

NAXALISM, CASTE-BASED MILITIAS AND HUMAN SECURITY: LESSONS FROM BIHAR¹

Gaurang R. Sahay
Associate Professor
Centre for Development Studies
Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Mumbai – 400 088.

Email ID: gsahay@tiss.edu

Introduction

People living free from poverty and despair and with full security and dignity are still the world's preferred dream. The human security approach, popularized by institutions such as the UNDP and the Human Security Network, and by scholars such as Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen, claims to detail the possibility of realizing this dream in concrete terms. Often referred to as 'people-centred security' or 'security with a human face', the human security approach is defined in terms of two supposedly mutually-inclusive conceptual phrases: 'freedom from fear'; and 'freedom from want'. Safety is the hallmark of 'freedom from fear', while well-being is the goal of 'freedom from want'. This paper, based on data from rural Bihar (an eastern state of India), argues that 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' are not necessarily connected. On the one hand, the Naxalites and their various offshoots, and on the other the formation of private caste-based militias clearly reflect the contradictions between 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'

¹ 'This paper was presented to the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in Melbourne 1-3 July 2008. It has been peer reviewed via a double blind referee process and appears on the Conference Proceedings Website by the permission of the author who retains copyright. This paper may be downloaded for fair use under the Copyright Act (1954), its later amendments and other relevant legislation.'

in central Bihar. The Naxalites struggle using violent means for the all round well-being of the larger but weaker section of society. The private caste-based militias try to protect their caste fellows, particularly the richer and more powerful ones, from the brutal onslaught of the Naxalites by violently attack the Naxalites and their followers. This paper is mainly based on data collected from reports published by the Government of India, from the mass media and from civil society institutions like the People's Union for Democratic Rights and the Asian Centre for Human Rights, and on my fieldwork carried out in villages in Buxar District in Bihar.

The Concept of Human Security

The theoretical issues about individual and societal security which were raised by first generation social scientists like Karl Marx, Max Weber, Ferdinand Tönnies and Emile Durkheim acquired the nature of a specialised and somewhat technical social science conceptual perspective with the publication of the *Human Development Report 1994* (HDR 1994), an annual publication of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The HDR 1994, which was drafted and then defended by Mahbub ul Haq, states: 'The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust....Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives' (UNDP 22). The report proposes that the concept of human security should substitute the old existing notion of security. It conceptualises human security as consisting of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' which are, it claims, universally relevant, interdependent, easier to ensure through early prevention and people-centred. These two main aspects of human security are defined as 'safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression', and 'protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life—whether in homes, in jobs or in communities' (UNDP 8). The report further states that the two freedoms consist of seven specific securities: (1) economic security (assuring every individual a minimum requisite income); (2) food security (physical and economic access to basic food); (3) health security (access to health care and protection from diseases); (4) environmental security (protection from the ravages of nature, man-made

threats in nature and deterioration of the natural environment); (5) personal security (physical safety from such things as torture, war, criminal attacks, domestic violence, drug use, suicide, and even traffic accidents); (6) community security (protecting people from loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence); and (7) political security (guaranteeing that people live in a society that honours their basic human rights).

The concept of human security has attracted attention from different parts of the globe. It has become an integral part of the policy frameworks of many nation-states such as Canada, Norway, Japan, Thailand, Austria, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Switzerland, and of non-government organizations including the World Bank (see the World Bank's *World Development Report 2000/1* and *Voices of the Poor*). The formation of the Human Security Network exemplifies its global character; its annual meetings are attended by many non-government organizations as well as representatives of nation-states.

In academia, the concept has become the subject of scholarly debate resulting in differing points of view. One viewpoint accepts the concept of human security with the thrill of discovery and highlights its greater worth. For instance, Donna Winslow has observed that 'the human security approach parallels the shift in economic development and international law from instrumental objectives (such as growth, or state rights) to human development and human rights' (quoted from Eriksen 2005: 2; see also Rothschild 1995; Bedeski 1998; Alkire 2003). However another viewpoint finds that the existing UNDP concept of human security is too imprecise or arbitrary and too broad (Nef 1999; King and Murray 2001; Thomas 2000; Paris 2001; Bajpai 2000). Following this debate, this paper also asks for fresh thinking on the concept of human security because it finds that the all-important dimensions of human security—'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'—contradict each other in the context of facts from rural India.

