CHAPTER-1
INTRODUCTION

“Development” as a conceptual category has the potential to hold a number of possibilities. This is very difficult, rather impossible, to reach at any universally accepted meaning of this most confusing and as well as most inspiring term. “Development” has been the central organising concept of today’s society and cultural mores. It has different meanings and there are diverse views on the processes leading to development. The United Nations has its development agency in the form of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The World Bank takes development as part of its official name the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Hundreds and thousands of people are employed in researching on and executing development programmes and policies and billions of dollars are spent each year in its pursuit (Naz, 2006). Development has a very prominent role to play in anthropological discourse, despite the fact that the concept is shrouded in controversies right from the days of the beginning of British anthropology. David Lewis, for example, writes, “The relationship between anthropology and development has long been one fraught with difficulty, ever since Bronislaw Malinowski advocated a role for anthropologists as policy advisers to African colonial administrators and Evans-Pritchard urged them instead to do precisely the opposite and distance themselves from the tainted worlds of ‘policy’ and ‘applied’ involvement” (Lewis, 2005). Given this controversial early beginning, development is an extremely vague and all-encompassing term which appeals to various groups who often view it in different ways, although related terms such as growth, modernisation, and socio-economic progress are less difficult to understand. However, at the simplest level, development implies growth or maturation and advancement.

The term Development came to prominence in the academic literature after the Second World War, when major political and social changes were taking place in the Third World countries Development, in its broadest sense, refers to “… the process by which poor countries get still richer, or try to do so, and also to the process by which rich countries still get richer” (Berger, 1976). Since the Second World War, development has been synonymous with economic, social and political change in the countries of Africa,
Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the South Pacific. These countries have been variously labelled as underdeveloped, less-developed, developing, or the Third World. They constitute a diverse group but are united in their commonly declared commitment to development. But, there is no consensus about the meaning of development. It is a contested concept and there have been a number of battles to capture its meaning.

In a recent report by the Planning Commission of India (2008) presently called as Niti Ayog entitled “Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas,” it has been clearly mentioned that in India the development paradigm pursued since Independence has provoked the existing discontent among the marginalised sections of the society. This is because of the fact that the development paradigm as visualised by the policymakers has always been imposed on these communities, and therefore, it has remained insensitive to their needs and concerns, causing irreparable damage to these sections. The benefits of the paradigm of development have been excessively cornered by the dominant sections at the expense of the poor, who have borne most of the costs.

UNESCO’s concept of development is based on the realisation that communities define themselves in terms of cultural identities and development cannot be effective unless it is centred on that image. Thus, when one tries to examine the changing scene of tribal development, it becomes important to understand the concept of tribe, which is of course, contextual to their image. In the context of India, the Scheduled Tribes (STs) are widely regarded as the aborigines (indigenous people) of the Country who have remained unrecognised, ignored, and suffered due to neglect and isolation all through the centuries (Samal, 2001). Article 46 of the Constitution of India has provided a set of rights to the States “… to promote and safeguard with special care for the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”.

Tribal development programs in India have been conceived since the 1st Five Year Plan and gradually have taken a concrete shape after the implementation of Tribal Sub-plan strategy during the Fifth Five Year Plan period. The Constitution of India also provided
special provisions by delineating special administrative structure for tribal development by incorporating the Fifth and the Sixth Schedule Area provisions. However, despite these provisions, the Scheduled Tribes are still considered as socially and economically backward because of failure of tribal development programs in India. The nature of tribal development administration is bureaucratic rather than democratic, which is a major failure setback of tribal development programmes in India (Rahul, 1991). Fifth Schedule Areas, in general, historically suffered from maladministration/non-administration and that is why Left Wing Extremism continues to remain as one of the outcomes of this maladministration and development exclusion (Rai and Prasad, 2004).

Year after year, both the Centre and the States have allocated funds for the "development" of tribals, but the amounts spent by them have largely benefited contractors and middlemen (Mahapatra, 2013). Under the garb of industrialisation, one government after another has auctioned off valuable mineral-rich tribal lands to unethical miners and, in that process, deprived the tribals of their livelihood and shelter (Sharma, 2006). This deprivation, land alienation and exploitation of the underprivileged have repeatedly provided an open platform and invitation to the reason for the popular uprising in the country even prior to Independence. The government of India has estimated that the movement is now active in about 125 districts spread over 12 states (Planning Commission, 2008). Realising the expansion of Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in the Country, Integrated Action Plan (IAP) was introduced in 2010-11 in LWE affected districts. LWE is popularly known as Maoism worldwide and Naxalism in India is an armed revolution to overthrow conservative or capitalist systems and replace them with communist or socialist societies.

**Left Wing Extremism** is the revolutionary political line, or uncorrupted Marxist ideology, that seeks to establish a socialist state by violently overthrowing the existing capitalist or pre capitalist system. Left wing extremism can be ideologically inspired by any line of communist thought, including Leninism, Maoism, Guevaraism, Trotskyism etc. Any revolutionary leftist movement such as the Bolsheviks of Russia or the communists of China and Vietnam, can be considered as leftist extremists.
**Maoism** is a line of left wing extremism particularly inspired by the thoughts of Mao. Maoists employ guerrilla warfare, slowly build their army and start mobile warfare, and ultimately overthrow the system through all-out war over several decades.

Maoists also believe in conducting a series of revolutions in all social aspects, including culture. Once their revolution is achieved, they try to decentralize to some extent, and bring the party leaders under scrutiny of the common people, so that their revolution is not corrupted by greed and opportunism. In countries like Peru, Turkey, Philippines and Nepal, there have been Maoist movements at some point in the last 30 years.

**Naxalism** is Maoism adapted to Indian conditions. It is called Naxalism because it began in a place called Naxalbari in West Bengal. The Naxalites implement classic Maoism adapted to the concrete conditions of India. They are the oldest group in the world continuously waging guerrilla warfare or people’s war, and have exerted their influence over a third of the country. Presently they engage against more than 3 lakh government police and paramilitary forces, which make them a formidable force in the country.

Left Wing and Right Wing are the two political ideologies based on the philosophy of Socialist and Conservative respectively by nature. In the realm of politics, the right and the left wing are two positions that are continuously being debated upon and possess arguments that, to this day, have been debated over and over again; yet seemingly without any possible solution. Although their differences have been darkened with the passing of time, since many politicians that claim to be either right or left end up having the same stand for particular arguments, some general characteristics of being in the right wing and being in the left wing must be made clear.

The fundamental differences between left-wing and right-wing ideologies centre on the rights of individuals vs. the power of the government. Left-wing beliefs are liberal in that they believe society is best served with an expanded role for the government. People on the right believe that the best outcome for society is achieved when individual rights and civil liberties are paramount and the role and especially the power of the government is minimized.
Foremost, right-wing politicians are said to be the more conservative type, but they are also considered tougher. They like a smaller government entity that shouldn’t control much of the citizens’ lives. They have a higher regard for the people than the government as they advocate equal working rights. These are also the type of people that don’t want to have their hands on the economy as a whole. Most, if not all, of them are against gay marriage. They want to oppose the government for its nanny-type laws like the regulations on not smoking and other related prohibitions. Although right-wing individuals place a big emphasis on the value of life, they still want to pursue war whenever deemed necessary.

Left-wing politicians are the more liberal individuals. One of the reasons why they are more liberal is because they are pro-choice. They like bigger government structures that have a more powerful hold on the citizens so as to affirm social justice. These politicians want to intervene with the economic system. With regard to conflict management, left-wingers want to solve conflicts without the use of force and primarily through peaceful, diplomatic agreements only.

Very simply put, right wing extremism central topics are usually race, nation, and stuff like that while left wing is usually formed about class system, antiglobalism, and extreme eco-activism.

The Naxalites owe their nomenclature to a small village of India in West Bengal called "Naxalbari". The first clash was ignited when a share cropper was beaten by armed goons of a local landlord, when he went to plough his land with judicial orders. Tribal people in the area retaliated when the share croppers were attacked by the local goons of the landlord. This was followed by violent clash and forceful seizure of land. The struggle inspired by the Chinese Communist Party, was initially led by the Communist Party of India—Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML) under the chairmanship of comrade Charu Mazumdar. He was highly influenced by thoughts of Marx and Lenin with ideology of Mao Zedong theory aiming at exploitation by landlords. India has long history of peasant’s uprisings since 1930. The Tebhaga Movement during 1946, which embarked on a proletariat militant struggle in North Bengal to get the share of the Movement. Then the Telangana
Armed Struggle Movement in 1946-1951 in A.P for land rights again. Then again in 1967 the Naxalbari Movement sparked. It was exactly 42 years ago, in May 1967, that a minor clash between a police force and a group of armed peasants took place in an obscure corner of West Bengal. Yes one cannot deny that even after four decades of tortuous and self-divisive Odyssey, the movement that began in Naxalbari still remains a force to reckon with.

Development minus people's participation has always been seen as a fuel for unrest. Naxalite movement have its roots in a place called Naxalbari in West Bengal, On May 25th of 1967 a section of Communist Party (Marxist) (CPM) started an uprising against the landlords in Naxalbari. This revolt was led by CPM leaders Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal. CPM which advocated electoral politics did not extend hand to such initiative. The revolutionaries were termed as Naxalites who separated themselves from CPM and formed a new party. They believed in the principles of Mao (Late leader of Chinese Communist Party), Marx and Lenin, The new form of Maoism in India is Naxalim and from 1967 till today it is showing its sparks and inviting masses to join them. During late 1960s, many university graduates joined the revolt which spread form West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Kerala.

The Indian ruling class answered the rebellion with heavy arms. Government of India led by the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, employed the security forces in large numbers and by 1971 the Naxals were crushed. With the heavy state repression by the mid of 1970s the movement was literally dead. Many leaders were arrested and many went underground and many went underground and many were killed in police encounters. The Naxalite revolt and their ideologies got fragmented and many groups raised their heads. Few went underground and into jungles and started working among Adivasis (tribals) and other oppressed castes.

In 1980s the naxalite groups in Andhra Pradesh were grouped under the banner of a party called People’s War Group who was working among tribals. Their work got extended to other nearby states of Chhattisgarh and Orissa. Parallel another underground group which was working in the undivided Bihar and in West Bengal which was known as Maoist
Communist Centre carried their activities against the police and in villages. During 2004 these two parties merged together and formed the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

As mentioned above that the initial Naxal revolt was stamped in the late 70s and many leaders were in jail, many surrendered and many went underground. The party had lost its directions and many did not know who can advise them to go further till they evolved into three different sects. During 1977, a book was published just at the right time when the party was under turmoil. Revolutionary Violence: Maoists Movement in India by Mohanty (1977) giving an account of the events occurring in the Communist Party and other events, when he party was marking the tenth years of their Naxalbari uprising. The repression of the government in late 1970s restrained the party from doing any celebration for the decennial period, but there was huge change in the Indian politics. The government was not only oppressive but did meet the challenges by bringing some reforms when the Congress Party was defeated. The Communist Party exposed many weak links of the then system. This book talks about the intimidating character of the government during the emergency period, the beginning of a new revolution; their party's restructuring their major divisions and their strategies.

From the beginning of 1977 till the beginning of the 2000, there were not many studies on the Naxalite movement in the State of Orissa as there were no such incidents during that period. Except few media reports no such research work was taken up until 2004, when their activities took violent form in Orissa. *Naxal Movement and State Power with Special Reference to Orissa*, where, the Naxalite movement is seen as a major internal security threat by the state and it is an issue of great concern. The different views of the two major parties involved here is the naxals and the state power, the former sees it as a socio-economic problem and the latter views as a law and order problem.

*The Naxalite Movement in India*, by Singh, Prakash (2006) is a narration of the whole movement from 1967 till now has gained strength like the Kashmir conflict.

“Towards Naxalbari” (1953-1967), is an account of the inner party ideological struggles by Pradip, Basu (2000) where the research has shown that the Communist history in India has witnessed various splits basing on the ideology and methods. Various studies do say that there have been 122 times spilt among which 22 have been inclined for armed
struggle. The present Communist Party of India (Maoist) is the brain child of many debates and discourses in the Party since 1967. The Communist Party those who initially resort to violence have seen various setbacks in the party due to repression and fear. The work of Basu 2000, gives the inner party struggles which yielded some uprisings like Naxalbari which had serious implications on the movement. But the two major thoughts which germinated from that one is the debateists and the other actionists, these two can be well said that the first group developed themselves as the critique of the second group. The inner-party debates are based on the party documents with academic point of view.

The Indian form of Maoism which is totally different from traditional left politics, which gave rise to the debates of radical Communism, which became Naxalism or Naxalites; though initially the Naxalites centred around the Communist Party of India and Community Party (Marxist). But its gave birth to a new party, i.e. Communist Party of India (Marxist and Leninist). The movement has been studied here from three as first being the socio-economic structure and process which provide the backbone to it, second being the power structures and political relationships of the immediate political context and the third ideology and theory of the movement. These aspects combined together make small movements like Naxalbari, the Srikakulam movement more significant. The study of Basu focuses on the time span of 1953-1967, the 1953 as benchmark because by 1953, the very thought of parliamentary line of Communist movement has induced the minds and in 1952 they successfully participated in the general elections. This provoked the inner party struggle and dialogue to create lot of documents. This study has done an enquiry on two sets of documents, the primary material written during 1953 (included booklets, articles, pamphlets) and the materials written during and after Naxalbari (include books, articles and interviews). This research focuses on two groups—debateists and actionists, who concentrated on theoretical debate to expose the elected leaders and the actionists who believed in armed struggle and to create models of revolution.

Chakravarti, Sudeep (2008) in his book called *Red Sun Travels in the Naxalite Country*, has brought out the description of the other India. As he travels through the state of Chhattisgarh, the core Naxalite zone, he has explained that the Naxalite movement is not confined to one or two villages rather it has occupied more than 15 states in India and supported by the intelligentsia/intellectual class. Being a journalist by profession, he has
taken interviews with sympathizers bureaucrats, policemen, development workers, farmers (a cross-section of population) and incorporated in the book where he has shown that there is a deep and widening divide in our country and there are many more dangers/challenges which are ahead for the country due to this conflict.

Few researchers have worked on the politics of the Naxalite movement and their changing styles of operations. Very few studies have been done on the surrender of Naxalites and their policy implications Rajat, Kujur and Bidyut Charobarty (2010) has mentioned in their research which is called Maoism in India- Reincarnation of Ultra Left Wing Extremism in the Twenty First Century, they have placed their views on the rise of Maoism and the contributing factors are the failure of the post and pre-independence governments specially the failure of the government to implement the policies. The authors attempted to answer questions like is Maoism deep-rooted in the disappointment of the people or is it the outcome of the developmental models which are advocated by the planners? They consider Maoism is in its sprouting stages. They have analysed the documents to present the stages of Maoism and presented four issues to engage the masses: gain support from people who are aspiring for secession like north-east and Kashmir, attack on case system, fight for dalits and gender equality. They have given an account of salwa judum, a civilian-Naxalite movement in Chhattisgarh to counter this problem along with the rehabilitation and surrender policy.

The Naxalites and their party is banned from, 2009 and few of their activities have been compared as acts of terror. Their operations, ambush killing of innocents, travelling in an ambulance are a sheer case of human rights violations. After all the incidents, it is still found that they are able to spread with a smoother pace irrespective of their strategy.

The Naxalite movement has always attracted many Gandhians to rethink on their gram swaraj and reconstruction programme. It was found that many of the Gandhians in the South Orissa (the universe of the study) did have a sympathetic attitude for them during the 1950s. And similarly many Naxalites who believed in Communist ideology had high regard for Gandhians like late Shri Biswanath Pattnaik who was known as Gandhi of Koraput region. This unique amalgamation of the ideologies has nicely been documented
in a book called *Gandhi and Mao* (in quest of analogy) by Dr. Ratan Das (2004) has tried to locate both Gandhi and Mao in today's circumstances. He has shown that the present culture has forgotten the plight of the poor and tribals, Culture comes as an offshoot of capitalism. And capitalism is fully engaged to swab out both the ideologies be it Gandhi or Mao, Both Gandhi and Mao are pioneers in their own fields, both had similar objectives but their ways of implementation were different. Mao’s concept of dialectics and violence has saturated and total annihilation is fatal at this situation. The good aspects of Mao and Gandhi have to be synthesised, so that, it can be emerged as a way for change and to get the best solutions.

The perspective on Maoism, its origin, its flaws, who will carry its legacy all these have brought out in *Economic Political Weekly* by D’mello, Bernard has shown that the initial thought about Communism is about freedom, freedom from the capitalistic exploitation. But the revolutionaries itself gelled with the system. What is needed is radical democracy to enjoy maximum participation. In the same volume the commentary is about who is responsible, the Communist Party or the Indian State, has highlighted the issues of human rights violations on Adivasis, the forceful eviction, the operation green hunt in the Naxal infested areas show a grim picture of the state. The tribals consider the Naxalites as their good friends as other doors for their solutions are closed. The security forces beats them, or label them as Naxalites, the political parties use them as vote banks and few of the parties does support the private operations like *salwa judum*.

The overall media highlights can be said in three ways, they highlight the points favouring the movement and why the Naxalite movement is on rise. Also there are some special features which cover the special operation and raids done by Naxalites. But they cover largely on the incident part to a major extent, discussion on it, but they do not carry and give any direction to the appropriate solution of the issue. But the media's role is in deep appreciation as they have brought out and Bringing out everyday’s incidents of Naxalites, which is in way a caution check to the governments to think over the issue which is affecting large section of the society.

The structure of Western modernity is complex but analytically it is possible to detect two main forms: First, the capitalist modernity and second, the socialist modernity. Orthodox
or classical, established or official Marxism criticized capitalist modernity but accepted socialist modernity. In the meanwhile, new developments have taken place.

