Chapter-I

Introduction
Chapter-1

Introduction

Indian politics is marked by violence. This is evident by incidences of its different kinds. Apart from violence accompanying the Partition in 1947, India subsequently witnessed violent revolts of workers, peasants, religious, caste and communal groups. Social Movements like the struggle for Telangana in the early 1970s, the Assam Movement of the 1980s, attacks on deprived groups and sectarian mobilizations have been accompanied by violence. The atrocities against women have necessitated legislation. Violence has also been used in the political process, party politics and electoral process. Naxal Movement\(^1\) is one case of violence that is both part and apart from political process and party politics. It influences political process, especially the electoral process, though it offers a strategy of negation of the same political process in its avowed methods, since its inception in 1968. From a Rebellion to a socio-political movement to a problem involving the country's internal security; the Naxal Movement has indeed come a long way. This Maoist journey has been the most unusual one as it traveled

\(^1\)Naxal Movement' refers to the Left Wing extremist movement that traces its origin to the May 1967 peasant uprising at Naxalbari in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Its prominent ideologues and leaders in the first phase included Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Janghal Santhal. The movement was launched under the banner of the Communist Party of Indian (Marxist) (CPI-M), but, in April 1969, a split occurred in the Party and the radical platform was adopted by the new formation, the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI-ML) whose programmes and activities were 'based on the thought of Mao- Ze- Dung', broadly translated by Mazumdar to its fundamentals as 'the physical annihilation of class enemies.' The movement immediately and completely dominated West Bengal and had some impact on a number of other States, including Andhra Pradesh. Since the death of Charu Mazumdar in July 1972, the movement has witnessed innumerable of splits and mergers. Today, even where no historical links exist between the original parties, leadership, and often even ideology or programme, of contemporary Left Wing extremist movements, each of these continues to be referred to as a 'Naxalite' organization.
from an unknown village of Naxalbari in West Bengal, to reach 509 Police stations comprising of 7000 villages in 11 states, namely Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Kerala. The level of violence is significant in the affected districts of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Maharashtra and Orissa. Recently there were reports that the Naxals are fast targeting some regions in Uttaranchal and Haryana. As per 2006 data today forty percent of the country's geographical area and thirty five percent of the country's total population is affected by the problem of Naxal violence. This is no simple mathematics, as it implies that the problem of Naxalism is more acute than the problems in Kashmir, and the Northeast.

Violence, as a technique, of Naxal Movement was right there from the beginning courtesy Charu Majumdar's *Annihilation Doctrine*\(^4\). However, indiscriminate use of violence and counter violence in the name of development has some how made the Naxal Movement a more complex phenomenon. It has taken the conflict dynamics to a different level, which offers all together different plateau of analysis, which is

\(^2\) \textit{Richard Mahapatra, Unquiet Forests: A Comprehensive look at how Forest Laws are Triggering Conflicts in India with a focus on Naxalite Movement}, Prem Bhatia Memorial Trust, 2004-2005, p.4


\(^4\) Charu Mazumdar, The Principal Naxal Ideologue, gave a call for the "Annihilation of Class Enemies", which was projected as a "higher form of class struggle and the beginning of guerrilla war." The identified 'class enemies' included the landlords and their agents, rich peasants, moneylenders, and policemen and their informers.
quite different from that of the *Spring Thunder*.\(^5\) Approximately 6,000 people have been killed as a direct result of the conflict in last twenty years, with an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 deaths occurring in the last decade.\(^6\)

Following data of the Union Home Ministry is not just a statement but an astounding revelation of a grave danger, shadow of which looms over the whole system of India’s democratic governance.

**Table No.1.1: Year-wise Profile of Naxal Violence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Incidents</th>
<th>Civilians Killed</th>
<th>Policemen Killed</th>
<th>Naxalites Killed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1533</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1594</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It’s not only the number of deaths but also the loss of country’s physical territory that is something more worrisome. We have discussed the theories of violence and there from we can derive the conclusion that all the leading exponents viewed ‘armed struggle’ as a means to an end. None of them ever claimed violence as an end in itself. However, the new generation of Naxal leadership has been repeatedly saying that "armed struggle" is non-negotiable. A

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\(^5\) 'Spring Thunder over India', an article published in the *People’s Daily*, Organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China led by Mao in 5 July 1967. It was reproduced in *Liberation*, Vol. I, No. 1, November 1967. The organ of the Communist Party of China (CPC) seemed to be consumed by a sense of euphoria as it used these words to describe the Naxalbari uprising in West Bengal in May 1967.

