CHAPTER-3

NAXAL PROBLEM IN JHARKHAND:
HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE.
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NAXAL PROBLEM IN JHARKHAND: HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES.

INTRODUCTION

Jharkhand is a state in eastern India. It was carved out of the southern part of Bihar on 15 November 2000. Jharkhand shares its border with the states of Bihar to the north, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh to the west, Orissa to the south, and West Bengal to the east. Ranchi is the capital of Jharkhand. The largest city in Jharkhand is Jamshedpur. Legislature is unicameral, which consists of 81 seats. Area of Jharkhand is 79,714 km$^2$ (30,777.7 sq mi). It has been ranked as 15th largest state in India. Its population is 32,966,238 and is ranked 13$^{th}$ most populated state in India. Its population density is 413.6/km$^2$ (1,071.1/sq mi). Literacy rate is 67.63 % with 27th ranking in India. Hindi is the official language.

Birth of Jharkhand

The name "Jharkhand" means "the land of forests". Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar on 15 November in 2000, after almost half a century of people's movements around Jharkhandi identity, which disadvantaged societal groups articulated in order to augment political resources and influence the policy process in their favor. The Jharkhandi identity and the demand for autonomy was not premised solely on the uniqueness of its tribal cultural heritage, but was essentially a fallout of the failure of development policy to intervene in socio-economic conditions of both the Adivasis and non-Adivasis in the region.

The dynamics of resources and the politics of development still influence the socio-economic structures in Jharkhand, which was carved out of the relatively 'backward' southern part of Bihar. According to the 1991 census, the state has a population of over 20 million out of which 28% is tribal while 12% of the people belong to scheduled castes. Jharkhand has 24 districts, 212 blocks and 32, 620 villages out of which only 45% are electrified while only 8,484 are connected by roads. Jharkhand is the leading producer of mineral wealth in the country after Chhattisgarh endowed as it is with vast variety of minerals like iron ore, coal,

copper ore, mica, bauxite, graphite, limestone, and uranium. Jharkhand is also known for its vast forest resources.

This paradoxical development profile of Jharkhand is combined with the fact that distortions in distribution and access to resources have made little difference to lives of ordinary people. However, the people of the region are politically mobilized and self-conscious and are actively seeking better bargains for the state. The people in Jharkhand have the advantage of being culturally vibrant, as reflected in the diversity of languages spoken, festivals celebrated, and variety of folk music, dances, and other traditions of performing arts.

Jharkhand has 32 tribal groups. These are the Asur, Baiga, Banjara, Bathudi, Bedia, Binjhia, Birhor, Birjia, Chero, Chick-Baraik, Gond, Gorait, Ho, Karmali, Kharia, Kharwar, Khond, Kisan, Kora, Korwa, Lohra, Mahli, Mal-Paharia, Munda, Oraon, Parhaiya, Santal, Sauria-Paharia, Savar, Bhumij, Kol and Kanwar. In some of the districts of Jharkhand, the tribal population predominates. Although Hindi is the state language, the people of Jharkhand speak a number of languages belonging to three major language families: the Munda languages which include Santhali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia, Bhumij; the Indo-Aryan languages which includes Bengali, Maithili, Nagpuri, Sadri, Khortha, Kurmali, Panchpargania and the Dravidian languages which include Oraon (Kurukh), Korwa and Paharia.

**History of Jharkhand**

According to some of the historians, even before the period of Magadha Empire the state of Jharkand existed and was distinct in its geo-political, cultural entity. Raja Jai Singh Deo of Orissa was accepted as the ruler of Jharkhand by its people in the 13th century. The local tribal heads had developed into barbaric dictators who could govern the province neither fairly nor justly. Consequently, the people of this state approached the more powerful rulers of Jharkhand's neighbouring states who were perceived to have a more fair and just governance. This became the turning point in the history of the region wherein rulers from Orissa moved in with their armies and created states that were governed for the benefit of the people and involved their participation, thus ending the barbarism that had marked the region for centuries. The good tribal rulers continued to thrive and were known as the Munda Rajas, and exist to this day. (These are regions which are still semi-autonomous, the degree of autonomy depending on the size of each specific Munda Raja's domain.)
During the Mughal period, the Jharkhand area was known as Kukara. After the year 1765, it came under the control of the British Empire and became formally known under its present title, "Jharkhand" - the Land of "Jungles" (forests) and "Jharis" (bushes). Located on Chhota Nagpur Plateau and Santhal Parganas, has evergreen forests, rolling hills and rocky plateaus with many places of keen beauty like Lodh Falls. The subjugation and colonization of Jharkhand region by the British East India Company resulted in spontaneous resistance from the local people. Almost one hundred years before India’s First War of Independence (1857), adivasis of Jharkhand were already beginning what would become a series of repeated revolts against the British colonial rule. The demand for a separate Jharkhand state can be traced back to the early 1900s, when Jaipal Singh, an Indian Hockey captain and Olympian, suggested the idea of a separate state consisting of the southern districts of Bihar. The idea did not become a reality, however, until August 2, 2000, when the Parliament of India passed the Bihar Reorganization Bill to create the state of Jharkhand, carving 18 districts out of Bihar to form Jharkhand state on 15 November 2000. It became the 28th state of India.  

