CHAPTER-6

LEFT WING EXTREMISM IN PEOPLE’S PERSPECTIVES

Introduction

On June 10, 2009, Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik, in the aftermath of attacks by the CPI Maoist, including the blowing up of two Police Stations and an outpost in Koraput District in the night of June 7, declared, "We are trying our best to tackle Maoist extremism. But the Centre is not cooperating." Replying to an adjournment motion moved by the opposition Congress party, Patnaik asserted, "Instead of providing more force to tackle the Maoist violence, the Centre has withdrawn 48 of the 76 CRPF companies deployed in the state." The Chief Minister claimed that the Government had been successful in utilising funds provided by the Centre for security related expenditure and Police modernisation. Union Home Minister P. Chidambaram, at the end of his two day visit to the State, on June 26, 2009, responded by pointing out that combating the Naxalites was the primary duty of the State Police and the State Government should commit more forces to fight against LWE. The Centre would extend support on the basis of a 1:1 ratio. Chidambaram said, "For every company of the State Police, I will commit one." An insufficient commitment by both the Centre and the State, and endemic deficits in Police capacities across the worst affected Districts, including Koraput, has enormously facilitated the Maoists consolidation (Nayak, 2011).

Left Wing Extremism (LWE) have targeted Odisha since 1951, and, for much of the initial period, their activities were confined to the undivided Koraput District. In 1962, LWE cadres from this area, prominent among them being Bhuban Mohan Patnaik, Nagabhusan Patnaik, Purna Chandra Gomang, Purshottam Pali, and Jagannath Mishra – with the cooperation of their counterparts in Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), managed to start a movement called "Food Liberation", from the Gunpur area of the undivided Koraput (now in the Rayagada District). However, the Naxalite (LWE) Movement in Koraput has gained momentum and strengthened its position during the last two decades.
Koraput is one of the two Districts worst affected by Maoist activities in Odisha. The other is Malkangiri, adjacent to it. Located towards the southern part of the State, Koraput shares its borders with Malkangiri, Rayagada and Nabarangpur Districts in Odisha; Bastar District in Chhattisgarh; and also Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Vishakhapatnam Districts in Andhra Pradesh. Koraput’s geographical proximity to Chhattisgarh, the worst Maoist affected Indian State, and Andhra Pradesh, the Left Wing Extremist (LWE) ideological and leadership base, as well as it's densely forested, hilly terrain, have contributed to its consolidation as a Maoist safe haven.

During the 1990’s, the Andhra Pradesh Government declared the Naxalite movement illegal, and this had a far-reaching impact on Odisha. Initially, the Andhra Naxalites began to use Odisha’s dense forests as their hideouts. It was during this phase that a base for the then People’s War Group (PWG) was created in the rural areas of Koraput. The Naxalites attacked corrupt bureaucrats and exploitative contractors and moneylenders to win over the local tribals. Violence intensified in Odisha after the PWG, formed the Andhra Odisha Border Special Zonal Committee (AOB SZC), controlling the four north
coastal Districts of Andhra Pradesh East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam – and the five southern Odisha Districts – Malkangiri, Rayagada, Gajapati, Koraput and Nabarangpur (Nayak, March 2011).

However, Bidyut Chakrabati and Rajat Kujur (2010) in his book “Maosim in India” have stated that, the Maoists have been successful in opening up new fronts in the State. The Maoists in Odisha operate through the following fronts:

1. The AOBSSZC headed by Akkiraju Hargopal alias Ramakrishna alias RK.
2. Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee, headed by Kadiri Satya Narayan alias Goppanna
4. Srikakulam Koraput Divisional Committee, headed by Daya alias Chamala Krishnamurthy
5. Odisha Special Organising Committee, headed by Sabyasachi Panda.
6. Bansadhara Divisional Committee, headed by Sakhil alias Niranjan Rout alias Nigam Rout
7. Kalinganagar Divisional Committee headed by Putpaka Kumrastwamy alias Ranjith alias Santosh.
8. South Chhotanagpur Zonal Committee, headed by Kundan Pahan alias Bikash Daa

LWE related incidents continued to occur erratically in 2004, as the Naxalites created a transit route through the District. On November 3, 2007, for the first time, the Maoists put posters in the Bandhugaon Block (administrative division) of the District, to observe the Peoples’ Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) week. Through the posters and banners, the Maoists exhorted the people to evict landlords from the villages. The posters also asked people to bring Praja administration (people’s administration) for justice in the villages (Interview with Subbarao, 2016).
Through this period, with a view to bring the entire State under the 'Red Corridor,' the Maoists were targeting teenaged tribals to join their fold. Poor tribals, frustrated with large scale unemployment and under-employment, were easily lured with a particular emphasis on the recruitment of girls. Koraput has long been one of the Maoists’ strongholds and was also the theatre in which they operated through their front; the Narayanpatna based *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha* (CMAS) (Pradhan, 2015). CMAS used to provide logistic and militia support and served as an excellent cover for Maoist subversion. Some 150 CMAS supporters has been charged in different cases, including LWE violence, and its president, Nachika Linga, has been declared ‘most wanted’ by the State.

Table No-6.1: Fatalities by Left-wing Extremism in India: 2009-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
<th>Civilians</th>
<th>Security Force Personnel</th>
<th>Naxalite</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2258</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>2213</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>1136</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>1091</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>1089</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>NA*</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12010</td>
<td>3078</td>
<td>1258</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>5524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NA* - Not Available
The above table no. 6.1 furnished by Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) depicts that, the year 2009 and 2010 witnessed highest fatalities by Left-Wing Extremism in India. After it, there is a declined trend.

