



The Naxal Quagmire in Bihar & Jharkhand – Genesis & Sustenance

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ABSTRACT

Today the threat to national sovereignty is not limited to our borders, it has reached to the core of our nation. Naxalism is gradually becoming another major source of concern. Government is taking both kinetic and non kinetic efforts to subside this devil; however states of Bihar and Jharkhand are still in the grips of this devil. It lures the people of weaker section in its gamut and portrays as their fighters. Government has been genuinely working to get misguided people on the right track of normalcy and growth. Several initiatives and schemes have been launched by the government for the upliftment of the common man. At the sametime , it is important to ensure that the benefits reaches to the right person in right time.

Keywords: Naxalism, Exploitation, Historical perspective, Ideology inspiration, Social Imbalance, Economic deprivation, Government Initiatives, Way ahead

India is a rich land with poor people. We still have in our country, such areas that are still so backward and in accessible that basic comforts and needs of the people are not met. These areas are blessed with rich jungles, mineral wealth and abundant natural resources, but still the inhabitants; mostly tribals are leading a miserable life and are struggling to make both ends meet. This social disparity started to manifest in the revolution called as the ‘Red Revolution’ or Maoism or Naxalism or Left Wing Extremism (LWE). The social-economic condition and infrastructure development in these areas is very dismal and non existing. The Pakistan funded terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir and insurgency in the Northeastern region remain the main security issue for the country, LWE is gradually becoming a crucial internal security threat, which needs to be addressed on priority. Despite the efforts to curb the Naxalist movement since last five decades, the menace of LWE does not seem to subside and is becoming graver day by day. The problem holds greater gravity due to its foot prints in resource rich regions of the country which have been engulfed by Red terror swath. The government has taken numerous initiatives and has also adopted various kinetic and non-kinetic strategies to resolve the issue which

include modernisation of State Police Forces, employment of CAPFs and plethora of developmental projects at central and state level.

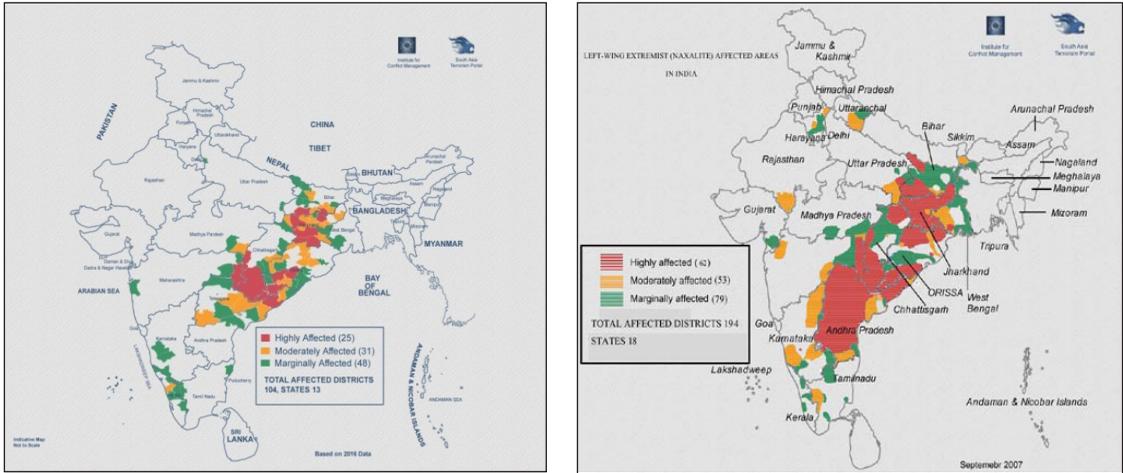


Fig. 1: Naxal Affected Areas in 2007 and 2017 (Source: satp.org website)

