CHAPTER-I

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The present thesis studies the problem of socio-economic conditions and exploitations of the people of the tribal areas of Adilabad District of North Telangana of Andhra Pradesh. It also discusses the agrarian struggles and how they have effected tribal development. The focus is mainly on the tribals. As a background, the present study also deals with the peasant struggles in Telangana. The present study is a moderate attempt to analyse and understand agrarian system and the process of change, confining to a particular region and historical period, initiated by the state from above and reformatory measures caused by the various agrarian struggles in the region. The period chosen for investigation is about 10 years i.e., 1981-1990.

Studying the agrarian struggles, relation and the process of change in a backward region of a developing country, where the social relations are dominated by outmoded bondages is an interesting phenomenon. Since the early seventies, there is a marked interest among the scholars, belonging to various disciplines in social sciences to study agrarian relations and their changes in India. India is essentially an agrarian economy with nearly more than seventy percent of her people, living on agriculture and activities allied to it, and generating about twenty seven percent of national income. In this situation, naturally the land question becomes crucial in this country. An important feature of studies, on agrarian structure and relations is their marked indifference towards agrarian movements. Today, it is impossible to discuss
the dynamics of socio-economic and political changes in developing countries, without including a careful analysis of the history and progress of peasant movements. In almost all the developing countries, the bulk of the labour force for many centuries has been from agriculture.

BACKGROUND :

In many third world countries, socialist and guerrilla movements are active. Some Social Scientists in the west have turned their attention to the role of peasants in revolutionary activities. Hamza Alvi, Eric Wolf and A.G. Frank wrote considerably on peasant struggles in India specially Telangana and Bengal.

Agrarian unrest in the developing countries has an historical past, where the simmering discontentment had been present throughout the last two centuries. An indepth study of the Naxalite revolts in India, covering the areas of West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh reveals that the theoretical foundations of this new brand of Indian Communist Movement lay embedded in the ideas of Mao and in the pattern of his Chinese path of revolution. Today, the peasant armed struggle is repeated by Naxalite activities with bases established in many states.

The Naxalite Movement which sparked off at first in a tiny village called 'Naxalbari' in West Bengal, way back in 1967, is now fast spreading its base to various parts of the country, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Nepal. They believe that power flows from the barrel of a gun and have
built pockets of red power along an adivasi corridor, popularly known as RED CORRIDAR running north to south Andhra Pradesh has become a hot-bed for the ‘Naxalite’ activities of the Maoist Party of India.

Political economy is usually understood as the study of social laws, governing the production and distribution of material means of satisfying human needs. According to Mao, the effects of principles and laws must be subjected to analysis and an in-depth study then only can principles and laws be derived. Human knowledge always encounters appearances first, and proceeding from there, one can search-out principles and laws. Political economy is also interested in deciphering the appearances and analysis of developing societies and their economies, which are very backward.

In a society, at a given historical phase, relations of production combined in a determinate way with the forces of production, constitute the mode of production. A particular form of extraction of surplus in such a way that the system continuously reproduces itself. Relations of production consist of ownership of means of production, distribution and social relations during the course of production. Forces of production consist of means of production of objects of labour and instruments of labour and labourers and their technical knowledge and skills. Corresponding to this edifice at each epoch, will be a super-structure which exists in an interactive relationship with the forces of production. Study of agrarian relations and change involves a study of the above conditions of reality with a view to identify the analytical frame-work in general and mode (s) of transformation in particular, in an agrarian sector.
Agrarian change, reform, revolution are primary concepts which were generally used in the studies on agrarian relations and transformation. In the process of agrarian change, both the process like reform and revolution are two sides of the same coin and closely inter related and mutually dependent and context sensitive. To quote Rosa Luxemburg, "Legislative reform and revolution are not different methods of historical development that can be picked out at the pleasure from the country of history, just as one chooses hot and cold sausages. Legislative reforms and revolutions are different factors in the development of class-society. They condition and complement each other and are at the same time reciprocally exclusive as north and south poles, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat".