The year 2009 and 2010 witnessed highest fatalities by Left-Wing Extremism in Odisha and after it, there is a declined trend, again it rise up in the year 2016, which is a matter of concern.

Table No-6.2: Fatalities by Left-wing Extremism in Odisha: 2009-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
<th>Civilians</th>
<th>Security Force Personnel</th>
<th>Naxalite</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>NA*</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NA* -Not Available

(Source:http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/maoist/data_sheets/fatalitiesnaxal_mha.htm)
While Maoist violence appears to be following the regular pattern in Malkangiri, the silence in Koraput is unusual. Between the years 2012 to 2016 Out of 15 affected districts of Odisha, Koraput witnessed second highest LWE fatalities as shown in the table no. 6.3, followed by Malkangiri.

Table No-6.3: District Wise Fatalities by LWE in Odisha: 2012-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Civilian</th>
<th>Security Force Personnel</th>
<th>Naxals</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anugul</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bargarh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolangir</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deogarh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gajapati</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandhamal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keonjhar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koraput</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalahandi</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malkangiri</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabarangpur</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuapada</td>
<td>Rayagada</td>
<td>Sundargarh</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>135</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source:http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/maoist/data_sheets/Naxal_District Wise.pdf)

**Hold of Extremism in the Study Area**

Koraput has long been one of the Maoists’ strongholds and was also the theatre in which they operated through their front, the Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon based *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha* (CMAS). These two blocks were only the most recent of a continuous succession of Maoist related incidents in Odisha ‘s severely affected southern border areas – the Koraput, Malkangiri, Rayagada, Gajapati and Kandhamal Districts – where there are unmistakable signs of a Maoist consolidation and of their attempts to transform the region into a 'guerrilla zone'.

It is significant, in this context that the 'strategic areas' identified by the CPI-Maoist in their Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution document of September 21, 2004, include the extensive area of Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, the Andhra Odisha Border, and the North Telangana and Koel Kaimur areas (Pradhan, 2013). The Maoists built these areas keeping in mind to adapt these areas into a contiguous area of armed struggle, with each area influencing the other.

As these areas get consolidated, the Maoists are expected to utilise their impact on the surrounding areas and develop them into guerilla zones, expanding the area of armed struggle. It is in the context of efforts to develop the Andhra- Odisha Border into a 'guerrilla zone' that the incidents in Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon acquire importance. Then after these areas been a key transit zone for the insurgents between the States of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh, bordering the extremist affected Makau Police Station area
in Andhra Pradesh. Maoists from Andhra Pradesh on their way to Odisha, highly affected Malkangiri District, usually cross over into Narayanpatna from Makau. They subsequently travel via Kutia, Pottangi, and Padua in Koraput District to reach the rural areas of Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh, which are linked to the remote areas of Malkangiri District. By strengthening their grasp over Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon, the Maoists was able to ease communication between their strongholds in Andhra Pradesh, and the Koraput and Malkangiri Districts in Odisha.

Since 2009 to 2017 April a total 68 casualties recorded in the Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon police station. The year 2009, 2010 and 2011 witnessed highest fatalities by Left-Wing Extremism in India. After it, there is a declined trend shown in the table. Table No -6.4: Year wise Distribution of Incidents by LWE in Study Area: 2009-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Land Mine</strong></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>38.46</td>
<td>23.07</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Infrastructure</strong></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Destroyed</strong></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>17.64</td>
<td>35.29</td>
<td>23.52</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>5.88</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>16.67</td>
<td>36.67</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>6.67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: SATP, *Data till April 22, 2017)
Table No-6.5: Year wise Distribution of Fatalities by LWE in Study Area: 2009-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civilians</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40.90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>66.66</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>83.34</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>57.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force</td>
<td>Personnel</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naxals</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>59.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33.34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.66</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casualties</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>23.53</td>
<td>32.35</td>
<td>16.18</td>
<td>13.24</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>8.82</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: SATP, *Data till April 22, 2017)

Among the increase in civilian fatalities over the preceding four years since 2009 to 2014 is clearly a cause for worry.
This trend suggests that, even while the Maoists are exercising extreme caution to avoid confrontation with the Security Forces, their efforts at political consolidation and the quiet elimination of opposition on the ground continues. In the year 2011, civilian fatalities were 11, which are recorded as the highest civilian casualties since 2009 to till date in the study area. Civilians particularly include school teachers, local contractors; ward members and tribal youths were targeted by the Maoist suspecting and branding them to be a police informer.

Statistics furnished in the following table no 6.5 primarily collected from the South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP), Odisha Timeline 2009 to 2017.

Table No-6.6: Year wise Distribution of Arrests and Surrenders in Study Area: 2009-2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicators</th>
<th>Year 2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrest</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrender</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: South Asian Terrorism Portal (SATP), Odisha Timeline 2009 to 2017.)

From table no. 6.5, and figure no. 6.2, it may say that 2013 onwards Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna area in Koraput district was slowly getting out of clutches of the CPI-Maoist. In the year 2011 and 2012, police and security forces were so active in the study area, they have arrested 70 Maoists and some CMAS members those were supporting CPI-Maoist. From the field, it is also reported that many innocent tribals also arrested by the police suspecting their link with Maoist.
The year 2013 was a turning point in the red history of Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna area, a total 362 persons including, Maoists and some CMAS members surrender themselves under the Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna police station. One of the major hints is that the supporters of the Maoist-backed CMAS who are getting acquitted in cases pending against them are no more showing interest to be part of violent activities of the CMAS at the instigation of Maoists and chosen to surrender before police.

