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EDUCATION TO BRIDGE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GAP: IN THE CONTEXT OF NAXALISM IN INDIA

Abstract:

Education and learning is one of the most important aspects in any society. Being indispensable and cohering, society and education cannot be ever separated into two distinct entities. India, having one of the fastest growing economies in the world, and being the most populous democratic country has a great potential to become a future superpower. However, in this increasingly globalised environment, India faces several threats to her security, and the question is whether the greatest security threat is external (i.e. terrorism) or internal - naxalism - the Maoist communist groups in India. Naxalism which originated as a rebellion against marginalized poor forest dwellers and gradually against the lack of development and poverty in the rural parts of eastern Indian, today have declared themselves a terrorist organization engaged in unlawful activities with a goal to destroy government functionaries. These groups use local illiterate villagers- who are eager to escape the system of oppression- to strengthen their hold and exploit the gap between government and local villagers. This gap apart from highlighting various underlying weaknesses of India's governance, political institutions and socio-economic structure, also makes India vulnerable to external threats and the solution which the present paper focuses on is - providing education. The present paper talks about importance of developing education as an instrument for the eradication of Naxalism and to position it as a major engine of economic growth, poverty elimination, job creation and eliminating extremists. The Government looks into the issue as the issue of law and order however, the root cause is neglected by them -socio-economic disparity and illiteracy. The paper, as a solution in this regards also put the steps which the law making body should follow to curb this problem.

Keywords:

Education; Social Disparity; Economic disparity, India, Maoist communist group

Introduction

I am a Maoist sympathizer. I'm not a Maoist ideologue, because the communist movements in history have been just as destructive as capitalism.

Arundhati Roy

India, having one of the fastest growing economies in the world and being the most populous democratic country, has great potential to become a future superpower. However, in this increasingly globalised environment, India faces several threats to her security, and the question is whether the greatest security threat will be from external – terrorism or internal – naxalism. When it comes to *Naxalism*, the *Naxalites* have been identified as the biggest internal security threat to India by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (Carbon, 2011) which apart from providing greatest overall threat to India in the future; it also highlights various underlying weaknesses of India's governance, political institutions and socio-economic structure, which also makes India vulnerable to external threats. "A nation cannot effectively withstand threats coming from outside its country if there is instability inside it" as pointed by Pakistani Director-General of the Inter-Services Intelligence. (Pratap, 2012)

Naxalism originated as a rebellion against marginalization of the poor forest dwellers and gradually against the lack of development and poverty at the local level in rural parts of eastern India. (Suneja, 2013) Naxalism or ultra left section of Communist movement, inspired by the doctrines of Mao Zedong, aim to overthrow the government and upper classes by violence. It began in 1967 when a tribal youth was attacked by "goons" of local landlords even though he had judicial order to plough his land. The peasants, led by Charu Majumdar at Naxalbari region of Darjeeling district (hence the name) of West Bengal, organized a wide uprising where they started forcefully capturing back their lands. ("History of Naxalism", 2003)

Naxalism thrives in the regions devoid of state control and subject to endemic poverty and in such circumstances *naxalites* are welcomed with open arms. Those leading lives of toil in India's isolated jungle villages eagerly grasp opportunities to escape the system of oppression and impoverishment by associating with *naxalism*.

Yet for these oppressed groups seeking recourse by way of joining *Naxalite group* is inevitably a Faustian bargain. When it becomes clear that a Naxal shadow state has supplanted the authority of state government, police forces are sent to drive the Naxalites out. In the violence that follows it are *Dalits* and tribals¹ who suffer most. (Greer, 20)

The *Naxal* movement today has become a Maoists movement where they work to overthrow the government and upper classes by violence. People often confuse themselves over Maoists and Naxalites and use them quiet inter-changeably. However there are few fundamental differences between them. While the Naxalites may or may

¹ Dalits and Tribals are used to connote Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribe

not have an armed wing, the existence of the Maoists depends on their armed militia. (Sarma, 2006)The Indian Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) under the UPA II describes the objectives of Naxalites as destroying “state legitimacy...with the ultimate object of attaining political power by violent means”. They are considered as a terrorist organisation under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of India (1967)² (Carbon, 2011). These Naxalites have tremendously increased their mass support by attaching themselves to civil society and front organization on issues like displacement, land reforms and acquisition and gaining the local villagers confidence which further pose problems for security forces to control the rebellion.