\(^6\) *Armed Conflicts Report, India - Maoist Insurgency*, http://www.ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-IndiaAP.html. The same figures were also quoted by BBC News on 1 November 2000.
final 'justification' of extreme Left violence also demands attention here. "The violence that we indulge in," declares Muppala Lakshmana Rao alias 'Ganapathy', the present head of the CPI (Maoist), "is only as a counter to the mindless violence perpetrated day in and day out by the state's mercenary forces." Another party document of the erstwhile CPI (ML) People's War declares that, "Every Marxist Leninist party must propagate revolutionary violence which may express itself in various forms of struggle; one of which may be annihilation of class enemies." However, to believe that the indiscriminate use of violence will advance the cause of revolution is like believing that we can obtain miraculous cure by plunging a scalpel into any part of the body. Killing of innocent civilians, hijacking trains, kidnapping government officials, raiding jails and freeing criminals, sitting over the mines and mineral deposits of the country and not allowing any type of development work to start; what kind of revolution the Naxals are trying to bring by resorting to these means of violence?

The following table contains data of Union Home Ministry, which is a state wise detailed brake up of the Naxal related incidents and resultant deaths. This table leaves no room for romanticism. In no unclear terms it reveals that the Naxal threat is real.

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8 An undated document of CPI (ML) (People's War) document titled "Summing up the past let us advance victoriously along the path of armed struggle."
Table No. 1.2: State-wise details of Naxal Violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1208</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhattisgarh</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jharkhand</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1597</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1594</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other States</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1594</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


What are the reasons that have kept this movement alive for a period of about four decades? Despite of all the tall claims made by successive governments people in the Naxal infested regions continue to lead a miserable life. The metamorphic growth of violence and the inability of the State to come out with a well thought strategy have entirely paralyzed the rural administration in the Naxal-infested regions. The ill represented national government, non-responsive state governments, failed institutions of Local Self Government and the establishment of Naxal Janata Sarkar particularly in the Naxal infested regions have led to the formation of a vicious nexus between bureaucrats, politicians, contractors and Naxals, not to assist the downtrodden but to make Naxalism a

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9 In certain affected areas various Naxal groups have paralyzed the official mechanisms of governance. In these areas as they call it 'liberated areas' the Naxals are effectively running a parallel system of governance where they impose their dictates through their military units, they even collect tax (ransom) and in those areas they claim that they have established the Janata Sarkar.
lucrative business. On the other hand throughout all these decades Naxal Movement has never been able to prepare a development formula for the people for whom it claims of waging a war. Also there is little hope if the Naxal rank and file would ever come closer to the level where policies are made, or programmes are implemented.

Recently Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Indian Prime Minister said, “It would not be exaggeration to say that the problem of Naxalism is the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country.” While speaking in the Chief Ministers Conference of the Naxal affected states Dr. Singh expressed concern over the changing character of the Naxalism into militarization with "superior army style organization, better trained cadres, and attacks on large targets through large scale frontal assaults, better coordination and possible external links." He cautioned about the changing character of Naxal movement including the organizational change which, “needs to be recognized and all responses on our side must be guided by this new reality,” he said.\(^\text{10}\) Of course Naxal organizations have undergone a lot of change and transformation and this is one way of explaining the growth of the Naxal Movement in the country.

What is Naxalism? There are a number of works that have attempted to look at Naxalism from different perspectives. Academicians, police officers, bureaucrats, researchers, journalists, and experts on security have significantly contributed in analyzing the problem. As far as the books are concerned most of the books on the Naxal Movement are published before 1980, yet we found them quite useful for our purpose as they helped us understand the basic characteristics

\(^\text{10}\) Speech of Dr. Manmohan Singh, in the Conference of the Chief Ministers of Naxal Infested States, on 13 April 2006, at New Delhi, as reported by Press Trust of India (PTI).
of the movement. Undoubtedly the Naxal Movement is a dynamic phenomenon and the most important feature of the movement is that even after so many decades of its existence and even after so many changes in its organizational goals and strategies, there is still an element of continuity of the past.

Enclosed here is a review of existing literature on the Naxal Movement, which would set different paradigms for the purpose of the current research work.

Review of Literature on Naxal Movement

Books:

In the wake of Naxalbari- A History of the Naxalite Movement in India\(^{11}\), by Sumanta Banerjee, is one of the most authoritative statements on the course of Naxal Movement in India. Sumanta Banerjee, through his impressive analytical power, armed with facts and figures, presents the entire Indian situation (during 1966-67) and makes readers believe that the situation was real bad for the rural as well as urban poor. But his sympathy with the politics of Naxalism vanishes once he goes deep in discussing the strategies of CPI (ML), especially Charu Majumdar’s ‘annihilation’ doctrine. Banerjee holds that it was a genuine Maoist beginning which failed from achieving its main objective of a radical transformation of the socio-political system of India. He argued, even though the movement successfully highlighted popular sentiments, in due course, it isolated itself from the masses due

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to some serious lapses. Also, Banerjee comes down heavily on Mrs. Gandhi and her government for their lack of will power to improve the conditions of poor in India. His concluding remarks are worth mentioning here, as he doesn’t deny the possibility of future armed struggle in India. He considers Naxalism to be the product of poverty of the urban and rural poor.

