

Naksiliyo ke khilaf Aam Janata Ka

Jan Jagran Abhiyan 2005

(The Common People's Awareness Raising Campaign against

the Naxalites

Year 2005)

Abhiyan ko safal banane ke liye

Karya Yojana

Work Proposal

to make the Campaign Successful

District South Bastar Dantewada (Chhattisgarh)

Chapter I: Form of Campaign

1. Brief Background on the District:

Dantewada is the southern most tip of Chhattisgarh with a fully tribal population. The area of the district is 18,511 sq km. 56% of this is revenue land and 44% is forest land. There are 1354 villages, of which 1218 are revenue villages and 136 forest villages. Out of 1218 revenue villages, 1175 are inhabited and 143 are uninhabited. There are 409 gram panchayats and 5 municipalities. According to the 2001 census, the population of the district is 7,19,487, of which the male population is 3,56,928 and the female population is 3,62,559. 95% of the district is within the rural area and 5% in urban area. Scheduled castes comprise 3.35% and Scheduled Tribes comprise 78.51%. According to the 2001 census, the male literacy rate is 34.12%, the female literacy rate is 17.44% and the total literacy rate is 24.51%. From the administrative perspective, the district has two police districts: Dantewada and Bijapur. In police district Dantewada there are 21 police stations and in police district Bijapur, there are 16 police stations, and in total there are 37 police stations. There are 11 blocks in the district: Dantewada, Gidam, Katekalyan, Kuakonda, Sukma, Chindgadh, Konta, Bijapur, Bhairamgarh, Bijapur and Bhopalpatnam. The district has four tahsils: Dantewada, Konta, Bijapur, Bhopalpatnam. There are 161 patwari halkas and 10 revenue circles.

As such, the whole district is affected by Naxalism, but if you look at it closely, then you see that out of 11 development blocks, 5 big blocks: Bhairamgarh, Bijapur, Usur, Bhopalpatnam and Konta, are fully influenced by the Naxalites. In 6 blocks, the

following areas: 25% of Geedam, 30% of Dantewada, 60% of Kuakonda, 20% of Katekalyan, 45% of Sukma, and 15% of Chindgarh - are seriously affected by Naxalites and the rest of their area is ordinarily affected. The significance of being seriously influenced is that Naxalite meetings are held in this area, ordinary people cannot come and go independently, development works are blocked by the Naxalites, and they control works taking place in these areas. By ordinarily affected, we mean that Naxalites come and go in this area, but daily, there are no incidents. From a map of the affected areas, we see that 66% or two-thirds of the district is seriously influenced by the Naxalites. As such the Naxalites have been here for thirty years, but in the last four-five years, their activities have increased. Their struggle is less ideological and more oppressive now. People's main livelihood here is cultivation and collection of NTFPs. Their economic condition is very bad. People are not educated, and have no contact with the outside world and believe whatever the Naxalites tell them. This is the main reason for the Naxalite's success. If the Naxalite problem in this area is to be finished, we need to address these problems and put people in touch with the outside world.

2. Brief description of the Abhiyan:

Dantewada district is fully affected by Naxalism. Out of 11 blocks of the district, in 2 blocks, Bhairamgarh and Bijapur - in Kutru, Pharsegarh, Bedre, Jangla, Bijapur, Bhairamgarh and Nelasnar police stations, about 200 villages have tired of the Naxalites and started the Jan Jagran Abhiyan against them. In this Abhiyan, from Geedam block to Bade Tumnar to Barsur, approximately 60 villages have marked their attendance. The plan is to spread the Abhiyan to three additional blocks in the coming days: Usur,

Bhopalpatnam and Konta. This Jan Jagran Abhiyan is spontaneous and so far they have received no help from the police.

The reason they have risen against the Naxalites is their daily existence is threatened: they have to give youth to join dalams or are threatened, anyone cultivating well has to give 10 sacks of grain which prevents them from improving. The Naxalites prevent development works taking place, which means no development or employment. They forcibly collect contributions from each household and those who can't afford it have to sell their animals to pay. The Naxals call bandhs and shut the market down, don't let people collect tendu patta etc. In this season, there has been only 7% collection in entire Bijapur area, which means people have lost out on crores. This Jan Jagran Abhiyan is the result of people's anger at the Naxalites' assault on their livelihoods. Due to these reasons, people first began gathering in small numbers, and then seeing each other, 200 villages joined the Jan Jagran Abhiyan and are running it themselves.

The causes for Naxalites' growth in this area are illiteracy, extreme poverty, lack of basic facilities in the villages, the lack of contact with the outside world, the lack of awareness regarding education and health, so people accept and do whatever the Naxalites tell them. They don't even know that there is an elected government in this country. The Naxalites take advantage of this. To remove Naxalism, one must understand these factors.

3. The progress of the Abhiyan so far:

So far, the Abhiyan has had meetings in 30 places, and rallies in 6. In these meetings, people from 30-35 village gather together on the appointed date. At these meetings they discuss their problems and resolve not to support the Naxalites in future. So far there is no overall leader for this Abhiyan. One reason for this is that whoever takes up leadership will become a target of the Naxalites. Everyone understands this – both people and leaders. So far, only Shri Mahendra Karma, MLA Dantewada has come forward after 23.6.2005 and been present at all the meetings. In addition, Shri Kedar Kashyap, Prabhari Mantri, Zilla Dantewada and Rajendra Pambhoi, MLA Bijapur, have also attended some meetings.

Participants in the Jan Jagran Abhiyan bring their bows and arrows, axes, lathis, etc. with them.