Even now the land question is an unresolved social contradiction in the rural economy of India. As per the study made by Tarlok Singh land reforms as a policy prescription for rapid rural development, has received a serious set back in recent years. This is not because land reforms are no longer relevant, but because of change in the policy prescription of international nature and agencies like the I.M.F. and World Bank favouring market reforms as against land reforms. There is a need to reopen the debate on, why land reforms should still be considered as one of the powerful means for breaking the vicious circle of poverty and under development in rural India. Only land reforms programme initiates a process of change that helps to promote both income and employment in agriculture as well as industry. It is true that only partial reforms were implemented in India. But by all indications, even these partial reforms have produced some positive

results, when viewed against the background of the pre-independence agrarian structure. Apart from this, the evolving trends in the agrarian structure (in terms of relations of production) are showing a diversified picture, especially in the backward regions, where the agrarian struggles persisted for decades. In this context it is necessary to rethink over the issue of land reforms as a development welfare policy, prescriptive against the market reform measures, advocated by the international aid agencies.

India is a classic land of agriculture and land is the main source of livelihood for the overwhelming majority of Indians. Even though the urge for industrialisation has dominated the frame work of Five Year Plans, greater emphasis has been laid on land reforms, in order to speed up economic development and ensure political stability in rural India. Even now, land continues to be the main source of rural income and the land-owning-classes command great political influence in our country.

The last four centuries, due to concentration of fertile cultivable land in the hands of the upper strata of the society, leading to pauperization and the exploitation of peasantry of rural India, has been recorded by many a governmental and non-governmental reports and individual researches. This had found its expression, in the opinion of P.C. Joshi, more often than not, in the form of peasant rebellions in various parts of the country. Both the colonial as well as post independence governments in India, treated the problem of peasant revolts either as criminal acts or considered them as instances of ‘Rural unrest’, or as ‘agrarian crisises’.

The Congress Party, which came to power after Independence, recognized the importance of land question, in the light of its experience during the freedom movement. After Independence, the successive government avoided confrontation with peasant classes by adopting the policy of reduction of income disparities as well as reduction of land concentration in few hands, and modernising the agrarian sector to increase the farm productivity. Apart from different types of agrarian reform measures, various anti-poverty programmes have also been introduced during the 1970's for the purpose of realising an egalitarian society in India. However, reducing the socio-economic inequalities and establishing a 'socialistic pattern' of society, largely depends upon the success of the implementation of agrarian reforms in general, and state initiated land reform measures, in particular. It is impossible to think of improving the living conditions of vast masses of poor-peasantry and agricultural labourers, without implementing radical land reform-programme which aims at providing 'land to the tiller' through effective redistribution of land on egalitarian lines. Since the state initiated land reforms are an unfinished task, it is also necessary to understand the nature and implementation, initiated during the militant agrarian struggles.

Economic development is usually defined as the process whereby the real per-capita income of a country increases over a long period of time. Such a measure, would often be employed to distinguish the developed from the under-developed-world. In a way, politicians find a single
comprehensive measure useful. But development has a broad meaning than what economists would generally understand. As Paul Baran argued that “development has always meant a far-reaching transformation of a society’s economic, social and political structure of the consumption. Economic development has always been propelled by classes and groups interested in a new economic, social and political order, and it has always been opposed and obstructed by those interested in the preservation of the status quo and deriving innumerable benefits. But development should mean the emancipation of man, his move towards a social organization, in which he can enjoy his full faculties.”

A set of internal contradictions, exists in the development process. The economic and political objectives are closely linked together. An economic system with a large number of under nourished and unemployed, at the bottom, and of a pyramidal social order, especially if they are racially distinguishable, can never provide a firm basis for political rights or civic society. Those with high income try to find ways of maintaining their privileged position resorting to political violence. Many historical examples are evidence to this fact. It is hard to envisage how inequality can be reduced without setting in motion, from one direction to another, force that reduces political liberty. Inequality cannot be reduced as long as property ownership is heavily concentrated in a few people, while the rest are marginalised and it languishing under grinding poverty.

There are diversities in the nature of Government depending on the political system underlying the state, the legal system that sustains political freedom, the power of the ruling political groups, the treatment of opposition and dissent and various other inter-related aspects. The Indian political system had till recently centered round one party, the Congress party, which tried to implement certain public policies aimed at initiating the complex development process.

POVERTY ALLEVIATION PROGRAMMES:

Among the various policies pursued by the government, Poverty alleviation Programmes have acquired importance and they have been institutionalised one such had been introduced in 1980's, known as Integrated Rural Development Programme (I.R.D.P.). As these programmes are meant for different clientele, in order to implement development programmes in tribal areas, a tribal development agency, namely Integrated Tribal Development Agency (I.T.D.A.) has been instituted and its had its own sub-plan of action during every plan period since the Sixth-Five-year Plan. Thus the development process in tribal areas is government-directed economic-development, since competitive markets are nonexistent in tribal areas. The emerging development strategy, in view of the New Economic Policy and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has to promote integration of growth policies with poverty-alleviation-programmes.
Andhra Pradesh has been witnessing severe conflicts between tribal and Non-tribal communities since sixties. However, the seeds of the mutual hostility were sown during the colonial period and Nizam's regime. Over the decades, state development institutions tried to minimize the conflict through undertaking various growth-centered programmes.

