

**COMMUNIST  
PERSECUTION OF ANANDA MARGA  
IN  
WEST BENGAL  
DEC. 1989 - JAN. 1990**

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**A REPORT**

**PEOPLE'S UNION FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES**

**R E P O R T**

**ON**

**CPI(M) TERROR ON ANANDA MARGA  
IN  
PURULIA DISTRICT  
WEST BENGAL**

**DECEMBER 1989 - JANUARY 1990**

by

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**On behalf of**

**PEOPLE'S UNION FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES**

**FOREWORD by Justice V.M. Tarkunde**

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## FOREWORD

It is with a heavy heart that I recommend to the reader the following report of a PUCL team which investigated into the terrorism being allegedly practiced, with the connivance and even cooperation of the police, by CPI(M) activists against Ananda Margis near the latter's headquarters at Ananda Nagar in Purulia District in West Bengal. The report corroborates the impression that activists of the CPI(M) have decided to drive out the Ananda Margis from the Purulia District with brute force, and this plan is being aided by the local police.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise that when an organisation like the PUCL undertakes an investigation into the encroachment on the civil liberties of any group of people, it is not actuated by sympathy or antipathy towards the ideology of the concerned group. All persons are entitled to be dealt with in accordance with the rule of law. If they have committed any offence, they deserve to be punished strictly by following the legal process. Nobody, including political activists or the police, have the right to take the law into their own hands and inflict punishment on those whom they regard to be guilty.

It is not a little surprising that the CPI(M) should look upon the comparatively small group of Ananda Margis as its sworn enemies. Whatever ideological difference they may have with Ananda Margis, the people should be allowed to judge who is right. The use of force in such a case is entirely out of place. Communism throughout the world is acquiring a human face. Why not in India?

When it was decided that a team consisting of Jayati Leila Kabir and N.D. Pancholi should undertake an investigation into the atrocities to which Ananda Margis were alleged to be subjected at Ananda Nagar, it was expected that their mission would be completed in about four days. They took fourteen days to complete the work. They deserve the PUCL's thanks for performing this arduous task.

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. WHY THE INVESTIGATION

The Ananda Marga Pracharaka Sangha, with its registered headquarters in Ananda Nagar at P.O. Baglata, District Purulia, West Bengal, on 22 December 1989 presented a memorandum to the PUCL at Delhi in which it stated the following:

- \* That Ananda Marga had for the past 25 years been carrying out extensive social welfare and developmental work at its complex at Ananda Nagar in Purulia district
- \* That there is a long-standing animosity of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)) towards it
- \* That the CPI(M) had organised the murder of 17 monks and nuns in Calcutta in 1982
- \* That the CPI(M) was now determined to drive the Ananda Marga from Purulia district
- \* That since December 7, 1989 there had been a series of 14 violent attacks by CPI(M) local cadres on Ananda Marga schools, hostels and ashrams at Ananda Nagar, which resulted in extensive damage to property, wanton looting, and serious injury to some persons
- \* That the attacks were carried out in the full knowledge of the police who were not giving any protection to the Marga members and even refusing to receive the FIRs submitted by them
- \* That there were 1500 young children in residence at Ananda Nagar at more than 15 schools and hostels in the complex
- \* That they apprehended massive violence, even more than the carnage unleashed in Calcutta in 1982, and that the situation was beyond the control of the local police

Lastly they requested the People's Union for Civil Liberties to investigate the situation and see that proper remedial action be

immediately taken to restore peace and security to the inhabitants of Ananda Nagar.

## 2. THE PUCL TEAM

Justice V.M. Tarkunde (Retd.), Advisor, and Justice Rajindar Sachar (Retd.), President of the People's Union for Civil Liberties, constituted an Investigation Team on 23 December 1989 consisting of the following persons to inquire into the above allegations:

1. Smt. Jayati Leila Kabir,  
Honorary Secretary, Agni Foundation
2. Shri N.D. Pancholi,  
General Secretary, Citizens for Democracy

The team started its investigation on 28 December, and for the next two weeks travelled extensively in the affected area. It met five injured sanyasis in Ranchi Hospital, visited about 20 sites of destruction at the Ananda Nagar Complex in Joypur and Jhalda thanas in Purulia District, W.Bengal and interviewed scores of persons, including the State Chief Minister and Forest Minister in Calcutta, concerned police and government officials, local CPI(M) leaders, Ananda Marga sanyasis and sanyasinis, Ananda Marga sympathisers and victims, as also local villagers from about 25 surrounding villages. The team concluded its field investigation on 9 January 1990, returning to Delhi on 10 January 1990.

## 3. WHAT IS ANANDA MARGA

The Ananda Marga Pracharaka Sangha is a Society registered under the W.Bengal Societies Registration Act, 1961. Further, it is a religious denomination within the meaning of Article 26 of the Constitution of India and recognised as such by the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India. Shri Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar known to his devotees as Shri Shri Anandamurti, founded the organisation of Ananda Marga on 7 November 1954 with a view to establish a new spiritually-based civilisation. According to its philosophy, the steam-roller of materialism has ruthlessly destroyed all human and spiritual values, and therefore the Ananda Marga seeks to work for the regeneration and preservation of the soul of the society, i.e. its moral and spiritual values. To achieve their object, the followers of Ananda Marga have established "Ananda Nagar" as its central global master unit with a view to establish a model holistic developmental project and through its

numerous educational institutions there to develop future generations who would cherish moral and spiritual values.

The township of Ananda Nagar is situated in Baglata village, near Pundag railway station in the Purulia District of West Bengal. In the year 1962, the queen of the local state Garhjoypur, donated two hundred acres of land on which Ananda Nagar is situated. Since then it has further acquired more lands by way of donations or sale, and has opened primary schools, high schools, a Degree College in Arts & sciences, an Institute of Technology, a school for handicapped children, numerous hostels for the students, women's welfare centres, a children's home for destitutes, a hospital, an asylum for lepers, a school for music, numerous agricultural farms and research centres, a dairy, a printing press, a provisions store, botanical gardens, and numerous cottage industries such as weaving, plastic factory, pencil factory, etc. There is no electricity in the surrounding area, and the West Bengal government has failed to provide Ananda Nagar with electricity despite repeated requests. Therefore the Ananda Margis have set up their own power house which fulfills all their needs.

The people around Ananda Nagar are very poor, mostly tribals. The land is extremely arid and eroded, and generally there is only one crop during the monsoon. There is no industry, no electricity, no medical care, and no proper road route in the surrounding area. Women and small children daily walk as much as eight hours to gather fuelwood, carrying heavy bundles of wood over long distances. The villagers suffer from widespread malnutrition, and disease, especially leprosy, is rampant. Ironically, there is a new Government hospital building opposite the Pundag railway station, lying unutilised since the last one year, since no doctor could be appointed. It is presently housing a temporary police camp.

The followers of Ananda Marga call Ananda Nagar a "City of Bliss" which they expect will become a world model for solutions to some of humanity's most pressing problems and produce citizens with a strong sense of morality, who will struggle against the forces of materialism and dogmatism rampant in the world today and usher in a new era of spiritual bliss for humanity. For them, Ananda Nagar is like the "tapovans" of ancient India.

#### **4. BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT CRISIS**

However, Ananda Nagar happens to be situated in a state which has been ruled for the last twelve years by a combination of leftist parties having faith in the materialist Marxist philosophy. The CPI(M)



and the Ananda Marga have been at loggerheads with each other for the past 25 years. The Ananda Margis allege that the CPI(M)'s hostility towards Ananda Marga stems from their diametrically opposed ideologies; the moral and spiritual values of the Marga on the one hand, and the atheism and materialism of the Marxists on the other. Besides, the Progressive Utilisation Theory (PROUT) propounded by Ananda Margis, which is intended to eventually replace both Capitalism and Communism, is anathema to the CPI(M).

The Margis alleged that CPI(M) activists had murdered five monks at Ananda Nagar on 5 March 1967 in the presence of police officials and the local Block Development Officer who watched as mute witnesses and that they had attacked the Ananda Marga spiritual congregation in Cooch Behar in 1969 with bombs and explosives, resulting in severe injury to several Ananda Margis. They further alleged that CPI(M) activists had obstructed the construction of the Ananda Marga headquarters at Tiljala, Calcutta in 1981, and had burnt alive 17 monks and nuns of Ananda Marga in broad daylight on 30 April, 1982 in Calcutta and that the administration and police authorities had refused to take any action against the culprits of this ghastly crime.

The CPI(M) leaders, on the other hand, claim that the Ananda Margis are criminals and anti-social elements (goondas), violent terrorists possessing illegal firearms, and are both grabbing lands from local villagers and forcibly encroaching on forest lands. They attribute the recent spate of violence to "jana jagarana" and do not regard it as a breakdown of law and order.

## THE P.U.C.L. INVESTIGATION

### I. SUMMARY OF THE PRESENT CRISIS

The Ananda Margis allege that after the formation of the National Front government at the Centre in the first week of December 1989 with CPI(M) support, the CPI(M) in West Bengal has increased its determination to destroy Ananda Nagar and forcibly drive all Ananda Margis out of the region. They cite the statement of Mr. Vinay Chowdhury, the West Bengal Land Reform Minister, who was quoted in the Ananda Bazar Patrika newspaper on 9 June, 1989 as saying, "Just as we have driven away the Lutheran Christians from the Ayodhya Hills, we will drive away the Ananda Margis from Ananda Nagar". Thus since early December 1989, they have launched a virulent campaign of violence, intimidation and destruction with the active collusion of the local police and administration.

The Margis further allege that to polarise the local villagers against the Ananda Margis, the CPI(M) held a series of meetings addressed not only by local but also by high-level State Party leaders, including the West Bengal Forest Minister Dr. Ambarish Mukherjee. The speakers branded the Ananda Margis as land-grabbers, cheats, murderers, and terrorists, who would ruin the villagers by depriving them of their land and livelihood. From December 7, 1989 onwards, there seemed to be a pattern in the attacks on the Ananda Nagar projects. First the police would arrest the sadhus and Margi workers at a particular project, charging them with possession of illegal weapons, criminal assault or murder. Sometimes they were held without charge or even forcibly detained by the CPI(M) leaders and subsequently handed over to the police.

In the absence of the sadhus, it was alleged that the CPI(M)-led mobs ransacked the Ananda Nagar projects. They beat the inmates and destroyed and looted approximately Rs.50 lakhs worth of property. This commenced on 7 December 1989 and was continuing at the time of the team's departure. Even women were not spared. Ananda Marga nuns and village women were threatened, harassed and beaten by CPI(M) cadres. Local villagers who were employed at Ananda Nagar or who had donated or sold lands to Ananda Marga were beaten, threatened with death, and their houses were looted and set afire.

It was further alleged that a reign of terror was unleashed in the countryside that left numerous persons seriously injured, more than 20

major buildings destroyed, and crops and trees from 170 acres of experimental farms and afforestation projects uprooted or felled. The local police, in collusion with the CPI(M), refused to offer any protection to the ashramites and in fact aided the attackers by carrying out false arrests of Margis offering protection to the CPI(M) mob's looting operations and refusing to accept any FIRs from the Margis or bring any of the CPI(M) culprits to book.

## 2. CHRONOLOGY OF MARGI ALLEGATIONS OF ATTACK AND HARASSMENT BY CPI(M) CADRES IN ANANDA NAGAR DECEMBER 1989 - JANUARY 1990

7.12.89 Munshi Ghanuram Mahato and other Ananda Margis were assaulted by CPI(M) miscreants while constructing a boundary wall in Piri village. Intense confrontation ensued between Ananda Margis and CPI(M) instigated villagers. Joypur police refused the FIR submitted by Marga sadhus on that day. Instead they arrested 13 sadhus from Ananda Nagar. All were subsequently granted bail by District and Sessions Judge by 16.12.89.

9.12.89 A crowd of 50 CPI(M) activists attacked and threatened to kill several nuns and girl students at the Uma Niwas Village Women's project. The attackers then damaged the buildings and boundary walls of the nuns' ashram and meditation centre. The Jhalda police refused to accept the FIR filed by the nuns.

10.12.89 A mob led by CPI(M) activists attacked the nuns' primary school at Pogra village and damaged the building and boundary wall.

11.12.89 A mob led by CPI(M) activists attacked the women's trade training centre in Damrughutu village.

The nuns' school at Pogra village was again attacked with further demolition to the building and threats of death and rape made against the nuns.

Nuns and girls in farmhouse at Damrughutu village were abused by CPI(M) goondas and also threatened with rape and death. More demolition to buildings was done. Jhalda police refused to accept the FIR in all the three cases.

13.12.89 Children's Home at Raolmu mauza was demolished and properties were looted by CPI(M) miscreants. Ananda Marga sadhu arrested. FIR was filed but no action was taken by police.

14.12.89 Two sadhus at Girijananda Dihi Farm Research Centre in Noahatu village were arrested by police. Immediately thereafter a mob of 500 villagers led by CPI(M) activists destroyed the farm, uprooting trees, smashing vineyard pillars, destroying crops, demolishing buildings, and looting expensive agricultural equipments and construction materials. FIR filed but no action taken by Jhalda police.

Principal of Ananda Marga Primary School at Jhalda was arrested by police and the staff and students were terrorised by CPI(M) goondas. The same crowd of goondas then threatened the lives of staff and students at Ananda Marga Primary Schools in Purulia and Joypur.

Four trucks carrying construction materials were seized by Jhalda police and the owners and drivers threatened with dire consequences if they continued to transport materials to Ananda Nagar.

50 CPI(M) hired goondas raided Abhedananda Dihi Farm Research Centre in Taherbera mauza, destroying and looting construction materials, furniture and agricultural crops.

15.12.89 Mob of 200 people led by CPI(M) goondas attacked Dimdiha Dungri Complex, demolishing four buildings and boundary walls with sledge hammers, and extensively looting construction materials, irrigation pipes, and other properties.

Another mob led by CPI(M) miscreants attacked and destroyed three buildings at the Bhawani Dungri Complex. Boundary wall demolished. Iron gate and all properties looted including electrical fittings. The fruit orchard and garden with exotic plants uprooted.

Local CPI(M) members led by Manindra Gope held a meeting in the evening at Choukibera school to incite the local villagers to loot and burn Ananda Marga properties.

They promised the villagers full political protection if they agreed to participate in the attacks.

16.12.89 Group of CPI(M) activists attacked, looted and damaged Kaoshiki Dungri Complex in the presence of police.

Agricultural research centre at Abhedananda Dihi attacked; farm building damaged, agricultural equipments looted. 5000 rubber saplings donated by the Government of India Rubber Board uprooted.

Dimdiha Dungri Complex again attacked by goondas armed with lethal weapons and four buildings ransacked. FIR was filed but no action was taken by police.