Figure no. 6.2 Year wise Distribution of Arrests and Surrenders in Study Area: 2009-2017

One senior Police official (Retma Ram, 46) said, with the arrest of Sabyasachi Panda and the surrender of Nachika Linga, the Maoists in Odisha have lost the services of their most
violent face and their most prominent front organisation in the State and attendance in CMAS rallies is constantly decreasing. This provides a unique window of opportunity to the State to step up its efforts. However, the rising number and regularity of civilian killings make it clear that the LWEs continue to retain considerable strength, and are making systematic efforts for their organisational revival.

**Case Studies**

Ramchandra Guha, distinguished figure in India has stated, “Naxalites have a considerable presence in around forty to fifty districts. Their greatest gains have been among tribal communities treated with contempt and condescension by the Indian state”. Naxalism has grown in tribal communities because they have been abused, ignored and in some cases tortured by the state apparatus.

For a tribal living in the Maoist belt, life gets quite uncomfortable, every time Maoists’ activities intensify in the region. The innocent tribals become a sandwich between police and Naxalites. Hundreds of tribals lost their life either being branded as Naxalites or as police informers. And Hundreds, of tribal men and women, have been falsely imprisoned and charged with crimes they did not commit, only because the police could not find the true perpetrators. The present chapter looks at how people narrate their own experiences and unfortunate stories of being victimised by police and Naxalite’s brutalism and have shed light on how conflict affects the life of the people. In the following section, some of the selected case studies have presented. The case studies mentioned with the real name is given with the consent of their family members or the respondent's willingness and the disguised name also being used as some of the respondents reluctant to reveal their good name.

**Case Study-1:**

Here is a life story of one tribal leader (*Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha*) namely Nachika Linga, Son of Kumuli who himself became a victim of sufferings and exploitation of one rich businessman belonging to *Sundhi* community who grabbed the landholding and bare household property of such poor tribal community. This was done by way of slowly and slowly addicting those by liquor free of cost and thereby slowly poisoning their body and mind and cheating them by taking advantage of their ignorance and illiteracy.
In the case of poor tribal Nachika Linga, his father Kumuli had gradually become a regular customer of the rich liquors of the Kursana *Sundhi* and was unable to pay money for the wine bottles and at the same time couldn’t manage without liquor and consequently his dues to Kursana went on increasing with heavy inherent and consequently this Kursana *Sundhi* took occupation of Nachika’s land holdings. This is how such other *Sundhi* business people of the area went on exploiting the poor tribals. As the land holdings and property assets of the poor tribal people’s were virtually moved to the hands of rich businessman. The poor tribal people, at large had no alternative but to serve the rich *Sundhi* people as bonded labour (*Bethhi*), a wage-free labour to contribute their labour without any payment to pay back the debt of moneylender. In the process one by one husband, wife and children, as well as daughter-in-laws all, were forced to work under the landlord/moneylender.

A day had come in the life of this tribal leader Linga who once had the *Bethhi* of liquor owner Kurshan Sundhi, saying to Linga’s father Kumulu that “you have given me so much of your landholdings against my loan. Now you yourself take care of your property by contributing your free labour in cultivation and payback the loan amount and with interest. The idea behind it was to make Kumulu and his family virtually slaves in the social order of the tribal community by money lending and liquor addiction.

Against this background, the young and agitating mind of Linga revolted to root out and eradicate this evil system of *Bethhi* and *Bagari* and to bring about a drastic change in the social system and put an end to the plight of his tribal community. As Linga reacted against the system, he took a bold step by cutting the crop in the land he cultivated, in his own land, sufficiently before his Sahukar deprived him of his crop. Secondly, he took another step to take initiative in calculating loan amount plus interest and promised to pay back the entire amount to those *sundhi*, *sahukars* and liquor givers to the poor tribals of the area. To fulfill the target, he adopted another new method of collecting forest products and thereby earns money by selling the same in the market and saved his parents from heavy loan burden of the Sahukars.

As soon as Linga’s immediate problem was solved, he got the scope of devoting himself to the greater cause of public service by being elected as a ward member and took the first step in public interest to stop the liquor sell and consumption which happen to be the root cause of all their misfortunes and sufferings of the backward and oppressed poor
tribal community. Against the rigid opposition of some vested interest in the area, Linga took the leadership in his organised moment and revolt and called for a total band (closed) of Government offices, shops, public transport, and educational institutions in the name of Mada birodhi andolona (Anti-araak Movement). Ultimately, he was arrested and put behind the bars for one and half years, and he was harassed by local administration of law and authorities. But the agitation did not stop rater it spread from place to place and area to area. The local court also intervenes and delivered the judgment in favour of Linga and his supporters on the ground that such moment was in accordance with democratic principles and rights of the people and up healed the fundamental rights under the constitution. The agitators of Mada birodhi andolona and land alienation were within the rights and to be branded as Naxalites. Linga was made free from jail custody and emerged as a public leader and got huge public reception in the area on the day he was realised from the jail.

Thereafter, Nachika Linga with no formal education, who was once upon a time was the victim of illiteracy and poverty, emerged as a popular public leader of the tribal community in the Narayanapatna block area and successfully succeeded in his afford to stop the unhealthy practices of liquor production and sell in Mada bahttis to a large extents.

