

NAXALITE MOVEMENT: A THREAT TO INDIA

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INTRODUCTION

It would be an exaggeration to say that the problem of Naxalism is the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country.”

Dr. Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India¹⁹⁹.

The Naxalites are a group of radical revolutionary leftist wing which have been actually derived from the communist rebellion or revolutionary part which is not going for a parliamentary hold in a country but it is trying to bring a revolt within a nation whereby a tumultuous situation has arrived. Similarly the Naxals or Naxalites or Naxalvadis in India took birth in a village of West Bengal from whereby they are prevailing in the contemporary situation. It is a militant part of the communist party other than the communist political parties, which don't go for a democracy, parliamentary election, and parliamentary provisions like the other leftist political parties. Such a radical left wing goes only for revolution to bring an equality and social justice in the society. So the main aim is to take a control over the production of the nation and that only a violent struggle will effectively end the oppression and exploitation of landless workers and tribes and create a classless, casteless and religious less society.

There is law even for the war, but there is no law for violent groups. Presently attacks on the women, children, raping the women, blasting buses, and looting or abducting of the helpless people, states that this movement of Naxalites is not based on an ideology. There is no difference between such kinds of Naxalite acts and terrorist acts. They must attack on forces of state, not on the civilians. Even the civilians are protected during the war of the nations.

Naxalites are sufferers of Indian polity. They have their own problems, which are somewhere out looked or ignored by the appropriate government. Naxal ideology is of creating “a society

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¹⁹⁹ Government of India Press Information Bureau, Prime Minister's speech to the 2nd meeting of the Standing Committee of the chief Ministers on Naxalism, April 13, 2006, retrieved June 18, 2011.
http://pib.nic.in/release/rel_print_page.asp?relid=17128.

based n equality” but in ferocious manner. Several times peace talks have taken place between Naxalite leaders and government officials but, could not succeed to end this problem. Naxalites are poor, discarded and especially farmers.

ORIGIN: THE WEST BENGAL EXPERIENCE

Naxalism is a set of revolutionary thoughts and policies developed by leaders under the guidance of Marxism originally to resolve the problems of exploited peasants. The word is traceable to name of group of villages (Naxalbari) in Darjeeling where a revolutionary peasant’s movement had started in 1967 with the establishment of CPI (M-L). Unlike the unplanned violent outburst of peasants’ anger in Telangana at the dawn of independence²⁰⁰, the frustration of peasants and landless laborers in west Bengal got articulated in the form of organized efforts. The gulf between landlords (jotedars) and tenants (adhiars) had become deepened with the exploitative practices about crop sharing and money lending. Thus behind the peasant unrest emerged in the form of naxlism, there was a deep-seated social malady. The slogans demanding abolition of zamindari, land to the tiller, non-eviction of tenants, and reasonable rate of interest were expressed with both economic assertions and political challenges in 1952. In spite of electoral defeat, the communist party carried the brawl by more intensive organization of peasants union and extensive agitation. Losing faith in legal remedy because of devious approaches machinated by the economically powerful to escape from laws slender clutches, some of the communist leaders pleaded for armed guerilla struggle.

Annihilation of the exploiters by assassination was also in the agenda. After the general election in 1967 in which the leftist coalition government came to power, in the background of helplessness of the ruling party leaders in redistributing all lads to tillers owing to constitutional and legal difficulties, the leaders of peasants in Naxalbari and other areas launched arm struggle against the landlords and police. Secret combat groups were formed.

Killing of a top police officer and a powerful landlord by the revolutionaries was the high water mark of the naxalbari uprising. Radio picking hail the development as the front paw of the

²⁰⁰ D.N.Dhanagare, “Social origin of the Peasant Insurrection in Telangana, 1946-51” in Ghanshyam Shah, *Social Movements and the State*, at pp. 91,104-07.

revolutionary arm struggle launched by the Indian people under the guidance of Mao Tse Tung' teachings²⁰¹.

Naxalite movement split into 19 groups in course of time with ideological disarray and disunity. The impact of Naxalbari uprising should be seen in larger perspective. Charu Mazumdar considers the following lessons as important- that peasants fought for political power rather than for land; that they struggled against the reactionary apparatus that they were self-reliant in matters of weapons and strategies and that they were intimately moved by ideological thrusts²⁰². The fire and thunder of naxalite movement spread to other parts of India as the situation for organized struggle were right there.

