CHAPTER-2

ANATOMY OF NAXALISM: AN OVERVIEW
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ANATOMY OF NAXALISM: THE CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVE.

INTRODUCTION

The word Naxal, Naxalite or Naksalvadi is a generic term used to refer to various militant Communist groups operating in different parts of India under different organizational envelopes. The term 'Naxal' derives from the name of the village Naxalbari in the state of West Bengal, India, where the movement had its origin. The Naxals are considered far-left radical communists, supportive of Maoist political sentiment and ideology. Their origin can be traced to the split in 1967 of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), leading to the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist). Initially the movement had its centre in West Bengal. In later years, it spread into less developed areas of rural central and eastern India, such as Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh through the activities of underground groups like the Communist Party of India (Maoist). For the past 10 years, it has grown tremendously and consists of displaced tribals and natives who are fighting against exploitation. In 2006 India's intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) estimated that 20,000 armed cadre Naxalites were operating in addition to 50,000 regular cadres and their growing influence prompted Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to declare them to be the most serious internal threat to India's national security.

In February 2009, the Indian Central government announced its plans for broad, co-ordinated operations in all affected states (Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal), to plug all possible escape routes of Naxalites. Naxalites have been declared as a terrorist organization under the

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Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of India (1967). According to Government of India, as of July 2011, 83 districts across nine states are affected by left wing extremism down from 180 districts in 2009. In 2009, Naxalites were active across approximately 180 districts in ten states of India. In August 2010, Karnataka was removed from the list of Naxal affected states. The affected areas are called as the red corridors. The Red Corridor is a term used to describe an impoverished region in the east of India that experiences considerable Naxalite insurgency. These are also areas that suffer from the greatest illiteracy, poverty and overpopulation in modern India, and span parts of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal states. 

MEANING

The Maoists or the Naxalites, are the armed left-wing rebels who first emerged during a peasants uprising in the west Bengal village of Naxalbari in 1967. It is the one most neglected areas of the country. The Naxalites claim to be fighting for the most oppressed people in India, those who are often left untouched by India’s development and bypassed by the electoral processes. Invariably they are adivasis, dalits, and the poorest of the poor, who work as landless labourers for a pittance, often below India’s mandated minimum wages. They wage a violent struggle on behalf of landless labourers and tribal people against land lords and others. The Naxalites say they are fighting oppression and exploitation to create a classless society. Their opponents say they are terrorists oppressing people in the name of a class war.

Naxalbari is a village strategically situated on the tri-junction of India, Nepal and Bangladesh. The total population of Naxalbari is 1,26,719 and the area is populated by Tribals. The Santhal, Madesias, Oraons, Mundas, Rajbansis constituted the chief

29 Manoj Srivastava, Naxalism, Shakti Publications and Distributors, Delhi, 2011, p.6
30 Manoj Srivastava, Naxalism, Shakti Publications and Distributors, Delhi, 2011, p.3
31 Prakash Singh, The Naxalite Movement In India, Rupa & C., New Delhi, 1999, p.3
32 Prakash Singh, The Naxalite Movement In India, Rupa & C., New Delhi, 1999, p.3
tribal communities who were the migrants from Santhal Pargana of Bihar. The leaders and the followers who started a movement in Naxalbari came to be known as Naxalites. Naxalbari is famous for being the site of a revolutionary peasant uprising in 1967, which began with the “land to tiller” slogan and inspired similar revolts in other parts of the India, popularly known as Naxalite movement. It is said that a farmer named Bimal was beaten up by his landlords when he attempted to plough his land as per a judicial order. This small incident fired up the sensibility of the Santhal tribals in the region who retaliated by recapturing land, what followed was a rebellion, which left one police Sub Inspector and nine tribals dead. Within a short span of about two months, this incident acquired great visibility and tremendous support from cross sections of Communist revolutionaries belonging to the state units of the CPI (M) in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Uttar-Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir. This took shape of an armed peasant movement nationwide. Finally, Naxalite movement came into existence. It was led by a section of Communist Party of India (Marxist). Two leaders Charu Manjumdar and Kanu Sanyal, were trying to develop a “revolutionary opposition”. Charu Manjumdar greatly admired Mao Zedong of China and advocated that Indian peasants and lower classes must follow in his footsteps and overthrow the government and upper classes whom he held responsible for their exploitation. His Historical Eight documents formed the basis of Naxalite Ideology in 1967. ‘Naxalites’ organized the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR), and broke away from CPI(M). Uprising were organized in several parts of the country in 1969. AICCCR gave birth to Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist). Practically all Naxalite groups trace their origin to the CPI(ML). A separate tendency from the beginning was the Maoist Communist Centre, which evolved out of the Dakshin Desh-group. MCC later fused with People’s War Group to form Communist Party of India (Maoist). A third dimension was that of the Andhra revolutionary communists, which was mainly

33 Bhawani Singh and Vinhuti Singh Shekhawat, Confessional Terror: A Dateline to Death, Anamika Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 2007, p.214-215
35 B.K.Menon, Are the Naxals, A Threat to The Democracy, Murai Lal and sons, New Delhi, 2011, p.1
36 Rajat Kujur, Naxal Movement in India, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, 2008, p.2
presented by UCCRI (ML), following the mass line legacy of T. Nagi Reddy. That dimension broke with AICCCR at an early stage. During the 1970s the movement was fragmented into several disputing factions. By 1980 it was estimated that around 30 Naxalite groups were active, with a combined membership of 30,000. In 2004 Home Ministry estimated 9,300 hardcore underground cadre holding around 6,500 regular weapons beside a large number of unlicensed country-made arms. A more recent estimate puts the strength of the movement at 15,000, and claims that the guerrillas control an estimated one fifth of India’s forests, as well as being active in 160 of the country’s 604 administrative districts.

Today some groups have become legal organizations participating in parliamentary elections, such as Communist Party of India (Marxist- Leninist) Liberation. Others, such as Communist Party of India (Maoist) and Communist Party of India (Marxist- Leninist) Janashakti, are engaged in armed guerrilla struggle.\(^{37}\)

**CHARACTERISTICS**

- First, the history of the Naxal movement is the history of a continuous process of organizational conflicts, splits, and mergers.
- Second, the movement essentially represents simultaneous (though not necessarily peaceful coexistence of many streams) presence in all parts of the country.
- Third, the growth of the Naxal movement is closely linked with the ongoing process of organizational conflict. The ultimate political objective is to build a leftist alternative and mobilize people against increased ‘Imperialist Intervention’ and ‘Pro-Imperialist Policies’ pursued by the union government, and in support of ‘revolutionary war’ based on the Chinese leader, Mao’s theory of organized peasant insurrection.
- Fourth, the history of the Naxal movement, right from its first phase of 1967, demonstrates that even if there has been a continuous evolution in terms of their understanding of the Indian situation, the focus of the movement, its character, and the fighting capabilities and financial resources of these groups.  

Fifth, they have remained more or less consistent as far as their core ideology is concerned. Barring the Liberation, they all reject the parliamentary system of governance and want to bring about a fundamental change in the nature of the Indian state. For this, they have adopted the strategy of protracted armed struggle, which entails building bases in rural and remote areas and transforming them first into guerrilla zones and then liberated zones, besides area-wise seizures and encirclement of cities and finally, the seizure of political power and achievement of nation-wide victory.

Sixth, the history of the movement so far, has been the history of conflicts and splits and mergers. 38

Seventh, the object of the Naxalite movement is to capture the Indian state through armed insurgency and overthrow the Government. They want a system of ideological dictatorship. No ballot, no enterprise, no freedom and no fundamental rights. They want to achieve it through a guerrilla army. They want to capture the rural areas. They want these to become secluded islands of their authority.

Eight, they extort money from contractors, farmers, employees and traders. They recruit cadres by paying them Rs 3,000 per person per month. They snatch weapons from the armoury of the government. Their extortion amount is 1,500 crore a year. They believe power flows from the barrel of the gun. They believe that the enemies armoury(police weapons) is their armoury. They want to kill class enemies, and they call them police informers. They also use opium and poppy cultivation to collect money.

Ninth, Naxalism is the most significant political movement since independence. It has been the most long-lasting though it has had its ups and downs. Despite its fragmented nature a continuing thread with some variations can be seen in the ideological thrust, strategy and tactics of mobilization of different groups within its fold. It is the only movement which having started in one police station of a single district in West Bengal in 1967 has expanded its activities covering over 460 police stations in 160 districts across 14 states despite the police force and infrastructure having grown manifold during this period. The movement’s capacity to challenge the state has also enormously increased considering the incidents of violence and casualties resulting from them.

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38 Rajat Kujur, Naxal Movement in India, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, 2008, p.6
• Tenth, the movement is viewed with greater anxiety in the government because it is most intense precisely in areas which are rich in natural resources and, therefore, targeted for fast-track industrial development. These are also the areas which have a history of mass protests by the peasantry against colonial policies.

• Eleventh, the movement is also unique in that it tends to mobilize the most subdued and socially marginalized sections and lays bare, as probably no other movement has done, the sharp fissures in the society, politics and economy.

• Twelth, unlike the political mass movements with violent underpinnings featuring in the border areas, Naxalites do not seek to secede from the Indian union to establish a sovereign independent state of their own but only to capture political power through armed struggle to restructure society.\(^\text{39}\)

• Thirteenth, originally Naxalism is based on the theory of class struggle of Karl Marx and Mao Tse Tung. Mao applied Marxism and Leninism to the needs of an overwhelmingly agricultural and still traditional society. Naxalites have a similar aim.

• Fourteenth, Indian Naxalites accept Maoism at the ideological level but their strategies and the method of the revolt are different from Maoist theory.

• Fifteenth, Naxalism in India is an ideological, political and economic struggle to establish equality and abolish all kind of exploitation in the society.\(^\text{40}\)

**ORIGIN OF NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN WEST BENGAL**

During sixties Naxalites gained a strong presence among the radical sections of the students movement in Calcutta. Students left schools to join the Naxalites. Mazumdar, to entice more students, into his organization, declared that the revolutionary warfare was to take place not only in the rural areas as before, but everywhere and spontaneously. Thus Mazumdar declared an ‘annihilation line’, a dictum that Naxalites should assassinate individual “class enemies” such as landlords, Teachers, police officers, politicians, of both right and left and others. Throughout Calcutta, schools were shut down. Naxalites took over Jadavpur University and used the machine shop


\(^{40}\) Dasharhti Bhuyan and Amit Kumar Singh, Naxalism: Issues and Concerns, Discovery Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2010, p.31
facilities to make pipe guns to attack the police. Presidency College, Kolkata became the headquarters. The Naxalites found supporters among some of the educated elite, and Delhi’s prestigious St. Stephens College. Alma contemporary Indian leaders and thinkers became a hit bed of Naxalite activities.

The Chief Minister, Siddhartha Shankar Ray of the Congress Party, instituted strong counter measures against the Naxalites. The West Bengal police fought back to stop the Naxalites. The house of Somen Mitra, the Congress MLA of Sealdah, was turned into a torture chamber where Naxal students from Presidency College and CU were incarcerated illegally by police and the Congress cadres. CPI-M cadres were also involved in the “state terror”. After suffering losses and facing the public rejection of Mazumdars “annihilation line”, the Naxalites alleged human rights violation by the West Bengal police, who responded that the state was effectively fighting a civil war and that democratic pleasantries had no place in a war, especially when the opponent did not fight within the norms of democracy and civility.