The Naxalites are also trying to stop the Abhiyan. They go from village to village telling people not to join and threatening those who go to meetings. In this connection, they tried to break up a meeting at village Talmodi on 18.6.2005 by firing to scare off people. On 19.6.2005, a rally from Matwada to Kotrapal was attacked with bows and arrows and one injured person died in the stampede. They kidnapped Bhuvaneshwar from village Jangla who was in the rally and injured another. They killed Vijay Giri, panchayat member from Usur, on 8.7.2005 after kidnapping him on 6.7.2005. They tried to scare off the second Jan Jagran Rally held at Kotrapal on 1.7.2005 by firing in the mountain. They attacked the public representatives returning from the Toyenar rally. In many places they have

tried to spread terror by putting a pressure bomb or exploding a bomb on the path of the rally.

So far the spirits of the participants are high but in order to make it successful in future, they will have to be given protection and joined with the police. Development works will have to be undertaken.

Chapter II: How to conduct the Abhiyan

1. Proposals to conduct the Abhiyan

So far the people have been conducting the Abhiyan on their own. The Naxalites are trying to dissuade them through persuasion or through threats. If they are not given support from the administration, the Abhiyan will die out. For this, three kinds of assistance are needed: One, an overall leader is needed who will be able to give it a definite direction. Two, they need security so that they can resist Naxalite pressure and, three, they need vehicles to help transport them to and from meetings, food at the meetings and staying arrangements at government expense. The kind of leader needed is one who comes forward voluntarily, and has the ability to lead and is not dependent only on government backup. All parties must accept such a person.

2. Vehicles for transport:

So far people have been coming on foot to nearby villages or on whatever transport they get on the main roads. To run the Abhiyan for a long time, it is essential to provide government support. Vehicle owners can be asked to make available their vehicles but after a while, they will start making excuses. Therefore, ten lakhs may be sanctioned from the Home department for this.

(For action, Home Department, Raipur)

3. Food for participants

If participants are not given food, they will not come when called. This will be dangerous for the Abhiyan and the proposal to remove Naxalites from the district. 10 lakhs should be sanctioned for food, and can be arranged through the Home department.

(For action, Home Department, Raipur)

4. Provisions for padyatra

Padyatras will also need to be carried out. In remote villages, where roads are inaccessible, there is a need to create an atmosphere in favour of the Jan Jagran Abhiyan. A force will have to go to these areas prepared to stay. For this tents, food, security etc. will be needed. 10 lakhs should be sanctioned for this through the Home department.

(For action, Home Department, Raipur)

Chapter III

The security of public representatives and common people taking part in the Jan Jagran Abhiyan

1. The security of the meetings taking place under the Jan Jagran Abhiyan

The Naxalites are trying to stop the Abhiyan in two ways: one, by going from village to village telling people they were never against development, only against the building of roads and bridges, and they should stop participating in the Abhiyan, and two, by beating up and in some cases trying to kill the leaders of the Abhiyan. They are also trying to spread terror by firing or putting bombs in the path of the rally. However, so far, no lives have been lost due to these attempts, but the possibility of this in future cannot be ruled out. Therefore, in order to make the Abhiyan successful and reach its desired end, it must be given security. The police chief must be directed to attend all the meetings. The responsibility for this will be the District Collector's.

2. Security to the processions.

During the Jan Jagran Abhiyan rallies are held, in which thousands of people go from one place to another along a designated route. Apart from the people of the locality, the Naxalites also know the route of these rallies. Previously there was an incident when two Naxalites were accidentally killed when laying a pressure bomb in the route of a rally.

Hence, rallies must also be given adequate protection. Police Head and Exdecutive Magistrate must be given responsible for security.

3. Security to public representatives attending the rally

While police is present at the rallies, people are vulnerable when they go home. Hence, police must take out patrols from time to time. If they hear of Naxalites pressurising villagers, they must at once make enquiries, catch and kill them. If this is not done, people will feel unsafe and stop coming to Jan Jagran Abhiyan. In this way, public representatives must be given personal security or be kept in one place and given common protection. The home department must reflect on this at its level and make adequate arrangements available to the police department.

(For action, Home Department)

Chapter 4

Strategy to make the Abhiyan Successful

1. Identification of villages affected by the Jan Jagran Abhiyan

In order to make the Jan Jagran Abhiyan successful, the first and most essential item is to make a list of all the villages associated with the Abhiyan, because only this will tell us in how big an area the villagers have decided to oppose the Naxalites and drive them out. On the basis of this, we can make security and other measures in these villages and link them with the police. Village population, number of households, distance from thana and access road, and other such essential information should be collected by each thana. This responsibility should be carried out at the thana level.

(For action, SP Bijapur)

2. Creation of Village Defence Committees

The protection of those villages and villagers which have joined the Jan Jagran Abhiyan is essential. The police cannot stay in every village all the time. Hence, the villagers must be ready to protect themselves. Therefore, a village defence committee must be created in every village affected by the Jan Jagran Abhiyan. In this village defence committee, the village mukhiya, panches, sarpanch and young men can be kept. This work must be undertaken at once by the police. The responsibility for doing this in a planned manner at the district level rests with the SP and at the thana level with the thana head.