Naxalite or Maoist movements in a general sense both theoretically and officially subscribe to Orthodox Marxism and therefore officially criticize capitalist modernity and advocate socialist modernity. But if we apply the method of post-structuralism and deconstruction developed by Derrida, and privilege the marginalized aspects of official Naxalite documents, we can show that they have made inevitable departures from their Orthodox Marxist position and sometimes have gone beyond Euro-centric Marxism.

So the Naxalites or the Maoists gave too much emphasis on the productive forces and production relations in the Indian economy and maintained that class struggle is the most important domain of social contradiction. At the center of class struggle, however, there is the struggle for capturing state power. The Naxalites have firm belief that armed struggle is the central form of struggle and secret armed squad is the key organizational form.

They give stress on protracted people's war, encircling the cities with the liberated villages, Base Areas, Red Army, etc. They have, therefore, advocated that open mass organizations, economic struggles, reforms and elections are to be boycotted. This is to be added here that the questions of gender discrimination, caste oppression, ecology and environment, religious minority, nationality, tribal identity, language, regionalism, etc. are, in the eyes of the Naxalites, subordinate to the issues of economic exploitation and class domination. Those questions are certainly important but they can be ultimately sorted out when economic and class exploitations are eliminated in New Democracy or later in socialism through abolition of private ownership over the means of production and in its place establishment of social ownership under the supervision of the proletarian dictatorship.

Green theory and much post-structuralism ecological and environmental theory have drawn more attention to the issues of interdependence of man and nature and environment. They critiqued the structure of Enlightenment modernity of the dominant
Western civilization which advanced an anthropocentric social philosophy and Humanism as well as technocentrism and instrumental rationalization.

There are already many good books on the Naxalite or Maoist movement, some of which are descriptive while many others are analytical. But the problem is that all these books have placed the Naxalite movement in the conventional theoretical perspective.

In many cases the Naxalite movement has been strongly criticized from the liberal democratic viewpoint or studied within the orthodox framework of Marxism-Leninism. The traditional Marxist framework focuses on the economic basis of society especially the mode of production and the class analysis. At the same time, main attention has been
paid to the practical and real historical issues of class struggle especially of the peasants, working-class and other toiling sections of the people. The existing literature, therefore, cannot answer to many new questions mentioned above.

Postmodernism, however, emerged as an intervention primarily in two broad areas: (1) philosophy and social sciences especially politics, sociology, history, geography, etc.; and (2) arts and culture particularly painting, films, theatre, music, dance sculpture, architecture, aesthetics, etc. Postmodernism advanced mostly through Existentialist (e.g. Heidegger 1889-1976; Nietzsche 1844-1900) view of human failures, passion, irrationalism, pessimism, inconsistency, uncertainty, etc. According to both postmodern and post-structuralist thinkers, European Enlightenment had two children, one was liberal bourgeois thought and modern capitalist social formations, and the other was Marxist thought and socialist social systems. Postmodernism and post-structuralism make critique of the children, the liberal and the Marxist.

Some of the world's foremost Lacanians, clinicians like Jacques-Alain Miller or philosophers like Slavoj Zizek and Alain Badiou have had and continue to have a Maoist association. The proper name of Mao Tse-tung which acts as a quilting point for the discourse of Maoism is a site of possible bonding for us since Lacan and some of his most substantial followers have had a score to settle with him. If Mao's view of the dialectic which comes to him via Hegel and Marx is essentially divisive, so is Lacan's subjective dialectic operating between language and truth at one point and law and desire at another. Badiou and Zizek consistently take his name in the same breath with Lenin and Mao. They maintain that like Lenin and Mao, Lacan contributes towards a reworking of the Hegelian-Marxian dialectic qua the subject and his desire. Later-Lacan's insistence on materialism, evident in his use of Borromean topology in order to find a mathematico-logical formalization for the psychoanalytic discourse can become instructive for the political thesis of materialism. There is a complex negotiation between left-thinking and Lacan's thought in the way he develops the Hegelian dialectic
directly and indirectly through the discursive lens of Alexandre Kojève whose lectures on Hegel in France had an impact on Lacan.

Also relevant here are the dynamic of the subject in Lacan and his manifold engagement with Marx's thought such as his theorization of 'surplus jouissance' modelled on Marx's theory of 'surplus value' in Seminars XVI and XVII or his psychoanalytic ethic in Seminar VII. Mao's name is a bridge carrying us to India's ultra-left revolution of 1960s and 70s which is quilted by another proper name: a spatial qualifier: Naxalbari which is the Real of the Indian ultra-left discourse.

The Maoist-Naxalite practice of the liberated zone' in Lacanese is an effort to hout this autonomous and immovable Real of space from the Symbolic, defined by its function of circulation. The 'liberated zone is a stopping point for the Symbolic Law. It is a place where the state is barred from entering.

There are ambivalent discursive and political overlaps in the history of the ultra-left movement in India. These overlaps begin with significant differences between Maoism and Naxalism, shifts from the original Naxalbari peasant uprising that happened near Darjeeling in 1967 under leaders like Jangal Santhal to the political trajectory the likes of Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal gave to the extensive movement; and of course the difference between the CPI (Marxist-Leninist), founded by Mazumdar and company in 1969 and today's CPI (Maoist) which was founded only in the year 2004. These discursive overlaps imply a crucial turning of one discourse into another. This is where the Lacanian spectra haunt them. Lacan in Seminar XVII talks about the four aforementioned discourses as mutually transformative. In his theory, it takes only a quarter turn for the Master's discourse to turn into the Hysteric's; with another turn it becomes the Analyst's and from there to the University discourse is also another quarter turn. If the discursive turns within Naxalism are a wager for us, the quarter turn is the Real site where the possibility of revolutionary violence is staged.
Beginning with *theoretical violence*, Lenin shows with reference to Engels, *theoretical struggle* is by no means less important than *political* and *economic struggles* (Lenin: 1970, 35-43) and the Naxalites seem to me to be lacking a consolidated revolutionary theory of violence. Lenin famously proposes: ‘Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. It is difficult to find a consolidated revolutionary theory in the Naxalite corpus. What one finds is more of a neat identification with Mao's cult of personality and a sloganist evocation of some of his remarks, taken out of their contexts and read as sacrosanct maxims, e.g. 'Naxalbari lives and will live. This is because it is based on invincible Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought' ['Long Live the Heroic Peasants of Naxalbari': July 1971-January 1972]. In Lacanese, Charu Mazumdar uses the proper name of Mao Zedong as a Master Signifier in his political writings. Mao becomes that ideological quilting point or a privileged signifier, fixing and stabilizing the entire chain of signifiers, which makes up his discourse eg. Chairman Mao teaches: We must dare to fight and dare to win.

“He is still with us and Victory shall be ours” [The Indian People's Democratic Revolution: *Liberation*, June 1968] or “But Naxalbari will not die because the bright sunlight of Chairman Mao's Thought has fallen on it like a blessing” [Long Live... ]. One traces a patronymic identification with Mao's personality-cult in Charu Mazumdar. After a point, he stops using the proper name and simply uses the designation 'our chairman' which goes to show his affective investiture. The *surplus jouissance* of affect is obvious in the title of a *Deshabrati* article: China's Chairman is our Chairman'. The problem is this absolutely neat identification, without paying attention to the geo-political differences between the Chinese and the Indian revolutionary situations.

In the name of Maoism, we often find in the Naxalite canon, a strategic absolutisation of one of its tenets: that of the secret party and guerrilla warfare in a radical strategy of liquidating the class-enemy. If we conjecture that the Naxalite foregrounding of violence is rooted in Mao's suspicion of dialectical synthesis and
the proposition of an interminable struggle in the form of incessant contradiction unto death, it stands true only to Mao's own conception of theoretical extraction:

    Eating up is also analysis [...] just eating it up, absorbing the larger part, and discarding a small part. This is learned from Marx. Marx removed the outer shell of Hegel's philosophy, absorbed the valuable inner core, and transformed it into materialistic dialectics (Hangchow, December 21, 1965).

Likewise the Naxalites under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar eat up Maoism and only absorb the accent on violence without creating a sufficient theoretical direction. The movement which began as a peasant revolt [a category, always already debatable within the Marxist-Leninist scheme of proletarian revolution since their demand is couched in reclaiming their land and thus trapped in the rhetoric of personal property] is taken up from outside by urban educated revolutionaries and gets caught up in the Leninist dichotomy of spontaneity and political consciousness.

In the lecture Hate, Stamp and Smash Centrism’, deliver May 1970, Charu Mazumdar says:

    We have tried to develop the army in some areas without class struggle and have failed. Without class struggle-the battle of annihilation- the initiative of the poor peasant masses cannot be released, the political consciousness of the fighters cannot be raised, the new man cannot emerge, and the people’s army cannot be created. Only by waging class struggle-the battle of annihilation-the new man will be created, the new man who will defy death and will be free from all thoughts of self-interest. And with this death defying spirit he will go close to the enemy, snatch his rifle, avenge the martyrs and the people's army will emerge. To go close to the enemy it is necessary to conquer all thought of self. And this can be achieved only by the blood of martyrs. That inspires and creates new men out of the fighters, fills them with class hatred and makes them go close to the enemy and snatch his rifle with bare hands.

This key passage exposes the problematic of discursive emporia. The source of this violent monomania lies in Mao's own work He is spot on with his dialectical emphasis:
They said, 'Within analysis there is synthesis; analysis and synthesis are indivisible.' This sort of statement may be correct, but it has its inadequacy. One should say, 'Analysis and synthesis are both divisible and indivisible. Everything can be divided. It is all a case of 'one divides into two' (Hangchow, December 21, 1965).

Mao's critique of negation of negation reads fairly balanced as well:

There is no such thing as the negation of the negation. Affirmation, negation, affirmation, negation... in the development of things, every link in the chain of events is both affirmation and negation. Slave-holding society negated primitive society, but with reference to feudal society it constituted, in turn, the affirmation (Mao: 2007, 181).

This is a thesis of impeccable dialectical balance between affirmation and negation but not only does Naxalism stray from this; even Mao degenerates into what Zizek calls a *regressive thesis* [the 'bad infinity' of endless negating scissions into two, subdivision...'] by lapsing into a quasi-biological, quasi-scientific [Mao's example is the infinite divisibility of atoms and electrons] and quasi-cosmological thesis of infinite regression:

One thing destroys another, things emerge, develop and are destroyed, and everywhere is like this. If things are not destroyed by others, then they destroy themselves. Why should people die? [.. ] This is a natural law. Forests live longer than human beings, yet even they last only a few thousand years [...] When the theologians talk about doomsday, they are pessimistic and terrify people. We say the end of mankind is something which will produce something more advanced than mankind (182-3).

Charu Mazumdar in a lecture titled "What Possibility the Year 1965 is indicating?, Mazumdar observes:

The working class and the revolutionary masses should be taught that they should not attack merely for the sake of attacking, but should finish the person whom they attack. For, if they attack only, the reactionary machinery will take revenge.
But if they annihilate, everyone of the government's repressive machinery will be panic-stricken.

This passage highlights the insistence of death-drive. The logic of annihilation is that it would produce a shudder in the state-apparatus. If this risks the life of the militant subject on one side, on the other, it also sees the body of the other as a site of fear for the reactionary state. There is potential destruction on both sides thus.

Naxalite insurgency is a watershed in Indian cultural and political history, whose legacy of violence still hangs as an enigma. It is an onslaught on global capital. It foams up to disrupt the norms. It is monstrous. Radicals hurl attacks on the big-bourgeois big landlord classes, subservient to imperialism. Of times, nihilism seems necessary as a political tool to think towards an impossibility that is beyond the prevailing ideology Naxalism erupts an as existential necessity to unsettle the structure that produces a certain pattern of life and world. Usually the ideological propaganda is to demolish the comprador individual and his material possessions which are considered the extended body': to slaughter the landlord sharing closeness with his properties. Naxal movement, therefore spawns up a new affective state' other than 'terror 'synchronic' annihilation that falls 'suddenly' from some unexpected quarters. It generates an uncanny effect shaking stable, secured self. The bourgeois-bureaucrat is prepossessed by a fear of losing. The squire is plagued by the haunt of the unfamiliar, the unacceptable. The naxal uncanny is a recurring re-animation of the revolutionary zeal. The post-colonial state constantly feels appalled by the possibilities of the 'reappearance of the repressed the uncanny arrival of its spectral other.

Infra-politics is an emergent parallel politics especially created by the Indian rural proletariat, who continue to suffer as the thralls of the bourgeois. By the definition of both Scott and Singha Roy:

Behind the scenes they are likely to create and defend a social space in which offstage dissent to the official transcript of power relations may be voiced. Every subordinate group creates out of its ordeal, a 'hidden transcript' that represents a critique of power as spoken behind the back of the dominant . . . rumours, gossip,
folktales, songs, gestures, jokes and the theatre of the powerless function as a mechanism to indirectly develop a critique of power (Singha Roy: 2004, p.213).

The first phase of separation comprises symbolic behaviour signifying the detachment of individual or group either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure or a set of cultural conditions; during the intervening period, the state of the ritual subject is ambiguous, it passes through a realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state; in the third phase the passage is consummated. A small quotation should suffice:

It will be noted that the rites carried out on the threshold itself are transitional rites. "Purifications" constitute rites of separation from previous surroundings; there follow rites of incorporation. The rites of the threshold are therefore not union" ceremonies, properly speaking, but rites of preparation for union, themselves preceded by rites of preparation for the transitional stage (van Gennep, 20-21).

The deep sense of the valueless of the self is a projection of psyche conscious of its own value. Arguably, the Naxals generated a new iron-bound paradigmatic interpretation history while rejecting all paradigms. Sushital Ray Co-wrote about the party high command's decision of mass annihilation, guerrilla methods and red terror:

All these things were done in the name of the new national and the international situation, denying the uneven character of the revolutionary situation. Sentimental students were used to perform democratic and socialist revolution simultaneously. Such activities as burning educational institutions, libraries, laboratories and destroying the educational system were prescribed. It is enough to say that no discussions were held in the party Central Committee before these tasks were adopted (Sushital Ray Chowdhury, "Combat Left Adventurism in Sumanta Banerjee: 2009, p.225).

Faced with the dwindling support of urban middle class and the brutal autocratic power of Central government, several comrades faced the same existential crisis that forms the core of our argument. While Charu Mazumdar from all these events
was seeking to discover a qualitative change in the people and clinging to his theory that 'every corner of India was explosive', his critics were stressing a loss in quantity. Revolutionary student leader Ashim Chatterjee asked in despair:

Sacrifice of lives in battles is inevitable. But why shouldn't we have the courage to seriously consider whether it v necessary to sacrifice all the lives of heroes in Calcutta (BBOBRC document, July, 1971, in Sumanta Baneree:2009, p. 226).

The Naxalites had no time for Gandhi and his theories...There been an emphatic rejection of the Gandhian Dialogic, which was depicted as a bad-faith attempt to reconcile irreconcilable class antagonisms. Scorn was poured on Gandhi's desire to create culture of nonviolent struggle. Saroj Dutta called on Naxalites to destroy statues of Gandhi and erect in their place statues of the heroes of the 1857 revolt, such as Mangal Pandey and the Rani of Jhansi, thus validating and glorifying a history of violent revolt. David Hardiman (2004), *Gandhi in His Times and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas*, Columbia: Columbia University Press.

When some Naxalites issued death threats against two prominent Sarvodaya workers of Mujaffarpur, a District of North Bihar in 1970, JP decided to go there and counter their influence through bhoodan and gramdan. He found that a lot of land that had been declared bhoodan was still under the control of the original owners, and that they had no genuine intention of ever giving it away. He went from village to village for nearly a year trying to persuade the landlords to honour their promises. He had very little success, and began to have profound doubts about the efficacy of hridaya-parivartan within the Sarvodaya philosophy. He decided to emphasize civil resistance over and above moral appeals. He continued to insist on strict nonviolence, as Naxalite-style violence would only provoke fierce state repression. By adopting this approach in his subsequent campaign against the corruption of Indira Gandhi's Congress Party, JP then managed to regain much of the ground that had been lost to the Naxalites (*ibid.*). To quote from the *Political Resolution* of CPI (Maoist):
In India the comprador capitalist class, which emerged in the colonial system itself, has their long history of existence. They were created, nurtured and brought up by the British imperialists themselves and were organically linked to feudalism from the very beginning. After the transfer of power the fusion of this comprador capital with state capital resulted in the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois which assumed state power along with the big landlord class (CPI Maoist 2004b:38)

In the CPI (Maoist) called *Strategy & Tactics of the Indiam Revolution* (2004c: 18), the issue is put thus:

> From a concrete class analysis of the Indian society and state we find that, under the signboard of the so-called Republic and the Parliamentary democracy, India nothing but a semi-colonial and semi-feudal state under neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and control.

CPI (Maoist) theory locates the state as the exploiter of the peasantry-or the masses, as they sometimes say (see e.g. CPI Maoist 2004a: 6). In a 2006 article in *Economic & Political Weekly* Maoist ideologue Cherukuri Rajkumar-known by his *nom de guerre* Azad until he was killed in 2010-put it thus: "the people are not a homogeneous mass; the ruling elite and their hangers-on are with the state, while the masses of the oppressed are with the Naxalites" (Azad 2006).