In course of time, under his leadership, the movement became more and more violent leading to the strong attack and breakage of liquor depots by men and women of the community in large numbers who were inspired by the slogan and firing speeches of Linga and his followers. Linga’s next step of Land Liberation from the forced occupation of sundhi, sahukars was equally effective and fruitful. Tribals were more organised against exploitation and oppression of the sahukars. As the agitation of this Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha spread from place to place and panchayats to panchayats and blocks, this created an adverse reaction in the business community of the exploiters belonging to Bhatti owners, sundhi, sahukars, contractors as well as vested interest of so called netas (political leaders) of ruling party who stood under one roof and organised meetings to resist the growing agitation and moment and decided to suppressed the moment somehow or other.
Their foremost and violent attack on tribals on record was on 8th May 2009 with the help of sharp weapons of axes, bhujalis, lathi, and country guns on a tribal village to kill them and threaten them under the strong leadership of rich man called Lathi belonging to a political party with a plan to kill Nachika Linga to which tribals strongly opposed and reacted. Opposition came not only from village Damasil and Basandkut the tribals of all sections of the whole tribal area were strongly organised against the rich class and came out to streets with their conventional weapons and stood face to face with a violent attack to eradicate the rich class and their ill-gotten assets. The class conflict attacks and counter attacks continued for a long time in the area. This ultimately resulted in the surrender of the business class with the open blooded murder of their gunman Nityananda Mallick who was engaged to finish Linga. Tribals in a retaliatory measure attacked the Dalit families of the Podapodar and destroyed their property. This happened due to the fact that Dalits were then helping the businessmen in consolidating their assets with huge holdings in terms of vast landed property and other movable and unmovable property. Since then, the Dalits who became victims of sever attack of tribals were either behind the bar or there wheres about still unknown.

Liquor is the root cause of sufferings of a large section of the tribal community because they accepted drinking as a part of their custom, culture, and tradition. Linga as a revolutionary had strongly reacted and rightly motivated to root out the liquor production and consumption.

To strengthen the movement against the established system of slavery and bondage in the area and the predominance of the evil forces of non-tribals, Linga promised to bring about a revolutionary change in the traditional order for the benefit of a large section of the tribal community who had suffered most. Linga deeply realised that his own men and women, nearer and dears of the families around him went without minimum food and shelter and clothes due to unhealthy practices of the liquor selling and drinking and died prematurely.

There was a time months and years before these innocent tribals frequently went to the door of the thanas and police officers with money and gold. The situation gradually changed, heavy liquor drinking habits substantially reduced and police atrocity was no more a problem to the tribals. They promised that if once again liquor drinks revised then as preventive measures they would uproot and make cuttings of Salap trees of the areas.
Linga recollected that, years before in the year 1994-95, conditions were quite deplorable and to get out of the situation, he carefully listened to the inspiring speech of many Naxal leaders including Gananatha Patra and was greatly inspired and took promise to do something to bring out a total change. As he was misunderstood as Naxalite which compelled him, later on, to go underground to keep himself safe from the red eyes of the laws and orders.

**Case Study-2:**

Arjun Kendruka once the leader of the CMAS Bandhugaon, was murdered by Naxalites when he was alone, unarmed. Arjun Kendruka, aged about 42 belongs to the poorest Jathapu (Jathapu is a Telugu term used for Kondha tribe) tribe of Kesubhadra village. He born and brought up in poor conditions. He witnessed the torture of landlords, *pettandars sundis, and shahukars*. He was a very small farmer and could not provide his family proper three times food and medicines. Because of the insolent penury, he lost one of his sons. The *sahukar*s torture and family poverty made him bound to join the CMAS. Since joining in the *sangham*, Comrade Arjun had been working integrating himself with the tribal people under the leadership of CMAS. When he was headed the CMAS of Bandhugaon division, Nachika Linga was the leader of CMAS Narayanaptna. Arjuna Kendruka was very popular among the tribals of Bandhugaon and Narayanaptna. He preferred the parliamentary democracy and opposing the annihilation line. In short, Arjun Kendruka posed a major challenge to the penetration of the Naxalites 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. On that day in the afternoon, the Maoists have waylaid Com. Arjun on his way to Kathulapeta from Keshubhadra, when he was going to the hospital by bicycle together with his wife. The Naxalites used force and asked him to come aside for a talk. Com. Arjun understood that they were Naxalites. He told them fearlessly that he has nothing to talk to them and the things can be discussed, if there are any, right in the presence of people. With this, the Naxalites had hit Com. Arjun on his legs to which he fell down. They pushed Com. Arjun’s wife aside, when she attempted to rescue him from the attack of Maoists and the three Maoists have shot Com. Arjun dead in a ghastly manner.
Arjuna was the only earning member to his family. His parents and a wife and a son were depended on him. His death left his family in great sorrow. Now, his wife works as a daily labourer. His son and wife were cultivating a small patch of land provided by CMAS Bandhugaon. Arjuna had been working as a whole time worker in the midst of these difficult conditions of life. The Maoists had indulged in this ghastly act of killing an activist and leader of people’s movement who had come up from a poorest tribal background in the last 15 years. This acts shows that the Naxalites had degenerated to such a state where they resort to individual terrorist actions in the name of peoples movement and seek to make the people live under the illusion that the creation of terror and anarchy is a revolution.

