

PEACE BUILDING IN CENTRAL INDIA: PROSPECTS & ALTERNATIVES

**A REPORT ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIKALP SANGAM FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL INDIA
JUNE 8TH – JUNE 10TH, 2018**

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Executive Summary:

Earlier peace processes and dialogues in Central India have had negligible or no Adivasi presence. The community thus decided to organize a three day dialogue to discuss alternatives and solutions to the conflict that has been ongoing in Central India.

Many organisations, individuals, community elders & leaders, former bureaucrats, former central minister, communities, scholars, academicians, human rights activists and professions assembled in Tilda, Chhattisgarh under the banner of Vikalp Sangam (Confluence of Alternatives) from 8-10 June 2018 in a convention to discuss the prospects, possibilities and alternative ways of building peace in Central India.

The purpose was to initiate a process of dialogue and reconciliation in order to ensure lasting peace through community based resolutions. These central Indian states are marred with problems of resource conflict, social disparities, severe questions on developmental debate and the conflict between Maoists and state forces. It also discussed the community's effort to build a cultural resistance through different mediums.

The convention was attended by over 250 representatives from Odisha, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. Attendees learnt from the experiences of other Tribal groups in North East India like the Bodos, who have had experience with bringing peace to their areas after long and bloody conflicts.

Among many, the key speakers included the present Chairman for the National Commission of Scheduled Tribes (NCST), Nand Kumar Sai; the pioneer of peace negotiations, Prof. Hargopal; former Central Cabinet Minister Arvind Netam; former Chhattisgarh Finance Minister Ramchandra Singhdeo; former Madhya Pradesh Chief Secretary Sharad Chandra Behar; Deshbandhu Chief Editor Lalit Surjan; Prof. Madhulika Banerjee; and BPS Netam of Sarv Adivasi Samaj. Activists and journalists including Deme Oraon, Devji Tofa, Manimala, Albert Kindo, Anil Ekka, Pramod Boro, Sanat Chakraborty, Dr. Amit Ranjan Basu, Korenge Laxman Rao, Sidam Arju, C.R. Bakshi, Manish Kunjam, VB Chandrasekhar, Mohan Hirabai Hiralal, Milind Wani, Ajay T.G., Shubranshu Choudhary, Raghavachari, Shravan Garg and Goldy M George addressed the gathering. All the speakers expressed their concern for violence in central India and advocated community based growth and peaceful living of Adivasis, Dalits and other communities.

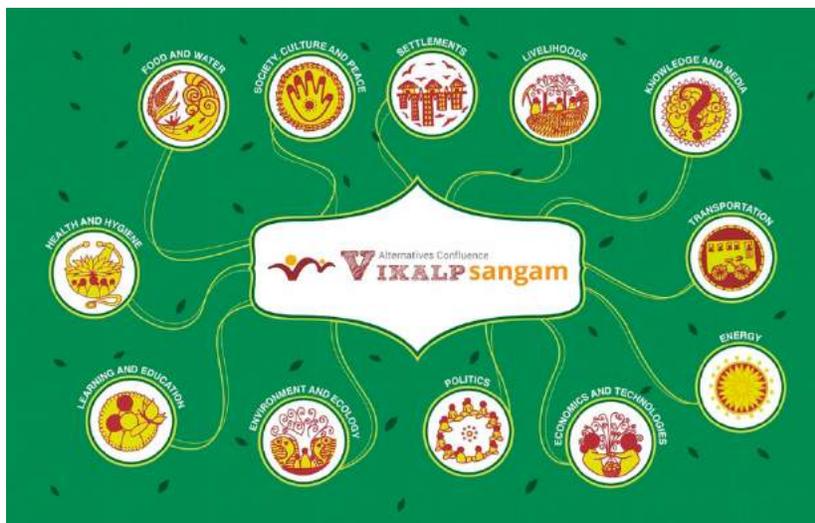
The three day gathering opined that many injustices, inequalities and disparities have created a state of multiple conflicts. One should be willing and prepared to work on these areas and correct the wrongs as well as reconcile differences in order to restore peace. Apart from the social conflict and developmental questions, another focus area was the long-term armed conflict between state and non-state actors. There were discussions on Adivasi culture and its vital importance in Central Indian context.

Concerns were expressed on how these cultural aspects are coming in conflict with many non-Adivasi cultures in recent times. As citizens of India, the Constitution ensures every citizen the basic right to choose, adopt and follow their faith, belief and culture. It also ensures the right of every citizen to express in a non-violent manner, the right to just development and to live with freedom and security.

The Vikalp Sangam engaged in understanding the various non-violent alternatives created by people in the field, such as strengthening gram sabhas under PESA; getting access to rights, privileges and dues under Forest Rights Act (FRA); undertaking a padyatra advocating for peace; and creating alternative models in education, health, media, agriculture and cottage industry. The Sangam was an endeavor to envision an alternative future for the Adivasis, Dalits and the poor through strengthening egalitarianism in self-rule and eco-centric development practices.

Based on the above action points, the participants in the Sangam resolved to carry forward peace efforts for future action and endeavors. It also constituted a task force and statewide working committees to carry forward the process.

Day 1, Session 1: What is the purpose of this Vikalp Sangam?



The 12 themes around which Kalpavriksha organizes Vikalp Sangams

Milind opened the dialogue by explaining the philosophy behind why Kalpavriksha supports Vikalp Sangams on various issues. Kalpavriksha has helped organize more than 10 Sangams in the past on a variety of issues, and has more than 50 organizations as partners.

Milind said that Kalpavriksha is an open platform where

anyone can take the initiative and organize discussions with participants from a diverse array of backgrounds. He explained that there are many individuals striving to bring about a change in their society, but these individuals often work in their own silos. The intention behind Vikalp Sangam is to bring people together and through non-violence and discussion, make an effort to resolve difficult issues.

Dr. Madhulika Banerjee, a professor of political science at Delhi University, said that the philosophy behind Kalpavriksha can be used to provide better insights into intractable problems across the world, like Kashmir. At a Vikalp Sangam, people who are living with the problem bring their experiences and ask the type of questions that help everyone understand the issue better. Dr. Banerjee said that she was very happy to support and be involved with the present Sangam on peace in Central India, but the main task would lie in the follow-up work to create a movement that speaks in one voice.

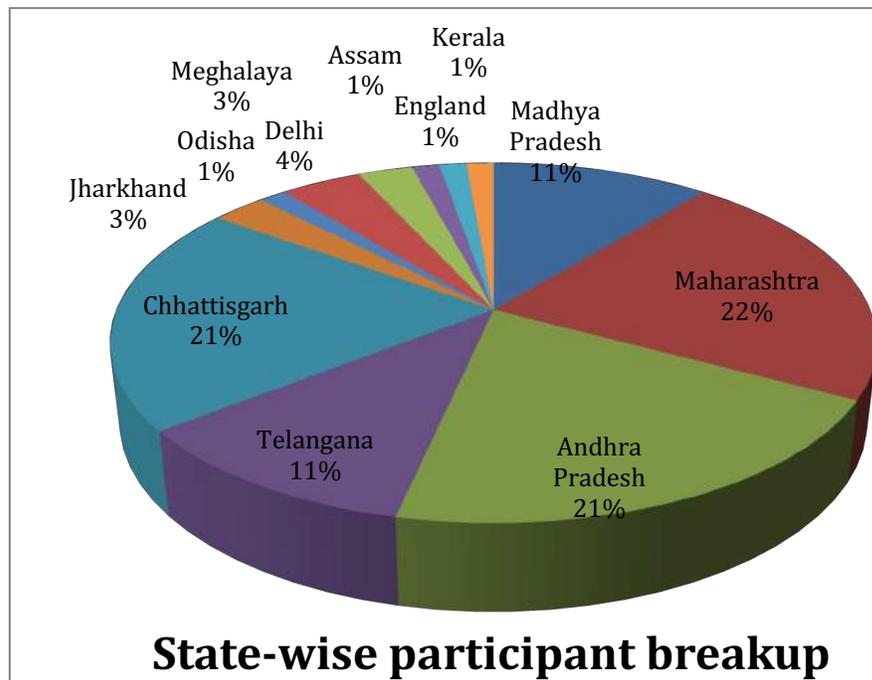
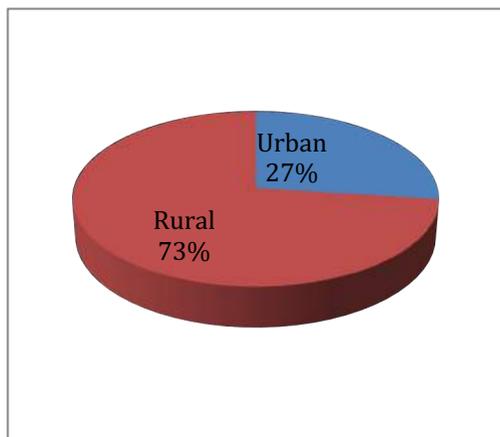