Naxalites have been attacking police establishments and infrastructures such as public transportation, causing insecurity and instability in the affected areas which usually comprises of districts of east India. From the period 2006-2010 alone, there were nearly 9,000 incidents with Naxalites with over 3,000 civilians killed (Carbon, 2011). One of the most deadly attack happened in April 2010 where 75 personnel of Central Police Reserve Force (CRPF) were killed in an ambush by Maoists in the Dantewada region of Chhattisgarh. (The Indian Express, 2010) Another devastating incident took place on 25 May 2013, when Naxalite insurgents attacked a convoy of Indian National Congress leaders in the Darbha Valley in the Sukma district of Chhattisgarh, India. The attack caused 27 deaths, including former State Minister Mr. Mahendra Karma, Chhattisgarh Congress Chief Nand Kumar Patel and a senior Congress leader Vidya Charan Shukla. (“Veteran Congress Leader”, 2013)

They control large portions of remote and densely forested areas and are concentrated in an area which the government has named “Red Corridor”³. This area is the tribal belt where the tension between economic development and aboriginal land rights is most apparent. (Carbon, 2011)

Causes of Naxal Attacks

How do you tell a communist? Well, it's someone who reads Marx and Lenin. And how do you tell an anti-Communist? It's someone who understands Marx and Lenin.

Ronald Reagan

India has experienced relatively fast economic growth, which led to increased levels of national wealth. However, this economic growth has been uneven among regions, and has widened the disparity between the rich and the poor.

² In 2009 government identified naxalites as a terrorist organisation under Section 35 (1)(b) of The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 which says that government can add also an organisation to the Schedule, which is identified as a terrorist organisation in a resolution adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, to combat international terrorism.

³ The Red Corridor is a region in the east of India that experiences considerable Naxalite–Maoist insurgency.

The Indian aboriginals, known as *adivasis*⁴, lives in densely forested lands which are also immensely rich in natural resources including mining and a great potential of hydroelectric generation capacity. These indigenous people constituting 8.4% of the Indian population have the lowest literacy rates in the country and highest rates of infant mortality and suffer from severe poverty. The only resource which they have are the rich forest lands which are wanted for businesses and exploitation, as a result the battle is also described as one between India's most neglected people and the nation's most powerful industrial businesses. This conflict between economic progress and aboriginal land rights is exploited by the Moasists to fuel their activities. Their strongest bases are in the poorest areas of India, concentrated on the tribal belt of West Bengal, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh where locals experience forced acquisition of their land for developmental projects. (Londhe, 2013) Although naxalite movement is spread over 12 states, the most acutely affected ones happen to be Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Orissa and West Bengal. But the number of incidents and the casualties resulting from them are concentrated in Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra in that order. These states feature dense forests with predominance of the tribal population followed by dalits and other backward communities. (R. and Ray, 2005)

Effect of poverty on Naxalism

When it comes to poverty, at the national as well as the state level in the naxalite belt, they are at the poorest sections of the society. In fact, Bihar, Orissa, MP, Chhatisgarh, West Bengal, UP are states which account for 58% of the dalit population with 70% are poor among them and 49% of tribal population with 63% are poor among them. The percentage of dalits below poverty line was 36.8 (rural) and 40 (urban) and of tribals 47.3 (rural) and 33.3 (urban) compared to 28 (rural) and 25.77 (urban) for the nation (GOI, 2008). The incidence of poverty is higher than 50% among the tribals in Orissa (73%), Jharkhand (including Bihar 59%), MP (including Chhatisgarh 57%) and between 35-50% in West Bengal, Maharashtra, Assam and UP (including Uttaranchal). Similarly, the incidence of poverty is the highest in Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, UP and Assam.⁵ The states of UP, MP (including Chhatisgarh), Bihar (including Jharkhand) and West Bengal have concentration of poor dalits. The rate of decline of rural poverty between 1994-2000 was also lower (2.5%) among the tribals and (4.86%) among the dalits compared to 6.03% in the case of the other communities. (R. and Ray, 2005)

Effect of Forests and land Acquisition policies.

⁴ Adivasi is an umbrella term for a heterogeneous set of ethnic and tribal groups considered the aboriginal population of India. Adivasi make up 8.6% of India's population or 104 million according to the 2011 census. They comprise a substantial indigenous minority of the population of India.

⁵ On November 1, 10 and 15, 2000, three new states, India's 26th, 27th and 28th, came into being. Chhattisgarh which came first was carved out of Madhya Pradesh. Uttarakhand was separated from Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand, the last one, was carved out of Bihar.