Case Study-3:

Maali’s father is bed ridden with a serious illness and mother is an agricultural labourer. Being the only son and eldest of four siblings, Maali was forced to drop out of school and contribute to his family income. Sometime in April 2008, while Maali and his two friends were returning after watching a football match, a man who was known to one of the children accosted them and asked the three of them to accompany him to the football match next day. On the following day, when Maali and his friends were going to watch the football match, the man picked them in a van on the pretext of dropping them to the playground. But instead of dropping them to the football match venue he took them to an unknown place, it was a dark intense forest. All three of them were taken to the camp. They saw there were number of boys and girls standing around them wearing black dress and red color ribbon on the head, hanging a gun on their shoulder. In the camp, they were kept for more than ten days, showed weapons and made to watch movies, which is about young girl and boy joining an underground group.

After knowing the incident, the family members requested to release their children. Then the group released them on the promise of not revealing the name of the organisations and their camp.

Case Study-4:

After dropping out from school, having failed in the class V examination, Lali had helped her mother in household chores and in agriculture for some years. The whole family members were struggling hard to meet three times meal. When life became really monotonous, she voluntarily joined the group. She got to know about the group from one
of her friend. One night both Lali and her friend loped towards the village where Naxalites held the camp for that night.

At the time of joining, she was asked by seniors about her purpose of joining the group. She was also asked to take an oath before the group and became part of the group. In her posting at a camp, she met people belonging to a range of age groups, some of them were in their early 50s and some of them were even below 15 years of age. But duties remained the same for children as well as adults. However, difficult tasks involving great physical strength were given to the boys and not to the girls. She had undergone for 6 months of training. In her military training, she was taught to handle all kinds of weapons and explosives. They were given repeated orientation on their demand and the cause that they stand for. They were also clearly taught about rules and regulation, duties, responsibilities etc. In her role as an insurgent for almost two years, she was mainly sent in civil dress to keep vigil on enemies and collect information.

She does not have a personal opinion on whether the groups should recruit children below 18 years or not because of many children such as drug addicts, dropouts, thieves, habitual fighters, etc. have transformed into disciplined persons after joining the group. But many of the child members of insurgent groups become very barbaric and fearless. From time to time, Lali was given money to meet her needs and also to send home. They had medical facilities and a church inside the camp itself. She used to go for shopping in the nearby market and sometimes used to roam around with friends in the village after taking permission from their senior.

After one year of her stay in the camp, she realised this was not the kind of work she wanted to do in her life. Hence, with the kind help of one of the senior, she ran away from the camp and surrender in the Narayanpatna police station in 2013 December. After returning from jail she had to face a lot of discrimination from the villagers. Now she is married and working in her husband’s field.

Case Study-5:

When Anti-arrak (Country liquor) was intensifying in the Bandhugaon and Narayanapana block, especially women released massive movement against the production and sale of Sara. Kirumu (name changed) aged about 27 was one of the active woman leaders from Kesubhadra village kept sensitising other women and was encouraging to join hands to eradicate Sundhies and Sahukar from the region. She
organised women and went on breaking *bhattis* one after another and the tanks in which the arrack was being stored. The owner of the arrack *bhattis*, the *Sundhies*, tried to scare her group with the country rifle. Kirumu and the organised women were not scared away and continued to destroy *bhatties*. On the other hand the *sundhies*, those were lost their *bhattis* did not sit silent; secretly they planned against Kirumu to teach a lesson. Kirumu was kidnaped by the men of *sundhies*, while she was out with her aunt at a nearby village fair. They kept her in a *kuttia* for twelve days and thus began the twelve most torturous days of her life. With a deep sad voice, Kirumu said “those twelve days were the worst days of my life. They kept me unclothed and tied to a bed with rope. Every day I was being raped and beaten by *sundhies*”. Eventually, they realised she was not going to survive much longer so they throw her under a mango tree near to her village Kesubhdra and threatened her to keep her mouth shut up. Seen the situation of the girl, her family members immediately admitted her to the hospital and filed a case against those *sundhies* but the police did not take any action against her.

She kept more than 15 days in the Laxmipur hospital under the supervision of medical staff. Luckily, she was survived. Now she is married to a boy of a neighboring village. She still cannot manage to come out of that mental trauma.

**Case Study-6:**

Like Kirumu, Kondagiri Pydamma, aged (46) is another forefront bold tribal lady of the anti-arrack struggle, was arrested and imprisoned in the Koraput jail for three months. On the occasion of release on bail, hundreds of tribals arranged a hearty welcome to her. The tribals broke with the age old tradition of out casting the woman who was put behind the bars. But in other cases, one would be readmitted into the caste only after the *tappu* to the tribe.

The *pettandars* naturally couldn’t relish it. They foisted another case against Kondagorri Pydamma and this time she was kept in the jail for 2 months. Other tribes of the region were continuing their struggle to get a bail for her. Pydamma, after coming out on bail had gone around the Laxmipur court for two years. She had to attend the scores of adjournments. It was very difficult for others to understand how unbearable it is for the poverty-stricken tribal to bear the travel charges that totaled up thousands of rupees.
Case Study-7:
Sukri, a 21 years old girl from Ramchandrapur village narrates her unfortunate story of the bullet hit. On one fateful night in 2009, when everyone was deep asleep in her village, a heavy gun battle took place between the underground Naxalite group and the security forces. When the hour-long gun battle was over she was found bullet ridden on her bed. But the villagers could not take her immediately to the hospital because even after the militants fled, the security forces shot thousands of bullets.

This incident spread all over the village, like a forest fire, and the villagers gathered in her place including the aged and sick. Then villagers were directed to leave their houses and run out of the villages. Every villager, including nursing mothers, the old people, and small children were not spared from parading on the ground for the whole night without food, water, and sleep till noon of the next day in the scorching heat. At the request of some women for mercy, small children, sick and aged people were allowed to leave the ground. Some village youths were selected by the Indian Security Force to carry their injured members and Sukri, who got a bullet shot in her head, to Laxmipur Headquarters. At Laxmipur, the Security forces handed over Rs.5000/- to the victim’s father to spend for hiring the vehicle, which was reluctantly accepted. Luckily, she was treated successfully and survived from her suffering.