Dr. Madhulika Banerjee talking about the insights that can be gained from holding events that bring people of various backgrounds together



Participants at the Sangam listening to the discussion

A look at the participants in this Vikalp Sangam on peace in central India exemplified the philosophy of Kalpavriksha, of having a diverse cross-section of participants. A poll taken on the 3rd and final day of the event revealed that there were 70 people from 11 states, and a majority of people (73%) were from rural India.



From left to right: Shubhranshu Choudhary, Hirabhai Hiralal, Ajay TG and Milind Wani

Mohan Hirabai Hiralal started the discussion on peace in central India by stressing the importance of maintaining independence of thought. He said that the culture of the government and the Maoists in Central India is the same, as both have guns and use force to instill their ideology. When people who are caught in the middle give up their own independent thinking and join a side, they also give up their strength.

Ajay TG said that if we reject the road of the Maoists and the government, then what road is left for people to walk upon? He said that if everyone at the conference is ready to face the pressure, over the next 3 days in the conference, the purpose should be to come together and decide what a 3rd path should look like.

BPS Netam grounded the discussion by pointing out the realities faced by adivasis in Maoist areas and the difficulties in forging a 3rd path. When the Maoists come, they demand food and recruit the children in the village. Once they go with the Maoists, there are only two ways of returning – giraftar (surrender) or encounter. The police also target the adivasis and either throw them in jail or “encounter” them, on the grounds that they are helping the Maoists.

He continued that this entire situation has resulted in a reduction in Adivasis population. The community just wants to live in peace on their lands in the jungle, but even this is becoming precarious since many corporates want the minerals located under the land.



B.P.S Netam, President of Sarv Adivasi Samaj, highlighting the dangers faced by Adivasi's in Maoist areas

Shubhranshu Choudhary, a former journalist with the BBC, ended the first session by talking about how journalists covering the conflict mainly write reactive stories that do not improve the situation. When the naxals kill government forces, the journalists would wait to see how many the government kills. This in turn prompts further retaliation, and the role of the journalist is reduced to being a scorekeeper.

Shubhranshu spoke about the dire need for journalists to start writing creative stories instead, which can help improve the lives of people caught in the middle. In this regard, he spoke about his work with CGnet Swara, a media organization trying to solve basic governance problems in conflict ridden regions in Central India. CGnet Swara was also one of the organizers of the event.

Day 1, Session 2: The present situation in Central India and possible solutions

In the afternoon session focusing on how to solve existing problems, Arvind Netam from Adivasi Samaj emphasized the need for the government to focus on proper implementation of existing laws. He said that there are laws like PESA and the Panchayati Raj Act, which if implemented can provide the adivasis with rights that can protect them and the land they are wedded to. The 3rd path must thus focus on ensuring proper implementation of existing laws.

The next speaker, Ramchandra Singh Dev, first finance minister of Chhattisgarh, expanded on this point and said that the approach to forging a 3rd path must begin by asking the Adivasi's what they want. He bemoaned the state of planning where people sitting in air-conditioned offices make plans for the Adivasi's living in the forests, saying that "the white man has gone but the brown saab has come."



Ramchandra Singh speaking about his experience drafting the Bastar Plan

Ramchandraji then spoke about his experiences in helping draft the Bastar plan. He insisted that there be no mining or growth of heavy industries, as this focuses more on the development of the brown saab rather than the Adivasi, who care more about water, education and their land for farming. He recommended the growth of cottage industries through measures like banning plastic and replacing it with bamboo and other materials that are plentiful in the area and can economically uplift the people.



(left to right) Nand Kumar Sai, Sharad Behar, Arvind Netam, Lalit Surjan and Gautam Bandhopadhyaya

Nand Kumar Sai, Chairman of the National Commission for Scheduled Tribes (NCST), bemoaned the current model of growth that emphasizes consumption and production over the environment. This has resulted in a reduction of forest cover, dirty water in the rivers and poor air quality, which in turn has caused rapidly

deteriorating health conditions in forest areas. He asked for more fundamental changes in our definition of growth if we are to preserve the Adivasi way of life.

Gautam Bandhopadhyaya, a film maker and social activist, summed up the discussion by saying that it is time we question our institutions. In the name of growth, people were expected to keep quiet and go along with the way things are even when stripped of their land and forests.

Gautam expressed frustration as a film maker, saying that he can document and make films on the situation, but nothing will really change unless we change the underlying political economy. He beseeched all attendees to think on a larger canvas and create a model of development where peace and justice go together.

Sharad Behar, former chief secretary to Madhya Pradesh, drew the analogy of the Yamuna and the Ganga to highlight the dangers of Adivasi integration with the rest of society. He said that just as the Yamuna is swallowed by the Ganga, so the Adivasi culture will be swallowed by the mainstream, globalized culture.

Sharad expanded on this point by highlighting the prevalence of TINA, or 'There Is No Alternative.' He said that people think that there are drawbacks to globalization and the market economy, but everyone inevitably asks, 'what is the alternative'? He concluded by saying that the 3rd path needs a model of growth that has



Sharad Behar, former chief secretary to Madhya Pradesh government, discussing alternatives to the globalized system

both justice and growth, and cannot be forged by any one person. It requires a billion mutinies with self-governance as the end goal. Self-governing leaders in the area would be able to work with the governments and corporations on their own terms and present their demands from a stronger position.



Participants at the Sangam asking questions of the panelists

The discussion was followed by a robust question and answer session. Attendees wondered whether it was possible to also include corporates as part of the solution, or whether they had to be excluded from the 3rd path. There was also a discussion over whether adivasis could be integrated into society or if their way of life must be kept separate and preserved.

Lalit Surjan, the editor of Hindi news daily Deshbandhu, concluded the discussion by saying that society cannot remain separate from technological developments, but must own it as far as is possible. No society can live in a silo, and it is important to study how production methods are changing with the advent of technology.



(left to right) Nand Kumar Sai, Dr. Goldy M George and Santosh Shukla having a post-session discussion

Day 1, Session 3: Is Adivasi self-governance a viable alternative?

The third and final session on the first day went deeper into a point briefly raised in the first session – implementation of existing laws and the role of PESA in bringing peace to the region. Albert Kindo, a PESA activist in Jharkhand, said that the law is not being followed in most areas as the local people and the local government are both unaware of the provisions contained in the act. He said that unity and mobilization is the answer to ignorance of the act, and gave an example where a company that wanted an extension of 200 acres of land was stopped by protestors that spread awareness of the act.



