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*Megha Middha, is working as an Assistant Professor of Law in Mody University of Science and Technology, Lakshmangarh, Sikar (Rajasthan). She has an experience in the teaching of almost 3 years. She has completed her graduation in BBA LL.B (H) from Amity University, Rajasthan (Gold Medalist) and did her post-graduation (LL.M in Business Laws) from NLSIU, Bengaluru. Currently, she is enrolled in a Ph.D. course in the Department of Law at Mohanlal Sukhadia University, Udaipur (Rajasthan). She wishes to excel in academics and research and contribute as much as she can to society. Through her interactions with the students, she tries to inculcate a sense of deep thinking power in her students and enlighten and guide them to*

*the fact how they can bring a change to the society*

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*Dr. Samrat Datta Seedling School of Law and Governance, Jaipur National University, Jaipur. Dr. Samrat Datta is currently associated with Seedling School of Law and Governance, Jaipur National University, Jaipur. Dr. Datta has completed his graduation i.e., B.A.LL.B. from Law College Dehradun, Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna Garhwal University, Srinagar, Uttarakhand. He is an alumnus of KIIT University, Bhubaneswar where he pursued his post-graduation (LL.M.) in Criminal Law and subsequently completed his Ph.D. in Police Law and Information Technology from the Pacific Academy of Higher Education and Research University, Udaipur in 2020. His area of interest and research is Criminal and Police Law. Dr. Datta has a teaching experience of 7 years in various law schools across North India and has held administrative positions like Academic Coordinator, Centre Superintendent for Examinations, Deputy Controller of Examinations, Member of the Proctorial Board*



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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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# **Naxalite & Anti Insurgent** **Movements – Causes and cure**

*Authored by - Rajeshree Jorwar  
LLM 2nd. Roll no. 56.*

## **Abstract –**

Indian politics is marked by violence. Naxal Movement 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. Naxalism not only affects the internal security but it also affects the external security. This paper aims to study the Naxalite movement in India and the problems faced by the Naxalites. The object of this research paper is to identify the root causes of the Naxalite movement in India and mode of operation identified to tackle its existence. The government of India had made certain provisions to stop the entry of large number of people and to rehabilitate the affected population but the main problem lies in the implementation of these provisions so in this study we try to focus on the solutions and how these provisions can be conveyed to the isolated mass in a substantiated way. This paper also focuses on the the naxal tactics and strategies and the suitable measures that should be taken by the government to abolish the existence of naxalism in India. It also speaks about the naxal's as well as government's point of view. It furthermore emphasizes on the evolution of the naxalism in India for the purpose of understanding the reason of its present domain and to tackle the problem faced by the Naxalites. A few keywords in this paper can be seen as 'naxalism', 'rightful redistribution', 'ideology', 'revolution', 'urban intelligentsia', 'India'.

## **Introduction -**

Naxal, Naxalite and Naksalvadi are generic terms used to refer to various militant Communist groups operating in different parts of India under different organizational envelopes. In the eastern states of the mainland India (Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha), they are usually known as, or refer to themselves as Maoists while in southern

states like Andhra Pradesh they are known under other titles. They have been declared as a terrorist organization under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of India (1967).

The term 'Naxal' derives from the name of the village Naxalbari in West Bengal, where the movement had its origin. The Naxals are considered far-left radical communists, supportive of Maoist political sentiment and ideology. Their origin can be traced to the split in 1967 of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), leading to the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist). Initially the movement had its centre in West Bengal. In later years, it spread into less developed areas of rural southern and eastern India, such as Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Andhra Pradesh through the activities of underground groups like the Communist Party of India (Maoist). For the past 10 years, it has grown mostly from displaced tribal's and natives who are fighting against exploitation from major Indian corporations and local officials whom they believe to be corrupt.

