

Effects of Social Movements, Electoral Politics in the Development Process of the Backward Areas of India with Special Reference to the District of Purulia: An Approach in Development Geography

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Abstract:

The subject domains of development geography are associated with different socio economic parameters that also influence different public policy and multiple function of governance. Development geography is a study of earth's geography with reference to the standard of living, quality of human inhabitation and process of change that affects people's lives. On the other hand backwardness is a relative multi-dimensional nature at different space. In this paper an attempt has been made to understand how different development processes and mal-development practices affect cultural and physical landscape of the backward regions of India with special reference to the district of Purulia. This multi dimensional effects induce as a motivational force for the electoral politics and social movements in the backward areas particularly in Purulia. This paper also intends to produce an alternative decentralized developmental model with spatial significance through the process of policy exfoliation.

Key words: maldevelopment, political exfoliation, state-nations, Jitan, Panchayat.

The subject domains of development geography are associated with different socio economic parameters that also influence different public policy and multiple function of governance. Development geography is a study of earth's geography with reference to standard of living, quality of human inhabitation and process of change that affects people's lives. On the other hand backwardness is a relatively a multidimensional nature at different political space. On the basis of the theoretical paradigm of Development Geography the political space of the world can be divided by different developmental space such as

1. Developed First World or Western countries more precisely OECD countries.
2. Newly industrialist countries such as China, South Korea etc (NIC)
3. Developing countries
4. Least developing countries
5. Newly industrialized secondary tier countries or NSIC such as India etc.
6. Countries with regional grouping.

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The concept of male development is associated with development geography. According to Samir Amin (1990), "Maldevelopment or ill development is qualitative notion that express a mismatch, a discrepancy between the conditions (economic, political, cultural etc) and needs and means of the people" (download from Internet). Social scientists identified various impact of maldevelopment over human societies which are as follows:-

- i. Poor economic and social development
- ii. Negative impact on both Physical and Non physical environment.
- iii. Rampant corruption
- iv. Corporate friendly government policies.
- v. Dilution of civil and legal system
- vi. Development of regional disparity
- vii. Increasing multinational control over local economy.
- viii. Presence of strong black economy.

Multidimensional effects induce as a motivational force for the social movements particularly originated different backward regions of the world. The term 'social movements' was first introduced by the German sociologist Lorenzo Von Stein in his book "History of the French Social Movements from 1789 to the present"(1850). Social movements are type of group actions with formal/ informal grouping of individuals or organizations to focus on specific political, economic, social, cultural and democratic issues. According to American sociologist Charles Tilly (1929-2008) "Social movements are major vehicle for ordinary peoples participation in public politics". According to social scientists there are tree major elements of social movements

- a) Campaign
- b) Combination of Political Action
- c) Firm political, economic and cultural commitments.

According to Andre Gunder Frank and Mart Eventees "The new social movements today are what most mobilize people in pursuit of common concerns. Far morethan classical class movements, the social movements motivate and mobilize hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world- mostly outside established political and social institutions that people find inadequate to serve their needs ('Theses on Social Movements- Andre Gunder Frank and Mart Eventes page 32, 'Social Movements and the state edited by Ghanshyam Shah, Sage publications, New Delhi 2002). In this paper an attempt hasbeen made to understand how different development processes and maldevelopment practices affect cultural and Physical landscapes of one backward district of India namely Purulia of West Bengal.

Objectives of the paper:

- A) Self reliance autonomous social movements(From MDCC to LSS era)
- B) Socio economic problems and peoples protest in recent years
- C) Problems of Armed insurgency(Maoist movement)
- D) Alternative approaches (concept of State Nations and Concept of Political exfoliation) in conclusion.