CAUSES OF ARISING NAXALISM

Frustrated youth - The youth are frustrated because of poverty and unemployment. This causes more severe than any other, because the youth are the power any revolution of any community. Share croppers evicted - Thousands of share croppers are being evicted because the landowners have the right to resume the land; because these poor people do not have even a chit to prove that the land was in their cultivating position. They cannot prove it in the court of law.

People are losing hope in government - When the problems of the people are not solved democratically what other recourse the people will have except violence.

Naxalism is a political ideology, not a socio-economic movement - Aimed at the upgrading of tribal or rural people.

Distribution of natural resource productive benefits - Shifts in natural resource productive benefits between social groups have created opportunities Naxalites to emerge in these areas.

Slow implementation of land reforms - The slow implementation of land reforms is the main reason for the growth of Naxalism and landlords frequently move the court to delay enactment of these reforms.

²⁰¹ *People's Daily of China* wrote, "A peal of spring thunder has crashed over the land of india"; Biplab Dasgupta, *The Naxalite Movement* (Allied Publishers, Bombay 1973) at p.10.

²⁰² Sumanta Banerjee, *Supra*, n. 130 at p. 135.

Social structure - Wherever the Naxalite problem exists, there is a poor section of society, with no resources to meet their daily requirements. The poor include various castes and not any particular caste. However their poverty and lack of ability to recover their lot due to financial constraints by accessing education, the government machinery or even legal remedies remains an important factor for their supporting the Naxalites.

Poverty - Though poverty restricts their reach there has been a limited exposure to these ideas of the younger generation, making the situation dangerous. The younger generation wants to have the amenities that are available in urban areas which remains a distant dream given the infrastructural glitches and the failure of governments to perform.

Poor governments - The fiasco of the governments to reach out to these areas is another major factor that aids the growth of Naxalism in these areas. The governance is poor or worse, in certain place it is nonexistent.

Collection of funds - The Naxalite groups have been collecting levies from the local population. They collect funds from individuals, groups, and even government officials as commission for letting them function in areas that under their control.

CURES OF NAXALISM

Police need tactical intelligence - To fight Naxalites, police need tactical intelligence, which can be attained only through the cooperation of the local people. Rigorous police action, by its very nature, will be oppressive.

Remove the basic socio-economic causes - To bring peace to the affected areas, we must get rid of the mindset that police action can solve political problems.

Police must be friendly - Better and closer supervision by senior officers to prevent custodial vehemence and fake encounters is called for. Special training programmes re to be organized to bring about an attitudinal change and to make them people approachable.

Peace talk Naxalite leaders - When in Andhra, both the state and naxals were talking peace, in eastern U.P, they have promised to fight it out.

Tribal were notified as “disturbed areas” - Almost all the tribal areas in the state of Andhra Pradesh were notified as “disturbed areas” under the A.P Separation of Disturbances Act, 1967. Conference of all CMs of Naxal affected States - Naxalite violence has assumed threatening proportions in recent times and has engulfed Andhra Pradesh completely and the contiguous areas of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa partially. Chief Ministers of the affected States met under the chairmanship of the Union Home Minister at Hyderabad to consider ways and means to deal with this problem.

Other recommendations for the cure of Naxalism can be to assign surplus land to landless poor, ensuring payment for minimum wages to the tribal poor, supply of essential commodities at subsidized rates, ensure abolition of bonded labor and to provide drinking water, medical, educational, irrigation amenities, social welfare and security.

CONTEMPORARY NAXALITE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

In terms of the Maoist conflict, the past few years have been confusing. While 2010 was the bloodiest when compared to the previous year, recording an upward trend in Maoist violence, the subsequent years witnessed significant decline. (Ministry of Home Affairs, GoI). Many attribute this problem of Maoist violence to the success of sustained efforts by the security forces, but others believe this to be a strategic move by Maoists for using this period for recruiting, improving, striking new alliances and looking for fresher ways of raising funds and acquiring weapons.