(left to right) Anil Ekka, Albert Kindo, Manimala and Deme Oraon leading the session on Adivasi self-governance

Anil Ekka also spoke about unity of the people and the need for self-governance. Deme Oraon said that this can be achieved through the PESA act, which gives more power to the Gram Sabha, composed of all members of a village. Drawing upon the earlier discussion of technological change, Oraon agreed that while culture is not fixed or definite, each society should nonetheless be able to determine the direction it heads in. Thus, the very notion of development and the form of government must be decided by the people, and there is a provision to ensure this within the PESA act. The discussion concluded with the understanding that if there is an alternative to the market based exploitative system, then Adivasi self-governance based on human values is the answer.

Day 2, Session 1: What are the existing mass media platforms and cultural initiatives that are happening in Central India which can be used to promote peace?

The first session of the day focused on the media and its role in contributing to a peaceful society. Dr Rohit Prasad, professor at Management Development Institute, Gurugram, bemoaned the current state of polarization in the media, where people live in a filter bubble and everyone is talking at the same time. He reflected on the irony of our living in an age where communication has broken down, in spite of communication being made easier than ever thanks to technology.



Dr. Rohit Prasad, a professor of management at MDI Gurgaon, on the current state of polarization in the media



Dr Amit Ranjan Basu, an expert on mental health, said that children are becoming a victim of technology. One to one interaction has been going down with the ubiquity of mobile phones, and mobile addiction has officially entered our lexicon. Children learn speaking and story-telling by doing, but this is going down in the technology age as a side effect of mobiles and the internet.

Dr. Amit Ranjan Basu speaking about the dire need to address mental health issues

Deepa Kiran: Changing the Storytelling Paradigm

Deepa Kiran is a passionate storyteller who is trying to teach children English through stories. She has worked with state, central and private school teachers across the country to incorporate storytelling techniques in teaching English to primary school children.

She noticed that the education system prioritizes English stories from foreign authors, which were far removed from the everyday experience of our lives. Deepa begins her sessions asking children to narrate a story from their own experience, in their own language. She even asks children to go to their parents and grandparents and ask them for stories.



Deepa Kiran talking about the impact of storytelling on children

While teachers and the children are surprised at being able to speak in their native tongue during an English lesson, Deepa finds it unrealistic to expect children to learn English without developing their identity and communication skills in their own language first. After all, stories are fundamental to our sense of identity, and we develop and solidify our identity through narrating stories.

Shravan Garg, the former editor of Dainik Bhaskar, said that mainstream media is a one-way communication platform, where one entity broadcasts and the other people listen. These one way platforms have a circulation of only a few crore, so we must dispel the notion that they run the country. News is ultimately regional, which is where alternative, 2-way media platforms like CGnet Swara draw their power.

Naresh Bunkar then reported his own experience with using CGnet Swara to effect change in his district. At a village in Kabirdham, there was a half-built school whose construction had been stalled for many years. Children were forced to study in the outdoors, but no media channel or outlet even spoke about the problem. This was then reported on CGnet Swara's toll-free phone number that villagers can call to listen and report stories, and construction resumed soon after. He concluded that alternative media channels like CGnet Swara supplement mainstream media and must be strengthened.



Naresh Bunkar, a reporter using CGnet Swara's platform since 2012

CGnet Swara: Creating Impact by Giving People a Platform to Make Their Voices Heard

For the last 7 years, CGnetSwara has been operating a toll-free number to collect and distribute news amongst the Adivasi populations in central India. Most residents in the region cannot read or write, making print newspapers inaccessible to them. Most do not have a television set or electricity, while radio does not broadcast in their language. To address these problems and create a mass media platform in the region, CGnet Swara operates a toll-free number which people can call to record and listen to stories.

Everyday, over a thousand people call this number to hear the news, while about 80 stories are submitted. The stories range from basic governance problems experienced by a community to news bulletins and cultural songs.

About 35% of the stories submitted are on basic governance problems faced by the people in the area, such as workers who haven't been paid their NREGA wages or a handpump that has not been repaired for some time. CGnet Swara's model for creating impact centers around solving these problems - every month, there are about 11 phone calls from people saying that the problem they reported on CGnet Swara had been solved, with a total of about 650 problems solved over 8 years.

This was followed by a discussion on the notion of inclusiveness in media. Sanat Chakraborty, a journalist from the North-East, said that print media is for city people who are comfortable with reading and writing. Drawing on the oral tradition of India, he said that truly inclusive media must be in the audio form.



Sanat Chakraborty, a journalist in Meghalaya who recounted his experience of using the internet in the 1990s to publish news that matters

He also spoke briefly about how the internet has broken the essential hierarchy that existed in the media where the power of publishing ideas rested with a few people. Everyone can now participate in the forum of ideas, but this must be extended to areas without internet, which is where initiatives like CGnet Swara are important.

Praveer Peter from Jharkhand also raised the point that it is important to understand who it is that is telling the story. Earlier, stories were only told by journalists and trained professionals. Now, it is possible for the community itself to say their own stories in their own language.

Pavan Satyarthi spoke about how this opportunity must be utilized to educate people with new ideas. The emergence of smartphones and proliferation of Whatsapp is an opportunity to disseminate new ideas. Pavan shared lessons he learnt from creating his own Whatsapp based radio station, and how he uses it to educate people about new ideas.



Pavan Satyarthi sharing lessons from starting a Whatsapp based radio station

The final discussion on inclusiveness in media centered around language. Milind Wani from Kalpavriksh spoke about how India had inflicted cultural genocide on its people. There were more than 600 languages after independence, which have been reduced to only a few languages now based on the fact that they had a written script. He wondered whether alternative media could serve as a medium for reviving cultural languages, and how one would go about this.



Shubhranshu from CGnet Swara talking about the organizations efforts to preserve the Gond language

Shubhranshu Choudhary, the President of CGnet Swara, spoke about the organization's efforts in trying to resuscitate the Gond language. Although there are 1.2 crore Gond adivasis spread over multiple states, these speakers are not able to understand one another. Since 2014, CGnet Swara has organized 9 workshops to democratically create a standardized Gond dictionary applicable across all the states and has made a Gondi dictionary app.



Deepa Kiran narrating a story during the evening cultural program

Day 2, Session 2: Health as a pillar of peace in central India

Milind Wani, the chair of the discussion, said that there is a common misconception that so long as modern medicine doesn't arrive, there can be no improvements in health. He asked all other members of the panel to give examples of bottom-up, indigenous health initiatives in their area.



Milind Wani explaining how advancements in health can happen without modern medicine

Naresh Biswas, one of the panelists who works on vulnerable tribal groups, spoke about the traditional food grown by tribal groups and argued that improvements in health can happen through the quality of food eaten. For instance, tribal populations were earlier growing millets, but began growing wheat and rice due to government policies. Now, there is a push by the government to start growing more millets as its health benefits have been identified.

Naresh also spoke about how improvements in health can happen through diffusion of indigenous knowledge to different tribes. He gave the example of the Pahadi Korwa tribe, which eats a particular type of leaf that is known to be bitter but helps prevent fever and other diseases. In Baiga areas, people have these leaves in abundance but don't eat them. Drawing on the first session of the day on mass media platforms, Naresh said there must be a platform for cultural exchange where different tribes are sharing this knowledge with one another.

H.D. Gandhi also commented that the tragedy of indigenous health practices are that they are often not carried forward by the next generation, resulting in a permanent loss of the knowledge. To combat this, he talked about his work with Swasthya Swara, where people can call a toll-free number and report indigenous health measures and also listen and share the knowledge with other people.

Anil Bamne talked about the importance of the community in promoting health. The organization he works at, Jan Swasthya Sahyog (JSS), organizes people into groups. It not only makes them feel better to talk about their illnesses with others suffering from the same ailment, but it also gives them knowledge of schemes and programs of the government. He spoke about how his organization now wanted to use media to reach even more people and form more groups.

Dr. Amitranjan Basu finally concluded the session with an impassioned appeal to all to consider mental health and mobilize efforts for bringing it into mainstream discourse without the stigma usually associated with it.