Ashram building at Madhumalaya near Singhaghra village attacked. Doors, windows and electrical fittings ripped out, furnitures and possessions looted. The extensive garden was uprooted and fruit trees chopped down.

Children's Home at Talmu attacked after the arrest of Acharya Navinananda. Building damaged, doors and windows removed, and all possessions looted.

17.12.89 CPI(M) miscreants armed with lethal weapons attacked and looted Ananda Marga Primary School at Chhoto Motila mauza. FIR was filed but no action was taken by Jhalda police.

Students' Hostel at Talmu attacked. All possessions looted, boundary wall destroyed, and 2000 coffee plants in experimental garden uprooted.

18.12.89 CPI(M) miscreants again attacked Ananda Marga Ashram at Singhaghra mauza. FIR filed with Joypur police, but no action was taken by police.

Aksham Purusha Niwas (Invalid Home) attacked and sadhu severely beaten with lathi while doing meditation. Premises looted.

Agricultural research centre at Venkateshwarananda Dihi attacked. Hundreds of tea plants and exotic experimental trees uprooted, and farm building roof burnt.

- 19.12.89 CPI(M) miscreants again attacked Ananda Marga Ashram at Singhaghra mauza and assaulted and injured the ashramites. FIR was filed with Joypur police but no action was taken.
- Two student hostels at Panini More Complex demolished and boundary walls destroyed.
- 21.12.89 50 CPI(M) miscreants with firearms attacked Ananda Marga Primary School at Guridih and damaged the building. Joypur police refused to register the FIR and took no action.
- In the afternoon about 20 CPI(M) miscreants attacked the Ananda Marga research centre at Bakul Bitan near Pundag railway station. The O.C. of Joypur police station, Shri Durgadas Biswas, was present on the spot and incited the miscreants to destroy the properties. Information was sent to the S.P. and D.M. Purulia, but no action was taken.
- Ananda Marga monk, Sanjay Brahmachari was assaulted and looted by CPI(M) miscreants at Pundag railway station. FIR was sent by registered post, but no action was taken by police. A motorcycle of one Ananda Marga member was stolen by CPI(M) Zonal Secretary Subal Kumar in the presence of the O.C. of Joypur police station. An FIR was sent to the S.P. Purulia but no action was taken.
- 22.12.89 A mob of 300 villagers led by CPI(M) miscreants attacked and looted construction materials from the nuns school at Shyampur. FIR was lodged with the Jhalda police but no action was taken.
- Ananda Marga monk Shantimaya Brahmachari was assaulted and looted by CPI(M) miscreants at Kotshila railway station. FIR was lodged with Joypur police.
- Ananda Marga High School was looted by CPI(M) miscreants. FIR was lodged with Joypur police.
- 24.12.89 CPI(M) miscreants attacked Rarh Kala Kendra Complex in Bali mauza at 2:30 a.m. They hurled bombs on the monks and six were seriously injured. FIR was filed with the names of the assailants at Joypur police station but no action was taken.

A gang of 50 CPI(M) miscreants led by Ghanashyam Mahato demolished the Ananda Marga school building at Ananda Nagar and looted the properties. FIR was lodged at the Joypur police station.

25.12.89 Ananda Marga hostel at Choto Malka village was attacked by CPI(M) miscreants who damaged the building and assaulted the staff.

Another group of CPI(M) members attacked the High School building at Sulenar mauza and threatened the staff.

29.12.89 Ananda Marga ashram in Singhaghra mauza attacked and destroyed by CPI(M) miscreants, who looted properties and destroyed the tea garden.

30.12.89 20 CPI(M) miscreants again attacked Rarh Kala Kendra Complex in Bali village.

31.12.89 CPI(M) miscreants again attacked Rarh Kala Kendra Complex with firearms and bombs.

In the night, cattle of Ananda Marga member Chakradhar Mahato of Tatobara village was stolen by CPI(M) miscreants. FIR was sent by registered post to Jhalda police station but no action was taken by police.

2.1.90 CPI(M) miscreants armed with lethal weapons attacked, looted and demolished the Ananda Marga school building at Nimudih mauza, and the principal was assaulted. FIR was sent by registered post but no action was taken by police.

3.1.90 CPI(M) miscreants armed with lethal weapons attacked, demolished and looted Ananda Marga People's Day School in Guridih village. They assaulted the staff and intimidated the students. FIR was sent by registered post to Jhalda police station but no action was taken by police.

### 3. BRIEF TABULATION OF INVESTIGATION TEAM'S VISIT

Ranchi	28.12.89	Interviewed injured sadhus
Purulia District	28.12.89	Arrival at Ananda Nagar
(visit coincided	29.12.89	Interviews; field visits
with DMC spiritual	30.12.89	Interviews; field visits
congregation	31.12.89	Field visits
attended by	1.1.90	Aborted visit to Dimdiha/
thousands		interviews in Jhalda
including		
foreigners).	2.1.90	Purulia town: interviews
	4.1.90	Visit Piri & other villages
Calcutta	3.1.90	Visit with civil liberties groups
	to 7.1.90	
	8.1.90	Interview W.Bengal Forest
		Minister
	9.1.90	Interview W.Bengal Chief
		Minister & Forest Minister
Delhi	10.1.90	Return to Headquarters.

### 4. VISIT TO BOMB-BLAST VICTIMS IN RAJENDRA MEDICAL COLLEGE HOSPITAL, RANCHI

Ananda Margis allege that on 24 December 1989, CPI(M) miscreants attacked the Rarh Kala Kendra Complex near Bali village in Joypur Police Station. They hurled bombs on the monks residing in the complex, seriously injuring six of them. The team visited Rajendra Medical College Hospital in Ranchi on 28 December 1989 and interviewed five of the victims being treated there. Acharyas Tapamayananda, Parameshananda, Nityasundarananda, Deveshananda, Vimuktananda and Satyabratnanda, as also the orthopaedic surgeon treating them, Dr. P.D. Singh.

According to their statements, that night there were ten Ananda Marga sadhus at the complex. Around 2:30 in the morning, they were suddenly awakened by the sound of bombs exploding, and their hurricane light was knocked out. As they came out of the building, more bombs were thrown. They saw about 25 men coming at them, shining torches in their eyes and firing on them with guns. The attackers were shouting, "CPI(M) Zindabad! Kill the sadhus, finish



them!" Several of the sadhus were immediately injured as they came out of the building, and others were badly beaten when they tried to flee. The worst-injured sadhu, Acharya Tapamayananda, stated as follows: (transcription from tape)

"I had just opened the door halfway when a bomb exploded at the door. My left hand was hurt and blood started pouring out. As I stepped forward, three men blocked my way. One had an axe, the other a gun, and the third a torch, which he flashed into my eyes. They said, "Grab him, beat him!" Some others hid behind the boundary wall in front of the building and started hurling bombs. They must have thrown at least seven or eight bombs at us. Some exploded on the roof and some on the ground below. The splinters came and hit me, and injured my arms and legs."

"Some people started shooting at me, but luckily they did not hit me. Then I started running for my life into the fields behind the building. I fell into a ditch. Three people were chasing me. Two of them landed on top of me in the ditch. They started to attack me with their axes. They broke my right hand. They hit me on my back, on my chest. Even now I have great difficulty breathing, and talking. I was also injured in my right eye, which is still bloodshot. And I cannot hear very well. One of my teeth is broken, and it is extremely painful."

Dr. P.D. Singh described the injuries of Acharya Tapamayananda as follows:

"There is an injury from a bomb blast in the left forearm, and injury in the right arm due to a blunt weapon which has fractured his humerus. There are also bomb blast injuries in both lower limbs, in his forehead, and in the right eye region. The left ear is also injured, and he is deaf in that ear. He also has a broken tooth."

The Superintendent of Police of Purulia District, Shri S.P. Sarkar, maintains that:

"The Rarh Kala Kendra incident is their own creation. Nobody attacked them. Nobody could dare to attack them at mid-night. In fact, they were preparing bombs on the rooftop and the said bombs exploded accidentally and that is how they were injured."

This contradicts the assessment of the attending physician who stated that the injuries were not only from bomb blasts but also blunt weapons. It is implausible that a group of sadhus, living in buildings with secluded rooms, would sit together making bombs on the rooftop in the middle of the night.

## 5. VISIT TO SITES OF DESTRUCTION

### b) UMA NIWAS VILLAGE WOMEN'S PROJECT

The Uma Niwas Village Women's Project near Khatanga village is about 2 kilometres from Central Ananda Nagar, and comprises a free clinic, children's home with 15 orphans, primary school with cheap hostel for indigent girls, dairy farm, women's trade training centre, and alms-giving centre. There are 7 sanyasinis, 30 women, and 15 children staying within the precincts. The team visited two of the units of the complex and saw the extensive damages done to the boundary wall of the school and hostel.

The two sanyasinis interviewed, Avadhootikas Anandasharmishta and Anandadeshana stated that from 7 December 1989, the local CPI(M) cadres started spreading hostile rumours about the nuns. Three days later on 10 December, at 9:00 a.m., the CPI(M) leaders led a mob of about 150 people from the neighbouring four of five villages, each one carrying weapons such as bows and arrows, spears, axes, etc. and began their "tandav lila". In three hours they smashed the boundary wall of the hostel building. Then they filled in the mud that had been dug out of the trenches and planted their red flag with hammer and sickle sign. In the words of nun Anandasharmishta:

"We are passing our days in intolerable conditions of fear and terror, which we could never have imagined. In front of our very eyes the mob stole all our building materials - sand, bricks, cement, all the construction tools, drums - and they are still using them for building their own houses and storing water.

We went to file our FIR at the police thana at Jhalda, but the police absolutely refused to accept our report. We went twice without result, and then we went to the Purulia Court. But even there the DM refused to hear our appeals. Finally after repeated requests our FIR was accepted.

We were continuously harrassed. One hundred people surrounded our centre and threatened to rape us and reduce to dust all those who tried to protect us. We thought we could tolerate the destruction and looting of our properties but we could not tolerate the thought of the 30 girls whom we are training and caring for, being molested. We are ready to die, but not be violated. The threat of rape terrified us. So we went to seek protection from the police. The Officer-in-Charge at Joypur police thana, Durgadas Biswas, said to us, "Ladies, ladies, you had better get out of here. Don't you know, now there is a National Front Government at the Centre, and here in West Bengal it is a CPI(M) Raj. There is nothing that we can do. We have only one duty here - to come and dispose of your corpses when we receive the information that you all have been killed.

The police refused to give a code number for our case. Seven days passed, and not a single person was arrested. Instead, the oppression against us only intensified. Day after day there was such terror in the atmosphere that we stayed awake all night, chanting our mantras, praying that the 30 women in our charge should be spared that ghastly fate. Let them take everything, but not our honour."

CPI(M)-led mobs also allegedly destroyed and looted the nun's large new primary school under construction in Shyampur, about 2 kilometres from Uma Niwas. It was alleged that 40,000 bricks, one and a half metric tonnes of steel rods, 300 wood shutters, 500 bamboo supports, 150 bags of cement, and all the construction tools such as drums, shovels, pans, pickaxes, etc. were stolen in broad daylight by looters who brought seven bullock carts to carry it all away. About 500 people came, and it took them almost three days to cart away all the materials. The nuns were too frightened to even try to stop them, because the local CPI(M) cadres threatened them that if they went near there, they would kill them on the spot and fling their dead bodies into the trenches.

## b) ECOLOGICAL DAMAGE AT AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH CENTRES

One of the salient features at Ananda Nagar that struck the team was the effort being made to transform the ecology of the area, which is characterised by chronic drought due to indiscriminate deforestation and poor water management. The normal cropping pattern, the team learned, was generally once a year, and in more infertile areas, as infrequently as once in five years. Since 1987, the Ananda Margis stated that they have been making intensive efforts to demonstrate that with proper land and water management techniques, it is possible to have three crops annually and to grow a wide variety of plants and trees from various climatic zones. The team found Ananda Nagar blossoming with beautiful flowers, presenting a stark contrast to the arid and barren landscape outside. {See Annexure 3}.

At the agricultural research centres at Ananda Nagar complex, totalling some 170 acres, farm buildings and boundary walls had been heavily damaged. Besides, lakhs of matured trees and seedlings - sandalwood, shal. palash, acacia, mulberry, mango and others - as also experimental and exotic plants, including tea, rubber, coffee, and varieties of medicinal and herbal plants, had been felled, uprooted and trampled upon.

The team was shocked to see the mutilated stumps of trees, withered vines, twisted stalks, and trampled saplings during their visit to the remains of these agricultural and horticultural centres between 29-31 December. Even if there was a dispute over land rights, could this justify the destruction of defenceless plants? The team also saw the extensive damage to boundary walls and several farm buildings.

At Girijananda Dahi, the 33-acre agricultural centre near Noahatu village, it was alleged that first the sadhus supervising the project were forcibly taken away by the police. Then the mob goaded by CPI(M) cadres unleashed a frenzy of devastation. The taped interview of the PUCL team with one of the sadhus Acharya Raghav, describes the event:

Q: What happened here, and when?

A: On 14 December, the police came at dusk. The Dy.Supt. of Police was present. They told me, "We have come to verify your citizenship. Come with us." I said, "Please sit down and verify it." I was in my house in this complex. About 15-20 policemen

had come in a jeep and police van. They forcibly took us away, me and two other sadhus, Acharya Anumayananda and the teacher at Ananda Marga Primary School, Gupteshwar Mondal.

Q Where did they take you?

A: They took us to the Joypur police thana, and kept us indetention until 19 December, when we were bailed out. We were kept in the police lockup on the first night and brought before the Purulia judge at the district and sessions court on 15 December.

Q What was the charge against you?

A: They never showed any warrant, they just took us by force. Nobody clarified anything, what it was all about. We were simply arrested. As we were being forced in the police vehicle, a huge crowd was gathering, along with the local CPI(M) leaders.

Kanai Kumar, the caretaker of Girijananda Dihi from illage Kanudi, described the succeeding events:

Q What happened to you on that day?

A: I was left behind when the Dadas were arrested on 14 December evening. I tried my best to prevent the looters from pillaging, but they came in hundreds from the neighbouring villages of Hakasara and Urusara, with the CPI(M) Party people, the Pradhan of Noahatu,

Shaktipada Choudhury, and other CPI(M) people from Rola village and Karyagachi. They gheraoed me and roughed me up, threw me to the ground, and looted the place.

Q Who did all this?

A: Around four or five hundred people came from those villages, at around 5:00 p.m. It was a huge crowd. Even little children came, babbling and crying. It was complete mayhem. All the goods were packed in gunny sacks. They carted away the

things by bullock cart, by cycle, and on their heads. I tried to resist, and they threatened to kill me. "How dare you come here?" they said. "We are looting this place, leave it to us." They saw that the Dadas had been arrested, and that I was all alone. They said, "The CPI(M) has ordered us, loot whatever you can! Don't leave a thing here!"