**Geography of Jharkhand**

Jharkhand is located in eastern India and is surrounded by Bihar to the north, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh to the west, Orissa to the south, and West Bengal to the east. The state covers a geographical area of 79.70 Lakh Hect. Many parts of the Jharkhand state lies on the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Chota Nagpur plateau is the source of the Koel, Damodar, Brahmani, Kharkai, and Subarnarekha rivers, whose upper watersheds lie within Jharkhand. The Chota Nagpur Plateau forms most of the area of Jharkhand. The plateau is the source of many rivers including Damodar, Koel and Subarnarekha. This area is also famous for its abundant mineral wealth - iron, coal, uranium, graphite, and magnate are among the minerals found here. Jharkhand is a mineral state and accounts for 40% of mineral wealth of India. The region accounts for 35.5% of the country's known coal reserves, 90% of its cooking coal deposits, 40% of its copper, 22% of its iron ore, 90% of its mica and huge deposits of bauxite, quartz and ceramics. Much of the state is still covered by forest. Forest preserves support the population of tigers and Asian Elephants. Soil content of Jharkhand state mainly consist of soil formed from disintegration of

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rocks and stones, and soil composition is further divided into: Red soil, found mostly in the Damodar valley, and Rajmahal area. Micaceous soil (containing particles of mica), found in Koderma, Jhumeritilaiya, Barkagaon, and areas around the Mandar hill. Sandy soil, generally found in Hazaribagh and Dhanbad. Black soil, found in Rajmahal area. Laterite soil, found in western part of Ranchi, Palamu, and parts of Santhal Parganas and Singhbhum. 69 One of the biggest tourist attractions in Jharkhand is its peaceful nature and blissful remoteness where time seems to have lost its pace and stood still for decades. Jharkhand is immensely abundant in thick verdant forests, plateaus, low rolling hills, ample scenic beauty and diversity, rare herbs, wildlife sanctuaries, precious minerals, placid backwaters, mountainous limpid lakes and rivers, spectacular waterfalls, etc. Jharkhand has both bustling towns and quiet pastoral villages, surrounded by pacific forests, plateaus, hills, coal mines, and Iron and Steel industries. It is a rich land of great scenic beauty, placid backwaters, refreshing and rejuvenating greenery, alien and exotic cultures, and winsome rustic simplicity. Travel Jharkhand will introduce you to some of the most romantic and peaceful idyllic hill stations like the Netarhat region; awe-inspiring waterfall like the gushing Lodh Falls and the Hundru Falls; and the traditional tribal villages that offer a perfect feel of the ancient village life. 70

**Economy of Jharkhand**

Some of the country’s highly industrialized cities such as Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Bokaro and Dhanbad are located in Jharkhand owing to its large mineral resources. The following is a glance of the State’s achievements in the Industrial Sector: Largest fertilizer factory of its time in India at Sindri, First Iron & steel factory at Jamshedpur, Largest Steel plant in Asia, Bokaro steel plant, Biggest explosives factory at Gomia, First methane gas well in the country. Minerals ranging from (state’s rank in the country) from Iron ore (1st), coal (3rd), copper ore (1st), mica (1st), bauxite (3rd), Manganese, limestone, china clay, fire clay, graphite (8th), kainite (1st), chromite (2nd), asbestos (1st), thorium (3rd), sillimanite, uranium (Jaduguda mines, Narwa Pahar) (1st), gold (Rakha mines) (6th), silver and several other minerals are found in the state. Large deposits of coal and iron ore support concentration of industry in centers like Jamshedpur, Bokaro and Ranchi. Tata Steel, an S&P CNX 500 conglomerate has

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its corporate office in Jharkhand. It reported a gross income of Rs.204, 910 million for 2005.  

Jharkhand is one the most industrialized regions of the country today. Jamshedpur, Bokaro and Ranchi are centers of heavy industry based on these mineral resources. Jamshedpur is the Industrial Capital of the state. Bokaro is also well known for its Iron and Steel. The extremely mineral-rich state of Jharkhand has the potential to be the economic powerhouse of India in no time.  

**Culture of Jharkhand**

Folk Music includes Akhariya Domkach, Dohari Domkach, Janani Jhumar, Mardana Jhumar, Faguwa, Udasi, Pawan, Daidhara, Pahilsanjha, Adhratiya, Vinsariya, Pratkali, Jhunta etc. Folk dances include Paika, Chaw, Jadur, Karma, Nachni, Natua, Agni, Choukara, Santhal, Jamda, Ghatwari, Matha, Sohrai, Lurisayro etc. Many festivals colours the seasons of jharkhand the whole year like: Sarhul, Karam, Hal Punhya, Bhagta Parab, Rohin, Bandna. Besides this all the other festivals like Diwali, Holi, Id, X-Mas, Dusshera are also celebrated.

**CAUSES OF NAXALISM IN JHARKHAND**

Naxalism was prevalent in the area even before the birth of Jhankhand in the then state of Bihar. Presently 18 districts out of 24 districts in Jharkhand are affected by Naxalism. Hazaribargh, Lohardaga, Palamu, Chatra, Garhwa, Ranchi, Gumla, Simdega, Latehar, Giridih, Koderma, Bokaro, Dhanbad, East Singhbhum, West Singhbhum, Saraikela, Kharsawa, Khunti, Ramgarh are Naxalite affected areas. Since the bifurcation of the state of Bihar into Bihar and Jharkhand, and birth of Jharkhand on 15th November 2000, Naxalite violence, especially that of the MCC, has shifted to Jharkhand, which is rich in mineral and forest wealth. Jharkhand, provides higher prospect for raising funds for the Naxalite activities.