Day 2, Session 3: Lessons from the North-East - History of a Movement

Pramod Boro is the President of the All Assam Bodo Students Union (ABSU) and has been advocating for the separate state of Bodoland in Assam. Pramod started his talk with some background on the struggle.

The Bodo people chose to stay within Assam after independence and also during the time when Indira Gandhi was prime minister. They rejected the model of Mizoram, which was carved out of Assam in 1972 to accommodate the dominant Mizo tribe.

However, problems soon began to arise as the Assamese community began imposing their language on the Bodo community. Bodo was initially not taught in schools in order to establish Assamese as the unifying language of the state. After a strong movement, the state government relented and allowed Bodo to be taught until 5th grade, with the caveat that it be in Devanagari script. Unsatisfied with the resolution, the Bodos launched another movement to keep Bodo until secondary education. However, children in schools now had to study Assamese, English, Hindi and Bodo, leaving little time for other pursuits and subjects.

In 1986, a separate demand was raised to have a radio program broadcast in Bodo. Demands also began for decentralization and power sharing between the groups. This movement was supported by the Bengali's and Muslims in the area, who had also been marginalized from power in the state.

After demands were made for a separate state in 1992, a brutal crackdown began. The Assamese police tried to crush the movement. Many houses were burnt and people killed as the two sides fought one another.

In 1993, an agreement was reached to create a Bodoland autonomous council. However, the council enjoyed little power, and even basic services like education were kept in the hands of the state government. After 2 years of working within the council, the underground movement began again around 1995-96. This time, however, the demand was for a separate state.

This period was marked by armed conflict, bombs and explosions. The next breakthrough only came during the Kargil war in 1999, when the Bodo leaders announced a unilateral ceasefire to support the country in its time of need. This got the sympathy of national leaders, who began advocating for the establishment of an autonomous Bodoland territorial council. However, the negotiations fell through since the Assamese government was unwilling to relinquish power over the home and finance ministry.

The breakdown in negotiations was followed by one of the darkest periods in Bodo history. The guerrilla movement killed not just government forces, but also local business and political leaders, journalists and activists. A split in the movement increased violence within the Bodo community itself.



Pramod Boro talking about his efforts to create a peaceful 3rd way for the Bodo adivasis in Assam

At this time, Pramod Boro, the speaker, contemplated taking up arms to fight for the Bodo people, even going to Nagaland for training. However, he soon came under Gandhian influence and realized a three-sided armed struggle between the Bodos would simply make the situation worse. He then realized that he needed to make the non-violent voice as loud as the violent voices fighting in the Bodo region.

Pramod began going to the human rights commission in Delhi and filing cases on atrocities in the area. With AFSPA still in effect in the state, the military could act with impunity. He recounted one incident where the military had killed an innocent child. As there was no communication from the government, people began putting up placards thanking the Indian army for killing innocent kids. This had an immediate effect; one army officer apologized after the incident, while another resigned.

Pramod is still fighting for a separate Bodo state and trying to link the struggle with wider movements in India. The non-violent voice in Bodoland is now louder than the violent voice, and the focus is on working towards education, peace, the economy and restoring ties with communities stricken with violence. In order to move forward, he believes there needs to be a reckoning where all the communities affected by violence have the courage to come to each other and tender unconditional apologies from the heart, without any motivated reasons.

Day 2, Session 4: How do we break our silence on the violence in Central India?

The final session of the second day focused on the path forward for peace. CPI leader Manish Kunjam spoke about the disaster that was Salwa Judum, which was billed by the government as a fight more important than the freedom struggle. However, Bastar had never experienced a bloodier time than during this period.

Manish said that the tension today stems from the Iron ore mines and other minerals located under the land, which is desired by all the corporates. For opposing land takeovers, people were being thrown in jails for months on end. If this continues, Maoism might end through force, but the violence will not stop.

Pramod Boro from the North-East agreed and said that land security is very important for creating a peaceful society in Adivasi areas. He also commented on the various experiments that were ongoing, such as CGnet Swara, and said that the beauty of such experiments is that it supplements existing efforts, rather than supplanting them.



Manish Kunjam talking about the disaster that was Salwa Judum

Mohan Hirabai Hiralal said that in a peaceful society, women, adivasis, etc. must think that the knowledge they possess is important and worth sharing with others. So there is a need for a discussion based forum where decisions are taken not by majority, but by consensus. Keshav Gurnule from Gadchiroli said that the PESA act is especially useful in this regard, since it allows all villagers to participate in decision making through the Gram Sabha. The conclusion of the session was that only by allowing the people's will to come through, whether it be through Gram Sabha or alternative media, can peace be attained in these areas.

Day 3, Session 1: What are the existing efforts, failures and successes in bringing peace to central india and what are the future possibilities?

During the morning session of the 3rd day, Prof. Hargopal gave a background on the history of peace talks between the Maoists and the government.



Prof. Hargopal talking about the history of peace dialogue between the Maoists and the government

One of the two surviving members of the team that initiated the last Peace talks in Andhra, Hargopal opened his remarks by saying that an incident becomes a cause behind an effect. For example, a landlord was killed by villagers in Karimnagar district of then Andhra Pradesh (now Telangana) which became the starting point of the Maoist movement.

During the movement, people understood that a government which applies force to exploit them is not worth defending. In Bastar, we need to now ask the government, what is your mining policy? How come 100 corporations have 100 lakh crores and more? A small part of our national income can educate entire population, but that has not been done yet, why? He stressed that we need a government which believes in justice and equality.

He then recounted how 15 people worked for 8 years to start a Peace process in Andhra Pradesh, from 1996 until it collapsed in 2004. At the national level, Arundhati Roy, Prashant Bhushan and Swami Agnivesh tried with Maoist leader Azad to broker peace, but the Maoist leader was killed by the state through deceit during the process. Kishan Ji also tried but paid with his life. These incidents have cast a shadow on peace processes involving the government.

After Alex Paul Menon, then a collector in Sukhma, was abducted by the Maoists, the Government signed papers for release of innocent adivasis who were in jail. Former Madhya Pradesh Chief Secretary Nirmala Buch headed a committee formed for implementation of the deal, but Mrs Buch expressed helplessness after a month to get it implemented. Apart from these examples, Hargopal said that there have been a series of betrayal from the government side and there is no reason to believe that anything has changed.

However, he felt that there must be dialogue and that civil society should take the initiative here. He felt that civil society has been lacking in this regard, due to the fear factor. He appealed to participants to form committees of people who carry respect from both sides and can credibly question the development model by orienting the focus towards health, education and livelihood. He said that it is important to support all the working examples of alternatives and also form pressure groups to work on implementation of all the laws related to adivasis in scheduled areas. This can lay the groundwork for a truly peaceful resolution where people are not killed on either side.

Mr Raghavachari gave an example from the poor district of Mahboobnagar, Telangana, to show why the development model needs to change. Lakhs of people migrate out of the district in search of work to the rest of the country. The Maoists who came had been sent back by force. However, Adivasis are still not getting the benefit of irrigation and Special Economic Zones (SEZ) have taken away their land. There is thus a need to change the development paradigm, without which permanent peace is not possible.

Prof Hargopal concluded by saying that there must be a people's effort for peace by withdrawing active support for violence from both sides. This can be done by reexamining the work of BD Sharma Ji as well as studying different places like Bodoland, although we should keep in mind that Bodoland is different from Chhattisgarh. He particularly appreciated the Bodoland example where their side has also admitted culpability and responsibility for the violence.

He finally expressed optimism and said that while he initially thought there were no vibrant social organisations in Chhattisgarh, it was a good sign to work with organisations like Sarv Adivasi Samaj. The participation of more organized and educated part of Adivasis is important in this process, which will not go very far without their involvement.

As the way forward for peace, he said that all the political parties should be brought together for the Peace process. He said that the major demands would be a moratorium for 5 years on all lease agreement, and that the innocents suffering in jails must be released. Government must adhere to its commitments made in the past, and the process should take a national shape.