Case Study-8:
Bhima, when he was just 8 years old, his father had expired earlier due to illness and he was living with his mother, who was partially blind. Working as an agricultural labourer, Bhima’s mother managed the family. But during the operation between Police and Naxalites in July 2012, his mother was killed by Naxalites suspecting her as police informer. Now he is living with one of his aunts. “I had lost my father early in life. My mother was partially blind and still, she was taking care of me. One day night all of a sudden some people wearing black colour shirt entered to our kutia. They called my mother to come out of kutia, seen them entering in, my mother told me to ran away through the backside of the house. “I too ran and stayed that night at my neighbour’s house. In the morning, when I came back to my home, I found that my mother was missing. I cried for help. But there was no one who could bring my mother back. Next day, I heard that Naxalites had killed her. I was totally broken. After that incidence, my
aunty took me with her and I am staying with her, as I did not have much choice but take shelter in my relative’s house”.

**Case Study-9:**

Ratanu Pidika, aged about 42, a resident of Pedaitiki village under Borigi panchayat of the Koraput district. By profession he was a daily wager, he was the husband of two wives and father of four children (two daughters and two sons). He was shouldering the family of seven members. In April 21, 2017, like the other days, he went to work in the neighbouring village and returned home in the evening.

Early hours on that day, a group of armed Naxalites stormed into Ratnu’s house. They assaulted and forcibly dragged away him from his home at gunpoint accusing him to be a police informer and they took him with them. His wives were afraid and asked for the help but not a single villager came out to help. In the next morning some villagers, while walking towards jungle, identified his body on the outskirts of the village and informed his family members. After the death of the husband, his wives are really in a vulnerable situation as he was the only earning member of the family.

**Case Study-10:**

Krishna, a 53 years old man was a resident of Kandha Tikarapada village, under Kabiribadi gram panchayat in Bandhugaon block of Koraput district. The village is a tiny homogeneous village situated more than hundred kilometres away from the district headquarters, Koraput. Krisna was Naib Sarpanch of Kabiribadi Gram Panchayat before ten years. He was also an active member of *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha*. After surrendering before police, two years back, he had been staying with his second wife Silu and was working under police as a home guard. He had two sons namely Prasad and Sanjay, who are school going children.

When the incident occurred, it was a dark night, nobody came out from the houses in the village the ultras entered his house and forcibly dragged him husband, took him to the middle of the village, tied his hand at his back and severely beat him before slitting his throat and left the dead body in front of the house. His wife cried for help all throughout the night but in vain. She along with her two sons sat beside the corpse sobbing and shivering in the chilling cold. Her two dumb sons did not know what to do with their blood stained dead father. Those Naxalites left a leaflet with the dead body of Krishna,
that letter was written in Telugu with red ink where the red rebels claimed them as members of Srikakulum-Koraput Divisional Committee and mentioned that Krishna was an informer to both Odisha and AP police and was helping local Naxalites cadres to surrender before police. It was also mentioned in the letter that he was also terrorising people by saying that he was a Naxal-supporter. The ultras also warned in the said letter that anybody involved in the similar act would face terrible consequences.

Police did not know anything about this incident; police took cognisance of the case very late when the villagers brought the body to the hospital. This crucial inhumane activity of Naxalites cadres left two children in a vulnerable condition and they became fatherless.

**Case Study-11:**

At some point in time, not only they were revered and feared, their word was considered the law. But today they live a life of penury, eking out a living as petty labourers. This is the plight story of 17 members of the first generation of surrendered Naxals.

The government had given five acres of land for cultivation and constructed houses in an around 120 square yards for each of the 17 surrendered cadres, which includes People's War Group (PWG) party members as well as division committee members, and CMAS members in 2013, for the first time in the government state the implemented the rehabilitation package for the Naxals. Despite the government giving wide publicity to the scheme, it failed to keep its promise of providing bore wells with motors and cattle for livelihood, point out the former Naxals.

"They dug bore wells but did not provide motors. When we approached the banks for loans, they said rule is not permitting them to mortgage the lands. Even the cashew plantations we cultivated have all gone dry," said Prakash (name changed), one of the 17 cadres who surrendered.

According to Prakash, only two or three of the former Naxalites, who have communication skills, got a small piece of barren land nearby and started quarrying (digging out, minig, extracting) and the others started working in the quarry (pit, mine, digging).

"We met the officers concerned, many times, but nothing happened. We have come to a conclusion that we will get nothing. So along with my wife, I work in the quarry (pit, mine, digging), to educate my two sons," said tearful Rabi (name changed), who was an
active member of CMAS of Narayanapatna. "If my son does not get a job after his studies, he will become like me. In my entire life, I have faced many struggles in the underground and mainstream life," said Rabi, pointing out that whenever his son comes home from college during holidays he too is forced to work in the field.

One woman Maoist Divya Hikoka (name changed), aged about 23, surrendered with the other revolutionary named Vanjam Jaga (name changed). While Divya is a resident of Narayanapatna in Koraput district, the other Naxal is a resident of Sukma district in Chhattisgarh.

