

Salwa Judum and Violence on Women in Dantewara, Chhattisgarh

Report of a Fact-Finding by an
All India Women's team



CAVOW

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Introduction

Since the start of the Salwa Judum in Dantewara district in June 2005 there have been several reports of violence on women in the villages as well as in the Salwa Judum camps. Reports of human rights groups have also corroborated many of the cases. Concerned at this widespread incidence and considering that no effort had been made so far to look into the ground reality specifically from this angle, the Committee Against Violence on Women (CAVOW) decided to conduct an investigation by an All-India team of women activists.¹ An investigation into the conditions of violence on women, security, and livelihood of Adivasi women in the background of continuing conflict and intense militarization in the region was carried out in two phases: 30 September - 2 October and 16-18 November 2006.

During the course of these two visits, members of the team interviewed women in camps and outside, women under trials in jail, met several representatives of civil society in Dantewara, Jagdalpur and Raipur, and studied available literature on

the subject. Some members of the team also participated in a survey of the functioning of health programmes in the villages and relief camps. This report is based on the totality of the evidence that has been gathered.

The Context

Dantewara is the southernmost of the 16 districts of the six-year-old state of Chhattisgarh. More than 90 per cent of the population lives in rural areas, and nearly 80 per cent consists of Adivasis. Formerly part of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh is rich in minerals and forests and has fertile alluvial plains as well. Dantewara alone has huge reserves of iron ore, tin and radioactive minerals. Mining has been the most visible modern economic industry in the area and has given rich royalties to successive national governments through lucrative export deals. The most well-known of these, between the Japanese government and the National Mineral Development Corporation, has for the last three decades sent iron ore from the Bailadila mines in southern Dantewara to Japan through the Visakhapatnam

port, facilitated by a railway built with Japanese funding. More recently, the Essar Steel Corporation has built a pipeline to carry iron ore slurry from Dantewara to Visakhapatnam. Proposals to grant new mining leases to major private sector giants, Tata Steel and Essar Corporation and to acquire land for proposed Steel Plants in the last one year in a region where the people are pauperized has led to large scale rumblings of discontent.

However, despite the small island of 'development' around the Bailadila mines, Dantewara District has remained both poor and isolated from the rest of the state and the country. Communication infrastructure is poor. According to the census, literacy levels are low, dipping to just 29 and 14 percent for rural men and women respectively. Out of its 1220 villages, 214 do not even have a school. In 1161 villages, there is no medical facility either. For large sections of Dantewara's indigenous peoples, rain-fed agriculture and collection of forest produce are the only livelihood options. Disturbances in the ecosystem have subsequently created major crises of life and livelihood for the region's Adivasis. Deaths due to hunger and blood dysentery have repeatedly been reported from the area; the latest reports of hunger deaths appeared in 2003-4.²

The creation of Chhattisgarh brought the official agenda of development and governance much closer to the communities of Dantewara than at any time in the recent past. As in other new states, in Chhattisgarh there was an attempt

in the official discourse to link the formation of the state with the people's demands for greater autonomy. The new state was launched with much fanfare on 1 November 2000. During the inaugural ceremonies, the state's first chief minister, Ajit Jogi, declared Chhattisgarh to be the richest state in the country, although its people are among India's poorest.

If there was any hope that the development vision of the new state would be rooted in any kind of indigenous perspective, however, this hope was quickly belied. It soon became clear that the new state had been born in the context of globalisation, and that the political agenda behind the policy of power devolution was in fact the opening up of third-world resource bases for first-world markets. There has been no change in this agenda during the subsequent six years.

Today the state officially prides itself on its new industrialising face. One of the first institutions to be established was the Chhattisgarh Industrial Development Corporation, which immediately busied itself with negotiating development loans from the Asian Development Bank and other international financial institutions. By 2005, new industrial growth centres were established in the districts of Mahasamund, Surguja, Kawardha, Dhamtari and Raigarh. The previous year, an industrial policy was formulated with the expressed objective of creating "an enabling environment for ensuring maximum value-addition to the abundant, locally available mineral and other forest-based resources." The policy also sought to attract direct investments, including those

to “the most backward tribe-dominated areas”, and to woo investors (including NRI and FDI) with a host of incentives and tariff concessions.

Current developments in Dantewara need to be seen against this international backdrop, including massive new multinational-owned constructions, the resistance of the local people and the urgency of the state government to re-establish its control over the district. In late 2005, two MOUs were signed by the state government with Essar and the Tata group, both of which assert the commitment of the state to industrial growth through the agency of “industrial houses of repute”, and affirm its commitment to make available required land, mining leases, power and water.

Both MOUs also contain a confidentiality clause that precludes disclosure of information on the terms and conditions of the MOU to any third party, in blatant violation of the Right to Information Act. This clause was the source of a major fracas in the state legislature in early 2006, when the government refused to accede to the demand from the Congress party opposition that the MOU be made public. Indeed, the proceedings have been so

secretive that, as late as February 2006, a BJP MLA in whose constituency the Tata steel plant was proposed to be built publicly admitted that he had no knowledge of the plans for industrialisation in the area.

Land for Tata’s steel plant and mining activities is proposed to be acquired around Lohandiguda; land for Essar’s installations will be in Dhurli and Bhansi. (Danthewara) In both areas, there is fierce opposition to the land acquisition, and over the past six months multiple demonstrations have been held in Lohandiguda, Jagdalpur, Dantewara and other proposed acquisition sites. These areas are largely inhabited by tribals, and covered under the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996, or PESA. In this Act is an implicit assumption that the natural resources of a region belong to the citizens of the area, and for any exploitation of these resources the village community (in the form of the Gram Sabha) must give its consent. However, in practice, the Gram Sabha registers have been forged and tampered with, and this has been a major source of peoples’ anger and confrontation with the state. In June and once again in September 2006, there were massive

A sarpanch at Dornapal camp revealed that a meeting of all sarpanches of the block had been held by the administration in which they had been instructed to convene meetings in the villages to bring all the villagers to the camp by propagating that they would be attacked by Naxalites. An anganwadi worker from one of the camps visited told a team member that she and all other anganwadi teachers were brought to the camp directly from a block level meeting and were not given an opportunity to go home to collect their belongings. In this camp 13 schools are being run in three tin sheds.

rallies in Dantewara to protest against the way in which proper procedures had not been followed in the acquisition of land for the Essar Steel Plant at Dhurli. When the team visited, there were continuing protests at Dhurli, on the grounds that the so called permission of the Gram Sabha for acquisition of land for Essar Steel Plant was obtained fraudulently and coercively. This not only shows that fears of losses over land rights are well founded but also reveals the vested interest of the government in relocating the tribal population for land acquisition.

In November, at the time of our team's second visit, we walked into a situation in which state repression had been let loose on a large scale on the tribal people of Sirisguda (Lohandiguda) where land is to be acquired for the proposed plant of the Tatas. Our observations on this issue and the statement issued by the PUCL in this regard are appended to this report. (Appendix 7).

For the past year and a half, Dantewara district has been a troubled area for yet another reason. The Maoist presence in the area is at least two decades old and has by all accounts grown and gathered support among the Adivasi population despite sporadic efforts by the State to contain it in the past. The rise of the Salwa Judum (literally meaning purification hunt in Gondi, but generally billed as a Campaign for Peace) must be seen in this context. Officially described as a spontaneous peoples' uprising against Maoist violence, Salwa Judum has over the past year enjoyed the patronage of the

state government, the state unit of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the leader of the opposition in the state assembly, sections of the Congress party, the state police and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). Indian Reserve Battalions of Naga and, more recently, Mizo forces have been brought in to 'support' the Salwa Judum, and the notorious KPS Gill has been appointed Special Security advisor to the state government.



Salwa Judum rally resting in the forest after rounding up operation. Mahendra Karma (in shorts) in the foreground.

Contrary to the official claims about the peaceful nature of the Salwa Judum, there exists sufficient evidence to indicate that it has divided the society, split communities and led to conditions approaching those of civil war.³ Currently active in the Bijapur and Bhairamgarh areas of Dantewara, the Salwa Judum has led to the creation of a cadre of vigilante youth who are trained and armed by the government, and euphemistically termed "special police officers". It has led to the forced displacement of thousands of people from 'sensitive' villages that are suspected of being sympathetic to the Maoists. The displaced are put in relief

camps, supposedly under police protection, in the name of security. Conditions in these camps are subhuman.

Available reports and background materials indicate that women have been victims of violence on a disturbing scale (including gang rape, custodial rape, mutilation of private parts, murder and repeated sexual abuse) in villages, police stations and relief camps during the year and a half of Salwa Judum. Many women are reported to be missing, illegally detained, incarcerated on unsubstantiated charges, or not produced before magistrates.

The present investigation was conducted with the broad perspective of creating an environment to ensure that adivasi women facing conditions of deprivation and civil war are not subjected to patriarchal and fascist sexual violence.

The use of sexual violence by communal rioters in Gujarat, the army and paramilitary in Manipur and even by politicians in Jammu & Kashmir has been protested widely by democratic forces, women's organizations and human rights groups. The situation of women in Bastar also needs to be brought into the domain of public scrutiny, rather than suppressed by the State to justify any brutalities in the name of combating Naxalism.

Displacement and dislocation of population

Modus operandi of the Salwa Judum

The Salwa Judum has led to a massive displacement and dislocation of the Adivasi population of Dantewara. The large Salwa Judum rallies that took place during the second half of 2005 were followed by the forced evacuation of the villages by the Salwa Judum mobs,



People being marched off to camps with the few belongings they can carry

Asked whether people are willingly living in camps to avoid Naxalites, one person said:

“Who wants to stay in camps? What will happen to the ancestral lands of the people? It is not true that people are harassed by Naxalites. It is under pressure of Salwa Judum and the police that they are being forced to leave.”

assisted by the police and para-military forces. The joint Human Rights team (PUCL/PUDR/APDR/IAPL) was witness to one such evacuation in which men, women and children were herded on one side for being marched off to camp, and cattle were herded on another side for being led off to nowhere. Those who have offered resistance have been severely beaten and tortured. We heard of one such case where an anganwadi worker had seen an adivasi man being tied like a pig upside down to a stake and beaten by Salwa Judum people. Forced evictions and stay in the camps are being officially reported as voluntary acceptance of Salwa Judum. Officially, it is reported that 644 villages have accepted Salwa Judum and are today located in 22 camps in five blocks of the district (see Appendix 8).

People often feel stuck in the camps but have no agency to change anything.

“I work here as a chaprasi in the ashram shala. We were asked by the police to come here. They said you must shift to the camps or the naxals will kill you. If you don’t come to the camps, we will consider you all as enemies... so we came here. I miss home but what can I do?”

-young woman at Dornapal camp.

At the beginning of this year, the government stopped public transport to

the interior villages of Dantewara that reportedly had a Maoist presence. Some people from the camps on the Konta road told us that while they were not actually physically prevented from entering villages, once the transport stopped, the administration discouraged people from going there and cited a Maoist threat.

“We were asked to report to the camps instead since all the children would eventually be brought there.”

- resident of Dornapal camp

Life in the camps

Discussion with women in the relief camps revealed that the thousands of villagers who are in these camps were largely forced to abandon their homes, hearths and fields. Few could bring any of their personal belongings. As a result, most have lost their entire livestock (cattle, pigs, hens etc.), stocks of grain and forest produce. There has been massive dislocation of population as well as livelihood in the course of the Salwa Judum. The total absence of food and livelihood security in the camps was striking. Many women stated that they wanted to return to their villages. They were distressed by and felt insecure in being separated from their communities as well as at the disruption of their social life. Some villagers of Belnar and Munder have run away from the Baangapal camp and

ever since, the SPOs (Special Police Officers, an ad hoc recruitment of local youth) are guarding the camp. In the Baangapal camp, the women who have come from Patelpara of Belnar stated that since their *mukhiya* (village headman) had brought them, they had no option but to continue to stay on. Several camps on the Nelasnaar-Bedre road are now empty. For instance, villagers of Karkeli admitted that SPOs of their village went several times to forcibly bring other villagers to the Karkeli camp but they have run away each time and now the camp is empty. We also saw a number of abandoned villages from where villagers may have been taken to far away camps or may have run away to far away locations.