**(A) Political causes:**

i) Support of C.P.I

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75 Om Prakash Mishra and Sucheta Ghosh, Terrorism and Low Intesity Conflict in South Asian Region, Manak Publication Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2003, P.520
The emergence of the Naxalite movement coincided with the formation of the first United Front Government in West Bengal (1967) with the Communist Party of India-M as its main constituent, and received increasing official support, attention and press coverage.

ii) External Support

The external political factor was the influence of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong. The Naxalites were deeply influenced by the two. Their slogans were: China’s path is our path, China’s Chairman is our Chairman. This summarizes their ideological inclinations up to at least 1971. Later the image of China in general and that of the Communist Party of China faded considerably and at present the various Naxalite groups hold different perceptions of China. Their commitment to Maoism, however, remains intact.

iii) Arms oriented movement

The Naxalbari movement became the symbol of armed peasant uprising and of Maoism in India and evolved as a new political movement deriving its name from it. It has taken the path of violence and aggression by the use of arms and terror.

iv) Insensitive political system

The movement has been further given momentum by the insensitive nature of the political system. The system is non-responsive to the needs of the tribals. Tribals, have have received little from the Indian state after independence. The Indian state has always taken the land and alienated the tribals for ‘progress’ that must be put up with. They remained exploited and do not have oppurtunities to progress.

v) Poor governance

The governance is poor or in certain places it is non-existent. Popular schemes take long to devise but longer to implement. The benefit always reach those who are the 'haves' and not those who actually need them. The failure in formulation and implementation of the right schemes at the right time, and targeting the right people is the major problem. Despite the rise of the Naxalite problem, the state failed to tackle it effectively by providing the needed economic and political measures. Poor governance in these areas is a primary reason for growth of the Naxalite problem.

(B) Economic causes:
i) Poverty and economic Inequality

The problem of poverty and economic inequality can be identified as vital in accelerating the pace of movement. The absolute numbers of the poor have increased over the decades. The poor in the area feel condemned to one’s fate quite another. Rising incomes in the post-reform India have created a rapidly growing aspiring class but these have also contributed to an army of socio-economic orphans who have been rejected by all mainstream political parties. In addition, a contractor-politician nexus controls the wealth of the forests and pushes tribals to the margins. A repressive state apparatus, represented by the police and the black laws they use to their advantage, helps keep this exploitative system going.

ii) Liberalization of Indian Economy

The situation has further worsened by the opening up of the Indian economy to trade and investment; the entry of the companies in Jharkhand, poses a threat to the livelihoods of tribals and their way of life. Economic exploitation of the tribals, remains unattended by the political system thus creating a fertile grounds for the Naxals.

iii) Negative Role of M.N.C’s

The indigenous tribal population of the Jharkhand has been deprived of their lands. They have been uprooted from their traditional source of livelihood. This problem has further increased with the impact of globalization. Several multi-national companies have started making inroads in the tribal areas owing to their resource-richness. These resources are exploited and the benefits accrued thus are not passed on to the tribals. Tribals are well aware of this. It is because of this that they are not interested in any developmental activity as it facilitates the further exploitation of their areas.

iv) Slow implementation of land reforms

The slow implementation of land reforms is the main reason for the growth of Naxalism. Landlords frequently moved the court to delay implementation of these reforms. They also settle with local politicians and bureaucrats, making the land reform process slow and cumbersome. Land reforms failed in the end.

v) Collection of levies
The Naxalite groups have been collecting levies from the local population. They collect funds from individuals, groups, and even government officials as commissions for letting them function in areas that are under their control. This money is used by the Naxalite groups to buy arms and recruit new members, especially from the unemployed youth in rural areas.

vi) Need of the youth

Youth do not have any scope and means or opportunities and Naxalites provide them aim, a monthly salary and uniform. Hence they have become popular amongst the unemployed youths.

(C) Social Causes:

i) Dissatisfaction among people

The emergence of difference between perceptions or expectations of the past or future situations of individual creates dissatisfaction among them. This kind of situation emerges when the individual develops a feeling that the rewards he is getting are inadequate.

ii) Failed expectations:

They may have some hope in the future but it may so happen that in the future they do not receive any benefits from growth and further their situation worsened by a sudden change. All these make them feel that their present situation is worse than the past.

iii) Comparison with others

The tension can be further aggravated when they see that relevant reference groups make disproportionate gains in comparison with their own groups. All these provide the ground for the rise of psychological tension which erupts in the form of protest activities and thus enables people to establish a link between the real world and their expectations.

iv) Aggression in people

Aggression is the product of frustration. In situations where the level of aggression is low, men express it through minor ways by, say, attacking the scapegoat or by sublimation into socially modified behavior whereas in situations where the level of frustration is high, the level of aggression will also be high for men would find the cost less compared to the relief that they would get by attacking the primary cause of frustration.
v) The social structure of society

There is a poor section of society, with no resources to meet their daily requirements. Their poverty and lack of ability to improve their lot due to financial constraints, lack of education, the unhelpful government machinery or even legal remedies remains an important factor for their supporting the Naxalites.

vi) Lack of adequate knowledge and education

The younger generation wants to have the facilities that are available in urban areas, which remains a distant dream given the poor infrastructural and the failure of governments to perform. Schooling is poor or nonexistent; hence the rural youth fight a losing battle against their urban youth counterparts. This forces them to return to rural areas, still aspiring for urban facilities.