Given the socio-economic alienation, it is easy to see how the Naxalite's ideology is popular among the rural poor and indigenous tribes, and why the adivasis view them as their "saviors". These *adivasis* feel like they do not have any political power to voice their grievances legitimately, and therefore the alternative of subversive, illegal groups seem attractive. Arundhati Roy, a Naxalite sympathiser said that the tribal forestlands should be called a "MoUist Corridor" instead of the "Maoist Corridor" as the people of this tribal forest have been wrestling with "Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) of the mining companies. (Carbon, 2011) (Balagopal, 2007)

In the case of tribes, the agrarian structure has deprived them of access to natural resources vital to their subsistence traditionally. This is being done through alienation of their owned land by force, fraud and manipulation, displacement from land, habitat and livelihood due to acquisition of land by the government, and denial of access to forest resources. It has robbed them of the fruits of their labor through low wages, usurious money lending, un-remunerative returns for their produce (forest and agricultural), and debt bondage. The multi-faceted exploitation in all spaces of social intercourse by the non-tribal's accompanied by social indignities constitute, in short, the social conditions of the tribal's. These conditions produce a never ending structural violence which is an integral part of their daily lives.

The rise of Naxalism is also due to failure to enforce Ninth Schedules of the Constitution of India, 1950. The Ninth Schedule deals with the equitable distribution of cultivable land by enacting land ceiling laws and restricting ownership of cultivable land to specific limits and taking out the surplus land and distributing it among the landless laborers. The honest fact is that the Indian state has lacked the political will to implement this schedule. (Rammohan, 2015) This has been the most potent cause of their disaffection and alienation from the state. Yet the proposed amendments to the law of acquisition and reformulation of the policy of rehabilitation make no commitment to stop acquisition of the tribal land or even to reduce it. This happens despite the Supreme court judgment in the Samata case⁶. In this case, the Supreme court clarified that "the object of the Fifth and Sixth Schedule is not only to prevent acquisition,...but also to ensure that tribals remain in possession and enjoyment of lands in Scheduled Areas for their economic empowerment, social status and dignity of their person: The Constitution intends that land always should remain with the tribals. Even the government land should increasingly get allotted to them individually and collectively". The response of the government to this judgment has been negative. First, it tried to amend the Fifth Schedule itself to neutralize the judgment but later tried to get it reversed by the court in the course of other judgments. This reversal has been done in the cases relating to BALCO and Vedanta⁷ companies. But state governments also circumvented the judgment through the subterfuge of creating a legal

⁶1997 Supp(2) SCR 305

⁷ 2008 (73) ALR 160

fiction of state enterprise as the agency to which the land could be transferred which, in turn, leased it out to corporate. (Dahat, 2013)

Effect of Caste on Naxalism

The main cause of insurgency lies rooted in the development and stratification of the Hindu caste system. As Hinduism evolved after the Aryan⁸ migration to India and the pastoral economy gradually changed into an agricultural economy, ownership of cultivable land generally remained restricted to the three upper castes of the Brahmin⁹, Kshatriya¹⁰ and the Bania or Vaisya¹¹. The Shudra¹² and the Scheduled tribes had to be content to work in the fields of the upper castes as labourers. Many of the Scheduled tribes were forced to retreat into the forests of the country and became hunters / gatherers and hence came to be called *Vanvasis* or *Adivasis*.

It is after the Communist party was formed in Russia and the Indian Communist Party of India (CPI) was born that they began working among the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes from 1946. They first operated in the Rangpur and Dinajpur districts of North Bengal and in the Telangana area of the princely state of Hyderabad in 1946. In both these districts the CPI workers finding that the landlords had owned vast areas of land and the lower castes and tribes had to work as labourers on the lands of their upper caste landowners for minimal wages which was more often than not just one fifth of the produce that they produced by their hard toil. There were no Revenue laws then that determined how much land could be held by an individual. The CPI workers would request the landowners to part with some land to be given to the lower caste workers. When the owners refused, the CPI workers would organise the workers in areas far off from the few Police Stations in the district, surround the houses of the owners of agricultural lands and force the owner to part with some land and then distribute these lands to individual lower caste farm labourers. Rough pattas¹³ for the land would be written and given to the labourers and sometimes the landowners would be forced to sign such landownership documents. Sometimes their granaries would be looted and grain distributed among the poor labourers. (R. and Ray, 2005) The landowners would naturally report to the police later, who would then visit the area and reverse all the takeover of land by the labourers and arrest the labourers who had been given land, taken forcibly from the landowners.