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

There have been many revolts by the peasants against the landlords, money lenders and the authoritarian regimes on account of agriculture-cum-land related policies, exploitation, social discrimination and forced cultural changes. Prominent among these were the partially successful Ho, Munda, Kol and Santhal uprisings, Indigo revolt, Bhumkal revolt of Bastar, Tebhaga Movement of Bengal and Vetti Chikara or the Telangana Armed Struggle. Uprisings during the British rule were suppressed by them by use of the armed forces and backing of the *Zamindars*. The genesis of the Naxal movement in India is linked with framework of the communist movement in India. It was the year of 1920 when India saw the birth of Communist Party. There were two ideological camps; one who believed in parliamentary democracy and another who opposed. The Sino-India war in 1962 and the resulting ideological divide led to the split of the party in 1964. While the original CPI professed adoption of peaceful means and parliamentary system for achieving the objectives of the socialist state, at the same time the splinter group, named Communist Party of India Marxist (CPI-M) advocated working on a home-grown path of revolution. The radicals were led by Charu Muzumdar, ideological icon of the Naxal Movement in India.

Naxalbari Incident: Naxalbari, a part of Darjeeling District gained prominence after the site for initiation of the peasants uprising in May 1967. On 23 May 1967 an agitated mob killed a policeman deputed for amicable settlement of dispute. What followed was a violent reaction by the police and counter reaction by the mob. Ten persons were killed in police firing at Prasadjote. This incident can be considered as the miles stone, as people from various local tribes like Santhal were motivated and radicalised to take law in their own hands. In 1967, a section of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

(CPI-M) under the leadership of Kanu Sanyal, Charu Majumdar and Jangal Santhal started the violent action insubordination of the party directives. The protest was coordinated by *Naxalbari- O - Krishak Sangram Sahayak Samiti*. This movement started radicalising and influencing the youth in India predominantly in West Bengal and Bihar and gradually it succeed in establishing hold in other states, like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa.

RISE OF NAXALISM IN INDIA

The emergence of the rise of Naxalism in India can be attributed to a number of historical, social, political, economic and other causes which are being discussed in succeeding paragraphs:

- ❑ **Social Inequalities:** Oppression, atrocities and discriminatory treatment of dalits and lower caste peasants by the upper caste landlords was and still exists in most parts of the country. The rich ‘*Thakurs*’ and ‘*Zamindars*’ treated poor people and tribals with no dignity and hence exploited them socially. These inequalities in society forced them to take recourse to violence and join Naxalites.
- ❑ **Economic Deprivation:** Though the government had stipulated minimum wage rule, yet in these areas, the rule by the landlords of giving ‘Half Kachhi Paseri’ i.e. 1.75 kg of coarse rice for one day’s labour or one bag of paddy for every 21 bags of paddy cut was the rule. This was too meagre for existence.
- ❑ **Absence of Development:** In spite of being very rich in terms of minerals, fuels and other resources, infinitesimal infrastructure development were carried out in these areas. The lack of roads, bridges, power, industry etc has left the area underdeveloped and pitiable. Critical absence of civic amenities like health care, employment opportunities, education, drinking water and electricity has estranged the people from the government.
- ❑ **Land Reforms:** Absence of land reforms and aspirations for owning land resulted in a struggle against the rich and powerful landlords. The Naxalites encashed this sentiment and caused bloodshed to the Zamindars and distributed their lands to poor and landless.
- ❑ **Tribal and Forest Policies:** After implementation of Forest Regulatory Act, the tribals have been denied their traditional means of livelihood, which was their only means of survival.
- ❑ **Ideological Inspiration:** Motivated by the success of the communist revolutions in Russia under Lenin and in China under Mao in the early twentieth century, the aim was to bring about a similar revolution in the country to create a classless society providing equal opportunities to all citizens.
- ❑ **Inadequate Governance:** The civil administration and judiciary are not very effective in the naxal affected areas, which has resulted allowing Naxals to run a parallel government. The practice

of holding ‘Jan Adalats’, land distribution, construction of irrigation facilities, tax collection by the Naxalite cadres, explain the reach and writ of the Naxalites.