(A) Self reliance autonomous social movements(From MDCC to LSS era):

Spatial variation in social movements, spatiality in voting behaviour and peoples participation in the political space are representative of the geographical variation of the district purulia which has distinct historical roots. Before the British era it was the part of erstwhile Jangalmahal region which also included Chotanagpur Nagpur Plateau region. Local 'Bhumij' aristocracy absorbed other indigenous populations such as Kurmimahato, Kuiri, Gope, Bauri, Ghasi and Nat to create sovereign indigenous caste coalition had the support of the local tribal communities of the Santhals, Koras, Mundas, Hos and others and were developed distinct indigenous economic system popularly known as 'garh' economy (the term popularized by two anthropologists Surojit Sinharoy and Poshupati Prasad Mahato). British colonialism was intent to destroy this self-sufficient 'garh economy' and wanted to impose colonial economy of exploitation which triggered numerous popular revolts in the greater Jangalmahal Mahal region such as 'Chuar' rebellion(1767-1832), Kol uprising(1831-32), Santhal Revolt (1858) etc. Balarampur, Barabazar, Kuilapal, Manbazar and Kashipur were the epicenters of Chuar rebellion o Jangalmahal Mahal rebellion. These sub alternation revolts tried to counter the imperialist penetration of the British, Ganga Again Hangman in 1832-33 was the ultimate culmination. After the defeat of the Bhumij led indigenous resistance, the British administration annexed the entire Jangalmahal Mahal region and divided it different arbitrary administrative units and encouraged migration from other parts of the country to create a demographic counterbalance against the indigenous communities. But this immigrated population developed their own popular movement against the British government between 1920-35 and August movement of 1942 led by the important political organization Manbhum District Congress Committee of Indian National Congress. MDCC was the innovative organization where radical followers of Gandhiji developed autonomous constructive politics with popular participation of people. Main objective of MDCC was to create alternative political space against the imperialist administration. This alternative development space was ideologically influenced by Gandhian Philosophy. The first Manbhum district political conference(held from 6th to 7th March, 1928) at Ramchandrapur in Purulia Sadar division passed several dynamic political resolutions for creating alternative political space in the district. Some resolutions were as follows-

i. Decentralization of political organization by constituting village congress and 'thana' congress committees. ii. Creating cadre-based 'vanguard' organization namely Manbhum Congress Sevadal to mobilize freedom struggle at grassroot level iii. Establishment of night schools to promote national education policy iv. Development of irrigation practices of different parts of the district v. Organise anti-liquor and anti-untouchability movement vi. Emphasis on the development of the mother tongue Bengali and recognize the language as lingua franca of the different communities of undivided Manbhum. But this resolution was controversial one as the provincial committee of Bihar and Orissa were totally against this resolution and criticized MDCC as bengali chauvinist organization. MDCC made a lot of contribution to the freedom struggle and at the same time during late forties the wave of peasant movement of undivided Bengal popularly known as Tebhaga movement also reached in the different parts of Manbhum particularly in the Balarampur region. The socio-cultural, regional identity politics of MDCC and the communist mobilization among the peasants have signified the future political activities of Purulia. In this regard I plan to divide the paper into the following way: a) 1947-52: Emergence of new political space b) analysis of Election results between 1957-2006 and c) final results and conclusion.

a) 1947-52: Emergence of new political space:

During the independence movement new types of social movements were also emerging in different parts of Manbhum District which revealed distinct territorial identity. MDCC itself organised its organizational capacity to accommodate different sub-regional identities. Emergence of Kurmi Khatriya Mahasabha as a social organization of Kurmi mahato community played an important role to create political awareness at the grassroot level of rural manbhum. Purulia sadar, Pancha, Hura and Manbazar were the main centres of activity of the mahasabha which by and large helped mobilize the independence movement. At the same time radical Gandhians of MDCC were engaged in community work and other developmental activities. Lok Panchayats were developed in different parts of Manbhum to create grassroot level people govern which were important tool for mass mobilization in the freedom struggle. Lok panchayats of Metalaya, Gopalnagar, Bamni, Rajnoagarh, Majjihira, Naturdi, Hutmurah, Bhutam, Norrah, Pakbirrah, Jitan, Kalapathar, Chapua, Kuda, Hizla, Herbani, Lulara were the main villages for the development of alternative political space. At the same time Bengali language was recognized as the only lingua franca for all these communities of manbhum. Here the bengali language was the emblematic of the regional identity of Manbhumi people. Territorial sovereignty of the Manbhumi people was expressed through Bengali language and culture. After independence this distinct sub regional Bengali identity was not accepted and