⁸It is relating to or denoting a people speaking an Indo-European language who invaded northern India in the second millennium BC, displacing the Dravidian and other aboriginal peoples.

⁹ The Brahmin are the highest of the four Hindu castes, made up of priests and scholars of Vedic literature and their traditional occupation is to concern themselves with the spiritual guidance of the people, conduct rites at marriages, births, deaths and other auspicious occasions.

¹⁰They are the second highest in ritual status of the four *varnas*, or social classes, of Hindu India, traditionally the military or ruling class.

¹¹ Vaishya, also spelled Vaisya, third highest in ritual status of the four *varnas*, or social classes, of Hindu India, traditionally described as commoners

¹² They are the fourth and lowest of the traditional *varnas*, or social classes, of India, traditionally artisans and labourers.

¹³ a title deed to a property.

This is also proved by a government-sponsored committee in 2008 found that most of the Naxalites are tribals and *dalits*—the people once called “untouchables”¹⁴, at the bottom of the Hindu caste system. (The Red heart of India, 2015)

These disparities in human development attainments are not caused by bias in policies or paucity of resources but are rooted in the social structure which excludes these groups from the benefits of development and access to social services. The social status of the dalits is determined by birth, reinforced by degrading social practices and vocations imposed on them and sustained by social sanctions and physical force. The dalits and tribes in every walk of life and all stages suffer from numerous discriminatory and exclusionary practices which deny entitlements and equal access to opportunities by the higher caste groups in the case of the dalits and by the non-tribal groups in the case of tribes. This can be observed in the prevalence of untouchability experienced by the dalits not withstanding its abolition.

Importance of Education

A quality education has the power to transform societies in a single generation, provide children with the protection they need from the hazard of poverty, labor exploitation and disease, and given them the knowledge, skills and confidence to reach their full potential.

Audrey Hapburn

Education plays a very important role in molding the character of an individual. The idea of education which expects an effective and far reaching influence on the impressionable minds of youth should not be alien to the national genius and culture. The progress of any country lies on the literacy and education of its population as it gives the required discrete power to judge and rationalize the events on natural surroundings as well as in the social conditions. No country can achieve sustainable economic development without substantial investment in human capital. It raises people’s productivity and creativity and promotes entrepreneurship and technological advances. In addition it plays a very crucial role in securing economic and social progress and improving income distribution.

When it comes to rural areas, majority of India still lives in villages and so the topic of rural education in India is of utmost importance. A survey named called the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER)¹⁵, shows that even though the number of rural students attending schools is rising, but more than half of the students in fifth grade are unable to

¹⁴. More than 160 million people in India are considered “Untouchable”—people tainted by their birth into a caste system that deems them impure, less than human. Human rights abuses against these people, known as Dalits, are legion.

¹⁵ASER Centre was established in 2008 as an autonomous assessment, survey, evaluation and research unit within the Pratham network. Established in 1995 Pratham is an innovative learning organization created to improve the quality of education in India. As one of the largest non-governmental organizations in the country, Pratham focuses on high-quality, low-cost, and replicable interventions to address gaps in the education system.

read a second grade text book and are not able to solve simple mathematical problems. (Pratham Education Foundation, 2014)

Few problems related to this are lack of quality access to education. As there are fewer committed teachers, lack of proper text book, etc. possess a big problem.

Quality and access to education is the major concern in rural schools as there are fewer committed teachers, lack of proper text books and learning material in the schools. Poverty is another setback. Government schools are not as good and private schools are expensive. This results in a very low number of students actually clearing their secondary education and taking admission in a college for further studies.

Education and Naxalwaad

The educated differ from the uneducated as much as a living from a dead.

- Aristotle

The naxal movement as discussed earlier started because of social and economic difference between the poor locals and the richer section of society. The rich had the control over land and money and all the poor would do were to toil day and night to earn just enough to make two ends meet. For them, education has a special significance because since centuries, their illiteracy and social backwardness have been used for their harassment, humiliation and economic exploitation.

Right to education¹⁶ is guaranteed under India's constitution and laws, and in International Human Rights treaties to which India is party. "Access to education for India's most marginalized children is an indispensable ingredient for India's development; children in these areas are being deprived of this right for years as this conflict plays out." (Human Rights Watch, 2009) However in the Red Corridor the situation is quite different.