Q: Was there any damage to these plants here?

A: They ruined all the plants and trees in this entire complex. They ruined the tea garden, the mulberry garden, the wheat field, the potato field. They chopped down countless trees. Look at these stumps - the whole place was full of trees. They cut them all down and chopped them into sections and carted them away by bullock cart. They were at it for two or three days, from morning to night.

They turned their cattle loose into all the fields, to trample and eat the plants. The children came with the men to uproot the plants. This [*pointing ahead*] was the vineyard. It was a bower of greenery, full of tendrils and leaves. They were attached to over 500 columns, seven feet high.

Q: But I don't see anything here now except a barren field with a mass of rubble, shattered cement columns, chunks of bricks, and a few shrivelled vines.

A: The mob knocked down the columns, uprooted the vines, and let loose the cattle. They threatened me that if I told anything they would kill me for sure. "You have no right to tell on us!" they shouted.

Q: When were these vines planted?

A: Three years ago. They were fully matured. They used to give a rich harvest of fruit. Three years of labour was wiped out in a single day.

The following items were allegedly looted from the agricultural complex:

15 horsepower pumpset, 5 horsepower pumping set from the well, 3 horsepower pumping set, 2000 feet of polythene pipe, 200 cement bags, 160 quintals of paddy, 30 quintals of arhar dal, 25 quintals of urad dal, 10 quintals of kurthi dal, and 4 quintals of sesame seed.

The following plants and trees were allegedly uprooted or felled:

1000 sandalwood saplings, 1000 acacia catechu saplings, 500 matured sal trees, 500 grafted mango trees, 1000 palash trees, 2000 drumstick trees, 5000 tea plants, 10,000 mulberry trees for a sericulture project, 2000 grapevines, 2000 tea plants, and dozens of acres of brinjal, sugarcane, peas, potatoes, and other vegetables.

It was further alleged that a total of 12 agricultural research centres and gardens were plundered, including Venkateshwarananda Dihi, Abhedananda Dihi, and looting took place of pumpsets, thousands of feet of polythene irrigation pipe, and varieties of agricultural equipments from each of the centres.

#### c) DESTRUCTION OF OTHER BUILDINGS & INSTITUTIONS

At least 25 other buildings at the Ananda Nagar complex were destroyed or damaged - the ashram at Kaoshiki Dungri; Aksham Purusha Niwas and Primary School at Guridih village; hostels at Panini More; Primary School at Bansgarh; Madhumalaya ashram and Children's Home in mauza Singhaghra; Children's Home, hostel and students' home in Talmu village; and many others.

The similarity in the pattern of destruction was noted by the team. Buildings were demolished, windows, doorframes, sanitary and electrical fittings were pried out and taken away and gardens were uprooted and destroyed. It was alleged that the total losses may well be more than 50 lakhs.

#### 6. ABORTED VISIT TO DIMDIHA

On 1 January 1990, the team was scheduled to inspect destruction of Margi constructions at Dimdiha. At about 7.30 a.m., while the team was proceeding by jeep with three Margi sadhus past the demolished Ananda Marga Primary Hostel Building and Ananda Marga Children's Home near Singhaghra village in Joypur thana, they saw four men loading bricks from the demolished buildings into two bullock carts. On

seeing the jeep, the men ran away across the fields, abandoning the bullock carts. While the team was inspecting the site and the bullock carts, they noticed a jeep moving about suspiciously. We were told that it was a police jeep. The team members requested the sadhus to approach the jeep for identification. As the team approached the jeep, it drove away. After some distance, it veered off the road and stopped in a rice field. Several men jumped out of the jeep and ran off through the fields. Three men remained standing beside the jeep. The team approached them and the following conversation ensued:

PUCL: Is this a police vehicle?

Police: Yes. (PUCL member immediately took a photograph of the jeep, No.WNJ-5950) (See Annexure 3)

PUCL: Who is the police officer here?

Police: There is no officer here. I am the constable.

PUCL: What is your name?

Police: Gobardhan Mahato.

Sadhu: We want to make a report. You saw what happened here just now. Four men were looting bricks from our destroyed property. We want to lodge a report about it.

Police: I am off duty. I am going marketing, I can't take any report.

PUCL: You are going marketing in an official police jeep?

Police: I'm going marketing for my officer, he sent me.

PUCL: If you can't take their report, at least guide them as to which thana they should go to make their report.

Police: I don't know.

PUCL: Then at least tell me which thana you belong to.

Police: I don't know.

PUCL: You don't know which thana you belong to?



Police: No, I don't.

Other man with policeman: I advise you to talk to the police officer at the police station.

PUCL: Alright, what is the name of your police officer.

Police: I don't know his name.

PUCL: You don't know the name of your officer?

Police: No, I don't.

PUCL: How is it possible that you don't know the name of your police officer?

Police: He just joined two days ago.

After this conversation, the PUCL team resumed the journey towards Dimdiha. Traversing hardly 100 metres, we saw about 100 people charging over the hill ahead, armed with bows, arrows, lathis and spears. Some were hurling stones. Sensing danger, we turned around immediately. Two motorcycles suddenly appeared, overtaking our jeep at great speed and trying to block our path. Meanwhile, the police jeep WNJ 5950 started up and began approaching our jeep as though to block our way.

It appeared like a pincer movement, with the police jeep and motorcycles in front, and the running mob in the rear. We managed to circumvent the road block, pass the police jeep and the motorcycles, and get away. While passing, the team noticed that the police jeep was now packed with at least ten people.

Then the PUCL team and the Margi sadhus drove to the police outpost at Pundag village near the railway station, where the sadhus attempted to file an FIR regarding the incident. The Officer-in-Charge, S.K. Sinha replied:

OC: This is not a police station, here no FIR can be lodged. This is only a temporary camp for law and order duty. If you have some problem, please go to the police station at Joypur.

- Sadhu: Then please connect me over your radio to your police station at Joypur. I will speak to the OC and tell him what happened.
- OC: No, no, we have no communication.
- Sadhu: You have, I know you have.
- OC: No, we have no communication. We have come here only for law and order duty.
- Sadhu: This is a law and order problem. If there is a law and order situation you have to take cognisance of it. In all fairness you should help us to get in touch with your OC. If something happens you have to communicate this to your OC over radio.
- OC: No, here there is no radiophone.
- Sadhu: Even your jeeps have radiophones. The best thing will be if you help us getting in touch with your OC over radio network, because going 21 kilometres over a hostile road is very difficult for us. We would prefer not to go rather than to get our jeep burned and ourselves injured. As a police officer, it is your duty to help us.
- OC: I can only help you by telling you that you have to go and report at Joypur police thana - more than that I cannot do.
- Sadhu: But we are seeking your cooperation in view of the hostile situation here at present.
- OC: No, no, we are here only for law and order duty.
- PUCL: If there is any matter of law and order, this is it! A crowd tried to attack with bows and arrows - we have seen it with our own eyes.
- OC: (firmly) You tell your problem officially to Joypur police station.

Sadhu: You have a radiophone, you must connect us to the OC at Joypur.

OC: That's not possible.

After further discussion, finally the OC went inside to consult with his senior officers, and in a few minutes the Deputy Superintendent of Police of Purulia District. Mr. Roy came out and asked the PUCL team to identify themselves. When they did so, there was a distinct change in the police attitude towards us. DSP Roy assumed a placatory tone and when he heard the full account of the incident, he declared, "This would never have happened had the crowd known you (the PUCL team) were in the jeep." The PUCL members said, "So the normal response of the police is to remain as neutral bystanders when a breach of peace is apprehended? The police officers looked uncomfortable, and DSP Roy assured the sadhus that he would cooperate in receiving the FIR of the incident and send it off to the Joypur police station.

The team feels that the local police has not been performing its duty as an independent agency for maintenance of law and order but has reduced itself to function as a subordinate wing of the ruling party.

## 7. INTERVIEWS

### (a) ARRESTED MARGIS

A number of Ananda Marga sadhus were arrested by the police. Acharya Tattvavedananda, assistant teacher in Ananda Nagar High School, and Acharya Bhavatosh, were arrested by the police in Jhalda on 7 December 1989 when both were going to one of their student's homes in connection with the filing of examination forms. According to Acharya Tattvavedananda,

"The policemen took away the key to our motorcycle. They asked me, "You carry guns with you. Where are the guns? From where do you get money?" We were very much distressed over this. They did not listen to anything and sent us to Joypur police station. They also seized my motorcycle although I had all the necessary documents. The same day they sent us to the Purulia police station, where we were in police custody the whole night. We were not told under what charges we were kept. We were

sent to jail custody the next day, and bailed out on the night of 16 December. We are afraid to go to Jhalda for the release of our motorcycle because the police and CPI(M) members disturb and harass us. We are also in danger of physical assault.'

Acharya Jaganmitrananda, the in-charge of the Yogic Treatment Centre at Guridih, was arrested in Jhalda on 8 December by the police when he had gone there for marketing. His companion Acharya Vishvajinananda was also arrested. Acharya Vijay was attacked at the Dimdiha project by CPI(M) activists, illegally confined for the night on 16 December, and handed over to the police the next day. He described to the PUCL team his experience:

A: While I was working at Dimdiha there was an attack the CPI(M).

Q How did you know they were CPI(M)?

A: Well, the CPI(M) Panchayat Pradhan, Trilochan Mahato was present with the attackers, along with the CPI(M) village pradhan of Alkusha village, Muralidhar Pramanik. I was gheraoed by the mob. These two Pradhans grabbed me and forced me in between them on their motorcycle and said, "You're under arrest!" I said, "Why? They said "You are moving about in this area with guns and shooting at the public!" To see if I had any weapons, they did a thorough body search, removing my dress. When they found I had no weapon, they said, "Now you have to come to our Party office." I said, "Why? You're not the police." They replied, "So what. We're the panchayat pradhans, and we will hand you over to the police."

They took me to their Party office in Ghaghra village. They told the villagers, "See that he remains here. If he tries to escape, kill him!" I remained in that office room from 10 a.m. until 1 a.m. the next morning, and they gave me neither food nor drink. They didn't even allow me to go out to urinate.

All the time I was there those CPI(M) people were abusing me, and roughing me up. They said, "You people are dacoits! We will bury you alive! Why

don't you leave this sanyasi life and return to your homes? We'll take you back there." Every now and then they lunged forward at me with knives, as if they were going to chop me up. Finally at 1 a.m. they took me to the Joypur police thana.

Q What were you charged with?

A: There was no charge. A posse of 3-4 policemen came at about 1 a.m. to the CPI(M) party headquarters. They roughed me up, and bodily lifted me into the police jeep, and took me to the Joypur police thana. The CPI(M) Pradhan, Muralidhar Pramanik, was also in the police jeep. He said, "We know, you qualify to become an Avadhuta only when you have murdered five CPI(M) people! Tell the truth, how many have you murdered? Or else we'll bury you alive and nobody will be able to save you. We'll murder you right in front of the police, and nothing will happen to us."

What happened in the police thana?

A: Again they roughed me up and interrogated me. "Where are your guns? Where do you get all your money from? I replied that I knew nothing about all of this, that we never touch guns at all. And as for the money, we get large donations from our Margi supporters, and that is how we raise our funds. But they refused to listen to anything I was saying. They gave me nothing to eat even in the police thana. Then I was taken to the Purulia Court lock-up.

Q What was the charge in the Purulia court?

A: I didn't know - nobody was telling me anything. The Joypur OC handed over some papers to the hakim, but he did n't tell me a thing about why I had been arrested. Suddenly the magistrate asked me, "Do you plead guilty to all these charges?" I replied, "Sir, I don't know what the charges are." The magistrate said, "You have been accused of committing murder." Then I gave my statement how I was in the Dimdiha unit when the attack was made, and how I was taken bodily from there to the

CPI(M) party office. The judge wrote down my statement, and sent me off to jail, where I stayed for the next three days until I was bailed out."

**b) AFFECTED MARGI VILLAGERS**

Ananda Margi villagers complained of the terrorisation and brutality inflicted on them by the CPI(M) cadres. Many of them, along with their families, have been allegedly attacked and driven away from their homes in the village, and do not dare to return.

The statement of Ramapada Gorain and his father, Vidyadhar Gorain of Chamchaka village in Jhalda Police Station, is representative of the intimidation and violence launched against local Ananda Margis by the local CPI(M) leaders: [transcription from tape].

**Q** Did anything happen to you or your family during this period?

**A:** On the morning of Sunday, 17 December 1989, we were gheraoed by a big mob led by some CPI(M) leaders. They were shouting slogans like, "CPI(M) zindabad! Lal jhanda zindabad! Down with Ananda Margi! We want their heads!"

Then the local CPI(M) leader, Muralidhar Pramanik who lives in Alkusha village and is the President of the Joypur Panchayat Sabha, came on his motorcycle and ordered the people, "What are you doing standing here? Why haven't you people done anything yet, sluggards? What are you waiting for? Then he left the place abruptly, and mayhem broke loose. First the people started destroying my house. In terror I and my family hid inside the house. We heard the din of pickaxes, hammers, shovels and other heavy tools destroying our house, and wrenching out the doors and windows from their frames. When they broke down the door and came for us, we pleaded with them to spare our lives, but the mob was in a frenzy, yelling, "Kill them, kill them!" We knelt down and touched their feet, imploring them not to harm us. Then they beat us brutally - they beat us black and blue with lathis. They even did not spare my mother - they beat her

mercilessly too. She is still lying wounded from the same beating. After they thrashed us, we managed to run away from there.

Q Was that the end of it?

A: Oh; no. They stole everything from us - ten doorframes, 250 maunds of husked paddy, three bicycles, one pair of bullock cart wheels, cement, steel rods, all our clothes, our pants, shirts, and saris, and all our cooking utensils-everything. They left nothing. Even the good clothes that we were wearing that morning, they took most of those too.

None of the villagers could come forward to help us, because they know that if they said one word in our favour, they would be the next victims of the CPI(M) fury. From that day, the 10th of December, we have not dared to return, for fear of our lives. The CPI(M) threatened us, "If we ever see you here again, then we'll finish you off!"

Q With all this major loss that you incurred, did you report the matter to the police?

A: We went to Jhalda police station to report to the O.C. Subhrojyoti Rai Choudhury. He said, "Don't you know now? This is a CPI(M) Raj. What can we do? We can do nothing. You get out of here." He did not take our FIR, he did not take our report. Then we brought a case to the court, and we filed it on 27 December. It took us time to get our wits together, and besides, the CPI(M) leaders threatened us, "If you go to the police or the Courts, we will finish you! Nobody will take your case, we will see to that! You will not be able to do anything!" So we were very afraid to go to Court, but still we went.