Thus, the state is perceived as external to rural society, grounded in colonial exploitation. However, CPI (Maoist) also evinces an awareness of an increased omnipresence of the state in India. But the lengthened arms of the state are conveniently fitted into their framework of the external oppressor. For example, they write:

> The life of the peasant masses is shattered continuously by the exploitation and oppression by the gangs of local tyrants, the evil gentry, intermediaries, the police, the courts and by a long hierarchy of government officials-all of whom act as loyal agents of imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucrat capitalism, and by the feudal dictum of various kinds (CPI Maoist 2004a: 17).
As such, the state assumes shape as an "instrument of class repression, class exploitation and class rule of the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and big landlords who sub-serve the imperialists" (CPI Maoist 2004c: 18). Unsurprisingly, then, in the CPI (Maoist) Constitution mention is made that "No one from exploiting classes will be admitted into the party unless he/she hands over his property to the party and should deeply integrate with the masses" (CPI Maoist 2004d). The distinction between the elite (exploiters) and subalterns (potential revolutionaries) is apparently rigid.

Naxalite state-ideas do not appear to have undergone a similar transformation. By seeing the Indian state as "semi-colonial" and "semi-feudal", run by specific classes, the state appears to inhabit a landscape "outside" society. Thus, Naxalite revolutionary theory is grounded in local society's potentiality, similarly to the early Subaltern romanticism. In Naxalite politics, such a conceptualisation of the state as "outside" appears in some ways necessary in order to conjure an "enemy" against which to rebel. If the "enemy" is no longer "outside" but rather "inside" society, how then to proceed with revolution? It seems that Naxalite theory is at a loss. The transformation of the Indian polity in the course of the last decades points to the salience of the late Subalterns understanding of the state. However, in the perspective of Chatterjee, there appears to be no avenues for revolutionary politics. A sense of pessimism with regard to the potentiality of radical politics prevails.

Naxalism is usually represented as a struggle against the oppression of marginalised people in rural India. The idea that the spread of Maoism in India is due to the grievances of marginalised groups is generally accepted and recognised, although in different ways, by both the State and the Maoists. The government admits that the spread of Maoism in India is related to socio-economic issues that need to be addressed. The Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh, in a famous speech in 2006, stated that
We must, however, recognize that naxalism is not merely a law and order issue. In many areas, the phenomenon of naxalism is directly related to underdevelopment. [...] Exploitation, artificially depressed wages, iniquitous socio political circumstances, inadequate employment opportunities, lack of access to resources, underdeveloped agriculture, geographical isolation, lack of land reforms—all contribute significantly to the growth of the naxalite movement (Singh: 2006).

On their side, the Maoists also portray their own struggle as for the people against oppression. In the Party Constitution of Communist Party of India (Maoist), article 4 on aims and objectives affirms that:

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) dedicates itself at the service of the people and revolution, cherishes high affection and respect for the people, relies upon the people and will be sincere in learning from them [CPI(Maoist):2].

The Subaltern Studies school was founded with the purpose of deconstructing the elitist discourse of the Indian nationalism historiography, and re-including the subjugated history of the subaltern classes and their politics (Guha: 1997). In other words, the work of the Subaltern Studies group challenges the hegemonic discourse and its accepted truths by recovering another history, that of the subalterns.

The Naxalite discourse thus has had the merit of having exposed some of the socio-economic issues that affect the lives of millions of people across the country. While in the first phase of the movement more emphasis was given to the issue of land and semi-feudal relations in the countryside, today the Maoists bring attention to the consequences of neo-liberal policies undertaken by the Indian government since the 1990s (Chakrabarty & Kujur: 2010). The Maoists protest corporations and alienate crucial land and resources from the masses, for instance, in the case of land grabs for the establishment of SEZ areas.
It is important to note that the belief that a Maoist revolution would benefit the oppressed groups in the country is internalized, to different degrees and in the different ways, by meant cadres, supporters and sympathisers of Maoist parties. Of course, individuals join or support the Naxalites for many different reasons and under different circumstances, including opportunities and coercion.

During my fieldwork, however, I found that it is not always possible to distinguish between the categories of ‘Naxalites’ and the ‘people'. People have been involved with the Maoist or with the People's Committee against Police Atrocities. Though the Maoists’ having their organized bodies; the boundaries between the ‘Maoists', and the ‘people' are blurred. Maoist activities became part of daily social reality, and local people engaged with them in different ways. Although they identified themselves as 'Maoists', their views had shifted at different stages in relation to their understanding of what was happening, and did not simply conform to the Maoist doctrine. Their narratives were also about the concern for their families and how to ensure a better future for their community. In some cases, the involvement with the Maoists was understood and respected by the community.

Many of the interviewees said they were living in a state of 'terror' for about two years. During the time they described as state of terror, they often witnessed the display of dead bodies or parts of bodies, they were approached in the night by masked armed individuals and asked to perform certain duties or participate in processions and meetings. They were exposed to violence from different groups—Maoists, harmad bahini, police—and often could not distinguish who the perpetrators were. If they cooperated with one group, they were then exposed to the violence of the other. The description of how they were 'sandwiched' between the violence of opposing group was a theme that emerged frequently in the interviews. For instance, a villager said: the police used to threaten and bent us up during the day. The Maoists used to do the same in the night.

The Maoists seem to have related to local people in different ways in different villages. In some, they had positive and constructive relationships with local villagers, and here they encountered greater support. In others, they relied more on coercive measures to ensure people's cooperation. Where the element of coercion
was very prominent, people were forced to perform duties and follow regulations, such as not cooking on prescribed day, and young people were recruited sometimes against their will. If they did not follow the instructions, they were beaten up or killed, as reminded by the frequent display of bodies. When people's interactions with the Maoists were based predominantly on coercion, the attitudes towards them tended to be negative. Some of the interviewees felt that they were not respected or treated as human beings. A woman said,

We were treated like animals. You can kill a cow in front of the others and they won't say a word.

We were the same. They could kill one of us right here, and we wouldn't do anything.

Local people did not feel represented or even respected by the Maoists in these circumstances. In the initial stage, more locals had supported the movement, and one of the reasons was that some of them saw it as an inclusive space where there might be a chance to express their voices or initiate progressive social work. For many, however, the perception of the movement changed and they felt disillusioned. Many interviewees said that initially they thought the movement was a people's movement, but they later understood that it was led by Maoists and it was coercive. A local person who had participated actively in the movement, for instance, in his interview emphasized how his perception of what was happening shifted:

Initially they formed a people's committee, saying that it was a people's movement against the CPM. Then big leaders like Bikash, Akash, Vikram, Kishenji, Ranjit Pal came, and then we understood that it was the opposite. It was not a people's committee. [...] 

Peasants and nature suffer as the effluents from your bourgeois factories ruin their land. Workers are exploited and labour laws violated everyday by your democratic governments. Those with money snatch freedom from your quasi-free countries. Global corporations dictate your developmental policies. Still you expect us to remain silent?
Naxalite and Maoist movement may share the similar doctrine but the former was concentrated within the State of West Bengal and was initiated by Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal and experienced first in the year 1967. Conversely Maoism has its foundation in China, based on the ideologies and principles of the Mao Zedong. Naxalite movement is inspired from the teachings of Mao Ze-dong, but it's not Maoism per se; For further illumination on the subject refer to ‘The Indian Communist Movement at a Crossroads: A Marxian Assessment' by Anjan Chakrabarti and 'Naxalbari and the Left Movement' by Sumanta Banerjee (2002).

There are various commonalities shared by the two movements; albeit either of the movements has its seed in Marxism or popularly known as communism, later digressed from the popular orthodox Marxism. They both pursued the pave of radical politics and extremist form of revolution. The primordial focus of this essay would be Naxal movement.

Be it the ideology of orthodox Marxism, iconoclasm or Maoism; the subaltern and its deprivations lay as an alternative to the dominant mainstream. Being subaltern is what lies at the heart of the Naxalite movements; resistance is only the effect and not the cause. This can be better elucidated by Functional explanation enumerated by G. A. Cohen. ".. Birds have hollow bones because hollow bones facilitate flying...something...which has a certain effect... is explained by the fact that it has the effect (Cohen: 2000:8), being subalterm is the cause and resistance is the effect. Over enthusiasm and exaggeration surrounding the modes and forms of resistances against repression obscures the aspect of this subalternity in many cases and emphasis accumulates on resistance.

It is skimpy to say that Naxalite and Subalterm are related subalternity and marginalized people comprise the heart chord of the radical movements. Not merely the economic deprivation of these areas, neither the physical agony of the precise state of existence, rather the deprivation of voice. And concomitant of the voice per se, by means of language, is the true deprivation. Language here acts as the annihilating tool, against language as victim. That doesn't only give the impetus but also its raison d'etre to all the radical politics, including the Naxals'.
In the year 2006, Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh expressed

…. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the problem of Naxalism is the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country…..

The left radical political organizations such as CPI (Marxist Leninist), CPI (Maoist) and others, form this consolidation of Naxalite or Maoist parties in India.

In this context, it won't be incoherent to add an anecdote radical politics is concerned with the politics that plays at the fundamental or foundational level, and not at the surface, but at the base or the so-called grass-root level, and our subaltern/marginalised hails from the same playing field.

The areas experiencing maximum radical political activities are the areas deprived of the economic benefits, generated through economic growth of the nation. On the other hand similar is the case of the social scenario, dalits and adivasis form the major part of the population of these areas. Policies like inclusive development, too, concentrate and recognize this facet, the failure of the trickle down of the growth benefits to the grass-root level. The economically and socially deprived populace of the nation, literally and metaphorically, resides at the heart of these movements.

In the year 2009 "Integrated Action Plan" was implemented by the Indian government to deal with the Naxalite problem which included the vastly critiqued and discussed 'Operation Green Hunt'. Integrated Action Plan was a blend of so-called developmental measures on the one hand and use of repressive apparatus on the other to control and contaminate the situation. The former scheme in itself is a confirmation of the above stated facts, viz. the deprivation of the concerned areas and on the other hand the unequal distribution of the benefits of the economic growth.

Until and unless we succeed to reach the kernel of these process alias movement/revolt, and pay heed to the real voice of the subaltern the scratching on the husk
would be futile. It needs no Übermensch (Friedrich Nietzsche: *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*: 1882), just the spirit to listen to the Unheard.

……There are people whose consciousness we cannot grasp if we close off our benevolence by constructing a homogeneous other referring only to our own place in the seat of the same or the self. Here are subsistence farmers, unorganized peasant labour, the tribals and the communities of zero workers on the street in the countryside. To confront them is not to represent (*vertreten*) them but to learn to represent (*darstellen*) ourselves...

In order to mainstream tribal development and ensuring inclusive growth, there has been an increasing focus on higher resource allocation and special development initiatives in such districts. The government observes that more than 3/4th of the people living in these districts have a low standard of living index. Female literacy in many of these districts (i.e.; 35%) is below the state/national average. With regard to basic facilities, less than 1/4th of the population lives in *pucca* houses and 1/3rd have an electricity connection (Planning Commission, 2008).

The Naxalite movement or LWE is almost four decades old now. Beginning in a single State (West Bengal), it has now spread over a wide area, affecting and influencing the lives of lakhs of people. In the seventies, a serious attempt to focus on the tribal population in the planning process was made in the form of a Tribal Sub Plan strategy.

The process of bringing all tribal majority areas under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution was also taken up. The 73rd and the 74th amendments to the Constitution of India, followed by the Provisions of Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act 1996 (popularly known as PESA Act), brought in a new model for self-government in the Fifth Schedule areas of the country. Despite the plethora of development plans, programmes, and activities initiated in the tribal areas, the majority of Scheduled Tribes still live in serious deprivation and poverty conditions. Unrest and discontent are not new to tribal areas, nor is it just a post-independence phenomenon. The earliest uprisings against the British, in the
closing decades of the 18th Century, were triggered by colonial expansion into the forests. The uprisings were generally brutally suppressed by force. Over the last century, all the tribal communities have had their political, social and economic life changed under the impact of the colonial administrative system. The most significant of these changes has been the loss of command over their resources. Apart from poverty and deprivation in general, the causes of the tribal movements are many, the most important among them are the absence of self-governance, coercive forest policy, damaging excise policy, and rampant land alienation, multifaceted forms of exploitation, cultural humiliation, social exclusion and political marginalisation. Involuntary displacement from their homeland also added to unrest. Failure to implement protective regulations in Scheduled Areas, the absence of credit mechanism leading to dependence on money lenders and consequent loss of land and often even inflicting violence by the State functionaries added to the problem (Kujur, 2008).

Narrowing down to Odisha, the Planning Commission of India has identified Orissa (now called Odisha) as having the highest overall poverty figures of any major Indian state, with around 48 percent (17 million) of its population living below the poverty line (Planning Commission of India, 2004-05). The literacy rate in Odisha is 73.5 percent whereas the national literacy rate is 74.04 percent (2011 Census). Infectious diseases (acute respiratory infections, diarrhoea, tuberculosis, and malaria) still affect many regions in Odisha. The state still has one of the highest infant mortality rates (49%). The death rate of girls stands at 53% in villages and the figure for cities is 34%. Villages are witnessing more deaths than cities because of high malnutrition rate and poor access to health services (The Pioneer, Sep 2016). The healthcare facility is really in bad shape, as it has lowest numbers of doctors per capita in the world. The state is poverty-stricken, yet surprisingly less than 5 percent of the populations have access to subsidised food aimed at poverty alleviation (The Pioneer, Sep 2016).

Though the seeds of the Naxal movement in Odisha were sown as early as 1968, it gained momentum and consolidated its position only during last two decades.
Now the Communist Party of India, Maoist [CPI-(M)], which came into existence after the merger of Peoples War Group (PWG) and Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) in September 16, 2004, has established a strong support base in nine predominantly tribal districts, i.e., Koraput, Malkanagiri, Nabarangapur, Rayagada, Gajapati, Ganjam, Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, and Keonjhar districts.

Koraput, a Naxal-affected district, which has a poverty rate of 78.65 percent and the literacy rate, is 36.20 percent. With a tribal population of 5, 85,830, this district has been a hotbed of Naxal activities since decades. As per Dash (2012), it is a sad reality that in Koraput, the government-declared programmes never really reach the people for whom it is really made. Government measures on development have been mostly limited to edge service only, without really understanding the problem typical to the lifestyle of most of the tribal people in Koraput. Koraput has no dearth of mineral deposits, but the government's failure to take a proper approach to utilise these resources in favour of local people has only worsened the situation. Taking advantage of this alienation of masses from development interventions, the Naxals have shown them the dream of a revolution - a Maoist Revolution. In the name of revolution, the Naxals now control over many villages in Koraput establishing a parallel government at many places.

**Koraput** district is a **fully scheduled district** out of six of such districts. Out of total schedule area of 69, 613.80 sq. km (Samal, 2001 cited from Economic survey report, 95-96), the district covers 8807 sq.km which is 13% of the total scheduled areas of the State. There are 14 Blocks out of 120 scheduled Blocks which is 12% of the total scheduled blocks. Similarly, the Grams Panchayats, villages and households also constitute a sizable number of the total scheduled areas of the State. The District has the strong historical background of the administrative exclusion, underdevelopment, poverty, illiteracy. The implementation of **Integrated Action Plan** in the recent development scenario has received widespread attention because of the implementation of a number of development programmes in the rural areas of the Districts.
The term ‘human development’ may be defined as an expansion of human capabilities, a widening of choices, ‘an enhancement of freedom, and a fulfilment of human rights. At the beginning, the notion of human development incorporates the need for income expansion. However, income growth should consider expansion of human capabilities. Hence development cannot be equated solely to income expansion.

The human development approach, developed by the economist Mahbub Ul Haq, is anchored in the Nobel laureate Amartya Sen’s work on human capabilities, often framed in terms of whether people are able to “be” and “do” desirable things in life. Examples include:

**Beings**: well fed, sheltered, healthy

**Doings**: work, education, voting, participating in community life.

Freedom of choice is central to the approach: someone choosing to be hungry (during a religious fast say) is quite different to someone who is hungry because they cannot afford to buy food.

Ideas on the links between economic growth and development during the second half of the 20th Century also had a formative influence. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and economic growth emerged as leading indicator of national progress in many countries, yet GDP was never intended to be used as a measure of wellbeing. In the 1970s and 80s development debate considered using alternative focuses to go beyond GDP, including putting greater emphasis on employment, followed by redistribution with growth, and then whether people had their basic needs met. These ideas helped pave the way for the human development (both the approach and its measurement).

Income is not the sum-total of human life. As income growth is essential, so are health, education, physical environment, and freedom. Human development
should embrace human rights, socio-eco-politico freedoms. Based on the notion of human development Human Development Index (HDI) is constructed. It serves as a more humane measure of development than a strictly income-based benchmark of per capita GNP.

The first UNDP Human Development Report published in 1990 stated that: “The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives.” It also defined human development as “a process of enlarging people’s choices”, “and strengthen human capabilities” in a way which enables them to lead longer, healthier and fuller lives.

From this broad definition of human development, one gets an idea of three critical issues involved in human development interpretation. These are: to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated, and to enjoy a decent standard of living. Barring these three crucial parameters of human development as a process enlarging people’s choices, there are additional choices that include political freedoms; other guaranteed human rights, and various ingredients of self-respect.

One may conclude unhesitant that the absence of these essential choices debars or blocks many other opportunities that people should have in widening their choices. Human development is thus a process of widening people’s choices as well as raising the level of well-being achieved.

What emerges from- the above discussion is that economic growth measured in terms of per capita GNP focuses only on one choice that is income. On the other hand, the notion of human development embraces the widening of all human choices—whether economic, social, cultural or political. One may, however, contest GDP/GNP as a useful measure of development since income growth enables persons in expanding their range of choices.

This argument is, however, faulty. Most importantly, human choices go far beyond income expansion. There are so many choices that are not dependent on income. Thus, human development covers all aspects of development. Hence it is
holistic concept. “Economic growth, as such becomes only a subset of human development paradigm.”