The Naxal attack schools as they are often the only government buildings in the remote rural areas where the militants operate. Undefined schools are a high-visibility, "soft" target. Also the government security forces - both police and paramilitary police - occupy school buildings as bases for anti-Naxalite operations, sometimes only for a few days but often for periods lasting several months, and even years, with students trying to carry on their studies in the remaining space. (Dahat, 2013) As a result the children have no place to study and learn.

Apart from this, the Naxals in their attempt to regroup child cadres and boost military strength have constituted 'Baal Action Teams' to deploy school children in different capacities. As per the documents, intensified combing operations by security forces had made it difficult for adult members to gather information; so school children, including girls, were being recruited. Children in the age group of six and twelve are organized into

¹⁶ The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act or Right to Education Act (RTE), is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted on 4 August 2009, which describes the modalities of the importance of free and compulsory education for children between 6 and 14 in India under Article 21A of the Indian Constitution

Baal Sanghams; depending on aptitude, a child is promoted to other wings such as 'Sanghams' (village-level associations), Chaitanya Natya Manch (street-theater troupes), Jan Militias (armed informers who travel with Dalams) and Dalams. On being asked how children were shortlisted for BAT, the official said, almost all the children on a school roll are included initially and later brainwashed. ("Naxalites Recruiting School Kids", 2013)

Another Buniyadi Communist Training School (BCTS), has been churning out professionally-trained Communists since 2009 with basic military skills and knowledge of Hindi, social studies, mathematics and science. They are training Maoist cadres between 14 to 21 years in military intelligence and action team missions such as assassination of legislators and senior police officers. (Jain, 2012).

What has been done

The question is NOT whether young people can be persuaded to learn, it is: what STOPS them and puts them off.

- Guy Claxton

The approach to the *Naxalite* problem needs a blend of firm and sophisticated handling of violence with sensitive handling of the developmental aspects. Today we don't only question "How to free states of Naxalism, but how to prevent this terrible disease from spreading through the rest of our Country, before it is too late?" There is a need to understand the mind of the tribals who find themselves displaced again and again. As has been pointed, naxalwaad can not only be reduced by military intervention, the education of adivasis plays a very important role.

Many educationists believe that education is the only way the local tribes can be benefited and naxalwaad be controlled. According to former Pro-VC of Ranchi University, V P Sharan "Children in these areas are trying hard to overcome their plight, where education appears as an effective solution to the problem of naxalism" (Sinha, 2014)

The government's flagship program of obtaining universalization of elementary education "Sarva Siksha Abhiyaan" has helped in decreasing the dropout rates in states with Left wing Extremism affected districts.

Sarva Sikha Abhiyaan provides for opening of new schools, new/ additional teachers depending on enrolment and all other SSA activities. It also provides for residential school and hostels. There are 77 residential schools/ hostels in LWE districts with intake capacity of 31650 children.

Coordination with Ashram Shalas and other SC/ ST department schools are done by giving (i) free text books (ii) mid day meal (iii) Teacher training (iv) school/ maintenance grant (v) teacher grant for teaching aids.

Another scheme is being implemented in educationally backward blocks of the country where the female rural literacy is below the national average and gender gap in literacy is above the national average. The Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) is a scheme launched in July 2004, for setting up residential schools at upper primary level for girls belonging predominantly to the SC, ST, OBC and minority communities. (Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya, 2004)

When it comes to building infrastructure, government of Chhattisgarh has done a remarkable job by installing pre-fabricated structure for schools in Bastar area, one of the most affected by naxal activities. Pre-fabricated structure provides portability and saves time in terms of extending school education to the areas where Naxalites have destroyed schools. Centre has decided to adopt the Chhattisgarh government's initiative of using 'Porta Cabins' (pre-fabricated structures) for school infrastructure in Naxal affected areas. The porta cabin school scheme in Chhattisgarh has been implemented with the help of UNICEF and the state of Jharkhand has also approved funds for such schools. Apart from this, the Maharashtra government is planning to start "KG to PG" educational hubs for tribal students in areas affected by Naxalite violence. (Kulkarni, 2011)