Central Bihar: The Field of Study

Bihar is traditionally divided into three regions: North Bihar; South Bihar (today's Jharkhand); and Central Bihar. Central Bihar comprises 14 districts viz. Patna, Gaya, Nalanda, Jahanabad, Aurangabad, Nawada, Rohtas, Bhabhua, Bhojpur, Buxar, Munger,

Jamui, Shaikhpara and Lakhisarai. It was in the central region that the Naxalites first emerged and then consolidated Naxalism. It was also where the private caste-based militias began. The ensuing violence resulted in Central Bihar being characterized as the ‘flaming fields’ (Banerjee 1984, Mukherjee, Singh and Yadav 1980).

The agrarian structure in most parts of Central Bihar just before the abolition of the *zamindari* system was dominated by the landlords from two traditionally-militant upper castes—the Bhumihars and the Rajputs. *Dalits* or Scheduled Castes and poor Backward Castes comprised the agricultural labourers. With the ending of the *zamindari* system, most of the peasants were given ownership rights over the land. This led to the emergence of a middle and rich peasantry from the Backward Castes. The increasing assertiveness of Backward Caste tenants after the *zamindari* abolition led to a considerable decline in *begar* (unpaid labour) in this region. The emergence of the Backward Caste peasantry as a powerful force, and a militant mass mobilization of the poor, led many of the higher-caste landholders to quit the rural areas and move to the towns. In most cases, middle and rich Backward Caste peasants bought their land. The mass mobilization of the rich peasantry from both upper- and middle-ranking castes, together with the growing assertiveness of poor peasants, sharecroppers and farm labourers from the lower or Scheduled Castes, has evolved into a state of confrontation. The latter groups are fighting for structural change in the existing social order, whereas the landowning castes are trying to maintain the status-quo and their traditional lifestyle. These opposing currents resulted in the emergence of Naxalism and the formation of private caste-based militias.

Naxalism or the Naxalite Movement

The terms Naxalism or the Naxalite Movement are euphemisms for the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary struggle in India. The movement draws doctrinal support from Marxism-Leninism and strategic inspiration from Mao Zedong. It derives its name from Naxalbari, a village in Darjeeling District in West Bengal. Naxalbari witnessed a peasant revolt in 1967 that developed into a protracted and violent agitation by the poor, particularly agriculture labourers, peasants and tribals, against the wealthier classes.

Overall, the Naxalite Movement rests upon issues of agrarian transformation, the exploitation of weaker sections of society, and resistance to imperialism and globalisation. Because of the issues that they pursue, the Naxalites have a social base that sustains their movement despite a number of repressive measures pursued by the state or the dominant castes/classes. They are sustained by the persistence of the basic causes that gave birth to the movement—feudal exploitation and oppression of the rural poor and the problems relating to land rights and social justice.

At present, Naxalite organisations are active in around 170 of the country's 604 administrative districts in 15 states. This affects about 40 % of the area of India and 35 % of its population. The Naxalites are trying very hard to establish a 'Compact Revolutionary Zone' via a 'Red Corridor' extending from Nepal, Bihar, and Jharkhand through Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra to Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamilnadu. Their ultimate aim is to seize power to establish a communist state. That is why the Government of India nowadays considers the Naxalite Movement the biggest threat to the country's national and human security.

Naxalism in Central Bihar

Naxalism was brought to the villages of Bihar in 1967, i.e., in the same year that the Naxalbari peasant revolt took place. Over the last forty years, Naxalism has engulfed almost all districts in Bihar including today's state of Jharkhand. Bella Bhatia divides the history of Naxalism in Bihar into two phases:

Prior to the imposition of the Emergency in 1975, the movement had been able to spread in parts of two or three districts, but during the Emergency it faced heavy state persecution and had to lie low. However, by the late 1970s, it had been able to reorganise itself and was once again on an upswing. The phase after 1977, therefore, saw the revival of the movement, significant reformulations of its political line, and the emergence of new Naxalite groups (Bhatia 2005: 1536).

