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and there should be a better treatment as well needs to promote. □Some 'Silences' in the Report□The Round Table also pointed out the following areas of 'silences' (of the Report the Expert Group) which are critical for dealing with the problem of Naxalite Movement. □The Report failed to bring the major aspect of social mobilization, the dignity and respect that the people need in a social space. It has also missed relevance and role of the concept of equalitarianism.□The Report failed to appreciate the special problems faced by the displaced communities. The social cohesion that the tribal community in general enjoys is very important part of their social life, and it is a matter of their pride and power. Hence, the forced displaced activities destroy the special social fabric that the tribal communities maintain from generations to generations and create major health problems such as depression and alcoholism.□The issues of women and children in the extremist affected areas, especially the sex ratio which high among the tribals need to be placed in proper prospective. Further, the report failed to give data on the atrocities on women and children who are the major victims.□The report has to consider the other side of the violence that emerges from the increasing rate of suicides and wide spread alcoholism among the households in the affected regions. The negative impact of this violence on the households and on social life would be much worse than the violence of Naxalism. It is also important to note that a clear vicious link exists between poverty/ deprivation/ harassment and suicide/ alcoholism. □With respect to health issues, the clubbing of the SCs and STs together is improper as they have shown wide variations on many health indicators across the States and regions.□The contextualization of the Report should incorporate the involvement of the role of other groups such as extremely backward or deprived groups in the other backward castes (OBCs) in the Naxalite Movement in various parts of the country, which is missing at present.□The Report has not taken the role of political mobilization into account. □Though Naxalite movement has been spreading across the regions as the discontent and deprivations increase, its origins have region specific imprints. It would have been better if the Report had brought out region specific (district and state) dimensions which would have helped deeper debate. However, the recommendations suggested in the Report should be applicable at the national level as the Naxalism has scaled up very quickly. □□Summary and Major Recommendations□The Context□While poverty, inequality, deprivation, discrimination and discontent which even to this day persist widely could themselves be adequate reasons for political protest and mobilization, resorting to armed struggle by less people could arise under extreme forms of oppression the context of which needs to be analyzed. The discussion began with some basic questions like what makes people to look at Naxalite Movement with hope? Why and where does the Naxalite Movement get its support base? While existing socio-economic and political structures perpetuate injustice, people pushed to look forward to justice in the alternative society promised by the movement. The response of the state is often to see the movement only as violent movement and resort to put down same with violence. This takes the form of extremely uncalled for repression, and results in a cycle of violence and counter violence. Strategies that seek to address the surface of the movement, which shows up in the form violence, without addressing the structures that are the source of injustice, instead of containing the movement would only contribute to spread of the movement.□Seeing the movement as the one merely based on violence, some speakers felt, was one sided and was due to the failure of the state to have comprehensive information on the movement. Much of the information system in the critical agencies of the state is controlled by the police who is incapable of comprehending the

larger context. The participants, while appreciating the Report (Planning Commission 2008) for its contribution in providing a comprehensive context of the 'extremist movement' pointed to certain aspects which need to be made much more explicit. They felt that the impression created in the Report that only SCs and STs constitute the main support base on the Naxalite Movement was misleading. There was specific reference to Bihar where the major support base is from the oppressed lowest rungs of the backward communities. Even while referring to the Dalit and Adivasi base, the Report provides a general account of these communities but what is needed is state-specific analysis to make the contextualization more focused. Attention was also drawn to several parts of Uttar Pradesh where there were conditions of exploitation and deprivation but still no violent movement. It was observed that if not addressed through proper support policies and implementation of existing laws of land reforms, these areas too hold potential for the spread of 'extremism'. Pointed reference was made to instances where the state, instead of creating conditions to wean people away from the fold of extremism, actually created situations which force people to become Naxalites. Specific instances were cited to show that new legislations like the 'Special Economic Zones' have contributed to accumulation through dispossession of peasantry. There was sharp focus on the failure of the state to learn from the past experience.

