even as late as in 1971, Rami Reddy of Kastala of Nalgonda taluk was killed by the Congress goondas even though there was police camp in that village at that time.

It is not only a matter of murdering the people in which the goondas and the police participate. Taking advantage of the tension in the villages, they have started illegal collections of huge funds from the people, threatening them that they would also be involved in the case if they do not pay them immediately. For example, after a murder in Khotapadu, the police and the goondas collected huge amounts from the people of Khotapadu, Ravipadu, Chettugudem, Bopparam, and other villages, of nearly Rs one lakh. They raided nearly 70 villages. In the process, they destroyed the house of Laxma Reddy, one of the accused in this case and looted all the property in the house of Gopal Reddy another accused in this case.

These are a few instances out of thousands that have occurred during these four years.

One of the most gruesome incidents that occurred in Andhra Pradesh was in Kommugudem village in Ellendu taluk of **Khammam district** in the year 1967. That village is mainly a tribal village. Under the leadership of Lukkineni Venkateswara Rao, a well-known Congress leader of the district, a gang of

Congress goondas raided the gudem, destroyed the whole gudem. The huts were set on fire. For three days they saw to it that no news leaked out to the world. The horror-stricken villagers were not allowed to leave the village. It was only a few days after the incident that the news leaked out and the world was aghast to know the most extraordinary incident. The sub-inspector and the circle inspector who gave the first information report were transferred from that place on the instructions of the ministers from the top.

I remember even to this day the furore that was created by certain Congress benches to obstruct a discussion of this issue on the floor of the legislature, and the flippant manner of the reply by the chief minister. The leaders who were responsible for this beastly action were never arrested.

This attitude of the government and the failure of the legislature to take landlord goondaism seriously, further encouraged the feudal elements to step up their terror campaign against the peasants. In Thanikella panchayat of Khammam district a communist cadre, Abasmia was murdered.

In Narasampet taluk of **Warangal district** the landlords in quite a number of villages created an inferno. One of the worst examples of landlord, police brutality was what happened in Maheswaram. Taking advantage of a land dispute, the landlords with police help played havoc almost with every family in the village. In the course of this land dispute, police resorted to firing in this village and later arrested a large number of people; in a few families every one of the males were arrested and their women folk forced to live as concubines to the police stationed in that village for months together. The house and the compound of the village landlord was used as a police camp to heap every kind of humiliation on the villagers. During that period, in 1966 and again in 1967, I had visited that village in the course of my tour in that taluk, and on my personal enquiries among both men and women I found hell on earth created by devils in human form. Men tortured, houses looted, women molested and at least one killed in the firing - everything that is called hell was created in a miniature scale in that village. Any number of representations to the district and provincial officials, any number of representations to the ministers was of no avail, even to get an impartial enquiry conducted. Landlord goonda terror was at the top in those two years in the taluk.

The so-called law was only to be implemented by the people. Every illegal and immoral sadism of the landlords and the police was condoned by the powers that ruled.

### The Latest Brutal Murder

A Marxist Party cadre and leader of poor peasants and agricultural labourers of Bheemavaram taluk was brutally murdered by the landlords on December 26, 1971, in broad daylight. The facts of the case as reported in Prajasakthi, the official organ of CPI (M) and in Visalandhra are revealing. The following are the facts of this incident :

There are 4,000 acres of banzer near Kalavapudi village in Bheemavaram taluk, of **West Godavari district**. Of this, quite an amount is in the possession of landlords even after several crash programmes for distribution of banzer lands to the landless were implemented by the socialist oriented Gandhists in power. Visalandhra reports that Chinamiram Munisiff has occupied 100 acres and Mekala Bheemeswara Rao another 50 acres. Government has been leading them directly to landlordism. "For example, in the name of C.A.D. Company a few landlords, lawyers and government officials have taken 1,500 acres of land on lease and have given those lands on sub-lease to small peasants. One Dr. S. Sastry, who is also connected with the above company has further been granted 1,200 acres on lease by the government. One Mr. Sanyasi, another landlord, has been granted 200 acres on lease by the government. Thus this land is mostly under lease to the landlords. Only a small portion of this banzer is under the possession of peasants of Pusalamuri. The landlords were naturally dissatisfied at this bit of discrepancy. So the Kalavapudi landlords, under the leadership of Mekala Bheemeswara Rao, decided to occupy it and began to plough it with tractors. The peasants obstructed this occupation of the land under their possession. The landlords and the peasants decided to settle this problem through negotiations on Sunday the December 26. It was on that occasion that the leader of the peasants came to the village. As per the previously laid-out plan, the landlords and their goondas attacked him on that occasion and murdered him in broad daylight. One factor to be noted here is that this news did not find a place in our respectable daily Press. So far, the government law and order machinery seems to have found no time to raid their houses and search them for any incriminating evidence and do not seem to