The several Naxalite-Maoist insurgencies has been a source of concern in the country for over four decades and about 20,000 lives have given their lives being the nation’s citizens which is the nation’s great shame regarding the protection of its civilians lives²⁰³. The state government of West Bengal has banned the Communist Party of India (Maoist) terming it a terrorist organization. The embargo came in the backdrop of violent incidents in Lal Garh and the ongoing operation by Police and Security Forces to reclaim the area in the West Medinipur district of the along with areas of Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum and Purulia districts. Political differences, especially those between the CPI (M) government in West Bengal and the Congress at the Central, have affected the operation against the Maoists. whereas, the other

²⁰³ R Bedi, ‘India’s mosaic of conflict’; Jane’s Terrorism and Security Monitor, July 14, 2004.

leftist allies of the left-front government whereby CPI (M) being the strongest political power among the other leftist parties in West Bengal such as the CPI, RSP, Forward Bloc, Socialist Party have opposed the embargo levied by Union Home Ministry on CPI (Maoist), stating that the ban would serve little purpose and that the extremists should be handled politically. The ban on CPI(Maoist) is not a new thing as the three extreme left outfits: **Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Party Unity**, the main basic Naxalites Front; **Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War** or **People's War Group(PWG)** active in the southern parts of India mainly in Andhra Pradesh and the other strong point **Maoist Coordination Centre or Maoist Communist Centre (MCC)**, very much active in the tribal and forest areas of Bihar and Jharkhand that merged to form the **CPI(Maoist)** are already banned along with their front organizations. The CPI (Maoist) now stands as the basic naxalite-Maoist group is banned for all practical purposes. Hereby the Maoist Communist Centre as got banned in Bihar as due to its insurgency it changed its name to Maoist Coordination Centre and finally joined the CPI (Maoist) on 2004 as from then it was formed by the collaboration of all these 3 parties under the leadership of Comrade Ganapathy who actually was the father to form this newly born Communist Party of India (Maoist)²⁰⁴. It was the final view when the movement turned more violent against the Government of India and thereby the several Maoists infected areas within the country along with against the State Governments where the places in the different states are counted as Maoist-prone areas and the death-toll related to the several insurgencies have increased from 638 in 2008 to 997 in 2009 and 1174 in 2010 thereon²⁰⁵.

LAWS MADE BY GOVERNMENT

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 alternatives²⁰⁶. The Government issued a rehabilitation policy on 11 October 2007 for the easy displacement of people who lose their land for industrial growth. Under this policy land in change for land will be given, job prospective to at least one member

²⁰⁴ Bert Suykens; 'Maoist Martyrs: Remembering the revolution and its heroes in Naxalite propaganda (India)'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, vol. 22, no. 3, 2010, pp. 379.

²⁰⁵ 'Non-state armed groups, India; *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – South Asia*; April 26, 2011.

²⁰⁶ S. Dharmadhikary, "Resettlement policy: promising start, and a let down", Source: <http://www.indiatogether.org/2007/nov/hrt-randrpil.htm> (Last accessed on 13th January, 2010).

of the family, vocational training and housing benefits including houses to people in rural areas and urban areas will be some of the benefits.²⁰⁷

Forest Rights Act, 2006

The Scheduled Tribe and Other Traditional Forest dwellers (Recognition of forest Rights) Act 2006 or the Forest Rights Act recognizes the rights of the scheduled tribes and forest dwellers who have been living in the forests for years but their rights have still not been recognized.²⁰⁸

The Ministry of Environment and Forests has also allowed use of 1 hectare of land for non-forest purposes and conversion of kutchha roads into pukka roads.²⁰⁹

Chhattisgarh Special Public Securities Act, 2006

This bill provides definition of unlawful activities, declaring an organisation unlawful, formation of an advisory board wherever the state government feels the need for its establishment, procedure of the formation of the advisory board, action of the advisory board, penalties viz punishments even for not committing a crime, the power to notify a place being used for unlawful activities and taking occupation of such place thereof and revision/bar against intervention by the courts.²¹⁰

RECENT NAXALITES ATTACK

In late 2011, Kishenji, the military leader of Communist Party of India (Maoist), was killed in an encounter with the joint operation forces, which was a huge blow to the Naxalite movement in eastern India.

In March 2012 Maoist rebels kidnapped two Italians in the eastern Indian state of Odisha, the first time Westerners were abducted there. 12 CRPF personnel were killed on March 27, 2012 in a landmine blast triggered by suspected Naxalites in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra.

On 25 May 2013, Naxalites attacked a rally led by the Indian National Congress in Sukma village in Bastar Chhattisgarh, killing about 29 people. They killed senior party leader Mahendra Karma and Nand Kumar Patel and his son while in the attack another senior

²⁰⁷ *Supra* note 62.

