CHAPTER-2

THE HISTORY OF LEFT WING EXTREMISM IN INDIA AND ITS SPREAD TO STUDY AREA

The History of Left Wing Extremism in India

On May 24, 2010, India’s former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh repeated his message that Naxalism remains the biggest internal security challenge and it is imperative to control Left-wing extremism for the country’s growth (The Hindu, 2010). Since its independence, India has faced numerous insurgencies within its borders at various points in time. One of the longest-running insurgencies in India is the Naxalite insurgency. With the ultimate objective of “seizing political power i.e. state power” (Singh, 2010), India’s Naxalite insurgency emerged in 1967 as an uprising of armed peasants in Naxalbari, a town in West Bengal, to protect the rights of poor peasants and create a classless society. The Naxalite Movement in India has experienced a fascinating journey encountering numerous organisational upheavals and conflicts of thoughts and ideas. The movement has seen many highs and lows in its long history since 1967 and mirrors the sentiment expressed by one of the official Maoist documents: “Revolutions never proceed in a straight line. The history of all successful revolutions shows this. The path is zig-zag, there are ups and downs, there is victory and defeat repeated a number of times.....before final victory” (Verma, 2011). In 2006 the Indian Prime Minister noted that large parts of country i.e., 160 districts out of 602 districts were affected by the Maoist movement. The number of affected districts has now increased to 223 out of total 640 districts and the movement operates in 20 of India’s 28 states (RG Foundation, 2014). However, the insurgency is more active in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra.

In order to understand the current phase of Naxalism, we need to understand different aspects of organisational transformation that have been occurred within the Naxal movement, since the genesis and current phase of the movement is a reflection of continuity and change. To understand its continuity over the decade, one has to understand its dynamics of change, just as to understand the changing nature of the Naxal
movement; one has to understand the factors responsible for its continuity. And this re-establishes the dynamic character of the movement (Kujur, 2008). So the present chapter deals with a brief historical account of the Naxalite movement in India. From the birth of the movement in the village of Naxalbari, West Bengal in 1967 to the formation and consolidation of the present day CPI (Maoist), the chapter captures the flashpoints that gave new direction and thrust to the Naxalite movement and the prominent figures that played an important role in giving shape to the Maoist Movement. This Chapter draws heavily from Kujur (2008), RG Foundation (2014), Ranjan (2015) and Verma (2011).

Naxalism in India, like any other leftist movement around the globe, draws its ideological basis from the Bolshevik revolution. After the success of the Lenin-led revolution in Russia, the intellectual class in many countries started thinking of ushering in a change in their respective nations. Prominent amongst them were Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse Tung. These leaders became architects of revolution in their countries, inspired by the Bolshevik revolution (Ranjan, 2015).

Vladimir Lenin, who was originally a Marxist, modified Karl Marx’s doctrine to become the founder of Leninism. He tweaked Marxism to suit the conditions that prevailed in Russia in the early twentieth century. The modifications were made to suit conditions in a society where imperialism was not very strong, the peasantry was to have a larger role owing to its predominance and the Russian army was to play a major role in the planned armed insurrection. Marx had propounded a working class-led revolution, which could never see the light of the day in his lifetime, but for a brief period during ‘Paris Commune’ (ibid). The Russian backdrop of war weariness (First World War), poor economy, flexible industrialisation and substantial peasantry were the main drivers for Lenin to modify Marxism so as to suit Russia. Advocacy of armed nature of the revolution was seen as the only potent means against the despotic and hegemonic Tsar, who had no stomach for any democratic process (ibid).

The prime determine was to impart power in the hands of the exploited and marginalised, irrespective of their configuration. With egalitarianism as its basis, the idea was to
enforce societal control over the aspects of governance and nation building. As per Leninism, the revolution was to be steered in, over several phases. These were People’s revolution leading to Socialism, which eventually was to pave way for Marxism based on a community. The call made by Lenin had mass appeal in the sense that the commoners could identify with the ideological underpinning, thus bringing in their optimum participation. Lenin’s efforts to embrace the burning issues were translated into three slogans (land, bread, and peace) - “land to the tiller”, “bread to the hungry” and “rest to the army”. The effective tool of ‘mass mobilisation’, made Lenin an international icon and inspired ‘left revolutions’, across the world (ibid).

Prevalent conditions in China that provided background to Mao led People’s revolution, were marked by predominant and marginalised peasantry, nascent industrialisation, competing colonial powers (USA, Japan, France etc.) and a turmoil-ridden society. In such ripe conditions for a revolution, Mao too, like Lenin, opted to take up the societal cause for developing a mass following.

The success of left revolutions in various parts of the world was an inspiration to the political left in India to strive for a similar achievement in order to liberate the exploited class. Unlike Lenin’s methodology of enabling the desired changes in a phased manner, the left political class in India strived to surpass the prevailing capitalism, imperialism, and feudalism in one stroke.

The inception of Naxal ideology could be traced to the advocacies of the peasant leader Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, who gave a call for United Front (samyukt morcha) comprising of the peasantry and the working class (ibid). The movement was merged into the Indian freedom struggle and aimed at a three-pronged objective of peasant revolution, national independence and liberation for downtrodden. An effort towards this was also attempted in the Naxalite movement.
History of the Naxalite Movement

The year 1967 marks a turning point in terms of the revolutionary armed struggle in India. On 24th May 1967, the persistent social and political tensions in a remote village in West Bengal called Naxalbari in the Darjeeling District of the Federal State West Bengal unloaded after a landlord was attacked and led to a full-scale peasant riot. A tribal youth named Bimal Kissan obtained a judicial order permitting him to plough his land. The local landlords with the support of their goons and musclemen attacked him. This event enraged the local Tribal population and led to a violent reprisal by the tribal community to bring back their lands. This event was also deeply rooted in the socio-economic conditions, namely unequal land distribution and forced labour that had persisted since the British rule (Marwah, 2009). Amongst the disadvantaged rural population, there was a big number of Dalits and Adivasis (Singh, 2010). Though the United Front Government of West Bengal, headed by the CPI (M) came down heavily on the rebellion using all kinds of repressive measures and was able to contain the rebellion within 72 days (Kujur, 2008). Seething with anger, the participants of the “revolution” formed the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) in May 1968. “Allegiance to armed struggle and non-participation in the elections” were the two fundamental principles that the AICCR adopted for its operations. AICCR declared its ideological aims: Prolonged people’s war in accordance with Mao’s teachings, meaning adaption of guerrilla warfare, the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and finally encircling the cities as well as abstaining from parliamentary elections (Bendfeldt, 2010). The events in Naxalbari took shape of a giant rebellion and gained visibility and support across regions including West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and parts of Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh (Kujur, 2008). However, differences cropped up over how an armed struggle should be advanced and this led to the exclusion of a section of activists from Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal, led respectively by T. Nagi Reddy and Kanhai Chatterjee.

The initial Struggle and Splits

AICCCR failed to continue its spirit due to the ideological incongruity among the group. On the issue of the annihilation of the class enemy, the Kanhai Chatterjee group had
serious objections as they were of the view that the annihilation of the class enemy should only be taken up after building up mass agitations. However majority in the AICCCR rejected this and on April 22nd, 1969, Lenin’s hundredths birthday, the AICCCR founded the revolutionary party CPI Marxist-Leninist (ML) that was based on Maoist Ideology. A part of the AICCCR members was not happy with the circumstances regarding the foundation of the party due to undemocratic and swiftness procedure. Subsequently, on 20th October they founded, Dakshin Desh, also an armed party that had similar targets. In 1975 it was renamed as Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and constitutes today a crucial fraction of the biggest Maoist party (Bendfeldt, 2010). In 1970 at the CPI (ML) congress in Kolkata, the constant leader of the movement Charu Mazumdar was formally elected as general secretary and thus “became the undisputed Naxalite Guru” (Kujur, 2008). And with the organisational skills of Kanu Sanyal and Jaghal Santhal, the movement spread to different corners of the country.