During the formative phase from 1967 to 1977, Bihar witnessed a number of localized Naxalite struggles which were largely sporadic and were not part of a sustained and planned movement. However, the Naxalite movement that started from Ekwari Village in Bhojpur District under the leadership of Jagdish Mahato, a local teacher who had forged links with the Naxalite leaders from West Bengal, developed into a long-drawn-out organised struggle against exploitative landlords. By 1973, the Bhojpur District had become the main centre of Naxalite struggle in Bihar. By 1975, the movement had spread into four other districts of central Bihar—Gaya, Nalanda, Rohtas and Aurangabad. The intensity and magnitude of the movement's struggle took many people by surprise, but soon the whole of Central Bihar became known as the 'Flaming Fields of Bihar'.

The Naxalite movement in Bihar, as in other Indian states, is heavily factionalised. There are approximately 17 Naxalite groups operating in different parts of Bihar. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation or CPI (ML) Liberation, the Party Unity and the Maoist Communist Centre or MCC are the most important. These three factions broadly represent the three main trends within the movement: the MCC is considered to be extreme Left; the CPI (ML) Liberation is drifting towards the 'parliamentary path'; and the Party Unity is somewhere in between.

Naxalism and 'Freedom from Want'

The Naxalite Movement has been able to make significant propaganda gains regarding the idea of 'freedom from want' for the poor or weaker sections of society in Central Bihar by actively pursuing the issues concerning their basic needs and expectations. It has mainly taken up economic issues regarding (1) land rights including tenancy relations, (2) minimum wages, (3) common property resources, and (4) housing, social issues pertaining to dignity or honour and protection from organized crime, and political issues concerning citizenship including voting rights.

In Naxalite-influenced areas, one occasionally comes across a red flag determinedly planted in the middle of a field. This means that the land is contested and that the Naxalites have staked a claim to it. Usually, the landowner contests the claim, and a drawn-out battle begins. If the issue cannot be resolved through peaceful means, it

often results in violent clashes. If the Naxalites win, the land is subsequently distributed to the poor for agriculture or housing. Referring to the monthly publications of various Naxalite organizations, B. N. Prasad reports that in 1992/93 the Naxalites seized 1000 acres of land in Patna District, 616 acres in Palamau, 4500 acres in Gaya and 1000 acres in Nawada and distributed it to the poor. Similar details were also published in the *Hindustan Times* (Patna, 2 August 1993).

The movement has also attempted to change tenancy relations by demanding better sharecropping terms. In some areas, the movement has successfully enforced *batai* (equal shares in both inputs and outputs for landowner and *bataidar* or tenant). In other areas it has succeeded in obtaining *batai* with a *panja* to the tenant. (*Panja* is the share of harvested crops given to those tenants who have harvested the crops themselves. It varies from place to place from one out of ten bundles of crops to one out of twenty.) And the movement has heavily resisted landowners' attempts to make tenants pay half of the land tax.

The struggle for just wages is another important issue taken up with considerable success by the Naxalites in Central Bihar. Prior to the coming of the Naxalite Movement, village labourers were paid not more than 2 kg of coarse rice with a simple lunch and sometimes breakfast (see Bhatia 2005: 1542), which was much less than the official minimum wage. Since the movement's intervention, the wage rate has greatly improved in many villages, and labourers receive the officially-determined wage if not more. According to A. N. Sharma, real wage increases of 55.2 % for men and 74.3 % for women took place between 1970 and 1989 (Sharma 1997: 16). There has also been an increase in the wages paid to harvesters. Before the coming of the Naxalite Movement, as Bela Bhatia notes, 'the harvesters used to receive one *bojha* (headload) for every 21 *bojhas* of harvested crop; this has risen to 1 *bojha* for every 10 *bojhas*' (see Bhatia 2005: 1542-43). The movement's activism has also improved work conditions and fixed a reasonable number of work hours.

The Naxalite Movement has brought unity to the labourers of the area, and has made it impossible for a landlord to hire labourers if he does not satisfy their work conditions. Sometimes this unity develops into an economic blockade against a particular

landlord, including the refusal of labour services. However the volatility of the situation can often lead to violence. Thus violence between workers and landlords had escalated.

The Naxalite Movement has also fought for the rights of the poor over common property resources in the villages. This has enabled the village poor to construct their houses on public or surplus land. In so doing, the movement has asserted the identity of the poor as equal members of a village.