Large sections of the Naxal movement began to question Mazumdar’s leadership. In 1971 the CPI (ML) was split, as Satyanarayan Singh revolted against Mazumdar’s leadership. In 1972 Mazumdar was arrested by the police and died in Alipore Jail. His death accelerated the fragmentation of the movement. Moreover, joint operations by the police and the army leading to arrest and incarcerations of thousands of Naxal leaders, and Mazumdar’s death in 1972 led to a rapid decline of the movement’s intensity so much so that by the late seventies, the Naxalism was given a final obituary in the pages of history. Naxalites had no formal training in guerilla warfare and countered the Army’s .303 rifles and carbines with antique pipe guns and axes and sickles. Moreover the Naxalites could not achieve anything as they wanted to encircle the urban centre’s with the organized peasant forces of the village. If the peasant militia could have occupied the cities, according to Mazumdar, the so-called bourgeoise government would fall making the passage to the coming of a socialist government; but the Naxalites could not come up with an organization capable of doing so.

41 B.K. Menon, Who are Naxals: A Threat to Indian Democracy, Murari lal & Sons, New Delhi, 2011, p.23
Mazumdar gave sole importance to secret organization and armed training of its members for the purpose of eliminating the class enemies but the Naxalites lacked mass support. No big aim could be achieved with a selected armed group which was purely educated. Beside it led too many mistakes.

Khatam or the action of eliminating the so-called class enemies in villages was a wrong principal of political mobilization. Moreover recruitment in the Naxalite party was never done on the basis of proper judgment and scrutiny of the political characters and the behaviour of the recruits. Many people joined the Naxals only to feast on their animosities with their enemies.

In many cases dreaded criminals too enrolled themselves in the Naxalite party with the objective of getting fire arms and to train themselves in the manufacture and use of fire-arms.

It is said that the ruling party and police and intelligence personnel inserted their supporters inside the unguarded and the porous Naxalite organization for the purpose of knowing and finishing its secret bases and arresting its supporters.

Ordinary people in villages were terrified at the brutal and gruesome ways they killed the fellow villagers vilifying them as class-enemies. As for example, at Bholardabri in Alipurduar they killed Rajen Pandit who was a refugee from East Pakistan and was running a family of 12 dependents.

Unbridled repressive measures of the government exterminated the Naxalites in the districts of Northern Bengal as well as in the whole of West Bengal. Hundreds were slaughtered by the police and paramilitary forces in fake encounters, in jail and in police custody. Many perished because of third degree punishments.\(^{42}\)

But Naxalites learnt from the mistakes and restarted their movement which exists even today and has become the most serious internal threat to Indian security.

**TACTICS OF NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN INDIA**

The Naxal activism in India is not merely whimsical reaction but it is a product of poverty, lack of development, inequality and exploitation inherent in Indian socio-

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\(^{42}\) Sohan Raj Tater and Anil Dutta Mishra, Naxalism: Myth and Reality, Regal Publication, New Delhi, 2012, p.24-26
economic condition. As present Naxals have gained sympathy from urban educated classes, certain intellectuals and human rights activities like Vinayak Sen.

The Naxal movement in India, in the last ten years or so, has shown the tendency of expanding its support base as well as intensifying violent activities. It has assumed regional and international orientation in view of the success of Maoist in the neighboring Nepal. This has emboldened Naxal groups in India. They are at present well-entrenched in worst affected areas of West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Andhra-Pradesh and Orrissa. The guerrilla tactics have surprised the security forces. Besides receiving wide support in the rural and the tribal areas of these states, they have gained certain amount of sympathy among certain urban educated and intellectual section.

The nature of the Naxal violence has undergone a change in the recent years. Small scale isolated attacks have been replaced by large scale, well organized attacks on the government apparatus. In May 2010, Maoist triggered an Impoverished explosive device which targeted a private bus travelling from Sukhma to Dantewala in the state of Chhattisgarh. The blast occurred at an area that had been demined four days before the attack and claimed the lives of 31 people, including 15 civilians and 15 special police officers. This attack was significant not only because it targeted civilians, but because it highlighted the sophisticated information and structural network of the Maoist in their strongholds. On the other hand, as illustrated by the April 2010 attacks that killed 76 personnel of Central Reserve Police Force(CRPF) in Chhattisgarh, there are significant loopholes in the government’s counter operation strategies.

From the year 2005 the Maoist insurgency has claimed lives of 2,411 civilians and personnel of the security forces. In addition to the large number of causalities the Naxalites are destroying valuable state and private infrastructure including railways, Schools, hospitals, and buildings affecting business and life. Maoist strongholds, namely the state of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa, West Bengal and Andhra-Pradesh are home of 85 percent of India’s coal resource as well a significant amount of India’s
forest resources. The Maoist Insurgency is also placing India’s natural resources, energy sources and foreign economic investments at serious risk.

The Ministry of Home Affairs concedes that left-wing extremists operate in the vacuum created by weak governance structures and take advantage of prevalent dissatisfaction. They also exploit feelings of neglect and injustice among the under-privileged and remote segments of the population. As such it is necessary for the government to develop a multi-prolonged strategy that counters both the violence and root causes.43

NAXALITE ORGANIZATIONS

Naxalites do not belong to any particular religion or caste. They are recruited from the marginalized sections. They are led by indoctrinated people and are organized into a very classical communistic pattern. They have a central committee of 21 members. Then they have a Polit Bureau with seven members. Then, there are regional bureaus which have divisions under them, just like the armed forces or police. These divisions have ‘Dalams’ i.e. platoons that have 20/30 people with Arms. The villages have ‘Sangams’ which is comprised of highly indoctrinated people supporting them ideologically but not armed.

Till October 2004 there were 39 major organizations, two of them are well known namely the Peoples War Group(PWG) and the Maoist Communist Centre(MCC). These two accounted for 85% of the violence in the country. On 14th October 2004 these two organizations decided to merge into a single entity called the CPI(ML). These people have set an aim to build a powerful revolutionary movement and continue its fight against social repression and inequalities in South Asia.44

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation

Historically, the origin of CPI (ML) dates back to 1974. However, the post emergency phase of 1977, when most leaders of the Communist movement were released from jail was the time when its activities first came to notice. The Party Central Committee (PCC), in a move to unite the splinter groups which owed their origin to CPI (ML), called a meeting during 30 January-2 February 1981. However, the meet did not deliver expected results. From this point onwards whereas the PCC group became irrelevant and splits up into various factions. The M-L movement began to be polarize between the Marxist-Leninist line of CPI (ML) (Liberation) and the anarchist line of CPI (ML) (People's War).

During 1982, the Indian People's Front (IPF) was launched in New Delhi at a national conference. In due course, IPF became the party's open political platform, actively intervening in national politics. Same year, the Third Party Congress took place at Giridih, Bihar, where the issue of participation in elections was finalized. This shift in the outlook of CPI (ML) Liberation proved to be vital in designing the subsequent course of activity of the Naxal movement. The Liberation group, considered itself the true inheritor of the CPI (ML) legacy but its political line has changed dramatically from that of the original CPI (ML).

With this strategic shift in functioning, the CPI (ML) Liberation recorded its first electoral victory under the banner of the IPF in 1989 and Ara (one Lok Sabha Constituency in Central Bihar) sent its first member to Parliament. In a special conference convened in July 1990, the party decided to resume open functioning. This decision was formalized at its fifth Congress in December 1992. In 1994, the Indian People’s Front was disbanded. The Election Commission recognized the party in 1995, and since then the CPI (ML) has been contesting successive elections at national and state levels.

The CPI (ML) Liberation, though functioning over ground within the parliamentary democratic setup, has not completely disbanded the path of armed rebellion. The Party does not rule out the possibility that under a set of exceptional national and international circumstances, the balance of social and political forces may
even permit a relatively peaceful transfer of central power to revolutionary forces. But in a country where democratic institutions are based on essentially fragile and narrow foundations and where even small victories and partial reforms can only be achieved and maintained on the strength of mass militancy, the party of the proletariat must prepare itself for winning the ultimate decisive victory in an armed revolution. A people's democratic front and a people's army, therefore, remain the two most fundamental weapons of revolution in the arsenal of the Party. This again points to the dilemmas within the ultra left movement, which is very often reflected, in the unpredictable character of the Naxal movement.

**People’s War Group (PWG)**

PWG is the most important among all the splinter groups representing the Naxal movement because the dominant line within the Naxal politics today, is the PWG line of thought. Though it is popularly known as PWG or PW, its official nomenclature is Communist Party of India—Marxist- Leninist (People’s War). If today, Naxalism is considered as the greatest internal security problem and Naxals claim to be running parallel government in different parts of the country, its credit mostly goes to the PWG. The CPI (ML) (People’s War) was formed on Lenin’s birth anniversary on April 22, 1980. Kondapalli Seetharamaiah, one of the most influential Naxalite leaders from Andhra Pradesh and a member of the earstwhile central organizing committee of the Communist Party of India—Marxist- Leninist (CPI-ML), is the founding father of the PWG; who later, was ironically expelled from the group. The party believes that India is a vast semi-colonial and semifeudal country, with about 80 per cent of population residing in villages. It is ruled by the big-bourgeois big landlord classes, subservient to imperialism. The contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other is the principal contradiction in our country. Only a successful people’s democratic revolution i.e. New Democratic Revolution and the establishment of people’s democratic dictatorship of the workers, peasants, the middle classes and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class can lead to the liberation of our people from all exploitation and the dictatorship of the reactionary ruling classes and
pave the way for building socialism and communism in our country, the ultimate aim of the Party. People’s War based on armed agrarian revolution is the only path for achieving people’s democracy i.e. new democracy, in our country. Rejecting the parliamentary democratic system of the country and branding individual annihilation as individual terrorism, PWG declared that people’s war was the only path to bringing about a people’s government in the country.

Broadly speaking, the party programmes of CPI (ML) Liberation were mostly focused on the cause of peasants, while the group led by K. Seetharamaih wanted the party to be a platform for peasants, workers, tribal and other weaker sections of society. It was the prime agenda of Liberation to build up a political front focusing on peasant struggles, whereas PWG was more interested in the formation of mass organizations instead of any democratic front. One of the renowned guerrilla leaders of the erstwhile PWG summarizes the essence of the conflict between CPI (ML) Liberation and CPI (ML) People’s War by saying that in the Liberation group, after the martyrdom of Com. Johar, with the leadership falling into the hands of Vinod Mishra, a once revolutionary party was gradually changed into a revisionist party, like the CPI and CPM. The armed resistance struggles against the state’s attacks, taking place under the then leadership of Liberation, came to an end. The armed struggle to crush the feudal private armies was made a secondary task. Thus entire group diverts from the basic path outlined by the unified CPI (ML), and particularly of its founder, into becoming agents of the ruling classes, by surrendering to the parliamentary path. They converted the Com. Johar-led Liberation, from being a revolutionary movement, into a legalist, reformist and parliamentary movement; and changed the underground organization into an open opportunist and revisionist organization.” The above two official statements of the PWG clearly suggest that the birth of PWG which resulted from a split within the CPI (ML-Liberation) was on account of the dynamics of conflict among its cadres.

For a considerable period after its birth, PWG’s activities were chiefly limited to Andhra Pradesh, while the CPI (ML) Liberation continued to hold its turf in Bihar. Another organization came into existence on 1 January 1982. It was named the Communist party of India (ML) Party Unity, which came into existence due to a merger
between CPI (ML) Unity organizations and central organizing committee CPI (ML). Hereafter, left-wing extremism in India witnessed some of the worst-ever conflicts which again forced many organizations to take a position and adopt new tactics. Bihar has always remained a strong battleground of Naxal operations and ironically, in Bihar, most of the clashes were between CPI (ML) Party Unity and CPI (ML) Liberation.