(For action, SP Bijapur)

3. Appointment of Special Police Officers

It is essential to keep those villages which are joining the Jan Jagran Abhiyan, connected to the police. If police and villagers do not have good relations, then we will not get information from the villages, and if the police have to take any action in these villages, then they will not get the co-operation of the villagers. Therefore, it is proposed that youth from the villages that have joined the Jan Jagran Abhiyan, should be made Special Police Officers. Keeping in mind the population of the village, it is essential to appoint 5-10 Special Police Officers from every village. It would be appropriate to pay such Special Police Officers Rs. 1500 per month honorarium, because without an honorarium, nobody will want to put their life at risk. The Naxalites also pay youth like this. In order to make them side with the administration, it is essential to give them some monetary benefit. It is a Central Government rule that such special police officers should be appointed from the ranks of retired police, army or paramilitary. Such a rule is impossible to implement in this area. This entire area is very backward in terms of education and those who have government employment. The number of those who have been to college is very few. However, there are many healthy young men. Therefore, keeping aside rules, it would be appropriate to appoint these youth as Special Police Officers by giving them an honorarium. For this, a big amount of Rs. 150 lakh per month per police district will be needed, but in comparison to the costs, the benefits will be great, hence it would be

appropriate to make this decision. It would be appropriate to give this under the home department account.

(For action, Home Department Raipur and SP Bijapur)

4. Training of Village Defence Committees and Special Police Officers

After taking the above mentioned action in setting up village defence committees and appointing special police officers, they should be trained in protecting themselves, their family members, village defence, giving information to the police, helping each other in difficulties etc. Only through such training, will good relations development between them and the police. One day's training is adequate, but some expenses will have to be met for training material, one day's meal, and tea twice a day. Rs. 2 lakh per police district is necessary for this. The amount can be made available on account of the home department.

(For action, Home Department Raipur and SP Bijapur)

5. Distribution of traditional arms like bows and arrows, axes, hoes, sticks etc.

In addition to training the villagers, they should be given traditional weapons like bows and arrows, axes, hoes, sticks etc. Although most villagers already have such weapons, it would be good to encourage them by distributing ready made arrows or iron to make arrows. As such, villagers are asking for guns or gun licenses but it would not be appropriate to give them these. Even if those with licenses get guns, the Naxalites will loot the guns or kill them to get the guns. This way the Naxalites will get more arms

which will not be good for the police. In addition, if an armed person then joins the Naxalites, then their strength will increase. Therefore it is not appropriate to accept this demand of the villagers and it is better to distribute traditional weapons. For this, Rs. 1 lakh per police district is appropriate. It would be appropriate to sanction this money on the account of the home department, while the Superintendent of Police can manage distribution of weapons.

(For action, Home Department Raipur and SP Bijapur)

6. Strengthening of a system of police informers

In the current situation, if there is any one thing that is most important, it is strengthening police information. We have to concede that today, in Naxalite affected areas, police information systems are very poor. People are not in a position to go into the interior and get information out. The Kotwar system is not working well. It is difficult to understand who is trustworthy and who is not. In this area, Halbi, Gondi and Dorla are spones. If an outside official is called in and set on this task, he will be instantly discovered and will not be given information or will be given wrong information. Therefore it is essential to put local people on the job by giving them an honorarium and thereby strengthening the police information system. If we really want to be successful, we will have to correct this system. For this, every police district should be given Rs. 50 lakh. For this the Home Department must consider carefully and issue far reaching instructions to the police superintendents, and they in turn must implement it immediately. This should be done on the account of the home department.

(For action, Home Department Raipur and SP Bijapur)

7. Police should hold meetings with villagers and take them into confidence

Currently the Jan Jagran Abhiyan is carrying on and people are coming to meetings. Their view of the police is okay, but the Abhiyan will not last forever, so we will have to think of some alternative. Today, relations between police and villagers in Naxalite affected villages are not good. The police thana looks very scary and the ordinary person is scared of going there. The ordinary person always tries to avoid going to the thana. From the police's viewpoint, the moment he emerges from the boundaries of the thana, he thinks everyone out there is a Naxalite or a Naxalite supporter. In other words, everyone looks suspicious, but for the first time during the Jan Jagran Abhiyan we are seeing that this is not the case. There are thousands of people in the villages who are strongly opposed to the Naxalites but in the absence of any organisation or security they are suppressed. In the future, if we can take them with us and build good relations between the police and the people, half the battle will be won. Therefore it is essential that the police build good relations with the headman, panch, sarpanch, village defence committees and special police officers of every village in their jurisdiction. The thana prabhari should hold regular meetings with these individuals, take them into confidence, enquire about their security needs and meet their requirements promptly. The Superintendent of Police is responsible for making the thana prabharis do this.

(For action, all Thana Prabharis and SP Bijapur)

8. Publicity and propaganda campaign against Naxalites

The Naxalites propagate their views by putting up posters and distributing pamphlets. Most people in the villages are illiterate so this is not so important from their viewpoint, but literate people read these posters and pamphlets and tell the illiterates in their own language, those who come and go on the roadsides read them, and the media covers them. So through the medium of a small poster, the ideology reaches many people. In this regard, government effort has been practically nil. A propaganda war is necessary to irritate the Naxalites and make people aware and united. Adverse propaganda ruins a person's resolve. It makes him do bad things in a hurry. Therefore it is necessary to undertake poster pamphlets, folk songs, plays etc. on a large scale. Rs. 5 lakh per police district would be appropriate. Distributing the posters and pamphlets is the SP's responsibility while the budget for publicity can come from the home department.

(For action, Home Department, SP Bijapur and all Thana Prabharis)

9. Getting information from villagers on Naxalites, and taking instant action on that information and killing Naxalites

People will only get a sense of security and gain confidence about the police if the police act promptly on the information they are given, and Naxalites start falling to the police bullets. For this, there will have to be a change in police ways of functioning. The most essential requirement now is that the police should talk politely to villagers. All the higher ups accept this but the first person a villager comes into contact with is the thana munshi or the thanedar and they talk rudely to people without finding out if they are a good or bad person. This is not appropriate to build good relations between the police and people. Not only should directions be given on this, but it should be enforced at the field

level. In addition, it is essential to act promptly on the information given by villagers. Nowadays we want everything in writing. This is not possible to defeat Naxalite problem. Whoever gives information will not want to be identified. Everyone is scared for their own life. Therefore, after getting information and taking whatever steps possible to ensure its truth, the police must act promptly. For this, there must be an adequate police force available in every thana, apart from the officers on duty. The current police force available is not adequate from any perspective. The Home Department must address this at least in those districts where the Jan Jagran Abhiyan is active and take steps to provide adequate forces.