have bothered to arrest any of the landlords. When one landlord is murdered, the news is splashed in all the all-India Press. When peasants occupy banjar lands hundreds and thousands of peasants are arrested, beaten, tortured and cases are filed against them. The murder of one landlord is a conspiracy to overthrow the Government, since the Government and the landlords are synonymous. But any number of murders of peasants and agricultural labourers is not serious enough to take cognisance of. Such is law under implementation under the slogan of '**Garibi Hatao**'.

It is no wonder that we are involved with a conspiracy to overthrow this Government, charge-sheeted and locked up inside the jail for the last two years, whereas the landlord thugs, and savage murderers are having lunch and dinners in the ministers' bungalows.

The above is only a microscopic narration of facts about the state of affairs in Andhra Pradesh naturally, such a situation leads to a crisis. In this crisis, the revolutionary youth and peasants stood firmly with the down-trodden peasantry. To put them down, the whole of the state machinery and a part of the Central machinery was mobilised to smash this conspiracy of revolutionary youth and the down-trodden peasants. What were the methods adopted? We who are now being charged with adopting unconstitutional methods, would like to ask : What type of constitutional methods did this government adopt?

### **Terror in Srikakulam**

I would not deal in detail with the mean methods adopted by the Government in trying to smash this peasant upsurge. Under the savage direction of a mediocre minister in power, during this period of two years a new historical record of medieval brutality has been established. Captured women revolutionaries have been tortured and shot dead during this period. Panchadi Nirmala, Aenkamma, and Saraswathamma, were the martyrs of the brutality of the Andhra police. It was the Andhra police that laid the path for others to follow. Never has such deliberate brutality been committed either by the colonial government or the feudal princes. In the long course of history, to my knowledge, I have never come across any thuggery equivalent to this - not even during the period of fascist terror in Europe has one heard of women revolutionaries

killed in cold blood as per deliberate plan and according to instructions from top. These women revolutionaries will always shine as the brightest stars on horizon of revolutionary history of India. The greatest poet of the revolution, Subbarao Panigrahi, who inspired millions through his art fell in the course of the battle for land and freedom; with pen in one hand a gun in the other he blazed a new path such as Ralph Fox and Christopher Cauldwell in the Spanish Civil War. Tortures could not loosen him. Savages finally shot him and produced for public consumption a false incident of a 'clash'. Soft and kind-hearted Panchadi Krishna Moorthy, brilliant young Dr. Bhaskar Rao, Tamada Ganapathi, the most popular girijan leader Vempatapu Satyanarayana, and many hundreds of known and unknown comrades, have blazoned the path of revolution to fulfil anti-feudal and anti-imperialist tasks of national liberation. Not one of them has died in the midst of what are known as 'clashes' but have been deliberately and cold-bloodedly murdered by the hoodlums of landlord bourgeois power. The following comments in Patriot, in its December 25, 1969 issue, reveals the true nature of what are known as 'encounters'.

### **F I S H Y**

Once again there has been an 'encounter' between the Andhra Pradesh police and persons described officially as Naxalites in the Rangamatta hills of Srikakulam district; and once again fatalities have only been on the side of the '*Naxalites*' who, it is alleged, were armed and opened fire first. Six of them were killed, including two prominent persons from Orissa, according to police reports. It seems curious that, in the many clashes that have taken place in this district, although the Naxalites have invariably been described as men armed with lethal weapons, the victims of bullets have only been in their ranks. Either the policemen deployed by the state government are all James Bonds with a miraculous capacity for evading flying bullets and country-made bombs, or all the facts are not being made known to the public. The reports of the many incidents of this kind over several months now leave no doubt that there is something extraordinarily fishy about what is going on in Srikakulam district. "It is not improbable that various persons are being finished off using the convenient pretext of dealing with Naxalites; the state government, especially its police wing, evidently thinks that the Naxalite label is sufficient to ward off public criticism. A full-scale enquiry should be ordered to

find out whether the police version of events in the troubled area in the past month is based on facts. The people have a right to know whether the police have been acting in self-defence or have been engaged in wanton killing. Only an impartial enquiry can establish the facts, and the Union Government should go into this question without further delay."