Further there is the Indian polity has laid down an elaborate architecture of protection and affirmative action to deal with structural violence taking into account these social and economic disparities and the exclusionary practices. Educating people about the constitution and its provision regarding their welfare is the foremost thing one has to do. The fundamental rights liberated the dalits from untouchability practices and guaranteed them equality before law and all freedoms to the dalits and the tribals on par with the other citizens.¹⁷ Also reservation of jobs in public services, in educational institutions and central and state legislatures have been given to them.¹⁸ In addition, national commissions, as statutory watchdog bodies, have also been created to ensure that the constitutional provisions and state policies designed for their welfare are implemented. In the case of tribes, there are additional safeguards taking into account their distinct identity, culture, institutions and practices on the one hand and seclusion from the mainstream Indian caste society and vulnerability to exploitation by them on the other. This is reflected in a governance arrangement for the tribal areas different from the pattern in the non-tribal areas. The arrangement consists of demarcating territories where tribals inhabit and designating them as the Fifth and Sixth Schedule Areas. The tribal areas in the states affected by naxalites activities are included in the Fifth Schedule (Article 244 [1]). Under the provision of this schedule, the governor¹⁹ of

¹⁷ Article 17 of the Constitution of India, 1950.

¹⁸ Article 15 and Article 16 of the Constitution of India, 1950.

¹⁹ The governors and lieutenant-governors of the states and union territories of India have similar powers and functions at the state level as that of the President of India at Union level. Governors exist in the states while lieutenant-governors exist in union territories and in the National Capital Territory of Delhi. Governor acts as the nominal head whereas the real power lies in the hand of the chief ministers of the states and the chief minister's Council of Minister .

Conversation with surrendered Naxalite: What they have to say?

Yes, we did have schools in our village but everything was as per Naxalites. The course structures and teachings were Maoists not Gandhivadi. Some areas like Abhujmarg (most naxal affected area) have schools and houses from the time of kings and royal. But only school buildings do not matter. There is dire need of teachers and there is only one teacher in our village for both senior and junior students. Also if it starts to rains for say, 3-4 continuous days, the building submerges and it becomes impossible to attend classes. Mostly the teachers are one among naxalites only as person appointed by government never comes. Vocational training is not provided.

We were introduced to Charu Majumdar and his works when we were kids. We were told about the violence and disparity which lead to the peasants uprising. Since the protest was for good thing, the people who got associated at that time were also very good, hardworking and intellects like, Kishenji, etc. but today to an extent the main ideology behind this is fading away. Today, its mostly for power struggle. No political parties are given support. They want to take the overall control. I cannot tell exsee the future clearly but in the present situation it is under control to an extent. Technology must be given credit for this. In our village, people who don't know how to sign their names know a lot about cell phones.

Every evening, Naxals use to come to our village and discuss about the loopholes of the functioning of government. They use to tell us how farmers have lost their lands to big capitalists companies and government is not doing anything. They told us stories about the atrocities committed by police in our village. This eventually made me to take up weapons and start fights against government. I was 8 years old when I joined Baal Sengam. I was later made the leader of platoon operating in KJB (Kanker Jagdalpur Border). Since then I was on the run. I had no family life, no food, no shelter. One of the rebel leader believed that the problems related with pregnancy, subsequent child rearing and filial attachment of the cadres could create failure of their revolutionary movements and hence forced compulsory sterilization on all. I had full faith in him till it was shattered by the killing of my own brother by them. I was shattered. I then planned to leave the naxal movement and to join the mainstream. That was when I surrendered to police and presently living in police rehabilitation camp.

the state has extraordinary power to protect the tribes from the impact of laws and policies made by the central and state governments for the rest of the population. The executive power of the Union extends to the giving of directions to the state governments in respect

of the administration of the area. The Governor has the power to annul or amend any law of the Centre or the state in its application to the Scheduled Areas. A Tribal Advisory Council is required to be constituted in every state having Scheduled Areas to advise the governor on any issue concerning welfare and advancement of the tribes referred by him. The consultation with the Tribal Advisory Council is mandatory before framing a regulation. The Governor of each state, having Scheduled Areas, is required annually or whenever so required by the President, to make a report to the President regarding the administration of the Scheduled Areas. The Constitution also mandates continuous and periodical review of tribal affairs for which there is a permanent commission (Article 338) to oversee the working of safeguards for the tribes and submit a report annually which is required to be discussed in the Parliament. In addition, another commission is to be appointed at any time (Article 339) for a special review of the status of the tribes in the scheduled areas. As a special arrangement, it has also been provided that the Government of India shall meet the costs of schemes of development for promoting the welfare of the Scheduled tribes in the state or raising the level of administration in the Scheduled Areas.