The statement of Satyanarayan Nayak, a labourer from Dimdiha Village, describes the extreme pressure the CPI(M) leaders exerted on both Margi and non-Margi villagers to participate in the looting and destruction:

Yesterday there was a meeting in my village and the CPI(M) leaders forced me to say whatever they wanted me to say. The other Margis had already been pressured after that meeting at Pundag on 21 December and forcibly made to parrot whatever the CPI(M) wanted them to say. The CPI(M) leaders threatened them that "If you don't loot at least even one brick from the Ananda Marga property, we will come to the conclusion that you are also an Ananda Margi. They forced us to loot under threat of the direst consequences. In this state of fear, everyone came and looted at least something from those destroyed Ananda Marga properties. All the Margis in the village were forced to attend the meeting at Pundag on 21 December. The CPI(M) coerced the villagers into participation in all of this.

### **c) AFFECTED NON-MARGI VILLAGERS**

#### **(i) TERRORISATION**

The local CPI(M) leaders terrorised both Margi and non-Margi villagers to participate in the anti-Ananda Marga attacks along with the CPI(M) party cadres. Nageshwar Mahato from Chorgali village describes the CPI(M) tactics:

The CPI(M) cadres have been moving about systematically from village to village and warning the villagers, "Listen brothers, if you want to live in peace around here, then you'd better cooperate with us. All these people in saffron dress, you'd better chop them up and finish them off." I heard them say this with my own ears. In fact, they came to me one day and said, "Come on, aren't you coming along?" I refused, and some of the villagers in my area also refused, saying "The Ananda Margis have only done good to us - how can we do this to them?" So they threatened us, "If you don't cooperate and come along with us, you will also be eliminated from the face of the earth."

**Q:** Who were the people who threatened you in this way?

**A:** Shibu Majhi from Tatuara village, who is a CPI(M) activist, and Haribol Kumar, from Chorgali village who is a teacher in our primary school and also a CPI(M) activist. They threatened us directly.



- Q Were there only CPI(M) party people engaged in these anti-Marga activities, or any others also?
- A: Well, out of sheer fear the villagers were forced to participate in some of the acts of vandalism. As for people like myself who refused to have anything to do with these attacks, they keep threatening us, "You haven't seen that last of this. You'll be very sorry you didn't listen to us; We have the police thanas under our thumb. They will do exactly as we tell them to do."
- Q Really? Can you give the names of those people who are talking like this?
- A: That Haribol Kumar from Chorgali village, for one. There are many service-holders in our village who are continually being threatened that if they do not to the Party line, they will lose their jobs. Because of these threats, even those who truly love the work the Ananda Margis are doing, are forced these days to show that they are siding with the CPI(M), or they are just keeping quiet.
- Q What about the police? Didn't they come to intervene and prevent all the destruction?
- A: The police? They never came. You have no idea how they oppress the Ananda Margis. They are just the body-guards of the CPI(M) cadres! They stay in front and encourage the cadres to go ahead and loot, and they go around spreading rumours that the sadhus have arms and ammunition. I can tell you that I have been seeing these Ananda Margis here for many, many years, and I never got any idea that they do what the police accuse them of. The Party people are constantly inciting the people with rumours like, "The Ananda Margis have such fantastic foreign weapons, they can reduce the whole area into ashes in a second." And they say, "Today they are buying lands and building all these buildings, and you think it is for you. But the day will come when you will all be thrown out of here, and people from abroad will come to live in these buildings. Just like the English drove the Indians out of India, so these Ananda Margis will drive you villagers out of here."

## (ii) UNEMPLOYMENT

Consequent upon the attacks made on Ananda Nagar since early December, 1989, the developmental work there has been completely stopped. The villagers stated that they were terrorised by the CPI(M) not to work for or even contact the sadhus at Ananda Nagar. As a result about one thousand labourers, carpenters, masons, munshis, engineers, teachers, etc. from the surrounding villages who were getting employment are out of work. They are suffering extreme financial hardship as a consequence. As Satyanarayan Naik, a labourer working at Dimdiha, stated:

Those who benefited most from the Ananda Marga work in this area were the poorest people - the widows, poor women, and so on. As a result of the stoppage of all the projects, these people are in terrible condition. Out of the seven widows from our village who were employed in the Ananda Marga projects, several of them are practically starving now, without any income. There is not a morsel of food to eat in their houses. Their names are Ichhawati Kundu, Khudinag, and Shushila Mahato. So many villagers are now squatting idle and facing starvation, because of the stoppage of the work - they are all unemployed now. After all, they worked for seven days a week and got some money, and for two weeks the work has stopped.

Even in my own home (*at this point his young wife who is sitting next to him holding their baby starts crying*) I have no money to buy vegetables now. What to do? This is not an industrial belt, there is no scope for any other kind of employment. I do farming on 2 bighas of land, but that is not enough for my needs. The only nearby place to get work was with the Ananda Marga projects, otherwise we have to sit idle. They not only gave us work, but they paid regularly. Now that has all stopped.

The CPI(M) people said, "It's all very well that you're getting work and money today from Ananda Marga, but a day will come when Ananda Marga will drive you all away from here. This is how they have been very active in recent weeks indoctrinating the villagers, how they have been misguiding the simple people. The CPI(M) leaders have been saying, "You may be earning two annas with these Ananda Margis now, but the day is sure to come when they will drive you out from your own homes! So before that happens, better get rid of them now, even if

you lose a few rupees. Better to starve now - you will be building a great future."

The following is the statement of a young village women, Malati, the wife of Gokul Singh from Khatanga village, who used to work with the Ananda Marga nuns at Uma Niwas:

Q What's the situation here?

A: We are in much trouble. Nobody is letting us work here now. All the work has stopped.

Q Who's not letting you work?

A: The CPI(M) Party.

Q Why, what are they doing?

A: They are threatening us all the time, saying, "We will not let you work! Anyone who has given land to the Margis, anyone who associates or works with them, we will kill them!" They are not letting me get out of my house. "If you go out of your house, we'll kill you," they threaten me.

Q Why didn't you ask the CPI(M) people to give you work?

A: They do nothing. Day and night they are busy bullying the Didis. They are just after us and the Didis. How long can I go on fearing them like this, and sneaking out of my house?" We are dying of worry. They are saying, "If we can't kill you, we'll burn your house. We'll do whatever we like!" How long can we live like this?

Q So what have you done about it? Have you gone to the police?

A: No, I never went to the police.

Q Why? The police are supposed to protect people, that's their job.

A: HAH! The CPI(M) people work with the police!

Q Are there others in your villages similarly affected as you?

A: Yes, so many. We are all sitting idle these days. Our children are weeping. There is no work for us. We are hungry! Our little kids are whining and whimpering. What can be done? What have you come here for? Please do something! We are in great trouble here! They are not even letting us go out of our houses. I came at the risk of my life because I heard you had come from Delhi. Where shall we go? Who will help? The kitchen is empty - no rice, no oil. Please DO something!

#### d) LOCAL POLICE OFFICERS

The team interviewed the Superintendent of Police of Purulia District, Shri S.P. Sarkar, who levelled several accusations against the Margis. He stated:

Anand Margis consider themselves above law. They frequently carry arms. Under the garb of development activities, they are doing illegal activities. We invited them to participate in meetings to solve the dispute, but they never turned up. They obstruct police officials. They never allow us to enter into their township. They hurled bombs on the O.C. on 7 December in Piri. We had recovered the following arms from Bansgarh on March 5, 1989:

1. Two semi-automatic rifles
2. One regular Weblian Scot revolver
3. One double barrel gun
4. Some cartridges
5. Service revolver
6. Four improvised guns
7. Rupees 17,000/- or so.

The complaints of the Anand Margis are under investigation and we have not made any arrest on their complaints. It is correct that we have made arrests of Anand Margis on the complaints of the public.

How could they dare to file cases against the District Magistrate, other officials and myself? They never give

permission to enable us to visit Baglata village which is surrounded by their township.

#### e) LOCAL CPI(M) LEADERS

The team met and interviewed a number of CPI(M) leaders in the surrounding areas, such as Subal Kumar, Zonal Secretary of Jhalda zone, and Swapan Banerjee, Sabhadhipati of Purulia Zilaparishad. The team's visit to Muralidhar Paramanik, CPI(M) leader of Alkusha village, was aborted due to events described below. In the words of Swapan Banerjee (transcription from tape):

"The Ananda Margis are encroaching hundreds of acres of the Forest Department's lands. We issued 'Patta' to the landless labourers, and they grabbed it. Within the last three or four years, they have been doing this on a big scale. The poor people are earning good money out of their land sales. What could we do?"

Q Are they not law abiding?

A: No, they are not. If they had need of land, they should have applied to the government for it. No one can give forest lands under the Indian Forest Act, except the government. We are giving vested lands for various development activities, but the vested lands which the Margis have acquired are all illegally obtained.

Q But we have asked the Margis, and they have categorically stated that whatever lands they have, they have acquired through legal means.

A: But they'll not be able to produce the documents. And patta lands - government vested lands which are given to the landless labourers - cannot be sold, or transferred. The adivasis are being evicted from their patta land. All the villagers are very much afraid of the Margis. Villagers are terrorised. They set fire to everything, but the police can do nothing about it.

It wasn't only the matter of grabbing land. The Ananda Margis blocked the Zilaparishad road, and people don't have access any longer. Recently our

Party organised a meeting at Pundag, and the Margis did not allow people to pass along the road to the meeting. There is only one road to Pundag, so if they block it how can people come to the meeting? They have made two cause-ways along the Gobai river. And only they have the right to use them. So long as the roads were open, there was no problem. Before they closed the road only during their melas, and that was alright, but now they keep it closed 24 hours, day and night. They have made some big programme. We don't know what they are doing. They have their own system for everything. They have their own force, their own administration. Nobody can enter their area inside. Even the police cannot go there! Last year, the SDO, Mr. Mazumdar told me that when he tried to go there, they blocked his car. Of course, then they let him inside. They walk around carrying arms and ammunitions all the time and oppress the people. They threaten the villagers regularly. About one month back they attacked the OC of Joypur Thana, Durga Biswas, with a grenade, and he fled away from that place. There was a complaint so he went to that area (Piri). Everybody is being chased by the Margis.

Q The grievance of the Ananda Margis is that CPI(M) Party people have incited people to damage and bomb their buildings and construction sites.

A: No, not a single incident has taken place.

Q They told us that in different parts of the area, crowds of 100-150 people came....

A: Not a single incident!

Q We saw at least 20 sites of the schools, etc. where everything has been destroyed...

A: No, you see, what they are doing in that area, there should be a blueprint of that, and it should be kept in the district administration. They should take permission. There is a panchayat. Under the Panchayat Act, every construction should have the approval of the

panchayat. Without approving the projects, they are doing it.

If there is development, it should be part of the total development. We do not know anything, we are preparing the plan in West Bengal, the District Planning Committee is preparing the District Plan, for the 8th plan period also. We do not know from where their funds come. We do not know their programme in irrigation, in agriculture, in education, animal husbandry, country planning. We do not know anything! They should take the permission of the government, and the local authority, but they are not taking it - why?

Q Is there any administration functioning here?

A: Well, the job of the administration is to maintain law and order.

Q But doesn't this come within the domain of law and order?

A: Yes. Of course the administration must look into it. The main point is something else. In that area, those villagers have a right to live there. Their property is getting encroached. How long can they tolerate that? They are being wronged by the Ananda Margis. The administration has to look into this; they have come to the administration. Local people have been coming to us.

Q But the government cannot give protection to break things.

A: Nobody has a right to break things. But the kinds of activities which the Ananda Marga is provoking out there - they are bringing in anti-social elements from outside. They had a big fight over the matter of wage settlement with the hired labourers and around the 21-22 December, they killed two people.

- Q Six sadhus were injured on 24 December and the doctor in Ranchi said that they were victims of bomb blast.
- A: If they fight amongst each other and injure each other what can we do? My information is that there was this incident, and one or two persons were killed by them.
- Q By them?
- A: By the goondas.
- Q Why should they hire goondas to kill their own people?
- A: They are all goondas.
- Q Who are all goondas?
- A: The Ananda Margis - they are all goondas.
- Q Ananda Margis are all goondas?
- A: All goondas.

Shri Subal Kumar, the CPI(M) Zonal Secretary from Jhalda Zone stated that the Anand Margis were occupying the lands of the people and had captured government vested and forest land. He further stated:

"The (Margis) have also occupied the Chas Bhamania road for about about 3 Kms. They are making a lot of buildings and surrounding the land with boundaries. They have taken the vested land from poor farmers which is non-transferable. They give money secretly to the farmers but show this land in papers as given by way of gift. They have occupied a lot of land in 1989 by illegal means.

When they first came here they told the people that they would give free education to children. But they started unlawful activities. They took out the eyes of a goat in Damruguthu ashram. The Jhalda police had raided one of their establishments and recovered a machine gun, three



guns, telescope and Rs.25,000/-. They also brought many foreign women to their ashram.

All the sadhus and their disciples are criminals. On 15th - 16th December, in Chamchaka village, at about 7.30 p.m., the sadhus set fire to the paddy lying in the house of Bhisham Majhi. There is a case in this regard in Jhalda police station.

We held a public meeting on 21 December, 1989. We only appealed to the sadhus to live and let live in peace and not to occupy public land.

The sadhus do not give wages to the construction labourers. They do not pay money to the shopkeepers for the materials purchased by them. The sadhus claim that they do not recognise Congress and CPI(M). They say that they would destroy CPI(M). They have created terror among the people.

Their constructions have been broken by the people."

#### 8. PIRI INCIDENT: December 7, 1989

The first of the current spate of incidents of tension and violence between Ananda Margis and CPI(M) cadres in Purulia District was sparked off on December 7, 1989 at Piri village where the Margis had acquired a land-locked plot a few months before.

The different versions of the events of the day are given as under:

a) According to the villagers at Piri:

"They (the Margis) came in full force on the morning of December 7, 1989 with about 500 to 700 labourers in several trucks and started building the boundary wall of their plot with full speed. They arrived in strength, building their road as they advanced. We began to wonder, our Pradhan, Raja Ram Majhi and others. We were perplexed as to what the sadhus were upto in such numbers. Our people advanced to find out, but the Margis aimed and fired at them. The villagers scampered away and hid in the trees and fields. We realised that they had

come to fight. A tussle ensued: brickbats from our side, firing from the Margis. The O/C of Joypur thana also arrived with his men in a jeep; some sort of bomb was hurled at the advancing police party. When there was this explosion - from a bomb or a grenade - the police party fled the place, abandoning us.

The ding-dong fighting went on the whole day: from 8 in the morning until 4 in the afternoon. The Margis - perhaps they had exhausted their ammunition - finally left at 4.30 p.m. We are scared here. In one day, there were 18 rounds of firing."