The CPI (ML) started formulating their strategy as follows: Seizure of political power in certain regions through armed struggle and the establishment of base areas. In addition, they targeted on the annihilation of the class enemy, namely moneylenders, landlords and their agents, rich peasants, police officers as well as police informers (Singh, 2010). These measures were meant to defeat the ruling class in a respective area in terms of economy, politics, and military. As hundreds of CPI (ML) cadres lost their life, and thousands were put behind the bar, the movement had to witness confusion, splits, and disintegration. Charu Majumdar's larger than life image had its negative impact also, for which after his death in 1972, the Central Leadership of CPI (ML) virtually collapsed (Kujur, 2008).

The history of the Naxal movement post-Charu Mazumdar is characterised by a number of splits, brought about by personalised and narrow perceptions about the Maoist revolutionary line and attempts at course-correction by some of the major groups. Even Kanu Sanyal, one of the founders of the movement, could not escape this. He gave up the path of "dedicated armed struggle” by 1977 and accepted the parliamentary practice as a form of revolutionary activity.
It was during 1974 that an influential group of the CPI (ML), led by Jauhar (Subrata Dutt), Nagbhushan Pattnaik and Vinod Mishra, launched a major initiative, which they termed ‘course-correction’. This group renamed itself the CPI (M-L) Liberation in 1974, and in 1976, during the Emergency, adopted a new line that called for the continuation of armed guerilla struggles along with efforts to form a broad anti-Congress democratic front, consisting even non-communist parties. The group also suggested that pure military armed struggle should be limited and there should be greater emphasis on mass peasant struggles, in an attempt to provide an Indianised version of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism. However, during the next three years, the movement suffered further splits with leaders, such as Kondapalli Seetharamaiah (Andhra Pradesh) and N. Prasad (Bihar) dissociating themselves from the activities of the party. This led to Prasad forming the CPI (M-L) (Unity Organisation) and Seetharamaiah started the People's War Group (PWG) in 1980.

While Seetharamaiah's line sought to restrict the ‘annihilation of class enemies’, the PWG's emphasis was on building mass organisations, not developing a broad democratic front.

**Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation**

The post-emergency phase of 1977, when most leaders of the Communist movement were released from jail was the time when the activities of Liberation first came to notice. The Party Central Committee (PCC), in a move to unite the splinter groups which owed their origin to CPI (ML), called a meeting during 30 January-2 February, 1981. However, the meet did not deliver expected results. “From this point onwards whereas the PCC group goes on to become irrelevant and splits up into various factions, the M-L movement begins to polarise between the Marxist-Leninist line of CPI (ML) (Liberation) and the anarchist line of CPI (ML) (People's War) ( Thirty Years of Naxalbari, an undated publication of CPI (ML) Liberation as cited by Kujur, 2008)”.

During 1982, the Indian People's Front (IPF) was launched in New Delhi at a national conference. In due course, IPF became the party's open political platform, actively
intervening in national politics. This shift in the outlook of CPI (ML) Liberation proved to be vital in designing the subsequent course of action of the Naxal movement. The Liberation group considers itself the true inheritor of the CPI (ML) legacy, its political line has changed dramatically from that of the original CPI (ML)” (Bhatia, 2005). With this strategic shift in functioning, the CPI (ML) Liberation recorded its first electoral victory under the banner of the IPF in 1989 and Ara (one Lok Sabha Constituency in Central Bihar) sent the first "Naxalite" member to Parliament (Hindustan times, 2005).

In a special conference convened in July 1990, the party decided to restructure the party. In the May 1991 Lok Sabha elections, Indian People's Front loses Ara seat but CPI (ML) retains its presence in Parliament through Autonomous State Demand Committee (ASDC) MP (ibid). The Election Commission recognised the party in 1995 and since then the CPI (ML) has been contesting successive elections at national and state levels.

The CPI (ML) Liberation, though functioning over ground within the parliamentary democratic setup, has not completely parted the path of armed rebellion. “The Party does not rule out the possibility that under a set of exceptional national and international circumstances, the balance of social and political forces may even permit a relatively peaceful transfer of central power to revolutionary forces. But in a country where democratic institutions are based on essentially fragile and narrow foundations and where even small victories and partial reforms can only be achieved and maintained on the strength of mass militancy, the party of the proletariat must prepare itself for winning the ultimate decisive victory in an armed revolution. A people's democratic front and a people's army, therefore, remain the two most fundamental weapons of revolution in the resource of the Party” (A Party document of CPI (ML) Liberation titled The General Programme, cited by Kujur, 2008). This again points to the dilemmas within the ultra-left movement, which is very often reflected, in the unpredictable character of the Naxal movement.

**People’s War Group (PWG)**

PWG is the most important among all the splinter groups representing the Naxal movement because of the dominant line within the Naxal politics today. Though it is
popularly known as PWG or PW, its official language is Communist Party of India–Marxist-Leninist (People’s War). If today, Naxalism is considered as the greatest internal security problem and Naxals claim to be running a parallel government in different parts of the country, its credit mostly goes to the PWG (Kujur, 2008). “The CPI (ML) (People’s War) was formed on Lenin’s birth anniversary on April 22, 1980” (30 years of Naxalbari, An undated Maoist literature). Kondapalli Seetharamaiah, one of the most leading Naxalite leaders from Andhra Pradesh and a member of the former Central Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India–Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML), is the founding father of the PWG; who later, was ironically ousted from the group.

In a comprehensive PWG party document entitled ‘Path of People’s War in India – Our Tasks!’ highlighting its aims, objectives, and strategies of the party. The document was adopted by All-India Party Congress, 1992. In this document, they have clearly mentioned that “The programme of our Party has declared that India is a vast ‘semi-colonial and semi-feudal country’, with about 80 percent of our population residing in our villages. It is ruled by the big-bourgeois big landlord classes, subservient to imperialism. The contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucrat is capitalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other. Only a successful People’s Democratic Revolution i.e. New Democratic Revolution and the establishment of People’s Democratic Dictatorship of the workers, peasants, the middle classes and national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class can lead to the liberation of our people from all exploitation and the dictatorship of the reactionary ruling classes and pave the way for building Socialism and Communism in our country, the ultimate aim of the Party. People’s War based on Armed Agrarian Revolution is the only path for achieving people’s democracy i.e. new democracy, in our country” (Path of People’s War in India – Our Tasks!, 1992).

From the above quote from an important PWG party document, it is clear that there were organisational, strategic and tactical conflicts going on within the CPI (ML), which paved the way for the split and creation of a more radical party. Broadly speaking, the party programmes of CPI (ML) Liberation were mostly focused on the cause of peasants, while
the group led by K. Seetharamaih wanted the party to be a platform for peasants, workers, tribal and other weaker sections of society (Kujur, 2008). It was the prime agenda of Liberation to build up a political front focusing on peasant struggles, whereas PWG was more interested in the formation of mass organisations instead of any democratic front.

One of the renowned guerrilla leaders of the former PWG summarises the essence of the conflict between CPI (ML) Liberation and CPI (ML) People’s War. “In the Liberation group, which at one time was one of the strong groups defending Charu Mazumdar’s revolutionary line, after the martyrdom of Com. Johar, with the leadership falling into the hands of Vinod Mishra, they began betraying the Indian revolution. As part of a conspiratorial plan, a once revolutionary party was gradually changed into a revisionist party, like the CPI and CPM. The armed resistance struggles against the state’s attacks, taking place under the then leadership of Liberation, was ended. The armed struggle to crush the feudal private armies was made a secondary task. In this way, they diverted the entire group away from the basic path outlined by the unified CPI (ML), and particularly of its founder, Com. CM — that of protracted people’s war — into becoming agents of the ruling classes, by surrendering them to the parliamentary path. They converted the Com. Johar-led Liberation, from being a revolutionary movement, into a legalist, reformist and parliamentary movement; and changed the underground organisation into an open opportunist and revisionist organisation” (Sharvan, 2001).