Police said the surrendered naxals were in the rank of area committee members (ACM) and were working for the Koraput division of the banned outfit. "Divya who had joined the Maoist organisation in 2009 was involved in the kidnapping of a legislator in 2012. She was also wanted for her involvement in the murder of at least 14 civilians apart from several other violent incidents". Similarly, Jaga had joined the Maoist organisation in 2007 and was wanted for his involvement in murdering at least six civilians.

They said “Maoists who are disillusioned want to leave the path of violence but are not allowed by the Naxal leader. Somehow, we could manage to escape and surrender before police. After surrender our life turned up drastically, we thought we will live a normal life but unfortunately, we are living a life without livelihood”.

The only surrendered Naxalites living a lavish life are those who either turned realtors or land grabbers or are involved in settlement of land disputes. A former East Division secretary of the Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB is now involved in stone crusher business. Another East Division secretary and AOB SZC (Special Zonal Committee) member, who lives in Parvatipuram now, has also become a real estate goon with the alleged help of cops. Except these two surrendered Maoists, all other are leading a life of misery.

**Case Study- 12:**

Padma (name changed) was born in a poor peasant family in Siriguda village in Kumbhari panchayat of Narayanapatna Block. She had a younger brother and sister. From the early 1980s, Siriguda village was one of the strong centers of CMAS activity. She grew up amidst struggle and revolutionary politics. She loved the songs and stories of struggle. Since she was a child, she used to work as a daily wage labourer. Though, she resisted, she was married off at the age of eighteen. After some days she left her
husband and came back to her mother’s house, as it was a forced marriage. With an attractive face and melodious voice, she used to sing revolutionary songs and be in regular contact with the party. Comrade Ravi (name changed) who was martyred in a police encounter was her uncle. She used to tell the group, who visited her village, which she too wanted to follow in her uncle’s footsteps. She was a disciplined party worker and worked among the people of her village on women and peasant problems according to Shangham guidance. She conducted people’s courts and led the women in the struggle against liquor business of Sundhis.

As she grew up, she became an active member of the women’s organization Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS). In the year 2000, when the CMAS approached her, she unhesitatingly became a full-time activist. Her close friend from the village, Laxmi (name changed) also joined with her in the Shangham. But just one month after both of them joined the Shangham; Laxmi was killed in an encounter with the special police in Chamorshi tehsil of Gadhchiroli district. Padma was determined to continue the fight after Laxmi’s martyrdom.

Padma participated in many military actions of the Shangham in Narayanapatna. She had participated in the tactical counter-offensive raid on Narayanapatna police station in 2001. To counter the growing and increasingly sophisticated offensive of the state police it was decided to train up a striking force. Padma was a member of the team that was trained for this role. To fulfill the desperate need of the movement for weapons, they planned to raid on Narayanapatna police station. Padma was an active participant in this raid.

Coming from a poor family Padma was used to do hard work. She retained her willingness to work hard in the Shangham. She had no education at home but joined the party and became literate. Padma was among those brave young fighters who strove to raise the fighting level of the Shangham, so that the member of Shangham can develop its military capabilities and take on the might of the State. Her death is a great loss for the Shangham.

She became a full-time member in 2004 July. On February 22nd 2005, when the squad was inside a Lemongrass farm in Katulpeta village, the police attacked them. Comrade Padma fought valiantly and injured two policemen with her firing and laid down her precious life while defending her comrades against the police attack.
Case Study-13:

The researcher found a letter dated 1/May/2012, in which a party leader communicates to several Comrades, related to raising several issues for carrying forward their movements. The major themes highlighted in this letter are as follows: Internal Democracy:

In the letter, it is mentioned about the suffering and plights of the subordinate party members and also stated how their voices are being suppressed.

“When the internal democracy hampered, politically one viewed dominated and at some time it crosses the right view. More danger remains, therefore, the victory of wrong without a real polemical environment”.

In the letter, it is also focused on the contemporary incidents, that why did party members decide to leave the party and surrender to police. The writer cited that comred Ajad’s surrender “as because the local comreds are not supporting his marriage proposal with a local girl, with whom he developed love and physical in the wrong method. So he got frustrated and wanted to surrender”.

In the letter, it is also talked about ‘undemocratic plenum’ that how once popularity perceived as threat over other
party leaders. And for this, the writer was also targeted politically and organisationally by the party leaders. In addition to this, it is also narrated about how the party leaders draw partiality in locals and partiality in punishment and promotion.

**Case Study-14:**

In order to put a stop and to control and check transfers of immovable property of tribal to the non-tribal in the scheduled areas of the state of Odisha; the Orissa Scheduled Area Transfer of Immovable Property (OSATIP) Act 1956 was passed. According to this Act, the land of the STs cannot be transferred to the non-tribal unless it is permitted by the Sub-Divisional Officer (SDO). The whole purpose of the act was successfully defeated as the rich and influential non-tribal didn’t find difficult in getting permission from the Sub-Divisional Officer. One of the longstanding demands of *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha* (CMAS) has been to complete settlement operations, regularise this land and distribute titles to the landless.

It was not taken care off, as if the government is unaware of the problem. The Odisha Revenue Minister Surya Narayan Patra has himself argued in favour of restoration of all lands encroached or illegally transferred to non-tribals during 1956-2002. Realising this loopholes in the Act,
this Act again amended in the year 2000. According to U/S 3(B) of OSATIP (by S.Ts.) by regulation -2000, sub-collector or competent authority has directed to collect the non-filing 3(B) form with in the three months; if the non ST encroacher fails to provide this non-filing 3(B) form within the said period then this encroached land will automatically be considered as the STs land. So in this connection researcher asked for a RTI report on the transaction of land between STs and non STs.