## **Background -**

Naxalism owes its name and origin to a small incident in Naxalbari village in the state of West Bengal in 1967 in which a small group of local tribals and other backward caste cultivators rose up against the feudal practices of exploitation, oppression and atrocities involving denial of their share in agricultural produce and the payment of fair wages by the upper caste landlords. On 25th May, 1967 the police opened up fire on protesting peasants led by three men, Charu Mazumdar, Jungle Santhal and Kanu Sanyal .Soon, this protest assumed the shape of a left wing people's movement which became known as the Naxalite movement, under the leadership of the aforementioned Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jungle Santhal. This movement gained control of almost all the entire rural areas of the State of West Bengal. They demanded socio-economic justice and the eradication of an oppressive feudal system. In many cases because of frustration born out of grievance, they resorted to violence to seek justice from the state agencies. The movement's main demands included land reforms, labour reforms, fair price for agro-forest produce, employment guarantee, and the elimination of exploitation in mining operations. This movement spread over to the adjoining state of Andhra Pradesh in 1968 and had its epicenter in North-Eastern districts of Adilabad, Srikakulam, and Visakhapatnam, including the Telangana region. The three leaders were arrested for their extremist activities and Mazumdar died in police custody in 1972. Santhal spent about a decade in jail and on died after his release in 1981. Only the diminutive Sanyal survived. After spending seven years in jail, he became involved in various forms of

left politics, operating from his village near Naxalbari until he reportedly committed suicide on 23rd March, 2010 by hanging himself in his home at his native village at the age of 82.

The movement had its ups and downs but it reached its climax in 1980 when the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The People's War Group (PWG) was formed by Kondapalli Seetharamaiah an associate of Charu Mazumdar. Subsequently, PWG emerged as the most formidable Naxalite formation not only in Andhra Pradesh but also in adjoining states. This left wing extremist group is linked with economic injustice, unemployment, poverty, land reforms, lack of development and grievance frustration. Some studies have revealed that over 90 percent of the rural poor below the poverty line live in the 12 major states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. It is not a coincidence that the Naxalites are active in varying degrees in these states. The Naxalite pro-poor ideology has a strong gravitation for the youth among the student community.<sup>1</sup>

The salient features of both the 'Action Plan' of the 'People's' War Group and the Naxalite movement are as follows :

- A redistributing of agriculture lands to the land-less and the excess land from big landlords
- Enforcing payment of minimum wages to farm labourers.
- Imposing taxes and penalties on corrupt contractors and officers

Holding people's courts for the redressal of grievances and dispensation of quick justice to the aggrieved parties, free of cost.

- The running of a parallel government in the tribal areas for the administration of speedy justice.
- Collecting funds from contractors and the rich for meeting these running costs.
- The kidnapping of people for ransom so as to spread the message of this ideology.
- Attacking policemen as a counter measure to show their strength.
- Destroying government property to undermine state authority.
- Enforcing social code.

Naxalism is considered the single biggest threat to India's security. Many Indian states have been trying to fight the Maoists for some time, but with little success. States are required to pool their resources and crush the leftist rebellion once for all. The factors which gave rise

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<sup>1</sup> M. Manoranjan, Revolutionary Violence: A Study of Maoist Movement in India (New Delhi, 1977)

to Naxalism in the country in late sixties are, in any cases, are also very much present today in an acute and aggravated form. The erosion of faith in the political processes, the grinding poverty of a large mass of humanity, economic disparities, mounting unemployment, tribal unrest, aggravating social tensions, and the failure of the administration to fulfill the rising expectations of the people are take their toll and are leading to a highly surcharged situation.

In India about 80 million tribals are still considered to be the most vulnerable and poorest of the poor. A large section of the tribal population living below poverty line are victim of hunger and malnutrition. Tribals are dying of hunger which is caused by food insecurity and poverty, in turn causes death by starvation which creates a kind of terror amongst this population. Hunger has thus been used as tool of terror against the tribals so as to keep them in the state of total subjugation and inner colonization.