The above two official statements of the PWG, clearly advocates that the birth of PWG was on account of the dynamics of conflict among a host of its cadres, and stemmed from a split within the CPI (ML-Liberation). It was during this period that another organisation came into existence on 1 January 1982. It was named the Communist Party of India (ML) Party Unity, which came into existence due to a merger between CPI (ML) Unity Organisations and Central organising Committee CPI (ML). Hereafter, left-wing extremism in India witnessed some of the worst-ever conflicts which again forced many organisations to take a position and adopt new tactics. The formation of People’s War also resulted in tactical changes in several aspects of the Naxal movement in general. In an interview Ganapathy, the former head of the Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist People's War stated that “In our agenda for a new democratic revolution, there
are two aspects -- the agrarian revolution and fight for nationality”. This statement shows the amount of organisational change witnessed by the Naxal movement in all those years. In 1967 it started in the name of ‘agrarian revolution’, which gradually took the stance of replacing the parliamentary form of government; but the question of nationality was never raised. This reflects the pattern of conflict between PW and Liberation (Kujur, 2008).

However, during the 1990s, the growth of militarisation became the characteristic feature of the PWG. The formation of People’s Guerrilla Army (PGA), special guerrilla squads, Permanent Action Team (PAT) and Special Action Team (SAT) were the distinctive features of PWG activities for quite some time, before it merged with MCC to form the CPI (Maoist) (“People's Guerrilla Army”, as quoted in Kujur, 2008).

Maoist Communist Centre (MCC)

The next important group within the broad spectrum of the Naxal movement is the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). It stands apart from a number of organisations, since, conventionally speaking, it was never a part of the CPI (ML), which many claims as the mother of all Naxal organisations. “The MCC, while supporting the Naxalbari struggle, did not join the CPI (ML) because of some tactical differences and on the question of Party formation” (30 years of Naxalbari, cited in Kujur, 2008). The MCC was formed on 20 October 1969, at the same time that the CPI (ML) was formed, although during those days it was known as Dakshin Desh. It was in 1975 that the group renamed itself the Maoist Communist Centre. In 2003, MCC merged with the Revolutionary Communist Centre of India-Maoists (RCCI-M) to form the Maoist Communist Centre-India (MCC-I) (Kujur, 2008).

Right from its origin, armed struggle as the main form of resistance for the MCC and conducting a prolonged people's war as the central task of the party. This position of the MCC has been repeatedly expressed and emphasised in a multitude of Maoist literature. “This armed revolutionary war is the war of the armed people themselves; it is 'Protracted People's War' as shown by Mao Tse Tung. The tangible economic and political condition
of India leads to the very decision that the path shown by the great leader and teacher, Mao Tse Tung, the path of the Chinese Revolution, that is, and to establish a powerful people's army and people's militia and to establish dependable, strong and self-sufficient base areas in the countryside, to constantly consolidate and expand the people's army and the base areas, gradually to encircle the urban areas from the countryside by liberating the countryside, finally to capture the cities and to establish the state system and political authority of the people themselves by decisively destroying the state power of the reactionaries. The very path of the Protracted People's War is the only path of liberation of the people of India, the path of victory of the new democratic revolution" (Red Star, 2003 as cited in Kujur, 2008).

**Formation of the Present-day Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) came into existence in September 2004 following the merger of the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and the People’s War Group (PWG). The merger was officially recognised in November 2004 at a press conference in Hyderabad on the eve of the peace talks between the PWG and the Andhra Pradesh Government (Verma, 2011). The merger of two of the principal armed organisations, People’s War (PW) and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCC-I), resulted in the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), entered yet another phase of organisational transformation in the history of the Naxal movement in India. The PWG had been trying to bring together various Left Wing Extremist groups under one umbrella for years with the objective of overthrowing what they called “the comprador bourgeois and big landlord classes who control state power in collusion with imperialism” and “to establish in its place the New Democratic State under the leadership of the proletariat” (ibid).

A statement, made by the first Secretary of CPI (Maoist) Ganapathy that, “The formation of the unified Communist Party of India (Maoist) is a new milestone in the history of the revolutionary communist movement of India. A unified Maoist party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a long delayed and highly cherished need of the revolutionary-minded and oppressed people of the country, including all our ranks, and also all the
Maoist forces of South Asia and internationally. Now, this long-aspired desire and dream have been transformed into a reality” (People’s March 2004 as cited in Kujur, 2008), assumes a great deal of importance as it reflects the organisational politics that was going on all these years between these two organisations representing the Naxal movement.

The improvised aim of the CPI (Maoist) as announced on the occasion of its formation is to establish a compact revolutionary zone, stretching from Nepal to Bihar to Andhra Pradesh and beyond. While continuing their pursuit of a people’s democracy; the ultimate aim of the CPI (Maoist) is to seize power through protracted armed struggle. The press statement, issued on the event of announcing the merger, stated, “The immediate aim and programme of the Maoist party is to carry on and complete the already ongoing and advancing New Democratic Revolution in India as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system under the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation, and control (Kujur, 2008). This revolution will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism, and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e. protracted people's war with the armed seizure of power remaining as its central and principal task, encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. The joint press statement released by the erstwhile General Secretaries of PW and MCC (I) highlighted the essence of the merger”.

In the past history, there were many splits within the M-L movement. But splits are only one side of the coin; the brighter side was that there were continuous efforts to unite the revolutionaries. The CPI (ML) People’s Union (PU), though it had its origins in Bengal, it spread and strengthened by unifying several revolutionary groups. The CPI (ML) (PW), though it originated in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, it unified with revolutionaries in almost all the states where it was working. The MCC too had originated in Bengal, unified many revolutionaries groups in it in many States and became the MCCI (People’s March 2004 as cited in Kujur, 2008). This statement emphasises the continuous process of organisational politics within the broad spectrum of the Naxal movement, which resulted from the organisational conflict.
Hence, the coming together of PWG and the MCC wasn’t a smooth ride and were fraught with hurdles along the way. Clashes between the MCC and the PWG would occur on regular basis and the period is referred to as a “Black Chapter” by Maoist outfits (Verma, 2011).

However, this is not to suggest that the formation of the CPI (Maoist) was the final stage of the Naxal movement. As one official Maoist document titled ‘State Repression’ puts it, “Revolutions never proceed in a straight line. The history of all successful revolutions shows this. The path is zigzag, there are ups and downs, there is victory and defeat repeated a number of times.....before final victory. Of course, there is no final victory until the stage of communism is reached” (Kujur, 2008). The above-mentioned enquiry makes the appeal that since the Naxal movement is essentially a political problem, it needs to be examined from the perspective of organisational politics (ibid).

From this chapter of ‘History of Naxalite movement in India’ can be reached at a conclusion that the history of the Naxal movement is the history of a continuous process of organisational conflicts, splits, and mergers. The growth of the Naxal movement is closely linked with the ongoing process of organisational conflict. This is because the ultimate political objective behind all organisational exercise, as reflected by the statements of various senior Naxalite leaders, is to build a leftist alternative and mobilise people against increased ‘imperialist intervention’ and ‘pro-imperialist policies’ followed by the union government, in support of ‘revolutionary war’ based on the Chinese leader, Mao’s theory of organised peasant insurrection. Similarly, the history of the Naxal movement, right from its first phase of 1967, demonstrates that even if there has been a continuous evolution in terms of their understanding of the Indian situation, the focus of the movement, its character, and the fighting capabilities and financial resources of these groups; they have remained more or less consistent as far as their core ideology is concerned.
The History of Left Wing Extremism in Odisha

In a recently tabled White Paper on the law and order situation of the State, the Government of Odisha confessed that the Naxal movement has spread its tentacles to 14 of 30 Odisha districts. "Naxalite activities, which were reported from southern and northern districts of the state, have affected law and order situation of the state. Of the 30 districts of the state, Naxalites were active in 14 districts in 2005"(State Legislative Assembly of Odisha, 2006). ‘Naxal Movement' in Odisha, is not a recent phenomenon, it has a long history of communist movement, peasant mobilisations, and labour unrest. Left Wing Extremism or the Naxal Movement in Odisha is altogether a different experience, quite different from that of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh or Bihar. The communist movement in Odisha in general and the left wing extremism, in particular, was greatly influenced by the armed peasant rebellion. Due to the revolutionary leadership and charismatic appeal of Nagbhushan the Naxal Movement took organisational shape in Odisha (Behera, 2016).