(a) **SHAPING THE TRIBAL ECONOMY:-**

Tribals in India have perennially been the victims of virulent feudal exploitation. The socio-economic conditions in which these tribals live are 'alarmingly miserable'. The tribals, being mostly agricultural labourers are the most exploited class in India. About 9 percent of Adivasis still subsisting on traditional means of hunting and gathering forest produce, besides agriculture, as the main economic activity. As result of the conquest and colonisation of the forests and homelands of Adivasis, they were reduced to subordination and relegated to the lowest rung in the socio-economic-ladder.

This condition of being dominated may be defined as internal colonisation. In Adivasi lands 80 percent of the minerals and 72 percent of forest and other natural resources are found besides 90 percent of coal mines situated in these areas.5 In other words the primary resources for the country's industrialization and urbanisation are located in Adivasi areas. The wealth of nation, the bulk of it comes from the Adivasi homelands and yet

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the Adivasi - the rightful owners - are denied their share, enslaved and have become the garbage of the development. Their inalienable rights to the forests, rivers and lands are sanctioned by the state and ruling class to others. Consequently, they constitute the poorest amongst the poor with 85 percent of them living below the poverty line. The National Commission for SC's and ST's found that 83 percent of the total bonded labour come from ST. The forests are shrinking at a rapid rate on the other hand about 13 percent (1990) of the land constitute forests, while over 4 percent of the best forests were declared as protected area's-wild life sanctuaries and National Parks'. Both are pushing the Adivasis further down to misery. K.P. Singh was opinion was that the denial of rights to the forests have forced them to depend more and more on land and agriculture and increasingly as their main source of livelihood. Despite of the diverse socio-economic background, various tribal communities depend mainly on forests and lands. The forest laws do not recognise land rights within the forests. The forest conservation Act of 1980 has further worsened their position outside the forest area, invariably the more fertile lands in the villages are taken over by the plains-people. The report of Tribal Area (1981) of the National Commission of Development of Backward Areas stated clearly that land alienation has continued and time-bound-plans have not yielded results. As no large scale effective measures, whatsoever to better their living conditions, have yet been adopted, there have been 'Sporadic', outbursts among the Tribals which some times have led to Armed-struggle.

In India, though all the states have tribal population in various degrees of concentration, the majority of them are found in Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh apart from Meghalaya, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Lakshadeep and Assam. Constituting 8.08 percent of the total population of the country, the indigenous people of India are popularly called as “Adivasis”, while Government has classified them as ‘Scheduled Tribes’. Tribes according to 1991, census, constitute 6.77 crores. they are spread over 26 states and union territories. As per the 1981 census, cultivation, among tribals constitute 54.4 percent and agriculture labourers occupy 32.7 percent (together 87.1 percent of the total tribal work force). This population comprises of about 727 tribal communities of which the Gonds, the Bhills, the Santals, the orans, the Minars, the Mandas etc., are numerically stronger. Most of them live in remote hills and forest areas. Because of the relative backwardness of the tribal people the constitution of India provided (in a number of articles) for the safe-guard of their interests, development and welfare. They have been receiving special attention from the Government and positive steps are being taken for their development to bring them progressively into the main-stream of national life. During the post-Independence era, there have been rigorous planning-efforts and allocation of funds for the same.

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(b) **GOND-KOLAM REGION OF ADILABAD:-**

The total Scheduled Tribe population in Andhra Pradesh as per 1991 census is 43 lakhs, (42, 99, 481) and they constitute 6.32 percent to the total population of the State and it was recorded as 31.76 lakhs in 1981 census reports and their population has increased by 25.18 lakhs (91.67 percent) when compared to 1971 census reports. This abnormal growth in Scheduled Tribe population is due to inclusion of Lambada, Yerukula and Yanadi communities of Telangana region in the list of Scheduled Tribes in 1976 by removing area restriction. Adilabad is one of the backward districts of Andhra Pradesh. The most important river that flows in the district, is the river Godavari. The district has a large forest area. The area under forest is about 6 lakhs hectares forming 38.3 percent of the of the geographical area. As per 1981 census the district has a total population of 20.82 lakhs out of which 16,39,003 Scheduled Tribes. As per the 1991 census, review increase in the population 3.55 lakhs 17.00 percent of Scheduled Tribes population of the district total population is higher than the state average 6.32 percent.