However the team was disturbed to note that far from making efforts to facilitate the return of the Adivasis to their villages as they wish, the administration is in fact making the relief camps permanent. From the temporary look of the tented structures that existed in 2005, today several camps are acquiring the look of resettlement colonies. In Baangapal and Karkeli the team was informed that each family in the camp had been given a sum of money (reports

varied on the actual amount and ranged from Rs 8000 to 15000 per family) to construct houses. The uniformity of structures that have actually been built and the similar appearance of all camps on the road from Bijapur to Bedre indicate that larger level administrative planning was involved in the transformation of these relief camps. All the camps seem to have multiple hand pumps as a source of water, but no toilets were seen anywhere. Dornapal, the largest camp, which houses around 15,000 people, does not have a single toilet. While the effort to make the camps livable can be welcomed, the efforts to make the settlements permanent and thereby to legitimize them without disclosing the plan that the administration has regarding people's return to their original villages is highly questionable. In a situation where land records are few and far between this displacement might lead to irreversible losses of rights over land.

Women's Lives and Livelihoods

Loss of livelihood, food insecurity and malnutrition

Complete loss of livelihood options is a major problem in the camps. People in



The camps as they looked in November, 2005



The camps in October, 2006. The young girl on the right hand corner is an SPO.

the camps are actively prevented by the SPOs and the paramilitary forces from returning to their villages and carrying on with their agriculture. Besides, the atmosphere of terror, uncertainty and suspicion that has been created is such that it makes this an unsafe venture even in their own perception. As a result a large part of the district's population has had no access to their land in the last year. As it is, even in normal times, agricultural activity is limited to the short monsoon-fed season and food security depends on free access to the forest as well as land. Even Landa (fermented mixed grain), which is the staple food of the tribals of this region is no longer available to the adivasis of the region on a regular basis. Loss of livelihood no doubt is also the major reason why people have been abandoning the camps and running away.

Although initially, the government provided free rations to all the residents in the camps, in the older camps (i.e. camps on the Bijapur road), this is no longer the practice. No regular employment is being provided to the people by the government and they are dependent on occasional employment in the surrounding villages at the rate of Rs. 20/- per day. From these uncertain earnings they can purchase a mere 2 *paili* (less than 5 kg) of rice per week per family from the PDS shops. This situation has made people even more vulnerable than before when they were at least being provided with some dole.

In the newer camps on the Konta-Sukma road, some rations are still being distributed to the residents through the village mukhiyas who were responsible for bringing them to camp. Our informants

told us that these rations were enough for only five days in the week, and for the sixth and seventh day of the week, hunger was the general situation of the people.

“In February we were asked to submit our report to the centre in Konta. From Konta center itself, the Salwa Judum people and the CRPF directly brought us here. We came in the clothes we were wearing. We purchased new ones when we got our salaries at the end of the month. I don't like to stay here but I cannot go back. My mother is still in the village, but I haven't seen her since February. Here we are constantly told that we should not go back to the village because of the Maoist threat. Either way we are left with out a home. Ho will take care of my mother? My son was forced to join as an SPO. He is 17 years old and he had to leave his studies because of this. I was not happy but there is nothing I can do. My whole family has been divided because of this. Since I was brought to the camp I was seen as Judum supporter by the Maoists and since my mother lives in the village she is seen as a Naxal sympathizer by the administration.”

- Anganwadi worker from Dornapal Camp.

Undernourishment and malnourishment thus is a common feature of the residents of both the old and new camps. Almost all children we saw at the Baangapal and Dornapal camps showed signs of malnutrition and had typically distended bellies. Parents at Baangapal had sent their school going children to live in an ashram school several villages away, where they

were provided with a mid-day meal, often their only meal in the day. It was obvious that their economic and nutritional status had deteriorated substantially.

In the large Dornapal camp the UNICEF has already identified 78 children as suffering from Grade 3 and Grade 4 malnutrition. The generally poor nutritional status of the Adivasis of Dantewara has been in the news in the past. In 2004, following reports of hunger deaths from the district, the PUCL had investigated the matter and found several people with BMIs of less than 18.5. The recorded hunger deaths of that period as well as data from the Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre in Dornapal camp are presented below in Appendix 4.



Malnourished child/children at the feeding programme run by UNICEF in Dornapal camp.

The doctors that we spoke to reported that malnutrition and anemia were rampant especially among women. Since the area had one of the highest rates of malaria endemicity in the country, both morbidity and mortality from malaria were high. According to WHO norms, the API (Annual Parasite Index = positive cases/total population x 1000) of more than 2 is a serious indicator of endemicity. In

Dantewara, the API figure has gone over 40 each year since 2003(see Appendix 5). Similarly, if the SPR (Slide Positivity Rate = positive slides/total slides examined x 100) doubles in two years, it is an indicator that malaria in the area has gone out of control. This is the case with Dantewara. Diarrheal diseases are also common in the district.

Lack of adequate health services

Health is a major concern in both the camps and the villages for different reasons. In the camps, there is no health infrastructure, the anganwadis and health centres that have been transplanted are poorly equipped, and the staff is poorly motivated. (See UNICEF executive summary in appendix 4) In the current regime of things, there are weekly mobile clinics in the newer camps, viz Dornapal, Err bore, Injaram and Konta (all in Konta tehsil) but given the distances and the logistics of transport, these clinics function at best sub-optimally. The organization and provision of basic health services has suffered from confusion about whether they should be the responsibility of the local PHC or the district health set up. In the current arrangement, a typical mobile clinic would leave Dantewara at 9 am, reach Dornapal at 12 noon, have lunch, and then visit each of the camps for about half an hour, before returning to base by 6 p.m. In any case, the large number of villages lay beyond the reach of the medical services at the best of times. Although the district hospital at Dantewara is reasonably well-equipped and well-staffed, the far flung villages of this remote district have never been reached

by the State's health services. Today, when all those who chose not to stay in camps are labelled as Naxalites and physically prevented by the Salwa Judum from accessing the markets and/or town based services, the situation is much worse.

The district health services run on the basis of contractual annual appointments. The medical staff in the sub-centres of the interior is made up of 90+ Ayurvedic doctors, most of whom manage the allopathic PHCs and sub-centres. An effort was made to showcase the capabilities of Dantewara's sagging health services when the district's maiden (and only) caesarian section was performed at the district hospital by a doctor team who had been specially trained under the health service sector reform EQUIP programme for 6 months in surgery and anesthesia respectively. Performed without facilities for blood transfusion, the mother and baby are both well. It is worth noting however, that the beneficiaries of the Dantewara hospital's most hyped 'cases' (the caesarian section referred to above, and the management of a government officer's cardiac arrest), have not been the local adivasis.

The Chattisgarh government's high profile Mitanin (woman community health worker) programme is functioning sub-optimally, firstly because there no longer are any stable communities, but also because chains of supply, monitoring, and placement of supportive health department personnel have totally broken down.

To be an SPO...

a new career option in Dantewara

In this situation, for many families in camps the money that their adolescent children bring home as Special Police Officers (SPOs) is the only livelihood option and economic security not only for the children but for their entire families as well. Even this allowance (Rs. 1500 per month) in many cases, it was reported to us, is not paid on a regular basis.

A large number of young girls, many of whom do not even appear to be 18, have been recruited as SPOs. At Baangapal, several of the women SPOs were wearing skirts and blouses off duty, which is significant in view of the societal norms in which post pubertal young women wear saris. Our fear is that the government is making widespread use of child soldiers, and robbing them of childhood.

There are currently 4048 SPOs, of whom 299 are women. Of these 299, 70 are from Bijapur area alone. In Karkeli village, an adivasi woman confirmed that these women SPOs are not allowed to leave the thana premises except for meals and stay there even during the nights. At some places it was reported that some of them are allowed to stay at home which we could not verify. An anganwadi worker at Dornapal on condition of anonymity admitted that there were cases of prostitution in the camp. At Dornapal again, several women who were mothers of young girl SPOs complained about the working conditions of their daughters.

“They do not get any leave. They are made to work even at night, sleeping at the thanas. They are allowed to come home only to eat. Many of them have not been paid for months”

- Mothers of young girl SPOs

All thanas we had the opportunity to observe—including Nelasnaar, Bhairamgarh, Kutru, and Karkeli—had inside their heavily barbed wire boundaries the brick barracks of the SPOs (of men and women) surrounding the main police/ CRPF/SAF thana. Clearly the SPOs are being used as shields for the police. Usually the SPOs

anganwadi worker who was brutalized by the Naga IRB men, we were unable to personally verify these cases.

The situation on the ground is still quite hostile to direct field investigations besides the fact that the people are also constantly shifting at present and there exact whereabouts are thus far from predictable. One of our informants told us that there were many cases of rape and sexual harassment by Salwa Judum members and mobs but they were not coming out in the open. He had heard that many of the young girls working as SPOs

When asked if there were cases of rape and sexual harassment by Salwa Judum people, one person said “there are some cases but they are not coming out in the open. In Basaguda area, two girls from Murodonda were brought to the police station and raped. Their father searched everywhere for them and finally got them back.” He further added, “Drinking and watching blue films is a regular feature of the police camps. Even female SPOs are forced to live near the rooms of the male SPOs and cannot go home to their families. Even children are being used as SPOs”.

lead the “gasht” (patrols) while the police follow. From Karkeli - a village of 60 households, 66 SPOs including 11 women have been recruited. We can see that villages such as this one have been militarized for counter insurgency taking advantage of the dire situation of the adivasis. It is worth noting that in the same village there is not even one health worker.

Violence against women

The violence of the Salwa Judum has had very **serious** repercussions on women. Many of our informants gave us details of sexual abuse and violence on women, but except for the women we met in jail (mentioned below) and Sonia, an

had unwanted pregnancies and about 50 women SPOs had had illegal abortions done by a health worker in Bijapur. According to him, drinking and watching blue films was a regular feature of the police camps.

Female SPOs were often forced to live near the rooms of their male counterparts. Not allowed to go home to their families for the night they were vulnerable to unwanted sexual advances and abuse.

There are serious reports that in the complete breakdown of livelihoods that has taken place, women in the camps have been reduced to selling their bodies for rates as low as Rs 30/. The close presence of the camps of armed personnel (state police, CRPF,

Naga and Mizo IRB) creates a classic situation in which these impoverished and distressed women are forced to provide 'comfort' to the troops. Our sources who wished to remain anonymous informed us that 22 women in Dornapal camp and a similar number in villages close to the camp were pregnant at the time of our second visit. The adolescent female SPOs are similarly sexually abused by the troops. The attitude of the armed personnel to women becomes clear from an incident that occurred when the newly arrived Mizo IRB was in transit to Dantewara. Billeted next to a girls' NCC camp for one night, the brave jawans created panic and havoc by molesting a group of girl cadets. The matter had to be hushed up through political intervention at the highest level.

We also received several reports, spoken in whispers during visits to camps, that mass marriages between men and women SPOs as well as between women SPOs and CRPF personnel had been 'ordered' by the police administration. What were the circumstances that led to such orders? In the given climate of fear and absence of discussion, it is impossible to be sure. One recalls however that in the seventies the then Bastar Collector had ordered as

a positive rehabilitative step, government functionaries to marry the adivasi women whom they had sexually violated, and that over 100 such 'marriages' had taken place. The tragic end of these marriages with the departure from Bastar of the enthusiastic Collector and the unwilling husbands, and the subsequent 'rehabilitation' of these women into additionally sanctioned Nari Niketans does not form part of our main narrative here.

There is one other serious dimension of this situation. The Naga and Mizo troops are both stated to have a high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS. This is widely known, although not systematically documented. In the present sexual vulnerability of the women of Dantewara, we could have an explosive epidemic among the adivasi population of Dantewara fairly soon unless corrective measures are not taken and the forces are immediately sent home.