The Naxalbari Movement of 1967 started with a slogan of ‘land to tillers'. Different Naxal groups in Odisha suggest that the slogan still has not lost its vigor. Issues relating to control over land and other natural resources have so far remained a primary cause of conflict, which has considerably helped the growth of the Naxal movement in the remote corners of the state. Similarly, industrialisation, mining, displacement, and rehabilitation are other dynamics of conflict, which have substantially affected the course of Naxal movement in the state (Kujur, 2008).

In the post-independence scenario, Odisha has always remained a prime target of the Left-Wing extremism since from the days of 1951. For long it was confined to the southern part of the state before spreading more than half of the geographical territory of the state. The armed peasant insurrection of Telangana during 1947-51 had a far-reaching impact on the consolidation of Communist forces in Odisha. During this period under the leadership of Communist Party of India (CPI), Odisha witnessed several people's resistance movement in different parts of the state. Initial communist movements in the form of people’s resistance movement were seen in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput,
both bordering Andhra Pradesh. Some of these resistance movements were: movement against the *Bethi* (Slavery) practice in undivided Koraput district, the movement against moneylenders in Ganjam and Koraput district, protest against the *Gotii* (Bonded labour) practice and protest against the forest officers, police, and local landlords’ nexus; and also food liberation protest in Koraput. These movements were the stepping stone of the radical communist movement in Odisha.

Under the leadership of Nagabhusna Patnaik, the radical communist movement in Odisha took structural shape. Nagabhushan Patnaik along with the communist cadres of the Srikakulam unit of the Andhra Pradesh Naxalites were able to gain major support from the locals as they formed a number of *Adivasi Sanghs* to fight against the ‘tribal exploitation’ (Behera, 2016). The Motor *Sharmik Sangha, J K Kagaja Kala Sharmaik Sangha*, and Balimela Power Project *Sharmik Sangha* were formed to launch a protest against the government officers and state exploitation against the tribals. By 1961 mostly under the leadership of Nagbhushan Pattnaik, Communists were able to launch a large-scale programme in the name of "Food Liberation" in the Gunupur subdivision of then Koraput district (Kujur, 2008).

In 1967, when the seeds of Naxal Movement were shown in Naxalbari, one important development was taking place within the communist movement of Odisha. CPI (Marxist) Central leadership, concerned by the revolutionary activities of Nagbhushan and his colleagues, instructed them to immediate suspension of all revolutionary programmes and join electoral politics. This makes the turning point in those decades of old Naxal history of Odisha. As not impressed by the party directives, Nagbhushan led his colleagues to form the Odisha State Coordination Committee (OSCC) and expressed solidarity to Charu Majumdar's All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR), later on, which came to be known as the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) or CPI (ML).

However, the OSCC under the leadership of Nagabhushan Patnaik was not able to focus on the local issues. Ideological conflicts among the leaders on the issues such as the
structures of the organisation, party leadership, and factionalism within the OSCC dominated the party activities during the period of 1968-1980.

After the formal split and the formation of OSCC, its members got themselves involved with the violent programmes and propagandist activities. With the active support from the other hostile activist, Nagbhushan was able to take the Chitrakonda Movement to a new range.

A new conflict dynamics emerged from the Naxalite politics in Odisha when on 1/5/1968 under the leadership of Nagbhushan near about five thousand workers raided Chitrakonda Police Station and looted all the arms and ammunitions from the Police station. This was the beginning of the integration of the politics of organised violence with the brand politics of Naxalism in Odisha (Kujur, 2008). The above-mentioned period, particularly 1960 to 1968, could be seen as the formative phase of Naxal Movement in Odisha. It was during this phase the Naxal movement as a whole carved a place for itself in the political map of the state and this was made possible mostly because of the organisational changes that took place within the Communist Movement. This phase witnessed a couple of splits, i.e. first the split of CPI resulting in the birth of CPI (M) and then the second split resulting in the birth of CPI (ML). Both these splits had a thrilling impact on the left extremists of Odisha, which was not at all negative. Though there was organisational conflict, the extremists successfully managed to prove their viability in the prevailing situation of that time and this enabled them to reach different parts of the state. The extreme poverty conditions of southern Odisha provided the CPI (ML) a perfect Maoist setting to organise 'protracted armed struggle' against the system.

During 1969 Charu Majumdar visited Andhra Pradesh, which had a far reaching impact on the Naxalite Politics of Odisha also. On March 29, 1969, the Odisha State Coordination Committee was dissolved as per the instructions of Charu Majumdar. He observed and was quick to understand the ethnic, linguistic and cultural similarities of different regions of Odisha with its neighboring states. And different regions of Odisha are effectively attached with the extremist organisations of the neighbouring states.
Accordingly, undivided Koraput and Ganjam districts of Southern Odisha were attached with the Srikakulam Regional Committee. Similarly, the Northern Odisha districts of Mayurbhanj and Balasore were attached with the Coordination Committee of West Bengal. On the other hand, the Sambalpur and Sundargarh districts of Western Odisha were linked to the South Bihar Committee. This decision of Charu Majumdar marked the beginning of a new phase, i.e. formation of ‘Guerrilla Zones' in the border districts of Odisha. This decision of Charu Majumdar also marked as the beginning of the dominance of Andhra leadership over the course of Odisha Naxal Movement.

In between 1969 to 1971 the government of Odisha actively backed by the Union government followed a strenuous anti-Naxal strategy. To execute this strategy the Odisha police force received adequate support from their Andhra counterparts. 'Chitrakonda Conspiracy Case' came for hearing at the Jaipur court in 1969, where Naxal leaders like Nagbhushan Pattnaik and many other leading figures were sentenced to five years of imprisonment.

By 1975, the first phase of Naxal Movement in Odisha came to an end. As many leaders like Nagbhushan were in Jail and some other Ideologues of Odisha Naxals were killed by the police. The period between 1975 and 1985 may be said the 'dumb period' in the history of Naxal Movement in Odisha." During 1981, Nagbhushan Pattnaik after being released from the Jail was instrumental in the formation of Indian Peoples Front (IPF).

New divergence among the Communist force was taking place during this period, e.g., the formation of Peoples War (PW) in Andhra Pradesh during 1980 had its impact on the course of Naxal Movement in Odisha. "During 1985-86 Sabyasachi Panda came in the contact of Nagbhushan Pattnaik and his association which marks the beginning of the second phase of Naxal Movement in Odisha ",(Interview with M.M. Praharaj, 2006 as quoted in Kujur, 2008). In the post-1980s period, two crucial factors contributed to the consolidation of the Maoist activities in Odisha; the PWG of Andhra Pradesh spread its tentacles into the bordering districts of Odisha and the association of Sabyasachi Panda, a Naxal leader from Nayagarh district, with the PWG in the mid-1990s. Before joining the
PWG, Sabyasachi Panda had formed *Kui Lawang Sangaha* (KLS) to reclaim land from the *Sahukars*, usually the money lenders, businessmen, and landlords. Organisations such as the KLS and the *Chasi Mulia Samiti* (CMS) were transformed to be the front of the Maoists. Maoist activities, during this time, got momentum because of the first time local issues were reflected through a larger ideological framework (Behera, 2016).