## **NAXAL STRATEGY AND TACTICS<sup>2</sup> -**

Below are given the strategy and tactics used by the naxals -

### **i. Organisational Strength of the Extremist Groups –**

The consolidation of several sections of the Naxalites has been responsible for the organised, institutionalised and planned manner in which the Naxalites function. The ideological dedication, the cadre-based organisational setup and understanding of the micro socio-economic situation in various regions of India makes the extremists plan, operate and implement their strategies efficiently. There is a Central Committee and a Politburo at the apex. The hierarchical structure, which flows from the Regional Bureaus— State Committee/Special Zone Committee—Zone and Sub-Zone District/ Division Committee— Squad Area Committee, is well established and institutionalised. The armed wing has a few divisions and dalams. At the village level, they have units called “Sanghams” comprising ideologically committed active supporters.

### **ii. Protracted War -**

The Naxalites have adopted the strategy of “protracted war”. The aim is to capture political power by armed struggle as a prelude to the subsequent unification of the liberated

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.ijlmh.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/The-Naxalite-Movement-in-India.pdf>

areas. The armed struggle has no time limit. It can attain the goal in one or 10 or 20 years and, in this way, the struggle moves ahead. Recently, the Naxalite groups have laid greater focus on organising along military lines. The military wing has based its ideology on guerrilla warfare. They have resorted to well-conceived, thoroughly planned and ably executed sensational actions such as the attack on the convoy of Mr. Chandra Babu Naidu, the then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, the forced release of prisoners from the prisons at Jehanabad (Bihar), Narayangarh (Orissa), police stations in Chhattisgarh and Silda (West Bengal) and the recent spurt in hijacking of trains in Bihar and Jharkhand.

### **iii. Building up Bases/Guerrilla Zones -**

In order to fulfil the aim of protracted war, the Naxalites believe in building up both physical and mass bases. Initially, the bases are built up in rural and remote areas. The areas are, then, to be developed into “Guerrilla Zones” and ultimately into “Liberated Areas”. Naxalites operate in the very heartland of India, known as the Dandakaryna region (named after a mythological region from the epic Ramayana) which spreads over Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The heart of this region is the thickly forested area of Abujmarh which is approximately 10,000 sq. km. This area till date has not been surveyed by the Government of India. The Naxalites treat it as a totally liberated area.

### **iv. Compact Revolutionary Zone (CRZ) -**

The Naxalites, with the support of their Nepal counterpart, plan to create a ‘Red Corridor’, starting from the Nepal border with Nepal and extending up to Kerala. It was in August 2001 that the idea came up of establishing a Compact Revolutionary Zone (CRZ) or the Red Corridor. It extended from the forest tracts of Adilabad (Andhra Pradesh) to Nepal, traversing the forest areas of Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Bihar and Nepal. It was conceptualised at Siliguri in a high-level meeting of the Maoist leaders. The notion of CRZ seems to be working in the correct direction. There has been a remarkable growth in Maoist between 2001 and 2010 in India. Training the LWE affected areas being underdeveloped and forested, safe joint training camps can be organised. It has been reported that some Nepal Maoists have been possibly trained in the West Champaran and Aurangabad districts of Bihar, and Palamau and Kodarma districts of Jharkhand. Also, CPI - ML and PWG cadres are imparting specialist training to the Maoists of Nepal in Rolpa and Rukum districts of Nepal. On this basis, they attack the enemy’s outposts. An uncorroborated media

input reveals that an attack on a police outpost in the West Champaran district on July 16, 2004, was carried out jointly by Indian and Nepalese groups. The attack on a police post in Madhu Bani in North Bihar in June 2005 is also reported to be a joint operation.

#### **v. Tactics -**

To obtain their strategic, objectives, the Naxalites have been very ruthless in their approach. The following methods highlight their tactics to achieve their goals. The Naxalites aim at enhancing public support and mass base.<sup>3</sup> The failure of the Naxalbari movement in the initial stages led the Naxalite leaders to rely solely on the people and create a powerful mass base. Therefore, now, the Naxals' aim is to enlarge their mass/support base by undertaking development work and garnering the support of the civil liberty groups. In addition, they indulge in rendering instant justice through 'Jan Adalat's'. The movement has strengthened itself in the forest areas and in areas marked by lack of governance.