In the traditional development economics, development meant growth of per capita real income. Later on, a wider definition of development came to be assigned that focused on distributional objectives. Economic development, in other words, came to be redefined in terms of reduction or elimination of poverty and inequality.

These are, after all, ‘a goods-oriented’ view of development. True development has to be ‘people-centred’. When development is defined in terms of human welfare it means that people are put first. This ‘people-oriented’ view of development is to be called human development. It is thus clear that per capita income does not stand as a true index of development of any country. To overcome this problem and to understand the dynamics of development, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) developed the concept of Human Development Index (HDI) in the 1990s. This index brought in revolutionary changes not only in development, but also in the policy environment in which the government was assigned a major role instead of market forces.

Economic development now refers to expanding capabilities. According to Amartya Sen, the basic objective of development is ‘the expansion of human capabilities’. The capability of a person reflects the various combinations of ‘doings and beings’ that one can achieve. It then reflects that the people are capable of doing or being. Capability thus describes a person’s freedom to choose between different ways of living.

The noted Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq considered four essential pillars of human development. These are:

i. Equality,

ii. Sustainability,

iii. Productivity, and

iv. Empowerment.
Equality:

If development is viewed in terms of enhancing people’s basic capabilities, people must enjoy equitable access to opportunities. Such may be called equality-related capabilities. To ensure equality-related capabilities or access to opportunities what is essential is that the societal institutional structure needs to be more favourable or progressive.

In other words, the unfavourable initial asset distribution, like land, can be made more farmer-friendly through land reform and other redistributive measures. In addition, uneven income distribution may be addressed through various tax-expenditure policies. Economic or legislative-measures that interferes with market exchange may enable people to enlarge their capabilities and, hence, well-being.

Further, to ensure basic equality, political opportunities need to be more equal. In the absence of effective political organisation, disadvantaged groups are exploited by the ‘rich’ to further their own interests rather than social goals. However, participatory politics gets a beating by the inequality in opportunities in having basic education.

It is to be added here that basic education serves as a catalyst of social change. Once the access to such opportunity is opened up in an equitable way, women or religious minorities or ethnic minorities would be able to remove socioeconomic obstacles of development. This then surely brings about a change in power relations and makes society more equitable.

Sustainability:

Another important facet of human development is that development should ‘keep going’, should ‘last long’. The concept of sustainable development focuses on the need to maintain the long term protective capacity of the biosphere. This then suggests that growth cannot go on indefinitely; there are, of course, ‘limits to growth.’
Here we assume that environment is an essential factor of production. In 1987, the Bruntland Commission Report (named after the then Prime Minister Gro Harlem Bruntland of Norway) defined sustainable development as ‘… development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their basic needs.’ This means that the term sustainability focuses on the desired balance between future economic growth and environmental quality. To attain the goal of sustainable development, what is of great importance is the attainment of the goal of both intra-generation and inter-generation equality.

This kind of inequality includes the term ‘social well-being’ not only for the present generation but also for the people who will be on the earth in the future. Any kind of environmental decline is tantamount to violation of distributive justice of the disadvantaged peoples. Social well-being thus, then, depends on environmental equality.

**Productivity:**

Another component of human development is productivity which requires investment in people. This is commonly called investment in human capital. Investment in human capital in addition to physical capital can add more productivity.

The improvement in the quality of human resources raises the productivity of existing resources. Theodore W. Schultz the Nobel Prize-winning economist—articulated its importance: “The decisive factors of production in improving the welfare of poor people are not space, energy, and crop land; the decisive factor is the improvement in population quality.” Empirical evidence from many East Asian countries corroborates this view.

**Empowerment:**

The empowerment of people—particularly women—is another component of human development. In other words, genuine human development requires empowerment in all aspects of life. Empowerment implies a political democracy
in which people themselves make the decisions about their lives. Under it, people enjoy greater political and civil liberties and remain free from excessive controls and regulations. Empowerment refers to decentralisation of power so that the benefits of governance are reaped by all peoples.

It focuses on grassroots participation which promotes democracy by enfranchising the disadvantaged groups. Unfortunately, benefits are cornered by the elites because of lack of empowerment of people. Participation as a goal is a feature of ‘bottom-up’ development strategy rather than ‘top-down’. Further, development policies and strategies are male-dominated. But the benefits of development are to be made ‘gender-sensitive’.

Discrimination against women in health and education is very costly from the viewpoint of achieving development goals. Education of women can lead to a virtuous circle of lower fertility, better care of children, more educational opportunity, and higher productivity. Above all, as women’s education rises, women’s independence in making their own choices also increases.

Anyway, decentralization and participation empower people, especially the women and the poor. It then breaks the ‘deprivation trap’. Mahbub ul Haq asserts: “If people can exercise their choices in the political, social and economic spheres, there is a good prospect that growth will be strong, democratic, participatory and durable.”

**Review of Literature**

The increasing global discourse on extremism and its effects on socio-economic development have attracted the attention of many scholars to explore the various aspects of such discourse. In the case of emergence of the Left Wing Extremism in India, it is believed that such emergence hampered the process of development. This argument has become a major source of developing new scholarship on the study of LWE and development while focusing on the aspects of socio-economic development. The available literature on LWE and development of the STs can be
broadly categorised into three parts such as the conceptual underpinning, theoretical discourse, and empirical evidence. The conceptual part provides intricacies of the LWE and its different narratives and structural violence, and its relation to the Naxalite conflict. The theoretical discourse helps to unravel different theories associated with the emergence of the LWE. In the empirical analysis, the review was captured the tribal issues and its relations to the Naxalite movements. Furthermore, in the context of the tribal development, the review was made on the result of the empirical works done by scholars to underline the research gaps. The main objective of this study is identifying issues from the literature review.

**Structural Violence and its Relation to the Naxalite Conflict**

In the following section, it is argued that those aspects could be regarded as structural violence, as they are viewed as an inextricable part of the Indian society. Structuralism approaches explain conflict as deriving from violence, which is inherent to political, economic, cultural and geopolitical contexts (Demmers, n.d). Furthermore, two kinds of violence are differentiated: ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ violence. The first is regarded as direct, visible acts of hurt and the second as underlying the former, being more subtle and invisible form of coercion in the structure of the social system. Galtung (1969) is considered as the founder of structuralism approach to conflict studies. He argues that social conditions that result in massive social discrimination and injustice are a form of violence: “Violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisation” (Galtung, 1969). Subsequently, Galtung distinguishes three components of conflict; behaviour, attitude and lastly the contradiction. Whereas behaviour is manifest, attitudes and contradictions are latent (Ibid.). According to Galtung, the contradiction holds the three components together in the system. As attitudes and contradictions are assumed to be existent in the subconscious, awareness of the contradiction inherent to the system can be achieved through a process which
Galtung calls conscientisation. Central to Galtung's argument not only physical actions can be regarded as violence, but also practices that preserve the situation in which people’s realisations are below their potential, can be considered as violence.

The first structural aspect considered as structural violence is one of the most complicated matters in Indian society, as well as in relation to the conflict in general. It seems that poverty and inequality are contributing factors to conflict. While in a general sense, it seems plausible that poverty can create the desperation that fuels conflict or inequality can foster resentment that stokes conflict, the precise nature of the causal linkages are not so evident (Kanbur, 2007). Besides, “poverty” itself is a contested concept and the discussion on how poverty should be measured is ongoing. The standard measurement of poverty and inequality in economics starts with a definition of individual well-being, which is specified in terms of monetary based measures such as income or consumption. This is increasingly accompanied by non-income dimensions of human development such as education, health, and ‘empowerment’ (World Development Report 2001, Poverty). The Tendulkar Committee Report (2010) estimated that 37 percent of India’s population lives below poverty line. In the words of the earlier quoted economist Amartya Sen, “there are two India’s, the first lives a lot like California; the second, and more populous, a lot like Sub – Saharan Africa” (Sen in Guha, 2009).

Poverty is often cited as a cause for the existence as well as the endurance of the Naxalite movement. However, poverty alone cannot explain Naxalite mobilisation. Several scholars have for example pointed to the existence of similar areas, in terms of development and poverty, where there is almost no Naxalite presence (Chenoy and Chenoy, 2010). In his study on the linkages between poverty and terrorism in India, Piazza argues that those Indian states that suffer from severe and prolonged political instabilities and lack the means to resolve those conflicts are most likely to experience significant levels of terrorism. Thus, Piazza claims that political instability is the explanatory factor and not poverty,
because: “their governmental institutions are not able to provide adequate political goods to their citizens or to peacefully manage domestic conflict and secondly, they have an incomplete capacity to police their territories or promote law and order” (Piazza, 2009).

Sections of the left do not want to intensify the political struggle of the poorest of the poor, but to - in one way or the other - revert to bourgeois "democracy", which is nothing but an instrument of class rule. The mantra seems to be to critique the present system without breaking it in any fundamental way, and yet condemn the Maoists as undemocratic (Giri, 2009).

Marx and Engels recognised that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined by absolute conditions but by relative expectations (Gurr, 1970). Gurr further developed this notion by linking expectations with capabilities and stated that violence is likely to develop in a society where there is a widespread relative deprivation, defined as “a perceived discrepancy between men’s value expectations and their value capabilities” (Gurr, 1970). He adds, “Value expectations are goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled, value capabilities are the goods and conditions they are capable of attaining or maintaining” (Gurr, 1970). In other words, Gurr considers relative deprivation not only in terms of expectations but also in relation to perceived capabilities. Whereas the notion of structural violence points to the circumstances that retain an individual from realising its potential as being violence, relative deprivation takes this a step further, by pointing to the contradiction between expectations and reality as a breeding ground for conflict.

Structural matters affecting the Naxalite conflict are also found in practices of repression, mostly by the police on the request of governments to maintain order. As explained before, disputes over land remain at the core of the Naxalite issue. This is not restricted to the poor implementation of land ceiling laws but also the result of the forcible land acquisition, which has been an on-going issue between the Indian government and village communities. It is accused that often the police rely on brutal force as a method to counter-protest movements against land
acquisition. According to Sundar, a leading researcher on tribal communities in Bastar, one of the Naxalite strongholds where the police have a considerable presence in recent years, these struggles are not led by the Naxalites. Instead, they are usually local campaigners with activists taking care to keep their distance from any armed action. She opines, it is a deliberate repression against the Maoists by the government that provides an excuse to arrest and harass the activists involved in all these campaigns (Sundar, 2011).

Nowadays the Maoist Movement (‘Terrorism’ according to the State) creates a new socio-political dimension in different parts of India. Apparently, the reason behind this is the backwardness and historical deprivation of many ethnic groups living in poverty and social and economic exclusion. But it is not the only reason. The various reasons lying behind this also include their demand for cultural identity, while demanding greater inclusion in the mainstream Indian society. So, the movement is now gradually turning into a cultural and political one against the upper caste (the so-called mainstream) who historically and hereditarily enjoys all powers of a state. It is suggested by many experts that the problem can only be mitigated humanistically, not politically (Sultan, 2014).

**Theoretical Approaches to Conflict**

A theoretical framework is a ‘lens’ through which a certain phenomenon is assessed. The main objective of this sub-chapter is to analyse whether the theoretical concepts and frameworks sufficiently help us to understand the underlying causes of this conflict. Social research, in general, is about positioning oneself/the researcher within a broader theoretical framework, or in other words, a researcher must select a ‘lens’ through which a particular phenomenon is analysed.

In recent theoretical discourse in the field of social movements, protest, and collective action; there has been a significant amount of convergence between the main competing paradigms, so that the need to combine political opportunities (contextual factors), mobilising structures (organisational resources), and framing
processes (discursive resources) is an accepted tenet of much social movement research (Koopmans and Statham, 1999).

According to Rao, a social movement is defined by two characteristic practices. “It essentially involves sustained collective mobilisation through either informal or formal organisation, and secondly, it is generally oriented towards bringing about change, either partial or total, in the existing system of relationships, values, and norms, although there are efforts, which are oriented towards resisting change and maintaining the status quo” (Rao, 1979). In other words, a social movement is defined by involvement in collective mobilisation and change orientation. The Naxalite movement would fit this description as it is actively engaged in mobilising people. What sets the Naxalite movement apart though, its orientation towards bringing about change is directed at the entire political and social system, whereas many other movements in India have not offered the perspective of this kind of radical change. In addition to mobilisation and change orientation, Benford and Snow, point to the importance of meaning as they state that “movement actors are signifying agents actively engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for constituents, antagonist, and bystanders or observers” (Benford and Snow, 2000).

Benford and Snow, rightly argue that meaning is not only produced for constituents but the process is also directed at those who are not a party to the conflict. The last authoritative authors discussed here, Tilly and Tarrow, both viewed as pioneers in social movement and mobilisation research. According to them, a social movement involves a “sustained campaign of claim-making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organisations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities” (Tilly, 1998 and Tarrow, 2004).

In the game of politics for power, political entrepreneurs would undertake to lend voices to the causes of those groups of society who give them dividends. Their rivals would take advantage of those groups whose voices remain unheard and are losing their patience and are being denied access to their legitimate rights and
aspirations and are handed over humiliations instead. Such a set of political entrepreneurs, through a cloak of ideology, convince the disadvantaged groups to forsake democratic processes for seeking redressed and instead take to arms for wrestling their due. Naxalism and Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in India have thrived on the unmet aspirations and continued deprivations of sections of people under successive governments. Their influence has continued to increase geographically and they have been challenging mite of the states through organised violence. Naxalite and LWE movement has been growing over the last six decades in maintaining continuity through periods of discontinuity. The state would not be able to curb the movement unless the root causes are addressed through the processes of good governance reaching the benefits of development to targeted groups, measured responses in areas where the mite of states is challenged followed by bringing about governance as soon as such a response is successful and by creating channels for dialogue processes even when violence activities are being met with appropriate response from the state. Good governance, development, security response and dialogue process should proceed simultaneously and with primacy to good governance (Sardana, n.d.).

In his book Political Violence and the Police in India, Subramaniam (2007) had examined the selected patterns of increasing political violence in the country, the policies and the police response to it. It also suggests that the country need to be freed from their colonial past and restructure their institutional set up to address the issues and challenges. The poor have to fight for social and economic justice.

The peace researchers have given a different viewpoint on the concept of conflict. They have not only defined tie conflict but also have explained the various mechanisms of conflict, like Conflict Resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation. It is necessary to understand the different meanings of crime, and customs of the primitive societies. In this regard the field of anthropology has opened up a new world into crime, and penology. Crime and Customs in Savage Society by Malinowski, B. gives a description of the fieldwork of the contacts with savages. The clear definition of crime and customs has
widened the knowledge of human nature. The forces which form the order and cohesion in a savage tribe have been the guiding principles of colonial administration. But, the research has deserved the primitive law or it has exaggerated it. The community ownership of property which is oriented to community sentiments by them are made to surrender their rights and privileges. The binding force among the tribal societies for economic and social obligations is based on reciprocity. Going further profound the criminology and penology and their scientific studies have paved waves to get a picture of the systems of social control among the primitive societies. Criminology and Penology, by Korn, R. Richard and Corkle prescribes which is need based on the standards on criminology and penology. It gives a body of knowledge on the nature of crime conclusions where law is both social and political process and an instrument of social control. The discussion on penology where the basic premise is that, the problems arise from the problems confronting the agencies appointed to solve them.

Roy Burman identifies eight kinds of responses of the tribals to the different challenges that they field:

1. Response to threats to the privacy of habitats.

2. Response to threats to access to and control of resources.

3. Response to description of traditional roles in the total interaction set-up.

4. Search for new meanings of the relationships between man and nature.

5. Search for new meanings of the relationships between individual and society.


7. Search for a more satisfactory system of control of resources.

8. Search for a more satisfactory system of organization of community power at all levels
All these are mutually exclusive, but all did not turn to movements. Few went to the stage of revolt, rebellion and revolution.

No doubt, all types of movements start on the base-line of law. Law has several socio-cultural implications and connotations, which anthropologists and sociologists usually study and document. In Anthropology laws have been articulated in a unique way to express not only the negative part of the human being but also the positive quality which enhances the human life and the collectiveness of any society. This acts as an instrument to nurture the society. In *Anthropology of Law, a Comparative Theory*, Leopold Pospisil defines law as the property of the higher cultures and civilizations, and does not exist in the primitive tribal societies as claimed. Few have considered and adopted definition of law which are governed by agencies of the State. For example, if there are no courts, then there is no law. But the tribal societies are not included in such a paradigm. But, Anthropologist's interpretations avoid such exclusions as it studies the societies irrespective of its primitiveness. It does not make any difference among the societies over. But studies culture as a whole in relation to another. So in this context, law should be studied as a part of the culture and not as a separate entity. It studies the social forces, society as a changing process, which has continuously disturbed by some elements and not as static. So, all law are neither supported by people's feelings nor these emerged out of social change. But its science of law and, therefore, it is experiential.

In many of the claims feud constitutes the form of law in some tribal societies. The nature of feud in relation to law and classification of which human societies encounter is most striking characteristics of violence which varies from injury to killings, initiated from an earlier injured group and it is long in duration. Most tribal societies have war practices to a related group with whom friendship did exist or towards a new group. In this process the nature of the feud is to take revenge. Tribal societies do not have law, but have sanctions and ordeals. It does differ from the application of force for social control on politically organized societies. In many cases where the authority decides the law are less connected to
the people and more for their actions representing the behaviour of the authority.