When these conflicts were taking a toll on the cadres on both sides, another development was simultaneously taking place. In August 1998, Party Unity merged with CPI (ML) People’s War Group and the group came to be known as People’s War. The merger of the two parties was the culmination of the unity process which began in March ’93 and continued for over five years during which differences on several political, ideological and organizational questions were resolved through thread-bare discussion.

The United Party pledges itself to avenge the death of thousands of cadres who died during the struggle. With this merger, the PWG became a force to reckon with in Bihar and in other areas where PU had a presence. Further developments suggest that with the merger, the element of armed rebellion of the Naxal movement became stronger, while on the other hand, with its parliamentary practices, Liberation was losing its turf to PWG. Liberation, which once controlled the whole of central Bihar, was now losing its territory and supporters to PWG and MCC. Not only in Bihar, but also elsewhere, Liberation was systematically shrinking on the map of Naxalite politics. By advocating electoral methods and not being able to make an impressive mark, the Liberation’s way of movement became weak and the PWG’s armed operations started gaining momentum.

So while the Liberation, with its changed modus operandi was being reduced to a small political party, the PWG in the same period, managed to register its presence outside Andhra Pradesh and gradually gained strongholds in different areas of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Maharashtra. While the conflict between PU and Liberation made both groups suffer the loss of considerable numbers of
their cadres; as already stated, it also resulted in the merger of PU and PWG and ultimately the violent consolidation of the movement.

The formation of People’s War also resulted in tactical changes in several aspects of the Naxal movement in general. ‘In our agenda for a new democratic revolution, there are two aspects -- the agrarian revolution and fight for nationality.’ In 1967 it started in the name of ‘agrarian revolution’, which gradually took the stance of replacing the parliamentary form of government; but the question of nationality was never raised. This reflects the pattern of conflict between PW and Liberation. By questioning ‘nationality’, PW wanted to make it clear that it wanted a broad revolutionary pattern. They declared that the Indian people are weighed down by three big problems feudalism, imperialism and bureaucrat capital; these are the targets to be overthrown in the present stage of NDR. They identified four major contradictions in the present-day Indian society first, the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses. Secondly, the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people. Thirdly, the contradiction between capital and labour and the contradiction within the ruling classes. According to them the first two are fundamental contradictions to be resolved through the NDR, the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses is the principal contradiction at the present stage. They asserted that India is a multi-national country and all the nationalities have the right to self-determination including secession. When NDR is victorious. India will become a voluntary and genuine federation of all national people's republics.

The second document, which was adopted in the conference, was the document on the 'Strategy and Tactics'. It says that the political strategy to be pursued in the present stage of NDR in India is one of forming a broad united front of all the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist forces--the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie--under the leadership of the working class to overthrow the common enemies--feudalism, imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capital. The military strategy or the path of Indian Revolution is the path of protracted people's war i.e., liberating the countryside first through area wise seizure of power establishing guerilla zones and base areas and then encircling the cities and finally capturing power
throughout the country. The unevenness in the economic, social and political development of Indian society calls for different tactics i.e., forms of struggle and organization, to be pursued in different regions of the country, while the political tactic throughout the country remains the same. In urban areas the political and mass work should be carried out observing utmost precaution and the organizational work should proceed keeping in view the long-range perspective. Caste is a peculiar problem in India; and appropriate forms of organization and struggle should be evolved vigorously to fight out untouchability, caste discrimination and to finally root out the caste system. The tactics of boycott of elections have to be pursued for a long time in the prevailing conditions in India; and participating in parliamentary and assembly elections under any pretext only weakens the class struggle. These two documents, containing different organizational aspects of PW, make a clear-cut demarcation for the issues pertaining to organizational conflict between the Liberation and PW. The People’s War, on the basis of its assessment of the people’s level of preparedness for an armed struggle, discarded ‘annihilation of class enemies’ as the only form of struggle and stressed instead, on floating mass organizations. It established several front organizations. During the 1980s, the Radical Students’ Union and Rayatu Kuli Sangham emerged as organizations with an impressive mass following and most of the PWG’s present base and political cadres developed through that practice. However, during the 1990s, the growth of militarization became the characteristic feature of the PWG. The formation of People’s Guerrilla Army (PGA), special guerrilla squads, Permanent Action Team (PAT) and Special Action Team (SAT) were the distinctive features of PWG activities for quite some time, before it merged with MCC to form the CPI (Maoist).

**Maoist Communist Centre (MCC)**

Another important group within the broad spectrum of the Naxal movement is the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). It stands apart from a number of organizations, since, conventionally speaking, it was never a part of the CPI (ML), which many claim to be mother of all Naxal organizations. The MCC, while supporting the Naxalbari struggle, did not join the CPI (ML) because of some tactical differences and on the question of Party formation. The MCC was formed on 20 October 1969, around the
same time that the CPI (ML) was formed, although during those days it was known as Dakshin Desh. It was in 1975 that the group renamed itself the Maoist Communist Centre. In 2003, MCC merged with the Revolutionary Communist Centre of India-Maoists (RCCI-M) to form the Maoist Communist Centre-India (MCC-I). Right from its inception, the MCC stood for taking up armed struggle as the main form of resistance and waging a protracted people's war as the central task of the party.

This position of the MCC has been repeatedly expressed. They claim that this armed revolutionary war is the war of the people themselves. It is 'Protracted People's War' as shown by Mao Tse Tung. They claim that economic and political condition of India lead to the conclusion that by people's army dependable, strong and self-sufficient base areas in the countryside, are to be created by first liberating the countryside and finally by capturing the cities and by establishing political authority of the people themselves by decisively destroying the state power of the reactionaries.

**Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

The Naxal movement in India entered yet another phase of organizational transformation with the merger of two of the principal armed organizations, viz. People’s War (PW) and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCC-I), which resulted in the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The improvised aim of the CPI (Maoist) is to establish a compact revolutionary zone, stretching from Nepal to Bihar to Andhra Pradesh and beyond. The ultimate aim of the CPI (Maoist) is to seize power through protracted armed struggle by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system. The revolution will be directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, with the armed seizure of power remaining as its central and principal task, encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence, the countryside as well as the PPW (Protracted People's War) will remain as the 'center of gravity' of the party's
work, while urban work will be complimentary to it. Meanwhile the CPI-Maoists seek to unite all genuine Maoist groups that remain outside this unified party.

It is important to examine the significance of the merger, particularly when earlier attempts had been unsuccessful. In fact, the merger is largely being seen as a result of the gradual convergence of views of these two groups on areas such as the role of the party, approaches to revolution and adoption of strategies and tactics. In the formative years, Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee represented two irreconcilably different lines and approaches to ‘revolution’. At the time of the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) CPI-ML in 1969, the Dakshin Desh (the earlier form of the MCC), remained opposed to the process due to sharp differences with the CPI-ML over issues such as the formation of a communist party, existence of revolutionary mass struggle and preparedness of the people to participate in it. The joint press statement released by the erstwhile General Secretaries of PW and MCC (I) highlighted the essence of the merger. “In the past history there were many splits within the M-L movement. But splits are only one side of the coin; the brighter side was that there were continuous efforts to unify the revolutionaries. The CPI (ML) (PU), spread by unifying several revolutionary groups. The CPI (ML) (PW), though it originated in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, unified with revolutionaries in almost all the states where it works. The MCC too, had originated in Bengal, unified many revolutionaries groups in it in many States and became the MCCI.

The need for a joint, unified platform was felt by the leadership of both the parties as early as 1981. The PW and MCC began unity talks from their very first meeting in 1981. However, the reason for the delay in the process was the lack of continuity of leadership. The arrest of Comrade Kondapally Seetaramaiah (KS), the leader of the PW, and later the internal crisis of the PW and split in the Central Committee (CC) delayed the unity process for several years. In the early eighties, the MCC lost its two top leaders Comrades Amulya Sen (AS) and Kanhai Chatterjee (KC), which had some negative impact, resulting in further delay in the unity process.45

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45 Rajat Kujur, Naxal Movement in India, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, 2008, p.7-14
LEADERS OF NAXALITE MOVEMENT

Charu Mazumdar:

Charu Mazumdar was born in 1918 at Siliguri, West Bengal. His father was a freedom fighter. Mazumdar dropped out of college in 1938. In 1946 he joined the Tebhaga movement. He was briefly imprisoned in 1962. During the mid 1960’s Mazumdar and Kanu Sayal organized a Leftist faction in Communist Party of India (Marxist) (C.P.I)(M) in Northen Bengal. In 1967 a militant peasant uprising took place in Naxalbari, led by the Mazumdar-Sanyal group. This group would later become known as Naxalities, and eight articles written by him at this time known as the Historic Eight Documents has been seen as providing their ideological foundation arguing that revolution must take the path of armed struggle on the pattern of the Chinese revolution.

The same year, Mazumdar and Sanyal broke away and formed the All India Coordination Committee of Communist revolutionaries which in 1969 founded the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist), with Mazumdar as its general secretary. He was captured from his hide-out on July 16, 1972, and died in police custody at the Alipore Central Jail on July 28, 1972. The historic Eight Document is a set of eight monographs authored by the Indian Maoist revolutionary Charu Mazumdar that outline the ideological principles on which the Naxalite militant communist movement in India was based. They laid down the idea that the Indian state was a bourgeois institution and that the main Indian communist parties had embarrassed revisionism by agreeing to operate within the framework of the constitution of India. They urged a Maoist armed struggle to overthrow the Indian State. They denounced the Soviet both for being revisionist, as well as for supporting the Indian state, 46 which formed the basis of Naxalite ideology. The eight documents laid the foundation for Naxalite insurgency and provided the guidelines to the Maoist for their massive strikes. 47

47 Prakash Singh, the Naxalite Movement in India, Rupa & Co., New Delhi, 1999, p. 101
a) His first document completed on January 28, 1965, instructed the Communist cadres to set up secret and armed ‘activists groups’ in rural areas. Every such unit Mazumdar said should have a minimum of five members who could hold regular meetings, prepare headings, calls and propagate the doctrine of a peasant revolution.

b) The second document called for creating ‘liberated zones’ where ‘class enemies’ had been eliminated. The next gave a direct call for taking to arms to liberate more and more areas.

c) The fourth document said that arms would have to be snatched away from the big landlords. He termed as ‘tit for tat’ the strategy of revolutionary violence.

d) The fourth document put the emphasis on building clandestine but effective organization to wage the armed struggle. The police force, Mazumdar explained, would be confused in tackling a large number of armed, well-trained, unknown radicals.

e) In the fifth document he asked the Maoist cadres at the time a breakaway faction from the CPM to be armed to set up secret units and politicize the followers. Even before he could complete the fifth document. Mazumdar was arrested in September 1965.

f) In the sixth document he rejected the system of parliamentary democracy and criticized the conventional left’s practice of organizing strikes in industries.

g) In his last two documents he recognized the importance of drafting the students and youth from middle class homes for ‘revolutionary’ activity, called for concentrating on rural areas and attacked revisionism in the established communist movement.48

Both communist and non-communist sources describe these monographs as a significant inspiring factor for the Naxalbari Uprising in 1967. The Tebhaga movement was a militant campaign in Bengal by the Kisan Sabha (Peasant’s Front of Communist party of India) in 1946. At that time share-cropping peasants (essentially, tenants) had to

give half of their harvest to the owners of the land. The demand of the Tobhaga (sharing by thirds) movement was to reduce the share given to landlords to one third. In many areas the agitations turned violent, and landlords fled villages leaving parts of the countryside in the hands of Kisan Sabha. As a response to the agitations, the then Muslim League ministry in the province launched the Bargadar Act, which provided that the share of the harvest given to the landlords would be limited to one third of the total. In 1985 Sanyal’s faction along with five other groups, merged to form the Communist Organization of India (Marxist- Leninist). Sanyal became the leader of COI (ML).49

**Kanu Sanyal**

Kanu Sanyal, was an Indian communist politician. In 1967, he was one of the main leader of the Naxalbari uprising. He was one of the founding leaders of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI)(ML) formed in 1969.