#### **vi. Jan Adalat's -**

Naxalites hold 'Jan Adalat's' to dispose of the criminal and civil cases and, then, dispense justice by settlement of disputes and punishing the offenders. For this, the PWG has introduced a new 'Judicial System' by forming the 'People's Court', i.e., the Gram Rajya Committee and subsequently 'Revolutionary People's Committee', as an alternate judicial system. The 'Judicial Department' i.e. 'Sangham' comprising three to five members with a 'People's Protection Squad' at its disposal, delivers judgments and sentences, including fines and imprisonment in a temporary designated lock-up in the village, apart from awarding capital punishment. The Dandakaranya Adivasi Mazdoor Kisan Sangh (DAKMS) and the Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS) are two specific Naxal front organisations that are entrusted with the task of looking into all disputes.<sup>4</sup>

## **Causes of Naxalism –**

Following can be the causes of Naxalism<sup>5</sup> -

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<sup>3</sup> Singh, n. 15, p. 11

<sup>4</sup> Ministry of Home Affairs, Annual Report, 2008-09

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.ijlmh.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/The-Naxalite-Movement-in-India.pdf>

- **Zamindari System -**

The Zamindari system was adopted during the British rule wherein a piece of land was given to a Zamindar and in return, he was required to pay a certain amount to the company or the state. The Zamindar did not cultivate the land himself. He distributed and redistributed it till it reached the tiller of the land who was a tribal or a common man working hard in the field. At each stage, the poor people or the tribals suffered immensely because a certain amount was required to be paid to the renter of the land and it led to the exploitation of the poor tribal at each stage.

- **Status of Tribals -**

The government decided to declare certain forests as reserved forests for the purposes of conservation, scientific research, for sanctuaries and land acquisition for dams, roads, industries, etc. It was done directly at the cost of the tribals who the inhabitants of these forests for many generations were. Thus, the state government, the contractors, and lower level officials fully exploited the tribals, bringing down their status to that of encroachers in the forests.

- **Social, economic and political grievances -**

The root causes of Naxalism among the tribals are directly linked to social, economic and political grievances which include: deprivation, degradation, exploitation, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, oppression and historical wrongs. Despite the constitutional safeguards with twin objectives of empowerment and development of tribals for their integration into the mainstream of the nation, they have been denied social economic, political justice and human rights. More than 50% of them are illiterate and live below poverty line under inhuman conditions. They are arbitrarily deprived of their land rights and rights pertaining to forest areas. Their lands are not safe even in the scheduled areas, and they are facing indiscriminate displacement without an adequate rehabilitation package. Furthermore, they are exploited by money lenders and also by the government agencies engaged in their so-called welfare. Democracy has little meaning for the tribals as, amongst other things, they are being used as vote banks for democracy without any participation in the process of decision making on tribal affairs.

- **Bad governance and exploitation -**

Tribals are helpless victims of bad governance and exploitation, and the dwindling

resource base of the tribal people can be quantified in the shape of loss of land, restriction of access to forest produce and a lack of opportunities for reasonable wage employment. Consequently, developmental inputs for the benefit of these people have had little impact. Significantly, development processes have interfered in many cases with traditional tribal institutional structures and this has produced many negative results. These were contributory factors for simmering unrest in most of the tribal areas.

- **Frustration of the tribals -**

It was in the background of utter grievance frustration of the tribals arising out of their exploitation and oppression which led them to their taking arms in several areas to fight for their rights under the patronage of Naxalites. In fact, over the years, tribal insurgency has become the predominant strand of the Naxalite and people's war group movement. The combination of socio-economic and political factors has led to a resurgence of left-wing extremism and the Naxalite movement in India. The Naxalite ideology seeks to cut across the barriers of caste, religion and region and unite people on broader economic issues.

- **Tribals caught in the crossfire -**

According to tribal people Land, water, minerals, poverty and guns are all connected for their existence. In India's heartland, there are tribal villages where people have not seen a doctor, a teacher, tap water or electricity and, furthermore, they live in the middle of dense forests, sharing space with dangerous animals. Whilst occupying fertile land, hunger still haunts them, and in Chhattisgarh, the state with the highest tribal population in the country, even basic human needs and civic amenities like drinking water, food, health, electricity and education facilities are lacking. Even the areas in the grip of violence are beyond the reach of the police forces. The people are famished and forced to live a sub-human life.