*Revolutionary Violence: A Study of Maoist Movement in India,* by Manoranjan Mohanty makes a shift from the usual writings on Naxal movement. Mohanty presents an in depth analysis on the theory and practice of Mao’s philosophy and in the light of this analysis he examines how correctly or not the Indian Maoists have applied the same. It is indeed thought provoking when Mohanty claims that Indian Maoists didn’t match their Chinese counterparts when it comes to following Maoism. Ideology, Strategy, Dynamism, United Front and Organization everywhere CPI (ML) deviated from the principles laid down by Mao. To him, the ideological stagnation and pre-organizational character of the movement were responsible for the setbacks in CPI (ML)’s performance. Mohanty’s work also includes the measures taken by Government of India to handle the Maoist movement. Stern police action, launching of alternative groups to counter Maoists and formulation of economic policies, according to Mohanty, were the main elements in Government’s response towards Naxal movement. However,

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the Government's main weapon was police measures. The author though
doesn't deny the serious impact of Maoist movement in India and is
convincing when he accepts, the prospect of revolutionary politics in
India.

'Historical analysis with a blend of sympathy', this is the general
impression about Sankar Ghosh's, *The Naxalite Movement: A Maoist
Experiment*. Telengana, Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Debra-Gopiballabhpur all these
specific Maoist Movements have been studied. Ghosh portrays Telengana as the
first armed struggle in India organized on the Chinese model. To him, Naxalbari
movement was not suddenly conceived in 1967, but Charu Majumdar was
preparing for such a movement right from 1962. Srikakulam and Debra-
Gopiballabhpur represent the testing ground for the policy of offensive terror
'annihilation'. On the whole Sankar Ghosh gives enough justifications, for the
Naxal movement's call of abjuration of parliamentary democracy and faith on
extremist measures. Moreover, in an uncompromising tone, the author declares
Charu Mazumdar, an ardent follower of Mao, both in theory and practice. Ghosh
agrees that the movement failed because of serious police onslaught but warns that
the situation of Indian countryside still offers sufficient ground for armed
revolution. It is strange to note here that this work is genuinely critical on excesses
made by police but it is conspicuously silent about the violent techniques applied
by Naxal Groups.

Mukhopadhyay, Culeutta, 1974.
The Naxalite Movement\textsuperscript{14} by Biplab Dasgupta is a work, which is a challenge to the basic theoretical premises of the Naxal Movement. Biplab Dasgupta points out that there were wide difference in the theory and practice of Maoism by Naxalites. The Naxalites might have accepted the thoughts and principles of Mao, but in practice, their activity bore little resemblance to those of Chinese Party in their liberation struggle. While assessing the entire movement Dasgupta comes down heavily on Charu Majumdar’s technique of annihilation. Further he denounces the Naxal Movement as an urban phenomenon, which failed to attract the peasantry, the working class and the tribals. On the whole, Dasgupta has observed that Indian conditions were not ripe for an armed revolution and criticize the Naxalite leadership for not making use of parliamentary politics. To him, ‘the assessment of the Indian ruling class’ by the Naxal leaders was fundamentally wrong. Biplab Dasgupta opens up scope for yet another debate when he compares Naxalite Violence with those of Moods, Rockers, and Skinheads etc. of the West. Also he draws a parallel between Naxalites and Shiv Sainiks.

Mohan Ram’s two books \textit{Indian communism– Split within a Split}\textsuperscript{15} and \textit{Maoism in India}\textsuperscript{16}, try to place India in the Maoist strategy. They look into the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute and its impact on Indian Communist movement. Mohan Ram discusses Naxalbari and portrays it as the welcome revival of Indian Maoism and Maoist armed struggle in India. His analysis takes a sympathetic turn when he


\textsuperscript{15} Mohan Ram, \textit{Indian Communism: Split within A Split}, Vikash Publications, Delhi, 1969.