- **Leadership:** The emergence of the vibrant and enigmatic revolutionary leaders like Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal in West Bengal and Chandrapulla Reddy and Seetharamayya in Telangana provided the necessary momentum to their movement.
- **Jal, Jangal, Jamin and Khaniz:** Water, forest, land and minerals form the core issue for the growth of Naxalism. Poorly framed, outdated and discriminatory legislations are the root cause of the these problems. Till date, more than 65 million people have been displaced however only limited numbers have undergone resettlement. Government need to first identify these problems and then appropriately carry out amendments to the existing legislations to assist the tribal population in resettlement and rehabilitation.
- **Non-Inclusive Growth:** Joseph Stieglitz (2012), Nobel Prize winning economist in his book “*The Price of Inequality*” says that inequality after a stage becomes intolerable. India has shown rapid growth in last couple of decades; however the same has not percolated down to the lowest level. In fact it has further increased the gap between the rich and the poor. This is primarily because of non uniform distribution system and improper utilisation of resources. The disparity in development, lack of effective delivery mechanism, governance has led to large scale alienation of the people in the society. It is this group of people who can be easily exploited towards extremism and can be swayed by the ideology of Naxals.
- **Unemployment:** One of the primary reasons of unemployment is lack of education and infrastructure. There is large scale illiteracy in Naxal affected states. Though government has taken some steps for compulsory education of children, however still there are number of children who are illiterate or have only primary education. The illiterate population is ideal for Naxals for recruitment as they can be easily brain washed and taken into folds of Naxalism.

SPREAD OF NAXALISM

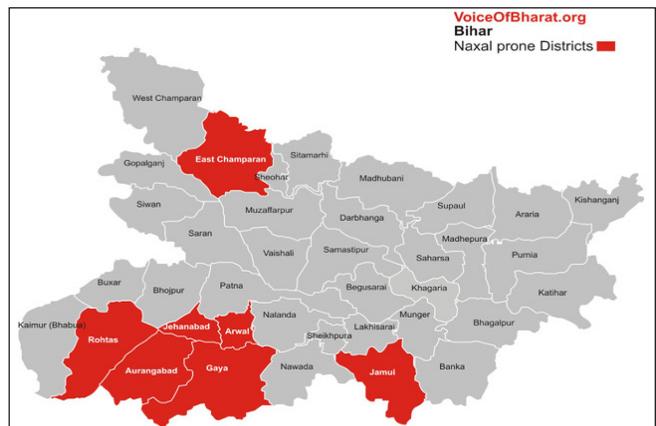
- **Downfall (1971 to 1980):** The period from 1971 onwards saw an increase in the communist activities in the country. The movement under Charu Mazumdar saw an upsurge in its activities but the government launched a counter-insurgency operation, termed “Operation Steeplechase”. The state security forces were able to neutralise large number of top leaders and a number of them were arrested, including Charu Muzumdar who died shortly after his arrest. This marked the end of a phase of the Naxalite movement in India.
- **The Resurgence (1980-2003):** In the 1980, Kondapalli Seetharamiah broke away from COC CPI (ML) and formed the CPI (ML) Peoples War Group (PWG) with the merger of the number

of Naxalite groups. The PWG initiated the struggle towards the forested tribal areas as the terrain was conducive for guerrilla warfare. The struggle, shifted from Bengal to Andhra Pradesh and Bihar and from there to Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa by 1991.

- **Manifestation Till 2010:** On 21 Sep 2004, the PWG and Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCC) of Kanai Chatterjee merged to form CPI (Maoists) with an aim to give a pan-India operation to LWE. The movement has nearly 50,000 highly motivated armed cadres, trained and equipped in the use of small arms, automatic weapons, improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and mines. LWE has grown into a widely dispersed yet interlinked, anti-democratic and gruesomely violent movement that aims to overthrow democratically elected government and all state institutions all across the country.
- The years of 2009-10 were regarded as the bloodiest years in Naxalism after which footprint has started reducing.

NAXALISM IN BIHAR & JHARKHAND

The roots of Naxal movement in Bihar and Jharkhand are very deep. In this journey, it had passed through various movements and phases addressing every local issue, which have defined the course of movement. Since ages, Bihar had been witness to the sting of caste system and atrocities on poorer section by zamindars and upper caste people. The situation had started deteriorating, especially after the first caste massacre over a fight over land in Rupaspur – Chandwa in Purnea in 1971. The next two decades Bihar witnessed brutal massacres over land issues. Study reveals that the major sufferers of these killings were the poor and dalit families by the private armies of the higher castes. During this phase the state government also changed but the hope of poorer of having a safe life and true judgment faded away as no positive steps were taken by the government. It was the period of 70s and 80s when the poorer and oppressed people had started getting together under the umbrella of Naxalism and decided to take the law in their own hands.