In *Anthropology of Law, a Comparative Theory*, it is mentioned that the human nature and mind is same all over the world which has rationality, morality and regarded the highest human values. Traditionally, the Europeans considered law as an absolute autonomous entity which is independent of space and time, not related to in any particular way to the nature of the society in which it existed. Natural law was thought to consist of a body of principles which are inbuilt in the nature in its objects and all living beings which allows or allowed the complete development of all, so that, a concord can be maintained. As natural law defined, it gives the basic theory that it governed the human beings conduct and the way he related with the peer groups around him, and refers to all those principles which yield ethics that Judges were believed to utilize in their settlement of conflicts which is again irrespective of time and space. Law has to be incongruence with the culture of the society, and law of one culture cannot be added or imposed to another culture and dynamic in nature.

Law has different meanings and certainly law is a myth. Franks’ definition says, law as sees of dispute. Redcliff Brown defines law as sanction. Roscoe Pounds remarks on law described as instrument of social control. Malinowski defines civil law as a body of binding obligations regarded as a right by one party and acknowledged as a duty by the other. Few others have defined "law of a given community is the body of rules which are recognized as obligatory by its members." Seagle concludes that "test of law in the strict sense is the same for both primitive and civilized communities with the existence of courts.” Frank defines that a number of definitions can be given for a law but there is no strict sense of the word law. A large number of communities have law but do not have legal institutions.

As generally understood **feud** is the bitter feeing of anger or enmity between two families or two groups. It is also the conflict shown by two enemy groups engaged in feud. The online oxford of dictionary defined feud as the prolonged and bitter quarrel or dispute. Feud sometimes a very long fight between parties, who are
associated by families or clans. They begin because one of the parties involved in a feud believes or accepts that the other one is or doing hurt to them. Feuds can last for many years sometime even for generations. Feuds can be blood feud when they include punishment in return to take revenge or to give punishment. A vendetta is a blood feud between two families or groups where kinsmen of the victim intended to take revenge for his or her death by killing either one responsible for the killing. The practice has mostly disappeared with more societies getting organized ways, where criminal laws take the responsibility of punishing the deviant behaviour, Vendetta is still practiced where the local societies do not accept the local law enforcement authority as a form of justice. As in other continents the feuds continue so persist, in India caste feud is observed by various sociologists on whom many conflicts germinate.

The general meaning of the word **tension** is stress or pressure or anxiety. But at the same time if the stress extends in the society it is connoted as social tension. After 1991 in our country the increase of private sector has squeezed the state's role to a greater extent and it only employs skilled people. But most of our population is tribal and other who are not skilled to handle such sophisticated jobs, so, this is creating a imbalanced picture and the gap between rich and poor is There is a huge difference between the economic levels of the educated urban and they have not section that are tribal and other castes. The justice system is not working effectively as the cases are not solved in one’s whole life time, rights are violated and all these aspects tend towards the rise of social tensions. The populist measures given to the voters are not acting in the proper ways rather the words are becoming like slow poison to the people. When the society is not stable how can we expect productive and equal growth for all? The 1950s Balwant Rai Mehta Committee reported to opt for multi-layered Panchayati Raj systems and the historic achievement of the 73rd and 75th Constitutional Amendments could not reach up to the expectations of the people; it acted as contrary to the people. The Nehuruvian vision and principles are yet to materialise, but many conflicts have moved ahead with different halting.
The democratization of the state or the democratic process of the Indian state could not penetrate into the social order and into the society it remained only with the few influential or few people, as a result there is a growing gap between the inner groups, inter-communities, inter-religion or even inter-state. The social forces are acting negatively on many of the weaker sections of the society. But in all these categories poor cut across. Tensions or conflicts arise due to different situations, circumstances and due to different causes. If, we take a broad view of the inherent causes of these conflicts/tensions then it can be very well said that they are due to:

- Historical factors as between the Hindus and Muslims
- Discrimination and exclusions.
- Linguistic factors.
- Gender inequality
- Institutional factors which are the main pillars of democracy the legislative, executive and the judiciary have failed to give justice to people and have reduced their presence and importance.
- The governance system so far has not met the needs of the poor. the corruption is on rise, the instances of police oppression, violation of human rights, children dying of malnutrition and the continuing discrimination has washed the faith of the people on governance and its organs
- Economic factors, as 70 per cent of the people in our county live below poverty line; the have-not folk are dissatisfied and unhappy. The new economic policies have still added to their misery in terms of reducing the job opportunities due to industrialization.
So, there is constant tension among various groups, tension is a term which connotes the mental strain, stress, anxiety, excitement and tie feeling of being stretched which causes some changes in the qualitative as well as quantitative aspects of individuals, groups, within the social and economic institutions. Why we are saying economic or social institutions as tension may explode due to economic deprivation, threat to economic deprivation, denial of rights, favouring a particular section of people over the other, due to conflicting interests and many more. Tensions are universal in any social life and can be present from the household level to the international sphere; tension is the aftermath of conflict and signifies to an open conflict.

Tension came from the field of psychology; it is a trait of living matter. Japanese sociologists have recognised nine distinct groups of tensions in their society. They are:

- Tension in family life,
- Tensions within communities,
- Tension between countries,
- Tension around the problem of outcastes,
- Racial tensions,
- Tensions in religious life,
- Tensions in economic life
- Ideological tensions, and
- Tensions among young people.

Social tensions occur when there is a huge gap between the haves and the have-nots and synonymous to social conflict. The manifestations of tension could be very many. Social tension often characteristics, or leads to conflict which has a
bearing on the social relations, social position or the very endurance of some social groups.

There are various kinds of social movements which can be initiated to get power, to monopoly or for territory. Politics does not mean political power nor is solely confined with the government, it is also located at various levels; so, the collective actions are not solely against the government, but at various levels against dominant culture, caste, class. While outlining the conceptual problems of social movements, Rao M.S.A. outlines in terms of definition and classifications, genesis ideology, and identity, organization and leadership, internal dynamics and social consequences. He considers social movements as being characterized by three important features:

1. Collective mobilization
2. Ideology, and
3. Orientation to change

To explain the genesis of social movement, he examined three theories, viz. relative deprivation, the strain theory and revitalization.

He shows that, the last theories two do not adequately explain the ideological important aspects of a social movement and the social change which will happen as a consequence. He suggests that the theory of relative deprivation has a greater explanatory power as it places the perception of contradiction, conflict, conflict of interest and protest at the centre of social movements. Ideology is considered to be a crucial aspect of a social movement. As regards the problem of the organizations of a social movement, Rao discusses the aspect of recruitment, and leadership. He suggests that when a movement develops a high degree of formal organization with sanctions of rewards and punishment, it ceases to be a movement. M.S.A, Rao asserts that relative deprivation is necessary but not sufficient condition for protest movement. He argues, "A sufficient level of understanding and reflection, is required on the part of the participants and they must be able to observe and
perceive the contrast between the social and cultural conditions of the privileged and those of the deprived and must realize that it is possible to do something about it.

Shah, G. argues that the theory of relative deprivation ignores the importance of consciousness and the ideological aspects of the participants. It explains protests and movements of revolt, but does not analyse the revolutionary movements. The studies providing a conceptual framework have largely dealt with typologies of social movements during the 1970s. One of the classifying movements is their objectives or the quality of change they try to attain. Shah" classifies movements as "revolt, rebellion, reform and revolution to bring about charges to the political system. Reform does not challenge the political system per se. It attempts to bring about changes in the relations between the parts of the system in order to make it more efficient, responsive and workable. A revolt is a challenge to political authority, aimed at over throwing the government.

A rebellion is an attack on existing authority without any intention seizing state power. In a revolution, a section or section of a society launches an organized struggle to overthrow not only the established government and regime but also the socio-economic structure which sustains it, and replace the structure by an alternative social order.”

For Partha Mukharji, social movements are:

- Accumulative.
- Alternative, and
- Transformatory.

Accumulative changes are changes within the given structure and system. M.S.A. Rao (1978) also suffers more or less similar typologies:

- Reformist
- Transformatory, and
- Revolutionary
All these types do not explain the changes of the movement which undergo over a period of time. It can be said that the typologies are not watertight compartments; they keep on moving from one type to another depending on the social structure, the structures of deprivation and the necessity of the situation. The social movements are also classified based on issues; some are forest rights, civil rights, untouchability, linguistic etc. Naxalite movement can be said as the movement of proletarians or the subalterns who do not have any say in the system and structure. There can be the following types of movements:

1. Peasant Movements
2. Tribal Movements
3. Dalit Movements
4. Backward Caste Movements
5. Women's Movements
6. Student's Movements, and
7. Workers' Movements.

Psychological Theories of Movement

Many of the sociologists have argued the social movement do occur when there is an amount of discontent among the social groups which develop as an insurgency. Sociologists have identified three factors critical to social movements: political opportunity, organizational capacity, and framing ability. They look at social movements as politics by other means often the only means open to relatively powerless challenging groups. The theories have derived at few conditions which are required for the social movement:
Individual Psychology Not So Important

Many works on social movements assumed that activism could be explained by examining the psychological motivations of individuals. Activism came from sensing a gap between what a person is entitled and what he is receiving. But these individual thinking is not sufficient for collection of others.

Prosperity

Poor or marginalised groups cannot afford to sustain the social movements and they only get involved in momentary insurgencies.

Physical Concentration

Bringing people into closer proximity in cities increases the potentiality of social movement activity. The study of social problems and social behaviour has been limited by a lack of adequate conceptual tools. This limitation has been manifested in both psychology and sociology, although in different ways. Psychologists have been characteristically unable to deal with the fact of social organization and social structure. Societies and organizations consist of patterned behaviours, and the behaviour of each individual is determined to a considerable extent by the requirements of the larger pattern. This context is not often incorporated into psychological theories. Some such theories—the psychoanalytic, for example—deal with the influence of the family on the individual. Others take some account of the small group as the individual environment, and still others are concerned with the influence of culture, that most global of environmental concepts. Even social psychology, however, has neglected the organizational and institutional level. The basic aspect is to understand here the psychological point of view has never covered the large contexts which influence the behaviour of the individuals and groups which are very important to understand the psychology of social movements. On the other hand the sociological theories are always focused on the super organic or the collective behaviour leaving behind the individual behaviour and their interaction. They always stress on the outcome of such interactions but with the process through which such interactions takes place. To
develop a comprehensive framework for predicting the effectiveness of behaviour required for organizational effectiveness the different motive patterns to be understood.

Three categories of behaviour are required to achieve high levels of organizational effectiveness according to the psychological theories people must join and remain in the organization; they must perform dependably the roles assigned to them, and they engage in occasional innovative and cooperative behaviour beyond the requirements of role but within the organizational objectives.

Four motive patterns are proposed to achieve the required behaviours in varying degrees. These are legal compliance, instrumental satisfaction, self-expression, and internalization of organizational goals.

Legal compliance is evoked by the use of clear-cut symbols of authority, backed by the use or threatened use of penalties. It tends to produce performance at the minimum acceptable level, and to generate no particular willingness to remain in the organization when alternatives are available.

Instrumental satisfaction is evoked by the use of rewards, and is more strongly evoked as the rewards are immediate, constant, and adequate. In general, system rewards hold people in the system, but do not necessarily encourage more than minimally acceptable performance an ineffective for stimulating innovative behaviour. Individual rewards for performance are difficult to apply in large-scale organization individual do behave differently as per own whims and pleasures. But under the proper conditions of immediacy, constancy, and adequacy can lead to increased productive effort. This occurs in any movements.

The motive of self-expression depends primarily on objectives attributes of the job itself. As the job increases in complexity, variety and responsibility, the individual has increased opportunity to express his skills and abilities through performance on the job. High productivity of and strong attraction to the occupational system are characteristics of this motive pattern.
The internalization of organizational goals is at once the most effective of motive patterns and the most difficult to evoke within the limits of conventional organizational practice and policy. The extent of internalisation depends upon the character of the organizational goals themselves, and their congruence with the needs and values of the individual. It depends also on the extent to which the individual shares actively in the determination of organizational decisions and in the rewards which accrue to the organization. Many times it is found that in movement organizations many members tend to internalize deeply and others only come for vested interests. (www.rfolka.com).

Naxalite movement can be well termed as proletarian movement or movement of the subalterns, it is only for the understanding of the state that it is labelling the movement as Naxalite or Maoist, but the form and the version is slowly transforming into a movement of the marginalised, and voiceless people which best suites as movement of the subalterns. Romanticizing the movement as Naxalite/Maoist is to satisfy the States ego which is trying not to disrupt its structures of hegemony and structural violence. It is very necessary to understand the relation between the peoples protest and how it develops, the relationship between the protest and social movement, the relation between social tension and social movement, and how they grow and decrease. It is not easy to capture the dynamics of the social movement as they do change according to the leaders and their approach so; it is significant to understand the relations.

The inter human life occurs in any society, be it modem, primitive, simpler or tribal societies, Life is mixtures of events, incidents, accidents and different encounters when people learn, develop insights, reflect and generalize. The folklore is interpreted by people in different ways, these are events of life work, amusement, cooperation and conflict, social production and reproduction, death etc. this amalgamation of things, makes knowledge Many lose their near and dear ones; tragedies become a part of the life and sometimes it is very difficult to explain such feelings. Society has prescribed social order, for its members to attain the social goals. Few schools have claimed that no social orders give equal
privileges to all its members equally. So conflicts are a part of the society. So, conflicts are realities of society. And every society has to have the minimum realisation of its conflicts to survive. Some of the conflict theories are mentioned bellow:

(i). Conflict Theory of Polybius:

The monarchy is the first strongest rule of the human community and this is essentially concentrated on few power relations. From Monarch the society moved to kingship which was founded on the principle of justice and legal authority, Kingship is based on the ethics that is an obligation on one individual's part that is strong to prevail pence. The members follow the strongest even though they become physically weak and unhealthy. The next ruler of the king does not follow the peace rule and become unruly and forget to keep justice and peace. When this oppression becomes unbearable people unite to overthrow the monarchy. A few noble people who conspired to overthrow the monarchy are supported by the people. The people slowly lose the mission with which they started and aristocracy takes over. The democracy still comes to the picture for a while, people gets suffocated paying bribe and government decided that it is time to restore the monarchy. It is the best solution to have government where there is a mixture of best aspects of kingship, aristocracy and democracy.

(ii). Conflict Theory of Ibn Khaldunte:

Each individual in the society cannot live alone and he or she has to mix up with others to acquire cooperation. So his concepts of social solidarity is a unique property of the society where the kingship, blood relations can be traced, all these aspects unite the smaller societies. But this blood tie has importance only when there is a mutual contact and they evoke the feeling of kinship. The tribal societies are nomadic in nature which require and demand social solidarity. All the places for the nomadic tribes are good and they are self-reliant. A state can be established when has the victory over the other in a process of conflict. The group who wins is move intact and organized religion is the most powerful tool to bring people
together and it can be induced if there is a power social solidarity groups. In many cases it is found that there is a single social solidarity group is present then a religion can be infused compared to a place where there are multiple tribal groups.

Similarly, a state must have a suitable solid base initially when it incepts. The authority is not questioned and the inactive life styles, luxurious lives of the few, powers in few hands; all these decay the solidarity of a state. The subjects or the members who were once obedient towards the authority start showing a divide between the rules and the others. The life styles of the rules as a result increase the taxes and as an outcome the state encounters aggression by the people.

(iii). Machiavelli’s Conflict Theory:
According to Machiavelli, who himself was in prison for 14 years gave a notion that human beings are basically evil in nature and they show this character if they find an occasion or scope. The desire to win is the most quests for humans. They can be good if they are restricted by law. When people are poor they do hard labour. When human beings were residing at the beginning of the evolution, they were scattered and behaving as beast. But when the human race increased there was a felt need to defend others and to defend self. When few placed themselves at the height and others to obey him or her, then they started to distinguish between good and bad, honest and dishonest. Machiavelli also agrees to the justice system by Polybius that law has to restrict the people who do badly for others. As long as the king is honest there is always justice, but, if anything goes wrong with the sovereignty then people start conspiring against the rulers. If ruler is not elected then there is no surety of justice. The extravagant rulers evoke a feeling of envy among people which leads to conspiracy. Fear of conspiracy makes the ruler more oppressive in nature. Increase of conspirators gave rise to a new form of rule called aristocracy. This, in turn, becomes corrupt and manipulative. And, it leads towards democracy, which steps into anarchy ultimately to dictatorship. Though Machiavelli was not considered a systematic theorist, his two books have two different political understandings, in first one, he sees all the aspects as political
activities and, in the second, he sees them as political forces of a political society. If all the forces are balanced then a state will stable and liberty is attained.

(iv). Conflict Theory of Bodin:

Bodin was a lawyer. His analysis of society was through the lens of history. When his writing was taking shape in the society the French monarchy was weak due to conflict between the Catholic and others. He supported the monarchy against the religious divisions. He believed that family is the foundation of society which is the union of man and woman, where man rules the woman, whereas the state is an association of families recognized sovereign power. In a state many class differences give rise to relation of superiors and subordinates giving rise to conflict. Bodin defined the power of sovereign as the crux of the civil society. But he never disassociated law from state. Law is treated as the command of Sovereign. Customary law is valid only if it is recognized by State. He formulated theories showing the relation between law and custom.

(v). Hobbe’s Conflict Theory:

Hobbes accepted the concept of materialism between nature and human beings. The thoughts of human being begin with senses which come from memory, visions. All human kind has a desire for power, operating in two ways, in a king and in subjects. The natural relation of any human being is also competition, distrust and struggle. The state has all powers for war and peace and determines right and wrongs.