Adilabad district, situated in the extreme Northern side of Andhra Pradesh, is part of Gondawana region and identified-tribe groups are found in the adjoining districts of Maharastra and Madhya Pradesh. This district has natural boundaries of important rivers i.e., Penganga; in the north, Wardha in the north-east and Godavari in the south. Most of the rivers in and around Adilabad are tributaries of the Godavari and this river exercises great

influence in the socio-religious lives of tribals of this region. The predominant soils are black-cotton and sandy-loams. Cotton is the important commercial crop in this region. The important minerals available in this district are coal, lime stone, manganese and clay. The district has rich forests and the area covered by forest is about 42.43 percent of the total geographical area.

Adilabad district has a high percentage of tribal population. Among them, 'Gonds', and 'Pardhans' are famous. Many among the 'Gonds' and other tribes are still engaged in cattle-breeding. Gonds were the rulers of these parts (Gondwana region) of the country once upon a time. Even after their empire 'ceased' to exist, they enjoyed a considerable informal power as there was no other effective authority. But the Nizam of Hyderabad in whose dominion these areas fell, appointed 'hereditary' officials, known as 'Mokhasts' and 'Deshmukh', (Village Officers) to realise revenue. With the intrusion of these officials, the dominance of Gonds as a ruling community suffered a 'setback'.

Under the 'Podu' or 'slash' and burn cultivation, the Gond always had the freedom to clear a part of Jungle and bring it under his plough. Then they considered it their traditional right. But the forest conserving part of the Nizam's Government had dislodged this arrangement. Large tracts of lands which were under cultivation, were all of a sudden declared to be reserved-forests. The 'Gonds' who were cultivating these fields, were either forcibly evicted or allowed to cultivate only after paying a bribe to the local lower functionaries of the forest and Revenue departments. Many villages inhabited by tribals for generations, were disbanded. Komaram Bheem, a tribal with exceptional courage and organisational ability, had suffered a
similar fate at “Babijheri”, village. In the clash of Nizam Government Armed police-force at ‘Jodeghat’, Bheemu and his followers were killed. With the death of the courageous and popular leader, there was considerable unrest among the Gonds. In order to settle down this issue, the Nizam Government, had appointed professor Haimendorf, as an advisor for tribals. Chiefly, basing on his recommendation, many tribals were given ‘Pattas’ title-deeds for land.

(c) NAXALITE MOVEMENT:-

The Naxalite movement which sparked off at first in a tiny village called ‘Naxalbari’ in West Bengal in 1967, is now fast spreading its base to various parts of the country, particularly in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. The Maoists who believe that power flows from the barrel of a gun, have built pockets of real power along an ‘Adivasi’ corridor running north to south. Andhra Pradesh has become a hot-bed for the Naxalite activities. After India’s independence non-tribal immigration into these areas an avalanche, resulting in large number of local tribals, lost their lands. Further, these non-tribals also became competitors to the tribals in the exploitation of the forest resources. Added, to this, the forest rules and regulations became more stringent resulting in the explosion of many tribal families from their agricultural lands which they have been cultivating from many generations. Unscrupulous traders, money lenders and petty businessman had invaded the areas and intensified their activities. The extremists found the area a fertile one and ready to be harvested.
The Naxalite movement of Naxalbari in West Bengal and the naxalite led Girijan movement of Srikakulam districts are important in the sense that these movements made the Governments both at central and state pay attention to the tribal problems, to redress their grievance and to free them from exploitation.

**TRIBAL EXPLOITATION:**

Tribals in India have been the victims of merciless feudal-exploitation. The socio-economic conditions in which these tribals live in, are "alarmingly miserable". They are mostly agricultural workers. Due to the absence of effective measures to improve their living conditions, there have been sporadic outbursts among the tribals which were made use of, by the Naxals to prepare them to armed struggles.