\textsuperscript{16} Mohan Ram, \textit{Maoism in India}, Vikash Publications, Delhi, 1972
comments on the situations of Indian countryside and finds ‘vast revolutionary potential’ there. Citing reasons for the failure of the Naxal Movement, Mohan Ram blames it on CPI (ML)’s adventurism and Charu Majumdar’s obsession with ‘annihilation tactics’. He is also critical of the ‘hasty’ manner in which the CPI (ML) came into existence. Commenting on the future of Naxalite Movement in India, Mohan Ram talks about finding the ‘correct Maoist idiom’. But he is very much silent with regard to ‘where and how’ of this miracle idiom. ‘Politics of Naxalism’ gets a new meaning in the *Naxalite Politics in India*\(^{17}\), by J.C. Johari. He starts his analysis by claiming that Naxal Movement had not a spontaneous beginning rather it was a well-engineered plan. He moves onto describing Naxalite politics ‘menacing’ and Naxal leadership as ‘the inconvenient children of Marxist ideology’. Further more he equates Naxal movement with terrorist developments. Johari, in deed, tries to expand his focus into the states of West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, and Tamil Nadu etc. However his analysis doesn’t provide us any understanding about the socio-economic conditions of the people in those states. He portrays the politics of Naxalism as something that is ‘irrelevant’, ‘dastardly and despicable outrage’, but his silence with regard to the relevance of the background (situation and issues) of the movement, somehow makes the scope of the present work limited.

The Spring Thunder and After: A Survey of Maoist and Ultra-Leftist Movements in India: 1962-75\textsuperscript{18} by Asish Kumar Roy, provides an insight to the sociology of Naxal movement in India. Through an impressive presentation of facts, figures and tables the author traces the social roots of Naxalbari and subsequent Maoist movements. On the whole this work provides an understanding of Maoist movement in India, both from macro and micro level. Macro level, in the sense, it analyses the place of India in international communist (Maoist) strategy. Micro, as it looks into various facts and factors of Maoist movement in West Bengal. In his analysis, Roy maintains that though Naxalbari movement was launched with a sharp ideological tactical break through, soon it became neo-anarchist. He finds lack of strong party organization, inability to build a powerful mass base and ignorance of military affairs, are the main reasons for the failure of Naxalbari Movement. Sort of empirical study has been made on the activity of CPI (ML), from Naxalbari to Calcutta through Debra-Gopiballarpur- Birbhum. He is very much convincing when he blames, CPI (ML) for shifting its focus to less and less meaningful forms and targets. He also maintains that the ideological orientation was replaced entirely by personal obsession. However, his 'socio- psychological explanation of violence' and his analysis on 'political violence and modernization' fall short to explain the nature of Naxal movement.

The Crimson Agenda: Maoist Protest and Terror\textsuperscript{19}, by Ranjit Kumar Gupta, is a work, which presents the current state of left-wing extremism without ignoring the past events. Ranjit Kumar Gupta makes a strong impression, when he says that present day Naxalite is different from that of 1967. He locates the cause of Maoist movement in India into ‘socio-economic wrongs’. Denial of equality, liberty and justice, a rigid caste system, an ineffective Panchayat Raj system, absence of cooperatives are some of the causes listed by Gupta. His experience as the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, during the peak of Naxal Movement, enables him to discuss at length about the approach of tackling this problem. But here also he is no ordinary policeman. He emphasizes on the need of an all India approach. He justifies the use of legitimate force only if it is followed by reforms for implementation. His practical wisdom is again established when he highlights the role of intelligence in combating the Maoist threat. He writes at length about the Maoist activity in Nepal and cautions that India can’t be complacent over what’s happening in Nepal. On the whole, it can be said, that Gupta’s rich experience and clear understanding on the problem helped him explain the current state of Naxal Movement, although his empirical evidence comes from 1970’s West Bengal.

\textsuperscript{19} Ranjit Kumar Gupta, \textit{The Crimson Agenda: Maoist Protest and Terror}, Wordsmiths, Delhi, 2004.
The Naxalite Movement in India: Origin and Failure of the Maoist Revolutionary Strategy in West Bengal, by Sohail Jawaid\textsuperscript{20}, is different for it downplays theory and ideology and concentrates more on the social and economic conditions as the material base of the Maoist movement. Focusing on West Bengal, Jawaid emphasizes on the socio-economic disparities as the root cause of Naxalite movement. His analysis on the agrarian, tribal and student aspect of Naxalite movement is something that keeps him at the center-stage of a debate. He points out that there was nothing in common between Naxalites and peasants with regard to religions, culture and language. He discusses the tribal problems in great detail but his generalizations some times seem to be preconceived. For example he says Jangal Santhal joined CPI (ML) only to enter into the State Legislative Assembly. Jawaid also sees only selfish motives behind student participation in the movement, especially in Calcutta (Kolkata) in 1970-71. He moves on to discuss the response from Central Government, which he finds quite positive. He gives credit to the Congress Government at the center for initiating a series of public policies and welfare schemes aimed at the growth of poor. At the same time he puts the blame on the Naxalites for they rejected the prospect of peaceful change initiated by the Central Government. On the whole, his analysis was based on the fact that a large-scale revolution based on Maoist ideology was neither feasible nor possible.

