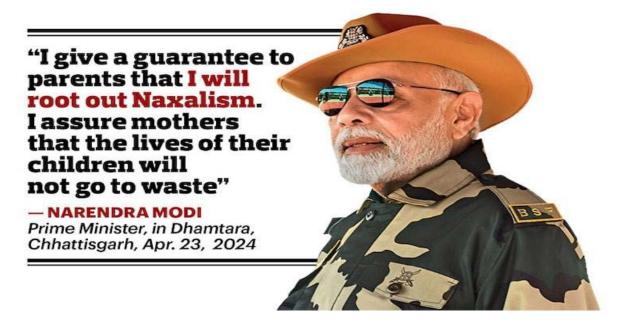
# Left Wing Extremism in India

## Maoist Threat & Internal Security Challenges



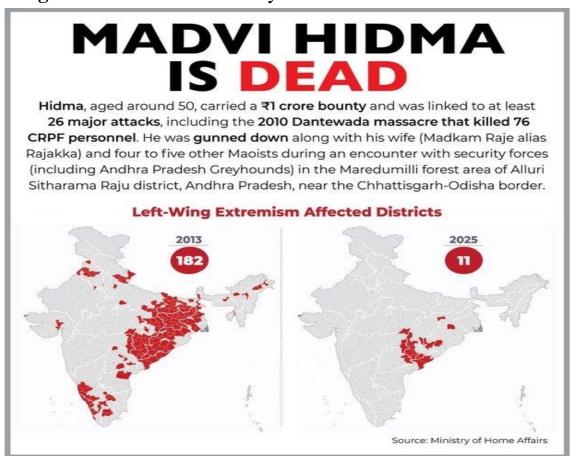
#### **Context:**

• Notorious Maoist Madvi Hidma, responsible for leading at least 26 armed attacks against security forces and civilians, has been gunned down in an encounter at Andhra Pradesh's Alluri Sitharamaraju district.





• The killing of Madvi Hidma, one of India's most-feared Maoist commanders, is akin to driving the last nail into the coffin of Left-Wing Extremism in the country.



#### 1. What is Naxalism?

In the summer of 1967, the events in a tiny village in the foothills of the Himalayas would spark a revolutionary flame that would engulf the country in heated guerilla warfare. 50 years on, the crimson fire of the Hammer and Sickle continues to burn on in large parts of the country. We know them by the name - "Naxal".

- Left Wing Extremism (LWE), often referred to as Naxalism, is one of India's most serious internal security challenges.
- Rooted in **socio-economic inequalities** and fueled by **Maoist ideology**, **LWE** has historically affected some of the most remote, underdeveloped, and **tribal-dominated regions of the country**.
- The movement has aimed to undermine the Indian state through armed rebellion and parallel governance structures, particularly targeting security forces, public infrastructure, and democratic institutions.
- Originating from the Naxalbari movement of 1967 in West Bengal, it spread primarily across the "Red Corridor," affecting states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Maharashtra, Kerala, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and parts of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana.
- The Maoist insurgents claim to fight for the rights of the marginalized, particularly tribal communities, but their methods include armed violence, extortion, destruction of infrastructure, and recruitment of children and civilians.

#### 2. What is the history of Naxalism in India?

- Naxalism was started in 1967 in Naxalbari village of West Bengal.
- It began as a **farmer protest against the unfair treatment** of them by local landlords.

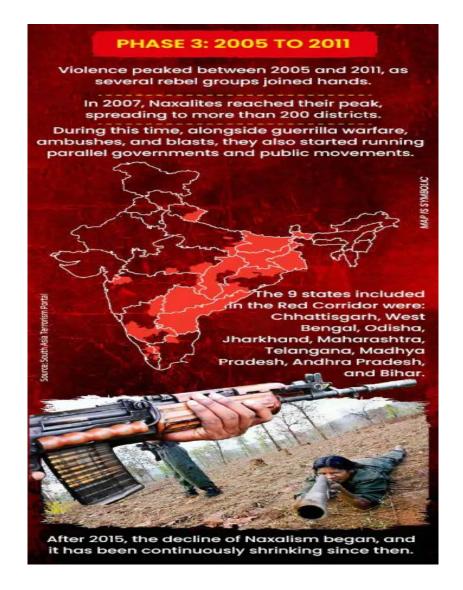
• The Naxalbari uprising was led by Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jagan Santhal.



- The rebels aimed to **redistribute land fairly** to the working peasants.
- This movement has **spread to Eastern India**, particularly in less developed states like **Chhattisgarh**, **Odisha**, and **Andhra Pradesh**.
- Naxals are believed to align with Maoist ideology, which seeks to overthrow established systems through armed insurgency, mass mobilization, and strategic alliances.
- These actions were based on the **teachings of Mao Zedong** that is also known as **Left-wing extremism (LWE) or Maoism.**
- In 2009, the **Ministry of Home Affairs** banned the **Communist Party of India (Maoist)** under the **Unlawful Activities (Prevention)** Act (UAPA).

#### 3. What are the phases of Naxalism in India?





#### 4. What are the causes of Naxalism?

<b>Major Causes</b>	About
Socio-economic Gap In The System	• Government focuses on counting violent attacks instead of helping naxal areas improvement.
	• Not enough <b>smart tools</b> were present to fight naxalites.
	• Some villages still can not talk easily because they are not connected to phones or internet.

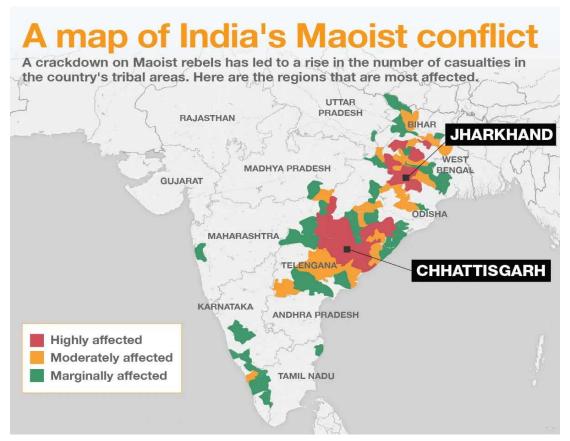


Tribal Discontent	<ul> <li>The Forest (Conservation) Act, 1980 restricts the tribals from cutting bark that impacted their daily livelihood.</li> <li>Tribal populations in Naxalism-affected regions were displaced by development projects and mining.</li> <li>Displaced tribals who were living without daily livelihood showed the Naxalism support.</li> <li>Maoists provided arms, money, and support to these vulnerable individuals.</li> </ul>
Support Base of Naxalites	<ul> <li>The Naxalite movement derives much of its support from landless peasants, sharecroppers, agricultural labourers, Dalits, and tribal communities.</li> <li>These groups have historically faced land alienation, exploitation by local elites, and inadequate state presence.</li> <li>Their socio-economic marginalisation creates fertile ground for Naxalite mobilisation and recruitment.</li> </ul>
Administration Lacks	<ul> <li>No follow-up from administration after police intervention in naxal-affected regions.</li> <li>Confusion regarding the approach to tackling naxalism it became a social issue as well as internal security threat.</li> <li>State governments viewing naxalism as solely the responsibility of the central government.</li> <li>It lead to a lack of proactive initiatives.</li> </ul>
Mismanagement	• British laws monopolized the forest resources.

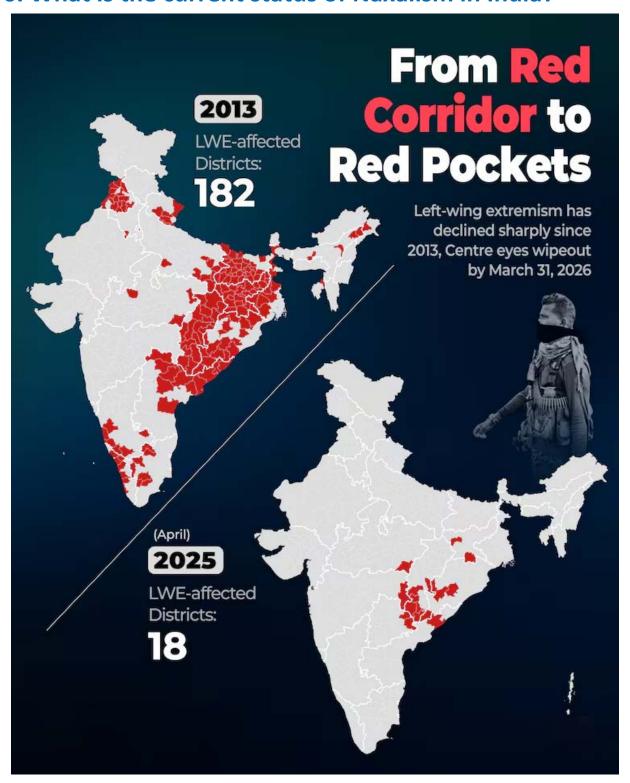


of Forests	<ul> <li>It made the situations very worse in after 1990 with Indian government policies.</li> <li>It sparked the forest dwellers and also fueled the opposition against the government.</li> </ul>
Absence of Land Reforms and Industrialisation	<ul> <li>Government's half-hearted land reforms failed to uplift rural economy.</li> <li>Poor employment opportunities in rural areas drove people to protest and join Naxal movement.</li> </ul>
Intraregional and Interregional Discrepancies	<ul> <li>Lack of government schemes for the poor.</li> <li>It pushed them towards Naxalism.</li> <li>Naxalites was considered as a voice for lower economic class that attracted so much support.</li> </ul>

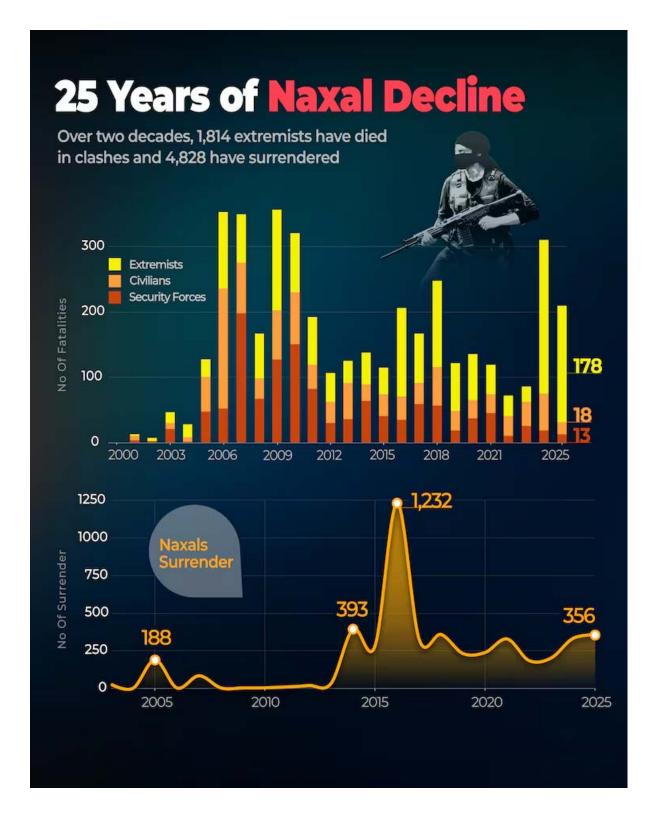
#### 5. Highlight areas affected by naxalism?



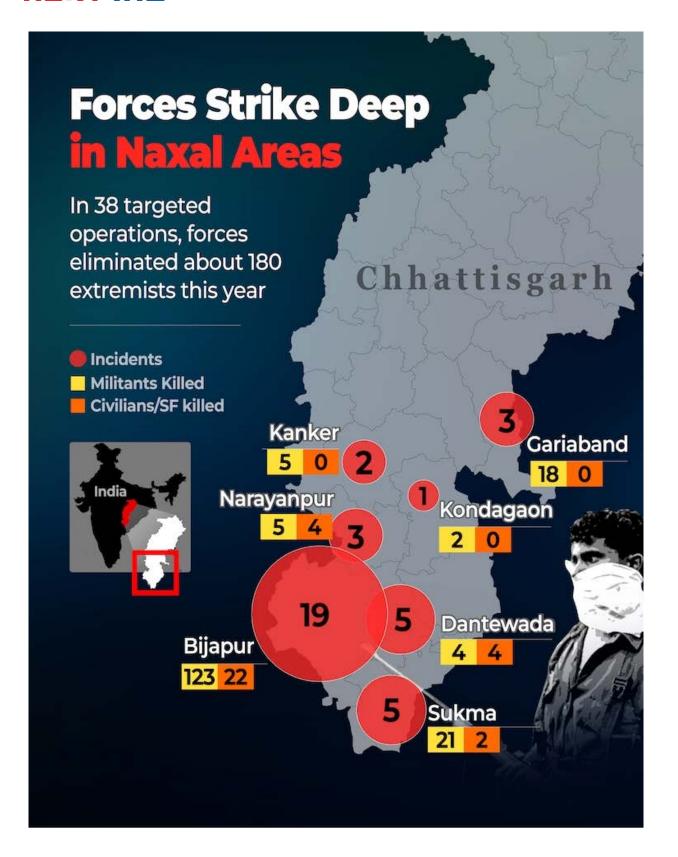
#### 6. What is the current status of Naxalism in India?







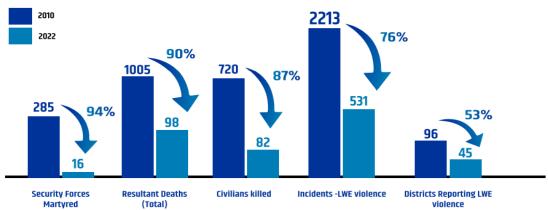


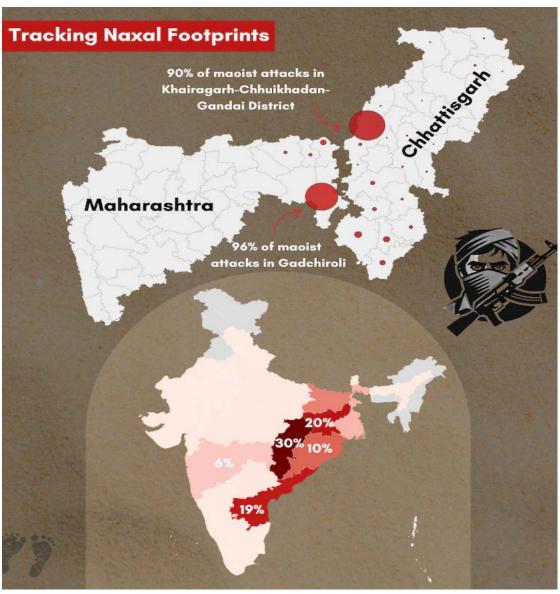




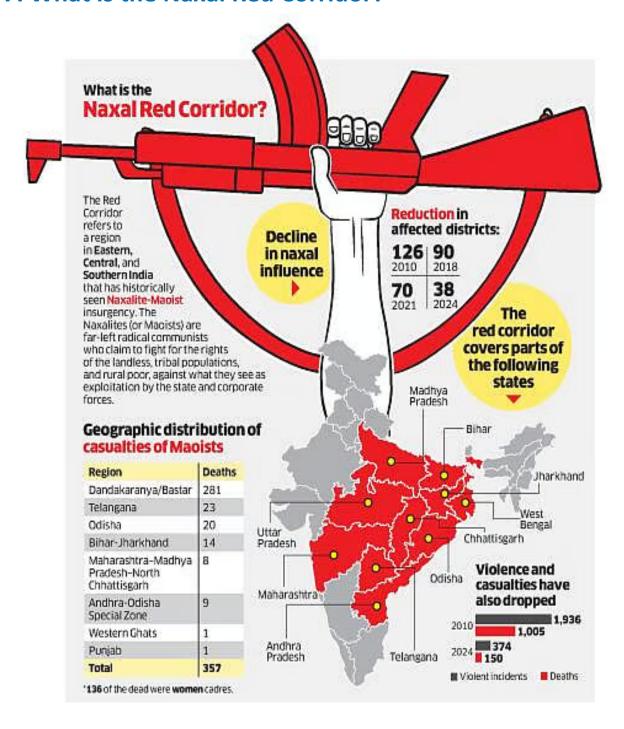
#### Great Downfall in Violent acts and area Limit of Left Militants in India

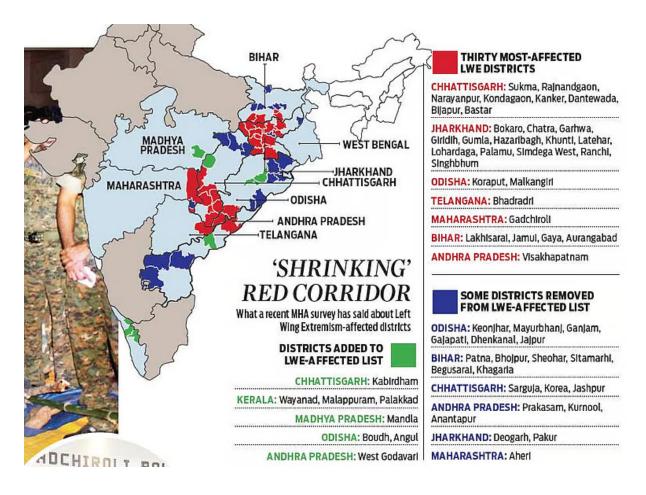
In the last 8 years, Three-Dimensional strategy of Home Ministry has achieved historic success in controlling left extremism. This success can be understood by these data.

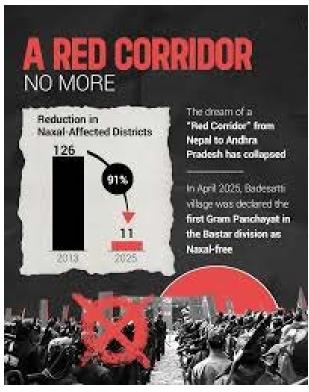




#### 7. What is the Naxal Red Corridor?







#### 8. Highlight a few major attacks by Naxalism?

Major Attacks	About
2 September, 2025	<ul> <li>Two villagers were killed by Maoists in Sukma district of Chhattisgarh.</li> <li>Sukma Superintendent of Police (SP) Kiran S. Chavan confirmed the murder of two villagers named Devendra Padami and Padam Pojja, residents of the Nandapara area of Sirsetti village.</li> </ul>
9 June, 2025	Additional SP Giripunje, who was currently posted as ASP Konta, was killed in an IED blast triggered by the Naxalites on Konta-Errabor road.
4 February, 2025	• Two civilians were killed by Maoists after attacking them with a sharp edged weapon in Bijapur district, Chhattisgarh.
30 January, 2024	• Three CRPF personnel, including two commandos of its elite jungle warfare unit were killed, and 14 others were injured in a Naxalite attack in the Tekulagudem village on the border of Sukma and Bijapur districts in Chhattisgarh.



• It was reported by the police that six Maoists have been killed while the Maoists stated that the two members of their group were killed in the encounter.

#### **April 2021**

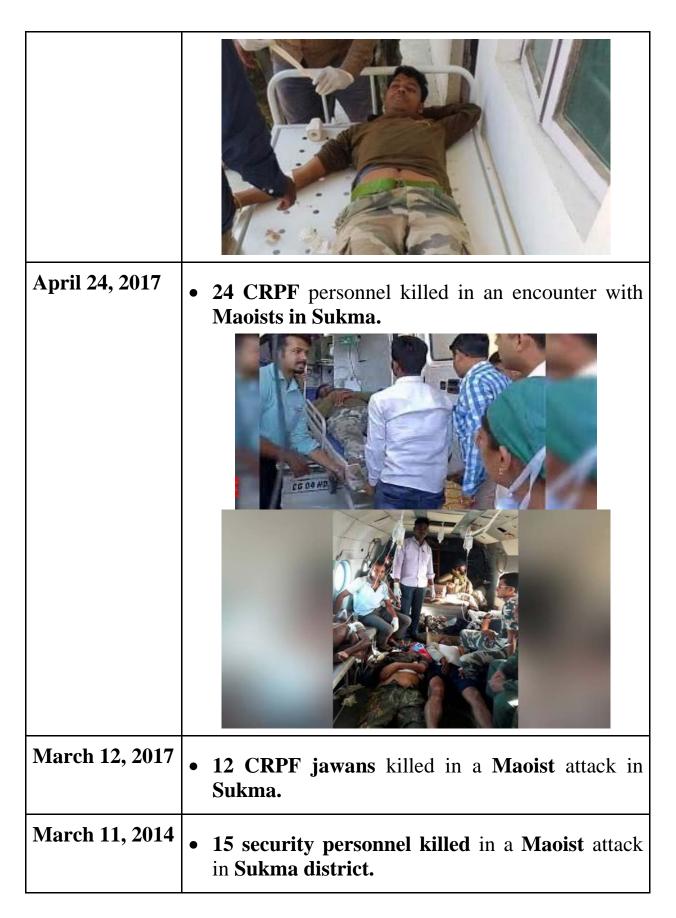
• Twenty two security personnel killed in gunfight with Naxals in Terram jungles along the borders of Bijapur and Sukma districts.





CRPF personnel carry the coffin of a paramilitary soldier who lost his life in an encounter with Maoists in Bijapur district of Chhattisgarh on Sunday. (R) A paramilitary soldier being taken on a stretcher for treatment after he was injured in the encounter. Twenty two soldiers were martyred in the attack. (PTI)







## February 28, 2014

• Six police officials killed in Maoists' attack in Dantewada district.



#### May 25, 2013

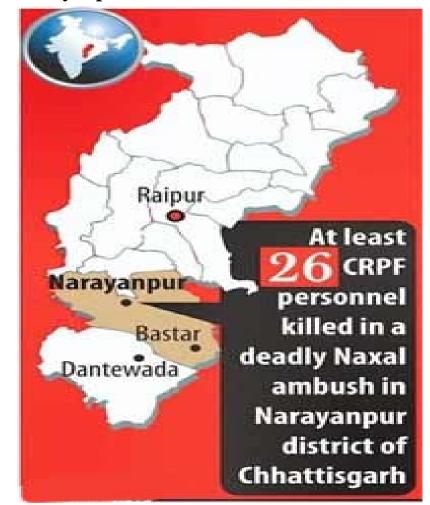
• 25 leaders from the Congress party, including former state minister Mahendra Karma, killed in Maoist attack in Darbha valley.

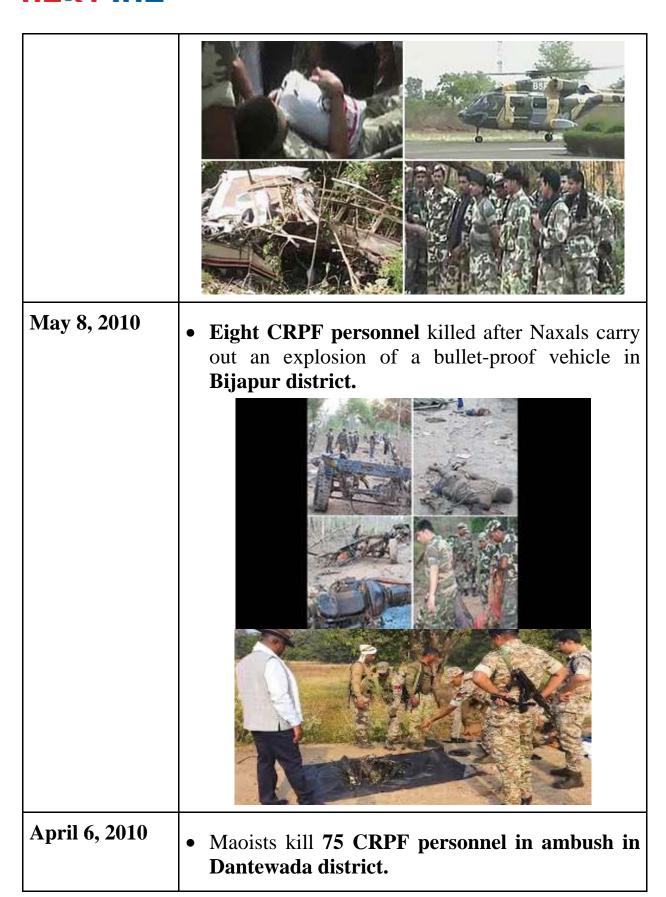


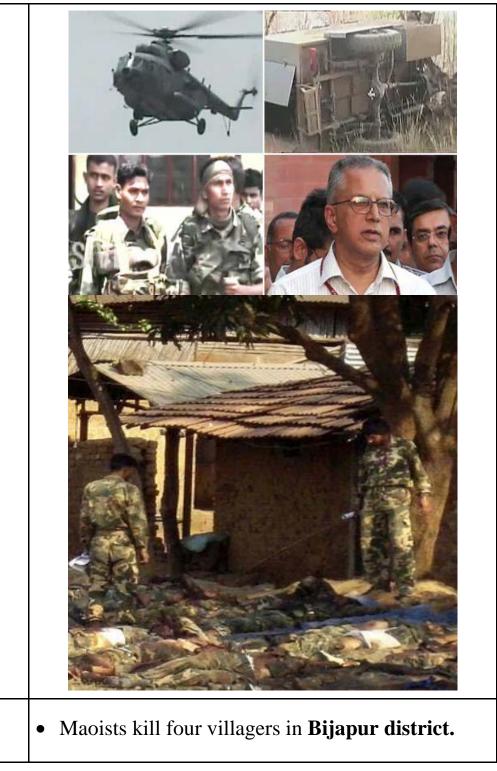


June 29, 2010

• 26 CRPF jawans killed in Maoist ambush in Narayanpur district.







September 4, 2009





July 27, 2009

• Six persons killed after Naxals trigger landmine in Dantewada district.





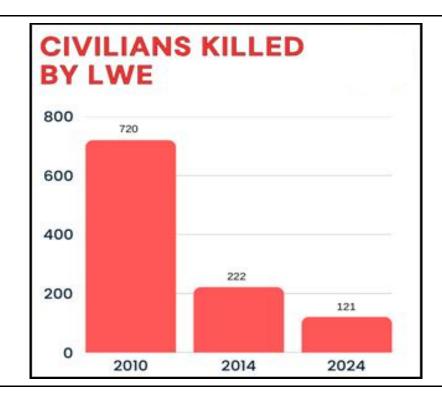
July 18, 2009

• Villager killed by **Naxals in Bastar district.** 



#### 9. How India has suffered due to Naxalism?

Factors	Explanation
Casualties	• The conflict has resulted in thousands of deaths, including civilians, security forces, and Naxal cadres.
	• Between 2000 and 2025, over 4,000 civilians and 2,700 security personnel were killed.



## **Human Rights** Violations

• Both Naxal insurgents and state security forces have faced accusations of human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings and torture.



#### Internal Security Threat

- Naxalism has been described by former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as India's "single biggest internal security challenge".
- Combating it has **strained security forces'** resources and manpower for decades.



#### Psychological Trauma

• Communities in the affected "Red Corridor" live under constant fear and unpredictability, leading to widespread psychological trauma and a breakdown of normal life.



#### **Displacement**

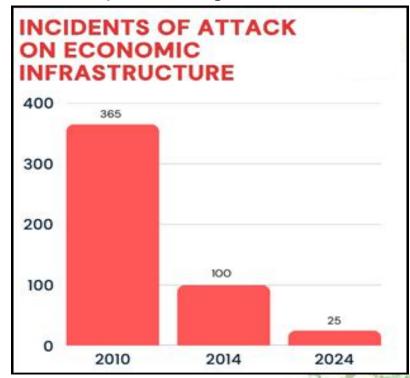
• Mass displacement of rural and tribal populations from conflict zones has occurred, breaking community ties and leaving families without livelihoods or shelter.





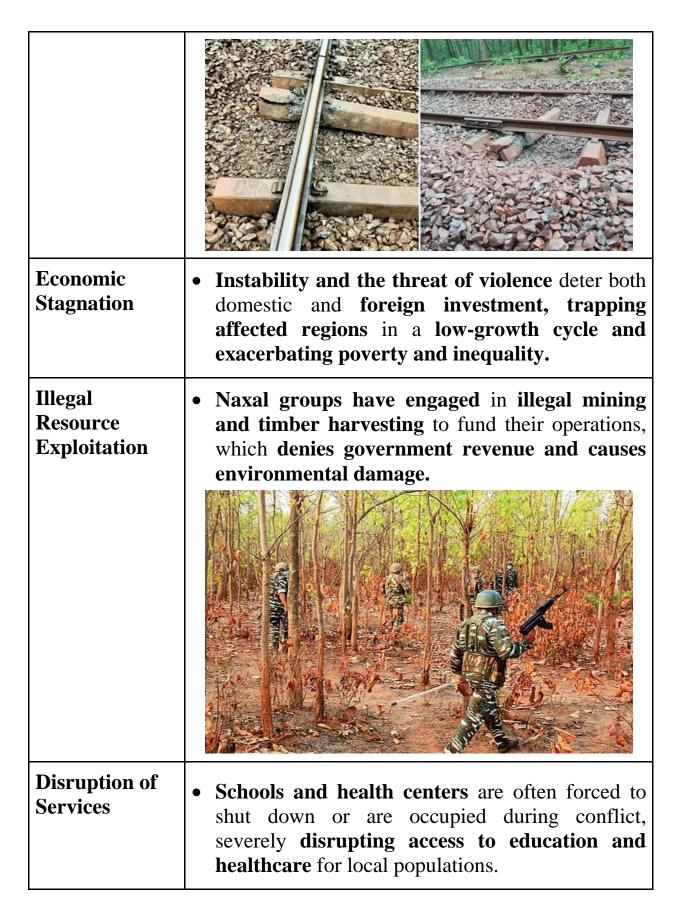
## Infrastructure Destruction

• Naxalites frequently target and destroy public infrastructure like roads, railways, bridges, and mobile towers, preventing essential connectivity and development in remote areas.









## Parallel Administration

• In areas under their control, Maoists have established "people's courts" and a parallel governance system, which undermines the legitimacy of the democratic state and its institutions.



### **Erosion of Trust**

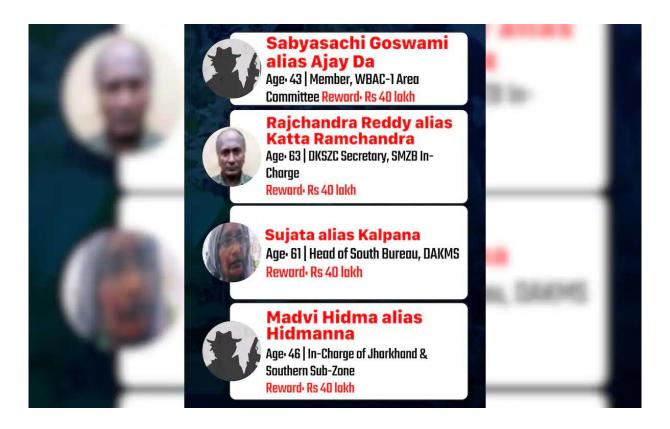
• Corruption and the perceived failure of government schemes to address deep-rooted socio-economic grievances among marginalized tribal communities have led to widespread mistrust of state authorities.

#### 10. Mention some key maoist leaders?

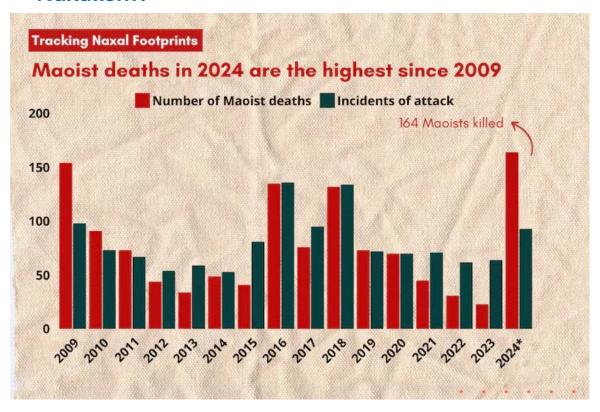








## 11. Mention a few key operations conducted against Naxalism?





Operations	Description
Operation Steeplechase (1971)	• This was an early large-scale operation conducted by <b>West Bengal police</b> with support from the Indian government to <b>combat Naxalite violence through direct action.</b>
	• Conducted <b>over 45 days in July-August</b> , it was a joint effort involving the <b>Indian Army</b> , <b>paramilitary forces</b> , <b>and police</b> to suppress the movement.
	• The operation led to the arrest and killing of Naxalite leaders and cadres.
	OPERATION STEEPLECHASE (1971)
	<ul> <li>Launched in July 1971 against Naxalite insurgents.</li> </ul>
	A combined operation by the Indian
	Army, paramilitary, and police.
	Targeted West Bengal, Bihar, and
	Orissa regions.
	<ul> <li>Personally overseen by Prime Minister</li> </ul>
	Indira Gandhi.
	Significantly weakened the Naxalite
	movement in eastern India.



## Operation Green Hunt (2009)

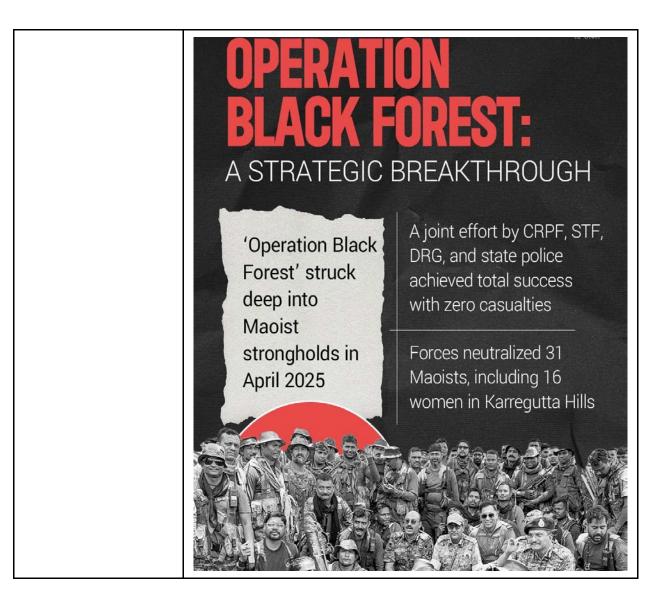
- This was a major, **multi-state military** operation involving joint forces to curb Naxalite activity in the Red Corridor.
- It was a joint offensive by the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), its Commando Battalion for Resolute Action (CoBRA) unit, state police forces, and other paramilitary forces, targeting Maoist rebels in what was called the "Red Corridor" of India, which included states like Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Bihar, and West Bengal.



## **Operation Black** Forest (2025)

• A recent large-scale **operation on the Chhattisgarh-Telangana border** that resulted in the neutralization of **31 Naxals**, including top commanders, and **destroyed numerous hideouts**.





#### MOST MAOISTS KILLED IN CHHATTISGARH ENCOUNTERS

Date of encounter	Location, District Bodies of Maoists rec	overed
April 16, 2024	Abujhmad hills, Kanker	29
April 2, 2024	Lendra forests, Bijapur	13
February 18, 2008	Tadkel forests, Bijapur	10
March 2, 2018	Pujari Kanker hill, Bijapur	10
February 6, 2019	Bodga forests, Bijapur	10
November 23, 2010	Near Kunder, Ashrampara villages, Sukma	9
April 16, 2013	Near Khammam, Jagargunda, Sukma	9
March 1, 2016	Near Pesalpad forests, Sukma	8
April 27, 2018	Aipenta, Marimalla hills, Bijapur	8
July 18, 2018	Timenar forests, Dantewada	8
	Source: Chhattisgarh go	vernmer

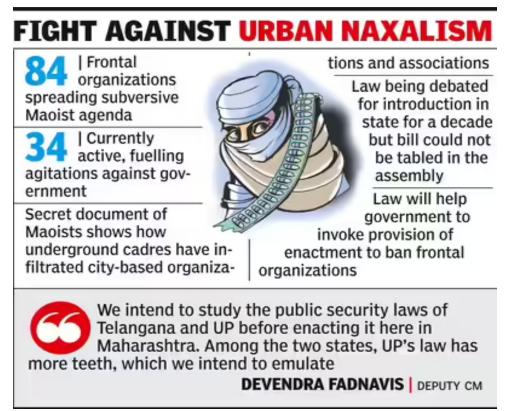




Decline in Naxal Violence Over the Last Decade			
Indicators	2004-2014	2014-2024	Decrease
Violent Incidents	16,463	7,744	53%
Security Personnel Deaths	1,851	509	73%
Civilian Deaths	4,766	1,495	70%

#### 12. What is Urban Naxal?

- The term 'Urban Naxal' is based off a Maoist strategy where they look to urban regions for leadership, organising masses and engaging in military tasks like providing personnel and infrastructure.
- The term was **coined by filmmaker Vivek Agnihotri's May 2017** essay in right-wing **magazine Swarajya**, who went on to **direct films** like **The Tashkent Files and The Kashmir Files.**

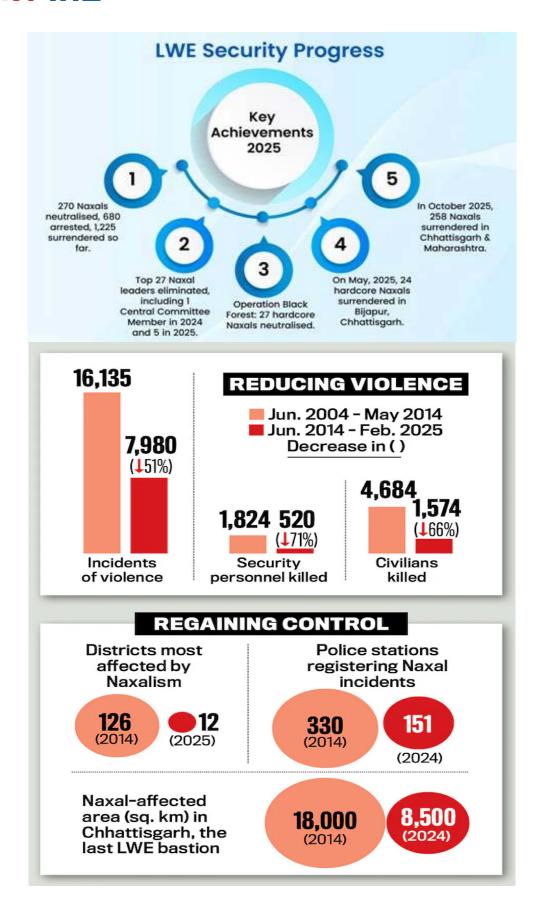


- It came to be used in political circles in the wake of the wake of the Elgar-Parishad case, where left-wing dissenters who were critical of the Modi government were arrested in connection with violence in Maharashtra's Bhima-Koregaon in 2018.
- The strategy is **based off a document by the CPI (Maoist)** called "**Urban Perspective,**" which explains that the **focus** has to be on **organising the working class**, which is "**the leadership of our revolution**".
- "It is the task of the party in the **urban area to mobilise and organise the proletariat** in performing its **crucial leadership role**," the document reads.
- It also says that the **focus of the Maoists'** urban work is to organise the **masses**, including the **working class**, **students**, **middle class employees**, **intellectuals**, **women**, **Dalits** and religious minorities, according to a **report by The Economic Times**.
- The document also points towards building a united front of all secular forces and persecuted religious minorities against "Hindu fascist forces".
- The document also details military strategy as establishing base areas first in the countryside where the "enemy" is militarily weak and then capturing cities, the "bastions of the enemy forces."

#### 13. Mention initiatives taken to eliminate Naxalism?

"It is true that Maoist violence had stalled the progress of many districts in central and eastern India. That is why in 2015, our government formulated a comprehensive 'National Policy and Action Plan' to eradicate Maoist violence. Along with zero tolerance towards violence, we have also focused on a massive push to infrastructure and social empowerment to bring a positive change in the lives of the poor people in these regions."

- Prime Minister Narendra Modi



Initiatives	Description
Strengthened Security Grid and	• The <b>government's focus</b> on security <b>infrastructure has been pivotal.</b>
Technological Advancements	• In the last decade, <b>576 fortified police stations</b> have been built, and <b>336 new security camps</b> have been established in the <b>last six years.</b>
	• The number of Naxal-affected districts reduced from 126 in 2014 to 18 in 2024, with only 6 districts now categorised as most-affected.
	• The expansion of night-landing helipads (68 constructed) has improved mobility and response times during operations.
Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme	• This <b>Scheme was approved in 2017</b> and is being implemented as a sub-scheme of the umbrella scheme 'Modernization of Police Forces'.
	• The main objective of the Scheme is to fill the critical gaps in Public Infrastructure and Services in most LWE affected districts, which are of emergent nature.
	• Till now, <b>Rs 3,563 crore</b> have been released since the inception of <b>Scheme in 2017.</b>
Special Infrastructure Scheme (SIS):	• This Scheme is being implemented as a subscheme of the umbrella scheme 'Modernization of Police Forces'.
	• Under Special Infrastructure Scheme, funds are provided for strengthening of State Intelligence Branches (SIBs), Special Forces, District Polices and Fortified Police Stations (FPSs).



## **DEVELOPING INFRASTRUCTURE**



11,503 км

Roads constructed between May 2014 and Sept. 2024 in LWE-affected districts. A total of Rs 20,815 cr. has been approved to build 17,589 km roads



2.343

Mobile towers installed for 2G connectivity at a cost of Rs 4,080 crore; another 2,542 towers sanctioned with an investment of Rs 2,210 crore

# FINANCIAL INCLUSION



1,007
Bank branches opened besides

**937 ATMs** 

# EDUCATIONAL EMPOWERMENT



₹495 cr.

Funds granted to set up Industrial Training Institutes in 48 districts

- Under the SIS, Rs. 1741 crore have been sanctioned.
- 221 Fortified Police Stations have been constructed under the Scheme.

# Scheme of Fortified Police stations:

• Under the scheme **400 Fortified Police Stations** have been constructed in 10 LWE affected States.



	<ul> <li>Put together 612 Fortified Police Stations have been constructed in LWE affected areas in the last 10 years.</li> <li>This is in contrast to 2014, when there were only 66 fortified police stations.</li> </ul>
Assistance to Central Agencies for LWE management Scheme:	<ul> <li>This Scheme is being implemented as a subscheme of the umbrella scheme 'Modernization of Police Forces'.</li> <li>Under the Scheme, assistance is provided to Central Agencies (CAPFs/IAF etc.) for strengthening of infrastructure and hiring charges for Helicopters.</li> <li>Rs. 1120.32 crore have been given to Central Agencies during the period 2014-15 to 2024-25.</li> </ul>
Civic Action Programme (CAP):	<ul> <li>This Scheme is being implemented as a subscheme of the umbrella scheme 'Modernization of Police Forces' to bridge the gaps between Security Forces and local people through personal interaction and bring the human face of SFs before the local population.</li> <li>The Scheme has been very successful in achieving its goal.</li> <li>Under the Scheme, funds are released to the CAPFs, deployed in LWE affected areas, for conducting various civic activities for the welfare of the local people.</li> <li>Rs. 196.23 crore has been released to CAPFs since 2014-15.</li> </ul>

#### Media Plan:

- The Maoists have been misguiding and luring the innocent tribals/ local population in LWE affected areas by their so-called poor-friendly revolution through petty incentives or by following their coercive strategy.
- Their **false propaganda** is targeted against the security forces and the **democratic setup.**
- Therefore, the Government is implementing this Scheme in **LWE affected areas.**
- Under the scheme activities like **Tribal Youth Exchange programmes, radio jingles, documentaries, pamphlets etc. are being conducted.**
- Rs. 52.52 crore have been released under the scheme since 2017-18.

Road
Requirement
Plan-I (RRP-I)
for LWE
affected areas
and Road
Connectivity
Project for
LWE affected
areas
(RCPLWE):

- The RRP-I Scheme is being implemented by Ministry of Road Transport & Highways for improving road connectivity in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh.
- The RCPLWE scheme was launched in the year 2016 to improve the road connectivity in 44 worst affected LWE districts and some adjoining districts in 9 States, viz. Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana and Uttar Pradesh.
- The scheme has **twin objectives of enabling smooth and seamless anti-LWE operations** by the security forces and also ensuring socioeconomic development of the area.

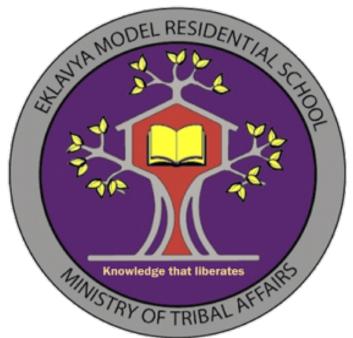


	<ul> <li>17,589 km of roads have been sanctioned under these two schemes.</li> <li>Of these, 14,618 km have been constructed.</li> </ul>
Telecom Connectivity:	<ul> <li>3 telecom projects, namely, Mobile Connectivity Project Phase-I &amp; Phase-II, Provision of 4G mobile services in uncovered villages of Aspirational Districts and Saturation of 4G mobile services, are being implemented in LWE affected areas to improve telecom connectivity.</li> <li>A total of 10,505 mobile towers have been planned, of which 7,768 towers have been commissioned.</li> <li>The entire Naxal-affected region will be equipped with mobile connectivity by December 1, 2025.</li> </ul>
Aspirational District:	• The Ministry of Home Affairs has been tasked with the monitoring of Aspirational districts programme in 35 LWE affected districts.
Financial Inclusion:	• For financial inclusion of the local populace in these areas, 1,007 bank branches and 937 ATMs in 30 Most LWE affected districts and 5,731 new post offices have been opened in LWE affected districts since April 2015. 37,850 Banking Correspondents (BCs) have been made operational in Most LWE affected districts.
Skill Development and Education:	• For Skill development 48 Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) and 61 Skill Development Centres (SDCs) have been made functional in LWE affected districts.



For quality education in tribal blocks of LWE affected districts 178 Eklavya Model Residential Schools (EMRSs) have been made functional in LWE affected districts. The Skill Development Scheme reached all 48 districts, and a strong vertical of the National Investigation Agency (NIA) was created.



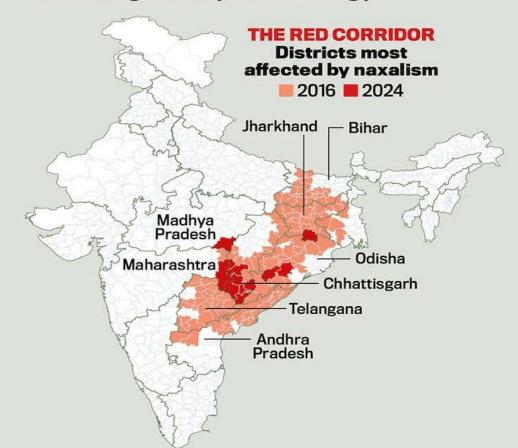


• 1,143 tribal youths were recruited into the security forces.



# THE GUNS AND GULAB POLICY

With a mix of anti-Naxal offensives and development initiatives, the Modi government is reclaiming territory and heralding peace





## 14. What is SAMADHAN doctrine?

- The **SAMADHAN** doctrine is a holistic strategy by the Indian government to combat Left Wing Extremism (LWE), announced in 2017.
- It uses an acronym to represent eight key components.



# 15. What is surrender – cum – rehabilitation policy for naxalites?



- Surrender-cum-Rehabilitation policy is part of the overall policy to build consensus and evolve an acceptable and peaceful solution to violence perpetrated by extremist groups, to usher in peace and development, especially in the disturbed regions.
- The objectives of these **Guidelines for surrender-cumrehabilitation** of naxalites in the naxal affected States are:
  - (i) To wean away the **misguided youth and hardcore naxalites** who have strayed into the **fold of naxal movement** and now find themselves trapped into that net.
  - (ii) To ensure that the naxalites who surrender do not find it attractive to join the naxal movement again.

# Eligibility criteria These guidelines are applicable to those naxalites who surrender with or without arms.



- The eligibility of such naxalites for assistance under the scheme would be scrutinized by the Screening cum Rehabilitation Committee constituted by the concerned State Government.
- The benefits of the scheme shall **not be** available to a surrenderee who has already surrendered and benefited under existing surrender / rehabilitation schemes in any of the naxal affected States.

# DEVABHAU LEADING GADCHIROLI'S JOURNEY FROM CONFLICT TO PEACE

Inspired by Devabhau's inclusive & decisive policies, top Maoist leader Bhupati surrenders and urges others to join the mainstream.



# 16. What is the relevance of the topic for UPSC CSE?

- For Prelims: Operation Green Hunt, CoBRA, Greyhounds, Universal Service Obligation Fund Scheme, Maoism
- For Mains: Left-Wing Extremism and internal security in India, Government strategies to eliminate Naxalism

# Some previous years prelims questions.

- Q. If a Particular area is brought unde the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India, which one of the following statement best reflects the consequence of it?(2022)
  - (a) This would prevent the transfer of land of tribal people to non-tribal people.
  - (b) This would create a local self- governing body in that area.
  - (c) This would convert that area into a Union Territory.
  - (d) The State having such areas would be declare a Special Category State.

## Ans: (a)

# Some previous years mains questions.

- Q1. The persisting drives of the government for development of large industries in backward areas have resulted in isolating the tribal population and the farmers who face multiple displacements. With Malkangiri and Naxalbari foci, discuss the corrective strategies needed to win the Left-Wing Extremism (LWE) doctrine that affected citizens back into the mainstream of social and economic growth. (2015-12.5 Marks)
- Q2. Article 244 of the Indian Constitution relates to administration of scheduled areas and tribal areas. Analyze the impact of non-implementation of the provisions of the Fifth schedule on the growth of Left-wing extremism. (2018-15 Marks)

Q3. What are the determinants of left-wing extremism in the Eastern part of India? What strategy should the Government of India, civil administration and security forces adopt to counter the threat in the affected areas? (2020-15 Marks)

# Some questions from this year and previous years interview transcripts.

#### **Board Preeti Sudan mam:**

- What is the status of Naxalism in India?
- What are the reasons for its decline?
- Why are tribals attracted towards naxalism?

#### **Board BB Swain sir:**

- What is the history of naxalism?
- What is urban naxalism?

#### **Board Dinesh Dasa sir:**

• As a DM how to tackle the problem of naxals in Some part of Maharastra?

#### **Board Suman Sharma mam:**

• What is the difference between naxalism and factionalism?

#### **Board Suman Sharma mam:**

• There has been a drastic decline in Naxalism in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand. What measures is the government taking in this regard?

# Some questions for QUIZ.

Q1. "Operation Green Hunt" is associated with which of the following themes.

- (a) Anti-drug trafficking
- (b) Wildlife poaching
- (c) Air Pollution
- (d) Anti-Naxal operations

**Ans: (d)** 

# Some questions for POLL.

- Q1. Do you think lack of land reforms has been the core driver of Naxal support?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.
- Q2. Can community policing significantly reduce the influence of Naxal groups?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.
- Q3. Should social media monitoring be strengthened to counter Naxal propaganda?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.
- Q4. Do you think that Modern Naxalism is more a socio-economic movement than a purely ideological one?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.

- Q5. Do you think that use of drones and technology-led surveillance will decisively weaken Naxalite networks?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.
- Q6. Do you think that Integrated approach combining development, rights protection, and calibrated force is the only long-term solution?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.
- Q7. Should the government prioritise development measures over security operations in LWE-affected areas?
  - (a) YES
  - (b) NO
  - (c) Can't say.