**PUCL:** With all this firing, how many had bullet injuries?

"There were some injuries as a result of stone throwing, but none were hurt by bullets" was the response. "We have no quarrel with the sadhus" said the villagers. "But they were trying to forcibly make a road through our lands on which we grow our crops. It is our land and we are poor. They have no access to their land. But they cannot forcibly build through our land. Did they ask anyone's permission?"

**b)** According to the local **CPI(M)** leaders and activists:

The Ananda Margis had illegally appropriated 'patta' land in Piri and forcibly encroached over some more 'patta' and also forest land to have access to their so-called plot. Not only this, on Dec. 7, 1989 they had tried to terrorise the villagers at Piri and had resorted to violence using firearms and even grenades against them and even the local police force. In the words of Swapan Banerjee, Jilasabhadhipati of Purulia: "They (Margis) attacked the O/C of Joypur thana, Durga Biswas with a grenade and he fled away from that place."

**c)** According to the **Police:**

Shri S.P. Sarkar, Superintendent of Police, Purulia District explained that each thana in his jurisdiction had only one jeep. On receiving a report of disturbance to the peace in Piri village on December 7, 1989 a police party headed by the O/C of Joypur thana had gone there but was forced to retreat when the Ananda Margis exploded a grenade in their path as they were trying to get to the trouble spot.

d) According to the Ananda Marga:

Acharya Pranavananda, Office Secretary of Ananda Nagar said their efforts to construct a boundary wall on their legally acquired plot were being daily obstructed for some time before December 7, 1989 by local CPI(M) cadres. They were not permitting the Margis access to their land-locked plot. Deciding to finish the construction of the boundary wall in one day, the munshi was sent in advance to measure and mark out the plot and several hundred labourers were assembled and brought in trucks to the site. At about 9 a.m. the munshi and several other members of the advance survey team were attacked with stones, bows and arrows and lathis by a crowd of villagers. This crowd was led by the Pradhan of Piri village and Rajaram Majhi of Ekduara village both of the CPI(M). The Margis resisted the villagers' assault and started building the boundary wall at full speed. The villagers, goaded by the CPI(M) cadres into believing that the long-term plan of the Margis was to drive them out of their lands re-assembled and advanced on the Margis once again. A full scale confrontation ensued, lasting the whole day with the villagers assembling, advancing, attacking and retreating. The Margi munshi was severely beaten and the driver of one of the trucks had his hand injured by a spear-thrust when the villagers tried to slash the tyres and windscreen of his truck. The Joypur police refused the FIR submitted by the sadhus that evening.

PUCL: "What about the villagers' allegation regarding forcible construction of road through 'patta' and rayati land of the villagers?"

To this, the legal adviser of Ananda Marga, Acharya Jagadishwarananda, responded by drawing the team's attention to The Indian Easement Act of 1882, Section 28.2(11), which grants the right of access to a plot which is surrounded on all sides by others' lands. This right extends not only to foot passengers but also to vehicles.

Although allegations and counter-allegations were made by all the above parties regarding the use of fire-arms, bombs and grenades in Piri, all admitted, however, that, barring some injuries from stone-throwing and lathi blows, and even one case of spear-injury, there had

not been one single instance of injury resulting from the use of firearms.

This confrontation and flare-up at Piri marked the beginning of the present series of anti-Margi activities, through a wide area in Joypur and Jhalda thanas.

## 9. LOCAL VILLAGERS' VIEWS TOWARDS ANANDA MARGA

To ascertain the truth of the CPI(M) allegation that the Ananda Margis have "terrorised" the local villagers, and to know their response towards the Marga activities, the team made an independent survey of the surrounding villages and interviewed villagers in the following villages: Karmatanar, Amkacha, Bansghar, Patamjuri, Udaypur, Chhakudih, Mayadih, Ropa, Talmu, Piri, etc.

The villagers stated that the sadhus of Ananda Marga had not harmed them in any way, and that to their knowledge the sadhus had not forcibly seized any of their lands, or purchased them illegally. They stated that the sadhus had bought from them legitimate "rayati" or freehold land, and not "patta" or non-transferable, vested land meant for the landless labourers.

The following are extracts of statements of some of the villagers around Ananda Nagar:

### 1) From **Karmatanar:**

Q Have the sadhus recently grabbed lands here?

A: No, they bought them. But recently there was a tussle in Piri village about this. You can find out over there the truth of all these things.

Q Did you sell any land to the sadhus?

A: We are very poor. We are potters and we have no land. The government was supposed to have given us "patta" and, but as of now we have received nothing. God knows why we don't get it. We are fed up of reminding them again and again. What can we do when they do nothing? I even went to the district office.

2) From Talmu village:

Q Are you aware of any activities of sadhus around here?

A: Yes, I have just sold them some lands, about a year ago.

Q Are you content with the price you received from them?

A: Yes, I am content. I sold it voluntarily.

Q Are all your papers in order?

A: Yes, completely. It was my own "rayati" land, there was no problem. It was not "patta" land.

Q There was no conflict, no complications?

A: No.

Q Why did you sell your land?

A: I had a big debt to repay.

Q What did the sadhus do with your land?

A: They built a small building there, but it is not quite complete.

Q Have there been some disturbances in this area in the recent past?

A: Yes. The sadhus constructions have been broken down.

Q Who did all this?

A: {very cautiously looking over his shoulder} What do I know about it? I can't tell you anything.

Q Did you have a hand in this?

{vehemently} Oh, no, not at all!

- Q What kind of work are the sadhus doing here?
- A: They were doing good work, educating our children. The villagers were also earning a living through the projects of the sadhus.
- Q Since when have you been watching their work? What's your opinion about it?
- A: For the past 25 years I have been watching their work. I've been seeing only good things.
- Q What do the other villagers think?
- A: How can I speak for others? Anyway, I can tell you that the poor were certainly being helped. They've been helping everybody.
- Q Have they ever harmed you, these sadhus?
- A: No, they have never harmed anyone.
- Q Nobody forced you to sell your land?
- A: Not at all. I sold it voluntarily. Several other villagers, about eight or ten people, were also selling theirs, and I needed some money urgently so I went along myself to sell my land.
- Q What about the others? Were any of them coerced into selling their lands?
- A: Not at all, no one applied any pressure. Everyone has sold their land willingly.
- Q Was there anything illegal about the land sales?
- A: No, all the land purchasing here has been according to the law.
- Q Have you been benefited by these land sales?
- A: Yes. You see, we were cropping our lands just once in five years or so - the lands weren't yielding much. We hardly get any crops.

Q Then who are the people who are responsible for stirring up all these disturbances?

A: Oh, that I can't say.

During this interview, a crowd of about sixty people gathered around the team to listen. No one disagreed with what the villager was saying; they rather nodded their heads in assent as he responded to the questions.

3) From Piri:

Q Was there any violence here?

A: No, there was no violence. But the police came.

Q Whose fault was it?

A: It was the sadhus fault. They have been buying rayati lands.

A. (Other villager) No, no, it was patta land.

4. From Piri (another villager):

Q Are you afraid around these parts?

A: Yes, we are frightened of the sadhus.

Q Why?

A: Because they had grenades with them. It was not actually the sadhus but their VSS.

Q You saw this yourself?

A: Well, no. I'll tell you what happened. First the sadhus came and constructed a boundary wall around the plot. Their idea was to build a primary school.

Q That would benefit your village, wouldn't it?

A: That's what they do everywhere - they build a primary school, high school, engineering college.

When they started building their boundary wall, some of the villagers began to obstruct their surveyor and munshi to measure the land.

Q Do you regard this as an illegal activity?

A: No.

Q What wrong have they done you?

A: Well, the wrong they did was this: to connect their locked plot, they tried to build a road over land which was not theirs. It was the property of the landless labourers. This road traversed patta and rayati land not in their possession. They wanted to have their own independent access... That was not proper. The whole incident flared up over this issue.

Q Have the sadhus harmed you in any way?

A: Upto now I must say that they have never harmed us.

## 10. CPI(M) PUBLIC MEETINGS AGAINST ANAND MARGIS

Several reports came to the notice of the team regarding CPI(M) public meetings against Ananda Margis since October 1989. These meetings were addressed by CPI(M) leaders and even the Forest Minister, Dr. Ambarish Mukherjee who is from Purulia.

One such public meeting was organised by the CPI(M) against the Ananda Marga on 21 December 1989 at Pundag railway station. An inflammatory pamphlet against Ananda Marga was widely distributed before the meeting [See Annexure 2]. At that meeting the following officials of the CPI(M) reportedly made provocative speeches against the Ananda Marga:

- 1) Dr. Ambarish Mukherjee, Forest Minister, Government of West Bengal.
- 2) Shri Swapan Banerjee, Sabhadhipati of Purulia District.
- 3) Shri Subal Kumar, CPI(M) Zonal Secretary of Jhalda zone.



- 4) Shri Maninder Gope, local CPI(M) activist.
- 5) Shri Muralidhar Pramanik, CPI(M) activist from Alkusha village, and others.

There were about 2500 persons in the audience. While the meeting was in progress, a mob of 150 persons attacked the nearby house of Dr. Narain Singh, a homeopathic doctor and teacher in the Ananda Marga Degree College

The following is the account of the CPI(M) meeting held at Pundag on 21 December 1989, by Ramdas Garai, a resident of Chitmu:

Q: What did you hear at the meeting?

A: Manindra Gope, the CPI(M) leader from Purulia, was speaking when I arrived. He said, "These sadhus? They're not sadhus at all! While they are sitting in meditation, they have a knife by their side. The name of God is in their mouths, but a knife is in their pocket.

"They shot at people with guns at Piri village, and looted all their houses. They beat up the people, and when the police came, they fired at the police. The sadhus had so many weapons in their hands that the police could not counter their force, and out of fright they retreated. In Piri and other villages, the sadhus snatched away all the "patta" (vested) lands given by the Government, by deluding the poor owners and bribing them with either money or blankets. They are bribing the poor and looting their lands, and that is how they have extended their hold on this area. We must drive them away from here. If they are allowed to stay, you can be sure that they won't allow the villagers to live. The people will have nothing to eat."

Q: What was the people's reaction?

A: Some had clear intentions of looting. Their idea was to go in strength, and loot that very evening. Right in front of my eyes I saw them looting one house!

Q: What happened?

A: While the meeting was going on, a part of the crowd started to break down one of the nearby Ananda Marga units, Bakul Bitan.

Q: Did the crowd have anything to break the buildings with?

A: Yes, they were armed with axes, hoes, swords, and bows and arrows.

Q: Is it usual for people to come armed to such meetings?

A: Normally they just carry their banners and flags, but they came fully armed to this meeting.

Q: What happened at Bakul Bitan while the meeting was going on?

A: The meeting was nearly over. Swapan Banerjee was the last speaker, and Subal Kumar declared the meeting closed. We were hurrying away from the meeting so we would not be roughed up by the CPI(M) crowd, when we saw that the Bakul Bitan unit was being looted. The Ananda Margis who normally live there were not there at that time. About 200 people attacked the place. They kicked the door open and wrenched out all the grills from the windows, and stole all the buckets, blankets and utensils.

Dr. Narayan Singh describes the attack on his house during the public meeting in Pundag:

A: On 21 December at about 2 p.m. over 100 people armed with lethal weapons such as pistols, bows and arrows, axes and swords, surrounded my house. I was giving medicine to someone when the people started throwing stones at my house. I closed my doors and windows, but then they began to hammer at my front door. At that point I decided to leave with the five little children who

were in my house, the smallest of whom was four years old. We somehow managed to flee from the back door. I fell down while running and hurt myself. We went to the Railway Protection Force and took shelter there. When we returned home in the evening, the public meeting was finished.

Q There was a meeting being held that day?

A: Yes, there was a big CPI(M) public meeting, and among the speakers was the Forest Minister, Mr. Ambarish Mukherjee. I could hear them from the RPF station raising slogans against Ananda Marga, such as "Burn the sadhu's ashram." "We don't accept the Ananda Marga philosophy, we never will!" Right from the podium the speakers were raising these slogans, that was the amazing thing about this meeting. The people were shouting, "Break the sadhu's houses, burn their schools and college! "Kill the sadhus, burn them!"

When I returned home at 7 p.m. I found my front door broken, and wide open. All my household utensils had been removed. Two iron boxes with clothes and ornaments was also stolen. They didn't leave anything except the shirts on our backs.

Q What did you do then?

A: I didn't do anything. I didn't file any FIR or even go to the police, because I was so afraid. I had been so badly threatened by the local CPI(M) that if I went to the police they would kill me, so I did not dare to go. The police themselves were there when the leaders of the CPI(M) were looting my house! And they did nothing!

Q How did you know they were the police?

A: They were in uniform, standing there!

Q Your house and Bakul Bitan were the only houses looted in the area on that day?

A: Yes. And since that day the local CPI(M) leaders are constantly moving in the area and having frequent

discussions, and they are threatening me with dire consequences if I tell anyone what happened to me. "If you do anything, we'll kill you!" they say.

## 11. BANSHGARH SEIZURE OF ARMS

During our investigation, repeatedly we heard the allegation that Margis were violent people, wielding guns and that a cache of illegal weapons was discovered at the Ananda Marga unit at Banshgarh. The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Circle Inspector, Mr. Banerjee at Pundag police outpost, Mr. S.P. Sarkar, Superintendent of Police, Purulia, Mr. Subal Kumar, Zonal Secretary of Jhaldia, Mr. Swapan Banerjee, the main CPI(M) leader of Purulia District, Mr. D.S. Roy, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Purulia District - all were unanimous in condemning Ananda Marga for illegal possession of sophisticated firearms. This allegation was based upon the incident which occurred in Banshgarh on the night of 4/5 March 1989 when during the course of a police raid a cache of firearms was discovered.

The comment of Acharya Pranavananda, the Office Secretary of Ananda Marga Pracharaka Sangha at Ananda Nagar, to this accusation was: "If indeed we had such sophisticated weapons, would we have allowed such massive destruction to our property at Banshgarh? And if we had such illegal arms, would we be so foolish as to keep them in such an insecure and remote place inhabited by only two young workers and no security guards, instead of keeping them securely in our central complex which is surrounded by checkpoints?"

Instead of an immediate follow-up raid, the next raid of the Ananda Nagar complex was done after almost five months had passed, on 30 July 1989. This raid was conducted by Mr. Simon Phillips, I.G. of Police of West Bengal, with a posse of 1000 armed police to comb the Ananda Nagar complex threadbare. After a day-long search no unauthorised arms or ammunitions could be traced. A certificate to that effect was given by the police.

A senior police officer of Purulia District of West Bengal, who requested that his identity not be disclosed, stated that he had personally been present at the Banshgarh incident on the night of 4/5 March 1989. He stated that he had been summarily called from his sleep and ordered to proceed to Banshgarh with his posse of police, to provide a protective cordon because there was to be a demolition operation by the Forest Department upon the Ananda Marga building in Banshgarh.