- ***Access to land and resources -***

According to Maoist sympathisers, the Indian Constitution "ratified colonial policy and made the state custodian of tribal homelands", turning tribal populations into squatters on their own land and denied them their traditional rights to forest produce. These Naxalite conflicts began in the late 1960s with the prolonged failure of the Indian government to implement constitutional reforms to provide for limited tribal autonomy with respect to natural resources on their lands, e.g. pharmaceutical and mining, as well as pass 'land ceiling

laws', limiting the land to be possessed by landlords and distribution of excess land to landless farmers and labourers. In Scheduled Tribes [ST] areas, disputes related to illegal alienation of ST land to non-tribal people, still common, gave rise to the Naxalite movement.

- **Lack of human development -**

The lack of human development causes anger and resentments amongst the people. They feel alienated and excluded. In addition often local elites are engaged in exploiting, harassing and even torturing the tribal population. The Naxalites receive most support from Dalits and Adivasis. Together they amount for one fourth of India's population; most of them live in rural India. Their causes for supporting the violent movement are manifold. Among these groups persists low degree of employment and qualification, new forest policies with restriction for their livelihoods, cultural humiliation, weak access to health care, education and power, restricted and limited access to natural resources, multifaceted forms of exploitation, social atrocities, displacement and deficient rehabilitation programs, political marginalisation and suppression of protests.

- **Increased Militarization -**

The Indian government is known to have established a military presence in the form of their paramilitary forces in the key states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, and most with the most recent insurgencies, of the late 2000s and 2010s, in the state of Chhattisgarh. The military efforts of former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh have been continued and accelerated by Prime Minister Narendra Modi since he came into power in 2014 but have largely been unsuccessful given the difficult terrain of Indian jungles have prompted increases in guerrilla warfare since the 1980s onwards.<sup>6</sup> This military not only targets Naxalites but anyone potentially associated with them; it has pushed them deeper into the forest and forced retaliation which has proliferated violence instead of abating it.

- **Deliberate Neglect and Underdevelopment**

The underdevelopment of tribal and indigenous parts of the country has long been a feature of the Indian state, but it has been significantly exacerbated since indigenous communities in what are considered Naxalite territories are especially targeted and neglected

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<sup>6</sup> Routray, Bibhu Prasad, "Left Wing Extremism: 3 Years of the Modi Government." *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies* no.1: 5-7.

as a means to disincentivize the movement. Part of this may be traced back to British colonialism, where indigenous resistance was routinely punished with neglect, crop destruction, and drought (Bose & Jalal).<sup>7</sup> The same tactics of induced famine have been used by the state in rural areas that do not benefit the state and are thus deemed Naxalite<sup>8</sup>. This is a clear example of necro politics, where the state apparatus reduces the life chances of entire populations through neglect, removal of access to food for its own political aims.

- **Torture -**

Perhaps one of the most well-documented state abuses has been the use of torture to interrogate those thought to be associated with the Naxalite insurgency. The horrific techniques of physical torture, sexual abuse, and indefinite, unlawful imprisonment used by police departments across India have been recorded in oral and written personal histories and are a testament to the internal antagonism that exists between the Indian state and its indigenous peoples' wish for autonomy over their ancestral land. The illegal use of torture has been condemned by organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International for violating fundamental human rights in both, the Indian Constitution as well as international law. This further points to the shortcomings of an any means necessary approach arrived at from perceptions of greed, which leads to ineffective, unlawful counterinsurgency.<sup>9 10</sup>

- **State-sponsored Vigilantism -**

Another unlawful activity that the state has been involved in is in supporting and promoting the growth of vigilante groups as a counterinsurgency method, most notably Sulwa Judum, which largely recruits urban youth to fight the Naxalites. One of the main vigilante activities has been the emptying out of villages to stop them from being used by Naxalites as their territory and to stop more Maoist recruitment. This has led to the displacement of near 100,000 villagers in 2007 alone, without significant improvement on the

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<sup>7</sup> Bose and Jalal, "Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy."