□Institutional Framework□The thrust of the discussion under institutional framework was on the governance structures, the polity, the police and civil bureaucracy and the watchdog institutions. The approach that 'development' would dissolve discontentment has often failed to address the need for reforming the coercive structures. The very model of development has often been the source of dispossession and deprivation of the poor. The failure of the developmental state to deliver took the turn towards more 'security approach' and state coercive mechanism gained upper hand. The day to day administration witnessed shift in the power from civil bureaucracy to coercive police authority. Even as there has been progressive political response in terms of positive discrimination, and legal transfer of power towards decentralized structures, there has been bureaucratic resistance to progressive changes. The shift towards neo-liberal reforms has facilitated the police and civil bureaucracy to act systematically as agents of private capital. State machinery has increasingly turned to act at the behest of capital. This has resulted in a basic contradiction between the welfare needs of the people and neo-liberal reforms which are antagonistic to equity. These developments lead to a question as to how to develop alternative institutions.

□One of the major contributing factors to the emergence of Naxalite Movement has been institutional failure to take on dominant interests. In fact, it was due to the institutional subservience to the vested interests - semi-feudal at one time and secondly, the interests of capital with the unfolding of neo-liberal reforms. Political movements, including Naxalite Movement, have an essential role because they have facilitated most radical responses from the state in the form of legislative measures at critical moments. But state machinery has been diluting these measures with impunity. The participatory governance institutions like the Panchayat Raj Institutions and self-help groups have been rendered too weak to access any significant participation in the decision-making process. There has been resistance to share state power. Police has become increasingly coercive and acquired a degree of autonomy from civil authorities without any accountability. The watchdog institutions like the Human Rights Commissions are in a pathetic situation without any enforcement powers. There has been extensive politicization of civil and police bureaucracy. Revival of these institutions to respond to the needs of the poor and

powerless need wider movements from civil society. □Universalisation of Basic Social Services □While universalisation of access to free health, educational services and social security was considered as an essential requirement not only in mitigating the problems of people who are likely to turn to extremism but as a fundamental right of every citizen, there was an emphasis on the need for differentiation of requirements of different groups of people in different locations. The health and educational status of not only SC and ST communities but also most of the lower rung OBCs is also much below the minimum requirements. Further, across the States there is a wide variation. For instance, life expectancy for Orissa State as a whole is much less than the SC communities in Tamil Nadu. In assessing the health status of women, sex-ratio may not by itself be a good indicator. Sex-ratio per se is higher among SCs and STs. There may be female subjugation among STs and SCs but not female infanticide. Further, there is need for differential approach to health problems of STs, which should be in terms of community health status rather than individual health status. There is also need for appreciation of special health problems faced by the STs and the displaced families. Displacement ruptures social cohesion and results in depression, alcoholism and violence. □There is growing recognition that health status is determined by socio-economic and political factors. Social determinants of health need attention, and the need to recognize the role of equity in health. Violation of equity norms is violation of the basis for proper health outcomes. Access to health services cannot be measured in terms of immunization and prevalence of health institutions. There is need to recognize health as a part of basic right to live. The abominable absence of social security measures to the vast majority of workforce perpetuates inequity and insecurity, which are again at the root of extreme forms of mobilisation. □Displacement and Livelihood Security □One of the major causes for discontentment is dispossession of land and livelihood sources in the name of development. The basic question raised was how to manage change with more democratic measures, with less injustice and more equity. One suggestion was to consider compensation in terms of multiples of value of production instead of price of land. But a more difficult side is recreation of alternative livelihoods. Equally important is the absorption of displaced landless labour in labour-intensive agriculture and labour-intensive manufacturing. Suggestions on resource mobilization for programmes of recreation of livelihoods include taxation of resources in the process of exploitation of which people are displaced. Emphasis was on the rights based approach to livelihoods. There was a strong argument in favour of sensitivity to 'eco-systemic view'. The importance of village self-rule in the scheduled areas is shown as an emerging model for secure and self-reliant village that is empowered to decide on the nature of use of resources that are linked to the livelihoods of people. The PESA which enables people to acquire the 'agency' by making it necessary to obtain pre-prior and informed consent of indigenous people is seen as a potential legal instrument that empowers indigenous people. Along with the RTI, PESA holds the promise of equity, provided the entire implementing bureaucratic machinery is sensitized through appropriate training. One of the very optimistic views that emerge from the 'ecosystemic view' relates to the land-based livelihoods. It is suggested that there is a potential for recovery, regeneration and equitable distribution of degraded land to the tune of 100m hectares, and resources for such regeneration could easily be mobilized. □Decentralization and Empowering People □Legislative measures towards decentralization as an opportunity to people to participate in the process of designing and implementation of programmes that relate to their life and livelihoods.