Day 3, Session 2: The Way Forward

The afternoon session followed a more free-wheeling format where participants had to come up with points of action that we could collectively take moving forward.

1. Alternative Media

Naresh Bunkar and Bhan Sahu stated that alternative media platforms like CGnet Swara and Whatsapp radio stations must be strengthened. The model of allowing people to voice their problems, and connecting them with officers to solve them can bring about inclusive development and foster peace. People must live fearlessly and speak out using whatever medium they can to make themselves and their issues heard by the outside world.



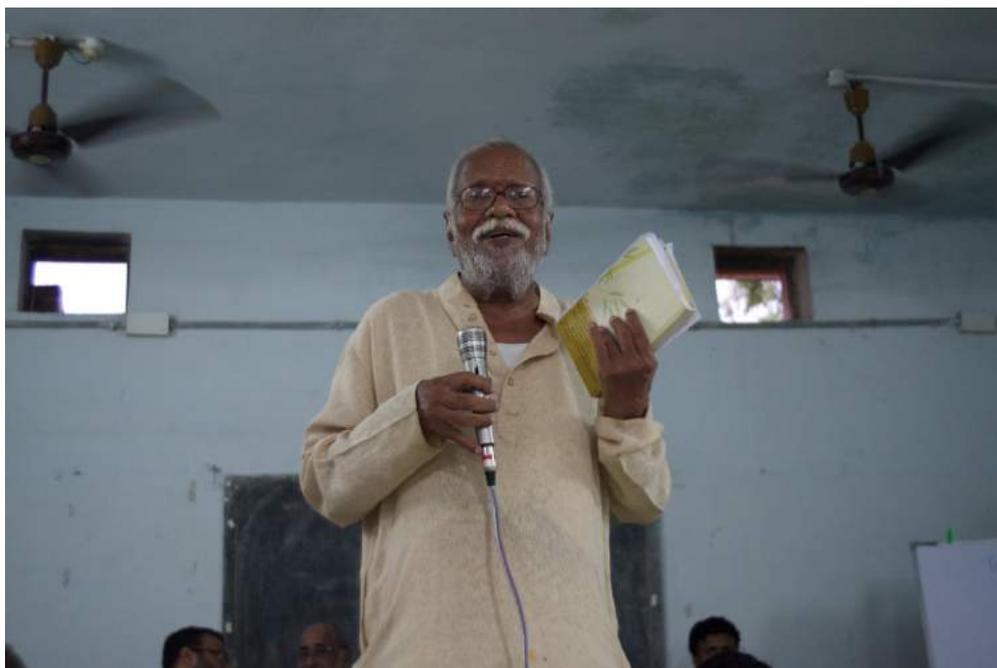
Bhan Sahu talking about her experience with using CGnet Swara's technology to solve basic governance problems in Odgi, Surajpur

H.D Gandhi said that any platform must take into account the fact that people cannot read or write. To be representative of their issues, it must also focus on seemingly small issues like electricity and handpumps in villages. Bhan Sahu continued this point by narrating her experience in Odgi (Surajpur), where people had to walk 4 kms to drink dirty river water as the village handpump had broken.

Naresh Biswas spoke about how adivasis get implicated in cases for poaching and trespassing forest land. The Naxals would enter these areas and befriend the adivasi's by giving them continued access to forest land. Violence would begin shortly after. Alternative media must thus focus on these fringe areas which are in danger of becoming violent and also on ensuring people get rights to their forest.

2. Samvad Yatra

V.B.Chandrasekaran said that people must be taken by surprise in order to open up a 3rd way. He proposed organizing 1000 people to undertake a 200 kilometre yatra from his Gandhi ashram in Chaati, Andhra Pradesh, to Jagdalpur. This would be a symbolic march as it is the same route the Maoists took in 1980. This movement would be non-partisan and create a space for dialogue as opposed to using words that bring confrontation. He said that the yatra could begin from his ashram in Andhra Pradesh, where support would be provided. Participants agreed to work on this suggestion and commence the padyatra on 2nd October to coincide with the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi.



V.B Chandrasekhar appealing to all participants to start a 10-day yatra through Bastar

Sidam Arju said that the Maoist leaders are our own boys and girls, as a majority of them have come from Old Andhra Pradesh (now also Telangana). They started the movement in our area and we had also joined them. However, we left their movement a while back and they have also left us. He said that we agree with most of their demands - they are our demands too - but the path of violence is causing more trouble. He lamented that his Gond Adivasi brothers and sisters are suffering more because of this violence and getting killed by both sides. Something like the 2nd October samvad yatra is thus needed to bring their people back home and turn them away from the path of violence.

Dr. Amitranjan Basu seconded the suggestion and said the rally can be taken out from Bastar to Raipur. Goldy M George, a Dalit leader, stressed that the effort must be taken forward by the victim-survivors. Civil society should thus take a backseat and let the victim-survivors become the baton bearers of this process.

3. Effective Implementation of Existing Laws:

In line with discussions throughout the 3 day conference, many participants agreed that a strong Gram Sabha that allowed the people to make their own decisions can help bring peace to the region. The Forest Rights Act allows many adivasis access to forest land, but they are unaware of these rights when officers stop them.

Multiple grassroots organizations at the gathering agreed to hold meetings in their area to raise awareness of people's rights and strengthen the Gram Sabha. Devji Tofa agreed to do a Gram Sabha meeting in his village at Gadchiroli and focus on these issues. He also promised to speak to the collector and CEO and enlist their support for the same.



Sidam Arju inviting participants to continue the dialogue at Adilabad (Andhra Pradesh) on July 28th

Sidam Arju from Telangana also said he would hold meetings in his district at Telangana during the same period to educate people on these acts, in addition to enlisting support for the 2nd October peace march. A 5-day meeting for this purpose was planned and held at Adilabad on 27th July.

4. Economic empowerment:



C.R Bakshy explaining a plan for economically rejuvenating Bastar

C.R. Bakshi and many other participants stressed the importance of resuscitating the local economy if we are to have peace in central India. He suggested that participants create an economic platform where local, indigenous goods can be sold to urban areas to increase incomes of people living in troubled areas.

Shubhranshu Choudhary mentioned his experience of working in areas so remote that even pesticides and fertilizers do not reach those areas. He also mentioned that some tribes, such as the Baiga tribe, have a collective aversion to using pesticides. He suggested that their produce be marketed as organic, which would fetch them a higher income.

5. Scholarship Fund

Devansh Mehta, a journalist working with CGnet Swara, began with the premise that giving people hope is the only way to end a conflict. If a society sees its children becoming doctors and engineers, there is less incentive for them to join an armed insurrection. Devansh thus proposed the establishment of a scholarship fund that would pay the education fees of anyone that had got admission into a university.

Deepa Kiran also reiterated this point and said that the power of education is that it opens people's minds. Strengthening educational systems can thus help end the conflict.

6. The Reconciliation Project

Shubhranshu Choudhary from CGnet Swara spoke about his experience with going to Bastar for the last 15-20 years and watching the conflict unfold over time. He said that while the Maoist movement is waning as there is no new blood or leadership that is being developed, there is a very real danger of a gang war breaking out in the area that could throw the region into even more chaos. There is thus a need to for civil society to liaison with the government and provide an honorable exit for the Maoists to help avert the gang war. The recent success of Colombia in bringing to an end the Maoist movement by integrating them within the electoral structure is an example of how this might be achieved.

An advisory committee and implementation committee was formed to take forward these 5 recommendations, with an additional meeting planned at Adilabad to build on the consensus reached at the Sangam.