During our investigation we came across a number of incidents of unreported deaths. An elderly widow at the Baangapal camp described how her eldest son had been abducted by the police from the Geedam bazaar and murdered in the Bodli thana, she was not even shown the body. An adivasi youth working with a voluntary

"I have heard of two incidents of women being killed during Salwa Judum. I can describe one of them. It happened in Pulgatta village.

Her name is Samo, daughter of Paiku. She was threshing grain when the Naga Battallion arrived at her village. All the women began leaving their homes and running away in fear. She was shot dead at directly in the field. I reached the place just after her death. I attended the funeral." -Koparam Kunjam, social worker

organization has seen two women who were shot dead by the Naga battalion.

Several persons confirmed that three adivasi villagers harvesting grain had been shot dead and their bodies had been buried by the police near the Geedam thana. All these persons had requested anonymity. Clearly, unlike in the case of alleged killings by the Maoists, killings by the police, paramilitary or the SPOs go absolutely unreported and an atmosphere of fascist terror prevails. Young SPOs we happened to meet while we were on our way to Karkeli bragged to us about their capacities to kill and murder and to capture women 'naxalites' alive, and were hoping to be rewarded with a promotion to the regular police force.



Young SPOs in Karkeli bragging about what they would do to women naxalites if they caught them

What is also shocking is the tendency to label many of the helpless women now in police custody and to charge them with murder, attempt to murder, etc. without any real basis in fact. The court and jail records of several so-called "Naxalite" women prisoners are indicative of brutalities of sexual violence as reported to other fact-finding teams. In Jagdalpur jail, out of a total of 68 female under trial inmates, 41 are booked on 'naxalite' cases alone.

An advocate in the team investigated into the situation of legal aid for women who have been jailed as so-called "Naxalite prisoners."

This classification seems to be on the basis that they are charged in incidents under sections 147, 148, 149 (illegal acts committed by an armed unlawful assembly), sections 323, 341 and 307 (intimidation, illegal confinement or attempt to murder), sections of the Arms Act (possession of firearms) and sections under the Explosives Act. However interviews with some women in the jail indicate that the circumstances of their arrests were situations in which the police, paramilitary and Salwa Judum simply indiscriminately rounded up villagers while on their "hunt for Naxalites." Sudri Shyambati and Phulmati of Belnar village were working in their fields when the Salwa Judum opened fire and rounded them up. All three received bullet injuries, were treated in the jail hospital, and are now in Jagdalpur jail. They have been to court on 'peshi' twice, but have no idea what are the charges against them.

Vetti Lakke and Vetti Pojje (of villages Paalabhaggu and Ramaram), both of whom look like teenagers though they are shown as adults possibly to avoid juvenile custody, claimed that they had gone to a meeting in Deverapalli (Konta tehsil) with many other villagers. Possibly this had been called by Naxalites. Suddenly police had come and started firing. They think many persons were killed but they could not count the numbers. They had hidden in a house in the village and had been

dragged out by the CRPF. Their saris were torn off and in petticoat and blouse, they had been tied in ropes and taken to the thana. One of the girls became emotional on recalling the scene and could not speak further. Vetti Lakke' s case has recently been committed in Dantewara. No person of the name Vetti Pojje has been charged. They are in jail since 17/6/06 and 10/6/06 respectively though the incident is the same. This shows that they were detained in thanas for unnecessarily long periods.

The case of Hapka Kamli (of village Hallur) has now been committed from Bijapur and sent to Dantewara. She has been in jail for the past three months but has not been taken to any court, nor has any family member been to see her so far. According to her, her village was encircled by Salwa Judum mob and all those who could not run away were caught. Hapka Kamli and Budri, both from Hallur were badly beat and tortured in custody.

Etwarin Potai was going on a cycle with her younger brother. He was shot by the CRPF and fell on his knees. She fears he is dead since he is missing ever since. She was blindfolded and taken to the CRPF thana and kept there without any other women. In the thana, she was tied up to a post, while the CRPF men pressed her breasts repeatedly (so hard that they were swollen for days after wards, she says) and poked rifle butts into her body. There was a women inspector around according to her, but she made no protest. She is in jail since the last eleven months.

Since these interviews were conducted in jail and jail officials insisted

on being present, the women, all visibly poor and illiterate adivasi women of rural background, were not in a position to speak out, whereas the circumstances described of their arrest were more than indicative of sexual harassment.

Among the other names we have of women in jail are Aiti of village Orma, Hamla of village Belanpur, Gotti also of Belanpur, Pagni of Konde, Shanti of Geedam, Budni of Naomanimetta, and Mamta of Bedre.

Discussions with journalists also later clarified that the Bastar police being under pressure to "show results" and to "ensure the emptying of so-called Naxalite villages" are not only not averse to showing false seizure of arms but keep a stock of uniforms ready to prepare corpses for the photo sessions of encountered Naxalites.

In these circumstances, where a pauper accused often goes unrepresented, or is represented by lawyers appointed by the courts who often do not bother to pick up the copies of the challan given to the accused or even meet them means that there continues an absence of fair trial and miscarriage of justice on an unimaginable scale. Perhaps this is also the secret behind the empty corridors and courtrooms in the huge modern building of the Dantewara court.

We also heard many reports of rape and sexual violation of women by men in uniform in the course of the Salwa Judum's forced evacuation of the villages. One of the most shocking such accounts was that of Sonia, an Anganwadi worker brutally beaten and tortured on

suspicion of providing food and support to naxalites". The brutalization of Sonia and many other reported incidents of violence on women reportedly took place during a notorious combing operation jointly undertaken by the Salwa Judum and the Naga forces through the forests and hills from Farsepal to Gangalur. We have attempted to put together in Appendix 3 a compilation of all reported cases of violence against women that have come to our notice. The verification of the lists, and the initiation of action against the guilt will need political will and greater powers than we possess.

"A batch of 15 from Naga battalion came to me and asked for drinking water. Then they asked me if the naxalites visit the village. I said no, because it is the truth. They repeatedly asked me the question. While going back they slapped one person and asked the same question. He was frightened and said "Yes" They came back and beaten me severely with lathis and rifle butts. They pulled me by my hair. They tied my leg with a rope and dragged me along the road. They made me lie on the ground and stamped me with boots. I was tortured like this for a long time."

-Sonia, Anganwadi worker.

What was also shocking was the unresponsiveness of the media to these cases of violence against women. The team feels most concerned by the gagging of the press due to which the above brutalities of the State forces do not even impact on the consciousness of the citizens of Chhattisgarh or the country.

The complete blackout of the news from the area and the stopping of outsiders from coming into the region is detrimental to free information flow. A menacing atmosphere is created where every outsider is checked and frisked



Sonia, the anganwadi worker who was brutalized by Naga forces.

Regarding freedom of the press, a journalist feels that the administration and police have taken efforts to bring journalists, even from the BBC, flown them in by helicopter and created a different picture of the situation. Even Mr. Pillai, a senior journalist from Dantewara and a CPI sympathizer complained to the team about the lack of freedom of the press in Chattisgarh. Different papers in Raipur have reports with the byline: "from our special correspondent" but the language and matter of all the reports are the same, indicating that the police have put out the story. Finally, he said that in a predominantly tribal area, there is not a single journalist who is from tribal background.

and treated with suspicion. This stress filled atmosphere makes any restoration of normalcy in the area very difficult.

The attitude of the administration and its functionaries to adivasi women and girls has been extremely derogatory even before Salwa Judum began. For one thing, many of the officials posted to Bastar and Dantewara are from the more developed regions of India and their mindsets regard the tribals as an inferior species of human being. Their attitude to adivasis, particularly adivasi women, is unsympathetic and derogatory.

One of our informants spoke of an incident in her area where 5 girls were abducted by 7 boys. Though three of the girls escaped, the other two were gang-raped and it was extremely difficult for them to file an FIR. Similarly there are scores of tribal girls kept as domestic help, or lured into relationships with the promise of marriage by non-tribals. In her own colony, some men from the Border Security Force broke into the house of a mother and daughter who were living alone one at night and it was only because the women shouted bravely for help and the colony people intervened that they were saved.

Many the Kanya Ashrams run by the education department have been centres of sexual abuse and humiliation for the girls. In the recent past, two such incidents have been reported in the local media. One is from village Markami Ras near Kirandul, where the husband of the Ashram superintendent repeatedly raped minor girls under his wife's charge, and where a feeble enquiry gave him a clean chit. The second, from the Bhopalpatnam

area, reports stealing of rations and sexual violation leading to the death of two girls by the Ashram staff where no official action was taken. Lumpen elements within adivasi society also reflect similar behaviour patte-rns. A few months ago, in Kondagaon, the brother of a state minister, an adivasi himself, was charged with assault and molestation of minor adivasi girls. The Salwa Judum has accentuated these tendencies, and legitimized sexual violence against women.

In recent times, sexual violence has also been used by the State in Nepal on women who are active in the Maoist movement. What Hisila Yami wrote for Nepal, is equally true for Dantewara.⁴

“Rape is a manifestation of men's power over women. When it is mixed with hatred, it becomes more violent and fascist. Thus rape as a biological instrument of repression has been deliberately and systematically used in any offensive conflict or war, in order to achieve tactical and strategic aim. Tactically, rape is used as a weapon to send the message to rebellious women that their place belongs inside their homes and the message to her family and community also that daughters should not be sent in rebellious movements, organiza-tions, parties. Strategically, rape is used to bolster patriarchal values, sexist ideology in order to reinforce masochism in armed force and to feminize the enemy, in order to conquer them, it also helps in brutalizing their men with less chances of being hit back, as women are generally trained to be passive and docile. It also has psychological advantage of healing the wounded and defeated ego of armed

men, especially when the armed force is badly defeated by the revolutionary forces. Usually any successful armed assault by the revolutionary force is followed by many search operations in the affected areas by the reactionary armed forces. There they generally go about raping women, burning houses and looting properties to vent out their frustration and revenge. In many cases, the reactionary state agency encourages rape as a reward, a privilege for compensating for the rigorous barrack lifestyle of armed forces. Lastly, rape is considered safer violence as it is least reported, and even if reported, is difficult to prove. This is specially so in remote villages in Nepal, which are far to reach for the mass media and medical personnel to prove the rape.”

Salwa Judum and Patriarchy

We have seen how the State has been sponsoring the civil war in Bastar to pave the way for industrial expansion at the behest of multinationals and big industry. Just as one of the political aspects of imperialist globalization the world over has been to empower the right wing fascist forces, so also is the case in India and in Bastar. With the BJP government at the helm of affairs in Chhattisgarh, the right wing Hindutva forces are actively trying to change the indigenous tribal cultures. The strengthening of patriarchy and the exploitation and oppression of women go along with this like a parallel feature. Sexual assault is used to teach a community a lesson. Thus weakened and insecure, women surrender to the male chauvinist forces in their own communities for protection, and democratic values that lead to women’s equality seem to be eroding.

“Due to coming of Bhajarangdal and RSS lot of changes have taken place in our tribal society.” - Kalmu Karma

“One positive point about our society is that in many matters it is very open. The Naga force have killed most of the people of these areas and destroyed the society and the culture.” -Manish Kunjam

In Bastar, women in adivasi society contribute greatly to economic work as well as housework and are comparatively more independent than women in many other sections of Indian society. However, they too have been victims of patriarchy in diverse ways, both from the forces outside their society as well as from within their community. Due to the entry of “outsiders” in the form of traders, contractors, forest personnel etc, their sexual exploitation has increased over the years. They fall easy prey to sexual aggression and are looked upon as women with “loose moral values.” State policies have drastically reduced their access to natural resources, for instance their access to clean drinking water has been affected due to the pollution by industrial effluents; likewise, forest laws have curtailed their access to forest produce thereby depriving them of their traditional means of livelihood. Customary practices have also not always given them a place at par with the men: women are traditionally not given a share of the ancestral land, not allowed anywhere near a threshing floor or a granary, segregated during menstruation etc. A marriage may also be forced upon them where a girl may be severely beaten publicly like an animal if she refuses to marry a man of her father’s choice. Women’s movement against patriarchy

has to thus tackle the external as well as internal forms of patriarchy that afflict the lives of women. These problems being of such an acute nature, successive governments have done pretty little to better their lot. Autonomous women's movements, which are active in some other parts have not reached the women in this interior region.