(vi). David Hume's Theory:

Hume presents a picture of the state when many are ruled by few, where many resign and sacrifice their passions for the rulers. How it works, it is only the forces which the state applies. State has the right to decide the fights of ownership, and property. The establishment of political society can led to justice and peace where public opinion is a must to involve.
(vii). Adam Ferguson’s Conflict Theory:

Adam Ferguson, a Professor in Psychology tried to carry out the principles or Hume, and according to him, natural causes also determine these are external and not willed. He also believed that human beings never lived in isolation, but always lived in groups. And since being part of the society some institutions do come as a force. Conflict in human communities is for good of the human beings and it is meant for the development of the humans. If mankind do not struggle then it can never be aware of its fellows. Through struggles and wars only the mankind has evolved in a form. So, conflict and its various forms do appear in social, political and economic spheres and these from and powers do establish government with struggle. Like other theories, he does believe that constant should be major constituent in any government.

(viii). Turgo’s Conflict Theory:

Anne Robert Jaccues Turgot who worked in the French bureaucracy developed a concept of plurality which influenced mankind, viz. on customs, traditions, nature of soil, climate of the environment etc. He believed that human mind is same everywhere, but isolation does barbarism. When culture developed, people thought to migrate to other places. This brings social change. During this mobility of people the nomadic and non-migrating cultures interact then a typical array is evolved. Over a period of time they try to rule over each other out of greed. But conflict is the major source of all progress.

(ix). Adam Smith's Theory:

Physiocrats believed that society is based on natural order where human beings can think rationally and can control the processes. The characteristics of land are to produce, which is excess where other classes of the society thrive on it. The people engaged in agriculture can value to it always. Other economic pursuits do come from the agriculture directly or indirectly. So, agriculture must be made free from any kind of obstruction. The state should do activities to protect the economy. This idea of natural order was much elaborated by Adam Smith.
where he made the agricultural class as the sole responsible for production. He gave two broad ideas: first, the competition in economic affairs should be free where by doing so the maximum productivity can be achieved. The second, the involvement of government should be reduced and natural forces will unite for the requirement of individuals and groups. The traditional conflict theories believe that state as the supreme object whereas physiocrates believed that it is the natural order and struggle for necessities of life.

(x). Thomas Malthus' Theory:

Thomas Malthus, a Professor in History carried forward the work of Adam Smith and according to him competition can be positive if one sees this to increase accuracy. If we see with negativity the competition produces values where everyone cannot have that. According to Malthus, human kind is in want of more nourishment than what is available for them, In plant life few species prey on each other. Similarly, human has an inclination to increase the means which support life. Every 25 years the population will double to itself and the soil has to produce in double. The only preventive can be birth control. In this all competitions one competition is to survive where the labour is just paid to live. So in economic terms the conflict rises for economy. As the powerful will always compete to keep their surplus and in way neglecting the other social classes.

Basically conflict theories have been propounded by many conflict and peace researchers. I have chosen to use Edward Azar's Theory of Protracted Social Conflicts (PSC) as one of the main theories because it identifies causes of a conflict, particularly intrastate conflicts in developing state. I also used Hugh Miall's adaptation of Azar's Theory because it shows how conflicts interact with the government strategies and capabilities and its relevance to the Naxalite movement here. Apart from this two, the hour glass theory and approaches have been supplemented the content.

Conflict research could assume that the whole scenario of conflict is always directed towards the interests of the opposites and where two parties are involved. There can be many more involved in that, but always there are two major parties
involved in that. These parties could be two communities, between the two powerful parties or between two opposites who are not in the same power and position. But generally, if we see, some communities are just incredible and fantastic; the people work together and respect each other. Various groups interact with each other and idea takes the shape of action. But some communities are different. People do not have the conducive atmosphere for everything; there is distrust, suspicions and dominance of one group on the other. Violence and crimes become a prevalent phenomenon, and takes the shape of the existing governance. It seems impossible to improve things

We can separate these two communities in their capacity to face deal, and resolve with conflicts. Conflicts are a part of life in any community. Conflicts can come out into the open through anger, words hurtful actions, and ideologies. They can create a climate of fear, intimidation, despair and desperation. Conflicts generally have several layers to them the immediate conflict is often a dispute about some issues or events. That dispute is intensified by an underlying conflict, which involve a history of clashes in values, interests, needs and emotions. This underlying conflict may be intensified because of a deep rooted conflict which goes to the very identity of the people involved. Conflict describes a situation in which two or more actors pursue incompatible yet from their individual perspectives entirely just, goals. Here the perception of the state and the perception of the Naxalites are entirely different and they have their own mindsets on each other and as a result of this there is always an atmosphere of distrust and violence. The resultant factor is always seen as the structural violence by the state in various forms. A conflict exists when two people wish to carry out acts which are mutually inconsistent. They may both want to do the same thing, such as eat the same apple, or they may want to do things where the different things are mutually incompatible such as when they both want to stay together, but one wants to go when some mutually compatible set of actions is worked out. The definition of conflict can be extended from individuals to groups (such as states or
nations), and more than two parties can be involved in the conflict. The principles remain the same.

The definite pattern of conflict as earlier mentioned is always limited to a certain geographical boundary where there is the main thrust and the secondary derivatives and off shoots might exist in other places, but the main geographical area is the focus where tactics and strategies are made from. The main aspects of a conflict are:

- It has both a political and military struggle.
- The struggle to achieve political, social and economic power,
- It is protracted or long in nature.
- It is confined to a particular geographical area
- The struggle is not a conventional war but it is like a war where the weapons are used.

The Hour Glass Model:

The process of conflict escalation is complex and unpredictable, as new issues and parties emerge which can change the struggle. Galtung's ideas on conflict and violence with escalation and de-escalation phases with the hour glass model of conflict. The hour glass represents the narrowing of political space that characterizes the conflict escalation and widening of more space implies the conflict de-escalation. As in case of any conflict, roles of the people who raise voice, they feel that the political space given to them is very narrow. And whosoever to assert his or her rights is branded as a person who is conspiring against the state. So, it is like every day squeezing their space and the more the space is narrowed the more is the violence. As shown in the figure below, the more it is narrowed, the options become less relevant. So, it is important to refer the phase of the conflict the nature, the characteristics of the conflict, and the solution must include a comprehensive, and combination of many alternatives to resolve it.
The above diagram suggests that if there is any conflict, the conflict end with ceasefire and peace-keeping, and it increases if the space is less where polarized thoughts develop among the parties involved in the conflict.

Conflict Approaches:
There are different approaches given by peace and conflict researchers but one of the approaches is very important to mention here. The below graph (figure-1.3) shows that there can be 5 types of approaches to a conflict between the two parties.
(a) The contending (where there is a high concern for self and low concern for others).

(b) The yielding (more concern for others than self).

(c) Low concern for both hence they try to avoid the conflict.

(d) Balancing between the two which is compromising.

(e) A problem solving mode where there is high regard for both.

In any conflict it can be said that, the approaches go on shifting from (a) to (b) or (c) but at a saturated point of time they just oscillate between (a) or (c), but the appropriate would be (e).

![Figure-1.3: Approach to Conflict](image)

Edward Azar’s Theory of Protracted Social Conflicts (PSC):
According to him there needs to be an understanding of the conflicts through a rigid dichotomy of internal and external dimensions, analysis has to be done on the functional frameworks and always there is tendency seen to focus on the violence in the conflict and ignoring the underlying covert kind of conflicts. When we say this that there is ignorance of these kinds of conflicts, so the absence of violence is always seen as a state of peace or it is equated with state of peace. The
term PSC contains that the main source of conflict basically lies within the state, and it has four variables, viz. communal content, needs, governance and international linkages. These four factors very well can or do contribute to intensify the conflict. These can be listed as follows:

Communal content: Azar focused on identity groups like races religious, ethnic groups and others. The main onus of the analysis remains on the identity of these groups; and the relationship between these groups with the state is the main focus. This is well said by Azar that the disarticulation between the state and society as a whole. The relationship between such groups and states are crucial to understand conflicts because the state machinery can become dominated by one or several communal groups that are unresponsive to the needs of other groups. Here the individual needs and interests such recognition, security, identity, mediated by a social group. Here we see a disjuncture between the state and society which is imposed by the European idea and legacy of colonialism which always preached divide and rule. In the post-colonial country like the India where the state is dominated by a single communal group or a combination of powerful groups which are not concerned for the needs of the other minor groups which ultimately weaken the social framework and germinates the protracted social conflict as a resultant outcome.

Needs: The underlying source of conflicts is the deprivation of human needs, and it is important to note that unlike interests are non-negotiable; all human beings have certain basic needs which are universal and they are present or exceed in all cultures and they are not negotiable. Basically no human being is aggressive in nature given a situation they become aggressive and violent. Conflict is generated when their basic needs are denied or are perceived as being under threat. The failure to meet these needs forms the place for PSC. When needs are not satisfied the expression of the discontentment is usually expressed collectively. Malfunctioning by the state or authority to see to the satisfaction of these needs can eventually lead to a PSC. Azar lists security needs, development needs,
political access need and identity needs, the latter meaning in the form of cultural and religious expression.

Governance: State has the power to use force and it has the authority to regulate the name of law and order, to protect its citizens and for good of all. The role of the State is very vital or becomes very vital in meeting the needs of the identity groups and their frustrations. According to Azar “most states which experience protracted social conflict tend to be characterized by incompetent, parochial, fragile and authoritarian governments that fail to satisfy basic human needs.” There are three main arguments to this. First, any states are dominated by the largest identity groups, these groups are basically socially strong and the dominant/hegemonic groups and they maximize their interest at the expense of others by using the state. So, the communal content becomes the basics of PSC. Secondly such monopolization of power and the exclusion or limited access of minor identity groups lead to a "crisis of legitimacy" identity group in power. Third, PSCs tend to take place in developing countries with fragile political institutions and authority structures, thus making it difficult for the state to meet the needs of all identity groups. These developing countries that have rigid socio-political structure and colonial legacy, and the society are hierarchical, feudal and in some ways obstruct the state to fulfil the needs International linkages: This term relates to the regional and global patterns of client age and cross-border interests. This is related to the economic interests of the state and also the economic dependency within the word economy. These hold significant power and influence over the domestic formation of social and political institutions in a country particularly modern and weak states. They powerful states in fact control and regulate the weaker or developing country's economic interests to entity their own needs. So many developing countries within the framework of global economy are vulnerable to make changes in their state which ultimately affects the groups who are dissatisfied. All these four components have to be present in any PSC and it activates the conflict and this process of conflict is always dynamic with the
actions taken by the groups, the actions ken by the state and the mechanisms of the conflict.

Adapted Framework for Edward Azar Protracted Social Conflict:
Hugh Miall has developed on Azar's theory to produce a theory more suited to describe the direction of the conflict intensity, specifically how the patterns of a conflict interact with the satisfaction of human needs adequate political and economic institutions as well as choices made by political actors. According to the adaptation of Azar's theory a conflict arises from a historical context, from the denial of basic human needs through suppressive and exploitative roles played by the state international political and economic linkages and the military in politics. This can be seen when reading the diagram below from left to right. When reading it the opposite direction, we can see how Miall argues that conflicts become destructive when the state and the communal groups base their respective strategies on suppression and violent rebellion. In this event, a conflict intensifies and can, therefore, be called destructive potentially entering a negative cycle of escalating violence.

The World Health Organization has defined Violence as the use of physical force with an intention. The use of force or power, could be towards a single individual or to a group, or could be a group. If the use of force results in injury, death, harm or deprivation then this act could be termed as violence. The definition given by WHO includes the death, physical harm and mal-development, which indicates the deprivation of the basic needs (like health, education etc.) is also termed as violence. There three basic types of violence, self-directed violence (which is caused by an individual to himself or herself), interpersonal violence (caused between the two individuals or groups) and collective violence (caused by the group of individuals towards the other group or party). There could be another typology of violence, like physical, psychological, domestic, neglect or deprivation, and sexual. Various schools of thought have broadly defined as social, ecological, and cultural as causes of violence.
**Galtung's Theory of Violence**

According to Galtung, all conflicts can be seen as a relationship between contradiction, attitudes and behaviours”. A contradiction refers to the actual or perceived incompatibility of goals of the conflicting parties.

The attitudes include the conflicting parties' perceptions (both good and bad) of each other and themselves; the behaviour refers and reflects in action according to the attitude and contradiction. It can be cooperation or coercion. Furthermore, Galtung argues that all three components must be present for the conflict to deem a full conflict, and that a conflict is a dynamic process in which structure, attitudes and behaviour constantly change and influence one another.

![Figure 1.4: The Galtung's Model of Violence](image)

In 1960s, Johan Galtung proposed this model of violence and conflict that consists of both symmetric and asymmetric relations, as shown in the above diagram that it can be seen as a triangle where C (contradiction), A (attitude) and B (behaviour). The C (contradiction) Mitchell still explains it as mis-match between social values and social structure; in a symmetric conflict, the contradictions are defined by the parties, their interests, and the clash of interests between them. Whereas in an asymmetric conflict, it is defined by the parties, their relationships and the conflict of interests inherent in the relationship.
Here Galtung refers that it is important to understand the conflict and violence by

- How it was formed, who are the actors involved, what are their assumptions, what contradictions do they have and how do they behave with each other in the context of these contradictions. What are their goals and assumptions on each other? It is also important to see the timeline/the history of conflict and how it has changed over a period of time.

Attitudes include the way of accepting each other, between the parties, the perceptions, or one can say the impression on each other, the misperceptions on each other. After they develop these impressions they incline or likely develop a stereotype or labelling on each other. These attitudes are influenced by fear, anger, or hate redness. So each party has their own set of attitudes towards the other. These become very significant when the conflict is the violent-one.

The behaviour can be cooperative and can also be non-cooperative. In any conflict where violence is included it can start from threats to coercion, attacks, on each other. Galtung argues that in any conflict these three are to be present, ABC constantly influence each other and they also change over period of time. As this triangle is very dynamic the conflict is seen in their manifestations, the clash of interests is seen more visibly and they develop a particular kind of behaviour. The parties do organize around this interests and the conflict starts to grow and spreads its magnitude. In this process of conflict growing, there are some secondary conflicts which grow in relation to the original conflict. The secondary conflicts include the main parties but also other than that the outsiders who gets into it. So, the violence gets very complicated with full of twists and turns, and the original conflict is never addressed.

*Galtung's Theory of Structured Imperialism:*

The foundation for Galtung's theory of structural imperialism is the following two facts: the inequality in all aspects of living standard within and between nations,
including the inequality in power to decide over this living standard, and the resistance to change this inequality. Galtung uses the term imperialism in a very wide sense, meaning that it can also encompass economic underdevelopment or injustice in general. Galtung argues that the world consists of centre and periphery nations, and that both of these in turn have their own centres and peripheries. The theory of structural imperialism aims to explain the discrepancy between these factions, especially between the centre of the centre and the periphery of the periphery. This relation very well becomes the foundation to derive the model of development.

Imperialism is a relation between a centre and a periphery nation with the following characteristics (Galtung, 1971):

- There is a harmony of interest between the centre in the centre nation and the centre in the periphery nation.

- There is more disharmony of interest within the periphery nation than within the central nation.

- There is disharmony of interest between the periphery in the central nation and the periphery in the periphery nation.

**War** is a species of the genus of violence; more specifically, it is collective direct, manifest, personal, intentional, organized, institutionalized instrumental, sanctioned, and sometimes ritualized and regulated, violence. "War is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse with a mixture of other means". Generally, war has been conceptualized as (1) a socio-political phenomenon; and (2) a judicial or legal phenomenon.

According to the first conceptualization, war, in principle, can only take place between sovereign political entities (tribes, fiefs, nation-states, empires etc). According to the judicial conception, war is "a legal condition which equally permits two or more hostile groups to carry on a conflict by armed force"
According to the cultural anthropologists, there are difficulties of setting definitional boundaries around such concepts as 'war' and 'violence'. These difficulties are twofold. First, the terms express cultural categories: and, secondly, even as cultural categories warfare and violence are not phenomena they occur as part of many kinds of social relationships and cultural forms (Greenhouse, 1987). A number of anthropologists distinguish war nom 'warfare'.

While warfare refers specifically to the process or activity of battle war refers more broadly to the institution (e.g., Nettleship, 1973), 'War any series of event that meets the following three criteria:

1) Size: It results in at least 1,000 battle deaths (not counting the indirect casualties)

2) Preparation: It has been prepared in advance, and/or is being maintained by large-scale social organizations; and

3) Legitimation: It is legitimized by an established governmental or quasi-governmental organization, so that, large-scale killing is viewed not as a crime, but as a duty.

For primitive war the figure may either be proportionally reduced or the criterion of size eliminated altogether as irrelevant. The most general yet precise and delimiting, definition of primitive war has been presented by Prosterman (1972): "A group activity, carried on by members of one community against members of another community, in which it is the primary purpose to inflict serious injury or death on multiple non-specified members of that other community, or in which the primary purpose make it highly likely that serious injury or death will be inflicted on multiple non-specified members of that community in the accomplishment of that primary purpose".

This definition thus identifies war as (1) a group enterprise (2) directed not internally, but against a second community; (3) directed not against one individual or a specific family, but against any members of the opposing community—or at
least any armed, adult, male members-who ‘get in the way, or offer resistance; and
(4) aimed either at killing members of the other community, or at some goal that makes it likely they have to be killed in accomplishing it. This definition clearly excludes the murder of one man by another or a group attack on a specific individual or family, as in a blood feud or a revenge killing.

Malinowski's (1941) analysis of war is perhaps the best known example of this point of view. Dividing the history of ‘social fighting’ into six stages, he reserves the term war for hostilities fought in the pursuit of national policies by organized forces. The presented stages are of:

(1) Fighting, private and angry, within a group belongs to the type breach of custom and law and is the prototype of criminal behaviour.

(2) Fighting, collective and organized, is a juridical mechanism for the adjustment of differences between constituent groups of the same larger cultural unit. Among the lowest savages these two types are the only forms of armed contest to be found.