(For action, Home Department, SP Bijapur and all Thana Prabharis)

10. Getting information on Naxalite stores, ammunition dumps, land mines, training centres and meeting places, and then destroying them through special operations

If we look at police actions in Naxalite areas so far, their actions have been defensive and not offensive. Now the time has come for the police to change its way of functioning. Police must now become aggressive. Sometime for unknown reasons, some excesses take place during the course of such operations and some innocent persons become victims of this action. By keeping silent on such matters during big operations, the support of higher-ups is necessary. The police must get information from villagers and their secret informants and surround Naxalite hideouts from all sides. Unless this is done on a large scale, villagers will never gain confidence in the police. They will remain an ambivalence as to whether to support the police or Naxalites. When they see Naxalites being killed or

running, they will at once come over to the side of the police. Therefore it is essential to link this activity to the others. For this Superintendents of Police must be given targets.

(For action, Home Department, SP Bijapur and all Thana Prabharis)

11. Filling vacant posts in police stations

Many posts are vacant in the police stations, including Station House Officers, constables and head constables. Whoever gets posted to this area, tries to get a transfer by using political links or going to court and they are often successful. Those who are posted in their place also spend their time trying to get transferred out. Currently, in both the police districts 300 officials have been relieved on the grounds of belonging to MP cadre but nobody has come in their place. In this manner, many posts are vacant. In addition, when officers or public representatives get angry with some policeman in a general district, he is posted here as a punishment posting. Such people are usually shirkers or bad characters. Such people come here and do no work, or keep trying to make their superiors angry so that they get posted out. This is why this district has to manage with very limited and mostly bad staff. Here we are, fighting against Naxalites, and such a situation is not good from any perspective. After talking to the Superintendents of both police districts, they have given the following figures for vacancies:

Vacant Posts

	Thana Heads	Constables/Head Constables
Police district Dantewada	12	150

Police district	13	255
Bijapur		
	25	305

From the above figures, it is prima facie evident that police posts are vacant in large numbers and police are unable to take action on orders from their superiors and provide adequate police force. Nobody listens to this problem. In the light of the Jan Jagran Abhiyan, it is essential to reflect correctly on this problem.

(For action, Home Department)

12. Identifying strong policemen throughout the state and sending them to Naxalite affected areas for three months in turn.

In order to act on the villagers' or IB's information, in addition to the existing police force, a reserve force is necessary in every thana. It is important to understand that in Naxalite affected areas, a police force is necessary to protect the thana itself, so to have great expectations of the existing force to go on patrols is pointless. If the higher ups don't understand this and send more force, then we cannot give a fitting reply to the Naxalites. This is a good opportunity. Currently, the morale of both villagers and police is high. Therefore, taking advantage of this, an additional police force should be made available. Since those posted here do not come, my proposal is that from each of the general districts, in groups of 50, young, strong, new recruits could be identified and sent here on rotation for a period of three months, In their orders, they should be told that they will be relieved after three months of joining. This rotation should carry on for a year.

This way people will come to the district, and we will get good workers, and good work will happen. Home Ministry may kindly consider and come to a decision.

(For action, Home Department).

13. Make Naxalite Rehabilitation package more attractive

The Naxalite package should be made more attractive to induce people to surrender. People are surrendering in Andhra Pradesh. There must be some reason for this. We must find out and improve our own package.

It is also essential to add provisions for sangham members. The Naxalite rehabilitation policy issued by the Home department only uses the word Naxalite. A Naxalite is one who wears a uniform, carries weapons, moves with a squad, but their role is at one level that of a director. Their real strength lies in the sangham members in each village and in the villagers themselves. The villagers are ordinary people, whoever looks most powerful to them, they follow them. But the sangham members are the ones who work for the Naxalites in each village and fulfil the Naxalite operations. There is no mention of the sangham member in the Naxalite rehabilitation policy. To finish off the Naxalite problem, it is not enough to kill Naxalites, but the system they have created in every village must be smashed and destroyed. That is more important. Even if we don't manage to kill one Naxalite but we destroy their system, they will become alone and powerless. Therefore it is proposed that the rehabilitation policy should include a provision for monetary assistance to a surrendered sangham member. In my view, Rs, 5000 for a surrendered sangham member would be adequate. This can be deliberated upon, but on

this new issue we must develop some policy and head towards finishing the Naxalite system and their strength.

(For action, Home Department).

14. At each thana, appoint an Asst. SP level officer and give them adequate security forces, vehicles, rations, tents, communications equipment etc.

Right now the Jan Jagran Abhiyan is on going. It is the main topic of discussion in the entire affected area. People are hopeful, scared, undecided but the extent to which it resolves the Naxalite problem, will be a test of our success. For this the districts need adequate assistance and forces. It would be appropriate to appoint an Asst. SP at every thana on a temporary basis and assign him specific tasks within the thana area. Lower level officers lack self confidence – they are never sure if their superiors will listen to them or not. Those who have been in a Naxalite area for a long time are concerned about their own safety. It is very difficult to instill new ideas in them. Hence, it is important to send strong minded young officers. On this topic too, the Home Department may consider and take a decision.

(For action, Home Department).