accommodated on the general socio political life of newly formed state of Bihar in independent India. State patronage of Hindi language, state oppression of Bengali speaking Manbhumi people and the discriminatory attitude of Bihar government toward Manbhumi were the main cause of split in the Congress party and the new political party of Manbhumi emerged in 30th June 1948 namely Lok Sevak Sangha or LSS whose main objective was to recognize Manbhumi Bengali regional identity and implement the Gandhian economic philosophy. LSS emerged as a serious challenger against Congress from 1948. Bhasa Satyagraha of 1951 organised by LSS, Harpada Sahitya Mandir and United Progressive Block showed the same type of mass mobilization which was observed during the freedom struggle. Food and garment crisis and corruption in census process triggered a discontent against the Bihar administration and LSS took this opportunity and spread their movement in the new areas of Manbhumi particularly on Jhalda, Raghunathpur, Saturi, Neturia and Bodo region. This popular discontent and active participation of the masses in the Bhasa Satyagraha gave great dividend to LSS in the State Election of Bihar in 1952.

b) Analysis of election results of 1952:

Analysis of electoral data on the basis of Bidhan Sabha constituencies is the main geo-spatial methodological approach in this paper. It should be noted down that dearth of electoral data is the only obstacle, particularly in the Bidhan Sabha Election of 1952. According to J.A.J Evans motivations behind voting are as follows:

- i. Ethnic or linguistic group/class/caste benefit.
- ii. Material gain
- iii. Managerial competence for running public sectors
- iv. Focus on relevant issues.
- v. Another party's defeat as Martin Low termed it as strategic voting or tactical voting.

In 1952's Bidhan Sabha Election the entire state of Bihar experienced the rebel wave against the 'Congress system' particularly in the Bidhan Sabha constituencies of South Bihar including the undivided Manbhumi district. Main electoral issue of Manbhumi was recognition of Bengali language as official language of Manbhumi district as demanded by LSS and opposed by Congress and other national parties. Bidhan Sabha wise election results of Manbhumi are given in the table below:

From Table 1 below, we can derive some important conclusions:

Table:1

| SL No | Name of the Bidhan Sabha Constituencies | Name of the Winning Party | Caste/relig/lang affiliation of winning candidates |
|-------|--|---------------------------|--|
| 1 | Baghmundi Arsha | LSS | Higher caste (bengali) |
| 2 | Purulia Hura Pancha(double seat) | LSS | Higher caste(bengali) |
| 3 | Purulia Hura Pancha(double seat) | LSS | SC community(bengali) |
| 4 | Manbazar Banduan Patamda(double seat) | LSS | Kurmi Mahato(benga) |
| 5 | Manbazar Banduan Patamda(double seat) | LSS | Bhumij(bengali) |
| 6 | Barrabazar Chandil Ichagarh(double seat) | LSS | Kurmi Mahato(bengali) |
| 7 | Barrabazar Chandil Ichagarh(double seat) | LSS | Bhumij(bengali) |
| 8 | Jhalda Joipur | Congress | Kurmi Mahato(bengali) |
| 9 | Chas Chandankiyari Para(double seat) | Independent | Bhumij(bengali) |
| 10 | Chas Chandan Kiyari Para(double seat) | Congress | Bauri(bengali) |
| 11 | Raghunathpur Kashipur Neturia Santuri(double seat) | Independent | Higher Caste(bengali)) |
| 12 | Raghunathpur Kashipur Neturia Santuri(double seat) | Congress | Santhal(santhal language) |
| 13 | Dhanbad | Congress | Rajput(hindi) |
| 14 | Katras | Congress | Rajput(hindi) |
| 15 | Baliapur | CNSPJP | Rajput(hindi) |
| 16 | Tochachi | CNSPJP | Bhumij Khatriya(hindi) |
| 17 | Tundi Nirsa(double seat) | Congress | Higher caste(hindi) |
| 18 | Tundi Nirsa(double seat) | Congress | Santhal(hindi) |