(Patriot, December 26, 1969).

### Rape and Loot

"The atrocities committed on the people in the Agency areas can never be recorded in full. With complete control over the area, the guardians of law and order never allowed the news to leak out. Even the few bits of news that did leak out of the Agency was never allowed to see the light by the controlled democratic Press of Andhra. But a few instances that did appear, will tell the savage history." (Link, December 14, 1969).

"Rape of women, looting of people's property, and extracting bribe has become a common feature in these areas", reports New Age, official organ of the CPI.

Neyyala Annapurna of village Mogilipadu in Srikakulam district was raped by the CRP and was killed afterwards.

Another girl of Maruvada village of Parvathipuram tehsil was also raped and killed.

Near Kurupam, in the vicinity of Singpuram four dead bodies of Jatapu Adivasi women were found in jute fields. People reported that the CRP raped them and murdered them. (Visalandhra, January 10, 1970).

The three CPI. M.L.A.s who toured the area report that, due to the number of such incidents, "a common practice with the armed police to lift them into their trucks and carry them away" young women in the area are afraid of walking on the roads.

Looting of people's property is another democratic method of the Congress police. People were arrested on a large scale, brutally assaulted and tortured and their properties looted. People who died in police lockup are many. Thousands of people were tortured in Palasa special police camp including a few followers of Congress and C.P.I. The M.L.A. s give an example of Kurmayya

who lost his eye, and two more examples of torture on common people.

These M.L.A.'s report, that nearly a hundred people in Visakhapatnam Jail, who have been remanded by some Magistrate or other, were never again produced before any Magistrate even after 9 months; no charge-sheet was filed, neither were they released.

*Mamools*, which had once disappeared, have been brought back with a vengeance by the police camps. A special correspondent of the Hindu, in a report on January 14, 1970, records that "the prevailing practice is for a village landlord to act as an '*intermediary*' and get for the police camp goats and poultry as *mamools* from the girijan villages. I noticed that the '*intermediaries*' also took the opportunity to benefit themselves, by collecting a large quantity at the village level and passing on only a fraction to the police camps."

Marvellous methods of a pacification campaign! When once it is started, it cannot be rooted out till it is completely exterminated by greater force! The mightier force of peasant revolution alone can end it.

### False 'Encounters' - Cold Blooded Murders

False 'encounters', in fact cold-blooded murders of captured comrades have taken place. The pattern of fascist gangsterism is a continuing process, not only in Srikakulam district, but also in various parts of Andhra Pradesh - especially so in all its ferocious brutality in the Telangana forest belt of Khammam and Warangal area. The advent of Vengal Rao as the Minister for Home was a signal for freedom to the trigger-happy savage to implement their plan of capture, torture and murder in all its heinous forms.

The first to fall prey to this savage plan was the leader of the Khammam revolutionary committee *Bathula Venkateswara Rao*, who was captured by the so-called Home Guards of Gondi Gudem village, along with *Suryanarayana* and *Vajja Venkanna*. *Suryanarayana* was murdered on the spot by the fascist storm troopers known as Home Guards the creation of the Congress regime to maintain feudal exploitation in the countryside. Comrades Bathula Venkateswara Rao and Vajja Venkanna were handed over to the Aswaraopet police. All the methods of torture in their armoury were inflicted on them by these devils in human form.

Boiling water was poured on Bathula. They told the people that they were being removed to Palvancha hospital. They were taken to Mamindla Thayi Thogu and murdered in the most brutal manner. Later the police announced that two unknown communists were killed in an encounter.