(D) Lack of leadership

The Naxalite movement continues to persist in terms of spatial spread, intensity of violence, militarization and consolidation, ominous linkages with subversive/secessionist groups and increased efforts to elicit mass support. The Naxalites operate in vacuum created by absence of administrative and political institutions, espouse the local demands and take advantage of the disenchantment prevalent among the exploited segments of the population and seek to offer an alternative system of governance which promises emancipation of these segments from the clutches of 'exploiter' classes through the barrel of a gun. 76

(E) Lack of support from Centre

The Central Government, left it to the young CM to fight the difficult battle, Mired in political troubles within his own party, the CM soon lost his enthusiasm for the policy of confrontation with the Extremists. The morale of the state police dipped once again, and it lost the will to fight the Naxals. On 7 May 2002, fifteen police personnel were killed in a landmine blast in the Koderma district. On 20 November, eight security force personnel were killed in the Palamu district. On November, eight security force personnel were killed in the Latehar district. On 20 December, fourteen police officers were killed in an ambush in Saranda forest in East

Singhbhum district. The extremists also torched seven police vehicles and looted all the arms and ammunition the police party was carrying. On April 2003, as many as 150 Extremists attacked Chenarapura railway station in the Bokaro district and looted twenty-three rifles and seven hundred rounds of ammunition from the armed guard posted there.

(F) Lack of Coordination with Other States

The Naxalites have also consolidated their presence in areas bordering Orissa and West Bengal and have been responsible, to a substantial measure, for escalation of Naxalite violence in the neighbouring States. Taking advantage of poor coordination among law enforcement agencies between two States, the Naxalites commit crime in one State and slip into the borders of neighbouring States.

(G) Lack of Decent Life

Lack of essentials like education, employment, water electricity employment roads, bridges, health facilities, human rights violation and redressal mechanism lead people to Naxalism.

(H) Large Tribal Population and its Backwardness

Jharkhand is a large tribal population state – twenty-seven percent of the state’s population is tribal. They are marginalized and deprived, with large-scale unemployment and poor wages, much below the minimum wages prescribed under the law, especially in the coal mines area and the industrial belt. 77

(I) The Terrain

The terrain and the forest area provided an ideal ground for hiding and using guerilla tactics against police. Though the untrained and ill-equipped state police suffered heavy casualties in their battle against the Naxals in the first two years of the formation of the new state, they did succeed in driving them out of their hiding places.

(J) Bad Law and Order

Extortion from the mining industry became one of the main sources of funding for the Extremists. They wield so much power that some of the major corporate houses in the country

find it prudent to give in to their extortion demands. The transporters also ‘contribute’ heavily to the raided the Indian Aluminium factory in Lohardaga district and looted a huge amount of cash. The annual estimate of extortion money runs into crores of rupees from Jharkhand alone.

(k) Low Police Morale

Naxals ability to hit the police and security personnel repeatedly leads to decline in police morale. But the ambush on the 150 strong CRPF and state police party armed with Light Machine Guns (LMGs) and automatic weapons under the command of a SP on the eve of the parliamentary elections on 7 April 2004 at Baliwa under Gua police station in West Singhbhum district was one of the more sensational cases in Jharkhand. By attacking the Extremists demonstrated their dominations of the rich mining area, security personnel in the ambush without much resistance. The rest commanding the police contingent also ran away from his life leaving the hapless policemen and the CRPF personnel to their own fate. The SP was untraceable for twelve hours. The tragic incident reflected poorly on the police morale and its leadership in the state. The fact that no action was taken against the IPS Officer, who ran away, only goes to show how deep the malady of Corruption and Nepotism in the state administration was. The state government postponed the enquiry. In fact the SP was rewarded with a posting to a bigger and ‘more lucrative’ district in the state. There was an open talk that this had been done because of his political connections and that punishing him would have exposed the police-politician nexus for illegal mining in area. This is the main cause of police apathy against the Maoists. The apathy has gone so deep that when a police post was attacked in broad daylight in the heart of a town in the same district, West Singhbhum, and all the weapons looted from its Armoury in March 2004, no senior police officer from this capital Ranchi even visited the scene of crime.

(l) Sympathy of People

People who feel marginalized see Naxalism as an alternative to continuous exploitation at the hands of politicians, local landlords, officials etc. Lack of redressal in the system leads them towards Naxalism.

**STRATERGY OF NAXALITES IN JHARKHAND**
Jharkhand, where Maoists are active in 18 out of 24 districts, ranked second for the number of fatalities caused by the Naxals in 2004, with 150 deaths as against 117 in 2003. The unification of Naxalite groups, largely interpreted as the beginning of a new phase in Naxalite movement in India, has also been influenced by the perceived success of Maoism in Nepal and activities of several front organizations in the last few years. Contrary to popular belief that the creation of the separate State of Jharkhand in November 2000 would result in a decline in violence, there has been an upsurge in Naxalite activities in these two States. With the bifurcation of Bihar, a number of affected districts in South Bihar went over to Jharkhand, and it was expected that the Naxalite groups will suffer a setback in the remaining areas. The succeeding years, however, have not only witnessed a consolidation of extremists in their strongholds, but a further expansion into newer areas. Indeed, it seems that the creation of Jharkhand has helped the Naxalites consolidate their roots in the region. At present, the worst affected districts are: Chatra, Palamu, Garhwa, Giridih, Latehar, Gumla, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Lohardaga and Bokaro. The strategy of Naxals in Jharkhand is as follows:

a) No surrenders

They do not surrender because comrade Charu Mazumdar said that the surrender tantamount to suicide.

b) Attack

Comrade Mao said that the attack is the best defence.

c) Hit and Run

They resorted to as “hit and run” tactics so that they may create panic in the police force and can run away with their arms and ammunition.

d) Release of Comrades

Attack is organized when some important comrades are to be released from the police custody or from jails.

e) Ambush

The members of assault group hide themselves within 50/60 mtrs. Distance so that they can finish enemies by way of continuous firing or grenade attack. As Naxalities are well aware of
the terrain they take positions at a place so that they can see the police force clearly whereas the police or Para-military force cannot see them clearly as the latter is equipped with more sophisticated arms like LMG, machine, gun, grenade etc.