(3) Armed raids, as a type of man hunting sport, for purpose of head-hunting, cannibalism, human sacrifices, and the collection of other trophies.

(4) Warfare as the political expression of early nationalism, that is, the tendency to make the tribulation and tribe-state coincide, and thus to form a primitive nation-state.

(5) Military expeditions of organized pillage, slave-raiding, and collective robbery.

(6) Wars between two culturally differentiated groups as an instrument of national policy

This type of fighting, with which war in the fullest sense of the word began, leads to conquest, and, through this, to the creation of full- fledged military and political states, armed for internal control, for defence and aggression. The following conditions are necessary for trust war: (I) Tactical operations; (2) Definite
command and control; Without definite military authority in control throughout the action, there exists only a bloody brawl; (3) Ability to conduct a campaign for the reduction of enemy resistance if the first battle fails: This is a much higher condition than that of the mere raid, and implies more self-discipline and social organization (4) The motive must have some clarity The war must have a group motive rather than an individual one, or even one based on kinship. True war is above the plane of feuds; it is a political device; (5) An adequate supply.

The same theme was picked up by Hoebel (1949), who regards war as a complex institution that involves definite purpose and organized sustained assault. According to him, true war has four necessary conditions; (1) a group motive, (2) Leadership, (3) Tactical operations, and (4) Ability to sustain advisories of assaults until the aim of the war is attained. In summary, the most important conclusions to be derived from the study are as follows:

- War as a legitimate instrument for plunder or conquest is little known among primitive peoples.
- Primitive peoples only rarely conduct formal hostilities with the object of achieving a tangible economic or political result.
- Neither territorial conquest nor seizure of slaves nor plunder of economic goods is characteristic of primitive warfare.
- Wars for political domination, so important among civilized peoples hardly exist among the primitive collectors.
- Wars of independence are unknown among the most primitive peoples because slavery, subjection, and class stratification are unknown.
- War to proselytize other to their religion is unknown among primitive people.
- The most primitive peoples, isolated and uncorrupted by contact with higher cultures, often have neither war nor brutality in their mores.
Peace has always been the highest form of human values which cannot be comprised at any cost. The most disadvantageous form of peace is also opted against the form of war, is the opposite of conflict, war and violence. The concept of peace is very difficult to define. Harmony achieved by the absence of war or conflict. Applied to nations, this would mean the states that are not in conflict with the neighbouring states, have achieved a state of peace.

This is what Johan Galtung defined us "negative peace"- an absence of violence. Peace can be of two types as per the conflict researchers- Positive and Negative. The absence of war is termed as negatives peace. The concept of negative peace is immediately spontaneous and empirically measurable, and can be used as a starting point to elaborate its counterpart concept," positive peace" having established what constitutes an absence of violence.

The Global Peace index is a first step in this direction; a measurement of peace as the "absence of violence" that seeks to determines what cultural attributes and institutions are associated with states of peace. In 1999 the UN General Assembly launched a programme of action to build a “culture of peace" for the world's children, who envisaged working towards a positive peace of justice, tolerance and plenty. The UN defined a culture as involving values, attitudes and behaviours that:

- Reject violence,
- Endeavour to prevent conflicts by addressing root causes, and
- Aim at solving problems through dialogue and negotiation.

It proposed that such a culture of peace would be furthered by actions promoting education for peace and sustainable.

- Peace is a process-many sided, never ending struggle to transform violence.
• Peace is not mere absence of war. That is the first step towards peace, Sustainable peace impeach with justice, universal rights, economic well-being, ecological balance and other values.

• Absence of war is described as ‘cold peace' and it is contrasted with 'warm peace’.

• Stable peace is a relatively rare state.

A sustained attempt by the main antagonists or who have a polarised view on each other in a conflict (including the government as party) to reach a stage on the main issues in a prolonged or protracted dispute. It is an attempt to lower the costs of the conflict, conflict management initially. The term 'peace process' suggests and opens to a new thought of diversified thinking in all dimensions more than an isolated peace initiative and the process should be able to withstand certain pressures. Stages of this process include conflict, pre-negotiation, confidence building and till it reaches to a stage of institutionalisation. The peace process can be seen as peace building, peace keeping and peace-making, the most important being the peace building. In addition to humanitarian aid or emerge assistance designed to provide immediate means of survival for populations at risk, the UN's main categories of intervention are:

- **Peacemaking**-to end hostilities and bring about agreement using diplomatic, political and military means.

- **Peace keeping**-enforcing and monitoring an agreement and supervising confidence building activities.

- **Peace building**- undertaking programmes designed to address the causes of conflict and grievances of the past and to promote long-term stability and justice.

This is an array of processes, for transforming conflicts, for peaceful relationships, more describes then defined. Like dealing with mediation negotiation, building an atmosphere. The process includes activities which releases from tension and violence, and resettlement, provision of security; reconstruction of infrastructure,
rebuilding of economy, legal systems and bureaucracy reconciliation; civil society enablement and involvement, community empowerment, democratisation; reconstruction of relationships and many more innovative genuine thoughts and efforts.

- Cessation of direct violence is negative peace.
- Overcoming structural violence and cultural violence is positive peace.
- Structures oriented, actors oriented and culture oriented, who decides and who does whether vertical or horizontal, whether neutral timeline, the interests of various actors.
- Liberal peace as defined by different major actors. More securitized
- Reconciliation.
- Reconciliation is a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future, one mind and one heart, with humanity.

The Tribal Issue and Its Relation to the Naxalite Movement

When constructing and analysing the discourse around Naxalite conflict, the position of tribal people within this broader debate must be incorporated. As explained before, the main support for the movement comes from the impoverished tribal populations in remote, forested areas, for various reasons. In accounts that relate to customs and practices within the movement, idealisation or “romanticisation” of tribal life is strikingly existent. To cite one example by the poet Varavara Rao, “the innocence of Adivasis (STs) is such that they question our use of cow’s milk and the hen’s egg. Isn’t the milk for the calf, and isn't the egg a chick waiting to be hatched” (Rao, 2010)? The idea of tribals (or Adivasis) as “innocent” and to a certain extent ignorant but mostly “harmless” is prevalent in Indian society. On the side of the defenders of the human rights perspective, we also see idealisation and simplification of tribal life, for example, “tribals only have their lands, and that is all they’ll ever need or want” or “tribals don’t want to be part of mainstream society, and can we blame them? They don’t need money or business; they’ll just take what they need from the land”. This practice, however, has contributed to the “victimisation” of tribal people.
It appears that tribals don’t have influence on reality, and that they have no ‘agency’ in this conflict. This is reflected by one of the recurring issues in the debate, namely whether the Naxalite movement intends to defend tribal rights or only use them for their own benefit. The tribal issue plays an important part in the discourse generated by the movement. There are innumerable examples of written statements in which the protection of tribal people by the Naxalite movement is put forward. An activist, Kumar, writes about Chhattisgarh: “The Adivasis regard the Maoists as their friends for it is these rebels who have stood by them. All the normal channels of redress are closed to them. The police beat them. The political parties are with the Salwa Judum. The courts do not give them a hearing. The media does not care. Where else will they go except the Maoists? When the police attack them, it is the Maoists who save them” (Kumar, 2009). This quote indicates that the Naxalites are viewed as the defenders of tribal welfare. In the same context a notable figure, Ramchandra Guha argues that the Adivasis as a whole have gained least and lost most from six decades of democracy and development in India. He presents evidence that they are even more deprived than the Dalits.

However, unlike the Dalits, they are unable to effectively articulate their grievances through the democratic and electoral process. The failures of the state and of the formal political system have provided a space for Maoist revolutionaries to move into. After analysing the reasons or the rise of "Naxalite" influence, he concludes that there is a double tragedy at work in tribal India. The first tragedy is that the state has treated its Adivasi citizens with contempt and condescension. The second tragedy is that their presumed protectors, the Naxalites, offer no long-term solution either (Guha, 2007). The state's attitude towards the Adivasis since independence has ranged from neglect to a disregard of constitutional obligations. The growth of Naxalite activity in the Adivasi tracts has brought down the heavy hand of the state and the tribals are caught between the Naxalites and the government. The exploitation of Adivasis in Andhra Pradesh is illustrative of the experience elsewhere in the country. The imminent execution of
the Polavaram project on the Godavari is yet another example of the state's attitude towards Adivasis (Sarma, 2006).

The main support for the Naxalites comes from the tribal population, called Adivasis in India and from members of the lower groups, known as Dalits. Dalits and tribals constitute the poorest and most deprived sections of the Indian population. Although the caste system was abolished legally, it has proven to be an assiduous part of Indian society and social mobility is negligible. The population groups have little resemblances, very dissimilar concerning culture, history, and position in Indian society, they both face economic, social, and political exclusion; denial of justice, unresolved land disputes, non-payment of minimum wages, eviction from their land on account of mining and other projects, attacks from upper castes, contractor lobbies and so on (Chenoy and Chenoy, 2010). Dalits and Adivasis comprise about one-fourth of India’s total population and mainly inhabit in the forested regions in India. There is a symbiotic bond between the tribals and the Maoists seems to have evolved to address the genuine socio-economic grievances of those pushed out of their natural habitat because of an anti-people industrial agenda. Maoism is, therefore, an ideology of hope for those at the lower rungs of the rural society (Chakrabarty, 2010; Kujur, 2011).

In a recent report by the Planning Commission (2008) entitled “Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas” states: “Dalits continue to face widespread economic and social disadvantages, denial of justice, and violent atrocities. Their situation is marked by poverty, low education, limited employment opportunities, and marginalisation in all spheres of public life” (Planning Commission, 2008). According to this Planning Commission (2008) report, the genesis of the discontent among Dalits lies in the age-old caste-based social order, which condemns them to a life of deprivation, sycophancy, and indignity. The situation of the tribal people differs from the Dalits in the sense that much of the Adivasi condition derives from the fact that they predominantly inhabit forest areas, which are often remote and lack governance structures.
According to the census of 2011, there are 104.2 million tribal people in India, constituting 8.6% of the total Indian population. The majority of the Scheduled Tribes live in conditions of serious deprivation and poverty and they have remained backward in all aspects of human development. Also, there has been a steady erosion of tribal rights and their command over resources. The “Naxalite infected areas” as the Indian government calls them, fall mainly in what is called “Fifth Schedule Areas”. These areas have a special status in the Indian Constitution, meant to preserve the existence of tribal communities and their distinct identities and practices. As being labelled a ‘Scheduled Tribe’ entitles certain rights on land, tribes do often not receive the recognition of being a ‘scheduled tribe’. Although tribal communities have specific rights, the authorities often thwart the implementation of these rights, while the effects of poverty are already worse on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, due to discrimination and policies of exclusion (Sukumar, 2010). It is often said that after the government launched its crackdown on the movement in the 1970s, many of the original Naxalites found refuge in remote areas, inhabited by tribal communities. Not hampered by the presence of any governance structures, they could expand their support base and activities. It is important to note that it might not have been the ultimate aim of the original Naxalites to mobilise tribals, as Maoism actually prescribes mobilising the peasantry. Many pro-Naxalite accounts tell of how the Naxalites came to the forests and helped the tribal communities to improve their living conditions and how the Naxalites brought medicine and empowered the women (Satnam and Navlakha, 2010). It remains an issue of debate whether tribal communities benefit from the presence of Naxalites or that they just use them as foot folk. Many believe that their intentions might be benevolent and charitable before, but that in recent years they have become as exploitative as others have been before them.

This practice, however, has contributed to the “victimisation” of tribal people. It appears that they do not have influence on reality and that they have no ‘agency’ in this conflict. This is reflected by one of the recurring issues in the debate, namely whether the Naxalite movement intends to defend tribal rights or only use
them for their own benefit. The tribal issue plays an important part in the discourse generated by the movement. There are innumerable examples of written statements in which the protection of tribal people by the Naxalite movement is put forward. For example, the activist Kumar writes about Chhattisgarh: ‘The Adivasis regard the Maoists as their friends for it is these rebels who have stood by them. All the normal channels of redress are closed to them. The police beat them. The political parties are with the Salwa Judum. The courts do not give them a hearing. The media does not care. Where else will they go except the Maoists? When the police attack them, it is the Maoists who save them’ (Kumar, 2009). This quote indicates that the Naxalites are viewed as the defenders of tribal welfare.

**Developmental Theories:**

The theories of development are a consolidation of various theories which explains on how to achieve the desired change in the society:

(a) *Modernization theory* of development analyses the way in which modernization processes in societies do take place. The theory looks at which aspects of countries are beneficial and which constitute obstacles for development.

(b) *Sociological and anthropological modernization theory:* The earliest principles of modernization theory can be derived from the idea of progress, which stated that people can develop and change their society themselves. This theory also states that technological advancements and economic changes can lead to changes in moral and cultural values. Many sociologists describe how social order is maintained in society and ways in which primitive societies can make the transition to more advanced societies. Other scientists argued that economic development leads to social changes which tend to lead to democracy;

(4) *Linear Stages of Growth Model:* Linear Stages of Growth Model is an economic model which is heavily inspired by plan which was used in Europe's
economy after the Second World War. It assumes that the economic growth is only possible through industries and it is only restricted by social attitudes. Walt W. Rostow has identified five stages through which developing countries had to pass to reach an advanced economy status: (1) Traditional society, (2) Preconditions for take-off, (3) Take-off, (4) Drive to maturity, (5) Age of high mass consumption. He argued that economic development could be led by certain strong sectors; this is in contrast to for instance of Marxism which advocated that sectors should develop equally. The Rostow model has serious flaws, of which the most serious are: (1) The model assumes that development can be achieved through a basic sequence of stages which are the same for all countries, a doubtful assumption; (2) The model measures development solely by means of the increase of Gross Domestic Product per capita; (3) The model focuses on characteristics of development, but does not identify the causal factors which lead development to occur. As such, it neglects the social structures which require being present to foster development.

(d) Post-Development Theory: This theory questions the idea of national economic development together. According to this theory, the goal of improving living standard leans on arbitrary claims against the desirability and possibility of that goal. Post-development theory came into picture during 1980s and 1990s, according to the idea of development is just a mental structure which has resulted in a ladder of developed and underdeveloped nations, of which the latter desire to be like the before.

(e) Human Development Theory: It is a theory which uses the ideas from different origins, such as ecology, development and from the field of welfare. It avoids the norms and focuses on how the social capital is formed and it can be invested to maximize the overall economy of the human capital. Prof. Amartya Sen has worked on this human capital and emphasized on what people can do, the capabilities of people rather than on income or goods which will determine their well-being. This core idea also underlies the construction of the Human Development Index, a human-focused measure of development pioneered by the UNDP in its Human Development Reports.
The Gandhian Theory of Development: This theory advocates the rejection of the main stream theory of economics for development and focuses on giving an alternative to the people without emphasizing too much on materials, but also it does not compromise the human development indicators. Gandhi's philosophy of life is to understand Gandhian economics. Gandhi viewed life as a holistic being and not in isolation. According to the Indian scriptures, there are four aspects of an individual's life: Dharma (righteousness), Artha (money), Kama (desire), and Moksha (liberation). These aspects are interrelated, and therefore, all of them should be harmoniously developed. Money is required to satisfy the basic requirements of life, but it is not the sole end in itself. Human's aim is not to increase the desires and to achieve this he or she has to engage whole life in acquiring wealth to satisfy the desires. The goal of life is to control d and transform it, through righteousness, into liberation. He argues for the liberation of human being from this vicious cycle of dharma, artha, kama, and moksha. According to him, true happiness lies in the all-round development of a human being’s personality, and in living a full life. Gandhi's ideas on economics are a part of his general philosophy of life, which are as follows:

1. Humanism: Man is both the means, and the end of all activity, and the measures of performance. Everything functions with a human race. All ideas, institutions, and actions are to be judged in terms of whether they help in building a better human being.

2. Simple Living: Gandhi had faith in materialism without lust and passion; Material progress must be submissive to moral growth. The ultimate aim of man is not to accumulate wealth and enjoys luxuries of life, but to attain the higher values of life, and to lead a simple and full life, Simple living and high thinking should be the motto of life.

3. Social Justice: Society is divided between rich and poor, between the Gandhian Development strong and the weak, between the privileged and unprivileged, and Theory between the elite and the masses. The principle
of social justice requires that the former must help the latter in fulfilling their basic requirements. The ideal functioning of the society must aim at providing social justice and reducing inequalities.

(4) Non Violence: Social change is to be brought about through non-violent methods. Ends and means are inseparable in life, and only good means yield good results. An ideal society can only be established by adopting peaceful and nonviolent means, and not through hatred and war. In Gandhian economies, the principle of nonviolence means the following things, (a) the absence of capitalistic exploitation; (b) the decentralization of production units, (c) cheaper defence organization, (d) less inequality of income; and (e) self-sufficiency of communities.

(5) Love and Cooperation: An ideal society should be established on the principles of love and cooperation. In such society, the love of others and not self-love; co-operation and not egocentric acts, pre-dominate. Relation between humans should be based on truth, love, and cooperation, and not on money and matter.

(6) Harmony: The ideal economic condition according to Gandhi is self-sufficiency of the economy. For this, the following harmonises should be maintained: (a) the requirements of the people must be in harmony with the resources of the economy; and (b) production technology should match the country's requirements.