<sup>8</sup> Roy, "Walking with the Comrades".

<sup>9</sup> Human Rights Watch, " 'Being Neutral Is Our Biggest Crime': Government, Vigilante, And Naxalite Abuses In India's Chhattisgarh State".

<sup>10</sup> Amnesty International. "India: Archana Guha: 16 Years Awaiting Justice: The Lack of Speedy And Effective Redress Mechanisms For Torture Victims" March 1, 1994

- **Witch Hunts -**

In more absurd counterinsurgency, increased antagonism towards India's indigenous because of their association with the Naxalite movement includes a police endeavor to track down supposed witchcraft. In "Anti 'anti-witchcraft' and the Maoist insurgency in rural Maharashtra, India" (2009), Amit Desai explores the strange interaction between the state, villagers, and the public imagination of Maoists in producing a witch hunt. This points to the way in which the state's counterinsurgency methods have interacted with rural populations to produce medieval outcomes against tribal peoples and perceived Maoists.<sup>12</sup>

Overall, these policies have not only proven ineffective, but they have also put the lives of entire populations, tribes, and communities at risk of elimination and displacement. This targeted violence towards an internal population through the different instruments of the state, both legal and illegal, is inherently necropolitical as it ignores the humanity of the rebelling actors. In this sense, the state actually increases internal hostility and proliferates violence instead of consolidating its legitimacy due to this dynamic of resistance and repression.

## **STATE'S RESPONSE TO NAXALITE CHALLENGE -**

Government failed to understand the reasons behind the Naxalite Movement. Initially the response of the central as well as the state government, was that this was a problem of law and order. The government completely failed to understand the situation and this can be borne out by the statement made in Lok Sabha by Home Minister Y.B. Chavan, On June 13 1967, where he stated that "This was a case of lawlessness and should be contained and crushed by the local police force". Even Manmohan Singh who served as the Prime Minister stated that "What was thought to be a brief period of discontent has today grown into becoming India's biggest threat to internal security.

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<sup>11</sup> Goswami and Miklian, "India's Violent Internal Dissent, 2008.", 21-22.

<sup>12</sup> Desai, Amit, "Anti-'anti-witchcraft' and the Maoist Insurgency in Rural Maharashtra, India." *Dialectical Anthropology* 33, no. 3/4 (2009): 423-39.

## **PRESENT DOMAIN OF NAXALISM -**

The exponential spread of Naxal influence has now engulfed 231 districts or 20 states as compared to 182 districts or 16 states earlier, which indeed gives a pan-India hue to the Naxal movement. The Naxals' consolidation along the axis of the projected 'Red Corridor' or the 'Compact Revolutionary Zone' (CRZ) highlights the long-term objectives of the outfit. The Naxals' aim is to upgrade their armed wing from a 'Guerrilla Force' to a regular 'People's Army'.

## **LAWS MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT -**

### **i. Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007 -**

The main aim of this act is to minimize the displacement of people and to promote non-displacing or least displacing alternatives<sup>13</sup>. The objective of this act is to ensure that proper care is been taken of the weaker sections of the society. On 11 October 2007 the government issued a rehabilitation policy for the easy displacement of people who lost their land for industrial growth. According to this policy land will be given for the exchange of the land, in future jobs will be given to at least to one member of the family, also they will be providing them with the housing benefits vocational training and houses to people in urban and rural regions.<sup>14</sup>

### **ii. Forest Rights Act, 2006 -**

This act grants the rights to weaker sections of the society and the traditional forest dwellers. Forest dwellers are the people residing in the forest from past so many years, for their livelihood. Under this act forest dwellers are given various rights such as land rights, right to protect and conserve and rights to use. The Ministry of Environment and Forests has allowed conversion of kutchra roads into pukka roads and also allowed the use of 1 hectare of land for non-forest purposes.<sup>15</sup>

### **iii. 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

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<sup>13</sup> S. Dharmadhikary, "Resettlement policy: promising start, and a let down", Source:

<http://www.indiatogether.org/2007/nov/hrt-randropol.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007