15. At the Bijapur police district level, appoint a strong minded DIG level officer

It often happens that a policy is drawn up on paper but negative thinking people consider it useful and do not implement it, and just waste their time. Therefore, looking at the fast paced developments, it would be appropriate to send a DIG level officer to Bijapur on a

temporary basis, who can take quick decisions. It would be appropriate for the Home Department to consider this and take action.

(For action, Home Department).

16. Dividing the area affected by the Jan Jagran into clusters.

From the daily actions by the Maoists and the reactions by the ordinary villagers to this, it is evident that the Jan Jagran Abhiyan is mostly confined to roadside villages. In the inaccessible villages away from the main road, the Naxalite influence is still strong. In these villages neither has the Jan Jagran rally reached nor have they been brave enough to come to Jan Jagran meetings. The Naxalites are taking advantage of this. The Naxalites have got these areas under their control and every alternate day, they go after midnight and kill or loot someone leading the Jan Jagran Abhiyan. These villages help the Naxalites in a collective manner. This is leading to fear and terror in those villages affected by the Jan Jagran Abhiyan. If you look at it on a map, these villages come clearly to light – in Bhairamgarh area, Phuladi, Hallur, Hakwa, Neelewaya, Pedapal, Etpal etc. All these villages are connected to Gangalur from the interior. In Kutru area, Talmendri, Kopanjarri, Murkinar, Edkapalli etc. These villages are connected to Sendra region. The Maoists live in these areas and together with the people from these villages, the killings, lootings, beatings and arson they indulge in at night, has led to people leaving their houses out of fear and coming to police headquarters. Relief camps have been set up for these people near police stations, but their number is swelling by the day. The insecurity among people is also growing by the day. They have begun to be worried about their possessions and are demanding more police stations. This is a temporary

situation and the demand for new thanas is not significant but it is essential to create a sense of security in people's minds. If we fail in this then it will be difficult to maintain the Jan Jagran Abhiyan and finish off the Naxalite problem with people's support. For this we need a senior, experienced and fearless police officer in Bijapur. And keeping in mind the conditions in Bijapur, the access to villages, and the number of police stations, it is proposed that sectors of 8-10 villages be created. In creating these sectors it is important to keep in mind ease of access to the sector headquarters, that they are all in one police station and that they are all united.

(For action, SP Bijapur)

17. Providing a police force to each cluster

After dividing the affected area into clusters, it is necessary to station security forces in each cluster in adequate numbers. In addition these security forces, the village defence committees and SPOs should be engaged to carry out search operations. According to need, this security force can consist of police forces, special armed forces (CAF) and CRPF. These cluster security forces should be connected to the police stations with wireless etc. These security forces will help to surround Naxalites. If one gets to know at any point that Naxalites are in the area, then these cluster security forces can surround them. This way people will feel the police presence around them, and gain added strength to fight the Naxalites. For this, the existing police force in the district is not adequate. But even if outside forces are sent, the cluster security concept is necessary because what guarantee do we have that once the police go back in the evening, the Naxalites will not come to the villages at night. And the villagers will follow whoever seems to them to be

the more powerful. Without the cluster security system, our success will be temporary. The sooner the government reflects on this, the better.

(For action, Home Department and SP Bijapur)

18. One Village Defence Squad to be established per cluster

At each cluster level, one village defence squad should be formed. If we look at Naxalite organisation, they have one dalam or squad over every 75-80 villages. The Naxalites have erected this structure after 25 years experience. We need to learn from this. If we want to destroy the Naxalites totally, we will have to adopt their strategies, or else we will not be successful. However many police forces we get, we will find they are inadequate. Today the Jan Jagran Abhiyan is running in Bhairamgarh and Bijapur blocks. Tomorrow it will spread to Usur, Bhopalpatnam and Bhairamgarh blocks. Dayfter it will spread to central Bastar and north Bastar. From where will we get so many forces that we can station them in every village or cluster? Ultimately we will have to take the help of the villagers. We should also think of how to get the village youth and the village headmen involved in this. For this we too, will have to form village defence squads like the Naxalites. For this SPOs and trustworthy people from the village defence committees will have to be given licenses and guns. Such a squad of 15-20 armed villagers and 50-60 villagers with bows and arrows should patrol the villages in their areas for 3-4 months continuously. They should be given wireless sets to be in touch with the police at all times. It would be appropriate to give them some police powers as well. We will have to make arrangements for their food as well. No doubt this path is full of dangers and before embarking on it we should think of the costs and benefits from all angles, but we need to

make a correct decision. But to make our presence felt at every step, to give people a sense of security and to end Naxalite encroachment forever we must adopt the Naxalite formula. This proposal must be given serious consideration and a correct decision must be taken.

(For action, Home Department)

19. Rehabilitation of surrendered sangham members

In reality, it is not Naxalite themselves or their arms, but their system which is their real strength which helps them to keep control despite being in fewer numbers than the police and having such few means. If we look at any Naxalite incident, we see that the numbers of uniform wearing Naxalites are very limited, the bulk of the attackers are ordinary villagers or sangham members. Naxalites go to a village and say we want three sangham members. Out of fear, the villagers chose three youth amongst themselves to be sangham members, and even if they don't want to, these youth follow Naxalite orders because ever since their birth they have seen the Naxalites giving commands. They don't know anything about democracy, the political system, the government system, development works, elected representatives etc. They are told that the police is our enemy, we must kill them, so they try to kill the police. From one perspective, the sangham member is just an ordinary villager who like others, does daily labour to feed himself and his family. They have neither a uniform like the Naxalites nor any arms. If we bring these sangham members over to our side, and make provisions for their surrender and rehabilitation, then they may become ours. It is proposed that they should be given Rs. 5000 monetary

assistance, land for house and assistance to make a house. They will be attracted by this and surrender. It is likely that the Naxalites will get weakened by this.