Non-tribal immigration in to Tribal areas and the forest rules and regulations became more stringent resulting in the expulsion of many tribal families from their agricultural lands which they have been cultivating from many generations. The displacement of tribal people in India by the non-tribal population extended over a long period. Scheduled tribes who have for long been socially suppressed and economically exploited, depend for their subsistence, primarily on the cultivation of land. The ownership of land not only improves the economic condition of a person but it also raises in his social status. But the tribals have been alienated from their lands and they are struggling for survival.
Opening of tribal areas by laying roads for improvement in communications, provision of better medical facilities, digging of drinking water wells, control of malaria and yaws plying of buses by the State Road Transport Corporation etc., have helped non-tribal migration and their settlement in tribal areas. In Utnoor erstwhile taluka (which is near to tribal area) alone, the population increased by 60 percent between 1961 and 1971 and more than 100 percent between 1971 and 1981. Much of the population increased due to non-tribal influence.

Communication development initially helped development of social facilities. They helped together population influx and their settlement. The migrant population first settled in road side village and the later immigrants who are mostly their kinsmen or friends settled in interior tribal areas to act as the agents, earlier migrants in trade etc. The interaction between tribal and non-tribal that followed was always to the disadvantage of tribals who lost their land.

Unscrupulous-traders, money-lenders and petty business-men invaded the areas and intensified their activities. Apart from the exploitation, by the merchant and trading community, the forest officials, revenue officials and excise officials also tried to penalise them and extracted bribes from them. Corruption became rampant. Harassment of tribals by revenue, forest, excise and police officials also increased.
From 1948 to 1981, apart from the insurgency in the North East India, there were well-known five cases of tribal unrest in the country. They were (1) the check movement in Thana district of Maharashtra (1955-56); (2) The Baster tribal movement (1961-66); (3) The Naxalite movement of West Bengal (1967); (4) The Communist led movement of the tribals of Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh (1968-71); and (5) the unrest among the native tribes of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh (1981). Out of the above mentioned five cases of tribal unrest, the Naxalite movement of Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and the tribal movement in Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh are important milestones in the history of left-movement in India. These two movements opened the eyes of government both at Central and State to the tribal problems and paved the way for renewing efforts to redress their grievances and protect them from exploitation.

In such cases as in the tribal movement of Adilabad with which the present study is concerned, the tribals in open defiance of the state, took to arms to resist the offensive landlords and their supporters and at the same time, tried to remove existing social-evils which have made their life miserable.

**THE GOND UNREST:**

From 1940 to 1981 apart from the insurgency, there were five well known cases of tribal unrest in the country. And one among these unrest is the unrest of tribals of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh. The tribal
movement of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh with which the present study is concerned, the tribals in open defiance of the existing law and order system took up arms in their hands to resist the offensive of the landlords and their supporters and at the same time, tried to ameliorate the existing social evils in their favour.

The first tribal rebellion occurred in 1940 in Babijheri area, when Kumaram Bheemu along with eleven of his followers, were killed by Nizam police at Jodeghat. Five years later, the Nizam Government appointed Prof. Haimendrof, as adviser under whose guidance various measures like distribution of land, starting of education scheme, and protective regulation etc., were taken up. As the tribal societies as a whole, was not exposed to outside contact at this time, restoration of status-quo was sufficient. After the merger of Nizam dominion in the Indian Union, the popular Government of Hyderabad and later on the linguistic state of Andhra Pradesh was formed. Under the community development and tribal development approach, various development approaches and programmes were taken up.

The importance of "Gond" unrest in 1981 in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh lies not so much as an armed revolt, but due to the enormity of the death toll of tribals on a single day, in the police firing and thus caused to this state of affairs. The grievances of the tribals in Adilabad are not different from that of either Naxalbari or that of pre-independent tribals of India. After the suppression of Girijan uprising in Srikakulam, the Naxalites shifted their activities to the tribal areas of Telangana, mainly to the districts of Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam which have a large tribal population. The tribals of these districts particularly that of Adilabad are so
desperate that they openly received the Naxalites. After India’s Independence non-tribal immigration into the tribal areas became very large, resulting in quite a number of local tribals losing their lands. Further, these non-tribals also became competitors to the tribals in the exploitation of the forest resources. Added to this, the forest rules and regulations became more stringent resulting in the expulsion of many tribal families from their agricultural lands which they have been cultivating from many generations. Unscrupulous traders, money lenders and petty businessman had invaded the areas and exploited the total tribals mercilessly. The Naxalites, therefore found this area fertile to plant and breed the tribal unrest.