- i. From the election results of 1952 it is evident that entire southern, south-east and south-western and central part of Purulia Sadar division of Manbhum district was recognized as LSS strong hold extending from Arsha Baghmundi to Ichagarh Banduan in the south and greater Manbazar region of the east.
- ii. Congress presence in Purulia sadar division was insignificant in Jhalda, parts of Para and parts of Raghunathpur, Kashipur region where Congress candidates won.
- iii. Presence of LSS was totally nil in the Dhanbad division of Manbhum district due to the antipathy of Hindi-speaking people. Here congress was the dominant force achieving their victory through Bhumihar Rajput caste combination. At the same time, at Baliapur and Topchachi feudal aristocratic structure of Bhumij Khatriyas challenged the congress dominance by winning these two seats under the banner of Chotanagpur Sampurna Janata Party(CNSPJP)
- iv. For the election results of 1952 it is evident that Bengali speaking Kurmi Mahato, Kuiris, Bhumij other backward communities and Bengali Bhadrak class were solidly behind the LSS in the elections. Santhals, Koras and Mundas of Purulia Sadar division were also supportive towards LSS.
- v. But in the western and northern fringe of Purulia sadar division specially in Jhalda and Raghunathpur belt eminent local political personalities had emotional and

political influence in the electorals mind. Annandaprasad Chakraborty of Raghunathpur Constituency and Debendranath Mahato of Jhalda were the best examples.

vi. Bauris of Para were more supportive toward Congress and independent candidates showing their caste solidarity over regional aspirations.

vii. Lastly the election results of 1952 anticipated the future partition of Manbhum district on the basis of language.

During the phase between 1952-56, there was remarkable show of mass-mobilisation of popular movement orchestrated by LSS against the state repression. Integrity of Bihar and preservation of Hindi as a main state language were the main points of discontent. In the Election of 1952 Jharkhand party or JHP who won 32 seats in the district of South Bihar along with CNSPJP (who won 11 seats), Ganaparishad of Uriya linguistic group of Sarakella region(who won 1 seat) made a great challenge towards the congress system of Bihar along with language movement of LSS. After 1952 LSS changed their strategy and advocated new demand of merger with West Bengal particularly after the constitution of the second state Reorganisation Commission in 1956. LSS along with left parties(known as UPB in Manbhum) launched Tushu Satyagraha in 1952 which was a unique movement which folk culture and songs were used to organize political rallies and civil disobedience movement. To garner the public support in West Bengal LSS organized a 'long march' on 20th April 1956 at Pakbirra village of Pancha block and its destination was towards Calcutta where they reached on 6th May 1956 and received massive public support for their merger demand. Due to the immense political battle new district of Purulia emerged after the partition of Manbhum district where entire Dhanbad subdivision along with Chas Chandankiyari region went to Bihar. Due to corporate pressure Bengali speaking areas of Patamda, Ichagarh and Chandil were given to Bihar. New geo-spatial identity of Manbhum emerged through the new political space known as Purulia.

(B) socio economic problems and people's protest in recent year:

Socio economically Purulia is one of the backward district of West Bengal. It is reflected from our human development report on Purulia. In this sub theme we discuss the socio economic conditions of the district through different media reports and through the analysis of my field observation. This portion is subdivided into following sub headings

- 1.) Health related problems
- 2.) Water problems
- 3.) People's protest, resistance at grass root level in Purulia
- 4.) Protest against corruption at Panchayet level.