(For action, Home Department)

20. Helicopters needed

If we look at the Naxalite affected areas on a map then it is clear that they are only in areas which are forested, which lack good roads and bridges. The Naxalites do not allow roads and bridges to be made, and the forest is a gift of nature in this area. The security forces will find it hard to operate against Naxalites in this area. If the Naxalites enter the forests, it is hard to kill them. They are experienced in this jungle warfare. There is not enough force to surround the forests from all sides. In fact, the Naxalites are surviving only because of this reason. To defeat them, we must understand their tactics and equip ourselves sufficiently. With helicopters we can figure out their movements with great ease. We can surround them. When needed, troops can be moved from one place to another at short notice, the wounded can be lifted to Jagdalpur and Raipur, and the morale of the security forces will be high. It is absolutely essential, therefore, to deploy helicopters in Naxalite areas. It is proposed that this be considered appropriately at the government level and essential action be taken.

(For action, Home Department)

21. Providing employment to young men and women in Naxalite affected areas

The Naxalites wear uniforms and have guns so people are scared of them and respect them. In Naxalite influenced areas, people see this from the time they are children till they grow up. If the parents want, they study at village schools or stop studying and start

cultivating and do coolie labour. Since they are not very educated, they do not get outside employment. The Naxalites always need young men and women. Under these circumstances, the young men and women easily become sangham members. A change in recruitment rules for class III and IV employees must be made in government departments to give these people priority. Everyone says they should be given employment, but so far nobody has given them any. For example, police recruitment is going on right now, including in Bijapur, and everyone agrees that local residents must be given priority but the rules haven't changed. For this, not just the home department but every department must look at relaxing their rules for recruitment. The government through the home department must reflect on this at its level, and direct all departments to take appropriate action to change recruitment rules within a specified time frame.

(For action, Home Department and SP Bijapur)

22. In Naxalite affected area, temporary ban on funds to gram panchayats given by the panchayat department

In Naxalite affected areas, everyone one is under Naxalite control – whether they are sarpanches, ward members, the gram sachiv or any government employee. They are okay so long as they stay quiet. But if they tell the Naxalites about police activities they are accused of being Naxalite collaborators and arrested, and if they tell the police about Naxalites, they are accused of being informers and killed. In such a situation, government employees are mute observers and say nothing to anyone. Thus the police often accuse them of being Naxalite sympathisers and helping them by giving them shelter in the asharam schools and hostels and feeding them. The police and MLAs accuse them of

complicity with the Naxalites but where is the protection for them? The same can be said about panchayat functionaries. Panchayats are given funds under two schemes of the ministry of panchayats and rural welfare department: the SGRY and basic plan expenditure. They get this fund in two instalments in the year. The panchayats are responsible for this expenditure and have to show no accounts, and don't even have to get their work audited by a technical expert. They are only required to get a social audit. All that is required for the villagers to certify in their meeting that the work has been done. The idea behind this is to get every villager to participate in development. This may be all very well for a general area, but is not at all suitable for a Naxalite affected area. Where everything is done under Naxalite control, it is likely that this money will also be spent according to their wishes. The Naxalites need money to run their system. Till the situation becomes normal, the 50% sent to panchayats and 20% to janpad panchayats under their direct control should be stopped. 5 blocks are particularly affected: Bhairamgarh, Bijapur, Usur, Bhopalpatnam and Konta. These funds should be kept at the district level and spent by them for each panchayat and janpad panchayat in these blocks. It is proposed that this system be implemented on a temporary basis. Direct funds can be resumed once the Naxalite system is resolved.

(For action, Home Department and SP Bijapur)

23. Declare Dantewada a disturbed area

Dantewada is a fully Naxalite affected zone. All 11 blocks of the district are affected. In the coming days we will have to find new ways of working here, and need a relaxation of norms. Government works cannot be done here as in other normal districts. All

development work in the district has come to a halt. It is proposed that entire Dantewada be declared a disturbed area.

(For action, Home Department)

24. Ban on People's War Group and their associated organisations

In the last five months, the Naxalites have killed 50 people and beaten up 80. 145 households have been looted and 172 households have been forced to leave their homes. The Naxalites keep doing this kind of activity and are increasing their activity to oppose the Jan Jagran Abhiyan. People are feeling a sense of terror in the area. Therefore the PWG and its associated fronts must be banned at once.

(For action, Home Department)

25. Changes in the Naxalite rehabilitation scheme

In the Naxalite rehabilitation scheme issued by the Home Department, the word Naxalite is repeatedly used. Nowhere is it spelled out who a Naxalite is. The actual number of Naxalites is very limited. The real Naxalite is one who wears a uniform and carries a gun, but they have created a big network in every village and it is this network which is their biggest strength, which enables them to challenge such a big government. This network consists of sangham members and ordinary villagers. When the Naxalites decide to attack someone or cut a road, there are only 15-20 armed Naxalites but the villagers are present in their thousands to make it successful. It is not clear who one should consider a Naxalite. If the police kill one of these people, then the Naxalites lay allegations through the media that the police has killed an ordinary villager. I have talked to many police officers. Nobody is clear on these matters. Some people consider a sangham member a Naxalite, some don't. In addition, sangham members are beginning to surrender in the

course of the jan jagran abhiyan. These sangham members are the Naxalites biggest strength. If we succeed in severing them from the Naxalites, their strength will be reduced by half. Therefore the Naxalite rehabilitation policy should be changed to clearly include sangham members. The rehabilitation package for surrendered sangham members should also be made attractive, so that more and more of them leave Naxalites and join the government.