Decentralization is intended towards sharing of power. The Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI), the extension of panchayats to scheduled areas through PESA, the Forest Resource Act, the R & R Bill are looked upon as the basic instruments for empowering people and enabling them to overcome injustice especially for people in tribal areas and backward regions. But serious reservations are expressed regarding the implementation of these legislative measures. One of the critical requirements is the attitude of the implementing authorities which has often been apprehensive about sharing power with people. Decentralized democratic institutions would remain mere symbolic gestures if there is no adequate training to the implementing agencies. The training imparted should sensitize the bureaucracy so as to make it fully realize its role as public servants, to treat people as citizens and to be aware of the rights of the citizens in a democratic society.

□Security and Protection□There was concern over the growing tendency of the state moving towards securitization in the name of law and order which creates more insecurity rather than protection to the citizens, especially those who are weak. The discussion analyzed three sources of insecurity viz. physical insecurity, structural insecurity and symbolic insecurity. The state could mitigate physical insecurity by assuming the role of protector as in developmental state. But development that doesn't reach the poor would only aggravate disparities and deprivations that increase insecurity. The state may also accentuate insecurity by placing too much of emphasis on law and order and create state terrorism in the process. Similarly, structural insecurity arises due to growing disparities in the economic and political power. If the state doesn't play appropriate developmental role, it may actually assume authoritarian role in protecting the dominant interests and increasing insecurity of people. The symbolic insecurity rises out of the process of stigmatizing people, especially tribals who suffer multiple deprivations. The growing insecurity of the weak often forces them to look for solutions through alternative politics that Naxalite Movement promises. According identity, treating them with dignity and imparting equity become essential conditions for promoting a sense of security among tribal communities and the weak in general. Some have characterized Naxalite Movement as organized public fury, and the answer is in terms of more democracy rather than less of it as seen in over emphasis on law and order. A minimum requirement for functioning social, civil and political democracy is recognition of the basic rights of the people and ensures universal social security.

□The essence of the deliberations may be further summed up as follows:□The 'walking on two legs approach' to Naxalite Movement, emphasizing security dimension on the one hand and development on the other, as could be seen from the Report to the Planning Commission, at best could be a first approximation to an otherwise complex problem.

□Access to resources, relative deprivation, social oppression from the existing caste and economic structures, injustice and uncalled for state repression and often identity crisis are at the root of the Naxalite Movement. Mere administrative measures do not have a chance of solving the problem but may only aggravate the situation.

□The movement, with all its violent outcomes, does embed certain vital signals which have to be perceived with an open mind. The movement points to certain basic democratic deficits and cry for more democratic space thus far denied by the Indian polity. One could ignore the legitimacy of these signals only at the peril of the survival of democratic polity.

□The challenge of Naxalism could be faced by allowing for a greater sharing of state power, with increased action and participation from below coupled with the process of decentralization, interwoven with suitable incentives and disincentives.