By the time Nagbhushan Pattnaik dies in 1998 different Naxal groups like People's War Group (PWG) and Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) were already a force to reckon with in different parts of Odisha. Prior to their merger, the Peoples War Group (PWG) was successful enough to establish a substantial guerrilla network in the districts of Koraput, Malkangiri, Nabarangapur, Rayagada, Gajapati, and Ganjam; whereas the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) was largely visible in Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, and Keonjhar. Under the leadership of K. Punam Chand, PWG moved into Motu, MV 79, and Kalimela areas of the undivided district of Koraput. However, the PWG got a real shot in its arms when Sabyasachi Panda and group came to its fold during 1996. Over the years, the PWG has managed to develop a number of front organisations of tribal, women and cultural artists. Some of them are the *Kui Labanga Sangh*, the *Lok Shakti Manch*, the *Nari Shakti Bahini*, the *Kui Sanskrutika Sangathan*, the *Chasi Mulia Royat Samiti*, the Radical Students Organisation, the *Rajanaikta Bandi Mukti Committee*, the *Jana Natya Mandali*, and the *Royat Kuli Sangram Manch* (Kujur, 2008).

These organisations were instrumental in establishing a cord with the local tribal people. They worked as agencies of recruitment. "The expansion of the Naxalite activities in Odisha intensified after the PWG formed the Andhra- Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC) in 2001. The AOBSZC covers the four north coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh i.e., East Godavari, Vishakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram, and Srikakulam and five districts of southern Odisha i.e., Koraput, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Nabarangapur and Gajapati" (Jha, 2003, as quoted in Kujur 2008).

**The Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) in Odisha**
History of MCC in Odisha can be traced back to its activities in Mayurbhanj. It was not accidental but was part of a well thought out strategy. "The border districts of three states—Bengal, Bihar, and Odisha—were selected as a prospective area to wage and advance the class struggle to a higher stage. To achieve this, revolutionary propaganda and contacting people of the remote backward Adivasi districts initiatives taken from the Mayurbhanj district of Odisha.

Balax stated that, “By 1999 we managed to form the Krantikari Kisan Committee (KKC, the Evolutionary Farmers' Committee), and Jungle Surakhya Committee (JSC, Forest Protection Committee) in the Jharkhand bordering villages” (Baxla, 2005 as cited in Kujur, 2008). These committees were entrusted to mobilise villagers and to recruit unemployed girls and boys of both Jharkhand and neighbouring Mayurbhanj district of Odisha.

Naxal Movement in Odisha entered into another phase with the merger of People's War Group (PWG) and Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), and the formation of Communist Party of India (Maoist) on September 21, 2004. The merger proved to be vital in terms of metamorphic growth of violence and inclusion of newer areas in the Maoist map of Odisha. Erstwhile the merger Naxal activities in Odisha was limited in the nine districts, but after the merger, Naxal movement managed to reach to newer areas and as of now fourteen districts of Odisha are under the influence of Naxal Movement. By merging into a single outfit PWG and MCC managed to link their base areas of south Odisha and Western Odisha and in the process also included newer areas to their roadmap. Presently, there are two zonal committees of CPI (Maoist) functioning in Odisha i.e. Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC), Jharkhand-Bihar- Odisha Special Zonal Committee (JBOBSZC) (Interview with Dandapani Mohanty, as cited in Kujur, 2008).

Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOBSZC)

The organisational structure of AOBSZC indicates that it follows a bureaucratic structure with clearly marked role and function for each of its organs. At the apex of the structure, there is the Zonal Committee. As per the functional necessity, the whole organisational set up is split into two wings viz. Organisational Wing and Military Wing. The
Organisational wing is broadly divided into South Bureau and North Bureau. The South Bureau consists of East Division and Malkangiri Division. Similarly, the North Bureau is divided into Srikakulam Division and Bansdhara Division. Malkangiri and Koraput come under the command of Malkangiri Division; and Rayagada, Gajapati, Nabarangpur, are placed under the Bansadhara Division (Kujur, 2008).

The growth of Naxal Movement in Odisha characterises the above-discussed features. It shows Naxalism in Odisha never proceeded in one single line; it followed a different course at different times of the history.

Under the new organisation of the Maoists, the Odisha State Organisation Committee (OSOC) and the Andhra Odisha Border Special Zone Committee (AOBSZC) were given the responsibility of Maoist activities in Odisha. However, the CPI-Maoist suffered a split when Sabyasachi Panda was expelled from the organisation and he went on to form Odisha Maobadi Party (OMP) in August 2012. Though the OMP was able to check the activities of the CPI-Maoist for some time, it was not successful as a formidable force as many of its cadres were killed by the Odisha Police and also Sabyasachi Panda was arrested in July 2014 (Behera, 2016).

**The History of Left Wing Extremism in Koraput**

Koraput, an oldest district Head Quarter in Odisha, has seen many people’s movements. To understand the genesis of these uprisings in Odisha one has to go back to the pre-independence India. During colonial days, the undivided Koraput district was under 'Jaipur' Jamindari. It was during this period a number of 'Sahukars' (moneylenders) and "King's men" from the neighboring Andhra Pradesh settled in these areas. They not only settled down but taking advantage of the simplicity of local tribal, they became their masters by virtue of taking their lands. The rural people of these areas were subjected to severe oppression and exploitation by the Sahukars and King's men. Alluri Sitaram Raju led a massive popular movement during 1930, in Malkangiri area to protest against injustice to the local rural-tribal people. Initial communist movements in the form of people’s resistance movement were seen in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput, both
bordering Andhra Pradesh. Some of these resistance movements were: movement against the *Bethi* (Slavery) practice in undivided Koraput district, the movement against money lenders in Ganjam and Koraput district, protest against the *Gothii* (Bonded labour) practice and protest against the forest officers, police, and local landlords’ nexus, food liberation protest in Koraput.

The Naxal movement took organisational shape in Koraput when Charu Majumdar visited Andhra Pradesh in 1969; it had a far reaching impact on the Naxalite Politics of Odisha. Latterly in the post-1980s period, the PWG of Andhra Pradesh spread its tentacles into the bordering districts of Odisha, more particularly to Koraput.

Taking the advantage of the government’s negligence to address the rights of the Adivasis, Maoists started their own organisation in the region of Narayanapatna and Bandhugaon in 1995 and in the same year, the *Chasi Mulia Rayat Kuli Sangh* (CMRKS) had emerged and now this organisation is known as *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha* (CMAS) (Behera, 2016).

**The Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS)**

During the 1990s, the tension over resources among Adivasis and non-Adivasis of Koraput region has emerged. The emergence of land tensions enabled the Adivasis to form the *Chasi Mulia Rayat Kuli Sangh* (CMRKS) in 1995 in the region of Narayanapatna and Bandhugaon. This organisation reemerged in 2009 under a different name, i.e., *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh* (CMAS). CMAS can trace its origin to the *Rythu Coolie Sangham* (RCS), an Andhra Pradesh based peasants organisation which was founded by pro-Maoist peasant leaders in the Vizianagaram district of Andhra Pradesh. A branch of the RCS was opened in Odisha by Bhaskar Rao alias Basa in Almonda of Bandhugaon block of Koraput district in 1995. The RCS, once established in Koraput, was successful in garnering the support of the local tribal, peasants and the bonded laborers, mainly from Bandhugaon and Narayanapatna blocks of Koraput. There has been a close association between the RCS branch of Odisha and its parent organisation in Andhra Pradesh. Some of the important leaders of Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist (CPI-ML) such as Gananatha Patra were actively involved in the activities of the
RCS (both in Andhra Pradesh and Koraput). Some members of the RCS-Koraput had also participated in the Anti-Arak (local liquor) movement of the 1990s in Andhra Pradesh. The Anti-Arak movement also influenced the activities of the RCS in Koraput. Kondagiri Paidamma from Bada Bankidi village spearheaded an antiliquor movement in Koraput in 1995. She was arrested by the police as she was alleged to be involved in violent activities through the mass movements but later released in 1997 due to lack of evidence (Behera, 2013). CMAS is always on the police target as it is called to be as the frontal organisation of CPI-Maoist. Earlier the CMAS, led by Nachika Linga, was in news when the Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist), Maoist-in short, demanded the release of some 25 members of the CMAS as a condition to release Jhina Hikoka, (Member of Legislative Assembly), who was abducted by them on March 24, 2012, from Toyaaput village of Koraput district (Behera, 2013).