f) Mines

The Naxal groups are experts in laying the mines as the area is in their control. The village roads are not pucca. It is where the most powerful police or Para-military force is scared of these extremists groups. Even use of helicopters could not help them to locate the extremist’s groups because they go under the forest or cave corner.

g) Disguise

They disguise themselves as army or paramilitary personnel to blend in with their surroundings.

viii) Informers:

Besides they have their network of local informers who facilitate their activities that’s why it took decades for Tamil Nadu and Karnataka police to kill the brigand Veerappan. 78

h) Peoples court

The Maoists also deliver Kangaroo justice through their “Peoples' Court”, Jana Adalat. Here the cases pending are solved on the spot and decisions are made.

i) Barbaric justice

On 23rd July 2005, Maoists reportedly killed one John Hembrom, chopped off the hands of two other persons and an ear of another, all of them hailing from different villages in Giridih district, following their convictions in the Jana Adalat conducted by the Maoists somewhere in the adjoining Jamui district in Bihar.

j) Revenge

On 13/14 March 2006 they held the 100 odd passengers of the train which was proceeding from Barwadih in Latehar District, to Gomoh in Dhanbad District, in absolute fear and

discomfort and forced the passengers to brave the night in the thick jungles between the Heyagarha and Kamandih Railway Stations. It was the result of killing a Naxalite local commander, Jaganath Kiori, in a police encounter on 3rd March, which took place in the jungles of Palamu District, North of Latehar.

**k) Eliminating oppositions**

Three villagers were killed by CPI (Maoist) ultras on suspicion of being police informers at Itkhori in Chatra th district, on the 8 of October. Two persons were shot dead by the Maoists at Richughuta village in Latehar district on the 26 of November.

**l) Eliminating security forces**

On the 2nd of December fourteen policemen were killed and three injured when Naxalites blew up the vehicle they were traveling in with an IED in a village near the steel city of Bokaro in Jharkhand.

**m) Dictates the farmers**

Despite a good monsoon, farmers in Jharkhand refused to till their land due to fear of Maoists who warned them against cultivation. The result is that around 10,000 acres of cultivable land is lying fallow in the state. Maoists of the banned Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist) say that the land belongs to the poor and hope to redistribute it soon to the poor and needy. The CPI-Maoist put black flags on thousands of acres of land in different parts of the state before the monsoon and decreed against farming activity there. The worst affected districts are Palamau, Hazaribagh and Chatra. Maoist rebels threatened the land owners to face their wrath if they dared to plough the fields.

**n) Indoctrination**

The new technique of the Naxalites in Jharkhand is to indoctrinate kids, who would constitute cannon fodder for the revolution. Target the young is the new buzzword among the top brass of the Maoist extremists in Jharkhand these days. They have decided on roping in the kids by deep penetration into schools in the rural pockets of Jharkhand and indoctrination of revolutionary ideals in the young minds. The state intelligence department received reports from at least seven rural areas in the districts, where the Maoists have already distributed Naxalite literature and booklets with ultra-Left ideologies among the school students. Some private schools in Hazaribagh and Dumka have also been targeted by the Extremists to
incorporate the Naxalite literature in their curriculum. Maoists are trying their level best to enstate their “Bal Dasta” or children's brigade with young tribal children of Jharkhand.

**o) High profile attacks**

On 5 March 2007, Sunil Mahato, a member of the national parliament was shot dead by Naxalite rebels while watching a football match on the Hindu festival of Holi near Kishanpur, some 160 km (99 mi) east of state capital, Ranchi. The Maoists killed at least one legislator and one panchayat secretary in 2005. A panchayat secretary was killed and three others were injured when alleged Maoists opened fire at the Kanker Collector SK Raju's carcade while they were returning from Koileebara on 11 November 2005.

**p) Inter-state presence**

Taking advantage of poor coordination among law enforcement agencies between two States, the Naxalites commit crime in one State and slip into the borders of neighbouring States. Moreover while the successive governments rely heavily on police operations to neutralize the armed groups, proper attention is not paid to its reinforcement.

**q) Create terror in police**

The police operations have suffered due to lack of adequate and appropriate equipment - including basics such as automatic weapons, landmine detectors, transport and communications, a proper intelligence network at the grassroots level, and better protection to police officers and personnel in the Naxalite affected areas. Therefore, it is not surprising that despite large-scale arrests under the POTA, the government was not able to contain the violence. Jharkhand is one of the thirteen states in which the Naxalite rebels have considerable influence.

**r) Using the terrain**

Jharkhand, with a dense forest cover over large parts of the State, offers favorable terrain for the Naxalites to operate and build their bases.

**s) Training**
They get physical training in the morning and drill in the evening. Thus they have four hours of physical training. They have classes for three hours before lunch and two hours during night. With such a regular life, no cadre likes to come out of the Naxal outfit.

t) Simple life

their expenditures are well regularated. They keep the account of each rupee. If one indulges in dishonesty, he is simply killed. Thus corruption has not yet crept into Naxals organizations. Their lifestyle is also simple. Leaders and cadres lead same type of simple living.

u) Publicity

There are magazines like Lal Pataka, Lal Chingari, Krantikari Geetmal, Bigul Masik Samachar, Jan Jwar, Struggling Forum for Peoples Resistance that are published regularly. They put focus on police atrocities so that cadres become keen to take revenge from the police.