□Important Recommendations□Some of the recommendations

flowing from the deliberations go beyond the measures suggested in the Report to the Planning Commission. These are presented below not to counter the Report but to reinforce the spirit of genuine intervention enunciated in the Report: □The state should strengthen its role as an agency for facilitating pro-poor development, regulating the functioning of the economic interests and redistribution of resources and democratic powers to people, based on the principles of equity, dignity and justice. □Fair and effective implementation of Forest Rights Act, PESA, and the NREGA is essential requirement in moving towards justice. There is need for focused training for the implementing authorities to sensitize them on the rights of the people and the need to treat people as citizens with due dignity. □There is need for social impact assessment of the displaced, and develop safeguards for the affected people. The proposed legislative measure on R & R should ensure such an assessment and appropriate intervention. There is urgent need for reconstructing livelihoods of the displaced - both farmers and landless dependants on land and natural resources - instead of offering one time monetary compensation or one time mere land for land. □The provision of basic social services including health and education should receive very high priority. The approach to health should recognize the equity dimension and be based on considerations of social determinants of health as much as the provision of adequate budgetary resources. □Evolving appropriate institutional framework with orientation by revisiting administrative manuals according to the needs of democratic processes is an urgent need. There is need for reorienting official approach to be more sensitive towards local issues, concerns and culture. It is high time to bring such sensitivity in the administrative set up in the country to reduce the gap between the people's aspirations and administrative attitude. □The role and determination of the political government in taking forward these measures towards implementation is very critical. □ □□□

Annexure 1 - Programme Round Table Discussion on "Development, Deprivation and Discontent: Challenges in the Extremist Affected Areas" September 14-15, 2008 Venue: India International Centre (IIC), 40 Lodhi Estate, New Delhi Organised by: Institute for Human Development (IHD), New Delhi SCHEDULE DAY I, 14 SEPTEMBER, 2008 (Venue: Conference Hall II, IIC) 1430-1500 hrs: R E G I S T R A T I O N 1500-1630:

Session I: Context and Overview Welcome and Introductory Remarks Prof. Alakh N. Sharma, Director, IHD, New Delhi Chairperson Shri. D. Bandopadhyay, Former Secretary, Government of India; Chairman, Expert Group, Government of India Panellists: Shri. S.R. Sankaran, Former Secretary, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India Dr. Santosh Mehrotra, Sr Advisor, Planning Commission and Member Secretary, Expert Group, Government of India 1630-1645: TEA 1645-1900:

Session - II: Institutional Framework for Effective Protection against Deprivation and Exploitation Chairperson: Shri. K.B. Saxena, Former Secretary, Government of India; Professor, Council for Social Development, New Delhi Panellists: Dr. Surinder Jodka, Director, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi Prof. G Hargopal, Professor, University of Hyderabad Shri. Raghu Takur, Social Worker, Madhya Pradesh 1900 D I N N E R Venue: Private Dining Hall, IIC DAY 2 : 15TH SEPTEMBER (Venue: Lecture Hall, IIC Annex) 0930-1245 Plenary Session - III: Universalisation of Basic Social Services and Livelihood Chairperson: Dr. KP Kannan, Member, NCEUS, New Delhi

Panelists: Dr. C. Satyamala, Epidemiologist, New Delhi Ms. Anuradha Talwar, PUCL, Kolkata Dr. Dev Nathan, Visiting Professor, IHD, New Delhi Shri. Smitu Kothari, Secretary, Intercultural Resources, New Delhi 1245 - 1330 L U N C H 1330 - 1500 Session - V : Decentralisation and Empowering the People Chairperson: Dr. SB Agnihotri, Joint Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi Panelists : Dr. Ramesh Sharan, University of Ranchi, Jharkhand Shri. D.K.Jain, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Govt of India, New Delhi 1500-1515

TEA 1515-1630 Session - VI : Security and Protection Chairperson: Prof. Zoya Hassan, Member, National Commission for Minorities, Govt of India, New Delhi Panellists : Dr. Ajay K. Mehra, Director (Hony), Centre for Public Affairs, New Delhi Shri Vinay Kumar, Addition Secretary. Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt of India, New Delhi Prof. CP Takur, Former Professor, Delhi University 1630-1730

Session VII : Overview and Main Conclusions Chairperson: Shri B.N. Yugandhar, Member, Planning Commission, Govt of India, New Delhi

Main Conclusions of the Round Table: Dr. D.N. Reddy, Visiting Professor, IHD, New Delhi Dr. Dev Nathan, Visiting Professor, IHD, New Delhi

Annexure 2: Participants and Resoruces Persons No Name and Address

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