**Penetration of the Naxalites into CMAS**

Narayanpatna police arrested many of the members of the CMAS in response to increasing violent activities of the organisation. Meanwhile, the Maoists, who were trying to get a foothold in Koraput and its neighboring districts of Malkanagiri and Rayagada, started visiting the villages and mobilising the people in general and CMAS members in particular against the arrest of their ‘fellow villagers’ and the presence of security forces in their area. The Maoists were successful in spreading rumors about the security forces’ ‘atrocities’ against the innocent individuals. Agitated by alleged murders by the security forces (Both the para-military forces and the state police), Nachika Linga, along with Kendruka Singanna (leader of the Ghinua Bahini), Andru Nachika, Kumudini Behera (leader of the women front of the organisation) and several villagers picketed at the Narayanpatna Police station on November 20, 2009. During this protest, violent clashes erupted between the Police and the members of the CMAS. Two important leaders of the *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh-Narayanpatna* (CMAS-N), Kendruka Singanna (a close aide of Nachika Linga) and Andru Nachika (nephew of Nachika Linga) were killed in police firing. Many persons were injured and police arrested 37 members of the organisation. Nachika Linga escaped from the scene and continues to be at large since then. The police
have issued a non-bailable warrant against him. While the police are of the opinion that the whole incident was a planned attack, the CMAS members, and its sympathisers claim that the protest against the police atrocity was spontaneous. As mentioned above, the Maoists were looking for an opportunity i.e., the incident of November 2009 to penetrate into the mass organisation like the CMAS. By providing shelter to Nachika Linga, who was trying to escape from the police operations, the Maoists brought the members of the CMAS under their fold. While Nachika Linga would claim that he or his faction does not have any link with the Maoists, there have been a number of incidents that prove otherwise. One such incident was killing his arch-rival Arjun Kendruka. Arjun Kendruka, though lost the election, had acquired some legitimacy from the state establishment as well as from the security forces after contesting the elections. He also continued to get peoples’ support from both Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna. In short, Arjun Kendruka posed a major challenge not only to the leadership of Nachika Linga but also to the penetration of the Maoists into Koraput and adjoining areas. As a result of which he was killed by the Srikakulam Division of the CPI-Maoist on August 9, 2010. The Maoists also eliminated some of the rivals of the CMAS, who were perceived to be acting against Nachika Linga and the Maoists. Some of them were, Ghasi Kendruka, a teacher, Anand Kisani of Semiliguda and Nrusinghanath Panda of Ramgiri, and Shanti Committee member Sikunu Meleka.

Table-2.1: Chronological Representation of Incidents Caused by LWE in the Study Area from 2009 Onwards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4-Jan-2009</td>
<td>CPI-Maoist cadres shot dead a trader, identified as Kalivarapa Kanta Rao, at Almonda village under Narayanpatna Police Station in the Koraput District suspecting him to be a Police informer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-Apr-2009</td>
<td>In the Narayanpatna block of Koraput District, a polling party returning from Bikrampur village narrowly escaped a landmine explosion. The blast occurred a few minutes after the vehicle of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the polling party crossed the area. However, two Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel following the polling party on a motorbike sustained minor injuries. Two persons were detained from the location under suspicion.

26-May-2009 Cadres of the CPI-Maoist killed a peasant, identified as Kunja Mandingi, at Patingi village in the Narayanpatna block of Koraput District, suspecting him to be a Police informer. His dead body was found at a place about two kilometres from Narayanpatna. A letter in the name of CPI-Maoist found nearby stated that the victim had been punished for his 'anti-people act'. The letter also threatened that anyone who would emulate Mandingi was to face his fate.

1-Jun-2009 The CPI-Maoist cadres abducted and subsequently killed a young man, identified as Sibaram Hareka, after branding him as a Police informer in the outskirts of Kambivalasa in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District. The Koraput Area Committee of the CPI-Maoist claimed responsibility for the killing.

16-Jun-2009 A nursery with 86,000 saplings and more than 50 trees was destroyed by cadres of the CPI-Maoist at Jogipaluru village near Narayanpatna in Koraput District. The Maoists displayed banners in the nursery protesting against the killing of two top ranking Maoists in the forests of Warangal in the neighbouring State of Andhra Pradesh.

18-Jun-2009 Nine Security Force personnel and a driver were killed when the insurgents blew off their jeep with a landmine near Narayanpatna.

6-Sep-2009 Two persons from the Bandhugaon faction Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) sustained injuries when two factions of the
CMAS i.e., CMAS-Bandhugaon and CMAS-Narayanpatna blocks of Koraput District - attacked each other on the road between Baunspat and Dasini in the Bandhugaon block.

20-Nov-2009  Two cadres of the CPI-Maoist-backed CMAS were killed when Police opened fire on them to prevent arms loot at the Narayanpatna Police Station of Koraput District. Inspector in charge of the Narayanpatna Police Station, Jagabandhu Sahu, also received a bullet while trying to save the firearms from the activists of CMAS. One of the two CMAS cadres killed in the Police firing was identified as K. Singhana.

22-Nov-2009  Police arrested some key leaders of the CMAS the leader of women's wing of CMAS, Kumudini Behera, and legal advisor Sahadev Parida were among the nine arrested by the SFs. With November 22 arrest, the total number of those arrested has gone up to 12. Police have booked some of its members on charges of murder, arson, (burning, torching, ignition) and rioting in the last few months.

4-Dec-2009  The CPI-Maoist has come out in support of CMAS and called for a *bandh* (shut down) on December 8 in protest against Police firing on CMAS activists at Narayanpatna in Koraput District.

11-Jan-2010  Suspected CPI-Maoist cadres killed two local traders in the Katulpeta village under Bandhugaon Police Station area of Koraput District.

23-Jan-2010  Four civilians, including two women, were killed in a landmine blast triggered by CPI-Maoist in the Narayanpatna block in Koraput District. Nine personnel of the Special Operations Group and two civilians were also injured in the landmine blast.
24-Jan-2010  Cadres of the CPI-Maoist triggered a landmine blast at a culvert between Baunsaput and Katharagada villages on the Narayanpatna- Bandhugaon road in Koraput District targeting the Security Force (SF) personnel. Two personnel of Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) received minor injuries in the incident.

27-Jan-2010  Gananath Patra, advisor of the Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha (CMAS) active in Koraput District, was arrested by Police from Vivekananda Marg in State capital Bhubaneswar.

8-Apr-2010  Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) of Narayanpatna block in Koraput District, a frontal organisation of the CPI-Maoist has started making efforts to regroup.

24-Apr-2010  The CPI-Maoist cadres blew up a culvert on a road near Bandhugaon by triggering a landmine blast during their shutdown which paralysed vehicular movement between Koraput and places in neighbouring Andhra Pradesh.

8-May-2010  The combined forces of Orissa Police’s Special Operations Group, Andhra Pradesh’s Greyhound, and the BSF killed at least 10 cadres of the CPI-Maoist in the Gumandi forest near Podapadar village under Narayanpatna Police Station in Koraput District.

9-Aug-2010  Kendruka Arjun, secretary of the Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist)-backed Chasi Muliya Adivasi Sangh (CMAS) Bandhugaon unit was shot dead by some suspected Maoist cadres near Katulpeta village of Koraput District.

15-Aug-2010  Cadres of the CPI-Maoist killed a school teacher identified as Ghasi Kendruka (35) in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District.
24-Dec-2010 Three cadres of the CPI-Maoist were killed in an encounter with elite anti-Maoist Special Operation Group (SOG) in Bijaygathi at Turli hillock in Narayanpatna area in Koraput District.