With the creation of Jharkhand as a separate state in November 2000, authorities expected that it will lead to reduction of violence in the area as their resources will be divided and they will be under more observations. However, things did not turn up as expected as in the next few years extremists not only got strengthened in the area of their hold but also ensured the expansion of their area under control upto

some parts of North Bihar, bordering Nepal, including the West Champaran, East Champaran, Sheohar, Sitamarhi, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga and Madhubank Districts. The Naxalites have also extended their areas of influence in Shaharsha, Begusaria and Vaisali, and areas along borders with Uttar Pradesh. In the newly formed state of Jharkhand, people had great hopes from the government and also believed that it's the end of their suffering as this region was always neglected the erstwhile united Bihar as they did not have the representatives in the government machinery and civil administration. However, against their beliefs, there was no end to their sufferings. As a result, state witnessed the expansion of Naxalite movement in the region.

NAXAL GROUPS ACTIVE IN BIHAR AND JHARKHAND

During the emergency period, in 1975, many CPI-ML cadres were arrested; those had been involved in establishing the foothold of Naxalism in the unimpaired lands of Jehanabad and Palamu areas. In 1977, these leaders were released during the Janata government, some of them organised themselves into CPI-ML (Unity Organisation) and also formed the Mazdur Kisan Sangram Samity (MKSS). The following three groups had major impact on Naxalite movement in Bihar and Jharkhand:

- **CPI-ML (Liberation):** In 1992, one of the main group of the central Bihar, CPI-ML (Liberation), had decided to take their movement to next level by coming to main stream as the political party. It also has many organisations to activate students, women and workers and these are: Bihar Pradesh Kisan Sabha, All India Students Association, All India Coordination Committee of Trade Unions, Jan Sanskritik Manch and All India Progressive Women's Association
- **CPI-ML (Party Unity):** It augmented as the major Naxal group. They primarily focused on peasantry as the main force of democratic revolution. They adopted the twin strategy of selective elimination and economic impediment of landowners. In a major effort at the consolidation of left-wing activity, the CPI-ML (Party Unity) amalgamated with the People's War Group (PWG) of Andhra Pradesh in 1988, to constitute the CPI-ML (People's War).
- **MCCI (Maoist Communist Centre of India):** It had utmost impact on the course of Naxalite movement in Bihar. Between 1970s and 1980s, the MCCI strengthened its base in Bihar and formed the *Bihar-Bengal Area Committee* with an aim to built up a large force and strong base in the area. They were also affected severely during emergency however during 1980s this group again accelerated its movement and gradually began to operate through mass fronts. In Bihar and Jharkhand, it maintained organisations like Krantikari Budhijivi Sangh, Naugawan Pratirodh Sangharsh Manch, Krantikari Sanskritik Sangh, Krantikari Chhatra League, Naari Mukti Sangh, Communist Yuva League and Mazdoor Mukti Sangh.

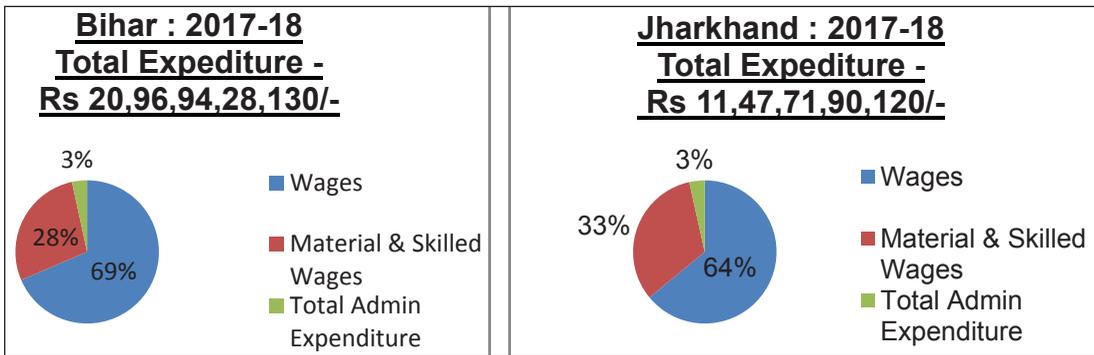
MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT

Government has adopted both peaceful and armed strategies to tackle threat posed by Naxals. However,

study reveals that off late government is keener to apply soft power and follow peaceful strategy of development as a tool to discourage misguided youth from joining the naxalite movement. Government had launched various schemes and initiatives with an aim to win the hearts and minds of the people of naxal affected areas. The following initiatives have been adopted by government to tackle the Naxalism in a concerted manner.

- **LWE Division:** This Division was created on October 19, 2006 in the Ministry of Home Affairs to effectively address the LWE insurgency in a holistic manner. The LWE Division coordinates the implementation of various development schemes of the Ministries/Departments of Government in LWE affected States and also monitor the action and initiatives by the concerned states.
- **Integrated Action Plan:** The Planning Commission had implemented the Integrated Action Plan (IAP) in 60 selected tribal and backward districts for accelerated development. The aim of this initiative was to provide public infrastructure and services. The nature of works/projects taken up by the districts under the IAP include construction of School Buildings, Anganwadi Centres, Drinking Water Facilities, Rural Road, Panchyats Bhawan/Community Halls, Godowns, Skill Development Trainings, Minor Irrigation Works, Health Centres, School, construction of Toilets, construction of Passenger Waiting Hall, special coaching classes for students, development of play grounds etc.
- **Additional Centre Assistance:** On 01 Aug 2013, government approved it as the continuation of IAP for the remaining years of 12th Five Year. With the change in the nomenclature of scheme, Scheme now covered 88 districts including 76 LWE affected districts in the 10 LWE affected States (Andhra Pradesh-04, Bihar-11, Chhattisgarh-14, Jharkhand-17, Madhya Pradesh-10, Maharashtra-04, Odisha-18, Telangana-04, UttarPradesh-03 and West Bengal-03). In 2010-11, an amount of ₹ 25 crores was allocated to each affected district under the scheme and thereafter ₹ 30 crores in the subsequent years. Under the scheme, out of 1,60,908 projects taken up in 10 LWE affected states, 1,29,037 projects have been completed upto 26 Feb 2015. In 2016, Additional Central Assistance of ₹ 1,000 crore was allocated to the 35 worst LWE affected districts of seven states. Out of these 35 districts, there were 16 affected districts in Jharkhand, 8 in Chhattisgarh, 6 in Bihar, 2 in Odisha and one each in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.
- **Road Requirement Plan (RRP)**
 - **RRP-I:** In 2009, under this scheme development of 5,477 km (1126 km of NH and 4351 km of state roads) of roads at an estimated cost of ₹ 7,300.00 crores was planned in 34 LWE affected districts of 08 states (Telangana-01, Maharashtra-02, Chhattisgarh – 07, Jharkhand-11, Madhya Pradesh-01, Bihar-06, Odisha-05, and Uttar Pradesh-01). With an expenditure of ₹ 4,511.00 crores, the work on 3,387 kms of road has been completed by the end of 2015. Under the scheme, the total fund allocated to Bihar and Jharkhand upto 2014-15 was ₹ 656 crores and ₹ 805 crores respectively.

- **RRP-II:** On 28 Dec 16, Government approved the second phase of the road requirement plan. It will further improve the road connectivity in 44 districts of 09 LWE affected states. A total of 126 bridges of various categories and 5412 Km of roads is planned to be constructed under this plan.
- **ROSHNI:** In June 2013, under Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalaya Yojana, this scheme was launched to assist in placement of rural poor youth from 27 LWE affected districts in 09 States (Andhra Pradesh-01, Bihar-02, Chhatisgarh-08, Jharkhand-06, Madhya Pradesh-01, Maharashtra-01, Odisha-06, Uttar Pradesh-01 and West Bengal-01), by imparting them quality training. As on date, two Roshni projects for skilling 1085 candidates in Bihar at a total cost of ₹16.82 crores and eight Roshni projects for training 3956 candidates in Jharkhand at a total cost of ₹100.96 crores have been sanctioned.
- **MGNREGA:** Under this act, the financial security of people living in the villages are ensured by guaranteeing them hundreds days of wage employment in a financial year. In the current financial year, under the scheme Central government had released ₹ 20,78,31,77,000 and ₹ 10,23,80,22,000 to Bihar and Jharkhand respectively. The details of expenditures under MGNREGA of two states are explained in Pie chart below:



MGNREGA (2007-18): Bihar & Jharkhand Source -
Official Website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development

- **DDU-GKY:** The Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) announced the Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana (DDU-GKY), on 25 September 2014. It's a part of National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), aimed to achieve two objectives of adding miscellany to the incomes of poor families and focuses on the career aspirations of rural youth. It exclusively focuses on rural youth between the age group of 15 to 35 years. As a part of instrumental role in supporting the social and economic programs of the government like the Make in India. Digital India, Stand-Up India campaigns.

Measures by the states of Jharkhand and Bihar for the smooth implementation of these schemes are as follow:

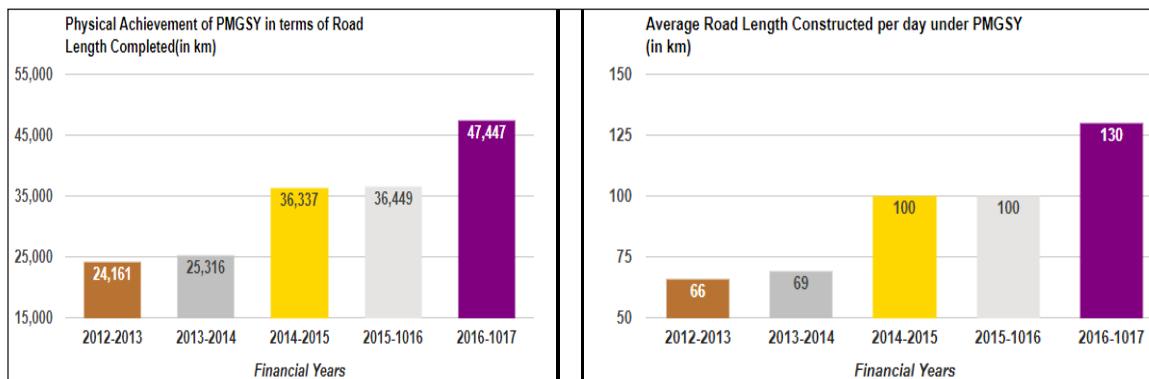
- **JSLPS:** In Jharkhand the Rural Development Department has formed a autonomous society with the name *Jharkhand State livelihood Promotion Society (JSLPS)*. It is a nodal centre for coordinating and ensuring successfully implementation of various livelihood promotion schemes and various projects sponsored by *National Rural Livelihood Mission* in the state. The main objectives of JSLPS are:
 - Improve the financial condition of the people of the state.
 - Contribute towards improvement of the lives of the rural poor in the state through fostering strong self-managed grass root institutions and empowerment.
 - Evolve policies for the empowerment of the people of weaker section in the state.
 - Provide social and technical guidance to the poor in their overall social progress and livelihood development.
 - Provide a platform for knowledge and experience sharing among stakeholders.
 - Promote new ideas and innovative programs
- **JEEVIKA:** With the assistance of *Bihar Rural Livelihood Promotion Society (BRLPS)*, the state government of Bihar initiated Bihar Rural Livelihoods Project (BRLP), also known as *JEEVIKA*. These projects are funded by World Bank and aims at economic & social growth of the people from villages. Subsequently, Bihar Kosi Flood Recovery Project (BKFRP) was also formed the part of this project. The BRLP aims to augment economic and social empowerment of the people of weaker section in the rural areas of the state. This objective is to be achieved by:
 - Augmenting economic and social empowerment of the rural poor.
 - Investing in capacity building of service providers (Public / Private).
 - Playing an important role in encouraging development of microfinance and business related to the agriculture sector.
- **Cellular Mobile Service:** The Ministry of Communication & IT is implementing the Universal Service Obligation Fund (USOF) supported Scheme of Mobile Services in LWE affected areas in the 10 LWE affected States. The project was approved by the Government on 20 Aug 2014 to provide Mobile Services in 2199 locations (Andhra Pradesh-41, Bihar-184, Chhatisgarh-497, Jharkhand-782, Maharashtra-60, Madhya Pradesh-22, Odisha-253, Telengana-186, Uttar Pradesh-78 and West Bengal-96). The estimated project implementation cost was ₹ 3567.58 crores. As on date work on 2187 communication towers have been completed.