(For action, Home Department)

26. Collection of Naxalite laws in one place and their clarification

I have seen that in all the cases involving Naxalites, they are acquitted for lack of evidence. Police have never proved their case against any Naxalite. So much so that in the case involving loot of Geedam thana, all the accused were acquitted for lack of evidence. The reason for this is that the police are not acquainted with anti-Naxalite laws and have no collection of such laws. When the occasion arises they arrest people under such serious charges that they can never be established, and when it comes to court, the courts let them off for lack of evidence. Whenever the thanedar wants to lock up someone, he prepares a list of all the incidents that have occurred in the area in the last year or two, prepares a confession statement recording the accused's presence in all of these, and prepares a charge sheet on this basis. Can we expect that such a case will stand in court, absolutely not. This is what is happening in the field today. Therefore some experience person must compile publish and train people in Naxalite laws.

(For action, Home Department)

27. In Naxalite affected areas, direct recruitment of educated youth

For the development of scheduled tribes, the government has ruled that Scheduled Tribe youth can be directly recruited simply on the basis of their education. Today, in naxalite affected areas, due to lack of employment, educated youth are joining Naxalites. This leads to an increase in Naxalite strength. It is essential to check their growth. Therefore it is proposed that in 5 blocks of Dantewada – Bijapur, Bhairamgarh, Usur, Bhopalpatnam, and Konta, ST and SC youth who have passed higher secondary school should be directly recruited. Usually this is left to the police department. It is proposed that they should invariably be absorbed into the police department. Such an order should be passed by the general administration. In these 5 blocks, the number of such youth is 2000 to 2500. It is proposed to limit this to the five blocks. On the basis of this experiment, a decision can be taken to extend the scheme to other areas of the district and state.

(For action, Home Department and General Administration department)

28. Controls on the media

During the course of the Jan Jagran Abhiyan, we have seen that the media often reports Naxalite incidents in a sensational manner. So long as it is news that is ok, but sometimes we see that journalists import their own opinions into the news story. This creates fear and a feeling that the only action that is taking place is by the Naxalites, the government is simply sitting quiet with its hands folded. Some newspapers only give space to the Naxalites not to what ordinary people are doing. In other words, they are Naxalite correspondents. It is essential to curb the enthusiasm of the media. This is not a proposal for a ban on the media simply for controls on it. At the state level, a meeting should be

called of all editors and news channels and they must be reminded of their responsibility to the people.

(For action, Home Department)

29. Holding a workshop at state level to handle Naxalite problem and development issues

Naxalism and development is such a topic that there are as many views as people. Something little happens and people start criticising it. They have less than 10% knowledge of the subject, but never get tired of criticising all day long. One man can err in framing policy, but if he takes advice from others, the chances of being wrong are less. Hence, at the state level, a workshop should be held on policies regarding naxalites at which office bearers of all parties, senior journalists, social workers, NGOs, officials and people from all classes of society should be invited. The workshop should have a definite agenda and its recommendations should be sent to government.

(For action, Home Department)

Chapter 5

Relief and Rehabilitation of Naxal affected persons and families

1. Immediate distribution of relief for killed and injured persons

In order to suppress the Jan Jagran Abhiyan, the Naxalites are trying to explain to the villagers, beating them, looting their possessions, burning their houses and spreading terror, kidnapping, threatening elected representatives with killings and telling people to leave their homes. Due to this many people have left their homes and brought their belongings and settled by the roadside. For all these reasons, immediate economic assistance and relief is necessary. For such situations, Revenue Manual circular 6 (4) and the Naxalite rehabilitation policy has provisions. There will have to be a change in the revenue manual because it only makes provisions for setting up relief camps for those affected by natural disasters, fires, flood. There is no provision for people who have left their homes out of disgust for Naxalite oppression. The Naxalite problem is not a natural disaster, it is a man made problem, so in future, there may be an audit objection to the expenditure on the relief camps that have been set up in the district. Although this is a man made problem, currently it is out of government control, so it would be appropriate to make a provision in the revenue manual. Proposals in this regard have already been sent to the revenue department. The responsibility for compensation to the families of the dead, injured, for loss of house and property, will be the responsibility of the district collector. It would be appropriate to entrust the work of discharging relief immediately for the injured, and within one week for the rest, to the district collector.

(For action, Revenue Department and District Collector Dantewada)

2. Special budget to be released for Rehabilitation of Naxalite displaced, their house plots, building materials etc.

It is necessary to rehabilitate those who have fled out of disgust with the Naxalites or fear of losing their belongings in villages attached to police stations or on the main road. This should be taken up at once. They must be put into temporary relief camps, and then within a week, must be given assistance for house plots, building materials, compensation for loss to property etc. To keep the public with us and show them the trustworthiness of the government, this should be given first priority. For this it is necessary to hold the Collector responsible.

(For action, District Collector Dantewada)

3. Setting up of relief camps and rations for displaced persons

It is necessary to provide shelter and rations to displaced persons. Because these people leave their homes out of terror and don't even have their belongings with them, in addition to food and shelter, arrangements must be made for women and children. Arrangements should be made in camps for health services, a place for their cattle and fodder arrangements. It would be appropriate to entrust all these tasks to the District Collector.

(For action, District Collector Dantewada)

4. Sanction to ashrams and student hostels at the camps

The number of people who have left their houses is increasing by the day. In Bhairamgarh, the number of such displaced families has crossed 50. In Kutru and Pharsegarh, approximately 35 families have come. Temporary camps have been opened for them. In future the number of such families is expected to increase. To keep the education of their children going, it is proposed that additional schools/hostels be opened at the displacement sites. If necessary, the District Collector will send a proposal to the Tribal Welfare Department. This is being mentioned here only so that the Tribal Welfare Department gives it primary importance so that the villagers feel that the administration is ready to help them in all situations. When necessary, the responsibility for sending the proposal lies with the District Collector, and the responsibility for accepting the proposal lies with the Tribal Welfare Department.