He announced the formation of the original CPI (ML) on Vladimir Lenin’s birthday in 1969 at a public rally in Calcutta. He came out with the seminal Terai report on Indian revolution.

During this Period, the communist-sympathetic media in West Bengal portrayed him as a great revolutionary and compared him to the likes of Mahatma Gandhi and Jatin Das, largely because of his charisma and his public showmanship, such as his displays of wealth-renunciation and his publicity campaigns where he tried to identify with the Proletariat. Massive propaganda campaigns in his favor were financed by the communist politburo to that effect. Information about the secret inner workings of Sanyal’s organization has been difficult to obtain. Nonetheless, political analysts write that his political paradigm was based on the concept of “Jugantar” in opposition to the “Anushilan” paradigm implemented by the Communist Party of India and Communist Party of India (Marxist).

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49 B.K.Menon, Who are The Naxals? A Threat to Indian Democracy, Murari Lal & Sons., New Delhi, 2011, p.19-21
Sanyal proposed that the Jugantar revolutionaries be a highly secretive and cabalistic group who would periodically surface to commit acts of terrorism such as political assassinations and armory raids. Sanyal actively solicited help from the communist regime in neighboring China to further his goals. Sanyal had publicly declared on several occasions that he was receiving some kind of support from the Chinese government. It was never established as to whether that support was moral, tactical or financial. The Indian home ministry has argued that Sanyal only managed to obtain ideological support from China.

After the failure of the Naxalite uprising, Sanyal went into hiding. The death of his colleague Charu Majumdar was followed by the breakup of the Naxalite movement, and Sanyal claimed to have abandoned violent means and accepted parliamentary practice as a form of revolutionary activity.

He was eventually cornered and arrested in August 1970. News of his arrest sparked region-wide violence by the radical communists. CPI(ML) cadres destroyed property, raided and attacked educational institutions, and engaged in rioting. For seven years Sanyal was imprisoned in a jail in Visakhapatnam Andhra Pradesh in the case known as the Parvatipuram Naxalite Conspiracy case. He was convicted in the Parvatipuram Conspiracy Case, by the Sessions Judge. Sanyal was released from jail in 1977, following the shift of government in India as in West Bengal. Jyoti Basu, the new CPI (M) chief minister, personally intervened to ensured Sanyal’s release. By the time of his release, Sanyal had publicly repudiated the original strategy of armed struggle of the CPI(ML). After his release Sanyal rallied his supporters and formed the Organizing Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (OCCR). In 1985 Sanyal’s faction along with five other groups, merged to form the Communist Organisation of India (Marxist-Leninist). Sanyal became the leader of COI(ML). As of late 2006, Sanyal became a prominent figure in the opposition to land acquisition in Singur. On December he was detained. On January 18, 2006, Sanyal was arrested along with other fellow agitators who were also protesting against closures of tea gardens in the region for disrupting a Delhi-bound Rajdhani Express train at the New Jalpaiguri Railway Station in Siliguri, North Bengal.
On 23 Mar 2010, he was found hanging at his residence at Seftullajote village, 25km Siliguri (West Bengal) from where Naxal Movement began under his leadership. 78 year old Sanyal was suffering from old-age related ailments. At the time of his death he was general secretary of a new CPI(ML), formed by merger of several splinter groups of the original party.  

Jangal Santhal

Jangal santhal, from Hathigeshi village in north West Bengal, is a tribal hero among the Santhals, and one of the founders of the Naxalite movement (along with Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal). Jangal was a well-respected figure in the Santhal tribal areas of Darjeeling District, and stood for elections in February 1967, on a CPM ticket, but lost. In 1967, he was part of a peasant’s council that resolved to redistribute the land to the share croppers, via armed struggle. On May 23, a sharecropper peasant was beaten up by the landlord’s men while attempting to till his allotted land. The next day when the police party headed by inspector Sonam Wangdi arrived to arrest some peasant leaders, they were ambushed by Jangal Santhal’s group armed with bows and arrows. Sonam Wangdi was killed, and the violent Naxalite movement was born. Jangal Santhal was eventually arrested. After the Naxalite threat disappeared, he was released in 1979, but found himself isolated. He eventually became an alcoholic and did not have the means to maintain his four wives. He died in obscurity in 1987.  

CAUSES OF NAXALISM IN INDIA

Although Naxalite movement is spread over 12 states, the most acutely affected ones happen to be Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal. But the number of incidents and the casualties resulting from them are concentrated in Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra in that order. These states have dense forests with predominance of the tribal population followed by dalits and other backward communities. The tribals and

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50 Manoj Srivastava, Naxalism, Shakti Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2011, p.20-21
51 B.K. Menon, Who are The Naxals? A Threat to Indian Democracy, Murari Lal & Sons., New Delhi, 2011, p.21
dalits are among the poorest of the poor and the most marginalized sections of the society. They are also the most peace loving communities who are not easily persuaded to challenge even a locally dominant authority let alone resist the state power. But they are also the groups for whom the movement has great appeal and who form its large support base. Of them, those who are conceptually wedded to the ideology of the movement and engage in executing the directives of the party are only a few thousands. The rest of the population only lends tacit support. Some among them may be doing so out of fear rather than genuine attraction to its programme.

a) Landlessness

The land holding pattern in Naxal affected areas is highly skewed and constitute the largest percentage of landless persons. They work hard on other people field. The tribals, which at one time were privileged to own some land, have recorded the fastest pace of landlessness among different social groups in recent times. In the case of tribals, the agrarian new structures have deprived them of access to natural resources vital to their subsistence traditionally. This is being done by alienating them from their land by force, fraud and manipulation, due to acquisition of land by the government and the private forces resulting in denial of access to land, forest, resources, habitat and livelihood to them.

a) Absence of Opportunities

The Dalits, in the absence of opportunities for wage employment elsewhere, are dependent upon the landowners for providing them avenues of livelihood in the rural areas. The conditions generated by this relationship are extremely exploitative. These include payment of very low wages, long hours of work, debt-bondage, control over produce from owned land, humiliating treatment and physical assault in the case of non-compliance of employer’s orders.

b) Lack of Bargaining Power

The other dimension of agrarian structure is reflected in the arrangements for cultivation of land where a landless or a near landless person leases the land from the land owner
and undertakes to cultivate it as a tenant or sharecropper. With no bargaining power due to unequal status and absence of alternative employment, the landowners take the lion’s share of the produce without contributing anything to the production of the crop and do not bear any risk if the crop fails. The tenant has no security and can be evicted at any time. This leaves the poor cultivator with not even sufficient share/income to subsist.

c) Social Exclusion

These conditions produced by the agrarian structure are worsened by caste based social structure which institutionalizes social exclusion, imposes degrading occupations on the dalits, heaps numerous indignities in social intercourse including sexual exploitation of their women, blocks all avenues of social advancement to perpetuate domination. This oppressive regime is enforced by physical violence as evidenced in the numerous atrocities that dalits face.

The social status of the dalits is determined by birth, reinforced by degrading social practices and vocations imposed on them and sustained by social sanctions and physical force. The dalits and tribals in every walk of life and all stages suffer from numerous discriminatory and exclusionary practices which deny entitlements and equal access to opportunities by the higher caste groups in the case of the dalits and by the non-tribal groups in the case of tribes. This can be observed in the prevalence of untouchability experienced by the dalits not withstanding its abolition. The untouchability practices include exclusion in drawing water from a public well, access to a temple and participation in religious procession, entry into a village shop, restrictions in wearing clothes of choice and movement within the village, house entry, access to village level institutions, prohibitions on marriage processions through village road and discrimination in treatment while receiving services of the barber, postman, washerman, potter, priest and the grocery shop keeper as also in village festivals, cultural events, sitting arrangement of students in the village schools, separate earmarking of seats in village panchayats and serving of tea and snacks in separate cups and plates. The extent of prevalence of these practices is not uniform and varies across states. On the economic front, discrimination is practiced in the labour market, input market, access to social services and participation in some category of jobs. This bias can be
observed in refusing to hire dalit or tribal candidates in the case of employment despite fulfillment of formal qualifications and favouring less qualified candidates of the other castes, wage rate, share of rent, rate of interest charged, fees for services, working conditions, opportunities for upward mobility and in the sale of items from shops owned by the dalits. The restrictions are also imposed on the change of traditional occupation by them. The dalits also face differential treatment and restrictions in access to land, labour, capital, credit education and other inputs and services required for participation in commercial activities. This translates into denial of jobs, denial of access to capital market through denial of sale, purchase or leasing of land, sale and purchase factor inputs and commodities and consumer goods. The social barriers also exist in the formal urban labour market even for the highly qualified dalits and tribals. Despite public policy to support entrepreneurship among these groups, they account for only 10% and 4.6% of the private enterprises in the country compared to 40% and 45% in respect of the OBCs and higher castes respectively in the rural areas and even less in the urban areas. The bulk of even these are household enterprises. The patterns of exclusion and caste discrimination pervade the public sphere as well including a number of state institutions and interactions that occur within them. It also afflicts government services, as brought out, for example, in a survey conducted in 531 villages of five states which exposed such practices in Mid Day Meal Scheme and Public Distribution System. The dominant caste communities bar dalit children from the Mid Day Meal Scheme, oppose engagement of dalit cook, segregate seating arrangement, serve separate meals, give dalit children inferior or insufficient food. The dalit’s access to PDS is compromised by differential treatment in the quantity of grains supplied, price of grain charged, favouritism in favour of the higher castes, untouchability in the mode of distribution and ownership of PDS shops. While the discrimination listed above also takes place, though less so, in the case of tribes, they are far greater victims of fraud by the non-tribals in every walk of life – in the transactions of the market, access to services, social intercourse, economic activities etc. This exclusion and discrimination is directly linked to lower income and higher poverty. The social inequality driven by the hierarchical social structure and cultural differentiation and the inferiority it generates overwhelms economic inequality and is reinforced by it. This hurts the victims more than poverty
and deprivation and explains why restoration of dignity is on the top of the agenda of the Naxalites which the existing system has been unable to accomplish.

d) Exploitative and Unsupportive State Machinery

The state machinery like police, civil, forest, excise and development, and institutions which have been mandated to help them actually exploit them. When the dalits and tribes approach the state functionaries for seeking justice against violations of law, denial of entitlements and acts of oppression by the persons belonging to the dominant communities. Far from getting justice, they face an indifferent, unresponsive and, quite often, even hostile machinery which is in collusion with their tormentors. For example, in the case of physical violence and other criminal offences committed by the dominant landed castes on the tribals and the dalits, the latter’s complaints quite often are not registered. Rather, in many cases, false counter-cases are registered against the victims on the complaints of the exploiters. Even when complaints of victims are registered under pressure from above, deliberate flaws are built into the investigation of cases to spoil the case and facilitate the acquittal of the accused. In addition, pressure is exerted on the victims to enter into a compromise with the accused and withdraw the case. These demands are unrecognized, un-noticed and silently borne by the victims and becomes invisible in the public policy discourse on the Naxalite movement which entirely focuses on the unidimensional violence of the Naxalites. It is to seek freedom from precisely this structural violence that the tribals, dalits and other poor of the area are attracted to the Naxalite formations since other political parties fail to incorporate this concern as a political agenda of top priority and vigorously pursue it to get justice delivered.