²⁰⁸ *Supra* note 62

²⁰⁹ *Supra* note 64.

²¹⁰ *Supra* note 61 at 49 to 62.

party leader Vidya Charan Shukla was severely wounded and later succumbed to death due to his injuries on the 11th June. See: 2013 Maoist attack in Darbha Valley.

On 11 March 2014, Naxalites in Chhattisgarh ambushed a security team, killing 15 personnel, 11 of whom were from the CRPF. A civilian was also killed. Most recently Naxals, on December 1, 2014 Monday killed 14 CRPF personnel and 12 injured in south Chhattisgarh's Sukma district

On 11 April 2015, 7 Special Task Force (STF) personals were killed in a Maoist ambush near Kankerlanka, Sukma and Chhattisgarh²¹¹.

On 12th April 2015, 1 BSF Jawan was killed in a Maoist attack near Bande, Kanker and Chhattisgarh²¹².

On 13th April 2015, 5 Chhattisgarh Armed Force (CAF) Jawans were killed in a Maoist ambush near Kirandul, Dantewada and Chhattisgarh²¹³.

CONCLUSION

The state has to do much more than plan counter-insurgency operations or support violent vigilante groups to suppress the Naxalite movement. After close examination of the historical and ideological origins of the movement, it is clear that the movement thrives on the dissatisfaction of the marginalized and alienates the population. The socio-economic perspective of Naxalism talks about how the rebel movement is shaped due to the failure of the institutional mechanisms and frameworks to deliver socio-economic justice. The steps taken by the government concedes that it is not enough to over-emphasize the 'law and order' approach.

Close examination of the movement will enable to understand that the marginalized take up arms only to break down the insensitive establishment, which has failed to deliver an egalitarian society. The Naxalite leaders may talk about 'deliverance of the proletariat from the neo-liberalist bourgeoisie, and the dawn of New Democracy', but such phrases mean little to the tribals and landless labourers who find themselves at the receiving end of state sponsored

²¹¹ ["Maoists kill seven STF jawans in Chhattisgarh". The Hindu. The Hindu. April 11, 2015. Retrieved April 14, 2015.](#)

²¹² ["BSF jawan killed in Naxal attack in Chhattisgarh". The Hindu. The Hindu. April 13, 2015. Retrieved April 14, 2015](#)

²¹³ ["Third Maoist attack in 72 hours: four policemen killed in Bastar". The Hindu. The Hindu. April 14, 2015. Retrieved April 14, 2015](#)

and non-state-sponsored exploitation. They are in the battle only because of their disillusionment with the status quo.

It is clear that there is a wide chasm between promises and their eventual deliverance. Until the government implements employment, poverty alleviation and land reform programmes, counterinsurgency measures cannot achieve much. Social justice and inclusive growth are the planks on which the government must build its programme. Only with consolidated efforts on the part of the legal and political framework socio-economic reforms can be implemented, and the problem of Naxalism tackled.

No one wants to disturb their peaceful life, simply by violating the law. But, some circumstances of long frustrations forced the people to do so. Once they entered into such violation, they cannot return to society, if, they desire to. So, they are not returning and keeping in mind that one violation and series of violations are the same in the eyes of law, they continue to violate the laws.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has looted the person by Bhoodan movement with love and affection by removing their internal feelings. Acharya and JP Narayan have proved by reforming the well-established and well organized dacoits in Chambal valley as law bidder citizens. Naxalite movement should turn into a social movement from political.

The government shall take some common interest in removing this socio problem by the alternative approach with love and affection. The naxalites are frustrated with the governance system, so the government should change their polity of the police persons in the interrogation; they must be protected from any kinds of torture, custodial death and illegal detention.

They should be encouraged by some social reformers to surrender to the government. On surrender they must be treated with expiation theory and if possible should be released on probations and by other reformative treatment.

Compared to the peaceful strategies, modest working and social impact of Sarvodaya and voluntarism under Gandhian ideology, Naxalism, which employs ruthless killing, retaliation and fear psychosis as its tools, fails to convince as an acceptable strategy at all. It also does not conform to the tradition of peaceful collectivism cherished for centuries. But its presence symbolises the prevalence of deep-rooted social imbalances, economic dissatisfactions and identity questions that are to be resolved more comprehensively.