The main form of people's organization that has reached them has been in the shape of the CPI(ML) People's War (now CPI (ML) Maoist) which has been organizing the adivasis of the region for the last nearly two decades. The Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangham (KAMS) has been organizing the women in the area. It is an open mass organization (unlike the underground squads) which has been also banned as a frontal organization of the Maoists. Due to the severe repression it is no longer able to function as before.

However, its ideological leanings apart, there is enough literature on its activities to ascertain that the organization has taken up some fundamental issues related to women's emancipation in the area and led many mass agitations—especially the struggles against the traditional marriage system which allowed forced marriages, opposing the practice of Gond women not being allowed to wear a blouse after marriage, besides taking up other issues such as equal wages for equal work.

These struggles have exposed the KAMS members and activists to repression. As a recent article published in *People's March* puts it: "Struggles like these naturally aroused the ire of the tribal

and clan chiefs. That is why women, and particularly the activists of the KAMS are becoming the special targets of the Salwa Goons. That is why in many of the cases of violence against women, they are taking out their wrath on the breasts of the women victims."⁶

The same article mentions that the Salwa goons and the para-military forces, particularly the Naga battalion, brutally murdered 12 adivasi women after gang-raping them and gang raped 40 more women. It says that ironically on August 15, the Naga battalion and other paramilitary forces attacked a village called Karra-marka on NH 16. They caught Madvi Sarita, president of the local KAMS, and gang-raped her. She started bleeding profusely and lost consciousness. Yet she was dragged all the way to Bhairamgarh Police Station, raped and beaten for a week and then shifted to jail. The article gives a report of the most heinous crimes committed on women in various incidents which we have attached as Annexure No 3.

These incidents show the increasing use of sexual violence and rape as a political weapon by the state and various communal fascist forces. The armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir, and in the Northeast, have constantly been using rape as a political weapon. Silencing a movement or a protesting community by brutally raping women who are innocent, and who are bravely fighting for social change, is one of the worst forms of repression. In the Gujarat pogroms, minority community women were gang-raped by mobs irrespective of their age, and pregnant women were also victims. These rapes are becoming more and more

brutal with sexual torture by inserting sticks into the vagina, attacking the private parts etc. Manorama of Manipur received the same fate and was also shot in her private parts. In Andhra Pradesh and other areas where the Maoist movement exist, women activists and guerillas are also tortured by the state in a similar way. Breasts are also cut off and thighs are assaulted with knives and rifle butts. In fact many in the women's movement are now demanding that the definition of rape be changed to include these forms of sexual torture. Moreover, those who commit these crimes go unpunished. It sends a message that mob violence and sexual assault are sanctioned. In the recent case at Khairlanji where a dalit family was massacred, the women were stripped, gang-raped and sexually assaulted in a similar way by the OBC villagers, because the poison of casteism and communalism has filtered down to them and they have the backing and confidence that they will get away with such crimes.

In the background of the present socio-economic scenario, using revivalism fundamentalism and reinforcing patriarchy go a long way in bringing about certain changes that will benefit the powers that be. The imperialist backed development model is leading to enormous displacement, poverty and untold hardships for the majority of the people. It is but natural that they will want to unite and fight for their rights. By playing the communal card and uniting the Hindu majority against the minorities, the ruling classes are trying to divert the people's wrath. In Bastar too, the state's ruling classes, the adivasi feudal elite, the RSS and Sangh Parivar, the ruling

BJP and opposition Congress are all uniting to clear the ground for the penetration of big corporate industry. To eradicate an anti-patriarchal movement, bring back subser-vience, dependency and blind faith will basically benefit these forces and hence Salwa Judum has its patriarchal agenda.

Conclusions and the way forward

The team is strongly of the opinion that methods like the Salwa Judum and the wanton militarization of society in Dantewara is not the way to solve the problems of underdevelopment and political dissent in the area. Dantewara today is heavily militarized, leading to brutal repression of an impoverished people seeking social justice.

By administrative definition, Dantewara today is clearly divided into friendly and hostile territory. Every man or woman arrested in the course of any incident involving a village which has not come to the camps is labeled a 'Naxalite'. There are 300 such 'Naxal' prisoners including about 41 women in the Jagdalpur jail. These adivasis, often of the poorest of the poor, are unable to appoint any lawyer, and though they might be finally acquitted for lack of evidence, have to suffer long periods of incarceration as pauper accused". The team felt that the division being deliberately created by the government between the camps and villages, and the recruitment of SPOs, is tearing asunder the social fabric of adivasi life. Tens of thousands of adivasis are being subjected to starvation and devastation of their livelihoods. The militarization and atmosphere of fascist terror prevalent has rendered adivasi women vulnerable to

sexual brutality as a means of enforcing submission.

While the government has projected Salwa Judum as a peaceful movement (Salwa=Peace; Judum=gathering of people for a hunt), even a short visit is enough to make it clear that it is heavily controlled by the administration and certain political parties/individuals in political parties. We must record that the people we interviewed showed no ownership of the movement. It is telling that the people refer to it as only Judum minus the Salwa. “Yeh judum khatam ho jata to accha hota” and “jabse yeh judum shuru hua hai, azadi khatam ho gayi hai.” were common refrains we heard over and over again. The interference of police and paramilitary in everyday life, akin almost to an army of occupation, is also imposing a patriarchal violence alien to adivasi culture. This situation demands urgent intervention by the democratic forces and women’s organizations all over the country.

Recommendations:

1. The State Government must ensure that all adivasi villagers presently housed in so-called relief camps are settled back in their villages and that they are able to rebuild their economic life, if necessary through employment provided directly by the government.

2. Forcible acquisition of lands or displacement from land amounts to the destruction of livelihoods of the adivasi people of Bastar and must be stopped forthwith.

3. All cases of atrocities on women, whether by police and para military forces or by private gangs, should be impartially

investigated by an independent agency and the culprits should be punished.

4. The practice of ad hoc recruitments of SPOs and their use to shield regular police forces or as cannon fodder in counter insurgency operations should be ceased. All recruitments should be made in the regular police forces ensuring their accountability to civil administration as well as their rights as personnel, particularly since women as SPOs are vulnerable to sexual abuse.

5. Women imprisoned during the last year of civil war like conditions must be provided effective legal aid. All false cases on women should be withdrawn.

6. The government should stop recruiting children as SPOs, and all such recruitments made so far should be disbanded. The children and indeed the entire people of Dantewara should be provided with nutrition, health, education and human security.

7. A process of enquiry by an independent agency should be initiated into the cases of deaths, and missing persons that are reported.

8. In the circumstances of militarization and violence (including sexual violence) the freedom of the press to report events including administrative and police action should be ensured.

9. The government should take serious cognizance of the danger of HIV/AIDS and other infectivity among the people of Dantewara that are directly attributable to Salwa Judum.

10. The government should reconsider and abandon its present model of development that is causing large scale displacement and marginalization of tribal people.

Appendix 1

List of team members

- Dr. Ilina Sen**, *Researcher, teacher, activist, CAVOW member.*
- Sudha Bharadwaj**, *Advocate, Chhattisgarh High Court, and activist, Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha*
- C Vanaja**, *Journalist and film maker*
- Dr Bela Bhatia**, *researcher, activist, CAVOW member,*
- Shoma Sen**, *Convener, CAVOW,*
- Ratnamala** *writer and CAVOW member,*
- Devi**, *State Secretary, Stree Vimukti, AP,*
- Rinchin**, *health activist and member, MP Mahila Manch.*
- Soma Mukherji**, *Nari Chetna and CAVOW,*
- Devendra**, *Secretary, AP Chaitanya Mahila Samakhya*
- Sreedevi**, *CAVOW*
- Sharmila Sarkar**, *(Advocate, Bastar).*

Appendix 2

List of people interviewed

- **Dhripal Shah** –Former Member of Parliament and former Adivasi zamindar of Kutru.
- **Gorelal Jha** - Senior advocate who had appeared on behalf of adivasis in the 1961 Lohandiguda ‘balwa’ case.
- **NK Pillai**, President Chhattisgarh Shramjeevi Patrakar Sangh.
- **Manish Kunjam** – ex MLA (CPI) and President Adivasi Mahasabha.
- **Pratap Narayan Agrawal**, Advocate, Jagdalpur.
- **Himanshu Kumar**, social worker, Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, Dantewara.
- **Koparam Kunjam**, social worker, Vanvasi Chetna Ashram, Dantewara.
- **Kamlesh Paikra**, journalist and interpreter, MSF, Dantewara.
- **Peter Lefere**, MSF Dantewara.
- **Ms Budhipati**, Nurse, MSF, Dantewara.
- **Dr Anjum Soni**, Bastar Vikas Pradhikaran, Dantewara.
- **Akhilesh Gautam**, UNICEF, Raipur.
- **Kirit Doshi**, Journalist, Jagdalpur and Raipur.

Appendix 3.

Reported cases of violence against women**1. List of women killed**

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------|-----|---|--------|
| 1 | Mukavelli (Bgh) | Vedinje Nangi | 5/10/05 | 35 | Shot by CRPF. Foetus came out. | ICI |
| 2 | -do- | Vedinje Malli | -do- | 20 | Daughter of above. Shot by CRPF. | -do- |
| 3 | Dorum | Bogam Somri | - | 36 | She and her husband axed to death by SJ. | PM |
| 4 | -do- | Korsa Santa | - | | SJ goons axed her breasts, stabbed swords in her vagina and then through her dead body | -do- |
| 5 | Pedda Korma | Modiyam Sukki | 7/10/05 | 25 | On sentry duty, Police and SJ gang- raped, axed their chests and threw their bodies away. | PM |
| 6 | -do- | Korsam Lakki | -do- | 23 | -do- | -do- |
| 7 | -do- | Modiam Budhri | 16/12/05 | | Killed by police & SJ | |
| 8 | Etpadu | Madkam Channi | -do- | 35 | Pregnant, shot dead by Naga B | ICI |
| 9 | | Wife and daughter of Samula Kotal | | | Shot dead | PM |
| 10 | Hailing originally from Charvayi | Sunita Madavi | 17/7/05 | 10 | Gang raped, tortu- red and killed when she went to meet Tipraharh gs. | PM |
| 11 | -do- | Geeta Tulavi | -do- | 12 | -do- | -do- |
| 12 | Rangegudem | Munni | | | Guerilla | Lehar |
| 13 | | Inki | 29/1/06 | 20 | Guerilla killed in Gangalur attack | -do- |
| 14 | Pulghatta | Korsa Santo | 2/9/06 | 20 | Gang raped, breasts cut, and genitals stabbed and body thrown. | -do- |
| 15 | Karremarka | Emla Somwari | -/11/05 | 19 | Killed by police and SJ | -do- |
| 16 | -do- | Emla Dokri | -/11/05 | 50 | -do- | -do- |
| 17 | Kudmer | Vanjam Idme | -/05/06 | 25 | Beaten to death by SJ while going to local haat. | -do- |

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|---------|---------------|---------|-----|---|--------|
| 18 | -do- | Madavi Soni | -/05/06 | 20 | -do- | -do- |
| 19 | Kotlu | Bogam Somwari | | | Killed by police and SJ | ICI |
| 20 | Parkeli | Phagni | 25/3/06 | | Wounded militia member brutally tortured. | -do- |
| 21 | Edveda | Bheeme Madvi | 25/3/06 | | Killed by police and SJ | |
| 22 | -do- | Phagni Vekko | -do- | | -do- | -do- |