The Naxalite Movement in Central Bihar has been fairly successful in restoring dignity and honour to the poor and marginalized by fighting against exploitative social relations. Even though the poor continue to face many deprivations, they are now more autonomous and assertive and claim equal social space and rights in the villages. Arbitrary beatings and instances of rape of lower-caste women have decreased dramatically. Labourers freely sell their labour to whomever they want. *Dalit* children go to school if their parents are willing. All this has happened because the landlords are no longer in a position to exercise their traditional power. Reports published by the People's Union for Democratic Rights substantiate this observation. They also claim that a number of landlords have been forced by Naxalite organizations to end their feudal domination through public humiliation and punishment in the movement's Jana Adalats (People's Courts) (PUDR Report 1992).

Another important social right is the protection of the poor from violence and harassment perpetrated by organised criminal gangs generally led by the landlords of different castes. In 1978, when Party Unity first tried to build its base in Jehanabad District, it began by tackling the dominance of organized criminal gangs in the area. The Naxalite groups have been effective in targeting the most notorious gang leaders, and have considerably reduced the strength of these groups.

The poor and oppressed of Naxalite-influenced villages in Bihar are now a visible and powerful political force. They now think of themselves as citizens with the same political rights as the landlord class, and assert this equality in practice. An essential political right denied to the poor by the henchmen of the powerful castes/classes in Central Bihar was the right to vote. In areas influenced by the Naxalite Movement the poor have started exercising their right to vote (Bharti 1990). The participation in the elections of the Indian People's Front (IPF), a political institution of the CPI (ML)

Liberation, has further facilitated this change. The IPF's use of the slogan 'Vote Itself' resulted in the election of an IPF candidate to the federal parliament in 1989. In the 1990 Bihar State Assembly elections, the IPF won seven seats, came second in fourteen constituencies, and third in twenty (Bharti 1990: 981). Though the participation of the IPF or CPI (ML) Liberation in the elections has not resulted in their winning many seats, it has deeply affected the nature of electoral politics.

Naxalism, Caste-based Militias and 'Freedom from Fear'

Naxalism has undoubtedly brought about some significant changes in the highly-unequal social formation of central rural Bihar which are decisive for human development. However, it has at the same time violated all the basic principles of human rights by forcibly displacing people, making them objects of armed conflict, endangering their physical safety and security, making their living conditions worse, recruiting children for armed conflict, targeting schools and other public facilities, practising vigilante justice, destroying the means of survival of the civilian population, endlessly prolonging the conflict, and so on. It has thereby created a frighteningly hostile situation in the villages. In so doing, Naxalism has generated tremendous problems for the realization of the idea of 'freedom from fear'—the other conceptual component of human security.

Naxalism believes in Mao's dictum that political power only comes through the barrel of a gun. Therefore, the Naxalite movement remains arms-based and violent. It kills many of its enemies in extremely violent ways such as through repeatedly stabbing then slitting the victims' throats in front of other hostages. The hostages are denied food and water. The Naxalites use explosives indiscriminately including landmines to target both the security forces and civilians. They run a parallel justice system via their Jana Adalats in their strongholds which they call the 'Liberated Zones'. These deliver 'kangaroo court' justice; their enemies or so-called 'criminals' are beaten to death in full public view after the Jana Adalat pronounces the death sentence.

For more than a decade Bihar including Jharkhand has witnessed hundreds of killings every year by the Naxalites. According to the Annual Reports published by the government's Ministry of Home Affairs, the Naxalites killed 311 people in 2001, 274 in 2002, 244 in 2003, 340 in 2004, 169 in 2006 and 44 up until March 2007. In Central

Bihar they carried out a number of massacres: 11 people in Darmia Village in Aurangabad District on October 7, 1986; 54 in Dalelchak-Baghaura Village in Aurangabad District on May 29, 1987; 37 in Bara Village in Gaya District on February 12, 1992; and 34 in Senari Village in Jehanabad District on March 18, 1999. One of the biggest attacks by the Naxalites in Central Bihar occurred in November 2005 when thousands of Naxalites blew up the Jehanabad police station and stormed the jail, freeing more than 300 prisoners including many fellow cadres. Over a dozen people were killed in the attack itself including three police officers. Afterwards the Naxalites segregated those who are not attached or sympathetic to them and executed them. Most of the victims were members of landowning families belonging to the dominant castes in Jehanabad District. But the Naxalites have not restricted themselves to killing their enemies. Violent incidents leading to hundreds of death have been attributed to internecine clashes between activists of Naxalite organizations such as the MCC, Party Unity, CPI (ML) Liberation and People's War Group as each battled to establish dominance in a particular area.