Advisory Committee Members

Sharad Behar	Mohan Hirabai Hiralal	Shravan Garg
Sudhakar Patnaik	C. R Bakshi	Milind Wani
Hargopal	Devaji Tofa	V. B Chandrshekhar
Sidam Arju	B. P. S Netam	Bhan Sahu
Madhulika Banerjee	Manimala	Ajay TG
Sanat Chakraborty	Shubhranshu Choudhary	

Implementation Committee Members

Chhattisgarh

Shubhranshu Choudhary	Goldy George	Ajay TG
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Devansh Mehta
Rawte Ji
Amrish
Priyanka Sandilya

Sumanlata Achla
Uttam Atla
Neelawati Wadde
Gavendra Deshmukh

Sanoti Kawde
Manish Kunjam
Rano Wadde

Telangana

Korenga Dowlath Rao
Mohit Garg

Korenga Laximan

Deepa Kiran

Maharashtra

Devaji Tofa
Krishna Bhurkurya
Sachin Uikey

Ijamsai Katenge
Amit Narote
Prahlad Sidam

Shamrao Uike
Sadukar Halami

Madhya Pradesh

Pavan Satyarthi

Delhi

Venkatram

Odisha

Ravishankar Pradhan

Annexure 1: News Articles on Vikalp Sangam for Peace in Central India

1. Naidunia article published on 9th June accessible at <https://naidunia.jagran.com/chhattisgarh/raipur-intellectuals-from-all-over-the-country-come-for-peace-initiatives-in-bastar-1761838>

बस्तर में शांति की पहल, विकल्प संगम में जुटे देशभर के बुद्धिजीवी

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सभी राज्यों से दस-दस प्रतिनिधि आमंत्रित किए गए हैं। इस संगम में गोड़ी भाषी आदिवासी भी बड़ी संख्या में जुटे हैं।

बड़ी खबरें



जन्माष्टमी विशेष : गीता के श्लोक और कुरआन की आयतें लिखे ग्रंथों को दिया राधा-कृष्ण का स्वरूप



अनिल मिश्रा. रायपर। दशकों से नक्सल हिंसा की आग में झलस रहे छत्तीसगढ़ के बस्तर को बचाने

2. Patrika article published on 9th June accessible at <http://epaper.patrika.com/c/29458215>



बस्तर समत मध्यभारत म शात का स्थापना का लकर त्वमश



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रायपुर. मध्य भारत में शांति की स्थापना को लेकर विकल्प संगम समूह द्वारा तीन दिवसीय विमर्श शुरुवार को तिलदा में शुरू हुआ। इस विमर्श के पहले दिन अलग-अलग क्षेत्रों से आए देश के तमाम बुद्धिजीवियों ने अपने विचार रखे। मोहन शीणबाई हीरालाल ने कहा जहाँ आदिवासियों के पास सबसे ज्यादा संपदा है किंतु वो सबसे गरीब हैं।



दोनों तरफ से हिंसा हो रही है और आदिवासी मारे जा रहे हैं। मनुष्य का क्या अस्तित्व हो हिंसा के मध्य हो गया है। संविधान कहता है हम ही देश, किन्तु आज चंद लोग देश को चला रहे हैं, ग्राम सभा मजबूत होगी तो आदिवासी मजबूत होंगे। डॉ. ब्यूगेंड्री फिल्मकार अजय

टीजी ने स्वागत उद्घोष कि बस्तर में आदिवासियों के विकास को बत करने वाले को शासन मान्यता देना चाहिए। वहीं रोज रोज माओवादी आदिवासी को प्रताड़ित करते हैं ऐसे में बस्तर के लोग जाएं तो कहां जाएं? अभिवांजित मध्यप्रदेश के पूर्व मुख्य सचिव शरद चंद्र का

कहना है कि आदिवासियों का शोषण कर जो विकास हो रहा है वो सरकार द्वारा कारपोरेट जगत को लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए है। 95 प्रतिशत लाभ केवल 5 प्रतिशत लोगों को मिले, वो कैसे विकसित देश की परिभाषा हो सकती है। पत्रकार ललित सुरजन का

कहना है कि जब हम मध्य भारत में शांति की स्थापना के लिए आदिवासी मुठों के साथ-साथ गैर आदिवासी इलाकों के विकास हेतु भी कार्य होना चाहिए। रायगढ़ में लोहा-कोयला कंपनियों ने लोगों का जीवन तबाह कर दिया है, केलो नदी माला बन चुकी है। बस्तर में खिनी और डंकिनी का जल लाल हो गया है। सिविल सैसाइटी सिर्फ मुठों को न पहचाने बल्कि समाधान भी दे।

पूर्व केंद्रीय मंत्री अरविंद नेवाम का कहना है कि देश को आजाद हुए 70 साल हुए और इन वर्षों में जितना विकास होना चाहिए था वो से नहीं पाया। इसमें आदिवासी समुदाय का विकास पीछे रह गया।

नेताम का कहना था कि 4 साल पहले केन्द्र में मोदी सरकार आई और उसके पहले जो सरकार रही उसमें बहुत फर्क है। अभी सरकार के क्रियाकलापों को देखें तो सामाजिक क्षेत्र से जुड़े लोग धींचक रह जाते हैं कि देना में ऐसा कोई वर्ग नहीं जो महसूस करता हो कि वो संतुष्ट है।

सुभाषु चौधरी ने कहा कि मध्य भारत में शांति के बहुत बार प्रयास किए गए किन्तु शायद उनमें कोई कमी रही हो। इसलिए उन वजहों को तलाश जाना चाहिए जिनसे माओवाद प्रभावित इलाकों में शांति की बहाली हो सके। इसके अलावा एसटी कमीशन के प्रमुख नन्द कुमार साय ने भी अपने विचार रखे।



3. Navbharat Times article published on 10th June, accessible at <http://epaper.navabharat.org/images/120618raj2news14.jpg>

नई शांति प्रक्रिया में मुख्य घटक होंगे आदिवासी

■ नवभारत रिपोर्टर। रायपुर.

मध्य भारत में शांति के लिए जल्द ही प्रक्रिया शुरू करने का निर्णय लिया गया है. इस बार इस प्रक्रिया में आदिवासियों की मुख्य भूमिका होगी. मध्य भारत में शांति के लिए विकल्प संगम विषय पर तिलदा में हुई तीन दिनी बैठक में यह निर्णय लिया गया है कि उत्तर पूर्व और अन्य देशों में हुए शांति प्रयासों से भी सीख लेने की जरूरत है. जिससे इस बार सफलता के और करीब पहुंचे.

बैठक में पूर्व शांति प्रयासों का नेतृत्व करने वाले प्रो. हरगोपाल, मध्यप्रदेश के पूर्व मुख्य सचिव शरदचंद्र बेहार शामिल थे. इनके साथ छत्तीसगढ़ के

अलावा ओड़िशा, तेलंगाना, आंध्रप्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र और मध्यप्रदेश के आदिवासी भी शामिल थे. बैठक में अनुसूचित जनजाति आयोग के प्रमुख नंदकुमार साय, कांग्रेस के आदिवासी नेता अरविंद नेताम, वरिष्ठ पत्रकार ललित सुरजन और श्रवण गर्ग भी शामिल हुए.

ऑल बोर्डो स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन के अध्यक्ष प्रमोद बोडो ने कहा कि आंशिक ही सही उत्तर पूर्व के कुछ क्षेत्रों में जैसे बोडोलैंड, मिजोरम आदि में वे लोग शांति वापस लाने में सफल रहे हैं और अब वे मध्य भारत में आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में शांति लाने में अपनी सेवाएं देना चाहेंगे. आदिलाबाद, तेलंगाना से आए आदिवासी नेता सिद्धम आरजू ने कहा कि छत्तीसगढ़

के लगभग सारे नक्सली नेता हमारे क्षेत्र से ही आए हैं. हमारे क्षेत्र में ही यह आंदोलन पहले शुरू हुआ. अब हमारे यहां शांति है, पर हमारे ही गोंड भाई-बहन छत्तीसगढ़ जैसी जगहों पर दिक्कत में हैं. हम उनके बड़े भाई की तरह उनको मदद करना चाहते हैं. हम उनको बताना चाहते हैं कि हमारे यहां शांति कैसे आई. हम माओवादी नेताओं से भी अनुरोध करना चाहते हैं कि अब बहुत हो गया और अब हम सभी को शांति के लिए प्रयास करना चाहिए. महाराष्ट्र के गढ़चिरोली के मेंडालेखा गांव से आए आदिवासी नेता देवाजी तोफा ने कहा कि हम अपने गांव जाकर हमारे जैसे और गांव के लोगों के साथ इस बैठक में हुई चर्चा के बारे में बातचीत करेंगे.