2. List of women raped/ molested.

| No | Village | Name | Dt. | Age | Description | Source |
|----|--------------------------|--------------|-----|-----|---|--------|
| 1 | KarreMarka (On NH 16) | Madvi Sarita | | | Gang raped by SJ and Naga police on 15 th August. Dragged to Bhgh PS and raped for a week. | PM |
| 2 | -do- | Telam Jamli | | | Gang raped by SJ and Naga police and thrown in the jungle. | PM |
| 3 | Pallevaya | Oyyam Bali | | | Wife of DAKMS leader. Blouse torn and beaten on chest. | PM |
| 4 | Bhansi | Sonia | | | Anganwadi worker told a News Channel that she was brutally beaten, tied to a police jeep and dragged along. | FF |
| 5 | Padera(Bjjpr) | | | | SJ made women lie down and beat them on the soles of their feet. | ICI |
| 6 | Savnar | | | | Rape of three girls reported. | ICI |

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|---|--|------|--------|--|--------|
| 7 | Kondam/ Kondapal | Badri Somli Munni | | 1/9/05 | Gang-raped and were marched bleeding and naked to Mirtur PS | PM |
| 8 | Neelam | Bogam Gugge | | | SJ raped a pregnant woman drawing water. | -do- |
| 9 | Jangla | Korsa Munni Kalmu Jayyu Korsa Butki | | | SJ gang raped three activists, shifted them to relief camp and continued to rape them. | -do- |
| 10 | Kotrapal | | | | Six women were gang raped and tortured after shifting to PS | -do- |
| 11 | Originally hailing from Charvayi, district Gadhchiroli | Susheela Tulavi | | | Minor girl gang raped and jailed for meeting Tiprargarh guerilla squad. | -do- |
| 12 | Potenar | Kunjam Lakka | | | Became pregnant in camp and is kept in SJ leader Vikram Madavi's house. | -do- |
| 13 | Keshamundi | Kosavi Sumli | | | Looted by SJ goons in Matwada haat | Lehar |
| 14 | Kesur | Ursa Sanaki | | | -do- | -do- |
| 15 | Kotenar | Madavi Budhri | | | -do- | -do- |
| 16 | Kunjam | Kohadam Idme Kowasi Idme Mangli | | | Beaten up mercilessly in the Matwada Haat. | -do- |
| 17 | Kotrapal | Poniam BudriMidiam MangliPodiam Sukki | | | Beaten up until they bled when they were bringing rice from Matwada. | -do- |
| 18 | Kesur (Bgh) | Ursa MangliEmla BudhriPodiam Sanaki | | | Beaten up by SPOs and looted. | -do- |

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|-----|--|--------|
| 19 | Pralnar(Gangalur) | SukkiAngi | | | Stripped naked in Gangalur bazaar. | -do- |
| 20 | Bhandarpal | | 25/5/05 | | Three women beaten up by Naga, CRPF and police. | -do- |
| 21 | Orepal(Mirtul) | | 11/6/05 | | Naga police beat up 2 women | -do- |
| 22 | Woman in Jagdalpur jail | | | | Her brother was shot. She was gang raped by CRPF and then taken to the local thana and repeatedly raped. | ICI |
| 23 | Vecham | Kandli Pande | 11/9/05 | | Gang raped by SJ and police led by Mahendra Karma | CATAS |
| 24 | Karre Pondam | Madvi Parvati Madvi KopeRuki | | | Raped by police and SJ goons. | ICI |
| 25 | Ariyal | Kakti Jaimali | | | -do- | -do- |
| 26 | Puttu gudem | Sukhmati | | | -do- | -do- |
| 27 | Kopal | 2 women | | | -do- | -do- |
| 28 | ChinnaPalli (Ind.vati) | Mase Parso | Feb05 | 35 | Raped by 10 SJ goons and throat knifed. Saved by PLGA. | -do- |
| 29 | Idwada | Lakke | | | Caught by SPOs from Kotmeta and Jaggur. Raped by 15 goons. Kept & tortured in Bedre CRPF camp | -do- |
| 30 | Parkeli | Bheemi | | | Stripped naked by SJ goons. | -do- |
| 31 | Nungur | Jaini | | | Caught and raped by Rama and Jogonal two SPOs from the village. Kept and tortured in Bedre CRPF camp | -do- |

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-----|--|--------|
| 32 | Kummemeta | Budri | | | Gang raped by SPOs and police. Kept and tortured in Bedre CRPF camp. | -do- |
| 33 | Lanka | | | | Two women being kept as sexual slaves in Bedre CRPF camp. | -do- |
| 34 | Ingmetta | | | | Three women being kept as sexual slaves in Bedre CRPF camp. | -do- |
| 35 | Konde (near Bedre) | Sonmati /Jaini, d/o Kumma | ? Aug, 2005 | 18 | Raped repeatedly by SJ and CRPF, tortured and beaten, Admitted in Hemalkasa Ashram, Gadhchiroli with multiple injury and treated over 2 month period | FF |
| 36 | Gollaguda | Anuradha | 16.11. 2006 | 16 | Molested by Salwa Judum and SPOs while taking food to the fields for her father | FF |
| 37 | Darbhaguda | Mother and daughters | Nov. 2006 | | Beaten up by SPOs for returning to village trying to harvest paddy | FF |

3. List of women missing.

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|---------|-----------|----------|-----|--|--------|
| 1 | Ehkal | Phoolmati | 15/11/05 | | Wounded taken away by police. Missing. Possibly at Bangapal. | ICI |
| 2 | -do- | Saibo | -do- | | -do- | -do- |
| 3 | -do- | Shamo | -do- | | -do- | -do- |

4. List of women illegally detained.

| No | Village | Name | Date | Age | Description | Source |
|----|---------------|--|------|-----|--|--------|
| 1 | Mankeli | Arti w/o Sannu Somli w/o Poosam Chinna | | | In jail for two months but record shows 3 weeks. | ICI |
| 2 | Pedda Korma | Aiti d/o Budhru Somli d/o Manglur Muria | | | In jail for 7 months but record shows 5 months. | -do- |
| 3 | Etwarin Potai | | | | Currently in Jagdalpur jail. picked up by CRPF and illegally detained for a week before being charged | FF |
| 4 | Ramaram | Vetti Lakke | | | Currently in Jagdalpur jail Arrested from Dewarpalli, case committed to Dantewara | FF |
| 5 | Paalabhaggu | Vetti Pojje | | | Currently in Jagdalpur jail Arrested from Dewarpalli. Case committed to Dantewara, but identification of detainee doubtful | FF |
| 6 | Hallur | Hapki Kamli | | | Currently in Jagdalpur jail. Village encircled by SJ, all who could not run away caught and detained. | FF |

5. Sexual violence in Relief Camps/ CRPF camps

| No | Camp | Village | Name | Age | Description | Date | Source |
|----|--------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----|--|----------|--------|
| 1 | Bedre CRPF camp. | Idwada | Lakke | | Caught by SPOs from Kotmeta and Jaggur. Raped by 15 goons. Kept & tortured in Bedre CRPF camp | | ICI |
| | | Parkeli | Bheemi | | Stripped naked by SJ goons. | | -do- |
| | | Nungur | Jaini | | Caught and raped by Rama and Jogonal two SPOs from the village. Kept and tortured in Bedre CRPF camp | | -do- |
| | | Kumme Meta | Budri | | Gang raped by SPOs and police. Kept and tortured in Bedre CRPF camp. | | -do- |
| | | Lanka | | | Two women being kept as sexual slaves in Bedre CRPF camp. | | -do- |
| | | Ingmetta | | | Three women being kept as sexual slaves in Bedre CRPF camp. | | -do- |
| 2 | Bangapal | Ehkal | Phoolmati | | Wounded taken away by police. Missing. Possibly at Bangapal. | 15/11/05 | -do- |
| | | -do- | Saibo | | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| | | -do- | Shamo | | -do- | -do- | -do- |
| 3 | Bhairamgarh relief camp | | | | Ten women became pregnant. Dens used by police and paramilitary | | Lehar |
| 4 | VangaPad camp | | | | Pleasure den for the police | | -do- |
| 5 | KarkeliCamp. NationalPark area | | | | Some women who had fled due to continuous sexual harassment and | | -do- |

| No | Camp | Village | Name | Age | Description | Date | Source |
|----|-----------|---------|---------------------------------------|-----|--|------|--------|
| | | | | | unbearable conditions were arrested, tortured and put back. | | |
| 6 | Jangla | Jangla | Korsa Munni, Kalmu Jayyu, Korsa Butki | | SJ gang raped three activists, shifted them to relief camp and continued to rape them. Mass marriages. | | -do- |
| 7 | All camps | | | | Forcing girls to marry SJ goons and SPOs. | | -do- |

6. Violence in Police Stations

| No | P.Station | Village | Name | Age | Description | Date | Source |
|----|-------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----|--|--------|--------|
| 1 | Bhairamgarh | KareMarka (On NH 16) | | | Gang raped by SJ and Naga police on 15 th August. Dragged to Bhgh PS and raped for a week. | | ICI |
| 2 | Mirtur | Kondam | Badri Somli Munni | | Gang-raped and were marched bleeding and naked to Mirtur PS | 1/9/05 | PM |
| 3 | - | Kotrapal | | | Six women were gang raped and tortured after shifting to PS | | |
| 4 | - | | Woman in Jagdal pur jail | | Her brother was shot. She was gang raped by CRPF and then taken to the local thana and repeatedly raped. | | ICI |

Note on sources:

FF-data collected in the course of the present fact-finding.

ICI- data published in the Independent Citizen's Initiative report on the basis of a list put out by the Maoists. A few cases directly verified by ICI

PM –published in the Telugu journal Porumahila, translation provided by AP Chaitanya Mahila Samakhya

Lehar- Article by journalist Lehar, Accessed from Internet
source: www. blogspot.naxalrevolution.com

CATAS- Booklet put out by committee of Tribals affected by SJ

Appendix 4

A. Childhood malnutrition in Salwa Judum camp
(UNICEF data from Dornapal camp)

| Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre, Dornapal | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|----------------|--------|---------|------------|------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------|------|------|-------|-------------|
| Nutritional status of children in the age group 0 to 6 months | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sl. No. | Name | Mother | Father | Age months | Area | Grade | Weight in grams | | | | | | Weight Gain |
| | | | | | | | 8.9.2006 | 15.9. | 22.9. | 29.9 | 6.10 | 11.10 | |
| 1. | Marwi Hirme | Hungi | Masa | 5 | Puswada | III | 4000 | 4100 | 4200 | 4300 | NA | NA | NA |
| 2. | Madkam Guda | Bandi | Dama | 3 | Puswada | III | 2800 | 2900 | 3000 | 3200 | 3200 | 4100 | 1300 |
| 3. | Kartam Lachi | Pale | Kala | 2 | Retrai | III | 2600 | 2800 | 2900 | 2900 | 2900 | 3000 | 400 |
| 4. | Kalmu Ripanga | Lakhe | Joga | 3 | Ratwaguda | IV | 2200 | 2500 | 2600 | 2900 | 2900 | NA | NA |
| 5. | Kiche Podheye | Lakhe | Deva | 4 | Polampalli | IV | 2500 | 2700 | 2700 | 2900 | 2900 | 3100 | 600 |
| 6. | Madvi Hidme | Hungi | Masa | 5 | Puswada | III | 4100 | 4200 | 4400 | 4600 | 4600 | NA | NA |
| 7. | Madvi Raju | Deve | Deva | 3 | Devarpali | IV | 3300 | 3400 | 3400 | 3500 | 3500 | 3600 | 300 |
| 8. | Kapasi Lakshmi | Jogi | Lla | 3 | Kurli | IV | 2600 | 2700 | 2900 | 2900 | 2900 | 3000 | 400 |
| 9. | Kapasi Raju | Hadme | Lla | 5 | Kurli | III | 3600 | 3700 | 3600 | 3600 | 3600 | NA | NA |
| 10. | Kapasi Rame | Dule | Deva | 2 | Kurli | III | 2800 | 2900 | 2900 | 3000 | 3000 | 3100 | 300 |
| 11. | Kujam Deva | Kitto | Deva | 2 | Kurli | III | 2500 | 2600 | 2700 | 2800 | 2800 | NA | NA |
| 12. | Poonam Gangi | Sukdi | Veera | 3 | Retrai | IV | 3100 | 3200 | 3200 | 3400 | 3400 | 3500 | 400 |
| 13. | Podiram Pramod | Mase | Hidme | 5 | Polampalli | III | 3300 | 3500 | 3500 | 3600 | 3600 | NA | NA |
| 14. | Vetti Mangal | Hire | Podhiya | 6 | Ponpalli | III | 4000 | 4300 | 4200 | 4300 | 4300 | 4500 | 500 |
| 15. | Sodi Baga | Koshi | Hirma | 18 | Bardeltang | III | 2800 | 2900 | 3000 | 3100 | 3100 | NA | NA |
| 16. | Kartam Lakshmi | Pale | Singa | 3 | Mandewahi | IV | 2300 | 2500 | 2600 | 2700 | 2700 | NA | NA |
| 17. | Sablam Joyti | Hidme | Deva | 5 | Debardera | III | 4100 | 4200 | 4400 | 4600 | 4600 | 4700 | 600 |
| 18. | Sablam Soni | Deve | Deva | 3 | Dubbatora | III | 3300 | 3400 | 3400 | 3500 | 3500 | 3700 | 400 |
| 19. | Kavasi Lakhe | Dule | Deva | 2 | kurli | III | 2500 | 2600 | 2700 | 2800 | 2800 | NA | NA |
| Nutrition Rehabilitation Centre, Dornapal | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nutritional status of children in the age group of 6 to 36 months | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sl. No. | Name | Mother | Father | Age months | Area | Grade | Weight in grams | | | | | | Weight Gain |
| 20. | Madvi Jogi | Linge | Deva | 12 | Puswada | IV | 4500 | 4900 | 5000 | 5000 | 5300 | 5500 | 1000 |