The Naxalite Movement in India\textsuperscript{21} by Prakash Singh is another work, which downplays the ideological basis in Naxalite movement and focuses more on the real course of Naxal movement in India. Prakash Singh, writes from his experience of assignments in the Home Ministry, and claims that Naxal movement represented a sincere even if misguided attempt to change the system. He finds enough justifications with the issues raised by Naxalites but he is critical over their modus operandi. The academic utility of the book lies with the fact that Prakash Singh has tried to look beyond Naxalbari. He shows how Naxal movement has progressed so far in the new strongholds of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Maharastra. Though in a limited manner, Prakash Singh explores, various theories, which could explain the basic question, i.e., why people take up arms? Then moves on to make his point and says no generalization on the subject is possible. ‘The profile of violence’ as presented by the author is very much significant to note the improvements the Naxalites have gone through over the years with their knowledge of military affairs. On the other hand, Prakash Singh acknowledges the effect of use of police methods by the Government. However, he cautions that, Police action by itself would never lead to a solution, as roots of the problem are much deeper and are essentially related to the socio-economic conditions of the poor and landless.

farmers and the dispossessed and alienated tribals. The stress should be on tackling the basic causes.

Research Papers, Articles, Reports:

*The Course of Naxalism,* \(^{22}\) By Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty is a significant article, which highlights the growing trends of the Naxal Movement. Written in the backdrop of the Naxal ban in Andhra Pradesh this article points out at the dilemma faced by the government over the question of handling the problem of Naxalism. Mohanty has a point to prove when he says that despite of several organizational and political changes the Naxal movement never lost its focus over the question of agrarian revolution. He grossly blames the Union government for its policy of liberalization; at the same time he also blames the state governments of Naxalite affected states for not making any honest attempt over the issue of land reforms. Broadly speaking, Mohanty points out that the Naxal challenge rests upon agrarian transformation, tribal people's rights, the nationality movement and resisting imperialism and globalization. In this article Mohanty talks about the inter group politics of Naxal organizations and sticks to the earlier position taken by him in his Revolutionary Violence (1977). In this article Mohanty provides a detailed discussion on the question of violence and democracy. Though the article highlights some of the complex characteristics of the present day Naxalism, yet it fails to address the question of Naxal violence. Undoubtedly, the article presents a forceful plea that the Naxal movement is not just a law and order problem, and several socio-economic issues are linked with the problem of Naxalism. However, the article totally ignores the principal characteristic of the Naxal movement that is the political nature of the movement. Naxalism stands for the complete rejection

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of the prevailing Parliamentary Democratic System of India and this feature of Naxal movement has never changed in all these years.

_Naxalism: The Retreat of Civil Governance_, 23 by Ajay Sahni is one comprehensive article, which highlights several conflicting characteristics of the contemporary Naxal Movement. In a thought provoking exercise the article raises some serious questions answer of which holds the key to the decades old problem of Naxal violence. The article marks a departure from the dominant trend of romanticism in analysis and attempts to address the basic realities of Naxal violence. To start with Ajay Sahni makes it quite clear that there is a genuine need to move away from the causal approach which highlights at the 'historical wrongs and inequalities', rather the focus should be more on the 'representative character of the movement.' He sounds convincing when he points out that the downtrodden and the underprivileged are not the usual instigators of Naxal violence rather Naxal violence is mostly planned by the 'better educated and relatively affluent 'ideologues' and mobilizes, who purport to speak on their behalf.' Again he moves on to examine the popular Relative Deprivation Approach of Ted Robert Gurr and claims that 'the causal link between absolute, or even relative, deprivation and 'revolutionary violence' is, at best, tenuous.' However, this seems to be a generalized observation as the problem of contemporary Naxalism today is located in some of the worst underdeveloped pockets of India and there exist a strong sense a relative deprivation among the masses which is the reason those areas have been witnessing a spurt of Maoist violence in recent years. The strength of Sahni however lies somewhere else as he convincingly argues that,

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'democracy does offer institutions and instrumentalities of social transformation and, however inefficient these may be in a particular situation, they are ordinarily more effective than the option of directionless and largely randomized violence.' Particularly the article is successful in igniting the basis for an intellectual exercise as it demonstrates the problems of a reductionist approach that conceives of poverty alleviation and developmental programmes, investments and reforms as the panacea for extreme Left violence. At the same time the article also refutes the claim that the whole problem can be subsumed under a simple 'law and order' approach that depends overwhelmingly on the use of para-military and police forces. In the second part of the article the writer takes Andhra Pradesh as a case study and examines several aspects of policy formulation and implementation by successive governments in the state. It is here that the writer makes a forceful plea for the restoration of civil administration in the Naxal-infested areas. This may seem quite plain and simple but in reality this is what holds the key to provide a long-term solution to the problem of Naxal movement. The most important contribution of this article to the study of contemporary Naxalism is the writer’s observation where he points out that once the conflict has established itself and attained a certain level, it acquires a dynamic purely of its own, one that is self sustaining unless forcefully and forcibly disrupted. This observation of Sahni seems to hold good in terms of the genesis and current phase of Naxalism.

*Naxalite Consolidation in Orissa*²⁴, by Sanjay Kumar Jha could be seen as a window to the Naxal problem in the state. This article explains in details the pattern of Naxalite growth in different pockets of Orissa. Beginning his analysis

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with the impact of the Naxalbari movement in Orissa this article points out that the formation of Andhra-Orissa Border Special Zone by People's War in 2001 the highpoint in the long history of the Naxal movement of the state. Though the article makes an effective ‘event analysis’ it somehow lacks the ‘issue analysis’ and in that sense the scope of the article is limited. By providing the details of Naxal related incidents, the writer successfully highlights the gravity of the situation, but there is missing information about what really designed the violent character of the Naxal movement in the state.

_Naxalbari: Between Past and Present_,25 by Sumanta Banerjee, is particularly useful for the contemporary research on Naxalism as it draws parallels between the Naxalbari Movement of 1967 and the current phase of Naxalism. However, the choice of words at the beginning of the article where he writes that ‘Naxal movement is a force to reckon with’ and in the very next sentence he writes that the police and administrative officials brand it as ‘Naxal menace’ makes it very clear that Banerjee’s basic assumptions are not changed even after 25 years of the publication of his book ‘In the wake of Naxalbari- A history of the Naxalite Movement in India’. But then he never fails to evoke a genuine concern in the minds of the readers that why even after so many years Naxalism continues to get the support of poor, marginalized and tribal. To him the main achievement of the Naxalbari movement was the ignition of a fire among the rural poor that has refused to die down till today. The article squarely puts the blame on the government’s failed economic policies and socio-economic strategies and attributes these reasons for the growth of Naxalite movement.

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Banerjee makes us believe that not much has changed in terms of societal conditions and similarly nothing has changed in terms of Naxal modus operandi. However, this argument of Banerjee fails to accommodate the organizational change and policy shifts at the government level. Naxals may not have changed their slogan but they have changed in terms of their strategies of goal achievement. Naxals may have ignited fire among the poor and marginalized but aren't the poor worst sufferers of the Naxal violence and counter violence? These are the questions, which are not addressed by Sumanta Banerjee, but his assessment on the government failure is an astounding revelation of facts. The last line of the article where the writer highlights the need of reconciliation among the fighting factions is both relevant and proves Sumanta Banerjee’s keen observation.

"Naxalites: Time For Retrospection," as the title is self-explanatory; Sumanta Banerjee looks into the areas where the established political institutions of the country as well as the Naxal leadership failed. It is interesting to note that the author emphasizes the need of such retrospection by the Naxal leadership not for anything but for the ‘cause of self interest’. In the same sentence the writer also wishes it to be made equally necessary for the government to do such an exercise. The writer tries to provide a balance sheet of Naxal violence and in the process categorize the state as ‘dominating force’ and the Naxals as ‘repressed force’. The author cites the instances of human rights violation by the security forces, which undoubtedly has to be condemned in the strongest possible words. However, this does not undermine the effect of violent modus operandi by the

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Naxal outfits, which is less highlighted in the article. Sumanta Banerjee displays his deep understanding of the Naxal movement when he throws some unconventional questions before the Naxal leadership. He wants to know: why despite the Naxal claim of controlling Gadchiroli and Gondia in Maharashtra, the Shiv Shena is on rise there. Similarly why the Naxals are silent over the religious political agenda of the Hindu fundamentalist forces in India? Looking for the answers, Banerjee points out that the Naxal organizations are still dominated by the upper and middle caste Hindus and Hinduised tribal, and this organizational deficiency have some how detached the Naxal movement from the ground realities. He makes an interesting comparison between the growth of Hindu fundamentalism and Naxal Movement, and concludes that it is because of its underground character that the Naxal brand of politics has been reduced to a minority in the contemporary Indian political scenario. However, in his plight for a place of Naxalism in the political process of the country, Banerjee never attempts at the basic assumption of Naxal Movement, which is ‘complete rejection of Parliamentary democracy’. Another weakness in the article is that though Banerjee wants the Naxal leadership to retrospect why they are weak in terms of their growth and spread, he never wants them to retrospect over the growing militarization of the so called ‘agrarian revolution.’

Political Bases and Dimensions of the Naxalite Movement, by Sanjay Kumar Jha is a rare combination of objectivity and comprehensiveness. The usefulness of the article can be gauged from the fact that it attempts to provide an

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anthology of organizational exercise within the Naxal Movement. Jha, starts the paper with the formation of the CPI (Maoist) and cautions about the escalation of violence due to the merger of PW and MCC(I) and later course of events prove his assumptions. He critically examines the Naxalite agenda and programmes and observes that while the Naxal Movement has a fragmented character it remained somewhat consistent as far as their core ideology is concerned. This article brings out several internal and external dimensions, which forced a merger between the MCC (I) and PW. Broadly speaking the article can be divided into three parts, viz. in the first part it deals with some basic assumptions, in the second part the writer tests these assumptions using Andhra Pradesh as the case study and the third part is most important where he speaks about the complexities of the movement. Examining the political space for Naxalism the writer asks a serious question that whether the Naxals have the potential to emerge as a significant political force? He himself then answers that due to excessive reliance on underground activities and violence, the Naxalite groups have been reduced to an insignificant political force in the current Indian political scenario. But do the Naxals really want to be a political force in the current parliamentary set up of India? The next controversial issue that Sanjay Jha picks up is the social base of the Naxal groups and here he concludes that the Naxal groups enjoy a considerable social base. This position of him is also seems to be self contradictory as if the Naxals are an insignificant political force then how come they have a strong social base? His observations regarding the factors responsible for the growth of Naxal movement are very important and well researched. He points out criminalization of the movement, the nexus between contractors, mafia and Naxal and most importantly its linkages
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with the mainstream political parties that have resulted in the metamorphic rise of
violent incidents.

*India: The Naxalite Movement*,\(^\text{28}\) by Suba Chandran and Mallika
Joseph is not just another article rather it's a brief survey done on the
complex problem of Naxalism in India. In this work the writers trace the
history of Naxal movement and in the process look into the process of
organizational build up. After examining a number of variables the
writers emphasize that though the Naxal Movement is fragmented; the
differences between these Naxalite groups that continue along the
nonparliamentarian path have to do more with personal clashes among
the leadership and less with their ideology. The article finds that all the
Naxalite groups work toward the same objectives, and use the same
methods. The article highlights several issues of violence,
counterviolence, land reforms, and underdevelopment and links it with
the growth of Naxal movement. While talking about encounters and
human rights violation, the authors want the 'genuine Naxalite
organizations' to be reprimed from the same. However, what they mean
by genuine Naxal organizations is not clear and on the questions of
human rights violation no such division can be made. At the end of the
article they recommend quite a number of programmes for the
government to undertake.

\(^{28}\) Suba Chandran and Mallika Joseph, "India: The Naxalite Movement", *Searching for Peace in
http://www.conflict-prevention.net/page.php?id=40&formid=73&action=show&surveyid=44#2#2

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Unquiet Forests: A comprehensive look at how forest laws are triggering conflicts in India with a focus on Naxalite movement, by Richard Mahapatra is an impressive study on contemporary Naxal movement which gives quite a non-conventional analysis of the problem. The paper armed with facts and figures presents an argument where natural resource conflict (Forest) is being seen as the primary cause of escalation of Maoist violence in India. Discussing the causes, Mahapatra argues that the Naxalites are fast spreading into forest areas exploiting the increasing tribal alienation from forests, caused by repressive colonial forest laws. 'A contemporary picture of Indian forest has got a prominent, but not so beautiful, feature besides the natural trees and their intimately dependent tribal residents -- Naxalites.' The paper, though limited in its scope, is a genuine piece of research where the writer points that forest and forest law hold the key to suffice the growing alienation among the tribal who live in the forest.

Left Wing Extremism in India, by P V Ramana is another comprehensive piece of work addressing the complexities of contemporary Naxalism. This paper discuss the scope and scale of the activities of Left-wing extremist groups in India, especially in Andhra Pradesh, and examines the probability of a peaceful resolution of the problem of Left-wing extremism. Analyzing the Home Ministry data, the writer presents an area profile of the Maoist influenced states in India. The article exposes the crucial internal and external linkages of the Naxal groups. Ramanna exposes PWG-ISI, PWG-LTTE, and PWG-CPN (Maoist) linkages and their impact on the growth of Naxal movement. Speaking about the internal

29 Richard Mahapatra, "Unquiet Forests: A Comprehensive Look at how Forest Laws are Triggering Conflicts in India with a Focus on Naxalite Movement", Prem Bhatia Memorial Trust under the Scholarship for Young Indian Journalists, 2004-2005.
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linkages, he writes about the link between the politicians and Naxalites and concludes that this has substantially helped the Naxals to increase their capabilities. He gives a number of instances from Andhra Pradesh to prove that the failures of Panchayat Raj institutions have ultimately helped the Naxals to establish base areas. Examining the surrender and rehabilitation policy of Andhra Pradesh government he says that the policy has not been successful in giving the desired results. He ends up with a rather pessimist view when he says that the Naxalite movement it is unlikely to come to an end because the rebel’s objective is to overthrow the democratically elected government. Though the article highlights the complexities of the problem it fails to suggest any long-term solution and this is the basic problem with the article.

The review of existing writings on Naxalism shows that the phenomenon has been analyzed in terms of structural poverty, national and international political factors, Maoist ideology and failed tactical methods to achieve strategic goals in the political process. The net result was that even though it highlighted the issue of poverty, Naxalism could not achieve its strategic goals and was criticized for its tactical methods. This review underlines the fact that Naxalism is seen here as a phenomenon which is part of the political conflict in Indian politics. We suggest that it should be seen as a part of organizational conflict, both inter and intra organizational conflict. Because the genesis, growth, split and current phase of Naxalism forms one of the important parts of organizational politics. Equally true is the fact that the Naxal Movement manifests itself through different organizations, which are subject to a range of internal and external pressures that
affect their viability, their internal structure, and their ultimate success in attaining goals. Hence the theoretical application of Organizational politics could well prove to be the most effective tool in analyzing the problem of Naxalism.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Naxalism is a reflection of the prevalent injustice and oppression in the society. It also represents the conflict between values of democratic change and status quo. Also one cannot ignore the use of excessive violence in the name of the upliftment of the poor, as part of organizational competition and conflict.

This is not to claim the first study on Naxal Movement, as the enclosed review of literature suggests that there are a number of scholars who have studied this problem. Those studies have their own utility, but as Naxalism or Naxal Movement is a complex problem, it is necessary to look at specific groups of different regions. Another limitation with the available literature (Books) is that most of them cover the movement up to 1980's. It must also be noted here that the authors so far have focused mostly on West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and to some extent Bihar, at the expense of other areas where the movement does have a strong presence.

In this context a primary research on the Naxal Movement in one of the worst affected states, that is Orissa, is very much of academic and political interest. This study explores the socio-economic and political structures, which designed the course of the Naxal Movement
in Orissa. Furthermore, the study provides an understanding of nexus between Politics and Violence, in the specific context of the Naxal Movement in Orissa. It examines the genesis of the Naxal organizations and their organizational transformation, which have occurred from time to time. 'Government response to the Naxal movement', is a much-neglected area, in the existing literatures on the subject. This study would examine Governments' response to the organizational growth of Naxal Movement in Orissa.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The proposed research work aims at providing a macro-micro analysis of Politics of violence, using Naxal movement as a tool. In the light of the existing literature and with the inputs from the empirical study, this will be a study of the genesis and current phase of Naxal Movement in Orissa. Attempt will be made to study the growth of Naxal Movement from within the scope of the 'Organizational Theory of Politics'.

HYPOTHESIS

i. Naxalism is a political problem and can only be solved politically.

ii. It needs to be viewed in the light of genesis and growth of organizations.

iii. The genesis and the current phase of Naxal Movement are characterized by inter-organizational and intra-organizational conflict, which have had far reaching impacts on the course of the movement.
iv. The Union Government must evolve a greater role for itself to solve this problem.

v. A specially designed land reforms programme needs to be taken up with fresh zeal.

vi. Poverty alleviation programmes need a fresh approach. Tribal will have to be given a better deal and the alienated land must be restored to them.

vii. Active participation of tribal rural people through the Panchayat Raj Institutions is very much necessary, for it would contribute to the democratic development process.

viii. Negative publicity is a dreaded weapon in the hands of Naxalites. The Government must work on a specific media management and positive campaign programme to counter Naxal consideration.

ix. To handle the explosive situations in the Naxal affected areas, police presence is not only necessary but needs to be strengthened.

x. The state must ensure the enforcement of law and order accompanied by comprehensive development of the areas affected, especially in the tribal pockets.

METHODOLOGY

This study would apply historical and analytical method to understand the genesis and growth of Naxal Movement. It would be an empirical study to examine the growth of Naxal movement in Orissa and approach of the government to the problem. Data will be collected from extensive
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fieldwork, which will involve questionnaire and interviews. Inputs from the secondary sources will effectively be used.