4. Patrika article published on 12th June accessible at <http://epaper.patrika.com/c/29445017>

माओवादी हिंसा रोकने की पहल

शांति प्रक्रिया में आदिवासियों की होगी मुख्य भूमिका



अनेक राज्यों के विशेषज्ञ और सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता बैठक में शामिल

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रायपुर. मध्य भारत में शांति के लिए अब तक हुए कई प्रयास विफल रहे हैं, इसका एक बड़ा कारण रहा है वार्ता में आदिवासियों का शामिल न रहना। राजधानी के करीब तिलदा में 10 जून को

दूसरे शांति प्रयासों से सीखने की जरूरत पर जोर, हिंसा रोकने की अपील

संपन्न हुई तीन दिवसीय विशेष बैठक में शांति वार्ता के पक्षधर विशेषज्ञ इस बात पर दृढ़ हैं कि शांति प्रक्रिया फिर शुरू करेंगे और उसमें आदिवासियों की मुख्य भूमिका होगी।

मध्य भारत में शांति के लिए विकल्प संगम विषय पर हुई बैठक में यह भी निर्णय लिया गया कि उत्तर पूर्व और अन्य देशों में हुए शांति प्रयासों से भी सीख लेने की जरूरत है, जिससे इस बार हम

हर संभव प्रयास हो

यद्यपि हमें विपरीत शांति प्रक्रियाओं में सफलता की तरफ से कई बार धोखा हुआ है, पर इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि हमें नए प्रयास नहीं करने चाहिए। मध्य भारत में जारी हिंसा में अब तक दोनों ओर से हजारों लोग मारे गए हैं और हमें हर मूल्य को रोकने का हर संभव प्रयास करना चाहिए।

प्रोफेसर हरगोपाल, अनेक शांति वार्ता में शामिल रहे

सफलता के करीब पहुंचे।

इस बैठक में अनेक शांति प्रयासों का नेतृत्व करने वाले प्रोफेसर हरगोपाल, मध्यप्रदेश के पूर्व मुख्य सचिव शरद चंद्र बेहार आदि शामिल थे। उड़ीसा, छत्तीसगढ़, तेलंगाना, आंध्रप्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र और मध्यप्रदेश के आदिवासी भी इस बैठक में शामिल हुए। अनुसूचित जनजाति आयोग के प्रमुख नंद कुमार साय, कांग्रेस के आदिवासी नेता

अरविंद नेताम और अनेक वरिष्ठ पत्रकार भी इस बैठक में शामिल रहे।

ऑल बोर्डो स्टूडेंट्स यूनियन के अध्यक्ष प्रमोद बोडो ने कहा, 'आंशिक ही सही, पर उत्तर पूर्व के कुछ क्षेत्रों में जैसे बोडोलैंड, मिजोरम आदि में वे लोग शांति वापस लाने में सफल रहे हैं और अब वे मध्य भारत में भी आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में शांति लाने में अपनी सेवाएं देना चाहिए।'

आदिलाबाद, तेलंगाना से आए आदिवासी नेता सिद्धम आरजू ने कहा, 'छत्तीसगढ़ के लगभग सारे नक्सली नेता हमारे क्षेत्र से ही आए हैं, हमारे क्षेत्र में ही यह आन्दोलन पहले शुरू हुआ। अब हमारे यहां शांति है, पर हमारे ही गोंड भाई-बहन छत्तीसगढ़ जैसी जगहों पर दिक्कत में हैं। हम माओवादी नेताओं से भी यह अनुरोध करना चाहते हैं कि अब बहुत हो गया

और अब हम सभी को शांति के लिए प्रयास करना चाहिए।'

महाराष्ट्र के गढ़चिरोली जिले के मेंडालेखा गांव से आए आदिवासी नेता देवाजी तोफा ने कहा, 'हम अपने गांव वापस जाकर हमारे जैसे और गांव के लोगों के साथ इस बैठक में हुई चर्चा के बारे में बातचीत करेंगे और हम अग्रे कैसे इस प्रक्रिया में जुड़ेंगे, उस पर निर्णय करेंगे।'

इस कार्यक्रम के सह आयोजक सर्व आदिवासी समाज के अध्यक्ष बी.पी.एस. नेताम ने कहा कि मने वालों में अधिकतर आदिवासी हैं, पर इसके समाधान के लिए कभी भी हमने आदिवासियों से कोई परामर्श नहीं किया गया, अब यह बदलना चाहिए।



5. Times of India article published on 25th June accessible at: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/will-fresh-move-for-peace-talks-between-govt-and-maoists-take-off/articleshow/64723488.cms?utm_source=facebook.com&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=TOIDesktop

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Activists, tribals seek to broker peace between govt, Maoists

Mohua Chatterjee | TNN | Updated: Jun 25, 2018, 11:29 IST ✉️ 🖨️ A- A+

NEW DELHI: After 14 long years, a fresh move to initiate a peace process between the government and the Maoists have been made at a meeting of civil society activists and tribal leaders held at Tilda in Chhattisgarh from June 8 to 10, where the theme was "Finding an Alternative Path."

While questions remain on whether the "Bastar dialogue" as the initiative is being termed, takes off, given the lack of trust between the two sides, a group of old and new hands at negotiating peace, got together in Tilda, where both sides – the Maoist party and the Raman Singh government in Chhattisgarh – seemed to agree on pushing for forming a civil society group to mediate a peace process yet again

6. Deccan Herald article published on July 19th accessible at;
<https://www.deccanherald.com/opinion/main-article/adivasis-governance-key-682146.html>



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Adivasis, governance key



Shubhranshu Choudhary, JUL 19 2018, 00:17AM IST | UPDATED: JUL 19 2018, 00:22AM IST

7. The Quint article published on 1st July accessible at: <https://www.thequint.com/news/india/chattisgarh-polls-december-2018-raman-singh-bjp-maoist-naxal-peace-talks>

The screenshot shows the top of a news article on The Quint website. The header includes the logo 'the quint' and navigation links for 'BIG STORY', 'HOT NEWS', and 'VIDEOS'. The article title is 'In Bastar's Maoist Belt, a Peace Move That's up for Exploitation' in large pink font. Below the title, it says 'CHANDAN NANDY | 01.07.18' and 'INDIA 5 min read'. There is a social media engagement bar showing '2.9k ENGAGEMENT' and icons for Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Google+, LinkedIn, and Email. The main text begins with: 'Less than six months before Chhattisgarh goes to the polls, efforts have been initiated by some Left-leaning intellectuals, peace activists, non-governmental organisations and civil society and tribal leaders of Bastar to help open channels of communication between representatives of the state government and the Maoist rebels. Even before any formal and structured process to transform the bloody conflict could get underway, there is already a buzz in Chhattisgarh, especially in the troubled Bastar zone, that the BJP government under Chief Minister Raman Singh will show "interest" in any proposed dialogue till such time that Assembly

8. Hindustan Times article published on September 3rd, accessible at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/opinion/self-rule-by-advasis-could-end-maoism/story-4fLhWxu60XP2eF7eg4IILLO.html>

The screenshot shows the top of a news article on Hindustan Times. The header features the 'hindustantimes' logo and the date 'Monday, Sep 03, 2018'. Below the header is a navigation menu with links for 'india world sports cities opinion entertainment lifestyle education photos videos ind vs eng series asian games'. The article title is 'Self-rule by Advasis could end Maoism'. Below the title, it says 'Advasis make 99% of the Maoist movement, and most of them are fighting to save their forest, land and dignity'. There is a 'OPINION' tag and 'Updated: Jun 12, 2018 14:06 IST'. The author's name 'Shubhanshu Choudhary' is listed next to the 'ht' logo.