Socioeconomic conditions of Purulia are specific problem centric widely reported in different print and electronic media. These problems are also reflected in my field trips in some specific areas of Purulia.

1. Health related problem and condition at Purulia:-

General health facilities in Purulia have faced lot of problems. These infrastructural and human resource problems are wide spread from District and Sub divisional to the different stages of such primary health centres. Significant problems are observed in health facilities of 'Arsha Block (Bartaman Newspaper 24.06.2011), Para block (Ekdin30.12.2010), Balarampur (Pratyahik Khabar 27.04.2011), Jhalda I and II, Banduan, Barabazar, Manbazar I and II and in Kashipur block. Health facilities at Purulia district hospital and other sub regional hospitals are inadequate compared to other district hospitals of West Bengal from different media report and field observation I identify some problems which are as follows:-

- i. No outdoor facilities are observed in the majority of primary health and sub health centres of different blocks of Purulia.
- ii. Insufficient no of MBBS doctors.
- iii. Presence of damaged instruments at sub centre at hospital level.
- iv. Inadequate no of trained health staffs.
- v. Irregular attendance of doctors.
- vi. Patient bed ratio is examine.
- vii. Presence of blank oxygen cylinder at the hospital
- viii. Presence of rampant private practice by district doctors.
- ix. Presence of Excessive nursing home business.
- x. Majority of people at the village level are dependant on local quacks and MBBS private practitioner the fact also supported by my field observation.
- xi. Another major health related problem of Purulia is the closure of only Homeopathic College of the district. Except for LSS no other political parties protest this closure. (Pratyahik Khabar 20.10.2010, 04.03.2011)

(2) Water problems:-

Purulia is one of the drought prone districts in India. Water scarcity is the main problem and political issue in Purulia. Water scarcity is severe in several parts of Purulia as shown in the table below:-

Table:-2

| Name of the blocks | Nature of the water problem |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Para block (extremely critical in Parashiri and Kaluhar regions) | Critical |
| 2. Hura block (Water problem is severe at Chatumadar, Amlatora, Hatikundur, and | Critical |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Boriyarpur regions) | |
| 3.Manbazar I and II | Critical |
| 4. Jhalda I | Extremely Critical |
| 5. Jhalda II | Critical |
| 6. Purulia Town | Extremely critical particularly on the ward no- 5, 7 & 13 |
| 7. Neturia | Critical |
| 8. Santuri | Critical |
| 9. Banduan | Critical |
| 10. Kashipur | Critical |
| 11. RaghunathpurI | Partially Critical |
| 12. RaghunathpurII | Critical |
| 13. Puncha | Partially Critical |
| 14. Arsha | Critical |
| 15. Bagmundi | Partially Critical |
| 16. Joypur | Critical |
| 17. Barabazar | Critical |
| 18. Balarampur | Critical |

(Bartaman 25.03.2011, Pratyahik Khabar 16.03.2011)

As a result of these water problems are the main political issue in Purulia in both the bidhansabha and panchayet elections.

(3) People's protest, resistance at the grass root level in Purulia:-

In the recent years in the numerous places of Purulia people develop their own public movement against any discriminations and public protest against corruption at administrating level.

Vote Boycott is the important tool for the village people to fulfill their socioeconomic demands. Reports of vote boycott are observed in different parts of purulia such as Hodalda Upara GP of joypur block(pratyahik khabar 11.03.2011), Puara, Chatuhasa, Hesla region of Arsha(pratyahik khabar 22.03.2011), Bhalagor mouza of Kashipur, Nodiha mouza of Banduan, Pardi mouza of Bagmundi Garuya GP and Balarampur GP of Balarampur blocks. Demand for electricity connection, non availability any sort of communication network, demand for drinking water, protest against corruption at Panchayet and Administrative level- all these factors are the main motivational trigger for the calling of vote boycott at different places of Purulia.