- **Civic Action Programme (CAP):** Under this scheme funds are provided to the various CAPFs, deployed in the Naxal affected areas to carry out various welfare related activities for the people of weaker section in their area of responsibilities. This Scheme had assisted in improving the image of security forces in eyes of the locals. A total of ₹ 19.02 crores and ₹ 19.00 crores were released during the financial years 2015-16 and 2016-17 respectively and ₹ 19 crores were released for the current financial year.
- **GIS Mapping:** After the detailed analysis on countering the Naxal activities, LWE Division came up with an idea of preparing a data bank of the areas and to achieve this, GIS mapping of the essential service in the 35 naxal affected districts was initiated. A project has been launched for mapping of various assets and services like school, post offices, mobile towers, health facilities, Road and security features etc. The data collected from these mappings will assist the stakeholders to take the timely decisions for the development and security of the region.
- **Pradhan Mantrin Gramin Awaas Yojana:** Earlier this scheme was known as Indira Awas Yojana, under this scheme financial assistance of ₹ 1,20,000/- is provided for construction of houses.



PMGAY (2007-18): Bihar & Jharkhand Source -
Official Website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development

- **Pradhan Mantri Gramin Sadak Yojana.** The Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) was launched to connect rural areas and also improve the existing roads in the villages. According to latest figures made available it includes construction of about 3.71 lakhs km of roads for new connectivity and 3.68 lakh km under upgradation. The details of PMGSY is explained with the help of bar diagram below:



Status of Construction of Road under PMGSY

(Source : Official Website of the Union Ministry of Rural Development)

- **SAANJHI:** On 11 Oct 2014, the Saansad Adarsh Gram Yojana (SAANJHI) was launched by H’nable Prime Minister. Under the scheme, all Members of Parliament (MP) to develop one model village in their constituency by year 2016 and two more by 2019. Thereafter one village to be selected every year till 2024 for developing it into model village. The Scheme has holistic approach towards development of rural area. It envisages integrated development of the selected village in multiple directions of agriculture, livelihoods, education, health sanitation, environment etc.
- **Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme:** Under this scheme, government caters for the various expenses on operational requirement, operational preparedness, training of security forces deployed in the Naxal affected districts, surrendered LWE cadres, publicity material and security related expenses by village defence committees.
- **Fortified Police Stations:** Under this scheme, 400 police stations will be constructed in 10 LWE affected states at a cost of ₹ 2 crores per police station. A total of 373 of Police Station have been completed and work at 27 Police stations is under progress.
- **Insurgency & Anti-Terrorism Schools:** Setting up of 20 Counter Insurgency & Anti-Terrorism Schools. A total of 15 such training centres were set up under 11th plan (Bihar-3, Chhatishgarh-4, Jharkhand - 4, Odisha-3 & West Bengal -1).

PRESENT SITUATION

As per Press Information Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, a total of 106 districts in 10 States have been identified as Naxal affected districts. According to the 2016-17 Annual Report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, an significant improvement has been noticed in the Naxal affected area. The situation is getting stabilised. With the sincere efforts of the government and security forces there has been and overall reduction of about 07% in the violence incidents and 30% reduction in the