Annexure 2: List of participants at Vikalp Sangam for Peace in Central India

SN	Name	Address	Mobile
1	Shravan Garg	Indore, Madhya Pradesh	9981219999
2	Sharad Baihar	Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh	9425019425
3	Manimala	Delhi	9868261159
4	Milind Wani	Pune, Maharashtra	9423582519
5	Mohan Hirabhai Hiralal	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	9422835234
6	Lalit Surjan	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9009771600
7	B.P.S Netam	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9406053003
8	Shubhranshu Choudhary	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9811066749
9	Praveer Peter	Ranchi, Jharkhand	9430367949
10	Albert Kondo	Sundergarh, Odisha	8658524430
11	Anil Ekka	Sundergarh, Odisha	8327703653
12	Ajay T.G	Durg, Chhattisgarh	9424136077
13	Mohit Garg	Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	9866437893
14	Madhulika Banerjee	Delhi	9818161661
15	V.B Chandrashekar	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	9480107328
16	Deepa Kiran	Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	9052910239
17	Priyanka Sandilya	Surajpur, Chhattisgarh	9422693613
18	Sumanlata Achla	Kanker, Chhattisgarh	7970040420
19	Sanoti Kawde	Narayanppur, Chhattisgarh	7648044020
20	Neelawati Waddey	Narayanppur, Chhattisgarh	7646885478
21	Shilpi Pratihari	Anuppur, Madhya Pradesh	8080919885
22	Rano Waddey	Narayanppur, Chhattisgarh	9406382184
23	Anita Kulyani	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	7744085904
24	Suman Pangati	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	8275881147
25	Pramila Madkam	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	9441249847
26	Nandini Kuram	Chhattisgarh	
27	Ramullama Karka	Chhattisgarh	
28	Pramila Kumari	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	9848640957
29	Amit Narote	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	8275239240
30	Krishna Bhakur	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	9405518165
31	Ramalaxmi Rana	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	8330975268
32	Budda Rao	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	8330975268
33	K. Bhadroh	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	8500106658
34	Ashok Bhalavi		9673152945
35	N. K. Kinake	Adilabad, Telangana	888619534
36	Korange Sitaram	Adilabad, Telangana	8500084313

37	Korange Laxman	Adilabad, Telangana	8500023690
38	K Daulat Rao	Adilabad, Telangana	9852558092
39	Korange Doulatrao	Adilabad, Telangana	
40	Sidam Arju	Telangana	7287917104
41	Ganesh Uikey	Salekasa, Maharashtra	8806682275
42	Shamres Uikey	Chandrapur, Maharashtra	9763811357
43	Gavendra	Gurg, Chhattisgarh	9617057666
44	Kotnaka Bheemrao	Telangana	9441925815
45	Chandrashekhar Verma	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	7024154422
46	Chitranjan Bakshi	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9425202641
47	Devansh Mehta	Mumbai	6064241440
48	Shivcharan	Maharashtra	8805894650
49	Chahakati Dasru	Telangana	8790501124
50	Shami I man	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	7000326120
51	Pushpkant Sharma	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9425220069
52	Amrish Rai	Dantewada, Chhattisgarh	9455805453
53	Anil Bamne	Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh	9977161570
54	Naresh Biswas	Mandla, Chhattisgarh	8305459166
55	Pavan Kumar Satyarthi	Mandla, Madhya Pradesh	9617226783
56	Vikash Kumar Sharma	Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh	9827836087
57	Sanat K. Chatkabarty	Shilong, Meghalaya	9436160884
58	Ijamsay	Korchi	9422728937
59	Devadi Tofa	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	9421734018
60	Gadigi Matheswar	Andhra Pradesh	9494041052
61	Venkatram V.P Rai	Delhi	8376949740
62	B.S Raute	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9424219515
63	Bidupar Bora	Silong, Meghalaya	7086309829
64	Deme Oram	Rourkela, Odisha	9438539549
65	Goldy Gorge	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9893277910
66	Keshav	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	9545355899
67	Omprakash Sahu	Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh	7470387683
68	Koreng Sitaram	Adilabad, Telangana	8511184363
69	Amitranjan Basu	Rajhara	8889866779
70	Asnuram Dudhanangs	Rajendragram, Chhattisgarh	7694932153
71	Priyank Patel	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	7828581841
72	Prahlad Patel	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9754566776
73	Sandeep Yadav	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9560554552
74	Sachin Uikey	Dhanora, Maharashtra	9404381543
75	Korasa	Andhra Pradesh	8500106628
76	Subbarao	Chhati, Andhra Pradesh	8330975268
77	Rabishankar Pradhan	Koraput, Odisha	9938794504
78	Sanotosh Shukla	Shahdol, Madhya Pradesh	9425331041

79	Ganesh Sharma	Shahdol, Madhya Pradesh	7745915454
80	Ashok Jha	Delhi	9873970105
81	S.R Netam	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	944192
82	Karka Ramullma	Chatti, Andhra Pradesh	9133483273
83	Kuru Nandni	Chhatti, Andhra Pradesh	7675056920
84	Muchika Sarika	Chhatti, Andhra Pradesh	
85	Rohit Prasad	Delhi	9873143448
86	Savra Yadav	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9425560954
87	Bhagirathi Verma	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9039142049
88	Chatur Sahu	Kabirdham, Chhattisgarh	8720822286
89	Tom Goowdin	Cambridge, England	4407783619685
90	Kunal Shukla	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9827151166
91	Prakash	Delhi, India	9589092470
92	Debayan	Delhi, India	8172093496
93	Vijendra	Delhi, India	9585092464
94	Anand	Delhi, India	9585092464
95	Bhan Sahu	Rajnandgaon, Chhattisgarh	8602007333
96	Vipin Kirar	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9630095766
97	Dinesh Watti	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9407829662
98	Rakesh Kumar Kewat	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9617339569
99	Vikram Singh Bagri	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9755459664
100	Nadeem Khan	New Delhi	7272060003
101	Mayank Singh Raikwal	New Delhi	8130419608
102	Vishnu Pradas	Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh	9605254496
103	Govardhan Singh Rajput	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	8966969818
104	Kaushilya Rajput	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	8966969818
105	HD Gandhi	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9111061399
106	Shanu Sarkar	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9589444852
107	Sarla Sriwas	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	8889946857
108	Geeta Tekam	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9285364260
109	Ramesh Kunjam	Raipur, Chhattisgarh	9752226251
110	Uttam Atla	Gadchiroli, Maharashtra	9404984750
111	Pramod Boro	Assam	9435026392
112	Nand Kumar Sai	Chhattisgarh	7838448111
113	Arvind Netam	Chhattisgarh	9425259051
114	Ramchandra Singhdeo		
115	Raghavachari	Telangana	9490909792
116	Manish Kunjam	Sukhma Chhattisgarh	9425260360
117	Gautam Bandopadhyaya	Raipur	9826171304
118	Hargopal	Hyderabad/Bangalore	9490775454

Annexure 3: Funding and Expenditure

Funder	Amount	Expenses	Amount
		Travel for participants	Rs. 76,098
		Wages for helper, cook, etc	Rs. 7,750
		Stationary	Rs. 1,295
		Rent of Tent and Sound system	Rs. 17,915
Kalpavriksha	Rs. 100,000	Total:	Rs. 103,058
Oxfam	Rs. 30,000	Food	Rs. 29,975
	Total: Rs. 1,30,000		Total: Rs. 1,33,033

For feedback or questions, you can call Shubhranshu at 09811066740 or email shu@cgnet.in