

PROJECT REPORT ON

**“NAXALISM PROBLEM AND
CURES; A CASE STUDY IN
KARNATAKA”**

MINOR RESEARCH PROJECT

SUBMITTED TO

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MINOR RESEARCH PROJECT

FINAL REPORT /

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

I hereby present the Executive Summary of the Minor Research Project entitled "NAXALISM PROBLEM AND CURSES; A CASE STUDY IN KARNATAKA" sanctioned to me under vide letter no. MRP (H)-0076/12-13/KAKAO22/UGCSWRO.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY:

The proposed research work aims at providing a macro-micro analysis of Politics of violence, using Naxal movement as a tool. In the light of the existing literature and with the inputs from the empirical study, this will be a study of the genesis and current phase of Naxal Movement in Karnataka. Attempt will be made to study the growth of Naxal Movement from within the scope of the 'Organizational Theory of Politics'.

HYPOTHESIS

- i. Naxalism is a political problem and can only be solved politically.
- ii. It needs to be viewed in the light of genesis and growth of organizations.
- iii. The genesis and the current phase of Naxal Movement are characterized by inter-organizational and intra-organizational conflict, which have had far reaching impacts on the course of the movement.
- iv. The Karnataka Government must evolve a greater role for itself to solve this problem. A specially designed land reforms programme up with fresh zeal.
- v. Poverty alleviation programmes need a fresh approach. Tribal will have to be given a better deal and the alienated and must be restored to them.

- vi. Active participation of tribal rural people through the Panchayat Raj Institutions is very much necessary, for it would contribute to the democratic development process.

In Karnataka, the term 'Naxalite' refers to a variety of revolutionary rural struggles. The Naxalite movement shuns participation in electoral politics and attacks the landed classes directly in a bid to liberate entire territories from feudal and capitalist exploitation. Although it has an ideological following all over the country, it is mainly restricted to five states; Andhra Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Orissa, Karnataka and Bihar. The Naxalite movement, which started in the late 1960s, has undergone numerous splits due to ideological and personal reasons. The efforts taken by the various state governments have contained the movement but liberated zones continue to exist. The Naxalite operate in areas that on one hand have very low levels of income and very low human development indicators, and on the other hand suffer from extreme forms of economic and social polarization. The state governments, rather than addressing the security needs of the landless laborers and poor people of SC/ST most affected by the violence or providing protection to villagers at risk, have approached it as a law-and-order problem. Civil-society sympathy for the Naxalites' case and concern about the repression by police and authorities with misgivings about the more extremist tendencies within the Naxalite movement.

The experience of Karnataka Politics, in the post independent era shows that with its democratic-rational institutions in place, it has created better chances for the realization of humanity, nonviolence and peacefulness, but at the same time it has vastly increased the potential for violence. On the other hand, in the social protest movements, attempts were made to politicize the concept of violence and problems to be labeled, discredited and set upon. Naxal Movement is one such case of structural violence, which is mostly seen from the looking glass of poverty, under development and absolute deprivation. However, it is also a fact that despite its continuity within the spectrum of Karnataka Politics (though it claims that it does not believe in the

institutions of Parliamentary Democracy); Naxalim so far has not been able to come up with an alternative development formula for the Karnataka State.

Use of violence in the name of development cannot be justified and in their quest for providing a philosophical basis to their violence enigma, the Naxal groups have this habit of taking rescue under the shadow of big names. However, the names they claim as their ideologue, none among them has ever prescribed the indiscriminate use of violence. From Sorel to Gandhi, all the great thinkers of violence and non violence have perceived.

Other than anything, Naxalim is a political problem which comes within the purview of Politics of Organizational Conflict, i.e. inter organizational and intra organizational conflict. In the study of social equally challenging. Although conflict is often perceived as something negative, in terms of social movements some conflict can actually improve organizational effectiveness. Conflict can actually natural occurrence during the course of a movement as it arises out of differentiation, which leads to the formation of subunits. The subunits have different perception over organizational goals and goal achievement. It is this dynamics or organizational conflict, which has emerged as the focal point in the study of organizational politics as it shapes up the real course of a movement. During the course of a movement some movement becomes more institutionalized and transforms themselves in to political parties or pressure groups. Also there is a possibility of some organizations becoming more radical and adopting more violent operational ways.

The genesis of Naxal Movement in Karnataka reflects the change, which the Naxalite organizations have undergone. It has a considerable impact in determining the course of Naxal Politics in Karnataka. From the maverick Nagbhusam Pattnaik to the master guerilla Sabyasachi Panda, the Naxal growth in Karnataka essentially is a history of organizational ups and downs. While the organizational conflict among Naxals always was leading them to another stage of unification, the government so far has not been able to take note of these conflict dynamics. It was only recently that the state

government has realized the political implications of the Naxal problem in the state and for which Shanti Senas have come up with the active or tacit support from the government, however the attempts could not give desired results due to the inability of the administration to take the initiative to that level where from it can really penetrate in to the Naxal organizations. The government will have to reformulate its strategy on the Shanti Sena and community policing as it holds the crucial chord of organizational conflict in the context of the Naxal Movement.

Thirty-eight years of blood shed, loss of thousands of human life; it's time to call enough is enough. It's high time that the government as well as Naxal leadership must indulge in a serious soul searching exercise. The Naxal theoretical premises might look development oriented, but its practice of violence and terror is no way contributing to the growth of the people for whom it stands. Over the years the Naxal movement has become conspiratorial and violent, relying on terror struck by its guerilla squads, rather than on peasant mobilization. On the other hand, the Karnataka Government has not taken any step so far either to affect land reforms or to expedite development in the areas where under development feeds the movement.

POLICY PRESCRIPTION:

- i. The Government will deal sternly with the naxalites indulging in violence.
- ii. Keeping in view that naxalism is not merely a law and order problem, the policy of the Government is to address this menace simultaneously on political fronts in a holistic manner.
- iii. Naxalism being an inter-state problem, the states will adopt collective approach and pursue a coordinated response to counter it.
- iv. The states will need to further improve police response and pursue effective and sustained police action against naxalites and their infrastructure individually and jointly.

- v. The State Governments will need to accord a higher priority in their annual plans to ensure faster socio-economic development of the naxal affected areas. The focus areas should be to distribute land to the landless poor as part of the speedy implementation of land reforms, ensure development of physical infrastructure like roads, communication, power etc. and provide employment opportunities to the youth in these areas.

While admitting that naxal groups have been raising land and livelihood related issues, the study stresses upon taking up land reforms on a priority basis. It says that allotment of land to the landless and poor in the naxal-affected areas would go a long way in tackling the developmental aspects.