He did as ordered, and proceeded to Banshgarh with his police force. While it was still pitch dark, from within the precincts of the building he heard a huge commotion of hammering and battering. Suddenly a loud shout rent the air. "Sir, sir, look what we have found, look what we have found!" The officer with his team of police charged inside the building, flashing their torches, and came upon a cache of sophisticated weapons. This official expressed his puzzlement about Ananda Marga possessing such weapons, as he was sending his own child to an Ananda Marga school because of its quality education based on spirituality.

The team next interviewed Mr. P.T. Bhutia, Attached Forest Officer of the Forest Department in Purulia. The team inquired the details of the Forest Department's demolition squad. Mr. Bhutia stated, "We do not have any demolition squad as hardly any demolition work is done." The team then inquired whether he knew about the Banshgarh incident, and he said, "No comment, ask my senior officer Mr. Gayen." The team inquired that if any demolition were to be done, would it be done in the dark? Looking somewhat surprised at the question, Mr. Bhutia replied that demolition had necessarily to be done in the daytime as there was no electricity in that area and it would not be possible to see at night.

The same question was repeatedly by the team to Dr. Ambarish Mukherjee, the West Bengal Forest Minister. He first requested that his statement be taped. As the team did not have a tape recorder on hand, he dictated his statement, which was as follows: "The Forest Department was not involved in any demolition activity in Bansgarh on 5 March 1989. The matter regarding the ownership of Banshgarh land was under dispute. There was a court case pending and the matter had become sub-judice. The question of any action by Forest Department does not arise."

The Banshgarh arms discovery incident raises doubts and suspicions. Which official branch of the government was involved in the demolition? And which for the subsequent discovery of arms that night? According to Shri S.P. Sarkar, Superintendent of Police, Distt. Purulia, and the police officer in charge of providing the security cordon on 5 March 1989, it was the Forest Department that did the demolition. But according to the Forest Minister, his department was NOT involved. The team asked him. "Then who was?" His reply was, "Ask Jyoti Basu."

When the team interviewed the Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, and inquired, "What really happened at Banshgarh, he replied, "It was a police action." The team asked, "But then why was there a protective

cordon by police for a police action? Why were the police being protected by the police? The Forest Minister has categorically stated that the Forest Department was not involved in the Bansgharh incident whereas the S.P. of Purulia District claimed that the police were only assisting the Forest Department by providing a protective ring. What exactly happened? Could somebody have planted those guns?" The Chief Minister replied, "I don't know."

The matter is pending before the Purulia court and the veracity of the allegations and counter-allegations can be known only when the court pronounces its verdict.

## **12. OBSTRUCTION BY FOREST DEPARTMENT OF ANANDA MARGA WORK**

On 30 December 1989, the team went to visit the site of destruction at the ashram at Madhumalaya near Singhagra village. It noted that the entire hillside, including the approach road to the ashram and to other Ananda Marga development projects, had been pitted with deep holes 18 inches in diameter by 18 inches deep. The team learnt that these had been dug by the State Forest Department for the planting of saplings. Negotiating this pitted road by car was well nigh impossible. While passing other areas, the team noted, however, that such digging of pits for afforestation had left the dirt roads clear. The intention by the Forest Department to obstruct Ananda Nagar's approach roads was evident.

The PUCL team deplores the Forest Department's action of blocking rural approach roads under the pretense of afforestation.

## **13. DEPORTATION OF FOREIGN ANAND MARGIS**

The team was astonished to learn that the police do not allow foreign disciples of Anand Marga to visit Ananda Nagar even if they have valid documents. We came to know that one Dr. Sid Jordan, an eminent teacher from the U.S.A. had been nabbed by the police as he alighted from the train at Pundag Railway Station on 31 December 1989 on his way to attend Dharmamahachakra, the bi-annual international spiritual congregation at Ananda Nagar. In spite of his possessing valid travel documents, he was forcibly taken to the local police outpost and from there to Purulia. A box item on the front page of Ananda Bazar Patrika dated 6 January 1990 stated that Dr. Jordan had been brought by

BSF plane from Calcutta to Delhi, from where he was deported to the U.S.A.

From the S.P. of Purulia, Mr. S.P. Sarkar, the team confirmed that Dr. Jordan had been sent by him to Calcutta, as he had standing instructions to that effect. When pressed to indicate under which Section of which Act he was executing his orders, he had no answer. He complained that the foreigners visiting Ananda Nagar were not following the protocol of first reporting to him. The team inquired, "Had Dr. Jordan reported to you, would you have permitted him to visit the place?" S.P. Sarkar's response was, "No, I would have executed my instructions and sent him to Calcutta."

In an interview with the General Secretary of Ananda Marga Pracharaka Sangha, Acharya Sarvatmananda, in Calcutta on 5 January 1989, the team learned that the Government of West Bengal has adopted a discriminatory stance towards foreign Ananda Margis. The General Secretary stated that there was a secret **Black Book** of names of foreign Ananda Margis which was not available for inspection by the general public or by lawyers fighting specific cases. The **Black Book** is allegedly being used as the basis of unjustified denial of visas to India, and illegal deportation.

#### 14. PUBLIC RESPONSE TO PUCL TEAM IN CALCUTTA, 5-9 JANUARY

The PUCL team returned from Purulia to Calcutta on 5 January. For the next four days the team waited for an appointment with the Chief Minister, Shri Jyoti Basu, which materialised on 9 January, 1990. The interim period was utilised by the team to establish contacts with different state civil and human rights activists. The Radical Humanists, during their deliberations with the team, informed that the malaise of CPI(M) terror was widespread throughout West Bengal, affecting not only the rural but also the urban areas and institutions.

A renowned journalist noted for his objectivity gave the team instances of CPI(M) tyranny within the educational system, and appealed to it to investigate this matter as well, in an effort to redress it. The State Committee of Congress-I also, through a Press Conference declared that they would request Justice Tarkunde to send a PUCL team to investigate CPI(M) tyranny on Congress(I) cadres in West Bengal. From the team's deliberations with a wide variety of individuals and groups, such an investigation appears necessary.

**15. INTERVIEWS WITH MEMBERS OF THE  
W.BENGAL GOVERNMENT:**

**(a) DR. AMBARISH MUKHERJEE,  
FOREST MINISTER, STATE OF WEST BENGAL**

On 8 and 9 January 1990, the team interviewed the Forest Minister of the State of West Bengal, Dr. Ambarish Mukherjee. He expressed irritation about the Ananda Margis obtaining a High Court injunction against the Forest Department's effort to enter and survey the Ananda Marga properties. "When it was proposed that some survey should be done they immediately went to the court of law. They prohibited us from making any survey whatsoever to ascertain whether it is their land or not," he stated.

"We will not allow any body to encroach upon land distributed to landless labourers," he continued, "So, if there is encroachment of 'Patta' or vested or forest land, we have to make a survey of it. Ecology is one thing, and just planting trees on forest lands is something different. You must have valid permission. There is The Forest Conservation Act. Planting trees on forest land may not be ecologically wrong. The point is legal."

**PUCL:** The Margis showed us the title deeds for their lands.

**FM:** You can show so many things. Time and again they were called to meet the D.M. there and the S.P. They never turned up before any government official. They preferred every time an injunction from the Hon'ble High Court.

He was asked why, as Forest Minister he had participated as Chief Guest at the December 21 public meeting at Pundag for which inflammatory anti-Margi leaflets had been distributed. He responded, "Our meeting was ideological. In the first meeting before the elections I did not even mention Ananda Marga or Amra Bengali because they were no factors in the election. In the second meeting I simply said that we do not want to have religion and politics coupled together. We believe in secularism." It was the Margis, infact, who had printed hostile handbills in which they had demanded his arrest. Dr. Mukherjee continued, "The Margis", he said, "wanted to finish the government and also finish Communism from the whole world, may be by extra-legal means". He stated that Ananda Margis were burning the effigies of Shri Jyoti Basu and himself. "The Margis alleged in the



handbill that I was in-charge of the whole operation to demolish their constructions. That is out and out false".

Regarding the Bansgarh episode of March 1989 Shri Mukherjee stated that neither the Forest Department had a demolition squad, nor did it undertake any demolition activity. Due to an injunction passed by the court of law, forest officers had been forbidden from going for survey work on disputed Margi land.

(b) **SHRI JYOTI BASU**  
**CHIEF MINISTER, WEST BENGAL**

On 9 January 1990, the team met the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Mr. Jyoti Basu. With the first mention of Ananda Marga, he reacted with visible anger. He expressed surprise that the PUCL team had come on their behalf. He stated that whatever demolitions had taken place were all done to illegal constructions, and they were rightly destroyed.

The police did not do the demolitions at Ananda Nagar, he said. It was done by the people. When the team tried to point out that this was the very reason for this visit to him, to apprise him of the absence of law and order in the area, he refused to listen.

He also refused to listen to the account of the events on 1 January and Police inaction. He merely said, "Write your report and have Justice Tarkunde send it to me."

He stated, "What are those foreigners doing out there? I will get them all out of there!"

He further stated, "I will not allow any encroachment on forest lands, I will not allow them to buy any adivasi's lands." When the team pointed out that the Ananda Margis claim that all their land purchases are legal and their land deeds are in order, he refused to listen. He merely said, "There can never be any resolution between them and us."

During the meeting he observed that the Margis are "violent people". He stated that the Margis were killed at Ananda Nagar in 1967 because they had "beaten and killed adivasis." He further stated that as the result of a raid on Ananda Marga in Cooch Behar in 1969, arms were discovered and P.R. Sarkar was arrested.

## 16. ANANDA MARGA'S REJOINDER

Ananda Marga officials stated that the allegations of the Chief Minister regarding the 1967 Ananda Nagar incident and the 1969 Cooch Behar incident, had already been settled in the courts of law, and verdicts had been obtained which cleared the Ananda Margis of all charges.

The PUCL team was informed that with regard to the former, the Court of the Sessions Judge at Midnapore gave its verdict which cleared the Ananda Margis and sentenced the local Block Development Officer and his accomplices numbering over two dozen, to imprisonment. Extracts from the judgement of Shri M. Roy, Sessions Judge of Midnapore, dated 28 September 1979, (Session Trial Case No.XIII) are given below:

"While the trial is over and some of the culprits have been brought to justice, I still wonder how the police and the District Administration conducted themselves in this case. A petty official in the person of the B.D.O. acting in the remote villages, being egged on by certain political quarters, got the better of the administration which was paralysed. The forebodings of the upheaval, though repeatedly brought to the notices of the authorities for months, went completely unheeded. A little of insight and integrity on the part of the police and District Administration could avoid the whole incident which left in its wake wanton destruction of property and loss of quite a number of human lives."

They showed the PUCL team the Final Report No.569 dated 16.10.70 signed by the O/C Kotwali, Cooch Behar, extracts of which are given below:

"The case was investigated thoroughly. The complainant and the local people misunderstood them to be armed sadhus bent upon creating disturbances in the name of religion. Moreover, some CPI(M) leaders misled and misguided the mob that the sadhus were spies of CIA and their holding religious meetings would be detrimental to the society. This political manouvering with ulterior motive led the whole thing in such a chaos that served the purpose of the so-called CPM leaders."

## 17. OTHER CPI(M) ALLEGATIONS AGAINST ANANDA MARGA

Other CPI(M) allegations against the Ananda Marga related to sources of funds and the foreign connection. Where did Ananda Marga get its money? What were so many foreigners doing in Purulia District at the time of Dharmamahachakra? The response of the General Secretary of Ananda Marga, Acharya Sarvatmananda, to these two points were as follows:

The Ananda Marga has a membership of lakhs of people throughout India and the world. Ananda Margis have a commitment to contribute 2% of their earnings to the organisation annually. Besides this, considerable income is generated through sales of publications and devotional music cassettes. Large donations are received from sympathisers and philanthropists. In addition, some of Ananda Nagar's projects are self-financing, such as the cottage industries, the dairy farm, etc. All the accounts of Ananda Marga Pracharaka Sangha are duly audited annually by recognised chartered accountants, and are open for public scrutiny.

As regards the influx of foreigners to Ananda Nagar during Dharmamahachakra in May and December, the PUCL team was informed that there are Ananda Marga disciples in virtually every country of the world, who regard a visit to Calcutta and Ananda Nagar to have the darshan of their guru, P.R. Sarkar, as important events in their spiritual life.

The Secretary further stated that repeated efforts by their organisation in the past to obtain a Visa for the U.S.A. for their Guru, Shri P.R. Sarkar had been turned down by the U.S. Embassy. He further stated that hence, the widely publicised allegations that Ananda Margis were CIA agents could not hold substance.

## CONCLUSIONS

1) The recent rampage of destruction at Ananda Nagar seems to be an escalation of the long-standing animosity of the CPI(M) towards the Ananda Marga, which has been increased since the recent November general elections in 1989. The CPI(M) leaders, including the Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, the State Forest Minister Dr. Ambarish Mukherjee, and the Jilasabhadhipati of Purulia district, Shri Swapan Banerjee harbour a deep hostility towards the Ananda Marga. They have alleged that the Marga members at Ananda Nagar are anti-social elements indulging in illegal and criminal activities, usurping forest and villagers' lands, and making illegal constructions. These allegations have been vigorously propagated in inflammatory leaflets and speeches at numerous meetings in the Ananda Nagar area especially since October 1989, aimed at arousing antagonistic feelings amongst the local population of the district towards Ananda Marga.

2) An atmosphere of terror has been created in a number of villages in the concerning area, in which villagers are coerced by CPI(M) activists to take part in the looting under threat of dire consequences. Sympathisers of Ananda Marga - including women - are singled out, threatened, intimidated, beaten and their properties looted and ransacked. A number of followers of Ananda Marga have been driven out of their homes with their families and at the time when we interviewed them about December 30/31, had not dared to return. Five Ananda Marga sadhus were injured by bombs and lethal weapons on the night of 24 December, 1989. The nuns of Ananda Marga have been attacked and injured by stone-throwing mobs, and when we interviewed them on 31 December 1989, we learned that they had been spending sleepless nights since 7 December for fear of having their modesty violated, a fate far more hideous to them than death.

3) The local police officials are openly hostile to the Ananda Margis, and are clearly in collusion with the CPI(M) activists and politicians. While the police have arrested several Ananda Marga followers, they have not made a single arrest regarding the numerous complaints by Ananda Marga which contain the names and addresses of the accused; the police claim that the complaints are under investigation. It is clear that the local police are not performing their duties as an independent agency for the maintenance of law and order but are merely functioning as a subordinate wing of the ruling party. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue in a civilised society based on law.

4) The Ananda Margis are apprehensive of further escalation of antagonistic activities against them, as inflammatory leaflets continue to be distributed and meetings continue to be held in Purulia district. There is a strong possibility of this having a severely negative impact on the Ananda Marga in the future.