State institutions have been unable to control the Naxalites. As a consequence, the dominant peasants took up their own battle cry: the peasants' lives and property are in danger and the government has failed to protect them; so the peasants themselves must protect their lives and property. At the same time, the landlords openly used the ideology of caste to counter the Naxalite Movement and the rising aspirations and assertiveness of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers. They branded the Naxalites and their supporters as merely a section of the Scheduled Castes or lower castes, and declared the Naxalite Movement to be nothing but a lower-caste movement against the interests of other castes. Accordingly, polarization along caste lines deepened while the mobilization of their caste fellows by the landlords resulted in the formation of private caste-based militias. Various caste-based militias, namely the Kuer Sena, Kunwar Sena, Bhoomi Sena, Lorik Sena, Brahmarshi Sena, Kisan Sangh, Sunlight Sena, Savarna Liberation Front, Kisan Sangha, Kisan Morcha, Ganga Sena and Ranvir Sena, were used by landlords of respective castes to fight the Naxalites and terrorize and kill low-caste villagers who they believed had provided support to the Naxalites.

The aggression perpetrated by these militias against the Naxalites and their supporters, including *dalits* and other weaker groups, and the latter's retaliation, has led to the routinization of violence. Hundreds of people have been killed in militia attacks. These frequently take place at night and in many cases the victims, including pregnant women and children, are killed while asleep. As well, the rape of women is a common tactic employed by the militias to spread terror among the lower castes.

Although many of these militias could not sustain their existence for long and eventually petered out because of their limited cadre strength and areas of operation, the powerful Ranvir Sena, founded by the upper-caste Bhumihars in Belaur Village in Bhojpur District, is still operating. It is the most dreaded and ruthless militia group in Central Bihar. Since its inception, it has been implicated in looting, killings and rapes. It usually openly claims responsibility for its activities and even brashly announces beforehand the targeted villages.

On March 23, 1997, 10 landless labourers were killed in Haibaspur Village in Patna District, Bihar, apparently for aligning themselves with Party Unity. Before leaving the village, the Ranvir Sena inscribed its organization's name in blood on the edge of a dry well. On April 10, 1997, Ranvir Sena members gunned down eight residents of Ekwari Village in Bhojpur District. Seven of the eight killed belonged to the lower-caste Lohars, Chamars, Dhobis and Kahars. It was reported that it was the Police Force which forced open the victims' houses and then stood by and watched as the inhabitants were massacred. On December 1, 1997, Ranvir Sena activists raided fourteen *dalit* homes in the village of Laxmanpur-Bathe, killing at least sixty-one people and seriously injuring around twenty. As most of the men fled the village when the attack began, women and children were the main victims. At least five girls around fifteen years of age were raped and mutilated before being shot in the chest. Most of the victims allegedly belonged to the families of Party Unity supporters. The Ranvir Sena also killed around eight members of the Mallah community (a lower caste) who had had the misfortune to ferry them across the Sone River after the attack. At least twenty-two *dalits* including women and children died in the village of Shankarbigha in Jehanabad District on January 25, 1999. This massacre was the fifth of its kind since July 1996 in which the Ranvir Sena killed *dalit* and lower-caste people for their suspected allegiance to Naxalite organizations. On

February 10, 1999, a little over two weeks after the Shankarbigha massacre, the Ranvir Sena killed twelve and injured seven lower-caste people by attacking neighbouring Narayanpur Village. Militia members descended on the village during the night and forced their way into homes, shooting at will. On April 21, 1999, they killed twelve persons at Sendani Village in Gaya District, and on June 16, 2000, they butchered thirty-four inhabitants of Miapur Village in Aurangabad District (for a detailed account of the massacres, see Kumar 2008).

Concluding Remarks

We can conclude this paper by noting that even though the violent struggle led by the Naxalite Movement has a revolutionary value and to an extent has contributed to the realization of the principle of ‘freedom from want’, Naxalism and the concomitant terror unleashed by the private caste-based militias have created a war-like situation in Central Bihar. For many years now people of different castes and classes have been living in constant fear; they are exposed on a daily basis to the worst forms of violence which has resulted in the loss of numerous lives. Such facts problematize our understanding of the concept of human security as ‘people-centred security’ or ‘security with a human face’, by looking at the contradictions between ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’. We can say, at the last, that human security principles appear to be mutually exclusive in a situation which is characterized by different forms of inequality and exploitation and which occurs in an area with a low level of development.

References

- Alkire, Sabina. 2003. A Conceptual Framework for Human Security. *Working Paper 2*, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security, and Ethnicity (CRISE). London, Queen Elizabeth House: University of Oxford.
- Annual Report 2003-04, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Available at <http://www.mha.nic.in/AR0304-Eng.pdf>
- Bajpai, Kanti. 2000. Human Security: Concept and Measurement. *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper 19*, Notre Dame, Indiana: Joan S. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies.
- Banerjee, S. 1984. *India's Simmering Revolution: The Naxalite Uprising*. New Delhi: Select Book Service Syndicate.
- Bedeski, Robert. 1998. Human Security and Sun Tzu's Thought: An Alternative Approach to Peace Building. Paper prepared for the 4th International Symposium on *Sun Tzu's Art of War*, Beijing, October 19-21.
- Bharti, I. 1990. Dalit Women gain new IZZAT. *Economic and Political Weekly* (25), Bombay.
- Bhatia, B. 2005. The Naxalite Movement in Central Bihar. *Economic and Political Weekly*, April 9, Mumbai.
- Bhattacharya, Prabodh. 1986. *Report from the Flaming Fields of Bihar* (CPI (ML) Document). Calcutta.
- CPI (ML), Party Unity Report. 1993. Committee against Repression on Peasantry in Bihar. Unpublished, 9 July, pp. 12-13.
- Dhawan, H. 1992. *Bitter Harvest* (PUDR Report). Delhi: PUDR.
- Eriksen, T. H. 2005. Risking security: Paradoxes of social cohesion (Inaugural lecture) Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 15 March. Available at <http://folk.uio.no/geirthe/Security.html>
- Kala, M., R. N. Maharaj and K. Mukherjee. 1986. Peasant Unrest in Bhojpur : A Survey. In A. R. Desai, ed., *Agrarian Struggles in India after Independence*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- King, Gary and Christopher Murray. 2001. Rethinking Human Security. *Political Science Quarterly*, 116 (4) Winter, 585-610.

- Kumar, Ashwani. 2008. *Community Warriors: State, Peasants and Caste Armies in Bihar*. New Delhi: Anthem Press.
- Louis, Prakash. 2002. *People Power: The Naxalite Movement in Central Bihar*. New Delhi: Wordsmith.
- Narayan, Deepa, Robert Chambers, Meera K. Shah and Patti Petesch. 2000. *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change (World Bank Report)*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nef, Jorge. 1999. *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability: The Global Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*. Canada: International Research Development Centre.
- Nimbram, A. S. 1992. *Poverty, Land and Violence: An Analytical Study of Naxalism in Bihar*. Patna: Laymans Publications.
- Paris, Roland. 2001. Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?. *International Security* 26(2): 87-102.
- Pathak, B. 1993. *Rural Violence in Bihar*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing House.
- People's Union for Democratic Rights. 1997. *Agrarian Conflict in Bihar and the Ranbir Sena*. New Delhi: October.
- Prasad, P.H. 1994. Poor Peasant Movement in Central Bihar. In K. K. Sharma, P. P. Singh, Ranjan Kumar, eds., *Peasant Struggles in Bihar 1831 - 1992*. Patna: Janaki Prakashan.
- Prasad, B. N. 2006. Threat to Hegemony: 'Senas' in the Agrarian Social Formation. Unpublished Paper Presented in the 32nd All India Sociological Conference, Chennai: University of Madras and Loyola College.
- P.U.C.L. 1992. *Report on Massacre in Men and Barsiwan*. Patna: P.U.C.L. Bihar State Unit.
- Rothschild, Emma. 1995. What is Security?. *Daedalus* 124(3): 53-98.
- Sharma, A.N. 1997. Backwardness Trap of Bihar Agriculture. In S. Gupta and A.N. Sharma, eds., *Bihar: Stagnation or Growth*. Delhi: Spectrum Publishing House.
- Singh, Prakash. 1995. *The Naxalite Movement in India*. New Delhi: Rupa.

Thomas, Caroline. 2000. *Global Governance, Development and Human Security: The Challenge of Poverty and Inequality*. London and Sterling, VA: Pluto Press.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). 1994. *Human Development Report 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press.