CHARACTERSTICS OF NAXALISM IN JHARKHAND

In Jharkhand, Naxalism is among those prime problems which have severely hindered its growth. It runs in the nerves of Jharkhand and is making it hollow from the inside. However, the Naxalism in Jharkhand is also different from Naxalism in other states. Naxalism in Jharkhand can be compared to Naxalism in other states in following ways:

a) Intensity of Naxalism

The Naxalites are most active in Jharkhand. They make more destruction in Jharkhand when compared to states like Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, Maharashtra and other states.

b) Almost fully infected

Jharkhand seems to have been fully infected with this virus called Naxalism. Leaving one district namely, Sahibganj all the other districts are affected by Naxalites. The other states like other infected states like Orissa, Maharashtra etc. are not so badly infected. On 21 October 2004, the Naxalites blasted a railway station in the Latehar district in another daring act. Emboldened by the government’s weak response, the Extremists violence has now spread to

79P.K.Aggarwal, Naxalism : Causes and Cure, Manas Publication, New Delhi, 2010, p.87-88
percent districts in Jharkhand. The most affected districts are: Palamu, Garwa, Chatra, Latehar, Ranchi, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Lohardanga, East Singhbhum and West Singhbhum districts. They have managed to encircle Ranchi, the state capital, from all sides and it is hazardous to travel out of Ranchi by road after sunset as they have built the ‘Liberated Zones’ not too far from the capital city.  

**c) Naxal clamp downs**

In Jharkhand, the Naxalites announce the most number of clamp downs. When compared to other states which are affected by Naxalites. Jharkhand faces far more number of clamp downs (Naxali bandi). Almost, in every two months, there is a Naxal clamp.

**d) Tough to infiltrate**

Compared to other states like Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand is a plateau and the geographical features here don't allow the armed authorities to penetrate deep into jungles, infiltrate it and fight Naxals. Whenever, they tried to do so, most of the times, they lost their lives.

### SOURCES OF THE INCOME OF NAXALITES

- Ransome after kidnapping of government officials or local rich people.
- Usurpation of lands of rich landowners.
- Collecting subscription for the local people by luring them to their fold.
- Realizing the proceeds by giving forest or government lands on lease.
- Taking levy from rich persons.
- Selling mineral produce lying in government stockyard.
- Raising the levy from government officials and officers.

But their expenditures are well regulated. They keep the account of each rupee. If one indulges in dishonesty, he is simply killed. Thus corruption has not yet crept into Naxals.

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81 Manoj Srivastava, Naxalism, Shakti Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2011, p. 118
organizations. Their lifestyle is also simple. Leaders and cadres lead same type of simple living.\textsuperscript{82}

**EFFECTS OF NAXALISM IN JHARKHAND**

\textbf{a) Lack of developmental activity}

Due to the problem of Naxalism the government is spending a big amount on security and development is getting ignored.

\textbf{b) 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.

\textbf{c) Loss of Lives}

Naxals kill politicians, police, bureaucrats and civilians, the security also kill Naxals and suspects. This results in loss of lives. In October 6, 2009, an abducted Jharkhand Police Inspector was brutally beheaded. Two days later in Gadchiroli, 18 police personnel were killed. \textsuperscript{83} Jharkhand has been at the centre of the Naxalite-Maoist insurgency. Since the uprising of the Naxalites in 1967, 6,000 people have been killed in fighting between the Naxalites and counter-insurgency operations by the police, and its paramilitary groups such as the Salwa Judum. \textsuperscript{84}

\textbf{d) Terror}

All these killings create terror in the area and among the people.

\textbf{e) Disturbed life}

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.

\textbf{g) The irregularities in transport}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{82} P.K.Aggarwal, Naxalism : Causes and Cure, Manas Publication, New Delhi, 2010, p.87-88
\end{itemize}
The regular hijackings, accidents, murder, blasts become a hurdle in smooth sailing of transport. Regular trains hijacking cases can be read like Rajdhani Express Bhuvneshwar to Delhi in 2009. Buses are misled, loot and murders in less density regions have increased day by day.

i) Loss of welfare activities

Naxalites destroy rail lines, important buildings like schools and hospital and cause a deep smash up to the infrastructural condition, which is already bad compared to other states.

j) Bad impact on youth

Seeing what is happening, many youths in Jharkhand 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.

k) Political instability

Naxalism is a big cause to the frequent reallocations of Chief Ministers in Jharkhand. Whenever there is a hit by Naxalites, the opposition criticizes the ruling party, and it plays a great role in removing them from chair. Though there may be other reasons too, but Naxalism is definitely one of the biggest causes.  

l) Naxal clamp downs

In Jharkhand, the Naxalites announce the most number of clamp downs. When compared to other states which are affected by Naxalites. Jharkhand faces far more number of clamp downs (Naxali bandi). Almost, in every two months, there is a Naxal clamp.

**GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO COUNTER NAXALISM.**

a) Modernization of state police by the supply of modern weaponry, latest communication equipment and mobility equipment.

b) Identification of vulnerable police stations and outposts and take up their fortification.