5) There has been a complete collapse of the administrative machinery and law-and-order agencies particularly in Jaipur and Jhalda thanas of Purulia district. All of the allegations against Ananda Marga regarding encroachments and grabbing of lands can be duly dealt with by administrative and legal procedures. When we asked the Zilasabhadhipati of Purulia District, Shri Swapan Banerjee, why the Ananda Margis could not be dealt with through established legal procedures, he admitted that the administrative machinery failed in the State.

6) Regarding the main allegation of the CPI(M) that Ananda Margis are violent terrorists wielding sophisticated lethal weapons - an allegation based largely upon the incident of recovery of firearms at Bansgarh on 5 March 1989 - the PUCL team is convinced that the allegation is false. It is highly possible that the arms recovered by the police were planted by the group which posed as members of the Forest Department to demolish the Ananda Marga building in the dark.

7) The ecological damage wrought upon 170 acres of arable land cannot be justified by any means. Nor can the blatant obstructive tactics of the West Bengal Forest Department be condoned, namely of selectively blocking the access roads to the Ananda Nagar projects by digging deep pits for tree-planting across them. The PUCL team deplors the hostile attitude of the Forest Department towards the Ananda Margis at Ananda Nagar, who are actively working to restore the ecological balance in such an arid and deforested area.

8) If indeed the Ananda Marga has illegally grabbed lands, then the administration should verify the facts from its land records and take suitable action. The CPI(M) activists have no right to take law into their own hands and organise mob attacks on the establishments and followers of Ananda Marga. We strongly condemn the nexus between the police, administration and the CPI(M) which prevails in the Purulia area.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1) In order to ensure just and effective police functioning, the team recommends that impartial police officials should be appointed, preferably from outside the state police service. The Government should immediately transfer the Purulia District Superintendent of Police, Shri S.P. Sarkar, and other high police officials, and appoint responsible police officers in their place who have the courage and integrity to withstand unjustifiable political pressure from the Party/parties in power.

2) The complaints of the Ananda Margis regarding the violent attacks inflicted on them should be properly investigated and the accused should be brought to book following the due procedure of law.

3) Adequate compensation should be paid by the State Government to the Ananda Marga for the damages and losses suffered by them in regard to their properties and persons.

4) The State Government should make adequate arrangements to provide security and safety to the inmates of Ananda Nagar, particularly the women at Uma Niwas, and other Ananda Marga establishments in Purulia District so that the positive developmental work which has been interrupted may recommence.

5) The State and Central leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) should refrain from taking the law into their own hands by organising and mobilising the people against Ananda Margis through inflammatory speeches and literature.

6) The Bansgarh incident of 5 March 1989 should be thoroughly investigated by a neutral and impartial investigative agency, preferably from outside the State of West Bengal.

7) As the West Bengal Forest Department has unlimited scope for correcting the extensive deforestation and restoring the ecological balance in the area, it is recommended that it address itself diligently to this urgent task, instead of obstructing others' developmental activities out of political animosity.

8) Illegal deportation of foreigners holding valid travel documents on the basis of their being Ananda Margis is in violation of the provisions of the Indian Constitution contained in Articles 14 and 21, and should be stopped forthwith. Such arbitrary deportation is a blemish upon India's claim to be a free, democratic and pluralistic society.

## AFTERWORD

Since the attainment of political freedom over four decades ago, the track record for India in the field of human rights and civil liberties has been dismal. Although the Chapter on Fundamental Rights in our Constitution grants near ideal protection to the individual and to minority groups, the gap between the precept and the practice is all too wide.

Flouting of human rights by either the State, political parties, or rigid, intolerant groups - propagating non-negotiable fundamentalist postures, has led to a situation of crisis in which we find our nation's social fabric threatened by tension and disharmony on many fronts - Punjab, Kashmir, Ayodhya. India is a polyglot of languages, cultures, faiths and beliefs, which has the potential to be a harmonious and variegated garden of humanity. But instead of letting a hundred flowers bloom in Bharat's "Gulistan" by honouring the concepts of secularism and tolerance, we are witnessing instance after instance of intolerance and irrationality.

Vigilance of citizens and of civil and human rights groups alone, can safeguard the weal of minority groups, be they religious or ethnic. In order to keep our national identity intact, in order to restore our social harmony, we must stand firmly as a civilised people for the principle of equality of all before the law, regardless of ideological differences. And this guarantee of the right to exist without fear of extinction by brute force must be secured specially for those who are victims of prejudice.

The Ananda Marga in West Bengal is such a case in point. Regardless of our differences with, or lack of understanding of its ideology, we as champions of human rights and civil liberties must strive to ensure its right to peacefully co-exist in a milieu which is ideologically hostile.

The PUCL team wishes to place on record its thanks to Justice Rajindar Sachar and to Justice V.M. Tarkunde for entrusting this delicate investigation to them. We will consider ourselves well-rewarded if our report contributes in some measure to restore normalcy and calm in Purulia District, so that the Ananda Marga can continue its developmental efforts in health, education and agriculture to benefit the poverty-stricken tribals of that area, who have been sorely neglected by the State.

N.D. Pancholi

Jayati Leila Kabir

New Delhi, February 7, 1990

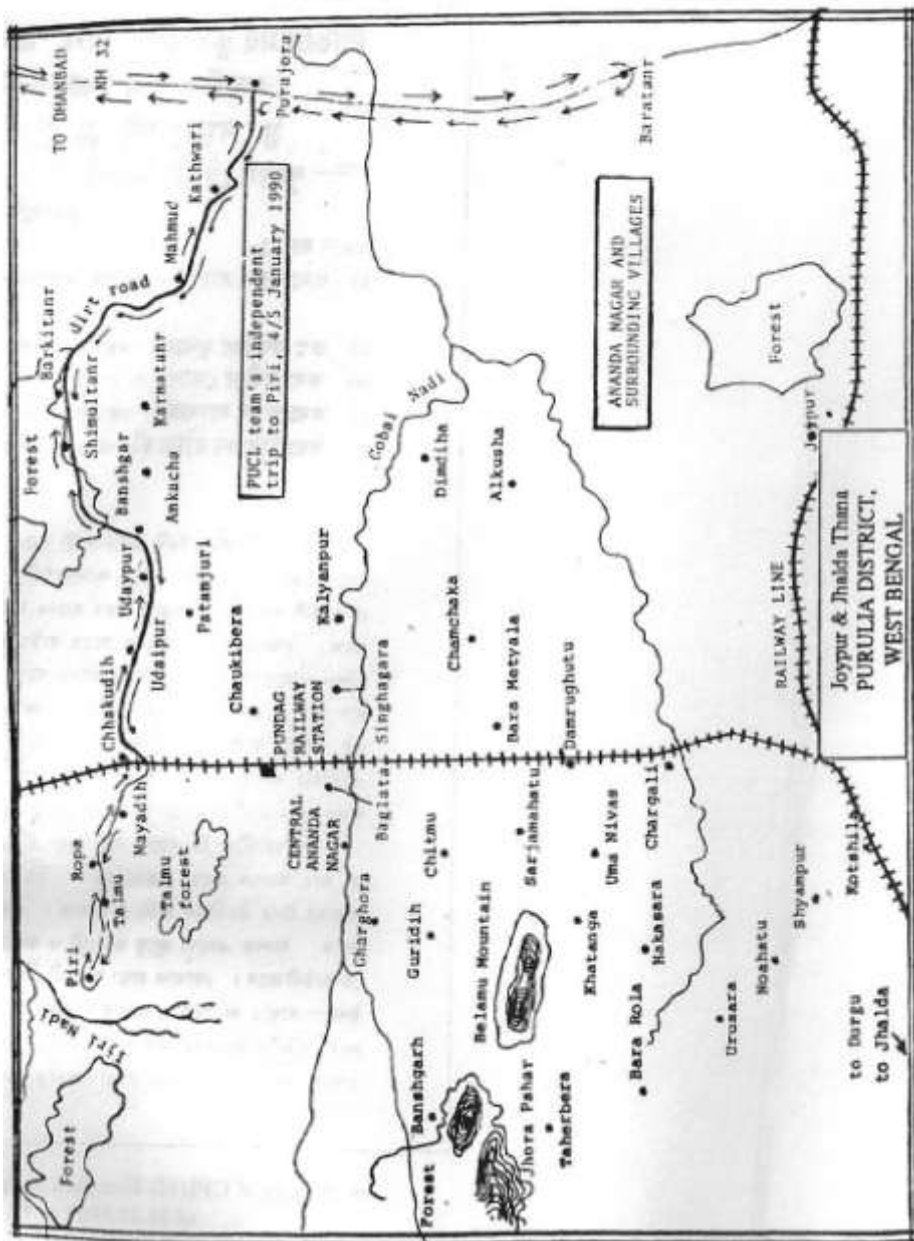
ANNEXURE 1A



PURULIA DISTRICT, W. BENGAL  
 Box Shows ANANDA NAGAR  
 located in Joypur & Jhalda Thana



ANNEXURE 1B



শিৱিগ্ৰামেৰ কৃষকদেৱ উপৰ জলি চালাবো এৰং  
বে-আইনী জমি কৃষকেৰে প্ৰতিবাদে—

## ॥ সমাবেশ ৰু জঁৱনসভা ॥

তাৰিখ— পুন্ডাগ ষ্টেশ্বন ময়দাৰ, তাং-২১শে ডিচেম্বৰ ৮৯  
বৃহস্পতিবাৰ—সময়—বেলা ১টা

প্ৰধান বক্তা :-

- ১) কমঃ নকুল মাহন্ত—সম্পাদক, ভাটকেৰ কৰ্মিভিটী প্যাৰ্টী (মহা)  
পুন্ডিয়া জেলা কমিটী
- ২) ডাঃ অক্ষয়ীশ মুৰাৰ্জী—মহা, বন ও পৰিবেশ, পশ্চিমবঙ্গ সরকার
- ৩) কমঃ মনীন্দ্ৰ গোপ—সহ সম্পাদক, পং বাঃ প্ৰাদেশিক কৃষক সভা
- ৪) কমঃ স্বপ্ন ব্যানাৰ্জী—সভাধিপতি, পুন্ডিয়া জেলা পৰিষদ
- ৫) কমঃ হাৰাধন ব্যানাৰ্জী—সহকা, পুন্ডিয়া জেলা সম্পাদক মণ্ডলী  
সি. পি. আই (এম)

বহুগণ,

৪২ নং ডিচেম্বৰ শিৱি গ্ৰামে পুন্ডা-প্ৰদেশেৰ কমিটী বে-আইনীভাৱে  
বাস্তা নিৰ্মাণ কৰতে বাৰা ছিলে আনন্দমাৰ্গীয়া গ্ৰামবাসীদেৱ লক্ষ্য কৰে  
বে-আইনী হাইফেল ও অস্বাস্ত উন্নত মানেৰ আৱেগাত্ম থেকে গুলি ছুঁড়তে  
থাকে। একবাৰ ছুবাৰ নয় বেশ কঠেক হাইউ জলি চালায়। সাবাৰ পেয়ে  
মুন্দিৰ ঘটনাস্থলে উপস্থিত হলে মুন্দিৰে বাৰী লক্ষ্য কৰে মাৰ্গীয়া গ্ৰামেড  
ভাৰ্ট কৰে। তখন বাৰা হতে মুন্দিৰকে দেখান থেকে সৰে যেতে হয়।  
এই ঘটনাৰ ফলে এলাকাৰ মাত্ৰৰ আৰো বেশী সাধাৰ জমাতে হয় এক  
প্ৰতিবাদ কৰতে থাকে। মুন্দিৰ আৰো বেশী শক্তি নিয়ে উপস্থিত হতে  
পাৰে তেনে মাৰ্গীয়া আক্ৰমণ কৰ কৰে একা সেখান থেকে পালিয়ে যায়।

আনন্দমাৰ্গীয়া কি বৰদেৱ লাগু একা একেৰ ভাৱ কৰ্ম-ই বা কি বৰদেৱ  
তা আৰ আভকে কাৰো সম্ভাৱন নয়। একা হীৰ্থখিন কৰে এই এলাকাৰ  
মাত্ৰেৰ উপৰ উপনীডন চালিতে থাকে। কৃষকদেৱ জমি থেকে উচ্ছেদ  
কৰতে সাধক এলাকা জুড়ে ঘৰবাড়ী ও হাৰা নিৰ্মাণ কৰে। সবই কৰতে  
বে-আইনীভাৱে। কোথাও হাৰা ঘৰবাড়ী নিৰ্মাণ কৰতে বন বিভাগেৰ কমিটী  
উপৰ—বাৰাও বা সংকাৰে জৰুৰ জমিৰ উপৰ। জুৰু তাই না। সংকাৰ বে  
সৰল জুৰিটী কৃষকদেৱ জমি প্যাটা বিৰেতে সেট জমিৰ উপৰে নিৰ্মাণ কৰে  
চলেতে পাৰা বাৰী আৰ হাৰা আৰাৰ বে-আইনীভাৱে জেৰ কৰে।

(অপৰ পৃষ্ঠায় দেখুন)

ANNEXURE 2 (CONT.)