| Sl. No. | Name | Mother | Father | Age months | Area | Grade | Weight in grams | | | | | | Weight Gain |
|---------|-----------------|---------|--------|------------|-------------|-------|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------|
| 21. | Madvi Lakshmi | Ure | Soma | 18 | Devarpali | III | 6000 | 6100 | 6300 | 6400 | 6400 | 6500 | 500 |
| 22. | Madvi Manga | Nande | Bhima | 10 | Kurli | IV | 3700 | 3900 | NA | 3800 | 3900 | 4000 | 300 |
| 23. | Madvi Chande | Tuhari | Podiya | 24 | Kurli | III | 7300 | 7500 | 7600 | 7800 | 7700 | 8000 | 700 |
| 24. | Kavasi Mase | Bhime | Budhra | 31 | Ponpalli | III | 7200 | 7300 | 7500 | 7200 | 7200 | 7300 | 100 |
| 25. | SariramDeve | Jogi | Dula | 10 | Aramhata | III | 5200 | 5300 | 5500 | 5700 | 5700 | NA | NA |
| 26. | Kuhram Hadme | Bhime | Lanka | 11 | Gormunda | III | 5100 | 5300 | 5300 | 5500 | 5500 | 5200 | 100 |
| 27. | Madkam Gange | Deve | Kesa | 19 | Gormunda | III | 5900 | 6100 | 6200 | 6400 | 6400 | 6500 | 600 |
| 28. | Madkam Budhri | Nandi | Musa | 13 | Gormunda | III | 5200 | 5600 | 5900 | 6100 | 6100 | 6200 | 1000 |
| 29. | Kuhram Radha | Podhiye | Aamta | 12 | Gormunda | IV | 5000 | 5100 | 5300 | 5300 | 5300 | NA | NA |
| 30. | Poonam Ure | Kosi | Bhima | 14 | Dubbatora | IV | 6400 | 6400 | 6500 | 6500 | 6600 | 6600 | 200 |
| 31. | Poonam Lakshi | Podhiye | Deva | 31 | Dubbatora | IV | 8200 | 8600 | 8800 | 8900 | 8900 | 8900 | 700 |
| 32. | Podiram Paro | Malle | Bhima | 13 | Loggude | III | 6000 | 6100 | 6200 | 6300 | 6300 | 6300 | 300 |
| 33. | Madkam Rina | Buhari | Hirma | 17 | Palamdagu | IV | 5000 | 5200 | 5300 | 5400 | 5400 | 5500 | 500 |
| 34. | Madkam Hadma | Mangi | Bhima | 15 | Manikonta | III | 6000 | 6300 | 6400 | 6600 | 6600 | NA | NA |
| 35. | Vetti Bhima | Podhiye | Lanka | 12 | Penta | III | 5000 | 5300 | 5300 | 5400 | 5400 | 5600 | 600 |
| 36. | Madvi Devi | Gangi | Muka | 12 | Penat | III | 5600 | 5700 | 5900 | 6000 | 6000 | 6100 | 500 |
| 37. | Boddi Adhi | Aarate | Dula | 26 | Boddiguda | IV | 6000 | 6500 | 6400 | 6400 | 6500 | 6500 | 500 |
| 38. | Pedthi Munna | Jogi | Ganga | 25 | Penta | III | 7000 | 7100 | 7300 | 7300 | 7400 | 7700 | 700 |
| 39. | Madkam Hirma | Manju | Munna | 12 | Retari | IV | 2700 | 2800 | 2900 | 3300 | 3500 | 3700 | 1000 |
| 40. | Kurlam Bhima | Mungi | Munna | 26 | Ratrai | III | 7000 | 7200 | 7400 | 7500 | NA | 7600 | 600 |
| 41. | Padam Ayata | Kame | Hidma | 19 | Devaripali | IV | 4500 | 4700 | 4700 | 4700 | 4800 | 4800 | 300 |
| 42. | Padam Ganga | Ganga | Soma | 11 | Devaripali | III | 4600 | 4700 | 4900 | 5100 | 5100 | 5200 | 600 |
| 43. | Sodi Mure | Sanni | Hidma | 14 | Devaripali | IV | 4800 | 5100 | 4900 | 5000 | 5000 | 5000 | 200 |
| 44. | Kuhram Muya | Rame | Deva | 26 | Kosabada | III | 6700 | 6900 | 7000 | 7100 | 7100 | NA | NA |
| 45. | Pando Lakshim | Gangi | Deva | 26 | Kosabada | III | 7300 | 7400 | 7600 | 7700 | 7700 | NA | NA |
| 46. | Sodi Munni | Gangi | Soma | 15 | Medvari | III | 5500 | 5600 | 5800 | 5900 | 5900 | 6000 | 500 |
| 47. | Poonam Shanti | Jogi | Singa | 18 | Medvari | III | 6000 | 6300 | 6500 | 6700 | 6600 | 6700 | 700 |
| 48. | Madkam Munna | Chinge | Chinga | 10 | Polampalli | III | 4600 | 4700 | 4800 | 5000 | 5000 | NA | NA |
| 49. | Podiram Sanni | Pojje | Kima | 15 | Polampalli | III | 5800 | 6100 | 6200 | 6200 | 6300 | 6800 | 1000 |
| 50. | Sodi Bhime | Somdi | Lakka | 20 | Polampalli | III | 6200 | 6300 | 6500 | 6700 | 6700 | 6800 | 600 |
| 51. | Madkam Gangi | Pinge | Chinga | 31 | Polampalli | III | 8200 | 8400 | 8500 | 8500 | 8500 | NA | NA |
| 52. | Madkam Ganga | Hungi | Bhima | 12 | Puswada | IV | 4500 | 4700 | 4900 | 4800 | 4800 | 5100 | 600 |
| 53. | Madkam Hadma | Murye | Sukka | 20 | Chichorguda | III | 7000 | 7200 | 7300 | 7300 | 7300 | 6300 | -700 |
| 54. | Madkam Sachi | Hadme | Hidma | 16 | Chichorguda | III | 6000 | 6100 | 6200 | 6300 | 6300 | 6100 | 100 |
| 55. | Padam Lakke | Deve | Muyya | 13 | Chichorguda | IV | 5000 | 5200 | 5300 | 5100 | 5100 | NA | NA |
| 56. | Madvi Momika | Malle | Bhima | 10 | Chichorguda | IV | 4600 | 4800 | 4800 | 4800 | 4800 | 4800 | 200 |
| 57. | Podidam Durga | Bhime | Joga | 20 | Dubbatora | III | 7000 | 7100 | 7200 | 7300 | 7300 | 6800 | -200 |
| 58. | Madkam Rani | Pale | Pandu | 12 | Pinnabeji | IV | 3500 | 3800 | 3600 | 3300 | 3300 | 3400 | -100 |
| 59. | Madkam Sopa | Gangi | Joga | 14 | Pinnabeji | IV | 5900 | 600 | 5900 | 6100 | 6100 | 5500 | -400 |
| 60. | Panturam Chimal | Soni | Muyya | 15 | Gorgunda | III | 6000 | 6200 | 6300 | 6400 | 6400 | NA | NA |
| 61. | Kamali | Bhime | Bhima | 12 | Gorgunda | III | 5500 | 5600 | 5800 | 5800 | 5800 | 5800 | 300 |
| 62. | Madkam Kosa | Muyye | Hirma | 13 | Gorgunda | III | 6000 | 6100 | 6300 | 6500 | 6500 | 6600 | 600 |
| 63. | Warse Lalu | Podiye | Lla | 12 | Itaguda | IV | 4000 | 4200 | 4300 | 4400 | 4400 | 4500 | 500 |
| 64. | Veko Mase | Somaye | Deva | 10 | Vaerdelang | III | 4800 | 4900 | 5100 | 5300 | 5300 | NA | NA |

| Sl. No. | Name | Mother | Father | Age months | Area | Grade | Weight in grams | | | | | | Weight Gain |
|---------|---------------|---------|--------|------------|-------------|-------|-----------------|------|------|------|------|------|-------------|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 65. | Madvi Munni | Lakke | Lakka | 10 | Polampalli | III | 5900 | 6000 | 6000 | 4900 | 4900 | 5000 | -900 |
| 66. | Kadvi Gangi | Mase | Nanda | 10 | Vardetelang | III | 5600 | 5800 | 5900 | 5900 | 5900 | NA | NA |
| 67. | Mudkam Naga | Podiye | Deva | 7 | Vardetelang | III | 4100 | 4300 | 4500 | 4400 | 4400 | NA | NA |
| 68. | Mudkam Jogi | Podiye | Deva | 15 | Dubbatora | IV | 5300 | 5400 | 5600 | 5600 | 5600 | 5700 | 400 |
| 69. | Sangita Nayak | Vali | Soma | 19 | Gorgunda | III | 6700 | 6900 | 7100 | 7200 | 7200 | 7300 | 600 |
| 70. | Rapodi Gangi | Jogi | Ganga | 15 | Puswada | IV | 5300 | 5400 | 5700 | 5800 | 5800 | 5700 | 400 |
| 71. | Madvi Hunga | Budhro | Deva | 15 | Puswada | IV | 4900 | 5100 | 5200 | 5200 | 5200 | 4600 | -300 |
| 72. | Madvi Ganga | Muke | Kosa | 24 | Kurli | IV | 5700 | 6000 | 5800 | 5900 | 5900 | 6000 | 300 |
| 73. | Bodi Ravi | Vanjari | Bhima | 14 | Boddiguda | III | 6100 | 6300 | 6500 | 6600 | 6600 | NA | NA |
| 74. | Nuppo Munni | Kani | Deva | 17 | Boddiguda | III | 6300 | 6600 | 6700 | 6900 | 6900 | 6900 | 600 |
| 75. | Sodi Rame | Gang | Mulla | 18 | Boddiguda | III | 6000 | 6100 | 6200 | 6300 | 6400 | NA | NA |
| 76. | Kuhram Chotu | Ile | Lla | 11 | Medvahi | III | 5000 | 5100 | 5200 | 5300 | 5300 | NA | NA |
| 77. | Madkam Munna | Nande | Joga | 14 | Gundapalli | III | 5900 | 6100 | 6200 | 6400 | 6400 | NA | NA |
| 78. | Urum Kumari | Muke | Ganga | 8 | Medvahi | III | 4900 | 5000 | 4800 | 4900 | 4900 | NA | NA |

B. Executive summary of Review of Nutritional Rehabilitation Centre (UNICEF)

- The NRC initiated on 8 September 2006 and is currently providing therapeutic food to 78 malnourished children in the camp.
- Since inception, there is one death.
- Children up to 3 years are enrolled and admissions are based on anthropometric measurements.
- The Centre is being looked after by a trained worker and five women Community Care Volunteers from CARE.
- Indigenous food is provided. Cooking is done at the Centre. The average nutrient provided is 335 K cal and 10 grams of protein per beneficiary per day. Food is served everyday without and lapse.
- There are no logistics for procurement of food material. Depleted stocks of some food material were observed.
- There is no mechanism to check the quality of Dhalia Procured for feeding. The camp worker was requested to roast the material before use.
- The chart provided by UNICEF is being used for monitoring the progress of children in the Centre.
- Weights of children are being recorded weekly. However there are no separate growth carts for children.
- The commitment of the ICDS and the workers of the Health Department are poor.
- Mothers breast-feed their children intermittently at the Centre and in between feeds.
- Coordination between stakeholders has to be stepped up.