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85 Manoj Srivastava, Naxalism, Shakti Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, 2011, p.118-119
c) Flow of Funds under the Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme of February 2005 have been revised. The level of reimbursement under the scheme has been raised from 50% to 100%  

d) Insurance scheme for police personnel.  
e) Rehabilitation of surrendered Naxalites.  
f) Expenditure incurred on publicity to counter propaganda of Naxalities.  
g) Mine protected vehicles under to counter the land mine/IED attacks.  

h) Development of Central Para-military forces.  
i) India Reserve (IR) battalions Sanctioned mainly to strengthen security apparatus at their level as also to enable the states to provide gainful employment to the youth.  
j) Community policing.  
k) Creating barriers between Nepal and Indian borders. In order to ensure that the Maoist of Nepal do not get in touch with the Indian Naxalites the SSB has been given the responsibility to guard the Indo-Nepal border with special care towards this.  
l) Employment to the youth of the area. 40% of the total recruitment in the central Para-military force(CRPF) can be taken up from the Naxal or militancy affected areas.  
m) Development of backward districts under under the backward districts initiative (BDI) component of the Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yogna (RSVY) and scheme of backward regions grant fund (BRGF).  
n) Protection to forest dwellers by recognizing the right of the forest dwellers on the forest produce.  
o) Strengthen intelligence set up at the state level.  
p) Creation of physical infrastructure in the terms of roads, communication, power as also social infrastructure such as school, hospitals, etc. in the area.
q) Effective and sustained intelligence driven police action against Naxalities and their infrastructure individually and jointly by the states to accelerate development in the Naxal affected areas. 86

r) The government has constituted an 'Empowered Group of Ministers' to counter the problem of Naxalism headed by the Home minister and select Chief Minister.

s) The government under the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), 1967 amended in 2004 has banned the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) - People's War and all its associated formations, and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) and its front organizations.

t) The government has also constituted a Task force which will comprise of Nodal officers from the Naxal affected areas and officers from the IB, SSB and the CRPF.

u) There is also a Coordination Centre that was set up in 1998 headed by the Union home minister with Chief Secretaries and DGPs of the Naxal affected areas for the coordination of steps taken to control Naxal activities. 87

v) The government started the Backward Districts initiative in 2003-2004 and the Backward Regions Grant Fund (BRGF) under which 55 of the worst affected areas in 9 states were to be provided with funds to the tune of Rs. 2475 crore to tackle the problem of Naxalism.

THE LAWS MADE BY GOVERNMENT

a) Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007

The Government issued a rehabilitation policy on 11 October 2007 for the easy rehabilitation of people who lose their land for industrial growth. Under this policy land in change for land will be given, job prospective to at least one member of the family, vocational training and housing benefits including houses to people in rural areas and urban areas will be some of the benefits.

b) Forest Rights Act, 2006

The Forest Rights Act recognizes the rights of the scheduled tribes and forest dwellers who have been living in the forests for years but their rights have still not been recognized. The Ministry of

Environment and Forests has also allowed use of 1 hectare of land for non-forest purposes and conversion of kutcha roads into pukka roads.

c) Chhattisgarh Special Public Securities Act, 2006

This bill provides definition of unlawful activities, declaring an organization unlawful, formation of an advisory board wherever the state government feels the need for its establishment, procedure of the formation of the advisory board, action of the advisory board, penalties viz punishments even for not committing a crime, the power to notify a place being used for unlawful activities and taking occupation of such place thereof and revision/bar against intervention by the courts.

Law and Order Approach

To Modernize the Police Force, the government has launched a Police Modernization Scheme in areas affected by Naxal movements. Under this scheme huge sums of money have been provided to the state governments by the central government to modernize their equipment and tactical gear including latest communication, vehicles and infrastructure facility. States have also been told to determine police stations 30 and outposts that are susceptible to Naxal attacks and have to be fortified.

Social Integration Approach

Social Economic Development, The government started the Backward Districts initiative in 2003-2004 and the Backward Regions Grant Fund (BRGF) under which 55 of the worst affected areas in 9 states were to be provided with funds to the tune of Rs. 2475 crore to tackle the problem of Naxalism. 88

SUGGESTIONS

a) Long term solutions

To combat the Naxal movement undertaking oppressive steps taken by government is however, not a remedy to the problem. The government at the centre and the state should direct their efforts towards finding a long term solution.

b) Lessen economic deprivation

They have to take such measures which will solve the problem of economic deprivation and in turn will prevent the rise of frustration among the indigenous population of various states affected by the problem of Naxalism.

c) Developmental activities

This will have a long lasting impact and a sense of satisfaction and contentment will prevail. It therefore becomes pertinent for the governments, central and state to seriously undertake developmental activities whose benefits actually reach the poor local masses.

d) Local people be the basis of developmental programmes

While formulating developmental plans the local people should be taken into confidence. The participatory developmental activities will generate a sense of satisfaction among the tribes. The feeling of the contentment will prevent the emergence of frustration and hence the growth of any kind of conflict. This certainly is not an easy task. The process indeed is a long drawn one.

e) Control over Multinational Companies:

Taking over tribals land and handling over to corporate and MNC’s for ‘development’ will have serious implications as such development projects will completely bypass and even negate tribals development agenda. Hence the MNC’s be controlled and tribals should be given their share of profit.

f) Land reforms

Following are generally accepted suggestions on implementations of land reforms in Jharkhand which is an important tool to tackle Naxalite problem.