In different region of Purulia people organized protest rallies, bandh or hartal, road blockade to put forward certain socioeconomic demand.

These type of grass root level people's participation in any political movement reflect superior political awareness of the people main demand of people are as follows:-

- i. Demand for electric connection.
- ii. Demand for basic health and related amenities at the primary health centre.
- iii. Demand for better road and other communication facilities.

- iv. Demand for proper utilization of Panchayet funds.
- v. Speedy implementation of 100 days work at Mouza level.
- vi. Demand for drinking water.
- vii. Demand for speedy implementation of irrigation schemes.
- viii. Demand administrative action against different levels of corruption at panchayet level.
- ix. Demand for proper infrastructural development at educational institutions.
- x. Demand for complete eradication of narrow partition politics at panchayet level.
- xi. Demand for better delivery of public distribution system on PDS or rationing system.
- xii. Demand for proper preparation of BPL list.
- xiii. Demand for proper supervision on administrative works.
- xiv. Demand for 2 Rs per K.G. Rice at Mouza level.
- xv. Stop police atrocities at Maoist infected regions.

(4) Protest against corruption at Panchayet level:-

Numerous spontaneous public protests are reported by the different print media at the Panchayet level of Purulia. Some sample of which are shown below:-

- (a) Peoples protest at Jaradi Ratanpur high school at Raghunathpur II Block against the sudden stoppage of midday meal programme (Ekdin 08.09.2010).
- (b) Public protest against the corruption in NREGA work at Shalgram area of Mukundapur GP of Joypur block (Pratyahik khabar 27.05.2010).
- (c) Protest against non availability of drinking water from jerman water project of Raghunathpur at Bathanbari, Sarbari Mouza of Neturia(Bangalore Express 18th to 24th March, 2011).
- (d) Public protest against the partision role played by the local GP controlled by CPIM at Dighi Manbazar2 block (Pratyahik Khabar 04.03.2011).
- (e) Public protest for electricity connection at Jodurdi village of Kashipur block(Pratyahik Khabar 04.01.2011).
- (f) Public protest against environmental pollution produced by the sponge iron factories at Neturia, Santuri, Balarampur and Manbazar Region(Bangalore express 5-11th April, 2011).

C) Problems of Armed Insurgency(Maoist movement):

Maoist movement is one of the important political insurgent movements of our republic. Armed struggle initiated by the Communist Party of Individual popularly known as CPI Maoist is for the total proletariat led agrarian revolution in India through the forceful overthrow of the present democratic setup of the country. In between 1967-72 parent organization of Maoists CPI(ML) or Naxalites (as popularly known) had little influence over the political space of Purulia. Marginal Naxalites influences were reported in parts of Purulia such as Muradi, Ramchandrapur(both in Santuri), colliery belt of Parbelia(Neturia Block), Adra and parts of Raghunathpur, parts of Pancha and Hura, Purulia town and parts of Jhalda(at that time united into one block). At the same time another Maoist group known as Maoist Communist

centre or MCC(Dakshin Desh Group) gradually spreads parts of Banduan and Jhalda I and despite of administrative and state repression lashed out by paramilitary forces. Original naxalite movement was cracked down by the ruthless state repression organized by the state government that time. As a result of this Maoist activities were narrowed down into very small parts of Purulia particularly in parts of Banduan and Jhalda I block organized by MCC led by one of their veteran leader Prasanta Bose popularly known as Kishanda. During late 80's another faction of Naxalites popularly known as People's war group or PWG made their presence felt in parts of Purulia particularly in Banduan, Jhaldall and Ajodhya pahar region of Arsha AND baghmundi. Their arrival were totally tactical hunt for strategic depth. In September 2004 these two group merged to form CPI(Maoist), a new revolutionary party with regular army known as People's Liberation Guerilla Army(PLGA) guided by Maoist political ideology and guerilla armed techniques. In the same year Maoists utilized the general people's discontent and formed Adibashi Mulbashi Janaganer Committee (AMJC) to collect both the human and financial resources, useful in Guerilla warfare. Main objectives of AMJC are as follows:

- i. To mobilize general people's antipathy towards the ruling parties CPIM and AIFB.
- ii. Tried to capture vacuum in the opposition political space which was near absent in the blocks of Banduan, Barabazar, Balarampur, Manbazar I and II.
- iii. Organize people's movement against administrative atrocities through grassroot participation of people.
- iv. Demand cultural rights for different tribal groups such as Bhumij Santhal etc.
- v. Demand for special status of indigenous people of Purulia particularly for Kurmi Mahato and Kurmi Communities.
- vi. Demand for successful implementation operation barga in Purulia which was totally failed in Purulia. It is evident from the table

Table: 3

Percentage of Bargadars and Agricultural Labourers of the total population of farmers in Purulia(2003-04)

| Name of the Block | % of Bargadars | % of Agricultural Labourers |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Arsha | 0.82 | 50.13 |
| Baghmundi | 0.22 | 55.22 |
| Balarampur | 0.71 | 42.70 |
| Banduan | 0.96 | 61.29 |
| Barabazar | 0.44 | 50.67 |
| Hura | 0.56 | 51.81 |
| Joypur | 0.67 | 51.42 |
| Jhalda I | 0.83 | 39.47 |
| Jhalda II | 0.36 | 40.34 |
| Manbazar I | 0.37 | 59.72 |
| Manbazar II | 0.30 | 55.57 |

| | | |
|-----------------|------|-------|
| Puncha | 0.46 | 60.44 |
| Purulia I | 1.69 | 48.62 |
| Purulia II | 1.88 | 50.25 |
| Kashipur | 1.04 | 52.03 |
| Neturia | 0.68 | 43.23 |
| Para | 1.91 | 56.52 |
| Raghunathpur I | 6.59 | 43.60 |
| Raghunathpur II | 9.94 | 47.76 |
| Santuri | 3.82 | 43.30 |

Source: District Handbook of Purulia, 2004

Extreme poverty, lack of development in all the sphere, low value of HDI, infrastructural problems and lack of democratic space in the grassroot level- all are factors for discontent, anger and feeling of deprivation of the people of Purulia particularly in the South West and North West part of Purul. Maoists utilized this anger and tried to mobilize and extend their base through out Purulia particularly in the blocks of Banduan, Barabazar, Balarampur, Arsha, Baghmundi, Jhalda I and II, Joypur and Marginally in both Manbazar I and II.

Policy Declaration of Maoists:

Purulia - centric policy declaration of the Maoists was not found by the researcher. From the different newspaper reports we have found significant policy declarations of the Maoists, which are very similar to the other constitutional democratic parties of the district.

1. Policy Declarations of Maoists on 27.9.2010 (reported on Pratyahik Khabar 28.9.2010) Maoists declared on 27.9.10 they will carry out developmental works through their mass organization. Their demand was:
 - i. Regular and sufficient supply of food for the people of drought prone areas of Purulia.
 - ii. Demand for gainful employment.
 - iii. Demand for irrigation water from Murguma Dam of Jhalda I block.
2. Policy Statement of Maoist on 29.9.10 (Bartaman Patrika 29.9.10)
 - i. Criticize the role of Armed cadre of CPIM
 - ii. Declaration of man movement against the corruption in BPL scheme.
 - iii. Demand for eradication of pollution developed by the different sponge iron factories Purulia.
3. Policy Declaration of Maoist on 30.9.10 (Ekdin 30.9.10)
 - i. Banned private practice of doctors.
 - ii. Demand for excess salary and bonus for the labourers of factories of Jhalda
 - iii. Demand for government control on the Nurshing Home Business
4. 10 point demand chart declared by maoists on 1.1.2011 (Ekdin 1.1.2011)
 - i. Stop operation green hunt
 - ii. Demand for corruption free development
 - iii. Demand for people is right over natural resources