LWE deaths since 2014. There has been large number of surrender by the LWE cadres. A total of 1442 LWE cadres surrendered in 2016. Chhatisgarh (395 incidents and 107 deaths) remains the worst affected States followed by Jharkhand (323 incidents and 28 deaths), Odisha (86 incidents and 27 deaths) and Maharashtra (73 incidents and 23 deaths). In the 2016, Chhatisgarh and Jharkhand together accounted for 68.5% of the violent incidents and 69% of deaths followed by Bihar, Odisha and Maharashtra accounted with 12.3%, 8.2% and 6.9% of the incidents respectively. Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Telengana together reported less than 4% incidents. Chhatisgarh, despite being the core area for Maoist activity, recorded a decreases of 15% in incidents of violence. The improvement in LWE scenario is attributed to better operational strategy and better monitoring of development schemes in affected areas. The CPI (Maoist) continues to be the main insurgent group and accounted for more than 80% of total LWE violent incidents and resultant deaths. (*Source: SATP*).

WAY AHEAD

- **Evolutional Strategy:** This can only evolve correctly after a deep understanding of the problem and thinking from a Naxal's perspective. LWE is a complex issue and involves many states, regions, languages and people, therefore, *one size fits all*' strategy may not work. The strategy should give a broad framework or mandate and all elements of National power should be able to identify their role in it unambiguously.
- **Human Rights:** Violation of Human rights by the security forces will always be counterproductive when the population is the centre of gravity. Troops must be sensitised to take due precautions to avoid HR violations so that the population gains trust on security forces.
- **Perception Management:** The perception management has to be a well drawn campaign targeting the hard core insurgents, the semi hard core followers, the neutrals and the victims. Even the security forces need perception management to understand what role they actually need to play.
- **Medical Insurance and Creation of Hospitals and Staff:** Most of the areas have poor health facilities with high infant mortality rates, no ambulance services and no specialist doctors. Enhancing these facilities coupled with medical insurance as done by states of Andhra would help in building trust in governance.
- **Educational Facilities:** Education widens the horizon of a person. Education brings development not only of the individual but society as a whole. Good quality, enthusiastic and willing teachers should be posted to such areas and endeavour to set up quality education centres, schools, colleges in affected areas should be a high priority.
- **Vocational Training and Skill Development:** The tribal population is blessed with traditional art

crafts and skills. These skills should be protected, promoted and marketed so that a good source of income is available to the tribals. Madhya Pradesh government is frontrunner in promoting the tribal arts. Also the '*Skill India Mission*' needs to be implemented in true spirits to empower the youth and ladies of the population to become economically self-reliant.

- **Financial Isolation of Insurgents:** Naxals requires large amounts of funds to survive. These are generated by extortion, drug cultivation and racketeering which amounted to approximately ₹ 25 billion in 2010. The strategy should be to target these sources of funds and expose the criminal linkages as part of perception management.
- **Training of Security Forces:** The security forces should be trained to effectively conduct anti guerrilla operations in rugged, under developed forested areas. The focus of training should be tactics to include patrolling, ambush, weapon handling, field craft, counter IED, counter mining, interception of radio signals, intelligence gathering, area domination and security of operating bases. The endeavour should be to minimise casualties and neutralize hard core insurgents.
- **Intelligence Set Up:** No success can be achieved at tactical and operational levels without accurate, timely and actionable intelligence. Local police intelligence network should be exploited; use of UAVs, air and electronic intelligence should be coordinated at central level.
- **Use of Cyberspace:** Sources of funds from sustenance of the movement need to be tracked and busted. Cyberspace domain experts need to be hired to trace out the financial linkages associated with the movement. Cyberspace can be used to counter Naxalist propaganda, improve image of security forces, further the government's policies and act as a force multiplier.

CONCLUSION

Naxalism is a violent movement which needs a holistic approach for resolution. No insurgency can be defeated without use of hard power as it is the hard power which will make the environment secure so that other measures can be adopted. Similarly only use of security forces can suppress a movement but cannot resolve it. The chances that the movement can erupt again with greater strength are likely with such a methodology. Thus, though the planning of the government is on correct lines however its effective implementation is the key to resolve the naxal problem. If the government, security forces and the population act to a plan, only then there are chances that the solution may be achieved. The government should find innovative means of reaching out to the people, include them in the development of the region, establish good governance, eradicate corruption, speedup the judiciary, carry out effective perception management to swing the population to its side and simultaneously carry out intelligence based surgical operations against the hard core naxalists to solve the problem.

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