11-Jan-2011 Three civilians, including two officials of the State Agricultural Department, were injured when cadres of the CPI-Maoist triggered a landmine blast targeting the vehicle they were traveling near Odiapenta village in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District.

23-Jan-2011 A leader of the CPI-Maoist-backed CMAS, identified as Rama Padhi Puhala (35) was arrested from Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna area of Koraput District.

16-Feb-2011 The CPI-Maoist cadres killed a tribal, identified as Wadeka Nasanna, of Dandabadi village under Narayanpatna Block in Koraput District.

30-Apr-2011 The cadres of the CPI-Maoist killed a contractor identified as Ganesh Khosla, in Bandhugaon block of Koraput District.

25-Jun-2011 The CPI-Maoist cadres killed a person named Sapaura Sirika by slitting his throat at a 'kangaroo court' in Koraput District, holding him guilty of passing on information to the Police.

23-Jul-2011 The cadres of the CPI-Maoist killed a civilian in Narayanpatna area of Koraput District, suspecting him to be a Police informer.

15-Aug-2011 Cadres of the CPI-Maoist triggered a claymore mine blast at Jogipallur, eight kilometres from Narayanpatna block in Koraput District.

9-Sep-2011 Suspecting them to be Police informers, CPI-Maoist cadres killed two persons, including a contractor by slitting their throats in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District.
27-Sep-2011  The CPI-Maoist cadres killed one person identified as Mishra Khosla (35) on the suspicion of being a Police informer in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District.

19-Oct-2011  CPI-Maoist cadres killed Puala Sadaram, a panchayat ward member of Sanakamara village and supporter of anti-Maoist CMAS of Bandhugaon unit, near Kumarganda village of Bandhugaon block in Koraput District.

7-Nov-2011  Maoists damaged an Andhra Pradesh Road Transport Corporation (APRTC) bus between Dandabadi village and Parvatipuram in Koraput District on the Narayanpatna route demanding that Maoist leader Damodar who was arrested on September 25 be produced in court.

14-Nov-2011  A wanted activist of the Maoist-backed *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangh* (CMAS) of Narayanpatna block in Koraput District, Julka Leku, was arrested.

2-Dec-2011 During joint combing operation by the Police and the SOG in Almonda village under Bandhugaon block, the Police arrested 31 suspected Maoists supporters from Bargi and Langalabeda areas in the District.

3-Dec-2011  The cadres of the CPI-Maoist killed a contractor, identified as Rabindra Bidika alias Ruben (40), near Bikrampur under Narayanpatna Block (administrative division) of Koraput District. Maoists suspected him to be a Police informer.

7-Jan-2012  The CPI-Maoist cadres killed a villager, identified as Enkana Kadranga (35), at Tolopalesu village under Bandhugaon Police Station in Koraput District.

23-Jan-2012  The CPI-Maoist cadres killed a civilian on charges of being a Police informer in Narayanpatna in Koraput District.
26-Jan-2012  Two CPI-Maoist cadres, including a woman cadre, were killed in an exchange of fire with Security Forces in Koraput District. Acting on an intelligence input, troopers of Security Forces conducted a combing operation in the Bandhugaon area where a group of Maoists were spotted.

29-Mar-2012  A group of about 25 CPI-Maoist cadres set ablaze a jeep and a motorcycle near Kattulapeta village under Bandhugaon block limits in Koraput District.

11-May-2012  A contractor, Jami Rajendra Prasad (40), from Narayanpatna block in Koraput District was killed by CPI-Maoist cadres at Gechela under Laxmipur Police Station on Narayanpatna-Laxmipur road. The Maoists also left some posters on the spot owning up to the murder. Maoists suspected him to be a Police informer.

31-May-2012  A CPI-Maoist cadre, identified as Kesab Bhimadika, wanted for murder and other crime was arrested during an operation on the outskirts of Narayanpatna in Koraput District.

11-Jun-2012  A tribal labourer, identified as Subra Huika (30) of Odia Pentha village in Narayanpatna block, was killed in cold blood by the CPI-Maoist cadres in Koraput District in the night. Huika's body was found on Narayanpatna-Laxmipur road at distance of two km from Narayanpatna. The assailants had slit open the throat of the victim with some sharp weapon. A letter left on the spot by Koraput-Srikakulam Division of CPI-Maoist, signed by Daya, alleged that Huika was a Police informer.

13-Jun-2012  Two hardcore CPI-Maoist cadres, identified as Arjun Meleka and Musuri Wateka, allegedly involved in about eight cases, were arrested by SF personnel during a special operation, from
Kanchanpadu village under Narayanpatna area in Koraput District.

15-Jun-2012 Four CPI-Maoist cadres were arrested by the SOG troopers in Koraput District after an encounter at a place on a forested road near Chinakhemu within Bandhugaon Police limits.

25-Jun-2012 A former ward member, Pidika Sarbo (55), was killed by suspected CPI-Maoist cadres in Gumudaguoda village under Bandhugaon Police limits in Koraput District.

6-Jul-2012 Two cadres of the CPI-Maoist, identified as Setu Kendruka of Dandabadi village and Naga Kendruka of Chintaguda village, were arrested by SOG personnel in Maoist-affected Narayanpatna block of Koraput District.

19-Aug-2012 Teli Kadraka alias Rajendra, the 'commander' of Jhanjabati area committee of CPI Maoist, was killed in an exchange of fire with SFs in Bada Mathur forest under Bandhugaon Police station limits in Koraput District.

7-Sep-2012 A Maoist was arrested during anti-Maoist operations in Koraput District. The arrested Maoist, Karna Minsal, is a member of AOBSZC of the CPI-Maoist and was arrested from his village Kumbhariput within Bandhugaon Police limits. No arms or Maoist belongings were recovered from his possession.

24-Sep-2012 Two Maoists identified as Rout Wadeda and Braja Sirika of Podapadar village under Narayanpatna Police Limits surrendered in Koraput District.

26-Sep-2012 The Koraput District Police and the BSF arrested nine Maoist militia members in Bandhugaon block of the Koraput District. Out of the nine arrested militia members, eight were arrested
from Elangvalasa village while one was arrested from Potesu village.

21-Oct-2012 A tribal civilian, identified as Gumpha Kadraka (50), was killed by the CPI-Maoist cadres under Bandhugaon Police Station area in Koraput District of Odisha. Maoist Posters left on the spot claimed that the deceased had been killed as he was a Police informer.

25-Nov-2012 Two CPI-Maoist cadres, identified as Lingama Habika (35), a top leader, and Kameya Habika (30), allegedly involved in the abduction of Laxmipur Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA), Jhina Hikaka, were arrested in Narayanpatna Block of Koraput District.

27-Nov-2012 A CPI-Maoist cadre, identified as Dalu Mandingi (32), was arrested by BSF personnel during a combing operation in Narayanpatna block in Koraput District.

4-Dec-2012 SF personnel arrested three Maoists, including two women cadres, identified as Tulsa Praska alias Sunita (23), Relini Mandingi (24) and Uje Sirika (35), all are resident of Narayanpatna Block, following a raid on a camp in dense forests of Narayanpatna in Koraput District. Police seized huge materials used by Maoists including a country made gun and musical instruments of Jana Natya Mandal.

12-Dec-2012 An activist of the Maoist-backed CMAS of Narayanpatna block of Koraput District, identified as Dumuri Miniaka (35), was arrested during a joint operation by the District Police and CRPF from Bajragada area under Rayagada Police Station in Rayagada District.
6-Feb-2013  Forty-seven more members of CMAS, a CPI-Maoist-backed tribal organisation based in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District of Odisha surrendered before the Police.

8-Feb-2013  Forty more supporters of CMAS, a CPI-Maoist-backed tribal organisation based in Narayanpatna block of Koraput District of Odisha, surrendered before the Police at Narayanpatna Police Station.