Tribal Development in the General Discourse

The policy of “hold and develop” as expounded by the Union Home Ministry has gained considerable attraction in the corridors of power. The oft-repeated line of thought by politicians of almost all hues that, “The Maoist problem is a complicated one and should be looked at holistically” has ruled out addressing the Maoist challenge from a completely “law and order” perspective. While the “holistic” approach to the Maoist problem does hold merit, it must consider that
economic and social upliftment of the affected areas constitutes a major part of the strategy. Abdication of responsibility on the part of the government easily creates a vacuum that is filled by the Maoists. It is the “develop” part of the “hold and develop” policy of the Central Government. According to the Annual Report 2010-2011 prepared by the Union Home Ministry, as many as 35 districts in 9 states have been identified for a “Focus Area Approach” in terms of development. In addition to this, the Planning Commission has identified 60 districts, including 35 focus districts as mentioned above, for implementation of Integrated Action Plan (IAP) for Selected Tribal and Backward districts with an outlay of Rs. 3300 crore for two years i.e. 2010-11 and 2011-12 (Verma, 2011). The report, “Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas”, authored by an expert group set up by the Planning Commission, looks at the Naxalite/Maoist movement in a way that is different from the prevalent official attitude and draws attention to many of the positive effects of the movement. The report rejects the official “security-centric” approach in dealing with the movement and instead suggests an “ameliorative approach with emphasis on a negotiated solution” (Banerjee, 2008).

From the very beginning, the focus was on the development of big industries in backward areas. This development included the operation of mines, the building of big dams, steel plants, fertiliser plants, etc. away from urban centers, yet these continued to feed the needs of urban India exclusively. So, tribals and farmers were losers in this arrangement as they were frequently displaced.

The Parliamentary Standing Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in a report submitted to the LokSabha on 23 October 2008 observed, “Notwithstanding Act and regulations to control alienation of tribal land, tribal people are being alienated from their land in the name of development and due to insufficient amount is given to them for their land, they migrate to other places in search of livelihood.” It further stated that “tribals should not suffer in the name of development” and recommended that “the Ministry of Tribal
Affairs should take immediate su-moto action whenever it is reported that tribal people are agitating against displacement and endangerment to their lives”.

According to an estimate, since independence, about 3-4 crore tribals have been displaced due to various hydro projects. Apart from this, Indian state repeatedly failed to deliver its services, such as maintaining law and order, social infrastructure, relief during epidemics or disasters in the remote areas. These made people indifferent to the democratic principles and some of them even got averse to the state when they were indoctrinated. These places were breeding grounds of Naxalism where they established the red bases. In India today, private corporate-led industrialisation is being equated with "development" and those who oppose such development are considered "unlawful", even when the government and the corporations acquire land through "force and fraud". Those who organise the resistance, that is "Left Wing Extremists" in official parlance, either face elimination through military operations or the total denial of their democratic rights. It is, therefore, necessary to demystify, rather de-obfuscate, official policy vis-a-vis Left Wing Extremism" (Navlakha, 2008). Tribals have been driven into debt with the gradual erosion of their traditional rights to forests and the large-scale intrusion of the usury culture. It is not short-term poverty alleviation programmes or crisis management endeavors that are direly needed but broader structural interventions that would involve tribals themselves as participants in the development process (Pathy, 2003).

Kujur (2006) argues that the iniquitous development agenda pursued by successive governments at the center and the state has rendered several tribal groups in Odisha, who reside in some of the poorer, more inaccessible districts of the state, largely marginal to the government process. Arguably, it is this alienation and underdevelopment that has afforded a fertile ground to several Naxalite groups to set up base in these districts. Today’s explosive situation has been largely fostered by a continuous absence of development. But violence itself is by no means a way to attain development; rather it is an extreme form of exploitation. To evade “mal-development” and to replace the existing atmosphere
of chaos and terror, what is required is the creation of appropriate institutions, systems, and relations. The need of the hour is to free the system from exploitation and corruption which would bring down societal tension by ensuring equality of status and opportunity. To deal with the ever-increasing Naxal problem, Odisha must sufficiently increase and properly manage fund allocation in the field of healthcare, education, nutrition programmes, disease control, irrigation, rural electrification, rural roads, and other basic requirements, especially in its Naxal-affected rural areas. The state must ensure that its institutions do not breed exploitation. It must work on a formula where there is larger democratic participation in the processes of decision making and development.

When the Central Government speaks of Maoists obstructing development, such as in tribal areas, it means the Maoists' presence obstructs corporate exploitation of minerals, forests, water, and land resources of tribals. Corporations come with capital intensive, low job-creating investments, which necessitate import of skilled labour from outside and token employment for locals as members of an unskilled low wage labour force (Navlakha, 2006).

The anthropologists and sociologists in India who claim to go deeper into the social and cultural reality of caste, social stratification and peasant society, are found to be equally uninterested in carrying out research on Maoist activism which has been emerging as one of the most significant challenges to feudal land relations and state-sponsored usurpation of natural resources by the corporates in rural India for the last three to four decades. There is a serious dearth of field-level data on the impact of Maoism on the people on the ground (Shah and Pettigrew, 2009).

In recent period, a reputed academic journal of the discipline ‘Dialectical Anthropology’ devoted a special issue entitled “Windows into a Revolution: Ethnographies of Maoism in South Asia” (Dialectical Anthropology, Vol.33, Nos.3-4, 2009; guest edited by Alpa Shah and Judith Pettigrew in 2009). The anthropologist, B.K. Roy Burman, has written extensively on the reasons behind the rise of left extremism in the tribal areas of central India in his long articles in
the Mainstream (Roy Burman 2009; 2010a and 2010b). Misra (2016) has observed with reference to Northeast India, “When the civil governance… will be spared from combating militancy or appeasing the militants, the whole energy of the government would be for strengthening the institutions of local self-government, which acts as potential agent of development in conflict-ridden states …” But these are really exceptions (Mishra, 2016).

There are, however, a few ethnographic studies on Maoism described in a recent review article (Harriss, 2010). These studies are of very recent origin and definitely lie outside the purview of the mainstream anthropology in India. For example, Bela Bhatia’s ethnographic study of Naxalite movement in Central Bihar, which was the result of the author’s Ph.D. thesis at Cambridge University in 2000, is almost unknown to Indian anthropological circles. In this work Bhatia, through her participant observation has made a novel attempt to understand the Naxalite movement from the perspective of the general people. In her words: “My priority is to develop an understanding of the movement from the perspective of the people who make up its mass base including member, supporters, and activists at the village level. Valuable as they are, most scholarly accounts of the Naxalite movement have neglected this important dimension, i.e., the point of view of the participants” (Bhatia, 2005).

The lack of concern of the anthropologists to study this anti-state movement on the ground has become more illogical by the fact that the efforts of Maoist activism are mainly concentrated in regions dominated by populations classified by the state and the anthropologists as “tribes”. To put the matter more bluntly, anthropologists in India are studying cultures and ideologies of tribes but not Maoism and the tribal populations influenced and/or affected by Maoist activism and ideology. In contrast, the studies done by the political scientists and journalists on Maoism/Naxalism in the Indian context throw new insights into the problem.

Lack of interest is the virtual absence of anthropological studies on tribal resistance and protest against the state power. There is hardly any solid
ethnographic study on any tribal resistance against the state in the pre- and post-colonial period. The major anthropological themes on the tribal society in India mainly centered on tribal social structure and organisation (kinship, marriage, and family) tribal subsistence patterns and economy, material culture, tribal religion and occasionally impact of modernisation and change in tribal society and culture.

The above cited literature not only reveals the virtual absence of anthropologists and sociologists in India in the study of Left Wing Extremist politics but they also show the possibilities of carrying out research on this burning problem of the country by the field-based social scientists in future. That apart, though there has been some work on the issue of extremism, unfortunately very few in the state of Odisha, though more than 9 districts are affected by this problem. Being an anthropologist my endeavor will be to fill up this gap.

**Statement of the Problem**

Over time, many industrialised and developing countries have faced popular uprisings and rebellions that challenged the state ideology or its paradigm of development. Even though Indian democracy is often criticised, one cannot dismiss the fact that there are regular, more or less fair elections, freedom of the press and extensive possibilities to organise, unlike most other countries in the region. Secondly, India is regarded as a ‘strong’ state, with extensive experience dealing with internal insurgency movements. Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA), an Act of the Indian Parliament granting special powers to its Armed Forces in “disturbed areas” is a bright example. Thirdly, it is no exaggeration to state that India is a highly diverse and it’s cultural, religious, and linguistic diversities have been sourced to many instances of civil strife and manifestations of violence. Lastly, the level of economic inequality is unparalleled. Yet its diversity and inequality have never led to a serious challenge to the state as a whole or to its democratic character. Despite being a strong state, India has not been able to weed out Naxalites in over four decades. The general interpretation that has come to the fore in recent years is that the Naxalites have become the biggest adversaries of the idea of a “New India”, an industrialised regional power,
paralleled and aided by a collapse or absence of lower-level governance in vast areas of the country.

In the case of Odisha, since the last few decades, it has faced the curse of Left Wing Extremism, which has been believed to have badly affected the social, economic and polity of the state. Particularly in the case of tribal areas, the emergence of such process hampered the development initiatives. Odisha has become the epicenter of the Naxalite movement and the so-called Lal (Red) Corridor, which started from Pashupati (Nepal) to Tirupati (India). The typical socio-economic structure of the state characterised as one of the poorest states in India (where 39.80% of the total population is below the poverty line) also created an opportunity for the Naxalites to organise such a movement (Planning Commission, 2004-05).

The state has 22% of the tribal population (2011 census) with 62 Scheduled Tribes (Ministry of Tribal Development, Govt. of India, 2014) who are primarily dependent on the various welfare schemes and programmes implemented by the government departments. So, it has become important to understand how far the fruits of the development have percolated down to a common tribal and what has been the impact of LWE movement on the process of socio-economic development of tribal and their area of living. So, the formulation of the problem, as discussed in this Chapter is taking the local development context that prevails in the state, different development initiatives by the government and current activities of LWE in tribal dominated districts.

Examining the case of tribal development in Naxal affected areas of Odisha, particularly the case of Koraput district, the present study conceptualised as “Left Wing Extremist (LWE) and Tribal Development Scenario in the Integrated Action Plan (IAP) of Koraput District, Odisha- an Anthropological Evaluation”.

**Hypothesis:**

1) Like any other movements, LWE movement had rised from the people’s grievances and sufferings to the battle field of movement. It takes up all the basic
steps in a long run limit of their tolerance, the long term awaiting for the justice and solutions, the extent of exploitation by the outsiders (mostly officials) and then motivation by the activist leaders and finally, leading to the enforcement for joining the LWE.

2) Even though the tribals are illiterate or pre-literate, in the face of suffering, exploitation and prolonged economic backwardness, they are compelled to accept the LWE ideology with immediate effect.

3) Tribals as per their cultural standards accept readily and comfortably the matters which are served at their door step. Whereas government officials hardly reach due tribal people face to face, LWE leaders reach people at their door step and able to convince them comfortably to join LWE movement.

4) The exploitation of money lenders, landlords and other opportunist migrant population (in addition to government officials) are most often taken as clue and supportive cause for motivating the tribals to join LWE movement.

5) Primary and subsequent observations in tribal area confirm that most of the tribals after joining the movement are so much so red-marked that they fear to come back to normal life even if they realise their breaching of law and order of the State. In case of extreme torture only, they take a drastic decision to come back and surrender

6) Even though LWE movement proceeds on a single track basing on a single ideology. It has not been able to maintain consistency and uniformity because of variable strategies operations of the government and variations in the local cultures (economic as well as cultural backwardness). Like LWE ideology, the participation of people especially the tribals never accept the movement in a similar manner, variations emerge as a result of their economic backwardness and cultural variations.

7) As regards, the inclusion of the tribals in the movement process, it is verified that tribals everywhere in south Orissa are more or less from similar or uniform
cultural bases. In some districts, tribals accept and support the movement in order to take revenge on the exploiting population and come forward to join in some districts the movement without any choice; in some districts they see it as an alternative way to ventilate their anger. It is also true that in some areas where government activities are satisfactory, people hesitate to join the movement.

8) Besides the cultural and other local variations, the participation in the movement always takes a bi-fold path; firstly, some people, because of the surrounding problems, remain as active part and others who are not very much affected, only ideologically remain as passive participant of the movement.

9) From ideological point of view, the LWE movement had attracted the attentions of the economically backward tribals, but as observed from different incidences (as published in the media), the ideology is noticed to be diluted due to the incorporation of personnel's vested interests of some leading LWE ideologies and their activists.

10) As known at the international, national and at the state level; the sovereign governments most often follow the incidences of movement, whereas the movement makers always strategically superior stand by following an offensive role in the whole process.

11) As observed anthropologically, the solutions to such an undesired movement process seem to be far reaching mainly because, there is no absolute solution-seeking dialogues, compromises and compromising attitudes between the two parties involved, so far.

12) The conflicting and confronting attitudes of both sides are ought to create bloody fights and loss of human lives. In fact, the two parties involved in the conflict (leading to movement) are at fault, which they never realise. Therefore, unless both the parties sincerely desire for a solution, no solution would be possible.
Significance of the Study in Contemporary Context

The Indian government is anxious to establish itself on the world’s stage as one of the major superpowers, along with the other superpower countries of the world, and anxious to maintain its annual growth rate of eight percent or higher in order to keep up with the global economy as well as the needs of the huge incursion of young people entering the workforce. Thus, the federal government’s ultimate goal in defeating the Naxals is to encourage investment in resource-rich areas such as Odisha, which has been difficult to do because of Naxalite relate instability in some regions of the state (Chetam, 2011). Without solving its internal security issues, India risks losing its rapid economic growth. While economists speculate that India’s economy could become one of the fastest growing in the next two decades, it will need to tackle Naxalism effectively in order to keep investors interested (Follath, 2012).

Available government and other publications over the past years suggest that the Naxalite threat continues to be a serious concern for both domestic and foreign investors (India Infrastructure Report: 2010 and 2011). Since last one decade, there have been several major Maoist attacks, one of which involved taking foreigners as hostages, drawing significant international attention and demonstrating that the Maoists continue to pose a very real threat (Sahni, 2012). The safety of a state’s infrastructure, as well as private investors' property and employees, are vital to the success of the private industry. Maoist attacks on major investment projects have seriously deterred further investment in Naxalite affected states in the recent past (Subramanian, 2010). It is in the corporations’ and government’s best interest to keep violence, whether at the hands of the Maoists or the government-sponsored militias, at a minimum. Supporting successful economic development enterprises would have the potential of satisfying the government, the corporations, and the tribals, that live in Naxal-afflicted areas. The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate the real impact of the different developmental schemes, which needs to be better understood.
As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, the Naxal movement is almost some decades old now. The Government of India has estimated that the movement is now active in about 125 districts spread over 12 states (Planning Commission, 2008). Government analyses that the development deficit is the prime cause of Left-Wing Extremism in the affected districts. The government observes that more than 3/4th of the people living in these districts have a low standard of living index. Female literacy in many of these districts is below the state / national average. With regard to basic facilities, less than 1/4th of the population lives in pukka houses and less than 1/3rd have an electricity connection (Dandekar and Choudhury, n.d).

In this context, it has become necessary to identify the variety of causes of discontent and to seek ways by which the State could answer them in a humane, caring and democratic way. The current study attempts to examine how far development measures have been instrumental in ensuring the socio-economic growth of tribal and to look critically into the impact of LWE in Scheduled / PESA districts of Odisha and more particularly in Koraput with regard to the development of tribal.

**Objectives of the Study**

The Study will be carried out to fulfill the following objectives;

- To study the history of Left Wing Extremism in Koraput.
- To study the reasons behind the emergence and expansion of Left Wing Extremism activities in Koraput.
- To assess the tribal development initiatives in Koraput and their relationship with Left Wing Extremism.
- To understand the views of different sections of the populations, particularly the women and youth, in accepting or rejecting the Left Wing Extremism.
Expected Outcomes

The findings of the study will enrich the discipline of Anthropology in particular and to the study of social sciences in general, by providing a broad picture about the LWE and Tribal Development in Koraput district. The findings of the study will also help to the academicians, researchers, and policymakers for formulating appropriate policy with re-defining the role of PRIs in promoting sustainable development for the tribal in the Scheduled Areas.

Limitations

An important part of the construction of social research is the acknowledgment and description of limitations. Constraints and limitations alike are an inevitable part of social research. By the assignment of limitations, a researcher is forced to justify certain choices, which will eventually increase the reliability and validity of the research.

- The data collected for the present study is implied valid in the jurisdiction area of research conducted only and the result of the study cannot be interpreted with other such areas.

- Since the research study is about extremism and the issue very sensitive hence, natives are not coming forward to share some of the key information with researcher and moreover many political parties have their own stand towards the issue. Therefore the respondents are worrying to express the information is one of the biggest hurdles of the study.

- In the entire study, the terms Naxalism and Maoism are used interchangeable for focusing Left Wing Extremist activity.

- Keeping in the views of the extreme sensitiveness nature of the research study, it was not possible to depict or narrate some of the visuals/photographs and ethnographic note in the present study.
• Integrated Action Plan (IAP) is meant for overall development of Left Wing Extremism affected areas/tribal areas which have established tribal schemes and programs but it was suddenly aborted by the Government from the 2015-2016 financial year. Hence District Planning and Monitoring Unit (DPMU) had dropped many new tribal schemes and programs, so the present study incorporated the data related to the IAP before the FY 2015-2016. As the study area is under the PESA Act of Fifth Scheduled areas, the rest development initiatives taken after FY 2015-2016 through other schemes was also considered for this research.

• The name of the state was changed from Orissa to Odisha, and the name of its language from Oriya to Odia, in 2011, by the passage of the Orissa (Alteration of Name) Bill, 2010 and the Constitution (113th Amendment) Bill, 2010 in the Parliament. Therefore, the text of present study reflects both the words ‘Orissa’ and Odisha wherever required.