Altogether there are a total of 87 cases have been identified; out of which decision on 18 cases have been declared. Out of these 18 cases, only 7 cases are declared as genuine transaction and 11 cases were reverted and 69 cases are still pending. In the report, it has also mentioned that 96 Acrees of land, in study area, virtually in the hands of non tribals, but in recent period *Chasi Mulia Adivasi Sangha* have restored 21 acres in Nilabadi, 3 Acrees in Kesubhadra, and 18 Acrees in Dandabadi.

**Impact of Extremism on the Socio-Cultural Life of Tribal People:**

Extremism in any form and any kind is a curse to humanity, it always brings devastation, destruction, and unhealthy atmosphere. The people of Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon blocks have witnessed some of the worst forms of violence in contemporary times. Tribal population are reported to have been among those most badly affected by the Maoist and police insurgency in the study areas. Tribal peoples have developed a sense of pride in their culture and traditions. From the field it is reported that while there have been significant and positive changes in socio-political awareness and caste, ethnic and gender relations, the conflict has also had a negative impact on local cultures. In the absence of any formal bodies, including elected Village Development Council; villagers have collectively managed village affairs. The Maoists have promoted a revival of indigenous peoples’ culture and language at the local level. Increased awareness of the institutionalised exclusion of indigenous ethnic communities has encouraged people to question the status quo. People have started to ask questions about why the state has been so much controlled by elites in the district level. Ethnic autonomy, the right to self-determination and more decentralized governance are high on the agenda of all the ethnic groups. During the state of emergency, cultural gatherings were outlawed and people were not able to move freely or attend traditional *melas* (festivals or fairs). As for the Maoists, while on the one hand they claim they are fighting for cultural freedom, on the other hand they have campaigned against traditional cultural ceremonies as economically
wasteful and socially unprogressive. In many places, particularly Dasini and Edugumvalsa, Maoists have attempted to replace traditional festivals and rituals with more secular gatherings such as May Day, *Janabadi mela* (democratic fair), People’s War Day, and so forth. In some cases local people are particularly vigilant in protecting their cultural practices against these pressures. For example, a group of youth of Siriguda village reported that they refused to obey Maoists’ imposition to stop drinking locally-brewed beer.

While ordinary villagers have suffered the most in the conflict between Maoists and the security forces, all sections of society such as women, Dalits, indigenous groups, poor and rich alike have experienced change as a result of conflict and have been forced to find ways to adapt. Although most of the positive changes in social relations are symbolic in nature and are not yet part of the fabric of social relations they are being enforced by the barrel of the gun; the Maoist insurgency has enabled a questioning of the lack of access to services and the abuse of power through corruption, discrimination and exclusion. Due to the problem of Naxalism the government is spending a big amount on security and development is getting ignored. Destruction of infrastructure Naxals destroy roads and even attack people engaged in construction of infrastructure as they fear that it may be used against them. All these killings create terror in the area and among the people. It affects the people’s life. Every one residing in these areas is dreadfully threatened by the ongoing activities of Naxalites. Day by day their aggression is becoming a part of the life of the common man and their normal is life is affected regularly. Seeing what is happening, many youths in the village think that joining the Naxalites is the only way to fight extreme poverty. Naxalism hits hard on the attitude of extremely poor people to work hard and earn.

Field study suggested that, most of the villages are branded as a Maoist associated village. As all villages have a history of encounter and murders. Many villagers were killed by Maoist branding them as a police informer. According to district officials, Narayanapatna and Bandhugaon blocks in Koraput district of Odisha are known to have a significant presence of Maoists who prevent any project from taking off. But the community says there has been no interference in education or healthcare. It is the administration that uses the Maoists’ presence as an excuse for not implementing any of
the government schemes. Maoist only kills those who they suspect of having a link with
the police.

During 2008 when the ever expanding tribal people’s movement for land and against the
hegemony of various vested interests is naturally considered as a threat by the
hegemonistic parties. All the exploiting and hegemonistic forces joined hands and
conspired to break and disrupt the movement. Taking advantage of the situation Maoist
squad frequently visited the neighbouring area and considering Sundhi and small traders
as the enemies of the tribal people and resort to annihilation. But the police arrested some
of the villagers under the section 302IPC i.e., crime and murder. This severely affected
the local tribal life. The incident continues to resonate across the area. The victims were
not Maoists, said the villagers, who live in Kesubhadra village and neighboring villages.
After the incident, security forces patrolled the area round the clock, making the stretch
from Bandhugaon right up to the Narayanpatna block. Fear sits like a dark shadow on
these villages after the attack. The community is always on the guard and refuses to speak
to anyone. Security forces keep a hawk’s eye on everyone’s movement. Villagers
preferred to hide themselves inside their homes, unwilling to meet strangers. No one
ventures out either in the fields or forests. During the discussion with the villagers, they
also mentioned that the Maoists never caused any harm to them. No child has ever been
recruited in their army from these parts nor has the community faced any kind of threat to
their lives. But after the security forces set up base close by, life has completely changed
and become extremely restricted. It is no longer possible to enter the forest areas to get
firewood and other items of subsistence, those who used to go to outside for earning the
village or worked elsewhere can no longer do so. In this crossfire between the army and
the Maoists, villages have inevitably become the battleground and life of the villagers has
been disrupted. Fear is intense here and it works as a barrier in several ways. No one
ventures out in the evenings, especially girls and women, who are extremely vulnerable.
Along with the Maoists, the presence of the security forces feeds this fear among the
community members.