12-Feb-2013  One hundred and one supporters of CPI-Maoist backed tribal organisation, CMAS, surrendered at Narayanpatna Police Station in Koraput District of Odisha.

22-Feb-2013  A notorious CPI-Maoist cadre wanted in three murder cases was arrested by BSF personnel on the outskirts of Dumshil village under Narayanpatna Police Station limits in Koraput District.

1-Mar-2013  Two CPI-Maoist cadres, identified as Rupana Mandingi and Madhaba Habika, were arrested by SF a combing operation in Narayanpatna area of Koraput District.

4-Mar-2013  A CPI-Maoist cadre, identified as Palsu Nachika (25), was arrested during a joint operation of Police and BSF in Narayanpatna Police Station area of Koraput District.

29-Mar-2013  Three Maoists, identified as Jugal Kendruka, Sugriva Nachika, and Jibita Kendruka, were arrested during a joint operation by personnel of Koraput District Police and SOG in Dumsil area under Narayanpatna Police Station limits.

6-Apr-2013  134 activists of CMAS including 114 men and 20 women, belonging to Dumsil village of Koraput District surrendered at Narayanpatna Police Station.
19-May-2013 Thirty-six members of CMAS surrendered before Narayanpatna Police in Koraput District.

1-Aug-2013 A CPI-Maoist cadre, identified as Nila Nachika alias Savita (20), wanted in connection with four murders in Narayanpatna area surrendered before DIG South-West Range Debadutta Singh and Koraput SP Avinash, Koraput District.

11-Aug-2013 CPI-Maoist cadres killed a young farmer, identified as Siva Madangi, in the Jogipalur village of Narayanpatna block in Koraput District.

18-Sep-2013 Jhadu Huika alias Jagdish (28), a CPI-Maoist cadre from Narayanpatna area of Koraput District surrendered before Koraput SP Awinash Kumar.

22-Sep-2013 A CPI-Maoist militia member named Sukra Sirika was arrested by the personnel of Narayanpatna Police Station in Koraput District.

27-Sep-2013 A CPI-Maoist militia member, Bandu Meleka (45) was arrested in Narayanpatna area of Koraput District.

28-Sep-2013 A woman Maoist cadre allegedly involved in several offenses was arrested from a forest near Muslimunda village in Narayanpatna area of Koraput District.

6-Oct-2013 Two Maoist militias identified as Udunu Huika (47) and Dumri Huika (35), from Narayanpatna block of Koraput District, surrendered before DIG of Police (south-west range) Devadutta Singh and Koraput SP Awinash Kumar.

25-Oct-2013 A hardcore Maoist wanted in 40 cases, including 20 murders, was arrested along with another cadre in Koraput District. While the wanted Maoist was identified as Samburu Sirika (35),
a local commander of Srikakulam-Koraput Divisional Committee (SKDC) of the Maoist, the other cadre was identified as Beeri Miniaka. They belong to Tinganaput village of Narayanpatna block of Koraput District.

9-Dec-2013 Two CPI-Maoist cadres involved in several murders were arrested from Narayanpatna block in Koraput District.

9-Jan-2014 A man and his son were killed inside a hut at Bagam village under Narayanpatna block in Koraput District.

10-Jan-2014 The CPI-Maoist cadres killed a villager in Jaguguda, 20 km from Bandhugaon Police Station limits of Koraput District.

23-Apr-2014 Security personnel arrested two women cadres of CPI-Maoist from Dumasil village of Narayanpatna block in Koraput District.

27-Apr-2014 A Maoist involved in several cases of violence, including murders, was arrested within Narayanpatna Police Station limits of Koraput District.

1-May-2014 Eight CPI-Maoist militias from Narayanpatna block in Koraput District surrendered before Police.

10-May-2014 A woman Maoist surrendered in Koraput District. The woman Maoist identified as Jambo Mandingi alias Walsi (25) of Rajengipadar village under Narayanpatna Police limits was carrying INR 200,000 reward on her head.

13-May-2014 A CPI-Maoist cadre, identified as Purna Huluka alias Khatru was shot dead in an exchange of fire with District Voluntary Force (DVF) in Narayanpatna in Koraput District of Odisha.
21-May-2014 Seven CPI-Maoist cadres surrendered before Narayanpatna Police in Koraput District.

8-Jun-2014 At least 12 CPI-Maoist cadres surrendered before the Police in Koraput District of Odisha. All the surrendered Maoists were associated with Srikakulam-Koraput Divisional Committee under AOBSZC of the CPI-Maoist and they belonged to Narayanpatna of Koraput District.

19-Jun-2014 BSF personnel arrested two hardcore Maoists, identified as Palu Wadeka and Rami Wadeka from Podapadar village under the Narayanpatna Police Station in Koraput District of Odisha.

2-Jul-2014 Eight CPI-Maoist cadres, belonging to 'Bandhugaon zonal committee' under the AOBSZC, surrendered before Koraput DIG and SP.

27-Jul-2014 Around 12 armed cadres of the CPI-Maoist allegedly killed a tribal civilian, identified as Kamana Kadraka (53), at Dasini village under Bandhugaon block in Koraput District suspecting him to be a Police informer.

2-Aug-2014 SFs arrested a local CPI-Maoist 'commander', identified as Katru Tadingi (30), under Burgi Police Station limits of Narayanpatna from Koraput District.

28-Oct-2014 Nachika Linga, the leader of the CMAS of Narayanpatna block, a CPI-Maoist front organisation, who was in the most-wanted list of both Odisha and Andhra Pradesh Police, surrendered at Bhaliaput village before a Police team led by the Inspector in Charge of Narayanpatna Police Station in Koraput District of Odisha.
6-Nov-2014 Suspected CPI-Maoist cadres killed a tribal village headman, identified as Radhaya Sirika (60), in Siriguda village under Narayanpatna block in Koraput District of Odisha.

7-Mar-2015 Nine Naxalites including two women cadre of CPI-Maoist surrendered before Police in Koraput District. Police stated that all the surrendered Maoists belong to Narayanpatna in Koraput District and were working for the Koraput division of the Andhra-Odisha-Border Special Zonal Committee of CPI-Maoist.

9-Dec-2015 The BSF personnel posted in CPI-Maoist infested Koraput District destroyed two Maoist camps in the last three days and arrested three supporters. BSF personnel started combing operations in the forests of Pottangi, Narayanpatna, Bandhugram, and Sunki simultaneously and found two Maoist camps in Mangalpur forest under Narayanpatna block and Pilikabitra forest under Pottangi block.

15-Jan-2016 CPI-Maoist cadres have killed a former Naib Sarpanch - Krishna Miniaka - in Kandho Tikarapada village under Bandhugaon Police Station limits in Koraput District.

6-Mar-2016 Narayanpatna Police arrested four suspected CPI-Maoist cadres from Koraput District. The arrestees are identified as Basanta Hantal of Kotiya village, Purno Tadangi and Rajiv Tadangi of Upar Gumandi village - all in the Koraput District - and S Murali Krishna, a contractor from Gajapati District. Suspected Maoists had allegedly set fire to a JCB machine and other road construction equipment near Podapadar village under Narayanpatna Police limits on February 27.

21-Apr-2016 Twenty armed cadres of the CPI-Maoist killed a villager, Pidika Ratnu, suspecting him to be a 'Police informer' at Pedaitiki
village under Narayanpatna Block in Koraput District. A
combing operation was intensified in the area by SFs after the
incident.

12-May-2016 Two hardcore CPI-Maoist cadres, identified as Dibya alias Suna
Hikka, the woman CPI-Maoist 'area committee member' of
Koraput Divisional Committee from Narayanpatna, and Jaga
alias Vanjam Jaga of Sukma District of Chhattisgarh,
surrendered before, DIG of Police (South West Range), S Shyni
at Koraput District. Both CPI-Maoist cadres carried a reward of
INR four million each.