There are numerous complaints about non-registration of cases, intimidation by police officials when complainants approach them, pressures exerted on the victims to compromise with the perpetrators of violence, serious and deliberate flaws built into the investigation of cases when registered to facilitate acquittal of the accused, registration of false counter cases against the victims at the behest of the accused persons, poor quality of prosecution in courts and even bias in judgments of the trial and higher courts. This is compounded by the victimization of complainants in
different ways including social boycott with no effective protection available from the state agencies against it. As per official reports, 3.75 lakh cases of alienation of tribal land by the non-tribals have been registered for restoration, covering 8.5 lakh acres of land which is a small fraction of the area of land actually alienated. Of these, only in 1.62 lakh cases, the claims were decided in favour of the Tribals covering an area of 4.47 lakh acres while 1.55 lakh cases covering an area of 3.63 lakh acres have been rejected by the revenue courts on various grounds. Huge expenses were incurred and time spent by the tribals in fighting cases which left them impoverished. In the cases rejected, the tribal’s claim was dismissed on flimsy grounds. The restoration courts, according to the group, ‘appear no better than ‘Kangaroo Courts’ with sheets of justice weighted heavily in favour of the non-tribals and large scale corruption everywhere. Even when case was decided in favour of the tribals, there was endless agony and even despair in getting possessions delivered. It is significant that the Naxalite movement has taken roots in precisely those states where there has already been large scale displacement of the tribals. Yet the future is more ominous for the tribes as more extensive land acquisition is in the pipeline since the areas they inhabit are rich in natural resources. This has been the most potent cause of their disaffection and alienation from the state. Yet the proposed amendments to the law of acquisition and reformulation of the policy of rehabilitation make no commitment to stop acquisition of the tribal land or even to reduce it.

e) Poverty

The dalits and the tribes are among the poorest sections of the society. At the national as well as the state level in the Naxalite belt, they are at the bottom of the ladder. In fact, Bihar, Orissa, MP, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, UP are states which account for 58% of the Dalit population but 70% poor among them and 49% of tribal population but 63% of the poor among them. The percentage of dalits below poverty line was 36.8 (rural) and 40 (urban) and of tribals 47.3 (rural) and 33.3 (urban) compared to 28 (rural) and 25.77 (urban) for the nation in 2008. Similarly, the incidence of poverty is the highest in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, UP and Assam. The states of UP, MP (including Chhatisgarh), Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal have concentration
of poor dalits. On a comparative scale, 10% of the dalits (at the ground level, the percentage is much higher) are landless and 77% are near landless while for those excluding the dalits and tribals, the percentages are 4.8 and 63 respectively. The largest number of them are agricultural labourers (45.6%). There being low incidence of diversified occupation among them. The level of urbanization among dalits is half (11%) of the level for the other communities (22%). The non-farm workers among them is 24% while the percentage is 36 for others. In urban areas too, dalits are largely engaged in traditional or low status occupation such as sweepers, cobblers, washermen etc. As for the tribals, the head-count ratio of poverty is much higher not only in comparison to the other groups but even the dalits and the rate of decline slower and the percentage decline the lowest. Though the Tribals had a much better landholding than the dalits at the time of independence, the incidence of landlessness has grown faster in their case because of large scale displacement and alienation of their land by the non-tribal immigrants to their area. But even in respect of those who own land, not all are able to cultivate it because a large portion of tribal land is unfit for cultivation. The region is mono-cropped and productivity very low. The agricultural activity is also extremely vulnerable to climate fluctuations (most frequently visited by drought) and the produce by market fluctuation and, therefore, yields low income.

g) Food Insecurity

Both the dalits and tribals suffer from acute food deficiency but the tribals face it far more than the dalits. As per official data, nearly 1% of the tribal households do not have sufficient food in any month of the year while nearly 3% of the households face food shortage for some months in a year which is an underestimate. The food insufficiency affects 6% of the tribal households while the level is 4-5% in the case of dalits. In either case, it is far higher when compared to the other groups. Nearly 71.6% of tribal households are food deficit for 2-3 months and 5% for six months and above. The incidence of starvation deaths, characteristic of extreme impoverishment, is the highest in the tribal areas where families are forced to sell their children for survival. Hunger is also the greatest cause of indebtedness among the tribals as they borrow money for
consumption at very high rates of interest during the lean agricultural season when there is no employment.

**h) Low Per-capita Consumption**

In the case of tribals, approximately 50% of rural households are concentrated in the consumption class of less than Rs.340 while the corresponding percentage in the case of dalits is 40% and for others 17%. In the urban areas, 52% of the tribal households are in the consumption class of Rs.577 as against 29% of the other groups. The inequality and the ratio of poverty between the tribals and others have increased over the years. As per the Report of National Commission for Enterprises in the Un-organized Sector, 392 million people live with an average per capita consumption of Rs.20/- a day. There is little doubt that the dalits and tribals constitute the largest segment in this category particularly in the states which are affected by Naxalite activities.

**i) Illiteracy**

Poverty is not an economic phenomenon alone. It has social dimensions as well which are reflected in other human development indicators. The level of literacy is the most important of them. The dalits had been deprived of education for centuries under the then existing social order and the tribals remained cut off from the mainstream educational facilities until the intervention of the Missionaries during the colonial period. Despite the policy of universalization of education, the level of literacy as per census data (2001) among the dalits is 67% (male) and 42% (female) and among tribals, 59% (male) and 35% (female) as against 79% (male) and 58% (female) in the case of others. The literacy gap between the dalits and others in percentage points 14 and between the tribals and others 22 (GOI, 2008). In respect of the states affected by the Naxalite movement, the literacy rate is 28% for Bihar, 41% for Jharkhand, 41% for MP, 52% for Chhattisgarh, 37% for Andhra Pradesh and 37% for Orissa (GOI, 2008). The population of dalit males in primary schools, high schools and higher education is 21%, 19% and 2.1% respectively compared to 48%, 36% and 4% for the non dalit/tribal males. The gender disparity in literacy is most acute in the case of tribals. The female
literacy level in their case is 32% in the rural areas, 60% in the urban areas as against 53% and 79% respectively for others. The attendance in schools was recorded in respect of only 61% of the tribal children in the age group of 5-14 years in the rural areas which was lower even to the dalit children (68%), not to speak of other groups (81%). The overall averages conceal the fact that figures are even lower (50% and less) for states of Jharkhand, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The 2/5th of the tribal children are out of school. The lower enrolment and higher dropout rate of the tribal children is indicative of the higher incidence of child labour. Nearly 7% of the tribal children are engaged as child labourers which are substantially higher than those of the other groups including dalits.

j) Health

The situation in respect of health status is even worse. The infant mortality rates, indicative of the reach of primary health care is as high as 84.2 per thousand in the case of tribals and 83 per thousand in the case of dalits compared to 61.8 in the case of others. Their limited access to health care is evident from the fact that barely 42% of the pregnant dalit women could get ante-natal care from a doctor compared to 64% of the other communities and 28% only could consult an ANM. In the case of the tribes, only 18% could have their deliveries in a health facility compared to 51% among the other communities and 33% in the case of dalits (GOI, 2008). The position in respect of the under 5 mortality is 119.3 in respect of the dalits and 126.6 in the case of tribes compared to 82.6 for others. The disparity is also reflected in the high morbidity, low level of immunization, high level of malnutrition among women in these communities. The nutritional levels in these groups are truly disturbing. The percentage of children with anemia is 78% in the case of dalits and 79% in the case of tribes. The incidence of anemia among women is the highest (64.9%) in the case of tribes while it is 40-50% in the case of other social groups. The estimated 46.3% of the tribal women suffer from body mass of <18.5 kg/m and 13.5% have height <145 cm. These parameters influence outcomes of pregnancies and state of children that are born with long term health consequences. The child malnutrition affects 61% of tribal children under five years of age while 53% of tribal adults suffer from chronic energy deficiency. The crude death
rate is also higher among the tribals. The most chronic malnutrition areas in the country are in the tribal belt of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The under 5 mortality per 1000 is 119.3 in the case of dalits and 126.6 in the case of tribals as against 82.6 for others. Here too, the overall percentages for these communities conceal a more depressing picture in respect of the states where the Naxalite movement is strong.

**k) Lack of Basic Needs Such as Drinking Water, Sanitation, Electricity**

The situation in respect of access to drinking water also reveals wide disparities. Only 15.2% of the tribal households and 27% of dalit households have a drinking water facility in their premises compared to 45.2% among the general population. While 28.2% of the tribal households have drinking water sources away from the premises, this percentage is 19.5 for the dalit households and only 14.4 in respect of the households of general population. Merely, 20% of the tribal households have the privilege of tap drinking water as against 32% of the dalit households and 40.1% households in the case of general population. The percentage of villages where there is zero improvement in drinking water source is the highest where the tribals reside (23.5%) while it was the lowest (6%) in the case of general population. The position in respect of sanitation is even more dismal. Only 17% of the tribal households and 23.7% of the dalit households have latrine facilities against 42.3% of the general category households. The percentage of households with connectivity of waste water outlet is only 21.8% for the tribals and 42.9% for the dalits when compared to 50.6% for the general population. Only 24.4% of the tribal household have a pucca house while this percentage is 42.8 for the dalit households and 57.7 in the case of general category social segment. This percentage is the lowest in Chhattisgarh (8.2%), followed by 12.9% in Orissa. The access to electricity is enjoyed only by 36.5% of the tribal households and 44.3% of the dalit households in comparison to 61.4% of the rest of the social groups. As elsewhere, these figures for the tribals as a whole would usually be lower in respect of the states affected by the Naxalite movement.

**l) Disparities in Infrastructure**
The wide disparities in human development are also accompanied by a huge gap in the availability of development infrastructure (roads, bridges, transport networks, telecommunication facilities) as well as social infrastructure (schools, health centre’s, piped water supply schemes, power distribution lines) and production infrastructure (irrigation, storage go-downs for PDS, cold storage for preservation of marketable produce, outlets for supply of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, veterinary centers, banking units – commercial and cooperative) in the Naxalite affected areas. Geographical inaccessibility, hilly and undulating terrain, scattered habitations, sparse population with low density have provided convenient alibis for this neglect, such as economic non-viability, high cost, difficulty in operations and maintenance. The infrastructure is not merely inadequate but at a lower level of gradation than the rest of the country. There is a candid admission by the government that this lack of critical infrastructure results in the inability of tribal areas to meaningfully absorb funds, including institutional support. This gap in infrastructure is widening at a faster rate. Besides, even the meager infrastructure that exists in the region is deteriorating due to poor maintenance and, therefore, becomes increasingly non-functional due to lack of funds. The non-functionality of social infrastructure is even more seriously compromised by the absence of teachers from schools, doctors and paramedics from health centre’s, and service providers in respect of other vital services. These functionaries who largely come from the developed regions of the state and higher social groups are disinclined to work in the tribal areas. This explains why the people in these areas receive poor services.

m) Physical Violence and Indignities

Two dalits are assaulted every hour. Three dalit women are raped and two dalits are murdered and two dalit houses are burnt every day. And this, by all indications, is an underestimate.

n) Loss of Forests and Livelihood
Due to increasing developmental and economic activities tribals were being displaced from the forests which provided livelihood to them for long. The scheduled tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Rights) Act, 2006 was enacted to douse the flames of widespread unrest among the tribes on account of their eviction from forest – a major cause of the spread of Naxalite movement. The government had announced that all title deeds in respect of occupations of forest land shall be distributed by the end of 2009. But the implementation of the Act is being frustrated by the forest bureaucracy. This is being done by continued eviction of the Tribals from their existing occupation of land, their relocation from wild life sanctuaries and national parks without consent, notifying wild life sanctuaries prior to the implementation of the Act, taking over the functions of the forest rights committee by the forest officials, forcible plantation on land under cultivation of the tribals, ignoring community rights. These violations of the provisions of the Act are vitiating the outcome of implementation process, thus defeating the objectives of the Act and frustrating the affected tribals. Besides, a number of environmentalists (proxy for the forest officials) have also filed writ petitions in various courts challenging the validity of the Act itself. If this drift is not checked, it would reinforce the feeling among the tribals that they cannot get justice from the system.

