SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Tribal areas of Adilabad district have a longest history. The Nizam Government, with the assistance of Grigson and Haimendorf anthropologist-cum-administrators, started a number of development programmes like land assignment to cover 100 percent tribal families, education programmes, Nyaya panchayats etc., One of the four multi-purpose tribal development-projects started in Andhra Pradesh during second five-year plan was in ‘Utnoor’ which later on, was converted into Tribal Development Block in third five year plan, besides sanctioning of one more Block at ‘Wankidi’ to cover the tribal areas of eastern Adilabad District. Later on the I.T.D.A. came into existence in 1974-75 picked up the momentum in 1982, i.e., as a consequence of “Indervelly” incident on 20th April, 1981. Later Adilabad district was declared as a model district in 1987 after ‘Allampally’ incident on August 18, 1987. The most important achievements during these periods are improvement in communication, expansion of infrastructure under education taken up scheme and a large number of irrigation works, horticulture, agriculture and sericulture programmes etc.

However, the basic issues relating to land and forest remained to be solved. Tribals also started believing the propaganda of the Naxalites extremists that the Government woke up only after some incidents like ‘Babijheri’ uprising in 1940, “Indervelly” incident in 1981, and “Allampally” incident in 1987. After initial fervour each time, the situation slipped back slowly due to lack of communication. But whatever concerted efforts were made by team of committed officers in these areas, people rallied round the Government showing that the system is still capable of delivering goods to the needy tribals provided it is allowed to function. The vested interests always spoiled the tempo of implementation of schemes.
Discontentment and unrest leading to armed revolts are quite common, when the ruling class ignores the demands of the exploited victims. Dissatisfaction with the existing socio-economic and even political order have been the major causes for the armed uprisings throughout the world. Whether successful armed rebellion also succeeds in displacing the previous socio-economic and political order or not and people who were responsible for the revolt, enjoy the benefits or not, is entirely a different matter altogether. But what is important here is, that the economic reasons have always been on the forefront leading to discontentment, unrest and armed rebellions. The native tribes of 'Utnoor' division are no exception to this. Basically the native tribes of this area are now suffering from deprivation, poverty and misery.

The Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation Act of 1950 was most ineffective because neither it was pool-proof against clever manipulation nor was it implemented with any zeal. Even after the extension of Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation's (1959) into the Tribal areas of Telangana, the official negligence and apathy seems to have continued till 1972-73. Only after the Srikakulam naxalite-movement the officials became active in booking the land alienation cases even on "Suo moto". But here also they erred in many cases and process was very much delayed. Another problem was the inability to fully appreciate the legalities of land transfer regulations and simple over-eagerness on the part of certain officials, has at times led the High Court to reverse the judgements in favour of non-tribals. This further eroded the faith of the Tribals on the capacity of the Government to do justice to them.

The question is "how did these native-tribes come to this state of affairs at present?" The reasons are many and varied. A few are historical, few
are Government-made, some are self-imposed and many are perpetrated by the unscrupulous non-tribals. The rulers encouraged the non-tribals to settle in the area, for the sake of land revenue. So, the seeds of non-tribal immigration were sown long back, perhaps a few decades back. As the immigration increased, the exploitation of the native tribes also increased. In the beginning most of them definitely were small moneylenders and traders who induced and forced the tribals into more and more debt. The ultimate aim of these non-tribals, even in those days must have been to acquire land for agriculture, in the area and settle down permanently. Decade after decade, the inflow of non-tribal population into the Utnoor revenue division continued and finally by 1981 the native tribal population of the area became a minority in its own place of birth.

In the post-independent period, the land problem was identified as one of the important issues in economic development and many a committee highlighted the radical approach to the land problem. But for the tribal unrest and the agrarian struggles led by various communist parties, including the naxalites, land reforms would not have been taken up seriously by the Union as well as State Government. But, whether it was phase-one or phase two, on both occasions, land reforms were apparently given priority not so much to meet the land hunger of the landless poor, but to contain the influence of the left parties and to present the marks of line naxalites so as to wean away the poor and the land deprived-tribals from their influence. While land reforms could succeed to a little extent in the abolition of intermediaries, they could not be implemented properly due to lack of political will, legal loopholes and laxity of the administration. In the mid 1960's the ushering of green revolution and the capitalist path of development pursued by government, had leading to a deepening of agrarian crises. Apart from the above causes, the
widening-gap between fast growing wealth of a few and the continuing grinding-poverty of the many in rural areas, led to many agrarian movements in recent times.

Even though the Five-Year-Plans adopted many pro-poor programmes for the alleviation of poverty, the major weakness of the strategy is that sufficient attention has not been paid to labour absorption in agriculture. This is mainly due to the institutional factors like absentee land ownership, insecure tenancy, high rates of rent, concentration of ownership and fragmentation and subdivision of holdings that led to an inegalitarian socio-economic structure.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh launched during the post-Independence period certain ameliorative measures through public policies to overcome the situation which has been created, as result of entry of the state and non tribal into the tribal areas. Owing to centuries of neglect and exploitation by landed interests and deprivation of forest rights, there has been an explosion of pent-up anger resulted in Girijan revolts. The State intervention presented itself to the tribals in the form of forest rangers and the Girijan Cooperative Corporation (GCC) officials who are notoriously stepped in corrupt practices. In order to allow to cultivate under the 'Podu' system, the forest rangers had to pay regular bribes in cash, kind and labour.

The Girijan Cooperative Corporation has not been paying remunerative prices to the tribals for minor forest produce. Due to low prices paid by the Corporation, the minor forest produce has been slipping into the hands of the private merchants. The Corporation also failed to supply adequate quantity of domestic goods. The failure of this Corporation and the nationalised commercial banks, is evident from the
large scale incidence of indebtedness. The low wages account for their poor standards of living. They cannot afford to even their minimum needs like food, health and education. The study on nutrition programmes points out that the food supplied, is not nutritious. There are cases of leakages and pilferage. This conclusively indicates the large scale poverty and starvation among the tribals.

While majority of ST areas have remained isolated and backward, the same areas are also characterised by socio-economic exploitation, by the non-tribals. Besides, there are about 2 lakh tribal families in about 5000 forest villages (under management and control of the Forest Department) which do not possess even now rights to the lands they cultivate. Appropriate remedial measures are required to be taken by the State Governments. While integration of administration in ST areas at the ITDP level has been the aim, there are programmes like IRDP, DPAP, RLEGP and NREP, operating in these project areas of which the tribal administration, headed by the project administrator of the local ITDP has not been kept in the picture. Over and above all these, the Working Group mentions a clinical indicator which reveals the inside of the whole scenario. Inspite of all the strategy and efforts of all these years 85 percent of the tribal families remained below the poverty-line on the eve of the Seventh Plan compared to the National Average of 38 percent.

Whenever the poor classes of the tribal and non-tribal communities had been organised under the leadership of the “Rythu Coolie Sangham”, they were suppressed by raising the slogan of “Naxalite bogey” A few measures like the introduction of cooperatives, establishment of Ashram Schools, and extending institutional credit to tribals of the village could not replace the loss that they have incurred heavily on the agrarian front. The
developmental operations largely remained institutionalist, in their approach which could not change the life of the tribals. On the other hand, they had created a new set of parasites known as “pyraveekars” (Men making efforts to get things done early) to act as middle men between the developmental agencies and the tribals.

Thus, the efforts made by the official machinery did not benefit the tribals and they could not gain much out of their efforts. The failure of administrative machinery mitigate the problems of land alienation, had resulted in the origin of unscrupulous ‘pyraveekars’ (middlemen) in the villages.

The genesis of peasant struggle in Telangana can be traced to Srikakulam movement, in late sixties, which was inspired by Naxalbari movement. The sharp contradictions between the rich landed classes and poor landless class are also there because of the impact of the history of the village as it had been influenced by the Telangana peasant armed struggle led by the communist revolutionaries. Even now the exploited classes have been uniting under the leadership of the ‘Rythu Coolie Sangham’, which has a clear cut ideological perspective over the handling of the land issue in these areas. But these sanghams had not achieved much because of the tactful practices of the land-lord and rich peasant classes who are supported by the revenue officials and police in suppressing the agrarian movement.

The Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh was once considered a stronghold of communists. However, in the tribal areas of Adilabad district of the state, their influence was only marginal. After C.P.I. (M.L.) groups especially P.W.G. feelings in the beginning towards the difficulties of the tribals were genuine, and they without any doubt, organised the tribes to
get them a better deal. But gradually, some party workers seem to have taken a view that the tribal areas in the country were most suitable to experiment their ideology of “Class Struggle”. They also assumed that the situation in tribal areas was ripe for armed insurgency.

But as far as the tribal areas of Adilabad are concerned, the Naxalites did recognise the ethnic consideration and acted accordingly. It is irony that the class differences among the native tribals of Adilabad area are sharper and pointed because of deep rooted feudalism. The dominant and elite tribal exploiting a poor tribal is more perceptible here than anywhere else.

In Adilabad the struggle started over the exploitation of tribals by money-lenders. The tribals were also exploited by forest officials, either when they are practicing podu-cultivation or when they are collecting minor forest produce from the forest. There were many struggles over the land alienation of non-tribals in some parts of Adilabad tribal area (Utnoor) and in all these struggles the tribal peasant could succeed in getting back their land, to a certain extent. In Utnoor division area, the struggle had taken a different form, where apart from land issues and wage issues, the tender-leaf struggle had been taken up. It has spread to other areas where the wage for bundle had gone up from 3-4 paise to 10 paise per bundle initially. Vetti-bundles were stopped. The success of the movement, therefore partly rests with the activities of the cultural front of the C.P.I. (M.L.) and P.W.G. party. While the main struggle was directed against economic injustice, the outward manifestation of the struggle had been against social oppression. In the process of peasant movement during early 1980’s had some gains. After the social boycott practiced against the landlords, untouchability had been eradicated to a greater extent.
The situation in the 1987 has changed to a certain extent and the landlord now became ‘pyeveekar’ mediating between peasants and in the process collecting his commission which is the mode of exploitation now. This is due to the police intervention in controlling the activities of Roytu Coolie Sangham (R.C.S.) and R.C.S. now almost non-existent in the plain villages of Adilabad district.

As the living conditions of tribals deteriorate, their dependence on Naxalites to save themselves from exploiters increased by the same token. It is at this time, the State Government have taken up a programme of sale of arrack in a big way raising revenue. Even in remote villages, where there was acute drinking water problem, the arrack pockets were available in plenty. The leading arrack contractors of the district, who later on became important political leaders, contributed huge amounts to Naxalites so that the latter will not interfere with their trade. Later on, the extremists acquired sophisticated weapons arms like AK-47 assault-rifles with this money. This has changed the very strategy of the Naxalites in these areas. With the acquisition of sophisticated arms, their striking power improved. Their earlier strategy of ‘hit’ and ‘run’, has changed to ‘hit’ and ‘stay’ only to challenge the police. On August 18, 1987, the Naxalites killed ten policemen including two sub-Inspectors, near Allampally village in Khanpur Utnoor Forests. The active support of tribals to Naxalites after this incident is another important factor to be noted here. Once again, the state wokeup as its ‘welfare image’ in those tribal areas was at stake. After detailed discussions, the Government have taken decision to develop Adilabad district as “Model District” with particular references to development, Welfare and protection of Scheduled tribes, and all the decisions were to be implemented before 31.12.1977.
A Praja Sadassu was held by the Minister for Revenue on September 22, 1987 and the Chief Minister on September 24, 1987 i.e., in a gap of two days at Utnoor. Wide publicity was given to these meetings, generating lot of hopes for the tribals and discontentment among non-tribals.

Problems of land reforms, exploitation of tribals, denial of distributive justice, costly access to the Courts of Justice and their limitations and inability to meet the growing disparities are at the base of Naxalism. The educated unemployed tribals who fail to get into the mainstream of society, exposed to the distortions of development are drawn into the whirlpool of Naxalism.

Corruption as a concomitant of development has became all pervasive. Corruption in the school and college hostels has made them the breeding ground of dedicated naxals, in the face of the apparatus, Naxalites are seen by tribals as a group that can solve their problems at the door step. Emergence of the naxalism was the direct result of lack of social and economic justice in different parts of the country. Perceptions widely vary as to the geographical spread and growth of Naxalism as a movement.

Last but not the least, in the excesses committed by police, excise and revenue officials in tribal areas, which are so many that burning of villages, destroying tribal assets, raping of tribal women, bonded labourer in armed outposts, taking away goats, foils etc. are the common allegations made by the tribals of many villages.

The unrest in tribal areas is being explained so far in terms of tribal, non-tribal interaction. But a closer examination of the unrest in tribal areas
like that of Adilabad district, has shown that the actions of state machinery
either on its own or by supporting the exploiters has been the major source
of problems in tribal areas.

Problems of land reforms, exploitation of tribals, denial of distributive
funds were not maintained. The administrative set up was also disturbed.
The tribals slowly slipped back into Naxalites fold.

Development that has taken place, has not even left the tribal rural
poor untouched, but has exposed them to social and economic injustices.
The nexes between naxalism and rural development has been influenced by
the erosion of democratic values and institutions. For the poor who
became poorer, Naxalism means very little to them as they struggled for
livelihood.

Exploitation of the tribals by non-tribals is rather increasing day by
day. This is because, without any hesitation one can say, that the
implementation part of constitutional safeguards and protective legislation in
case of tribal communities, has failed miserably, in their enthusiasm for
catching votes and also with a desire to weave the tribals from the clutches
of Naxalites, in the tribal areas without realising the basic problems faced
by the tribal communities.

The development administration except for brief periods was mostly
indifferent or corrupt and did very little to improve tribal economy. On the
tribal sub-plan side, the programmes of general development departments,
by and large are not situated towards the tribal welfare while many of the
programmes taken up with special central assistance meant for direct
benefit to tribals failed due to lack of continuity in approach.
Very often the incompetent or corrupt officials are posted to tribal areas as a punishment postings and officials who did not ‘go well’ with the higher ups also got postings to tribal areas. There is also a trend in recent years to ‘manage’ posting to scheduled areas in search of “green postures” Whatever may be the reason, the tribal is the sufferer. While the disgruntled and inefficient, officials did not work, the mischievous officials manipulated records for money to the disadvantage of poor tribals. Corruption became rampant, harassment of tribals by revenue officials also increased.

Inspite of all these happenings, the tribal still has hopes on the Government and is attracted towards tribal development agencies, whenever they swing into action sincerely. The state and its machinery which are mostly responsible for problems of tribals can solve it by sacrificing some of the interests of the ruling classes.

**SUGGESTIONS**

Tribal areas in the country are rich in mineral resources, besides timber, utilisation of forest and its resources still continue to be an important factor in the discontentment and unrest among the tribals of India. One way to protect them is to effect the protective legislation. If it is implemented very effectively and constitutional safeguards are taken care of, the tribals will be in a position to enjoy the benefits of accelerated developmental programmes.

In Andhra Pradesh a lot of dissatisfaction among the tribals prevails due to the ineffective role of Girijan corporation which enjoys monopoly in the purchase of minor forest produce from the tribals. It has become a sort of white elephant, always in the red, neither doing justice to the tribals nor
to itself. The tribals complain that the Corporation always pays less than
the market price for their forest produce and the salesmen who purchase
for the commodities and also sell daily necessities, invariably cheat the
tribals in weighs and measures which is a fact. It could not even fulfil the
objective for which it is established i.e., the elimination of middlemen in
tribal areas.

Indebtedness was reported to be high among the tribals inspite of
their bitter experience of the past. Their forefathers were the victims of
indebtedness and lost their lands. Indebtedness is there even among small
and poor classes of non-tribal also. Thus, though, banks and cooperative
credit societies were there to help the poor peasantry. The private money-
lender with his exorbitant rates of interest is still dominating the scene.

The slogan of Vinoba’s ‘SARVODAYA’ movement was that wealth
and land shall be distributed among the poor and the landless. This
movement created enough ground for idealism and created a climate to
bring to an end to oppressive land-lordism prevailing in rural society. But it
failed to achieve the objective as the local landlords were not willing to
forego their lands and privileges voluntarily.

The area development plans, and locations of Industries in
backward areas with state funded subsides and incentives may have
benefitted the Agriculturists and industrialists, but not the tribal rural poor
in backward areas. Indeed the quality of life of the backward communities
was disrupted, for they were not integrated into the process of development.
Emergence of naxalism was the direct result of lack of social and economic
justice in different part of the country. The most distinctive characteristic
of this movement is that it is entrenched mainly among the most oppressed
and exploited people and areas of the country. Naxalism grew after the failure of the Bhoodan movement to redistribute the land and restructuring the rural society in a non-violent revolutionary fervour generated by it. However, there was a difference of opinion on the nexus between the failure of Bhoodan movement and the birth of naxalism.

Specific short-term and long-term policies are necessary to tackle the problems of the tribal population of Adilabad district. The various approaches that have been followed to tribal development, need to be placed in perspective. A differentiation needs to be made between adhoc policies for the ‘rehabilitation’ and or ‘appeasement’ of the tribal population and positive programmes for their sustained uplift, along with the socio-economic transformation of the district. Policies aimed mainly at “containing” prevalent tribal unrest are ameliorative by definition and unlikely to have any long run impact on the quality of life of the tribal groups.

The formulation of policies for tribal development in Adilabad district require first, the identifying of the problem areas to which policies have to be addressed. This also requires an understanding of the framework of conflicting interests within which the tribal population interests in its socio-economic context. The major hurdles faced by the tribals are those of the state, commercial interests and the interests of non-tribal cultivators. State, through effective intervention, should save them.

The main problems of the tribal population stems from their alienation from land and the resulting effects in terms of chronic unemployment, growing indebtedness and consequent material deprivation. The lack of access to even the basic social-infrastructure facilities worsens their marginalisation in similar fashion, as its effects the poorer sections of the
districts non-tribal population. On the resource base, existing, infrastructural facilities, and present state of agricultural and industrial development in Adilabad shows that no single policy can effectively change the present low level of socio-economic development. A comprehensive multi-thrust strategy needs to be devised to reverse existing trends which are damaging the economy and the environment, and initiate long term processes of change which benefit the weaker sections of the population.

The protection of land rights of the tribal population and full implementation of legislation to prevent loss of tribal lands is of crucial importance in reducing the economic vulnerability of Adilabad's tribal population. Government shall take effective measure for strict enforcement of Land Transfer Regulation Acts with clear-cut guidelines and targets to be achieved for detection disposal and physical restoration of tribal land illegally alienated to the non-tribals. Land reforms were setup and intended to Land Tribunals for quick settlement of land disputes and restoration of alienated lands to the tribals.

The forest policy by and large is being framed and implemented for the furtherance of Industrial and urban vested interests. The tribal has almost lost control over the traditional means of livelihood (except for dwindling M.F.P) while alternative sources of livelihood were not provided. The agricultural land is limited and within this, major areas were lost due to land alienation, submergence in medium irrigation tanks, wild life sanctuaries, reserve forests, mines, industries etc. The local authority failed to deal effectively in checking the inflow of encroachers and save the lands of the native tribals now being usurped by the aliens. They dragged on the problem till the Central Government gave a directive against dereserving the forest areas. The forest officials and even some of the
Government officials quite often remark while talking about shifting cultivation in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh that the Government lacks political will to put an end to this dangerous habit. The problem of socio-economic cleavages developing within the indigenous tribal communities have added fuel to fire. Utilisation of forest and its resources still continue to be an important factor in the discontentment and unrest among the tribals of India.

The important facet of the problem of forestry and its development has its bearing on the development of the tribal communities and their economy. Forest policy needs to resolve to end the conflict between conservation of forest through reservations of forest areas and displacement of tribal cultivators. A programme of Social forestry may help to resolve the conflict. Abolition of forest contractors system and adequate price for forest produce through tribal cooperatives and a human approach demand priority. Abolition of bonded-labour, formation of labour contract societies recruitment of tribals in Government service, including police and para-military services, development of forest and mineral based industries with guaranteed employment to the tribals and consequently, the location of one major forest-based industry in any area will help the establishment of other Industries.

Industrial development of the district is a major thrust area to achieve economic transformation. The resource base of the district exceeds its present level of utilisation. An attempt has been made in recent years to attract investment to the district. Adilabad is one of the districts selected for intensive industrial development. There are several possibilities for further expanding the industrial base. The main crops grown in the district are paddy, wheat, jowar, maize, til, sugarcane, cotton and chillies. Based
on these, rice mills, spinning and ginning mills, cotton pressing mills have been established. There is still scope for further expansion. It has also been found that live-stock resources of the district are not being properly utilised. These schemes would significantly alter the industrial pattern, apart from achieving the major objective of employment creation, along with widening of the occupational structure. The establishment of a larger number agro-based, mineral based and forest-based industries can be stepped up thus, utilising the resource base more optimally.

Since it has been found that the soil in certain parts of the district is sandy and dry. The moisture-content is not suitable for growing of traditional crops. It is however suitable to grow deep-rooted trees such as mango, cashew and guava. A massive programme of horticultural development along these lines needs to be launched as a part of the scheme of agricultural diversification. Seri-culture is also an option that could diversify the agro-based economy. Money making and the cultivation of herbal and aromatic plants may also be encouraged in suitable parts of the district.

On the infra-structural side, the building of a wider transport network in terms of arterial and minor roads, is an essential project demanding policy attention. Medical and health care facilities in the district need priority attention. Their number and coverage needs to be vastly improved from the present situation and access for the weaker sections is to be made possible. Most rural areas of the district are without adequate medical facilities at present and the existing situation demands immediate intervention. Adilabad has the lowest literacy-rate in the state. The number of educational institutions at all levels, from primary school to degree college fall far short of the requirements of the population. The possibilities of altering the quality of life of the economically weaker sections of Adilabad population depends crucially on provision of educational facilities for all.
For the integrated development of the district, the setting up of certain institutions may provide an organisational structure to assist in attaining the policy objective. A Forest Research Institute is a prime need in the district to ensure an approach based on developmental and environmental aspect.

The overall-frame work of development strategies in Adilabad district needs to be centered around a concern for improving the area, the physical quality of life of all sections of the population, and the environment is necessary for policy-reorientation from existing piece-meal approaches to regional development.

Leaders have to recognize that preservation of democratic polity which is a vital task and that political bankruptcy has to be arrested in tackling national problems like Naxalism. Several observations have been made in terms of action needed in order to solve the problem, not only of naxalism but also the root causes that germinated naxalism. They can be categorized as referring to the premises-knowledge of the problems, methods of solution and the will to act, second one is the long term, short term, covering the immediate and directly related to the problem.

Naxalism should be tackled on the socio-economic and political fronts with the co-operation and involvement of governmental agencies and the different segments of the society, so that the root cause namely social and economic injustice prevalent in different parts of the country especially in certain backward rural and tribal areas, are removed and those who are actively involved in this movement, are brought back to the mainstream of national life and their energies utilised for the upliftment of the downtrodden and the oppressed through constructive programmes in a peaceful manner. Effective implementation of programmes call for proper orientation
on the part of officials including especially, the police who at the cutting-edge level do not have a proper perspective of Naxalism or State Policy.

Judiciary has to devise ways and means of reaching the tribals and delivering them justice rather than expect the tribals to go to the courts of law. Machinery for quick dispensation of justice at the village level will have to be created at the earliest. Government should not stop half way the implementation of the announced policy of liberalisation towards Naxalites. The whole of outdated rules, manuals, training etc., guiding the activities of law enforcing agencies have to be revised to suit the changed youth, if remain idle, become the potential cadre of the Naxalite movement. Therefore, our education system right from the secondary to the university level need to be made skillful and job-oriented.

Land reforms, setting up of land tribunals for speedy settlement of land disputes and restoration of alienated lands to tribals, apart from the minimum wage legislation, periodical revision of minimum wages, debt relief, supply of essential commodities at subsidised rates, provision of medical and educational facilities, special schemes for drop-out students checking money lending and easy credit facilities with regulated interest rate constitute the second set of short-term action plan. In view of the specialised nature of the schemes, officers should be posted and transferred after careful consideration but not frequently and indiscriminately. A committee of officials and non-officials may be constituted to over see implementation of promises made by the Government, previous as well as the present. A committee of the government officials, public representatives and party workers may be constituted to over-see promises made by the government and implementation of land reforms, village development-programmes and relief measures.
In order to improve the image, efficiency, free and fair functioning of the police and free the political parties charge that police is being misused. Police organization may be given functional autonomy by the setting up of a state security committee on lines recommended by the National Police commission. It may be made accountable to the legislature.

After looking at the tribal scene in the country and the attitude and actions of the government. One gets a doubt whether the country has a tribal policy at all. Except speaking mainstream, no specific and concrete policies seem to have been evolved from the last 40 years. Not only this, the various Governments at centre as well as at the states, have failed to carry out even those policies enshrined in the constitution to safeguard the interests of the tribals. The Government always bow down to vested interests, undermining the welfare of the tribals. This shows lack of political will to go all the way to mitigate the trials and tribulations of the tribal communities in the country.

The tribal society should be allowed to have its own say in their own affairs and occupy respectable place in general society. To achieve this, a reversal of the present policy of “outsiders determining the future of tribal groups” is necessary. Unless, this is done, the present cultural crisis in tribal areas is likely to continue and lead to further crisis in tribal areas. But in recent years, the market centre dominated by outsiders, started exploiting the hinterland i.e., tribal area. Therefore, the resistance movements have also taken new dimensions.

The main thrust of the present development planning in tribal region is welfare-oriented and as such philanthropic. To adopt any new approach
to tribal development in our new perspective, first thing the planners and administrators are to recognise the very fact that tribals like others can comprehend their own problems in their own way. They may be illiterate in terms of academic standard but not unintelligent and not incapable of improving their own skills. Problems and solutions are to be viewed from their own eyes. In decision making and in implementing the development programmes for tribal people, tribal community should be taken into confidence in a method perceptible to them. We evolve a mechanism thorough which their active participation, in decision making and supervision of the implementation of the programmes can be ensured.

Planning without participation of the people and their active involvement cannot be expected to be realistic. The tribal should become a co-sharer in the new wealth created in these areas and an active participation in their management.

Appropriate policies and programmes to create an industrial climate and improve the technical knowledge and entrepreneurial skills of the tribals, have to be designed. The solution for faster development of tribal areas, lies in adopting capital-saving and labour-intensive techniques for them. This necessities at the setting up of cottage and small-scale industries in addition to strengthening the agro - forest based economy of the tribes. Such a step would serve as a means of bridging the gap between the subsistence sector and the advanced sector and will enable the achievement of higher levels of income and growth in the tribal areas.

The Integrated Tribal Development Agency programme is an important exercise in planning the development of the region. The regional planning and development that is being attempted, is expected to result in
the development of a special pattern of human activities which may lead to
an autonomous process of socio-economic change. While summing up,
we may conclude that the major change, effects of agrarian struggles led by
the Naxalites groups resulted in the output.

- The net effect of the Struggle waged by the CPI(ML) groups over the years, had elevated the critical perception of rural poor from the level of economize and reformism to the higher levels of political assertion. The assertion is explicitly evident in the way in which the peasantry insisted the state to deal the issues related to the civil Rights as well as against repression of the state over
the rural areas-enmass.

- The political effect of the agrarian mobilization has paved the way for the considerable shift in the local political power distribution. Youth belonging to backward classes, scheduled castes and Tribes have made their entry into the positions of the local institutions of Panchayat Raj, credit Institutions and assembly segments. This has been facilitated with the immediate effect of the agrarian struggles led by the CPI(ML) groups in the area. Landlords who have migrated to the metropolitan cities have changed their interests and mostly settled in the contracts, liquor business, real estate dealings and other capital intensive concerns. Democratization of social and occupational shifts have two important consequences that have taken considerable extent as an effect of the peasant struggles. A large number of rural labour unable to cope up with the state repression and uncertain social conditions prevailing, have opted to migrate to gulf countries and Surat, Bombay cities to work as cheap labourers. The emigration process also has left a terrific disintegrative effect on the family as an institution and as well as on communities cutting across all the villages. However, this also has led to the formation of
a new source of money availability in the areas with the money sent by the immigrant workers in turn, from their hard earned savings. Gradually, this has led to the formation of chit funds where money business-growth has got a significant dimension.

As a consequential effect of the gradual growth of the new financial institutions in these areas such as Korutla Finance Corporation, trends of rural consumerism make a ‘Politics’ of struggle remain to be a second priority to certain sections in rural areas. Although it does not form as a ‘hedonistic pursuit’ but has certainly converged as a character of “Comfort Seeking” of the “liberated sections” of the erstwhile oppressed communities and backward classes.

Pressure also has grown out of this agrarian mobilization over the state which in turn has expanded its economic operation in the field of irrigation, agriculture and the quick disbursal of the economic gains to the lower rungs of the peasantry. These prompted acts of the state had considerably balanced the anti-state attitude, although this has not gained the blanket approval of the peasantry towards states repressive performance.

Choosing alternative sources of “Survival strategies” such as petty trade, illicit-alcohol selling, timber smuggling and transporting illicit “Ganja” (Indian hemp) were resorted by a considerable number of households in the Telangana region. An unofficial estimate indicates that in Warangal district, Ganja crop is sown to the extent that sufficiently fulfills the annual requirements of the whole of south Asia Nations. This further added to the quick money gaining, on the one hand, street lordism and criminalisation of the rural society, on the other.

Due to the intensification of peasant movement and severe state repression, led to the decrease in cultivating area in Telangana Villages. Because of the heavy onslaught of police in the villages, the
peasants were not in a position to cultivate their own lands and lands occupied by them as part of the struggle. It is felt that, these disturbed conditions resulted in decrease of production and productivity of agriculture in villages of North Telangana.

The candid revelations made by the 7th plan and 8th plan Working Groups for STs show that none of the objectives of TSP was fulfilled even after implementing the same over four-plan-periods. In fact, some of the dimensions of the TSP strategy are abhorrent to the spirit and content of the Indian policy. Single line administration, implying concentration and vesting of decision-making power with a single bureaucratic head is a colonial legacy. As early as 1974, this criticism was made (Roy Burman 1974). In any case, given the increasing rivalry among the different services, it is unrealistic to think that single-line administration is feasible in the near future. In fact, in some states it has been found that the ‘so called’ single line approach has only resulted in creation of an army of senior-level officials without any commensurate result. As regards enforcement of central guidelines, through bringing all ITDP areas under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, one must learn from the experience of implementation of four plans since the strategy was adopted. Bulk of the TSP areas are covered by the Fifth Schedule, but it has not been possible to make use of the provision of the Fifth Schedule more than once during this period. Given the emerging pattern of Centre-State relations, and break-down of the broad consensus about nation-building process generated during the freedom struggle, there is hardly any possibility of the Centre being able to enforce the guidelines, even if issued in future by invoking the authority of the Fifth Schedule. In fact, paternalistic surveillance and guidance by the Centre at the level of the ITDP is disharmonic to the federal character of India’s Constitution.
To resolve the land question complex experimentation of tremendous historical significance, is being carried out in the rural society of contemporary India. The viewpoint of 'elite politics' may consider the 'land question' as a 'dead horse' in India Politics. No doubt, land reforms as welfare and development policy has received a serious setback in almost all developing countries, in recent years due to the emphasis given to the market oriented reforms. But from the viewpoint of 'mass politics' the land question confines to assume increasing significance. This can be clearly seen in the peasant unrest looming large in different parts of rural India even after the five decades of independence. In this context it is necessary to reopen the debate on why land reforms should still be considered as one of the inevitable 'development policy initiatives' to break the vicious circle of poverty and under development in rural India. The land question is an unresolved social contradiction for various reasons existing in the agrarian structure and rural socio-economic system of India. Land Reform in itself, i.e., confining to land redistribution to landless and semi-landless people, is not a permanent solution unless it is supported by a comprehensive agrarian reform programme providing proper institutional and infrastructural strength. Hence, there is need for more comprehensive and decentralized and regional specific agrarian reforms to introduce egalitarian social relations in the rural areas.

To summarise, the agrarian population through their Struggles have challenged the semi-feudal dominating structures, while gaining relative justice in the sphere of reforming the land holding pattern. But the goal that was envisaged by the mobilizing forces in the re-altering the political power relation in the ultimates sense, still to be materialized. It is this phase that makes the transformation of the rural areas challenging, qualitatively complex, while demanding the greater sacrifices from the exploited sections.
The process also emphasis the greater imaginative role to the state in understanding the humane and democratic dimensions of the change.

The agrarian struggles organised by peasantry in India can be broadly categorized into the pre-Independence and post-Independence eras, again the pre-Independence period can be further categorized into 1) initial and ii) second phases.

The development policies adopted by governments during the post-independent India, the peasant movements can be broadly classified into two distinct categories. The first category of movements launched by newly emerging proprietary class against the government are basically aimed at securing more and more concessions, facilities and assistance from the political authorities. The second category of movements launched by the various sections of the rural poor are developing increasingly against all the proprietary classes who are the beneficiaries of the development and against the state which is protecting them.

These movements are developing around numerous and diverse issues related to agrarian sector and problems of poor peasantry, and are being organized against growing and intensifying economic exploitation, social, sexual and cultural oppression and increasing political repression, “terror and violence” let loose by the newly emerging proprietors and the state. The struggles of second category are becoming more wide-spread and are becoming more militant day by day. These struggles would like to establish a qualitatively new type of human-society where all human beings can at least, be assured of a decent and dignified existence.
In the post-independent period seven major peasant uprisings of revolutionary struggle in the Indian countryside were organized under the communist leadership. There were four major struggles from 1946-64 before first CPI split in 1964 and three were organized by CPI (ML) from 1967 onwards. The communist sponsored uprisings differ in many respects from those of earlier periods. The most successful communist led peasant revolts in either, at the dawn of independent or post-independent period were Tebaga in 1946, Telangana during 1946-51, Naxalbari in 1967 and Srikakulam and other districts of Andhra Pradesh in 1969-71. All of them involved a large component of tribals and poor peasantry. However, a peasant revolt which takes place in a complex society already caught up in commercialization and industrialization tends to be self limiting in its nature.

The important feature of the contemporary agrarian struggles is that there is an ongoing difficulty in organizing at the local level and innumerable obstacles of uniting people across the caste lines to confront the rich farmers dominance in all spheres of rural society. There is lack of continuity of leadership and gaps emerged due to severe state-repression over these grassroot struggles. The crucial question in the coming decade in the contemporary ongoing agrarian struggle is how to implement the principle of 'land to the tiller' in situation, where the growth of capitalist relations in agriculture has made the implementation any such principle becoming increasingly problematic. But the principle of 'land to the landless' can be realized to a considerable extent, if the struggles of rural poor are organized in a really militant and widespread-fashion.

An analysis of the experience of Telangana reveals that, the agrarian change process has been initiated from above and below, in two phases over a period of more than four decades. The agrarian change process
from below initiated by contemporary agrarian struggle is mainly under leadership of CPI (ML) parties is an 'ongoing' phenomenon rather a terminated one.

The Telangana peasant-struggle led by communists for a period of more than seven years i.e., from 1944-51 was not only unique but certainly from below. This peasant insurgence in Telangana was the first independent trend in Indian communist movement in Indian Political Scenario. The Telangana peasantry had to make great sacrifices and undergo brutal repression to achieve their justified demands. Apart from distribution of land, all types of 'vetti' practices were abolished, minimum wages were implemented, illegal eviction of tenants were prevented and various kinds of social disputes had been settled at the village level in a more democratic manner.

The Hyderabad Tenancy and Agricultural Land Act (HTALA) of 1950 was considered to be a progressive piece of land reform legislation in the entire India in early 1950s. The then Hyderabad state government had taken certain quick steps to implement the Tenancy Act with in a stipulated time of one year. The task of implementing the Act was entrusted mainly to revenue administration. In the process of implementation of this Act, social and economic pressures against the tenants were so strong that they were forced to compromise and prefer smaller concessions to forego their genuine rights in the prolonged legal disputes. Thus, the implementation so called progressive Tenancy Act of Telangana area could not be implemented totally and its success was only partial.

The Bhudan movement initiated by the Sarvodaya leaders in Telangana region in the year 1951 was a typical kind of programme which tried to
create a sort of illusion among the peasantry. Especially the Sarvodaya leaders initiated the Bhudan movement in the rural areas where the influence of communists was considerably high on the poorer sections. The Bhudan movement though distributed some piece of land here and there to some families of agricultural labourers, it has failed to bring a non-violent land revolution as promised by its progenitors. This movement created some hopes in the minds of anti-communists, with its propaganda in the initial stages, but ultimately is remained to be a farce and disillusioned the mass of peasantry.

The post emergency agrarian-struggle in Telangana area is an ongoing movement rather a terminated one, so the inferences drawn from this analysis may have a limited validity, in terms of time sense. As time passes, the situations are bound to change. However, the post-emergency peasant movement in the northern-districts of Telangana region has led to a qualitative transformation on many accounts, resulting in multi-dimensional reflections in the rural villages.

The changes in Telangana over the one-and-half decades mainly after the peasant struggle had taken place, had been quick and dynamic. The old contradictions are to be observed as part of early agrarian capitalism. There is clear-cut evidence of entry of capital in the rural areas which is transforming the subsistence agriculture along modern lines. Slowly the bureaucratic capital has entered in many struggle in lieu of the feudal mode of extraction.

The proliferation of various financial institutions have led to the flow of capital to agriculture, while this flow of capital is uniformly spread in all parts of Telangana. This trend shows the production relations in
agriculture are being slowly transformed to capitalist lines. In these dis-
tricts, the share cropping tenancy, where the costs are shared in the ratio of
50:50 is already gained momentum.

The change to modern methods of cultivation is leading to intensifi-
cation of use of land. Hitherto, land had not been put to maximum use as
the landlord was interested in collecting the dues from the villagers and also
ordering others to do "vetti" on his land. But now profit orientation gained
importance and land has acquired an exchange value. Therefore, the land-
lords are willing to sell away a part of their land-holding which was not put
to much use in the past, but he was willing to hold as large-sized posses-
sions ensured prestige-a feudal value-in the village. The increase in the land
sales, due to the modernization of agriculture, and the impact of peasant
struggle had been to increase land sales by the erstwhile landlords.

Finally, it is remained that, even now the land question is unresolved
social contradiction in the rural economy. If state cannot resolve this con-
tradiction, the organised peasant movement will do this outside the constitu-
tional frame work in due course of time, though its struggle would be
protracted.

The government approach to Naxalites violence suffers from the
fact that different Chief Ministers drastically altered policy from time to
time, due to their varying perceptions towards the problem. Ever since its
(naxalism) entry into Srikakulam during the late 1960s there has never emerged
in the polity, a united and comprehensive perception of wither naxalism or
naxalites. This has been amply reflected in the fluctuating political disposi-
tions towards the problem witnessed during the past thirty years. To the
extent that some fragmented policy has evolved, such a framework has
witnessed a wide range of shifts. The perceptions of different political parties varied depending upon whether a given party was 'ruling' or in 'opposition'. This shifting disposition has been seen in its extreme when one and the same party has shifted its perception and policy towards the problem. The fragmented and adhoc policy articulations never brought out the policy intent and objectives in a coherent manner. The consequences of such incoherent policy formation proved counter productive and made the problem more complex resulting in issues such as counter-terrorism, encounter deaths, civil liberties and human rights resolutions. Such a fragmentation, devoid of a consensus in the perception, definition and objectives of policy among ruling political parties could lead, as it did indeed, the citizens getting sandwiched between the police and Naxalites.

The role of development oriented institutions in improving the welfare of the tribals, a macro-analysis of the planning-process initiated by ITDA reveals that the priorities accorded to various development schemes are not in consonance with the aspirations of the tribals. Self-employment schemes in certain spheres that can create a market for either their products or services, could have improved their living standards rather than the implementation of schemes that are more suited to planning areas such as minor irrigation or animal husbandry. Though many well-intentioned-schemes lack proper implementation, there is bureaucratic apathy especially at lower levels in implementing various development-schemes, nay, an importation of revenue culture-a regulatory one in its orientation-that runs contrary to a development oriented culture i.e., progressive in character. As the civil society in tribal areas is not at well developed, often conflicts arise between
state and civil society. The various developmental issues generate conflicts at village level and the ideology of the state comes in the way of the resolution of the conflicts in favour of the weaker sections in the society. Though some of the officers' attitude positively to improve the living standards of the tribals through institutions like ITDA, other organs of the state like police and judiciary frustrate their well intentioned measures as evidenced in the case of retrieving land from non-tribals under LTR (Land Transfer Regulation) and 1 of 70. Unless the ideological orientation of all the organs of the state undergoes a change, that is adopting the view point of weaker sections on every issue that concerns them, overall development in tribals may remain as a distant goal that can be achieved in our country.