- Food security among the communities has been affected and they are finding it difficult to feed their children.
- It is recommended that a raised structure with proper lighting, ventilation, store and toilet facilities be made operational so that difficulties are minimized.
- MSF may be requested to provide the health services at the Centre.

C. Hunger deaths in Dantewara, 2004.

A team from PUCL Chhattisgarh visited villages Burgum in Kuakopnda block and Hirpal in Geedam block of Dantewara district following newspaper reports of hunger deaths in south Bastar during March 2004. The following deaths due to hunger and malnutrition were documented.

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Village Burgum | Village Hirpal | Village Burgum | Village Mutanpal |
| Block Kuakonda, | Block Geedam | Block Bastanar | Block Bastanar |
| Dt Dantewada | Dt Dantewada | District Bastar | District Bastar |

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Bhima (7 years) | | Diwar (2 years) | |
| Bidde (1.5 Year) | Sukki (60 years) | Pintu (2 years) | Sappe (50 Years) |
| Podiya (35 years) | Pidde Bai (20 years) | Mangay (40 years) | Jagri (45 years) |
| Sunil | Sunita (9 Months) | Raju (40 years) | Laxmi (60 years) |
| Vinay Kumar | Bachchi (12 days) | Machi (2 years) | Payke (70 Years) |
| Devmati | Mangli (60 years) | Gonchand (1 year) | |
| Lassi | | Dhaniram (7 years) | |
| Dewa | | Dole (60 years) | |
| Kosa | | Ayati (35 years) | |
| Esamti | | | |
| Buddhu | | | |
| Anda (55 years) | | | |

The main findings of the team were:

- In the villages we visited there is no effective system of food security. There is no effective infrastructure for agricultural production, and neither is there any other source of employment. So people lack the means to obtain the minimum foodstuff necessary for health. Consequently, a large proportion of the population is the victims of severe malnutrition.
- Fifty-seven years after independence and among the loud praises of the feel good factor, the people of Bastar do not have access to safe and potable drinking water. Even the water

from hand-pumps is contaminated, and foul. Village people are forced to obtain water from small holes dug in river beds. Much illness is due to lack of access to safe water.

- Doctor and paramedical workers are deployed in the villages only on paper. They do not go to the people. Their behavior is very un-sympathetic, and often insulting. Their only concern is with their salaries. Some sources suggested that in the areas under Naxalite influence, health personnel are reluctant to go because if they stay in these areas, they are suspected by the police of having sympathies for the Naxalites and consequently harassed.

Appendix 5

Health situation in Dantewara

A. Office of Chief Medical and Health Officer

District – South Bastar Dantewada (C.G.)

Block wise placement of health personnel

| S.no | Name of Block | Population | Village | Lab Technician | Working Staff | | Total | Dist. Hospital | Civil Hospital | CHC | PHC | SHC |
|------|---------------|------------|---------|----------------|---------------|-----|-------|----------------|----------------|------|------|------|
| | | | | | M | F | | | | | | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) |
| 1 | Dantewada | 85153 | 61 | 3 | 17 | 26 | 46 | 1 | - | | 3 | 23 |
| 2 | Gidam | 65763 | 66 | 4 | 15 | 21 | 40 | - | | 1 | 3 | 17 |
| 3 | Katekalyan | 42134 | 42 | 4 | 12 | 15 | 31 | - | | 1 | 3 | 11 |
| 4 | Kuaa Konda | 65816 | 54 | 4 | 10 | 22 | 36 | - | | 1 | 3 | 18 |
| 5 | Chhindgard | 70847 | 76 | 3 | 19 | 31 | 53 | - | | 1 | 3 | 27 |
| 6 | Sukma | 59255 | 56 | 3 | 11 | 23 | 37 | - | | 1 | 2 | 20 |
| 7 | Konta | 109861 | 229 | 7 | 10 | 24 | 41 | - | | 1 | 6 | 34 |
| 8 | Bhairamgarh | 81671 | 254 | 3 | 11 | 33 | 47 | - | | 1 | 2 | 34 |
| 9 | Bijapur | 62885 | 105 | 2 | 11 | 20 | 33 | - | | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| 10 | Usur | 61445 | 132 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 24 | - | | 1 | 4 | 20 |
| 11 | Bhopalpatnam | 53232 | 136 | 3 | 16 | 18 | 37 | - | | 1 | 3 | 16 |
| | Total | 758062 | 1211 | 41 | 140 | 244 | 425 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 33 | 240 |

B. Malaria is a survival issue for the people

Epidemiological Situation of Malaria for the District Dantewada

| Year | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Population | | | | 766604 |
| BS collection | 190391 | 225554 | 210484 | 124687 |
| BS Examination | 190391 | 225554 | 210484 | 124545 |
| API | 40.81 | 50.88 | 40.03 | - |
| SPR | 15.93 | 17.0 | 514.60 | 12.79 |

(Source: Medical records of the Bastar Vikas Pradhikaran currently available with the office of the CMHO, Dantewada)

C. Health Data Provided by Medicines Sans Frontiers (MSF)**Dantewada (two-month sample)****September 2006**

Number of Mobile clinics conducted = 7 (5 new location & follow up visit).

Total Patient attendance = 282 (<5=117,>5=165)

Av. Attendance / clinic = 40

Female Attendance = 164 (58%)

Main morbidities in September were skin diseases (14.5%), Malaria(13.8%), URTI (13.1%), diarrheal diseases (11.3%) and LRTI (6.4%). 2 moderate and 2 severe malnourished children were seen and treated according to protocol and were provided with milk powder and cashew nuts.

5 pregnant ladies attend the clinic they were screened for malaria and treated as per protocol.

NB:- percentages following the morbidities are out of total consultation.

October 2006

Number of Mobile clinics conducted = 16(6 new location & 10 follow up visit).

Total patient attendance = 648 (<5=191,>5=457)

Av. Attendance/ clinic = 40 (same as last month).

Female attendance = 304 (47%).

Although the number of consultations is more than it was in September but this is because of increase in the number of mobile clinics conducted. The average attendance per clinic remains the same.

Patient transfers

| No | Clinic | Age | Sex | Suspected diagnosis | Hospital | Outcome |
|----|------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1 | Mobile, Clinic, Talnar | 6 m | M | Severe Malnutrition with LRTI | NMDC, Bacheli** | Improving* |
| 2 | NRC, Dorna | 1y | M | Severe Malnutrition | DCH*** | Improving* |
| 3 | NRC, Dorna | 5m | F | Severe Malnutrition | DCH | Improving * |
| 4 | NRC, Dorna | 2y | F | Severe Malnutrition | DCH | Improving * |

* All the transferred patients were discharged against medical advice, as the attendant did not want to stay any longer in the hospital stating domestic problems even after they were explained about the condition of the patients.

** National Mineral Development Corporation – Apollo Hospital, Bacheli.

*** Dantewada Civil Hospital.

Main morbidities still remain the same as previous months with a change in order of occurrence: Malaria (32.1%) increase of 18.3%, Skin infection (16.5%) increase of 2.0%, URTI (8.2%) decrease of 4.9%, diarrheal diseases (6.1%) decrease of 5.2% and LRTI (4%) decrease of 2.4% as compared to last month .

As malaria has increased by 18% it will be monitored closely and also the trends for the state and district will be ascertained by meeting the relevant authorities.

5 severe and 13 moderately malnourished children were seen and treated in October.

13 pregnant ladies have been seen this month (3 follow up). All of them were screened for malaria and treated according to RCH protocol, 3 were positive for falciparum malaria and were treated accordingly. The complete RCH protocol is not followed at the moment only malaria screening, IPT and Ferrous+Folic tabs are provided to the pregnant ladies.

Appendix 6

From the March 8 Special Issue of People's March

Women's movement in Dandakaranya – Half of struggle and half of sky

{An interview with a member of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee; Comrade **Maina** printed on the Occasion of March 8th}

Question : Would you please explain the main changes in the women's movement in Dandakaranya?

Answer:

The women's movement of Dandakaranya is nearly two decades old. Throughout these years thousands of women have become part of the movement either directly or indirectly. The backward adivasi areas are revolutionized with various kinds of struggles and with various forms of organizations. Each and every aspect of the people's lives is linked with the struggle for the seizure of state power. The struggling consciousness and political understanding of the masses is increasing and this in turn has increased their active role in revolution. The Bastar women's movement started a little later than that of the Gadchiroli (Maharashtra) women's movement.

The readers are aware of the forms of struggle we had adopted in the initial stages of the movement. I shall explain the main changes in the women's movement.

Women now hold meetings independently. They not only mobilize in thousands in rallies but also stand in the forefront. They talk with non-advasis fearlessly. They oppose police atrocities. They question the domination of the tribal heads. If the husbands torture them or if the parents force them into marriage they complain to the organization and discuss it in their meetings. None of this was possible in their old life. These are just a few examples of change in the past few decades of the women's movement in Dandakaranya. Earlier, when the women did not have the knowledge of struggle they suffered silently. Readers of revolutionary literature are familiar with the women of Dandakaranya through the novel *Rago*. Now the Ragos have revolted and become Gold flowers, Nirmalas, the recent Karunas and many others. As the revolt started the chains started breaking. By the mid 1980s, the women's organizations took good form; and by the mid 1990s they gained more strength.

With the understanding gained in this process the women now know that men must become part of housework and child rearing. They know that woman too go for organizational work like the man. If only one can leave the house, they know that it is necessary to discuss democratically and decide who has to go. Earlier the women were not allowed into the places where the harvest was stored. Now this tradition is not seen. The fight for wearing blouses was a turning point in the women's lives. In the areas where the Revolutionary People's Committees were formed, the men have been democratized and they now understand that they have to discuss with their wives before doing anything that involve both. Readers are aware that land pattas are issued by the RPCs in the name of both men and women in the newly occupied lands.

Now no one can impose the age-old traditions on the women. Perhaps these changes have not as yet occurred in society outside the struggling areas. Here the picture has changed. Here women have the right to assert power. They would demand it. Forcible marriages are almost non-existent. Women are part of all kinds of struggle and have even become leaders. The Bastar adivasi woman, who earlier never participated in a rally independently, who never led one such, is now enlightened with the consciousness of organization. Her revolutionary political consciousness has developed. They are now gheraoing the police station for the dead bodies of martyrs. They play an active combat role in ambushes. Due to this increased consciousness of organization, women are mobilizing into organizational activities, starting from the village level up to the state level. They are not only questioning the civil and the police officials, the Bastar women are blowing the siren of struggle as an indispensable part of the present revolutionary history in India.