Comrade Bathula Venkateswara, who was included in the first information report in this case was a B.A., L.L.B. He hailed from Rudrakshapalle of Madhira taluk. He conducted a consistent battle against revisionism in the communist movement, and was responsible for the mobilisation of the large chunk of cadres in that district for the revolutionary programme of organising peasant revolution to put an end to all kinds of feudal exploitation. Within an extremely short span of life he became the most popular people's leader, and most respected party functionary of the area.

Comrade Suryanarayana, even though he belonged to Divi taluk of Krishna, had gone to that area to mobilise the backward people of the interior countryside to fight against crudest forms of feudalism. That he gave up his job as a teacher to organise the peasants to fulfil the tasks of anti-feudal revolution is itself a shining example of sacrifice, in this period of dog-fight for loaves of power being witnessed all over the country.

Comrade Vajja Venkanna belongs to Mella Thimmapuram village of Yellendu Taluk. Hailing from a koya family, he laid down his life in this glorious struggle to rouse the people to break the shackles of Asiatic form of landlords exploitation and violence.

Counter revolution fired its first shots to nip the revolutionary movement in the bud. The sadistic cruelty of the savage traitors was proclaimed as the legal method of the so-called democratic government. Tens of comrades and peasants have been murdered in the area by the sanctimonious law and order agency.

Muthayya, Jagdish, Gopayya, Thirupathayya, and Yella Reddy are a few among the many who were captured, tortured and murdered by these devils incarnate. This is the instrument of "*social justice and economic progress*" about which the government tom-toms day and night.

The so-called encounters, clashes, search parties and cross-fires are all fake and false. Certain interested parties in the government in league with the local landlords are trying to create an atmosphere to continue and intensify their brutal exploitation

and violence.

Here is a report from Visalandhra published on July 26, 1971. "The police camps have become a good cover for certain sections of landlords to continue their illegal methods of exploitation of the people. These police camps have been very handy for a few police officers to make use of them to arrest any person they want to lay their hands on to terrorise and torture them to extract money from them. These camps have become a lucrative source of income in the hands of corrupt police officials. The police have conducted raids on Manikyapuram, Yellapuram, Marrigudem, Mumpugudem, Upirikayalapalle Tanda, Polampalle, and quite a number of other villages, and inflicted severe brutal tortures on the poor. All these pointed out by the landlords are arrested, tortured and later released after extraction of money as a prize for freedom." This clearly paints the picture of terror that is stalking the areas of Khammam, Warangal and Karimnagar districts.

A look at the fantastic bit of news in Andhra Jyothi, published on August 18, 1971, clearly reveals the falsity of the handout given to the Press.

This news from Hyderabad proclaims that the brave police encountered firing from the revolutionaries in Manikyapuram forest from behind the bushes and in the retaliatory fire from the police one revolutionary died and five others escaped into the forest. The unhurt police returned to their homes safe. That clearly indicates that one more peasant of the area has been finished off to encourage the establishment of a few more police camps.

This news in Hindu, August 13, 1971, announces that "an observation party fired on the police who were combing Rollavagu, Reddipalli, and Singaram areas in the district of Warangal. When the police returned the fire" - again no police is hurt - "the extremists fled leaving behind two guns, 46 rounds of ammunition, a sword, two knives, a wrist-watch, cash of Rs. 1,183, gold and silver ornaments presumed to be involved in a decoity committed by the extremists."

I need not unnecessarily take the time of the court with further incidents to prove the falsity of police statements which are meant mainly to cover up their brutality against the people. Their method is clear. Terrorise the people, isolate the revolutionaries from them, and nip the revolution in the bud. Revolutionaries know

that to live like fish in the ocean of the Indian masses, by adopting the mass line of Comrade Mao Tsetung, will finally and irrevocably break the backbone of the Indian ruling class.

Let it not be taken that these sections are implemented only in Srikakulam and Warangal-Khammam areas. The same tactics of 'arrest-torture-and shoot' are adopted everywhere in Andhra. Without enumerating the various incidents in various districts, let me take my own district as example.

### **Tortures and Murders in Anantapur District**

Anantapur district witnessed the murder of one Nagireddy of Pamudurthi Kondapuram in Penukonda taluk in 1970. He was a popular peasant youth and stood by the people in fighting the atrocities of notorious Reddy landlord gangsters of the area. To my knowledge there has not been a single landlord who was even interrogated by the police. One of the suspected leaders of this gang of murderers, the notorious Pamudurthy Baypa Reddy within a short time even became a Member of Parliament in the mid-term elections in March 1971, as a distinguished socialist of Indira Congress.

