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## Avinash Kumar



*Avinash Kumar has completed his Ph.D. in International Investment Law from the Dept. of Law & Governance, Central University of South Bihar. His research work is on "International Investment Agreement and State's right to regulate Foreign Investment." He qualified UGC-NET and has been selected for the prestigious ICSSR Doctoral Fellowship. He is an alumnus of the Faculty of Law, University of Delhi. Formerly he has been elected as Students Union President of Law Centre-1, University of Delhi. Moreover, he completed his LL.M. from the University of Delhi (2014-16), dissertation on "Cross-border Merger & Acquisition"; LL.B. from the University of Delhi (2011-14), and B.A. (Hons.) from Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi. He has also obtained P.G. Diploma in IPR from the Indian Society of International Law, New Delhi. He has qualified UGC – NET examination and has been awarded ICSSR – Doctoral Fellowship. He has published six-plus articles and presented 9 plus papers in national and international seminars/conferences. He participated in several workshops on research methodology and teaching and learning.*

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# **STATE, DEVELOPMENT, AND RESISTANCE:** **THE MAOIST CHALLENGE**

AUTHORED BY - ABHINAV ANAND

## **Introduction**

Left wing extremism or Maoism surfaced in India in May 1967 when a handful of tea farm labourers in Naxalbari village of Darjeeling revolted against their landlords and forcefully acquired their land to redistribute among the landless tribal peasants. The protagonist of the Naxalbari uprising Charu Majumdar laid the foundation of the movement in his book Historic Eight Documents, he wrote about the concept of seizure of power by armed peasants and workers which will eventually transform into a nation-wide revolution and will overthrow the bourgeois democracy to establish the real democracy of the people<sup>1</sup>

Maoism in contemporary India is identified as an internal safety threat, often going with words like terrorism, insurgency, separatism, etc. The Indian state aims to eliminate the Maoist challenge from all across the country focusing primarily on the “Red Corridor” which spreads across states like Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, etc., through various military and political manoeuvres. Maoism found resonance amidst the marginalised sections across the country and the movement soon witnessed brutal state repression and demonisation as terrorism and insurgency. However, Maoist thought succeeded in spreading across the nation from the 1970s and continues to exist till now but has witnessed significant ideological and strategic setbacks.

This paper sheds light on the conditions that propelled the growth of Maoism and why it appealed to particular sections of society. It'll further try to illuminate the readers by providing insights from two of the most affected regions of Bihar and Bastar, analyzing how both the regions despite having different problems, demography, and struggle are immensely effected by armed struggles. It analyzes the approach of the state in handling the Naxalite movement and its role in affecting the movement and its trajectory. The paper concludes by understanding how Maoism as a socio-political force shaped the general political discourse.

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<sup>1</sup> Charu Majumdar, Historic Eight Documents, 13 (Foreign Languages Press 2020).

## Dual Experiments

This chapter delves into the armed movements that followed in parts of Bihar and Bastar after Naxalbari and tries to understand what conditions made it possible for armed resistance to arise and determine the role of the state in response to such movements. This chapter also highlights the role of the state and the lacuna in addressing the issues of the people which created distrust and resentment among them.

### The Bihar Experience

Maoism was introduced to Bihar after the Naxalbari uprising, Mushari block in Muzaffarpur district was the first area to witness the Naxalite upsurge.<sup>2</sup> The reason why Naxalism made its way in Bihar was the Marxist analysis of existing social conditions which asserted that that the agrarian society of Bihar was ripe for revolution and thus there was a need for People's Armies across the state to organize the proletarian masses and to intensify class struggle which will subsequently lead to a revolution.

To understand why the Naxalite movement was able to attract people and then sustain itself as a political force in the state it is very important to understand the prevailing class and caste relations in the state. Bihar in modern India has always been a vital place for peasant mobilization and political movements, from the origin of Gandhi's *Champaran Satyagraha*, Swami Shajanand's movement against landlordism during the colonial period to being the first state to abolish the Zamindari system by passing Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Act, 1948. However, it is ironic that even after abolishing the Zamindari system and subsequent enactment of the Land Ceiling Act 1961, the landlords were able to have possession over most of their land directly or indirectly by exploiting various legal loopholes. The Zamindari system thus continued to prevail in reality if not in the documents, this ensured the continuance of practices like sharecropping and forced labor.<sup>3</sup> The Zamindars were predominantly of the *Rajput* and *Bhumihar* caste and castes which today form the OBCs, while the labourers who carried out the cultivation tasks were Dalits, those who came from most socially depressed groups and were completely dependent on the fieldwork for their survival.<sup>4</sup> The condition of the field workers, labourers was miserable owing to the continuous caste oppression, most of the labourers were mostly landless or had marginal land

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<sup>2</sup> Jitendra Narayan, *Naxalism in Bihar: A Historical perspective*, 72, The Indian Journal of Political Science, 1069 (2011).

<sup>3</sup> Rajesh k. Nayak, *Naxalism, Private Caste Based Militias and Rural Violence in Cetral Bihar*, 73, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1303-1304 (2012).

<sup>4</sup> Anand Chakravarti, *Caste and Agrarian Class: A View from Bihar*, 36, Economic and Political Weekly, 1452 (2001).

holdings and used to live in the village outskirts. Apart from caste discrimination, the labourers faced the issues like denial of minimum wage, forced/bonded labour, and physical/sexual abuse by the landlords. In most of the villages the labourers were given about half *paseri* of coarse rice (1.75kg), with some lunch or breakfast sometimes. There was no concept of minimum wage in monetary form which is to be on a daily basis.<sup>5</sup> There was also denial of accessibility to common property resources like village ponds, and wells, which were the only sources of fresh water, and were used for fetching drinking water, bathing cattle, washing clothes, etc.

Thus, caste discrimination along with class antagonism served as the base for various discriminatory and oppressive practices which were essentially feudal in nature. The accumulation of the given set of practices remained blatantly unaddressed by the state, to the Dalits, Tribals the state looked complicit in the facilitation of feudal norms. The government offices, the police, and the resource centres were inaccessible to the labourers as the sheer majority of the latter were illiterate and had no knowledge of the state machinery. The police often allied with the landlord in cases of dispute rendering justice a dream for many in cases of violence, and abuse perpetuated by the upper caste-class people. The majority of people couldn't see any change, growth, or development in the existing socio-economic-political conditions, the state apparatus was ostensibly a bluff to them. There was immense dissatisfaction among the masses because of existing conditions and the failure of state institutions to address them.

Maoism in Bihar witnessed rapid growth and mobilization because it succeeded in addressing the lacuna regarding the socio-economic-political conditions, there was severe criticism of state institutions and growing resentment against the prevailing class-caste relations. They were successful in convincing the oppressed masses that no democracy could exist without the elimination of feudal remnants from the society. The upper caste-class landlords were identified as the feudal elements that needed to be eliminated for the establishment of people's democracy, the state similarly was seen as a custodian of landlordism.

In 1967, after the Naxalbari uprising the group that was leading the idea of armed revolution led by the peasants, and workers of the country was the AICCCPR which later formed the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) but after the death of the leader of Naxalbari uprising Charu Majumdar the party was divided into various splinters because of ideological and strategic differences. In Bihar various Maoist parties were leading the labourers, peasants, and workers in

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<sup>5</sup> Bela Bhatia, *Naxalite Movement in Central Bihar*, 40, Economic and Political Weekly, 1542 (2005).

different areas, such as the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation in the Bhojpur region, Maoist Communist Centre in the Muzaffarpur region, several other groups like Party Unity and Mazdoor Kisan Sangram Samiti advocated the path of armed struggle to overthrow the existing conditions.

What came next was a full-fledged struggle against the state in both non-violent and violent forms. The struggle had its manifestations in the forms of protests, torch marches, economic blockade, non-cooperation, *gherao*, *chakka jam*, etc. simultaneously with ambushes, forced land grabbing from landlords which were then distributed to the landless labourers, and skirmishes with the local elite. The growth of armed conflicts between the landlords and the state came with its repercussions, the region of central Bihar witnessed the upsurge of counter-revolutionary groups which were formed by the landlords to save their land, power, pride, and prestige. Private militias like Ranveer Sena, Sunlight Sena, Ganga Sena, Savarna Liberation Front, Kunwar Sena, etc. were formed to protect the feudal capital held by the upper-class landlords in the region, the agenda was to eliminate Naxalism from the region. The conflict between the Naxals and the state along with the private militias resulted in large-scale violence from both sides, while the Naxals kept on capturing land, and resources from the landlords simultaneously they faced violent attacks from the police, paramilitary, and the feudal armies. The worst form of violence was the attacks by the feudal armies like the Ranveer Sena, as the strategy used by them was to burn the villages and slaughter whoever they saw during the night hours, the greatest number of victims were women, children, and the elderly<sup>6</sup>.

In the late 1990s, Bihar saw some of the most gruesome massacres in independent India such as in villages like Laxmanpur Bathe, Ekwari, Shankarbigha, Narayanpur, Senari etc. What makes it worse is the response of the state and judiciary, in the Bathani Tola case the eyewitnesses were declared unfit and unreliable, similarly in the Laxmanpur-Bathe case the trials began after 11 years of the incident and in this case too, the witnesses who had survived the massacre and had even sustained injuries were declared unreliable by the court and the chief of Ranveer Sena was never produced in the court<sup>7</sup>. The police administration similarly was biased in favour of upper caste landlords. The state government had designed a simple way out of these situations to condemn the massacre and announce some relief packages that were seldom delivered. Post 2000s Naxalism in Bihar witnessed a decline because of various reasons including that the left

<sup>6</sup> Rajesh K. Nayak, *Supra* note 3, at 1307.

<sup>7</sup> Kavita Krishnan, *Battle for Justice and Democracy: Laxamanpur-Bathe*, 45, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 10(2013).

parties had lost ground in various parts of Bihar and political mobilisation of the backward classes towards other mainstream political parties as an aftermath of the report of Mandal Commission and the subsequent demand to organise the Dalits and OBCs.

### **The Bastar Experience**

Bastar unlike Bihar had different problems and social structure, predominantly a tribal society with an area as large as Kerala, and has a history of rebellions and uprisings. Maoists have a considerable presence across the Dandkaranya zone which comprises Narayanpur, Bhandra, Balaghat, and Rajanandgaon. The Maoist movement in Bastar started in Bastar as a result of the decision of the CPI(ML) to expand guerilla zones to different parts of the country and to instigate revolutionary fervour in people across the country. In order to execute the decision the party released a document called “Perspectives for a Guerilla Zone” and sent six party members who had mostly worked in feudal conditions in the Telangana region and were able to identify the class enemy. Maoism gained momentum in the Bastar region on the pretext of protecting the rights of Adivasis and indigenous people who have ownership over the natural resources which the state often disputes. However, it was not easy for the party to spread its ideology, the *Jana Natya Mandali*, the cultural organisation of the party took charge of propagating the revolutionary cause in people’s language by means of drama, songs, poetry, etc. It turned out to be a successful way of educating the masses about how they’ve been exploited all the while and to offer a medium that will apparently liberate them. The Adivasis saw Maoism as a struggle which they might have disagreements with, but the movement has helped them to gain control over their resources by challenging the Indian state. The Adivasis of Bastar have always lived in a lacuna where there appears no state as long as it is for the people and their lives but there is a very harsh manifestation of state power and apparatus once the rich natural resources come into the picture, the state has often interfered regarding the ownership and usage of natural resources like forest, timber, mines, land, etc. The Adivasi lives are totally dependent on the existing natural resources as they derive their livelihood from these, like by gathering food material, timber, fuel, animals, etc. Thus, when the state under the name of development projects attempts to displace Adivasis it experiences resistance by various means. This kind of violent resistance is not new in Bastar or any tribal populated area for that matter, when your livelihood is being taken away and no one comes to rescue then all you have is to fight till you die, the same spirit is seen in the people of tribal communities. The Maoists have mobilised people for various issues and have organised them under various organisations, they started *Janathana Sarkar*, or People’s Government to resolve local issues at the grassroots level with the help of active participation people. The participation of women in the movement has grown with time under the front *Krantikari Adivasi Mahila*

*Sangathan* as it has provided women to escape the patriarchal households where they were subjected to domestic violence, dowry, polygyny, and other social evils. The KAMS has members estimated at about 1,00,000 making it the largest women's organisation across the country in terms of participation.<sup>8</sup>

Social anthropologist Alpa Shah mentions that “the Maoists were far from an Adivasi movement but consisted of leaders, cadres, and sympathizers from a range of different castes and classes brought together in a political organization around class struggle which reflected the transforming history of recruitment.”<sup>9</sup> She also indicates that members of the party are also inducted because of relations of intimacy that is through kinship, friends, neighbours, and others who are already a part of the movement.

However, sociologist Nandini Sundar disagrees with Shah's understanding regarding the relations of intimacy being the guiding factor for people to join the movement and says that though some people join the party by getting influenced by family, friends, etc, the same is not true in light of the huge number of members the party has and contends that such a participation is not merely because of kinship but as a response to the brutal state offensive which they face and to claim over their entitlements. As Azad, an ex-spokesperson of the party wrote, “In a class society, where the ruling classes fiercely crush the oppressed at every step, real humanity entails fierce hatred for the oppressors. There can be no love without hate; there is no all-encompassing love.”<sup>10</sup> Sundar asserts that it is important to examine how the movement originates and sustains itself under harsh conditions.

In its efforts to suppress the Adivasi-supported Maoist movement, the State employs well-known counter-insurgency tactics, reminiscent of those used in Malaysia and Vietnam. These tactics involve creating ‘New Villages’ and ‘Strategic Hamlets,’ forcibly displacing people from their familiar surroundings and social networks. By isolating them in unfamiliar locales, the State aims to weaken their support for revolutionary causes. In essence, this strategy can be likened to separating fish from the sea they once swam in.

Sundar draws a comparison between the historical ‘strategic hamletting’ in Vietnam and Malaysia and the brutal ‘mass burning and grouping of villages’ in Bastar. The State introduced this

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<sup>8</sup> Arundhati Roy, *Broken Republic: Three Essays*, (Penguin Group 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Alpa Shah, *The Tensions over Liberal Citizenship in a Marxist Revolutionary Situation: The Maoists in India*, *Critique of Anthropology*, 33 (1) (2013), p. 493.

<sup>10</sup> Azad, *Maoists in India: Writings and Interviews*, 28 (Foreign Languages Press 2018).

strategy in 1990–1991 through a vigilante group called Jan Jagran Abhiyan (JJA). Despite its seemingly noble name, the JJA engaged in reprehensible actions: coercing people to turn against Maoists, killing suspected Maoist supporters among the Adivasis, perpetrating sexual violence against women, and setting homes ablaze. Notably, the JJA received support not only from the infamous Congress leader Mahendra Karma but also from Hindu fundamentalist organizations and the Communist Party of India (CPI). The State, both financially and otherwise, actively facilitated the devastating impact on Adivasi lives. In 2005, the JJA underwent a name change, rebranding itself as the Salwa Judum (meaning “Purification Hunt” in Gondi). The primary objective of this group was to dismantle the Maoists’ base—the sanghams (local organizations). Through coercion, they compelled adivasis to join the Salwa Judum, resorting to violence against those who resisted. The Salwa Judum’s reign of terror included looting adivasi homes, burning entire villages, and perpetrating sexual violence against women. Unlike the JJA, which selectively targeted houses, the Salwa Judum razed entire villages to the ground. To bolster their campaign, the State deployed paramilitary and border security forces, intensifying their assault on the Maoist movement. Fearing brutality, many Adivasis fled to neighboring states like Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Others found themselves confined to “relief” camps, which were essentially concentration camps. Within these camps, brutal torture and inhumane conditions became a grim reality. Tragically, the routine practice of raping women and subjecting them to sexual slavery further exacerbated their suffering. Sundar cites a fact-finding report where an Adivasi woman recounts the chilling words spoken by the Salwa Judum and security forces after a gang rape: “You are a Naxalite, and we have taught you a lesson today.”<sup>11</sup>

The government in order to combat the threats has started an Integrated Action Plan worth Rs 2640 crore per annum across 88 districts to provide public infrastructure and services in backward districts. But later it was found that 40% of IAP money was incurred on the construction of roads and only 8% and 3% were spent on education and healthcare respectively. This is just one example of how the state has blatantly disregarded every measure of social growth and has continued to incur huge expenditures on police and para-military forces, perpetuating state violence.

The relationship between the state and the Adivasis continues to be marred by various conflicts and struggles the more and more influx of police force, paramilitary forces, local militias, etc has only created fear, resentment, and anger in the minds of people as they’ve engaged in various

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<sup>11</sup> Nandini Sundar, *The Burning Forest. India’s War in Bastar*, 124 (Juggernaut Publication 2016).

human rights violations and have constantly interfered with the indigenous people. There are innumerable cases of sexual violence by the police and paramilitary forces whenever a raid or arrest is made, there have also been a lot of cases of illegal detention of innocent people on the pretext of being associated with Maoist activities, human rights activists, advocates, journalists, and researchers have also faced constant threat and humiliation from the security forces. There has been a perpetual disregard for constitutional, democratic, fundamental, and civil rights along with constant demonisation of any critical view which attempts to highlight the wrongs committed by the state.<sup>12</sup>

## State and Development

There are primarily to view with respect to tackling the Naxalite problem and to figure out the way forward: (a) The Security Centric approach (b) The Political approach. The former identifies Naxalism as a security threat and terrorist force which is supposed to be dealt with by ensuring security by means of deploying the Police, Paramilitary forces, and local militia as a counterforce to fight the Naxals. It believes that force is the only way to eliminate resistance and to create a way for governance and development, this is based on the notion that resistance by people is essentially a problem or a hindrance to the development that the state aspires to do. This approach is critical of any other intervention like peace talks, engagement of civil rights and human rights protection groups, journalising and documentation of struggles, etc. as it is a digression from the way of solution and will only demoralise the forces engaged in neutralizing the Maoists<sup>13</sup>.

In contrast to the security-centric approach, the political approach sees the Naxalite struggle as another radical, armed resistance by the people who are disillusioned by the state and its promises of development and growth and have perpetually witnessed systemic and organized exploitation, discrimination, and brutal violence<sup>14</sup>. This approach believes that instead of neutralising the masses involved in resistance the underlying issues and demands should be addressed and should be taken care of so that the faith of the people in a democracy can be restored and peace can be ensured. This view instead of brutally repressing the masses tries to engage in dialogue and other peaceful measures and accepts that the state has failed to redeem its promises and has disregarded the rights of people from indigenous communities and backward castes and classes. The

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<sup>12</sup> Srishti Chaurasia, *YEARS OF OPPRESSION IN THE NAME OF "DEVELOPMENT: A TALE OF ONGOING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN BASTAR*, The Polis Project, (March 14, 2024, 22:06), <https://www.thepolisproject.com/read/years-of-oppression-in-the-name-of-development-a-tale-of-ongoing-human-rights-violations-in-bastar/>

<sup>13</sup> Santosh Mehrotra, *Countering Naxalism with Development* 71 (Sage Publications 2014)

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

supporters of this view advocate for upholding of basic fundamental rights of people involved in resistance and oppose the demonisation of the people as terrorists, they also locate armed resistance as a medium of a radical form of protest.

Among these two types of approaches, the Indian state has resorted to the former, focusing predominantly on police, paramilitary, and local, feudal militias to counter Naxals. The repression is visible in the form of huge deployment of CoBRA and CRPF commandos along with state police and private militias like Salwa Judum and Ranveer Sena often aided by the government. The demarcation of *Red Corridor* and the launch of Operation Green Hunt, operation Prahar, etc. show how the state has led a well-planned attack on the Naxals and has tried its best to resist the movement and ensure conducive conditions for the existence state and its machinery.

However, this approach has been severely criticised by civil society groups and even mainstream political parties on the pretext that such a harsh measure will only deepen the rift between the oppressed classes and the state as it leads to indiscriminate violence which results in persecution and human rights violation of innocent and poor who most of the times are even unable to understand the conflict. The state has clearly disregarded the fact that Naxalism is a political force that bases itself on certain issues which are the results of continuous marginalisation and neglect for particular groups and ignorance on the part of the state to address their demands. The negligence and hostility shown by the state in dealing with the indigenous communities and backward classes have emboldened the feeling among the masses that the state is not meant for their growth and development but for the development of those who already are well-resourced, privileged, and those who erstwhile formed the ruling class and carry the same feudal and caste capital which manifests itself today in form of political and economic capital which has allowed them to be at the helm of state apparatus. In the understanding of Maoists, the Indian state of a semi-colonial, semi-feudal state which ensures that the feudal-colonial hierarchy is maintained so that the cycle of exploitation continues. Thus, a more inclusive and pragmatic approach will be able to address the socio-political issues to fill the lacuna of governmentality and ensure that the depressed classes are well represented and aren't discriminated against by the state. A more humane outlook towards the communities involved in resistance is required to mitigate the struggle and to establish a conducive environment for inclusive development which is not based on a top-down approach but a more democratic bottom-up approach that involves more people from disadvantaged sections in policy-making.

The imposition of mainstream capitalist accumulation-based notion of development has led to various endeavors by the state and its machinery to facilitate the growth of capitalists, for this the state has often engaged in forced evictions of Adivasis from the regions which they've inhabited for a long time, land acquisition in localities which are predominantly populated with scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and mass displacement of tribal communities has ruined their livelihood, their cultural practices and has created immense distrust by uprooting them from their land.

In 2006, the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act (FRA) aimed to recognize the customary rights of forest dwellers. These rights included access to common areas and the ability to manage and sell forest produce. However, the implementation of the FRA has faced significant challenges. These obstacles include limited community awareness, conflicting laws, insufficient structural support, administrative hurdles, and government deficits. Unfortunately, the forest bureaucracy has often misinterpreted the FRA, viewing it as a means to legitimize encroachments. Notably, the focus has been on recognizing individual claims while neglecting collective claims, such as Community Forest Resource Rights, as promised by the FRA.

Adding to the complexity, the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change (MoEFCC) has proposed new rules that could weaken the FRA. These rules would curtail the authority of local governing bodies like gram sabhas, despite objections raised by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs<sup>15</sup>.

### **What can be done?**

Promoting dialogue on the implications of emerging development paradigms, exploring viable alternatives, and supporting the aspirations of Adivasi communities to shape their future is of utmost importance in today's context.

Creating spaces for intergenerational learning among young Adivasi individuals is crucial. Here, community elders can assume the role of "teachers," sharing local wisdom and revitalizing the ethos of communal living. To develop relevant curricula, it's essential for traditional experts and thought leaders to collaborate with scientists and academics from mainstream institutions. The curriculum should be contextually grounded, focusing on Adivasi-specific topics such as

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<sup>15</sup> Debjeet Sarangi, How Development Excludes Adivasis, The Wire, (March 15, 2024, 22:34), <https://thewire.in/rights/how-development-excludes-adivasis>

agriculture, architecture, agro-ecology, food sovereignty, direct democracy, and the provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA) and the Forest Rights Act (FRA). This holistic approach ensures that education aligns with the unique needs and aspirations of Adivasi communities.

Creating sustainable livelihoods rooted in the principles of agro-ecology, aligned with the non-accumulative ethos of Adivasi communities, is essential.

To achieve this, we should democratize production and consumption. By forming clusters of villages with shared ecological characteristics, we can enhance local self-reliance. Within these clusters, tribal villages can engage in mutual trade of goods and services. This approach reduces reliance on external markets and government interventions, fostering a more resilient and community-driven economy.

To tackle the impact of external cultural influences on dietary habits, it is essential to reorient local food systems. These systems should prioritize the production of safe, nutritious food, encourage dietary diversity, and promote balanced diets. Additionally, reviving local health traditions and ensuring health security play a crucial role.

Incorporating local health practices into modern medicine is vital. Medical professionals should collaborate with healers, midwives, and traditional birth attendants to gain insights into local practices. Developing a framework to differentiate between ailments that require traditional healthcare and those necessitating clinical intervention is essential.

Addressing malnutrition requires a deeper examination of the core issues affecting Adivasi communities and other marginalized rural groups. Factors such as poverty, indebtedness, food insecurity, and lack of control over productive resources significantly impact nutritional outcomes. Rather than relying solely on external consultations, communities themselves should take responsibility for addressing these structural challenges and determining the best course of action.

## Conclusion

Maoism as a political force has successfully exposed the systemic bias and prejudice shown by the Indian state in governing marginalised areas and has emphasised that such bias and prejudice is not unintentional, occasional, or random but a result of (a) prevailing social conditions like caste hierarchy and feudalism which restrains social mobility of the depressed classes and castes and ensures the sustenance of exploitative practices like forced labour, untouchability and organised violence by feudal-upper caste individuals and militia, (b) the post-independence Indian state has failed to redeem its promises of ensuring every citizen a dignified life where he/she isn't discriminated and is treated equally before the law and has turned increasingly capitalist in nature which has further instigated the violence against marginalised communities and has deepened inequality between rich and poor. All these factors cumulatively justified the Marxist analysis to consolidate the oppressed masses and intensify the struggle led by the people. Maoism has offered an alternative to the people by propagating the idea of a revolution that will dismantle all kinds of hierarchy and will establish an equitable society where the oppressed masses will no longer be oppressed and will have collective control over their resources. It has helped people to voice their demands by both peaceful and radical means.

However today the movement is diminishing at a fast pace because of increased presence of state apparatus in the Maoist affected areas which has helped the state to carry out several police and paramilitary operations to counter the Naxals and with the decline the state aims to ensure *development*. Apparently, the state has won the war but whether the people who are in the centre of the discourse are satisfied with the development being offered to them remains disputed.

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