- All party consensuses should be arrived at for speeding up the implementation process of land reforms at the village level before the situation goes out of control
- Infrastructure should be strengthen.
- Farmer’s pass book be issued.
- There should be regular arrangement of training of administrative personnel, concurrent evaluation of the quality of implementation and carrying out research is also recognized.
• Correct and up-to-date records are crucial for the implementation of land reforms. Therefore, whenever the records are correct and not up-to-date, necessary steps should be taken to rectify and update them.
• For hill areas which have not been cadastral surveyed so far, a special programme for cadastral survey will have to be initiated.
• Apart from the normal survey and settlement operations, which may continue where they are already under way, a record of tenants, including share-croppers and others in cultivating land, possession of the land, and having presumptive evidentiary value should be prepared for all the villages in the course of a year and the records should be maintained by annual revision. This can be done by way of digitization village maps through computers and integrating the village map with the individual plot of record-of-segment of each Saryat and updating of land records by engaging private vendors on computers where latest changes by way of mutation and conversion of lands are incorporated.
• A crash programme of recording Tenants or Bataidars should be undertaken on the pattern of recording of Bargadars in west Bengal.
• The tenant who is not tilling the land himself should be given an option, within a specified time, whether he would continue to cultivate the land himself.
• Benami transfers must be declared illegal, and such transfers made in past should be annulled and the land is vested in the government. There should be some specific provision in the tenancy laws to precisely define and describe Benami transactions.
• The existing ceiling laws should be translated into the vernacular using simple language so that all concerned have a clear understanding of the implications of the laws. Awareness, particularly amongst the Beneficiaries, should be created by disseminating correct information through the audiovisual mass media.
• Ledgers of landholding district-wise and Taluk-wise need to be prepared by the method of card indexing for effective implementation of ceiling laws.
• Lists of bib rural families should be drawn up at the sub-divisional level and vigorous application of the laws initiated.
• To restore confidence among the Tribals, the pending cases of all those who have illegally disposed of expeditiously by summary trials in a time bound programme. If necessary, additional special offers may also be deputed for the purpose.
• Cases which have been suppressed due to collection with the staff should be examined as laid down in the act and followed up. If necessary, additional staff should be examined as laid down in the act and followed up. If necessary, additional staff may be given. The onus of providing any right over the land which a non-tribal claims must be that of the claimant.

• The tribal welfare department staff should be posted in each Halka and may be utilized to identify cases of alienation and indebtedness. The welfare staff should also pursue the cases of restoration and collusive title suits and take the follow-up action to give effect to the court’s decision case of Tribals.

• People’s participation in land reforms measures can be ensured through a committee constituted by nominated /elected representatives from amongst the members of the scheduled tribes living in that area or through sub-committees of Panchayat Samitis. Such committees should be formed at the Halka and/or block level for the sole purpose of implementing the aforeside measures and should be active.

• The classification in Jharkhand should be reduced to three (against the existing six):
  - Irrigated
  - Unirrigated
  - Inferior quality of land e.g. unproductive, hilly, mountains, sandy etc.
The ceiling for these three categories of land can be 15, 22.5 and 30 acres respectively. However, to provide incentive to farmers to improve productivity, classification of land may not be changed when private irrigation is introduced. Provisions in any case exist for refixation of ceiling if public irrigation is introduced.

• The West Bengal Land Reform Act 1955 as amended upto 1972, besides providing ceiling for ‘Family’ unit, puts a limit for a sole surviving adult unmarried person to half of a family unit. An amendment on the West Bengal lines would facilitate effective implementation in Jharkhand.

• The exemption granted in favour of sugar mills should be withdrawn.

• There should be regular training of officers in order to equip them with the requisite knowledge of the laws, rules, regulations and various instructions issued by the government from time to time relating to land reforms. They should also be properly and adequately equipped with necessary skills and attitudes for the job.
• Section 40 should be suitably amended to prohibit any transfer of land by a member of the STs to a non-tribe.

• A time limit should be prescribed for every settlement operation. Departmental proceedings should be initiated against officers not conforming to these schedules, and punishment imposed.

• The survey officials should not be allowed to open Khatas in respect of such lands in the name of Non-Tribals which have been recorded in the name of tribal in the survey.

• The government should take a lead in establishing bank/consumption loan or micro financing scheme for the Tribals in the area at the rate of no more than four per cent on the lines of the Garmin Bank Scheme in Bangladesh and the mobile banks in Pakistan.

There should be a major thrust on small and medium irrigation project in these areas which are ideally suited in terms of employment potential and for management of the cost benefit ratio. The water resources thus created should be utilized for intensive vegetable cultivation and pisciculture.

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CONCLUSION

The initial spark of 1967 in Naxalbari has created a political movement in India that is entrenched firmly and cannot be swept away easily. It has now existed since over 40 years and if the state will not change its strategy, the conflict can last easily even 40 years more. The records of the past four decades shows clearly that an approach which is almost exclusively based on force and suppression will not be able to destroy the movement. Even a situation like in 1971 where the state was able to curb the challengers with a hard hand and almost destroyed the movement, cannot be repeated today. The state is at war against a part of its own people but this war cannot be won militarily.

The movement is rooted in the economic and social conditions within the Indian state. It will persist to be a part of Indian politics and society as long the state does not acknowledge the nature of the movement and actively looks for long-term solutions for the people involved. The loss of confidence in the state within large sections of the society and their distrust will make it hard for

the state authorities to regain the hearts of the frustrated and exploited. It can be done by providing services and development to the people.

The state must start to fight the conflict legally, minimize collateral damage, strengthen the leadership of the security forces and abstain from any human rights violation. The security forces should better start protecting the population living within the area of conflict instead of merely confronting the Maoists on large scale. The Naxalite movement must be challenged politically by presenting better alternatives to the Maoist approach and offer new perspectives. In this regard the state should start addressing the basic needs of the poor and fulfilling its main responsibilities to deliver human development to these disadvantaged areas. But also the possibility of the Naxalites achieving their aims must be questioned.

Their merit is that they have put issues on the public agenda which were ignored before and that they gave people a voice that has been neglected. Today they are a part of the public discourse. Many people within the Indian society have sympathy for the root cause that the Maoists are fighting for, however the few agree on the violent ways.

It is definitely a serious challenge. In fact Naxalism reflects real threats like large scale poverty, hunger and injustice. The Naxalite movement is a symptom for the failure of the Indian state to provide human development for its citizens. Naxalism has the capacity to destabilize the whole political order as many citizens loose their faith in the state and therefore its legitimacy is challenged. India needs to tackle its internal problems urgently by bringing in positive peace.