আইনটি বাস্তবায়ন কর্তৃক তাদের অধিকারের পুরোধায় নিয়ে কার্কেদের জালাগুলি করে  
অন্যদিকে তাদের রাষ্ট্রি কর্মিক কিনে নিজে এবং তাদেরকে কনি তারা  
করবে। এখানেই কৃষকরা এই অর্থাৎ বে-আইনী কর্মি অধিকার বিক্রয়ে  
প্রতিবাদ করতে গেলেন, তাদের উপর স্থলি চালান করা—কর্ম করে দেওয়া তার  
অগণিত কৃষকের প্রতিবাদের ভাষ্যকে।

মজুর যদি মালক মজুরী চায় তাহা এরা বাইবেলের ভাষায় কথা বলে। এই  
এলাকার মানুষের কর্মিক উপর বে-আইনী করে এবং মজুর কায়েম করবে এবং  
তার দেখাচ্ছে সেখানে গেলো শান্তি দেবার। এরা এই এলাকার পুলিশ টুকরে  
মেয় না—টুকরে বেঁধে না সাধারণ মানুষকেও, যেন তারা আলামা রাষ্ট্র কায়েম  
করবে: এরা সরকারী সেটেলমেন্ট কমিটির মেম্বরও হরোমি করে এর কাজ  
করতে দেখে না। এরা অশান্তি সৃষ্টি করতে চায়। বিশেষ করে এরা আয়েচাফি  
এনে কর্মি করছে। উৎকর্ষ সূত্র না পুলিশ অর্থাৎ সন্ত্রাস দেখে টুকরার  
এদের আন্ডার হানী নিয়ে বেশ কিছু বিদেশী উন্নত মানের আয়েচাফি উদ্ধার  
করবে। সূত্রের এদের উৎকর্ষ সে সূত্র নয়—এ প্রমাণ করে শিবির কৃষকদের  
উপর স্থলি চালানোর ঘনি, বে-আইনী করে কর্মি মজুর আর অল্প কর্মি করার  
গটনা।

আই আর চুল করে থাকলে হবে না। প্রতিবাদের ভাষ্যকে আরো  
জোরালো করতে হবে। মল মত নিবিশেষে মৌর লুট একা গড়ে তুলতে হবে।  
জানিয়ে দিতে হবে তাদের রাইফেলের তুলি আমাদের একা একে ভাঙতে  
পারবে না, তাদের মানবিক শক্তি আমাদের একা শক্তির কাছে পরাজিত হবেই।  
আর, সরকারের কাছে আমাদের হারী উজ্জালি করে আমলদারীদের এই  
বে আইনী কার্যক্রমকে অবিলম্বে থগ করতে হবে।

এই পরিস্থিতির আমতা ১১শে ডিসেম্বর পুনরায় কেশন মহসানে  
সমাবেশ ও জনসভার ডার সিংহিত। আগুন সকলে মলমত নিবিশেষে এই  
সমাবেশ ও জনসভাকে সমর্থন করে গেলি। আর আমলদারীদের বে-আইনী  
কাজ কর্মের বিরুদ্ধে রুখে টাড়াই

উন্নতির জিন্দাবাদ

আজাদক

সুবল কুমার

ভারতের কমিউনিস্টপার্টি (মা)

সম্পাদক, কালনা জেলায় কমিউ

ধরনীর পরামর্শিত কর্তা সুবিধা সিংহের মৌলভীভাঙ্গা, পুন্ডিয়া রটে।

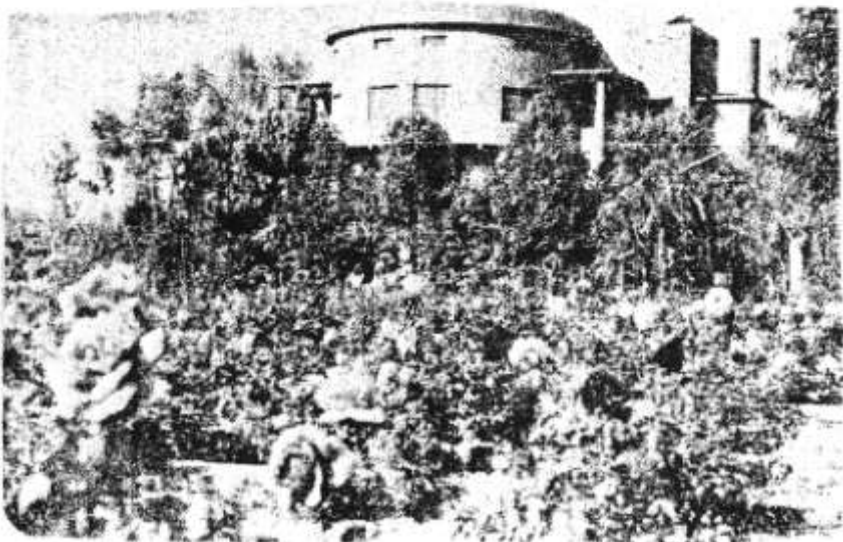
সৃষ্টি ও প্রকাশিত।

ANNEXURE 3

PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORD OF PUCL INVESTIGATION  
RANCHI & ANANDA NAGAR  
Dec. 1989 - Jan. 1990



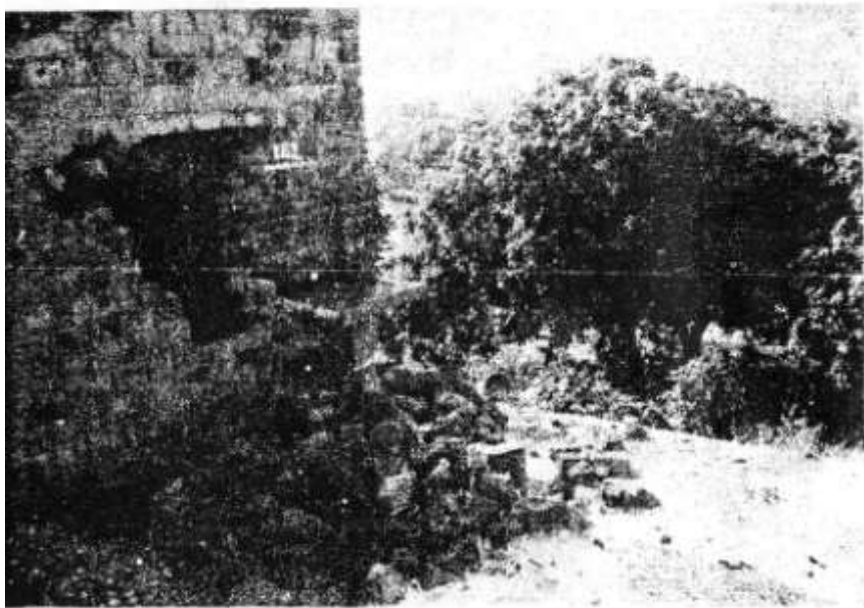
Injured sadhu in Ranchi Hospital: victim of bomb blast.



Ananda Nagar: garden in midst of wasteland.



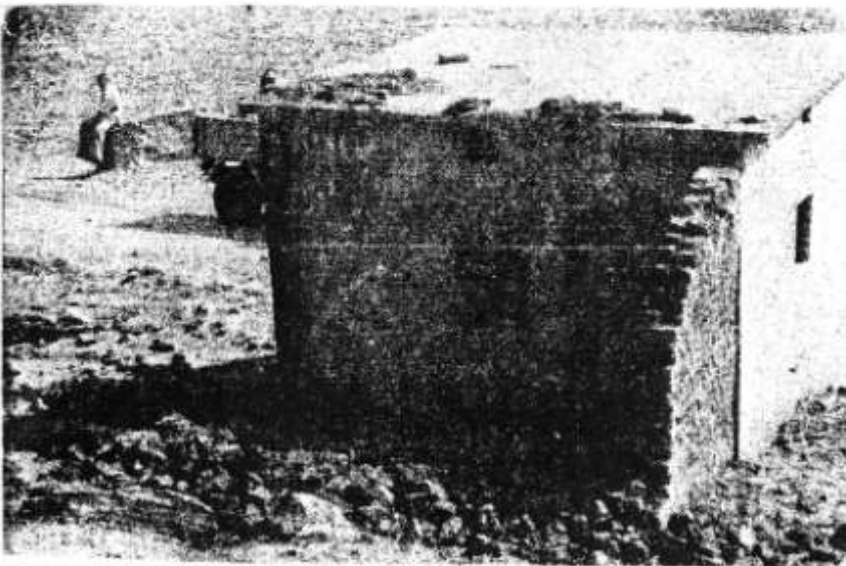
**PUCL Member inspecting destroyed College Hostel.**



**Banshgarh: destruction by Forest Department?**



**Uprooted saplings at Agricultural Project.**



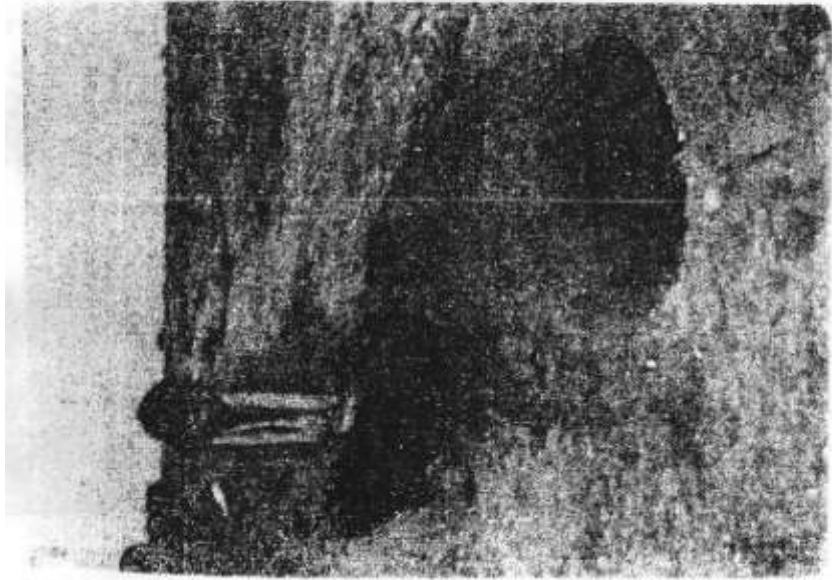
**Destroyed Farmhouse**



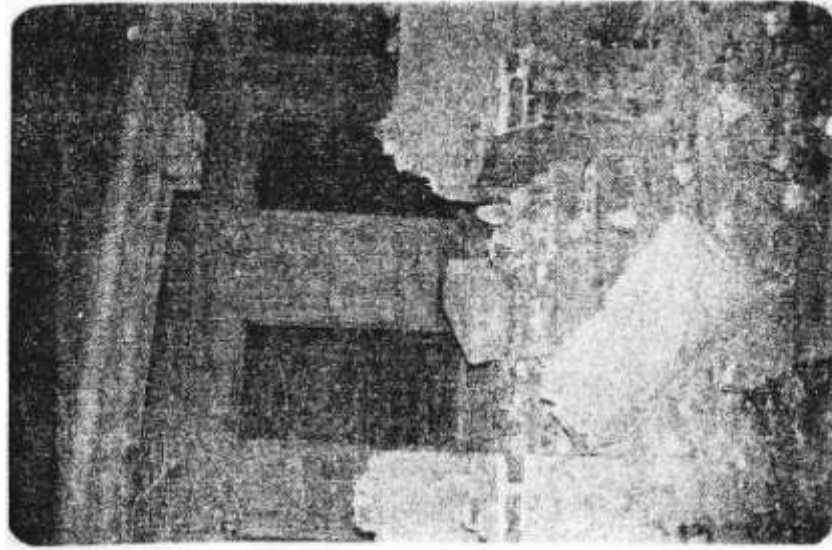
PUCL Team at destroyed Madhu Malaya Complex.



Boundary wall totally destroyed.



Marga road pitted by Forest Department.



Destroyed school building, Talmu village.

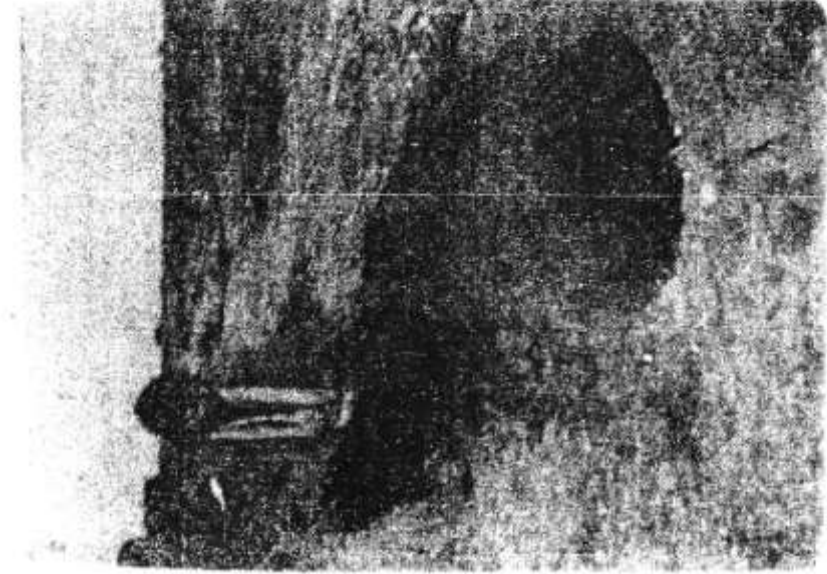




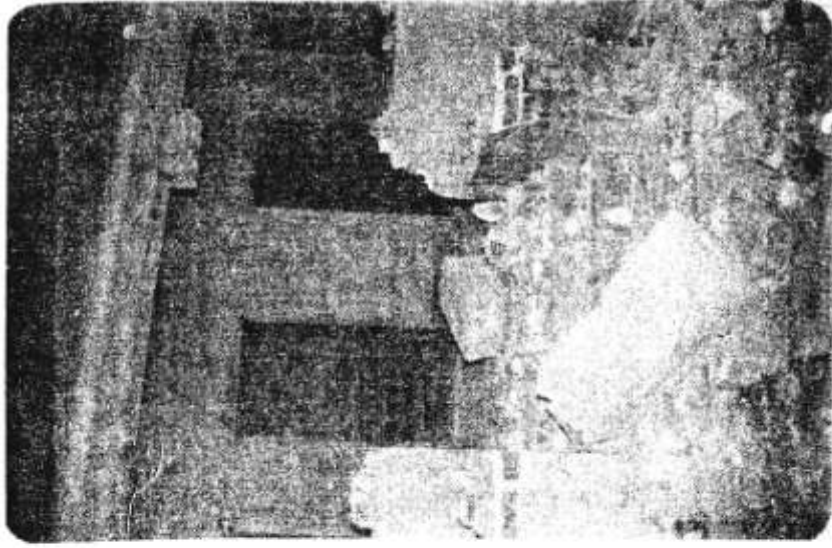
**PUCI Team at destroyed Madhu Malaya Complex.**



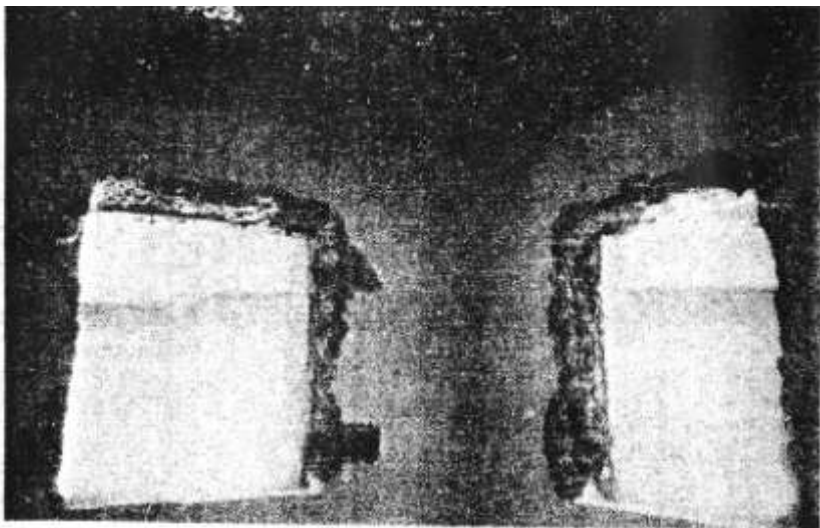
**Boundary wall totally destroyed.**



Marga road pitted by Forest Department.



Destroyed school building, Talmu village.



**Wrenched window frames.**



**Smashed interiors.**