Suggestions

Government is looking at Naxalite problem as law and order issue without analyzing the root cause of this uprising. Government policies of repression against Naxalite are just like cutting branches of the trees without harming its root. Government has totally failed in detecting the root cause of this disturbance which is the illiteracy and socio-economic disparity among different classes. All the regions in which the Naxal movement took holds are ones with alarming levels of poverty and illiteracy. However in current scenario it has taken a different form. The state has to do much more than plan counter insurgency operation or support violent vigilante groups to suppress the Naxalite movement and instead think for the development of these areas. Government is rejecting these people so they are bound to accept Naxalism, as they are not left with any choice. Their youths are unemployed, they are poverty stricken and suppressed. The government provides the local some option, so that they could choose between Government and Naxals which will be easier if they get proper education. Once the educational foundation is laid down at primary and rural level, the eradication would not be tough.

What we suggest is the Sustainable approach to the problem. The simple meaning of the word sustainable means able to be continued over a period of time.²⁰ Through sustainable development we focus on social responsibility, protection of environment keeping science and technology at par along with long term development goal.

Explaining it further, sustainable development is like a three legged stool. One leg signifies environment, the other society and the third leg economic. The stool is firmly

²⁰ Cambridge dictionary.

grounded on the bedrock of good governance with a transparent top, so that everyone can see the ground of good governance and where and how the legs are resting. The stool has to have all its three legs equally strong which otherwise might damage the transparent top and even the foundation of governance.

In the present scenario, as discussed above, tribals and dalits face discrimination due to caste system. Their only economic source i.e. forest produce, are being snatched away and instead industries are set up where they have no share and also these industries further harm the environment due to lack of environment safety procedure.

Policy has to be made which apart from ensuring development of the locals there, also make sure that they are able to live and enjoy their native forestlands. Many schemes have been started by the Indian Government but the drawback here is that they focus on only one aspect for a period of time. Equal emphasis must be given to every leg of the stool.

Conclusion

“He who opens a school door closes a prison”

Victor Hugo

The Naxal — or Maoist — agitations in the country today are of different form. The naxalite problem had taken the country in a disastrous path where they aren't driven by the urge to break away from the country based on one geographical, ethnic or linguistic drive. Looking at the list we will find that at least six languages are spoken by the natives of these 10 states which have strong naxalite hold. But cutting across this diversity, there are some startling similarities about the condition of people living there. Studies show that 85 of the country's 100 poorest districts are in seven of those 10 states. As a result, the Naxals' mouth is typically “so asserted” pro-poor and because the ‘development’ in India is not reaching all of the population, the Naxals are having a field day.

On the other hand Naxals, through subversive, sinister process are causing social dissension, economic disruption, political chaos and armed movement. Today, the naxal problem has evolved, expanded and mutated into an even wider threat. We have to reshape the perspective and strategies. Now the strategic realities must be realized: the inadequacy of manpower, resources, lack of security infrastructure. Time is biggest factor in the fight against naxalism.

At this part providing the “adivasis” with education will surely combat naxalism. Education not only led to the development of their region but also inculcate in them values like promoting the capacity to welcome social change, evaluation of social change, transmission of culture, stabilizing democratic values, channelizing and modifying the thoughts of new generation, equality among masses, social awakening and national

development. In the words of Nelson Mandela²¹ “education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.

Therefore, at the outset the seeds of discontent should be destroyed from the education system. Educational system needs reforms but few important are: Bal Ashrams in remote areas face serious problems from Naxalites, these has to be located at those places where security can be provided. Also Central, Navodaya Schools, Science Colleges, etc. should be opened at district head quarters so that locals get plenty of oppoutnity for education and government officials do not feel constrained to work in those areas. Whether or how this challenge can be overcome is now more tropical than ever. It's high time to resolve differences of opinion over appropriate issues. Clash of soxiao, political, economic and cultural objectives and situations conspire against unity of efforts.

Some states faced some reverses in the opening phase, but one should remember the words of Che Guevera²², that extremists cannot win and can never win against democracy.

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²¹ Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was a South African anti-apartheid revolutionary, politician, and philanthropist who served as President of South Africa from 1994 to 1999.

²² Ernesto "Che" Guevara, commonly known as el Che or simply Che, was an Argentine Marxist revolutionary, physician, author, guerrilla leader, diplomat, and military theorist

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