Yet, taking advantage of a decoity in one of the villages in Kadiri, the police man - hunt of Naxalites in Anantapur district reached the highest of brutality - never before witnessed in that area. Two or three examples of their savagery will be enough.

Comrade B. C. Ramappa was a distinguished member of the Communist Party of Tadipatri taluk long before the split in the Communist Party. He was arrested near Payapili in Gopal Nagar Colony in the third week of October 1970. He is said to have been handed over to the Naxalite S. P., known as Cheviti Venkat Ramana. He was lodged in Anantapur police lock-up, later in Kadiri and Obulam Cheruvu police lock-up and was beaten and tortured mercilessly. When he was in the last stages of his life, the already half-dead Comrade Ramappa was lifted to Dorlakonda and shot dead, under the facile and the now familiar plea that he died in a clash of fire and cross-fire. His body was not given for post-mortem. It was not handed over to his relations. Not even any formality of normal process of law even after death was adopted.

What a contrast between the two cases! In the case of the murder of the anti-landlord peasant youth the government behaved

as though nothing abnormal had happened and one of the notorious landlords, suspected to be responsible for murder, even becomes an M.P. of the ruling Congress. In the case of the Naxalite, the government behaved as though the top had collapsed and its foundations were shaking.

Let us take another example of torture of an ordinary peasant. Sri T. Narayana of Deviripalle of Kadiri taluk was arrested and tortured inhumanly in interrogation to locate the whereabouts of Rauf - a leader of M.L. Party. In the process of torture the savages poured kerosene on him and set him on fire and later released the news that he set fire to himself. He was later admitted in the hospital on November 30, 1970, but no magistrate was brought to record his dying declaration. He died on December 1, 1970. What moral or legal right has this government to talk of the sanctity of the Constitution and legal methods, when it is itself an incarnation of a devil behaving anti-constitutionally, illegally, and immorally?

Let us finally take another example: Comrade Erukala Reddy of Tadipatri taluk was arrested in relation to a case. As a result of brutal tortures inflicted on him, his heart and lungs were badly damaged. Later, due to the failure of hospital doctors to treat him, he died in the sub-jail itself.

Every district in Andhra Pradesh has its own horrible history of landlord-police terror. The death dance of the landlord bourgeois government is in full swing. Methods are many. Participating characters are different. But the purpose is the same - cow down the revolutionaries, break the backbone of the rising tide of agrarian revolution, to safeguard the feudal exploitation.

### **Jails Are Hell**

Lathi charges or shootings are also not uncommon in Andhra Pradesh inside the jails. After all the process of tortures is completed, fake charges are levelled against thousands of revolutionary leaders, cadres and peasants. They are thrown into innumerable sub-jails, district jails, and even central jails, as undertrials. There is no end to these cases. They go on for years and ages.

In these circumstances, life in the jails, too, is made impossible. On December 1, 1970, in the firing in Chittoor sub-jail

on revolutionaries, Comrade Narayana Reddy was shot dead and many others received injuries.

On May 5, 1970, a severe lathi charge on CPI (M.L.) and revolutionaries was unleashed in Rajahmundry central jail.

Again, on the same prisoners who were transferred to Vizag central jail, there was another lathi charge on October 1, 1971.

Both outside and inside the jails, the terror campaign continues unabated.

Landlord bourgeois terror in Nazi style continues on all. Even the writers are not spared. The famous '**Viplava**' Kavulu had to taste the bitter pill of detention. Literally works are banned from sale and circulation. Even the government employees are not spared lathis and bullets.

Never has the country witnessed such large-scale terror as it is witnessing today. The greater the economic and political crisis that the government faces, the greater the unabashed use of lathis and bullets.

Before I close, let me pay my homage to the heroic fighters who laid down their lives in this great battle for land and liberty for the establishment of people's democracy.

As Lenin wrote, "*Life will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavour to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany etc), hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands of tomorrow's Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history have acted. Communists should know that the future, at any rate, belongs to them; therefore, we can and must combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie.*"

("Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder").