

MAOIST MOVEMENT: TRENDS AND IMPLICATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

- **CPI (Maoist) founded September 21, 2004**
- **Objective: Capture political / State power through PPW**
- **Leaders: Ganapathy, Kishanda, Nambala**
- **Strength: Estimated 6,500 UG; CC 20 (11 from TS 3; from AP)**
- **Spatial spread: 106 districts, 10 states; core 35 districts (157 dts just three years ago)**



MERGER AND CONSOLIDATION

- CPI-Maoist formed with the merger of CPI-ML (PW) and MCCI on September 21, 2004
- PW, PU merger in 1998
- RCCI, MCC merger in January 2003
- CPI-ML (Naxalbari) and MUC and Red Flag merged
- MUC formed in 1997 is an amalgam of



MERGER AND CONSOLIDATION

- Naxalites of Kerala Communist Party and Maharashtra Communist Party merged
- CPI-ML (Naxalbari) and MUC merged April 1999. Later Red Flag faction merged with Naxalbari
- Naxalbari merged with CPI (Maoist) in April 2008
- Janasakthi – Kerala Unit. Strong possibility of other units, too, merging



EXPANSION TO VIRGIN TERRITORIES

- Nainital, Almora, Pithoragarh, Champawat, Udham Singh Nagar in Uttarakhand
- Dharmapuri, Salem, Coimbatore, Madurai, Theni, Kodaikanal in Tamil Nadu
- Bellary, Shimoga, Udupi, Chikmagalur, Dakshin Kannada, Kolar in Karnataka
- Tri-junction of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka
- SWSZC



EXPANSION TO VIRGIN TERRITORIES

- Assam
- Punjab, Haryana, Delhi; Leading team sent to J&K
- Attempts to penetrate industrial towns of Gujarat
- Implications



OTHER TRENDS

- All-India TCOC from time-to-time
- Economic blockade | Targeting Infrastructure
- North-South and East-West Corridor: Coordinated attacks at multiple places?
- United Front



TACTICAL UNITED FRONT

- Secret Committee; functions under SUCOMO
- Idea dates back to 1995 when the then PW seriously considered forming UF
- Delay in plan following the 1998 merger with Party Unity
- In 2002, concrete shape;



TUF: UTILITY

- Poach partners for potential leaders and ideologues;
- Serve as a good cover from the long arm of the state;
- Essentially being a political activity, it reinforces the military activities, i.e. armed struggle



TUF

- RDF; CAVOW; PDFI; CRPP; PCPA, etc
- RDF an amalgam of SFPR and AIPRF
- CAVOW – Salwa Judum – Arundhati Roy
- PDFI – Founded in July 2006; Vara Vara Rao, Kalyan Rao, Darshan Pal, Medha Patkar, Nandita Haksar, SAR Geelani, BD Sarma
- In 2004, MR 2004; Narayan Sanyal alias Naveen Prasad



TUF

➤ UF with Muslims

- SIMI ban – Azad: “It was a reiteration of the (government's) policy to continue it's brutal war on Muslims”
- Fight alongside terrorists in J&K
- 9th Congress: “The Indian state too has targeted Muslims, branding them ‘terrorist’. After the 9/11 incident and the Parliament Attack Case Muslims were targeted once again... Indian state forces are even capturing and annihilating innocent Muslims now and then, in the name of nabbing terrorists”
- Azam Ghorji; Akkiraju on Hiren Pandya murder accused



URBAN MOVEMENT

- From an operational point of view Urban Areas are safe to operate. “Because of the anonymity it accords, it becomes easy for the Maoists to stay and operate in urban centres”
- *Urban Perspective Plan* discussed at 9th Congress; finalised September 2007



URBAN MOVEMENT: WORKING CLASS

- Tapping Industrial Workers
- Surat
- Haryana
- Delhi Nagar Nigam Safai Mazdoor Sangh
- Bhilai-Ranchi-Dhanbad-Kolkata axis; Mumbai-Pune-Surat-Ahmedabad axis
- Nagpur, Pune, Thane, Nashik, Aurangabad, Malegaon



URBAN MOVEMENT

- *Result: Gain control over strategic installations – Industries; Halt production; disrupt state's fighting capacities; organise sabotage activities*
- SIKASA example: 58 days



LATEST TRENDS

State-wise extent of LWE violence during 2010 to 2015

State	2010		2011		2012		2013		2014		2015	
	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths	Incident	Deaths
Andhra Pradesh	100	24	54	9	67	13	28	7	18	4	35	8
Bihar	307	97	316	63	166	44	177	69	163	32	109	17
Chhattisgarh	625	343	465	204	370	109	355	111	328	112	466	97
Jharkhand	501	157	517	182	480	163	387	152	384	103	310	56
M.P.	7	1	8	0	11	0	1	0	3	0	0	0
Maharashtra	94	45	109	54	134	41	71	19	70	28	55	18
Odisha	218	79	192	53	171	45	101	35	103	26	92	28
Telangana	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	8	4	14	5	11	02
Uttar Pradesh	6	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
West Bengal	350	258	92	45	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Others	5	0	6	1	8	0	7	0	8	0	10	0
TOTAL	2213	1005	1760	611	1415	415	1136	397	1091	310	1088	226



VIOLENCE PROFILE (DATA TILL FEB 15, 2016)

Parameters	2014	2015	2016
Incidents	1091	1088	168
Civilians Killed	222	168	29
SFs Killed	87	58	10
Naxals Killed	63	89	41
Naxals Arrested	1689	1668	280



WAY FORWARD

- Security, Development, Rights of Local Communities and PPM
- Additional Central Assistance (earlier IAP)
- Rs 5280 Cr for Fiscal 2013-15
- Largely military-oriented
- Area-specific strategies needed
- Just about picking-up; 3-5 years; 7-10 years



CHANGES

- Exploitation; Tenancy; Land Relations; Landlord class; Political empowerment; Rural loans; Money Lenders
- Improvement in Literacy, medical facilities, transportation, information revolution, road connectivity,...
- Political empowerment; Caste assertion; Identity politics;



CHANGE IN STRATEGY

- “Semi-feudal relations are affected, we have to make anti-imperialist, capitalist struggle **PRIMARY** and anti-feudal struggle **SECONDARY**” – Social Investigation of WGL
- GOI admits: Active support to **people's movement** against proposed **Bauxite mining** in Niyamgiri hills (Rayagada and Kalahandi of OR) and Agency areas of Vizag in AP) and **Polavaram dam** issue in WG of AP
- Consolidation in existing areas;
- Base on tri-junction of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu



THANK YOU

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2.85 The CPI (Maoist) is not only undertaking organizational restructuring to consolidate its position in the existing areas, it is also trying to carve out a base for themselves in the tri-junction of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. Though the CPI (Maoist) has not achieved much success on this front due to implementation of a well-formulated action plan, the efforts of the CPI (Maoist) to open a new theatre in south India is a cause for serious concern. The Government



SUPPORT FROM PEOPLE: WHY?

(Odisha). There has been active support to peoples' movement against proposed bauxite mining in Niyangiri hills (Rayagada and Kalahandi districts of Odisha) and Agency Area (Vishakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh). CPI (Maoist) has been extending direct support to local tribals against construction of Polavaram Dam (West Godawari district, Andhra Pradesh).



2.88 **Action Plan:** In order to holistically address the LWE problem in an effective manner, Government has formulated National Policy and Action Plan adopting four pronged strategy in the areas of security, development, ensuring rights & entitlement of local communities and management of public perception. The focus of the Government is to address security, development and governance deficits in 106 LWE affected district especially in the 35 most affected LWE districts spread in 7 States.