(For action, District Collector Dantewada)

Chapter 6

Development Works in Areas Affected by the Jan Jagran

1. Declare the Jan Jagran Affected Areas a disaster affected zone

The Jan Jagran will only succeed when people begin to feel that joining the Abhiyan and getting rid of the Naxalites will help them individually, help their families and will make the whole district prosper. If we take up development works here on the same footing as in a non affected area, people will feel there is no difference between siding with the government and siding with the Naxalites and will stop being enthusiastic about the Jan Jagran Abhiyan. In truth, due to geographical distance, Naxalite difficulties and the absence of strong elected representatives, very little work has been done in this area. The message must go out to people that if they help the government against the Naxalites, the government will do everything possible to help them. For this connecting each village by road and bridge, building a school and anganwadi bhavan in each village, installing a handpump, village electrification, distribution of fertilisers and seeds, distribution of cattle, land levelling, and such activities must be taken up on a priority basis. In truth, the Naxalite problem is not just a law and order problem, it is also a social and economic problem. An all round approach is needed to tackle Naxalism. And this will only be possible if the district is declared a disaster affected zone, like a drought prone district. Therefore it is proposed to declare the Jan Jagran affected area, a disaster affected zone. The proposal will go up from the District Collector and the Home Department must take the appropriate decision on it.

(For action, Home Department and Collector Dantewada)

2. Release adequate budget for employment in disaster affected zone along the lines of a drought affected district.

As in a drought affected area, where employment works are opened, employment works must be opened here, and development works must be taken up. People must get the message that since you have taken up a fight against the Naxalites and supported the government, see how fast the government is responding to your needs. Hence it is essential to take up big development works in the area. Even if these works take 3-4 years to complete, they will signal government intention to develop the area. From the villagers' co-operation it seems that works which could not even begin because of the Naxalites can now be taken up and the villagers will themselves assist in this. Every department must now prepare a package for the Jan Jagran affected areas and start work under the departmental budget. Till now it has appeared that every department is dependent on the Bastar Development Authority for their regular budget, but that is not the case. It would be appropriate to carry out departmental works through the departmental budget itself. This will encourage other parts of the district to follow the Jan Jagran model and they will gain confidence in the administration. The Home Department must reflect on this and decide appropriately.

(For action, Home Department)

Summary headlines of paragraphs 3-14 follow:

3. In the Jan Jagran areas, complete all works sanctioned earlier

All previously sanctioned work in the Jan Jagran areas should be taken up and completed within a stipulated time frame.

4. Works proposed to be taken up by the health department
5. Works proposed to be taken up by the Women and Child Welfare Department
6. Works proposed to be taken up by the Rural welfare (Krishi Vibhag) department
7. Electrification of villages, hamlets etc.
8. Development of irrigation works
9. Works proposed to be taken up by the Tribal Welfare department
10. Works proposed to be taken up by the Animal Welfare department
11. Fertilisers and Public Distribution System
12. **Lok Nirman Vibhag** – works should only be done in villages which joined the
Jan Jagran Abhiyan

13. Works to be taken up by the Panchayat and Rural Welfare Department – the entire budget of the district must be first devoted to those villages which have joined the Jan Jagran Abhiyan so that people feel there is a benefit in joining the Abhiyan.

14. Works to be taken up by other departments

Chapter 7

State Level Monitoring Cell to be set up to monitor progress

1. Establishment of a state level monitoring cell

Whatever works have been entrusted to different departments under this proposal must be monitored by a special monitoring cell set up at state level. It is proposed that such a cell be created at the state level with representation from all relevant departments

(For action, Home Department)

2. Weekly monitoring of progress

The social, economic and semi-structural works that have been entrusted to each department in the Jan Jagran affected areas should be reported every three months at least through the monitoring cell.

(For action, Home Department)

K.R. Pisda

Collector

District South Bastar, Dantewada.

Summary of Proposals Department-wise

1.	Change in Revenue Manual Circular 6(4)	Revenue Department
2.	500 tents and 5000 aluminium sheets for relief camps	Revenue Department
3.	Honorarium for Special Police Officers	Home Department
4.	Budget of Rs. 10 lakh each for the Collector and the 2 SPs, coming to a total of Rs. 30 lakh to make the Jan Jagran Abhiyan successful	Home Department
5.	Change in the Naxalite rehabilitation policy and explicit provisions for sangham members	Home Department
6.	Ban on PWG and associated organisations	Home Department
7.	Declare Dantewada a disturbed area	Home Department
8.	State Level Workshop (on Naxalism)	Home Department
9.	Collection and clarification of Naxal related laws	Home Department
10.	Filling up of vacant police posts	Home Department
11.	Identification of healthy jawans and posting to the district for three months	Home Department
12.	Make Naxal Rehabilitation package more attractive	Home Department
13.	Helicopter arrangements	Home Department
14.	Ban on media	Home Department
15.	Special Relief to Naxalite affected families	Home Department

16.	Ban on SGRY and Plan funds to panchayats in Naxalite influenced areas	Panchayat and Rural Welfare Department
17.	Chief Minister (Community) Housing Scheme	Panchayat and Rural Welfare Department
18.	Road and bridge construction: 1. Rural roads 2. Main roads	Panchayat and Rural Welfare Department Lok Nirman Vibhag
19.	Interest free bullock distribution	Animal Welfare Department
20.	500 metric tonnes pm BPL rice to be provided to relief camps	(PDS) Fertilisers Department
21.	Special Package for villages which have joined the Jan Jagran Abhiyan	All Departments
22.	Employment for educated youth	General Administration Department