**o) Failed Land Reforms**

The abolition of Zamindari and tenancy reforms benefited only the upper crust of the peasantry which had recorded proof of their cultivating status. The dalits, in any case, were largely agricultural labourers. In the few cases, where they cultivated land as tenants, they were at the lowest rung of ladder of tenancies with an oral leasing status which could be terminated at will. They did not, therefore, get any benefit from these laws. After the implementation of tenancy reforms, the large landowners and absentee landlords let out their land to tenants on oral lease to subvert land reforms. The dalits continue to be the largest segment of such informal and insecure tenants and get no protection of the law because their tenancy status is not inserted in the land records.
p) Failed Labour Welfare

As for the labour welfare laws, the enforcement is even weaker than other pro-poor legislations. It is negligible in respect of vocations in the unorganized sector. The enforcement activity has virtually ceased in the existing neo-liberal economy where there is increasing pressure for giving complete freedom to the employers to hire and fire labour. The dalits and tribals are overwhelmingly employed in vocations in the informal sector. The largest of this segment consists of agricultural workers. The Minimum Wages Act does apply to them but its implementation is very weak. The agricultural worker is too weak and unorganized vis-à-vis the employer and, still worse, is dependent upon him for survival. He/she also fails to get the requisite support from the enforcement machinery. The adjudicating process is dilatory and extremely frustrating.

q) Failure of Reservation

The process of recruitment is subverted by persons from the higher castes who manipulate to obtain false caste certificates of their status as dalits and tribals. The provisions, in any case, are very poorly implemented in autonomous government funded institutions. The scientific, technological and professional vocations have negligible representation of these groups. The shortfall is very high in scientific and technical jobs and posts in the universities. Though the share of dalits and tribals in government service has improved significantly during the last fifty years, the only categories where these groups have reached very near to their entitled percentage are the lowest C and D level posts. It is much less in A&B level posts. The representation of dalits is the largest in ‘D’ category posts. This is because the ‘D’ category consists of a large number of posts of safai-karamcharis which no person from other caste groups would like to occupy. Where, however, the dalits and tribal candidates have entered group C, B and A level positions, they have been able to upgrade their status though they continue to face caste discrimination in numerous subtle ways. But even the limited benefits from reservation provisions have considerably narrowed by the ongoing efforts of disinvestment, privatization of PSUs, virtual stoppage of further recruitment,
downsizing the establishments, combining posts at several levels and above all failure to enforce them. The reservation of berths in higher educational institutions is far below their share of population. By the late 1990s, only 7.8% of dalit and 2.7% of tribal students were enrolled in these institutions. But even among them, only a third may be pursuing desirable programmes or institutions which would facilitate their access to better jobs. The programme, therefore has had very limited impact on eliminating structural violence.

r) Failed Delivery System

The programmes for the poor and the marginalized do not get delivered and the social outcomes of policy architecture continue to remain negative. The delivery system has a number of negative features which have frustrated the effectuation of policy mandates into positive outcomes. The bureaucracy/technocracy is generally indifferent to the problems of the poor but more specifically to those of the dalits and tribals. This results in low priority assigned to those programmes whose implementation would address their problems. More devastating constraint is the social bias (caste-cum-class) in personnel manning the delivery system which leads to the ineffective implementation of programmes at best and neglect at worst. This also happens due to the absence of genuine internal accountability within the organization and absence of pressure exerted by the disempowered sections from outside. The existing institutional arrangements of internal and external accountability are either non-functional or ineffective. No punitive cost is attached to the poor performance nor reward to the good one.

s) Failed Paradigm of Development

The model of economic growth relies heavily on the exploitation of existing natural resources through large infrastructural and manufacturing projects. These projects require huge areas of land which is acquired by the government. This causes displacement, landlessness, loss of livelihood and impoverishment not to speak of social disruption of those affected. It involves reverse transfer of assets from the poor and the marginalized groups to the corporates, exacerbates inequity and further
disempowers the former. It is significant that the areas affected by Naxalite activities, being resource rich, have emerged as the prime locations for such projects threatening even more displacement of the tribal communities who are concentrated in these areas. This is the single most identifiable cause of their resentment in recent times which has led to the widespread resistance against acquisition of their land. The tribes have suffered disproportionately in the past from this pattern of development which has produced the sinister phenomenon described as ‘Internal Colonialism’ wherein the local tribals get impoverished while the immigrant non-tribals coming to the developed area flourish and prosper. The social effects of this development have been devastating – social disintegration, devaluation of culture, loss of political autonomy and identity and a sub-human level of existence.

**t) Environmental Degradation**

Another dimension of model of ‘development’ is the degradation of environment which also causes social injustice. The tribal heartland, the centre of Naxalite movement, is the worst affected in this regard due to concentration of mining and industrial projects. The mining projects have turned agricultural land in the vicinity of projects barren, polluted water sources, denuded forests, defiled the air and degraded the quality of life of the people who live and work in the area. The change in land use deprives people of their traditional source of livelihood and life supporting benefits from the forest. The immense air pollution has devastating health effects – T.B, Silicosis, Cancer and even Thelassemia which have increased mortality rates and lowered life expectancy. The commercial exploitation of bio-diversity through mass tourism generates severe competition for limited forest resources and causes social and cultural disruption in the tribal communities. The laws and regulatory arrangements to check environmental degradation are weak in fixing responsibility of the polluter and liability for payment of compensation, and ineffective in implementation. The regulatory authorities tilt in favour of the industry which has financial and political clout. Even social protests bring no relief to the affected persons as they are powerless. This environmental degradation threatens not merely the current level of existence of the people in the area but the
future generations as well. The pattern of economic growth ignores huge social and human cost which the people in this region have to pay.

**u) Failure of Justice Administration**

The third pillar of governance relates to the administration of justice i.e., punishment for violation of laws and institutional arrangements for conflict resolution and grievance redressal. The greatest frustration is caused to the people when crimes and injustices are not punished and disputes and conflicts are not settled by the state apparatus fairly and in time. It is then that they look for alternative modes of getting justice and settling disputes. There are stories from Naxalite areas about persons who took up arms when faced with such acute injustices like dispossession from land, rape of their women, deprivation of fruits of labour, incarceration in false cases and violence of the law enforcing agencies with no action against the guilty persons by the concerned agencies. The existing justice administration system has failed the people belonging to these groups. The authorities which deal with investigation and prosecution are insensitive and tilted in favour of those who violate laws and commit crimes. The judicial system is too formal, remote, slow, expensive and technical besides being user-unfriendly to be of any help to the weak and the poor. Both are ridden with corruption and their process are vulnerable to manipulation by the persons from the dominant social groups. The dalits and tribals feel that the system is not meant for them but only for the rich and the powerful. They get entrapped in it as accused rather than as complainants. They have no faith in it.

**v) Poor Quality of Leadership and Political Democracy**

Democracy is considered to be the greatest antidote to the social discontent and its potential spillover to violence as it provides a safety valve through which the discontent of the people gets an outlet and can, therefore, be addressed timely and in an orderly manner. The institutional democracy and its processes have, however, significantly failed in this endeavour. Their non-performance lies in the indifference towards the widespread structural violence which members of these communities face in their daily
lives and their failure to get justice from the system. It is also reflected in the lack of determination and corresponding efforts to break the feudal agrarian power structure humanize corporate attitude to labour and eliminate caste ridden social order to promote social equality. It has also failed to enforce equity in governance and accountability of the bureaucracy. No interest is shown in proactively working for participation of the under privileged groups in a manner that can empower them to influence decision making in their favour against the dominant and powerful groups. The structures of national political parties reflect the same class-caste divide which is so representative of the governance structures. The existing representation of the dalits and tribals in the organization of political parties is tokenistic rather than empowering even though these groups constitute a sizeable vote bank. The leaders of political parties since independence have shared the same disinclination to act tough against the rural power structure which has subverted the implementation of progressive (pro-poor) laws and defeated the objectives of programmes introduced to benefit the weaker sections. None of them have demonstrated the resolute will to break the class and caste biases and conveyed a clear message to this effect to the bureaucracy and society at large. At a political level, the leaders of all political parties have failed to use democratic space to engineer social change so as to eliminate hostility of the dominant groups to equity promoting measures empowering the dalits and tribals. In the context of the Naxalite movement, the fragility of democracy gets particularly exposed when one observes the virtual withdrawal of political parties from the affected areas and cessation of political activities therein, leaving a disquieting vacuum for the radical left groups to demonstrate their relevance. There is no sign of a concerted political response to the radical violence of the Maoists by way of a peaceful alternative to restore their faith in democracy. The greatest resentment of persons from the marginalized groups in the Naxalite area against democracy lies in the unwillingness of its institutions and leaders to challenge the dominant view which gives primacy to the maintenance of public order as the main strategy to curb the movement rather than addressing their social concerns arising out of structural violence and collapse of institutions to render social justice. The silence of democracy towards violence inflicted on the people by the state supported non-state actors under the cover of a spontaneous people’s resistance to the Naxalites is
even more hurting. The institutional democracy, therefore, fails to generate trust in its ability to rescue the people from the onslaught of structural violence as well as spiral of violence resulting from the strategy of state to deal with the Naxalite movement. It ends up by providing support to it.

**AREAS OF OPERATION**

According to the current estimates Naxalism is active in 156 districts of 13 states that include Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar-Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttaranchal and Kerala. They are also making attempts to establish and expand its presence in several other states such as Gujrat, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. The MCC’s current areas of influence extend over Bihar and Jharkhand, with some sway in Uttar-Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and west Bengal, Uttaranchal and a few pockets of Madhya Pradesh. The PWG’s areas of dominance include Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. The merger now makes the CPI Maoists a pan-India revolutionary group, and brings the Maoist closer to their objective of ‘liberating’ their proposed Compact Revolutionary Zone (CRZ), which extends from Nepal through Bihar in the North to Dandakaranya region (forest areas of central India) and Andhra Pradesh in south. The intention is to have a continuous stretch of territory under their influence and control, with the ultimate goal of eventually “liberating” the entire zone. Large parts of this territory have already been brought under the extremists influence with only some link-ups now necessary in the remaining pockets to make the CRZ the reality. Once achieved, the CRZ will virtually drive a wedge through the vital areas of the country, and would help crystallize linkages with other Maoist groups operating in South-Asia, including the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) and the Communist Party of Bhutan-Maoist (CPB-M). These areas have following factors favouring Naxalism: good number of adult males; female participation in the workforce; larger coverage of forests; poverty and illiteracy;

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larger proportion of persons belonging to the Scheduled Tribe. Now talking about the area in the states deeply affected by Naxalism.


ii) Bihar: Aurangabad, Banka, Darbhanga, Gaya, Jamui, Jehanabad, Kaimur (Bhabua), Khagaria, Muzaffarpur, patina, Rohtas, Sitamarhi.

iii) Chhattisgarh: Bastar, Dantewada, Jashpur, kanker, Kawardha, Rajnandgaon, Surguja.


v) Karnataka: Bellary, Bidar, Chikmagalur, Gulbarga, Kolar, Raichur, Shimoga, Tumkur, Udupi.

vi) Madhya Pradesh: Balaghat, Dindori, Mandla, Aurangabad, Bhandara, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Gondiya, Nanded, Yawaymal.

vii) Orissa: Gajapati, Ganjam, Kandhamal, Kendujhar, Koraput, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Nabarangapur, Rayagada, Sundargarh.

viii) Tamil Nadu: Dharmapuri, Viluppuram.

ix) Uttar Pradesh: Chaudauli, Mirzapur, Sonbhadra.

x) West Bengal: Bankura, Barddhaman, Hugli, Medinipur, Puruliya, South-24 Parganas.⁵⁴

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**EXTERNAL LINKAGES**

⁵⁴ B.K. Menon, Who are Naxals: A Threat to Indian Democracy, Murai Lal & Sons, New Delhi, 2011, p. 47-50
Connection with Nepal and Sri Lanka

The Indian Maoists have been emboldened by the recent success of their Nepalese counterparts, who have emerged as a legitimate power center after a decade of protracted people’s war. The effects are already visible in Bihar. The ripples of any development in the Maoist movement in Nepal are felt in India as well. A document condemning the moderate approach and stating its disadvantages to the furthering of the Maoist movement in Andhra Pradesh was circulated among the Indian cadres. In a general consensus it was felt that the party should have followed the ‘militant’ line as practiced by the Maoists in Nepal and the LTTE in Sri Lanka. A document of the CPI (Maoist) titled "New Challenges: Our Perspectives", meant for internal circulation, emphasized the need for an evaluation of the developments of events on the Indian front, and, then redefine its strategies and field tactics accordingly.

- The Indian Maoists are closely following the chain of events in Nepal and monitoring the actions of their Nepalese counterparts. The Maoist victory in Nepal along with the modernization of its weaponry by procuring new and sophisticated weapons has strengthened the morale of the Indian rebels and encouraged them to accelerate their insurgent activities in India.

- The first signs of contact between the Maoists of the neighboring countries were reportedly registered during 1989-1990, when the two groups started collaborating in order to expand their area of influence. Subsequently, they began the process of building up what is now known as the Revolutionary Corridor extending from Nepal across six Indian States, including Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. This area came to be called the Compact Revolutionary Zone (CRZ). The establishment of the CRZ provided a wider platform to the Nepalese and Indian left-wing extremist organizations to strengthen their base of operations in the two countries.

- The radical groups in South Asia, including both the PWG and the Nepalese Maoists, are members of the ‘Revolutionary Internationalist Movement’ (RIM). In July 2001, about 10 extreme Left Wing (Maoist) groups in South Asia formed the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organization of South Asia (CCOMPOSA), in which
the Nepalese Maoists, Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), PWG, Purbo Banglar Movement (Bangladesh), Communist Party of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and other Indian left-wing extremist parties became members.

- The appearance of graffiti in remote villages in Naxalite strongholds, in Andhra Pradesh, upholding CCOMPOSA, indicates the spread of the idea of a common front of left-wing extremist groups in South Asia.

- The Central Committee of Maoists passed a resolution in January 2002 stating its intentions of working together with the PWG and the MCC in fighting the ban imposed on the latter two organizations in India, under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002. In addition, latest reports indicate the setting up of an Indo-Nepal Border Region Committee consisting of the Maoists and the PWG to coordinate insurgent activities in North Bihar and along the border region.

- For quite some time, the Maoists have also been working closely with the MCC for unification, consolidation and expansion of the Maoist movement in India and across South Asia.

- A careful examination of expansion of Naxalite activity in Bihar in the last few years would reveal the extent of support lent by the Nepali Maoists and an effort by the Nepalese insurgents to influence Maoist activities stretching across Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Bihar.

- The Bihar-Nepal border is easily permeable. Bihar has eight districts and 54 police stations situated on the border. In the recent past, the state police have arrested a number of Nepalese Maoists in the border districts of West and East Champaran, Sitamarhi, Sheohar and Madhubani.

- If reports are to be believed, the Nepalese have made full use of the general breakdown of law and order in the region to set up bases at several points along the border.

- Reports indicate the existence of training camps in the forests of Bagha in the West Champaran district. These forests and the accompanying harsh terrain make it difficult to control insurgent activities in the area, which has emerged as a safe haven for the Nepalese insurgents.

- The left-wing extremist group, the Communist Party of India—Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML) Janashakthi, which has a marginal presence at least in six Indian States, but is very
active in isolated and limited number of pockets in Andhra Pradesh, has expressed support to the Nepalese Maoists. It is a co-signatory, along with 41 other left-wing extremist groups ranging from South America to South East Asia, to a resolution that ‘condemns and opposes the malpractice of the fascist state of Nepal’ and demands ‘life security’ for imprisoned Maoist personnel, leaders and sympathizers.

- The growing influence of Nepalese Maoists in other parts of India was unearthed after four of its personnel were arrested in West Bengal in February 2003. The arrested Maoists confessed during interrogation of their plan to use West Bengal as a corridor between their areas of domination in India and Nepal. Darjeeling and Siliguri would act as the important transit routes.

- The Nepali residents in India, forming a strong population of nearly eight million, (particularly in Sikkim, Darjeeling, Siliguri, Shillong, Dehradun, Himachal Pradesh and Gorakpur-Lucknow belts) have established a countrywide organization called the Akhil Bharatiya Nepal Ekta Samaj (ABNES). The Government of India later banned the organization under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) in July 2002. ABNES was registered with the stated objective of securing unity among immigrant Nepalese residing in India and working for their welfare. However, it gradually became involved in subversive activities and began to function as a front for the Maoist insurgents of Nepal.

- There is also some reportage about the Nepalese Maoists’ links with insurgent groups active in India’s Northeast like United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO), Gurkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) and Gurkha Liberation Organisation (GLO).

- Though the exact nature of the relationship is so far unknown, the Maoists are also reported to have some links with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka. However, it is suspected that the Maoists have received arms training from LTTE operatives in the past and this practice may be continuing. Links between these
two may have been facilitated through the PWG, which has a record of co-operation with the LTTE in arms procurement and training.\textsuperscript{55,56}

**Connection with China**

The linkages synthesized by Maoist groups with militant organizations, North East insurgents and radical Islamic organizations particularly for availing terror logistics continues to be a key concern for the internal security of India. At the same time, a plethora of factors and reasons imply the role of China in lugging iron to Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in India.

- The Home Secretary, G.K. Pillai in November 2009 said that he was confident about the supply of arms from China to the Maoists in India - “Chinese are big smugglers and suppliers of small arms. I am sure that the Maoists also get them.” The Home Minister P Chidambaram agrees with the notion that the Naxalites get weapons from outside India through the borders of Nepal, Myanmar and Bangladesh, but also maintains that he is unsure of any direct help the Naxalites get from the Chinese state actors. However, the repeated recoveries of Chinese made arms, radio sets etc from the Naxals is a substantial exposition of Maoist-China linkages.

- On a broader sense, the CPI (Maoist) is considered to be part of the international ultra-left brethren. It is a member of the Coordination Committee of Maoists Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA), which is believed to have the direct blessings of Communist Party of China (CPC). Provided the CPC does not officially clarify its position on Naxalism and CPI (Maoist), the call into question is whether China aids India’s largest internal security threat.

- The origin of the new movement called Naxalism, which believed in capturing power ‘through the barrel of the gun’, became dear to the Chinese Communist Party in no time. When the first outburst of the militant movement occurred in 1967 in Naxalbari,

\textsuperscript{55} Sohan Raj Tater and Anil Dutta Nishra, Naxalism: Myth and Reality, Regal Publications, New Delhi, 2012, p.110-114

\textsuperscript{56} http://headlinesindia.mapsofindia.com/naxalite/international-connections.html , Accessed on 9.02.12
the mouthpiece of the Chinese Communist Party gratified it by saying that ‘a pearl of spring thunder has fallen over India’. The CPC which supported many movements in overthrowing governments including the Ne Win regime of Burma, Sukarno in Indonesia etc, vowed their open support for overthrowing the Indian government repeatedly through their official mouth pieces – the People’s Daily and the Radio Peking. The Chinese official radio called for a ‘relentless armed struggle’ to overthrow the Indian government on June 10, 1967 soon after the ‘spring thunder struck the Indian land.’

- The relation between the Chinese Communists and the Indian Maoists strained in the later years owing to various reasons including ideological differences. However, it is difficult to think that the Chinese will afford isolating from its bandwagon such a powerful militant movement which could change the political dimensions of South Asia in the way they want.

- It is a widely agreed notion that China promotes anti-democratic movements in South Asia and South East Asia. There is little reason to believe that the Chinese have utmost no role in the Indian left wing insurgency. The Chinese expert Subrahmaniam Swamy says that the Naxals are one of the proxies the Chinese use in India to take care of their anti-Indian agenda.

- The CCOMPOSA was formed to bring all the Maoist movements in South Asia under one roof and the CPN (Maoist) plays an important role in it. The Fourth Congress of the CCOMPOSA was held in Kathmandu in August 2006. The resolution passed by the Congress says depicted that the CCOMPOSA would deepen and advance the new democratic revolutions in different countries of South Asia turning into a flaming field of people’s revolutionary urges and burn to ashes imperialism (particularly US imperialism), Indian expansionism and all reaction in the region. The significant role played by Nepal in CCOMPOSA and a powerful pro-China lobby of the UCPN (Maoist) helps the CPC to use Nepal as its proxy to facilitate revolution in India and other parts of the subcontinent. In the current geo-strategic scenario, these apprehensions need to be taken seriously to prevent a strategic crisis which India may face due to a three front security threat – from Pakistan, China and internal.
During his interrogation in 2010, the CPI (Maoist) Bengal secretary Sudip Chongdar alias Kanchan revealed that the Maoists have been receiving weapons from China through international smuggling routes, facilitated especially by the North-Eastern groups like NSCN (IM).

A large haul of weapons and communication devices which are believed to be part of a Rs. 4.5 crore consignment Shimray bought from China was also seized during the arrest of Kanchan and other Maoist leaders. Kanchan also revealed that some senior Maoist leaders, including a Central Committee member have visited China.

A report of 2009 says that out of the total weapons seized in India from Naxals and insurgents, around 200 are Chinese made small arms. At many instances, the forces could recover Chinese grenades and other arms from West Bengal, Jharkhand etc. The General Secretary of CPI (Maoist) Muppala Lakshman Rao alias Ganapathy in an interview in November 2010 has admitted that they purchase weapons from abroad.

Meanwhile, the occasional statements from Chinese government pledging support to India in containing all terror activities in its land creates a lot of confusion among India’s China observers as well as the diplomatic and strategic community. The statement by the Chinese Ambassador to India, Zhang Yan stating that they will extend support to India to combat terrorism - whether it is Taliban or any ‘other’, was among the like.  

**EFFECTS OF NAXALISM**

From the 1990’s onwards the Naxalites were able to expand their area of influence gradually that is now called the red corridor. In this regard the Maoist rebels benefited notably from the weakness and failures of the federal states and central government tackling the challenge.

**a) Threat to civilians and security forces**

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The Naxalists are putting their maximum efforts for preparing instruments and tools to attack the police and innocent people. They follow the way of violence which in turn affects the lives of so many innocent people many have lost their lives in attacks held in Jharkhand and the other states of India. In the fights between the state and the extremists, atrocities have been committed by both sides. Hundreds of security personnel have lost their lives or been seriously injured in these wars. A similar number of extremists have also been killed or injured. This is in addition to the large number of innocent persons killed by both sides because of accusations and suspicion.

b) Danger to elites

The Naxalites are fighting with the Government for their rights against the high profile persons like landlords, administrators, police officers, politicians and others. Thus they are dangerous to the elite.

c) Economic loss

Due to insecurity and bad law and order economic life in areas get adversely affected. Government means is also being wasted.

d) Social Conflicts

The Naxalism is also causing social conflicts between various communities and sections by blaming each other, leads to feelings of hatred and jealous among them.

e) Threat to political system

The aim of the Naxals is to disturb the present political system. Thus they target the political system by disturbances constantly in the social environment.

f) Terror

Creating terror among the state and the people by murder and violence are the tactics adopted by the Naxals. When murdering innocent persons and imparting fear among the
populace becomes a means to political ends, the Maoist and Naxalite movement becomes partly terrorists.

**g) Loss of property**

It leads to destruction of private and government property including vital transportation links like the rail network.

**h) Victimised civilians between Naxalites and Government**

The extremist groups force the tribal youth to join their cadres accusing those who refuse as state agents. Incidents are common where those who refused to take up arms are murdered; or their houses burned, dispossessed of their livestock and forced to flee from the villages. On the other hand the state agencies, in particular the state police seek information from the members of the tribal communities and once again those who refuse to cooperate are accused as Maoist or Naxalite cadres and are arbitrarily detained, tortured and even executed. Such murders are whitewashed as 'encounter killings', a convenient euphemism used by the state agencies for murdering civilians and circumventing the due process of law in the excuse of combating violence. Caught between these two opposing and equally violent forces, the unemployed tribal youth finds the government's offer as a means of employment and a source of security.\(^{58}\)

**GOVERNMENT ACTION**

In order to control to Naxalism, The Indian Government has trying everything and now looking for the help of Army to handle the Naxalism by organizing special operations with high enlarging troops.\(^{59}\)

The Government has taken the following measures to control the Naxal problem.

**a) Modernization of State Police**

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Funds are given to the States under the police modernization scheme to modernize their police forces in terms of modern weaponry, latest communication equipment, mobility and other infrastructure. The Naxal affected States have also been asked to identify vulnerable police stations and outposts in the Naxal areas and take up their fortification under the Scheme. However, some of the States need to improve the level of utilization of funds under the Scheme.

b) Revision of Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme in February, 2005

The level of reimbursement under the Scheme has been raised from 50% to 100% and new items like insurance scheme for police personnel, community policing, rehabilitation of surrendered Naxalites, expenditure incurred on publicity to counter propaganda of Naxalites, other security related items not covered under the Police Modernization Scheme etc., have been covered. The Scheme also allows release of funds to the Naxal affected States as advance. It is hoped that the revised scheme will enable higher level of utilization of funds under this Scheme.

c) Supply of Mine Protected Vehicles

Keeping in view the increased casualties of police personnel due to IED/land mine blasts, the Naxal affected States have been provided Mine Protected Vehicles (MPVs) under the Police Modernization Scheme. Their supply has been streamlined by taking up the matter with the Chairman, Ordinance Factory Board.

d) Long–term deployment of Central Para Military Forces

In order to supplement the efforts of the States in providing an effective response to the Naxal violence, Central Para Military Forces have been deployed on a long-term basis as requested by the affected States. The Central Government has also exempted the states from the payment of cost of deployment of these forces for a period of three years from 1-7-2004 involving an amount of nearly Rs. 1,100 crores.

e) India Reserve Battalions
The Naxal affected States have been sanctioned India Reserve (IR) battalions mainly to strengthen security apparatus at their level as also to enable the States to provide gainful employment to the youth, particularly in the Naxal areas. Recently, additional IR battalions have also been approved for the Naxal affected States. The Central Government will now provide Rs. 20.75 crores per IR battalion as against the earlier amount of Rs. 13 crores per battalion. The States have been asked to expedite raising of these battalions.

f) Deployment of SSB along Indo-Nepal Border

In order to ensure that there is no spillover effect of the activities of Nepalese Maoists to our territory, SSB has been given the responsibility to guard Indo-Nepal Border. The Government has also recently sanctioned new raisings for the SSB to further improve management of borders in these areas. A modernization plan involving an outlay of Rs.444 crores has also been sanctioned for the SSB.

g) Recruitment in Central Para Military Forces

In order to wean away the potential youth from the path to militancy or Naxalism, recruitment guidelines have been revised to permit 40% recruitment in Central Para Military Forces from the border areas and areas affected by militancy or Naxalism.

h) Backward Districts Initiative (BDI)

Since the Naxalite menace has to be addressed on the developmental front also, the Central Government has provided financial assistance of Rs. 2,475 crores for 55 Naxal affected districts in the 9 States of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh & West Bengal under the Backward Districts Initiative (BDI) component of the Rsahtriya Sam Vikas Yojana (RSVY). Under this Scheme, an amount of Rs. 15 crores per year has been given to each of the districts for three years so as to fill in the critical gaps in physical and social development in the Naxal affected areas. The Planning Commission has been requested to include other Naxal affected areas under their proposed Scheme of Backward
Regions Grant Funds (BRGF) for which an outlay of Rs. 5,000 crores has been set apart from this fiscal year (2005-06) onwards.

**i) Tribal and Forest related issues**

In order to address the areas of disaffection among the tribals, the Government has introduced the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005, in Parliament on 13.12.2005. Further, to facilitate social and physical infrastructure in the forest areas, Ministry of Environment and Forests has, as requested by the MHA, issued general approval to allow such infrastructure by utilizing upto 1 hectare of forest land for non-forest purposes. That Ministry has also permitted upgradation of kutcha roads constructed prior to 01.09.1980 into pucca roads.

**j) Implementation of land reforms and creation of employment opportunities in the Naxal areas**

Naxal groups have been raising mainly land and livelihood related issues. If land reforms are taken up on priority and the landless and the poor in the Naxal areas are allotted surplus land, this would go a long way in tackling the developmental aspects of the Naxal problem. The States have been requested to focus greater attention on this area as also accelerate developmental activities and create employment opportunities in the Naxal affected areas with special focus on creation of physical infrastructure in terms of roads, communication, power as also social infrastructure such as schools, hospitals etc.

**k) Monitoring Mechanism**

The Central Government accords a very high priority to review and monitor the Naxal situation and the measures being taken by the states on both security and development fronts to control it. Several monitoring mechanisms have been set up at the Center to do so. These include a periodical review by the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) Of the Naxal situation, Standing Committee of the Chief Ministers of the Naxal affected states chaired by the Union Home Minister, Quarterly Coordination Center meetings.
chaired by the Union Home Secretary with the Chief Secretaries and the Directors General of Police of the affected states and the monthly Task Force meetings of Nodal Officers of Naxal affected states/Central agencies chaired by Special Secretary (IS), MHA. The states have also been asked to hold a monthly review by the DGP and the Naxal situation and the measures and strategies to contain the Naxal problem.  

l) Development

Development relates to specialized mechanisms of financial allocations for poverty alleviation and human development entirely focused on these groups, and infrastructural inadequacy in respect of the areas where they reside. These mechanisms are known as the Special Component Plan for the Dalits and the Tribal Sub-Plan for the tribes which seek to ensure that the requisite percentage of plan funds are spent on activities which benefit them directly. In various sectoral schemes and programmes, specified share has been earmarked for these groups in the guidelines in order that they receive proportionate benefits from them. Still the sufferers are waiting for the implementation not on papers but in reality.

m) Participation

The participation of the communities in governance constitutes the third dimension of policy frame. By way participation, besides reservation of seats in the Central and state legislatures and the PRIs, these groups have representation in the Cabinet at the state and central level, decision making positions in the political parties, committees of the Parliament and statutory commissions created for safeguarding their entitlements and interests. In the case of tribes, the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 departs from the pattern of Panchayats in the non-scheduled areas and restores some degree of self-governance to the tribes. This law provides for mandatory consultation with the Gram Sabha of the village in the Scheduled Area in matters relating to the management of natural resources and development activities. Still the big

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corruption doesn’t let the Tribals to hold the positions rather make them puppet and enjoy the powers of seat.\textsuperscript{61}

The Central Government views the Naxalite menace as an area of serious concern. The Government remains firmly committed and determined to address the problem. The current strategy is (i) to strengthen intelligence set-up at the state level; (ii) pursue effective and sustained intelligence driven police action against Naxalites and their infrastructure individually and jointly by the states and (iii) accelerate development in the Naxal affected areas. The Central Government will continue to coordinate and supplement the efforts to the state governments on both security and development fronts to meet the challenge posed by the Naxal problem.\textsuperscript{62}

**NAXALISM AND PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN**

From past few years, women Naxal ideologues have been formed to further invigorate the Naxal insurgency in India. Usually the lady Naxals are involved in underground activities which are a part of their network. Women cadre Naxal groups mainly works for Nari Mukti Sangh. There are women leaders who work as an area commander in the different parts of the Naxal affected areas. Their Main intention is to fight for the Basis Rights of women.

The other issues handled by the women community include claiming compensation/ rehabilitation package promised by government and public relations exercise with police officials to reduce police harassment of surrendered Naxalites. To marry Adivasi girls forcibly by kidnapping them is a common practice among tribals. There is no barrier for a male person to marry any the number of women. There are no alternatives for women rather to reconcile to the situation in fear of physical torture. Gradually the uprising began among Adivasi women due to such forcible marriage. They fought against such type of oppressions and injustice. In due course of time the number of women cadre increased among Naxal especially in Dandakaranya known as

Krantikari Adivasi Sangh. Among the entire Naxal Groups 30 percent are women cadets.

Most of the women even teenage girls are the victims of the circumstances. One of the teenage girls named Laxmi of Kareemnagar district of Andhra Pradesh confessed that: “Comrades visited our villages for food provision, medical help and other needs. I joined the movement as a courier for the Maoist. I was an orphan.” Women like Sunita, Pramila, Jaya in Andhra Pradesh and Pratima, Mala, Rakhi in Orissa are such type of victims. Mala led women cadres in Orissa and Sobha worked as an Area Commander and arrested in 2006. All learn running, crawling, jumping and firing in the forest.

According to Yaswant Jethua, Deputy Inspector General, Kendujhar, Savita Munda, 20 years was the member of Kalinga Nagar Sub-Divisional Committee of the Maoists. She was an active member and was involved in various violent activities in Orissa. She was also a part of Nayagarh violence, various loots, murders and has been appointed by Maoist leaders.

Savita Munda said that she took the decision of quitting the ultra group due to harassment in the Maoist camp. "We thought that Maoists are attached to a noble cause. But after working with them for 14 years, we have realized that they have given up their ideology. They are now involved in other kinds of activities. Leaders, who are outsiders, conduct these activities. They come here and take the money. They used to harness us both physically and mentally. The West Bengal Police have picked up a 13-year-old girl-said to be an active member of the Maoists' Raniband squad. 63

Most of the women Naxalites are bold and dedicated. They confront the police till their last breath. At times they are killed in exchange of fire with the police or arrested by the police. Women hold half of the sway in PLGA. In India 40 percent of Naxalites are women and in some places they have even crossed 50 percent mark. It is asserted by them that there’s no sexual disparity and all are as comrades with equal status. 64

63 http://naxalwatch.blogspot.in/search/label/Comfort%20Women. Acessed on 9.02.12
CONCLUSION

When the Naxal uprising began in 1967, the Indian government looked at it as a law and order problem. It did not analyze the causes of the movement and the extent of mobilization of people. Hence, it believed that it could and would put an end to it in a short span of time using force. “During the outbreak of the armed clashes in Naxalbari, the then Home Minister Y B Chavan, addressing the Lok Sabha on June 13, 1967, described them as mere “lawlessness”—a transgression to be repressed and contained. So, while Charu Mazumdar named the 1970's as the “Decade of Liberation”, the Indian state chose to make it the “decade of repression”. The government launched a massive police operation that drove the movement underground and brought most of its leaders under police custody within four months of the uprising. The emergency in 1975 was used by the state authorities to crush the movement. It led to the violation of human rights by the state. But ironically, the movement arose again in a more violent form after the emergency and continues to challenge the state to this day.