<sup>15</sup> Forest Rights Act, 2006

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. These laws have in many ways caused a lot of problems to the tribals and the scheduled castes by negating the spirit of the various safeguards available to the scheduled tribes under the constitution and other laws in the country.<sup>16</sup> The act providing 'land for land' has become a nightmare for the government and has become a stumbling block for ensuring industrialisation. As per the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) the government has banned all organisations that have any connections with any Naxal movements like the MCC or the CPI-M (Marxist-Leninist). There was no need of this bill to tackle Naxalism. This bill was formulated, only to silence the appropriate discord and dissent brewing in the minds of people in the areas affected by Naxalism due to persistent ignorance by the government to their situation. This Bill has also failed to make a distinction between the anti-social, anti-national elements from the people who are peace loving.

### **Are these laws effective?**

These laws have in many ways caused a lot of problems to the tribals and the scheduled castes by negating the spirit of the various safeguards available to the scheduled tribes under the constitution and other laws in the country.<sup>52</sup> The act providing 'land for land' has become a nightmare for the government and has become a stumbling block for ensuring industrialisation. As per the Unlawful activities prevention act (UAPA) the government has banned all organisations that have any connections with any Naxal movements like the MCC or the CPI-M (Marxist-Leninist). There was no need of this bill to tackle Naxalism. This bill was formulated, only to silence the appropriate discord and dissent brewing in the minds of people in the areas affected by Naxalism due to persistent ignorance by the government to their situation. This Bill has also failed to make a distinction between the anti-social, anti-national elements from the people who are 54 peace loving.

CSPS Bill, 2005 also provides the District Magistrate unconditional powers to notify places which he thinks are being used for unlawful activities without any prior notification. There is no requirement of production of anything as evidence to prove that

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<sup>16</sup> 2“Indigenous Issues”, Asian Indigenous and Tribal People Network (AITPN), Source: <http://www.aitpn.org/Issues/II-09-06- Forest.pdf>

the said place is being used for unlawful activities. It is just a violation of principles of natural justice as the aggrieved parties don't even get a fair hearing. This bill also provides that any revision application has to be filed with the High court only, challenging the validity of the order of the government. This petition has to be filed within 30 days and that no court has the jurisdiction against any decision of the court. Any kind of application or form of revision or injunction by a court or officer except for the High court and the Supreme Court regarding any action to be taken as a follow up to the order of the government has been barred in this Bill. So it can be said that this bill was totally uncalled for and has only be brought to act as a blandishment to the people.

## **CURES -**

The complexity of the causes of the Naxalite problem as well as its implications both for internal and external security reflect a solution that is multi-dimensional and calls for a synergy between the central governments and the states. In order to comprehensively dissolve the Naxalite threat, the government has to address its root causes. Socio-economic alienation and the dissatisfaction with the widening economic and political inequality will not be solved by military force alone, which seems to be the main instrument employed by the government. The problem calls for a five-pronged solution: Social and economic development, multi-lateral dialogue, Military force, Governance and Social integration -

### **1. Socio-economic development:**

As the Naxalites are fuelled by discontent from the marginalized and the poor, a larger percentage of the national budget must be allocated to addressing the needs of these regions. More of the national expenditure needs to be focused on developing these poorer regions through initiatives regarding health, education, social welfare and rural and urban development. Government service delivery should be improved in these tribal areas. Both state and government must ensure that things such as statutory minimum wages, access to land and water sources initiatives are implemented. In coming up with strategies for national economic growth, the government must always bear in mind the possible effects of fast growth for all socio-economic groups in a country as large and diverse as India. If the social needs of these marginalized people are addressed, there will be no discontent to fuel the Naxalite's movements.

## 2. Dialogue:

Second, the government should initiate sincere dialogue with these marginalised groups, the Naxalites and state leaders. The popularity of Naxalites with the adivasis is a reflection of the fact that the government has been unaware or “unapologetically indifferent to their plight”. By communicating and starting a dialogue between these stakeholders, these groups will feel that they are being listened to. By opening dialogue, the government can give opportunity for the rebels to join the mainstream by showing them that solutions can be created together with the government, by being part of the political system in a legitimate way. They no longer need to resort to violence to get the state's attention. For example, the former director-general of AP concluded that as a result of the ceasefire and dialogue with Maoists in 2004, the violence in the state decreased by 80-90 percent in the region. As David Pilling noted, the challenge for India's leaders will be to allow the necessary development in these poverty-stricken areas while acknowledging the rights of a neglected indigenous group.

## 3. Military:

Currently, the main instrument employed by the government to address the Naxalite threat is the increasing use of the military. While some military force is still needed to combat against the Maoist guerrillas, it should not be the only solution. By only addressing the issue by brute force, government risks alienating civilians who are caught in the middle. Coercion of the state will only encourage people to rally against it.

## 4. Governance:

The growing Naxalite insurgency also reflects a flaw in the federal structure. Because law and order is seen as a state responsibility, the central government is unable to be implementing a coherent national strategy to address the threat. Ganguly notes that “in the absence of a near complete breakdown of public order or without the express request of the afflicted state, the central government cannot intervene.” The government has the overall responsibility of mobilizing development, but it cannot do so without the support of the states. The central government and the states need to cooperate together to solve the internal security threats and co-ordinate the implementation of this multi-dimensional approach. Both organizations must complement and support each other's initiatives and strategies<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348676559\\_The\\_Naxal\\_Movement](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348676559_The_Naxal_Movement)

### 5. Social Integration:

The tribals and scheduled castes that live in the Naxal affected areas have been neglected for the past many decades and now want some attention from the government. Providing them with incentives like giving them right over the forest produce from the forests in which they have been living for generations, providing them with houses etc. is the right modus of solving their basic problems. The main reason for the spread of Naxalism is the exploitation of poor and scheduled castes. The main thing which has to be done is to enforce land ceiling laws, utilization of the funds provided to government to the maximum and political expediency. Use of police forces should be to enforce the land ceiling laws, evict landlords and ensure land to the farmers for cultivation. They should be provided with police protection, and proper rehabilitation for the people who have been displaced should be ensured. Security as well as development has to run hand in hand to counter the Naxal problem.

The government has to instil faith in the people that they will be governed in a better manner than by the Naxals. The government should include laws in the forest act that only forest dwelling tribes and scheduled castes should be allowed to use the produce of the forest. Proper guarding of financial institutions sanctioning loans to these tribes should be ensured which will help these tribes to realize that the government is with them.

The Central government should form a separate ministry which will undertake the development of the areas affected by the Naxal activities. The following steps ought to be taken by the government:

- Ensure the safety of the civilians by stopping the Salwa Judum campaign and ensuring that no counter insurgency measures are taken by risking the lives of the civilians.
- Checking instances of human rights violation by the security forces and the Salwa Judum.
- Registering the crimes perpetrated by the security forces, Salwa Judum and the Maoists and bringing them to justice.
- Banning of Bal Mandal (The child division of Naxalites) with immediate effect.
- Ensuring safety of those who surrendered and those who lived in camps or were related with Salwa Judum activities.

Using force against the tribals to deter them from joining the Naxals has and will backfire against the government. The government should ensure peace in these areas so that these people don't suffer more than they already have and this can be done only if the

government takes proactive measures so as to ensure social justice and inclusive growth for the benefit of the marginalized sections.

## **Conclusion -**

The Naxals reached out to the people, understood them, took up their issues and fought for their dignity and rights. They earned goodwill among the tribals and the downtrodden by fighting for them. The Naxalite Movement started with a noble objective to protect the rights of the tribals, but its extremism and violence deterred it from becoming an accepted revolution. The tackling of the threat to internal security, as a result of this movement must start with government addressing the problems faced by the tribals and ensure that their rights are protected. The central and eastern parts of the country are relatively underdeveloped as compared to other parts of India, both industrially and agriculturally. The areas also lag behind in almost all human development indicators. Hence, efforts must be made by the government to tackle the disparities in the social system.

Therefore, the state must start to fight the conflict legally, minimise 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.

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