- iv. Demand for complete land reforms
- v. Demand for tribal autonomy in Greater Jungle Mahal Region
- vi. Demand for peace

Maoist frontal organizations also put forward different political demands familiar to the political demands of constitutional democratic parties. Two examples can be given to substantiate this:

1. The first example as the demand for Forest Rayat Committee of Maoists. Their main demand were as follows:
 - i. Eliminate corrupted forest officials and forest mafias.
 - ii. Demand for total ban on tree felling in the hilly regions of Arsha, Baghmundi and Jhalda.
2. The second example was the following demands by Revolutionary Bidi Workers Union (RBWU) a labour outfit of Maoists
 - i. Increase the wage of bidi workers (Rs 60 for 1000 bids)
 - ii. No penal action against the labourers
 - iii. Demand for quick implementation of PF scheme for bidi workers
 - iv. Demand for Puja bonus each year (Rs 5000 per year)
 - v. Demand for free ration for labourers

All these above mentioned policy declarations of Maoists indicate their willingness to utilize the political space. It is the failure of constitutional democratic parties to utilize the political space for the benefit of the common people and as a result they gradually lose the public support and Maoists fully utilize the discontent of people to spread their own political organization.

D) Alternative approaches (concept of State Nations and Concept of Political exfoliation) in conclusion:

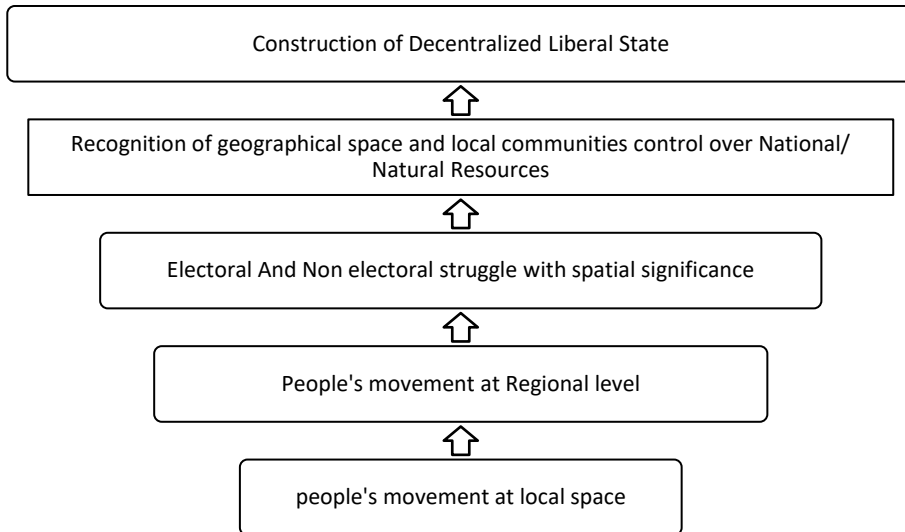
Multidimensional effects of social movements can be influence both the deep structure and superstructure of nation state as it is evident from recent political developments of Venezuela and Ecuador in Latin America. In this regard alternative political approach profounded by Alfred Stepan Juan Jaj Linz and Yogendrayadav (2001) are also observed. They developed an alternative approach of state structure through their concept of "State Nations" (instead of nation state). Main components of "state nations" are as follows:

- i. Attachment to multi cultural civilization
- ii. Recognition and support to multiple political identity
- iii. Symmetrical federal system
- iv. Democratically managed territorial cleavages
- v. Presence of autonomist parties
- vi. Multiple obedience and loyalty

To rectify and check different aspects of maldevelopment of backward regions of developing country like India I suggest an alternative approaches in continuity of

intellectual coverage of State Nations theory. My alternative approach is named as Political exfoliation (name derived from exfoliation process of physical weathering) which intends to produce an alternative decentralized developmental model with spatial significance through active participation of people at grassroots level expressed through a line diagram.

Concept of Political Exfoliation



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