The police are unleashing all kinds of repressive methods to discourage women from participating in the movement. They are assaulting them sexually, they are misbehaving with them and are going to the extent of killing them in fake encounters. Of late in the so-called Salwa Judum women activists have been gang raped, tortured and then brutally killed. To contain their assertion tribal heads are especially making ill propaganda against the activist women. But none of these could stop the women from participating in the revolution.

Women have been tempered in the difficulties of guerilla life. In the initial stage of their recruitment, they felt they would work only in their native areas. But now they are prepared to go wherever the party assigns them, with revolutionary responsibility. They are becoming professional revolutionaries. They are fighting heroically and are attaining leadership positions.

The women even question the discrimination they face in guerilla life in order to gain their rights. In the past, though they did not understand what elections meant, a few people voted. Now, they are in the forefront in implementing the election boycott as a form of struggle. This indicates the increased political consciousness in them. We feel this is an important change. We observe that women actively respond to each and every call of the Party. Women play a considerable role in the struggles, starting from protest against imperialism to that for the construction of martyr memorials.

So we are able to sustain the movement in the struggle areas and are able to realise the establishment of liberated area as the main objective. The domination of the tribal heads and the government bureaucracy and their domination/authority has been destroyed in the main areas of the movement. We are enriching the Revolutionary People's Committees (Janathana Sarkar) that are the embryonic form of democratic people's political power as the real alternative. Men and women have an equal role in this process. As far as state power is concerned women have an indispensable role in all the organs of the people's power, the village level party and the militia units. There is a major change in lives with the seizure of state power.

Q: What is the role of women in the RPCs? What kind of responsibilities are they taking up?

A: In traditional Adivasi areas women do not have any authority and say in public matters. A Woman is a victim of the chains of tribal customs. She does work in the fields, cuts wood in the forest, and works day and night. But she does not have any power. As the Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sangham

strengthened and women started leading their struggles, the eyes of the women in the forests opened. They became part of the people's war. The results of this war are seen in the *janathana sarkar* (Revolutionary People's Committee), that are the embryonic form of the New Power.

Women take up various responsibilities in each and every RPC unit. Some women are even holding the post of president in the *janathana sarkar*. In some places they are holding the post of vice-president. In addition to this the women are working in the various departmental committees of the RPC. Whatever responsibility they take up they are making distinct efforts to fulfill their responsibilities.

Let us take the example of the Jungle Bachao Committee. The members of this committee take care of the forest. They check regularly to make sure that no one has cut the forests without the permission of the committee. They also check whether anyone is taking away timber and other such forest produce. The checking done by the forest department in other areas and that by the RPC is fundamentally different. It has a different class perspective. The forest department harasses and loots the poor while they join with the tribal elites to illegally cut wood and make fortunes. The RPCs impose restrictions on cutting considering the environmental damage. It is nothing but an example of people's power being asserted in the interests of the people.

Today, we have definitely laid the seeds for a new democratic power. The red guerilla base areas (in embryonic form) in the country are the first of its kind. We introduced the form of the present *janathana sarkars* taking into account the positive aspects of traditional Adivasi society (negating the negative) and destroying the ruling class mechanism and the state structure. Women are in the forefront of this struggle. Democratic consciousness rises through this struggle. Look at the situation in the other areas. Here feudalism and imperialism have crushed democracy under its iron heel. We have to destroy these two mountains all over the country. We have made the men and women stand firm in this struggle. They own and assert the new state power to an extent. In this process we have revolutionized the family. Husband, wife and children, all are an indispensable part of revolution.

Women are part of the judicial department too. It is unimaginable in the traditional Adivasi and feudal societies for women to give judgments. Participation of women in health, education, medicine, protection and other such departments have helped develop their organized strength. It helped them overcome an inferiority complex. We see this assertion in many spheres, due to the assertion of the New Power.

Appendix 7.

Press Release

PEOPLES' UNION FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, CHHATTISGARH

Raipur,

27/11/2006

Police go on the rampage in Lohandiguda area

Concerned by reports of tension/ disturbances in the Lohandiguda block, a fact finding team of the human rights organization Chhattisgarh PUCL visited the area. Reports of violent clashes in the Lohandiguda area between persons supporting and opposing the proposed steel plant of Tata group had been appearing in the newspapers. The investigation team consisted of Dr. Iina Sen and Advocate Sudha Bharadwaj. After touring the area they issued a statement based on their discussions with many men, women and children of the Chhotepara and Badepara localities of the affected Village Sirisguda which continued to be tense. The police of the area appear to be acting at the behest of a "plant supporter" farmer Sukhdev. There was an atmosphere of terror prevailing in the village. The house of a villager Somaru, whom the police had attempted to forcibly arrest thus provoking the villagers, had been ransacked. The house was deserted and the police had let loose his cattle and poultry etc. The villagers reported that when the police force came to search for Somaru, they had destroyed the grain storages (*anaaj kothi* and *dhaan kothi*) in his house. The fact finding team also found evidence of this. The dispute arose when the relatively better off Sukhdev, who is also a "plant supporter", asked Somaru to get him some labour to harvest his crop. Somaru expressed his inability to help Sukhdev, saying that neither his own nor the crops of others in the village had been harvested. Sukhdev became furious at this and complained to the police that the "anti-plant" villagers are not doing his work because he is "pro-plant". Taking unilateral action, the police tried to take Somaru into custody that very night, and protesting against this high handedness, the villagers forced them to let him go. Ever since this incident, the police have been on the rampage in the village. From 4 am each morning the police encircle the village and terrorise and intimidate the villagers. 21 persons have been arrested and jailed in false cases. A person named Bojje was beaten by the police and thrown into a ditch on the mountainside, he was located and brought back by the villagers. Two brothers called Jayram and Guddi stated that they were badly beaten by the police and paraded through the village being stamped and kicked by the police throughout. A woman named Mooso was forcibly dragged through the village. The villagers said that they were still terror-stricken and they can only speak out when they are assured that the listener is not related with the police or administration. The villagers said that they were not in blind opposition to the Tata plant. They had offered to negotiate with the administration on the basis of the 13 point demand charter proposed in their Gram Sabha.

The fact finding team concluded that the Fifth Schedule provisions of the Constitution are being blatantly violated in Sirisguda. There were several high ranking officials in the Gram Sabha owing to which the gathering was under pressure. Since matters had not been fully debated, it would

not be correct to assume that the Gram Sabha had given its consent to the acquisition. Undue haste in carrying out acquisition and an intention to pressurize the villagers seems to be the root cause of the present tension and police terror.



After the disputed gram sabha at Lohandiguda. Collector shaking hands with those who have given land for the Tata project. According to the 5th schedule, government officials have no role in the gram sabhas.



The 'special gram sabha' convened for land acquisition at Lohandiguda. Note that the government officials are all sitting on chairs on a dais, and the villagers are squatting below.

The PUCL demands:

1. The PESA Act should be strictly complied with in the matter of land acquisition, and the entire process should be carried out maintaining transparency.
2. The demands of the villagers should be resolved by consultation and discussions.
3. Police terror should be ended and attempts be made to normalize the situation.
4. The false cases against the villagers should be withdrawn and they should be unconditionally released.

Appendix 8**Names of camps in Dantewara district**

| Block | Camp |
|--------------|---|
| Geedam | Kasoli Baangapal |
| Bhairamgarh | Nelasnaar Bhairamgarh Maatwaada Mirtur Jaangla Bedre Karkeli Kutru Ranibodli Farsegarh |
| Bijapur | Bijapur Cherpai Toyenaar Gangaloor |
| Usoor | Aavapalli Usoor |
| Konta | Dornapal Errabore Injeram |

Appendix 9

Letters from the mothers of Dantewara**I**

To
His Excellency Dr APJ Abdul Kalam,
President, Indian Union.

Your Excellency,

I, Shrimati Sanki, wife of Manguram Bhogami, Village Dorguda, Block Bhairamgarh, Dt Dantewara (south Bastar) am an Adivasi woman of Chhattisgarh state. I am extremely distressed at the atrocities committed on my family members by the SPOs and security workers employed by Chhattisgarh state in the course of the Salwa Judum. My son Jairam Bhogami and daughter in law Ramo Bhogami had left Dorguda and begun to stay in their ancestral home in Kotwarpara of Farsepal after the Salwa Judum began. This was because the Salwa Judum was forcing all the families in our village to join them and to move to the camps, and my son and daughter in law anticipated that they would have many difficulties if they left home and went to stay in the camps. There was neither adequate accommodation in the camps nor any means of livelihood through which the family could survive. This is why I advised my children to move to Farsepal, while I myself stayed on in Dorguda and continued my agriculture. On 24.11.06, I called my son and daughter in law back to Dorguda because I had harvested our rice crop and needed help to store it properly. At my invitation, they both came and began to work on the crops. In the middle of this, the members of Salwa Judum, police and SPOs arrived, surrounded my son and began to beat him saying he was a naxalite supporter and had been with them since he was not seen in the village for so many days. My son and daughter in law tried to explain matters to them, but they refused to listen to anything. My daughter in law was also beaten up badly. They dragged my son to the thana at Mirtur, and beat him up again. He is still there, and reportedly unable to move. We fear that serious internal injuries have taken place. I was also beaten, and have severe pain in my chest and bones.

Your Excellency, this movement called Salwa Judum has made life very very difficult for the tribal people. There is no one here to understand the plight of poor people. I am afraid for my own safety after having written to you. I may be abducted or implicated in a false case. If this happens, only the police and district administration will be responsible.

Thank you,

(signed)

Petitioner.
Shrimati Sanki,
wife of Manguram Bhogami, Village Dorguda,
Block Bhairamgarh, Dt Dantewara (south Bastar)

II

To
The chairperson,
SC/ST Commission.

Dear Sir,

I, shrimati Bhime, wife of Chhannu Ram, Village Dorguda, Block Bhairamgarh, Dt Dantewara (south Bastar) am an Adivasi woman of Chhattisgarh state. My family has suffered greatly in the movement called Salwa Judum being carried out against the naxalites. My son Muda was accused of being a naxalite supporter and killed in September 2006. My brother in law Jaggu, and his daughter Phulmati were put in Jail. My son, brother in law and niece did not want to shift to the camps, and used to run away from the village towards the forests every time the salwa Judum forces came to our village. One day, the salwa Judum and their attendant forces came and surrounded our house and killed my son and took away Jaggu and his daughter, my niece.

Sir, only a mother who has helplessly seen her son being killed before her eyes can understand my feelings. My daughter in law has been rendered a widow in her youth, and their two children are orphaned. My husband and I are old, and we had built plans for our old age with my son at the centre. I appeal to you for justice, but I am afraid that reprisals will come on me because I have written to you. Like many others, I too may be kidnapped. In such an event only the administration and police will be responsible for what happens.

Thanking you,

(signed)

Shrimati Bhime,
wife of Chhannu Ram,
Village Dorguda,
Block Bhairamgarh,
Dt Dantewara (south Bastar)

Sir,

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Primati Bhime, wife of Chhannu Ram, Village Dorguda, Block Bhairamgarh, Dt Wara (south Bastar) am an Adivasi woman of Chhattisgarh state. My family has suffered greatly in the movement called Salwa Judum being carried out against Naxalites. My son Muda was accused of being a naxalite and was killed in September 2006. My brother in law Jaggu, and his daughter Phulmati were put in Jail. My son, brother in law, and I did not want to go to the camps, and used to stay away from the village. One day, the salwa Judum and their attendant forces came and surrounded our house and killed my son and took away Jaggu and his daughter, my

The Salwa Judum and their attendant forces came and surrounded our house and killed my son



e. I am only a mother who has helplessly seen her son being killed before her eyes. I can't understand my feelings. My daughter in law has been rendered a widow in her youth, and their two children are orphaned. My husband and I are old, and we had no plans for our old age with my son at the centre. I appeal to you for justice, and I am afraid that reprisals will come on me because I have written to you. Like many others, I too may be kidnapped. In such an event only the administration and the police will be responsible for what happens.