At this juncture, the peasant movements led by the left parties that have chosen parliamentary path, were gathering some momentum. Around the same period, in the plain area another extremist group, CPI (ML) was organising the tribal peasants.

Naxalism is a multi-dimensional problem viz political, economic, social and cultural. Naxalism reflects not only the prevalent injustice and oppression in society, but also the conflict between values of democratic change and status quo. Main-stream politics, has degenerated into sheer game of power and corruption. Characterised by fragmentation, populism and pursuit of power, Political parties did not bother to minimize the disparities between the rich and the poor, inequality between the tribal and non-tribal, and deprivation of the poor. The system is getting so bad that if basic problems are not solved through the political process, ‘Naxalism’ will grow. Naxalism is a serious issue not only for a few districts but the entire state and the country. Naxalism is a political ideology, it is a National
issue, it has to be resolved at the political plane, through consensus; It goes beyond the boundary lines for police action. Socio-economic problems have to be tackled through specific policies and programmes.

The study largely dealt with the ‘arenas’ of conflict, that emerged among the rural strata, i.e., tribal areas, essentially prompted by the competing claims of command over the land resources but did not cover the scientific aspects of reforms. On the whole, these studies suffer from partialized focus on the components of the land problem and equally on over emphasis on the repeated exploration of the repeated realities of the single area (Tribal area of Adilabad district of Telangana Region within the state) or regions in which backwardness prevails and un-rest continues.

**IMPORTANCE OF THE TOPIC:**

The tribal area of Adilabad district is chosen for the study of the new dimensions of the tribal unrest. The tribals of Adilabad rebelled against the Nizam in 1940. Again in 1981, they rebelled at Indravelly. The tribals have assumed new dimensions, year after year. The participation in Naxalite movement has also increased, despite the development efforts intended to wean away the tribals from the Naxalite path have been stepped up by the Government. What are the causes for the unrest in tribal areas? Why unrest continues, inspite of taking up developmental activities in a big way? What is the level of participation of tribals in the extremist movement organised activity over a decade by the Peoples War Group of Communist party of India (Marxist-Lennist)?
As indicated earlier, the socio-economic situations in the tribal areas of Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh, are fast deteriorating. Whereever one goes in the area, discontent among the natives is visible very clearly. A number of complaints against the non-tribal immigrants, revenue, and forest Officials against a community which was declared as a Scheduled Tribe, were heard. The “Indravelly” confrontation should be seen as the outburst of pent-up emotions and discontentment of the native tribes arising out years of suppression, usurpation of tribal land by the non-tribal immigrants, atrocities of the police and forest officials and the call out negligent attitude of the revenue and development officials.

While the broad causes for Peasant movement, differ from one place to another place, the militancy of movement depends on every great extent on the nature of the issues, involved and some of the militant peasant movements (agrarian struggles) had taken place in some parts of Northern Telangana Region from 1975. The State Government had to revive the Disturbed Area Act that existed in the past to control the militant peasant movements in the State of Andhra Pradesh, especially in many parts of Northern Telangana as “Disturbed Area” in October, 1978. While the peasant struggles in Adilabad had taken place in Forest areas and struggles were concerned with the problems of Tribals. The tribals all most all in Adilabad district rebelled against Nizam in 1940 under the leadership of “Komaram Bheem”. The Integrated Tribal Development Agency (I.T.D.A.), created in 1974-75 to protect and promote the interests of tribals, did not make any impact. The tribals slowly slipped back into extremist-fold. The present study is one such attempt to understand “why” and “how” of this problem of a tribal area in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.
The present study has certain limitations. A detailed analysis of the recent struggles/movements in Tribal areas of Adilabad district of Northern Telangana Region of Andhra Pradesh only has been attempted while militant struggles had taken place in coastal Andhra region mainly in the forest area of northern Telangana region. Even in plain areas also the militancy of the peasant struggles had been quite high.

The changes in Telangana over the last one decade (1980) mainly after the C.P.I.M.L. (P.W.G.) party led peasant struggles, have been quick and dynamic. In early 1990's in the Adilabad district under the leadership of Kondapally Seetharamayya C.P.I.M.L. (P.W.G.) party floated mass organizations i.e., Rytu Coolie Sangham; Girijan Rytu Coolie Sangham.

The study was carried out both at micro and macro level of tribal areas of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh. An attempt has been made to analyse the reasons for the rise of Naxalite movement and its impact on tribal development. Adilabad district has been chosen to make a careful study of tribal areas at micro-level and the project outcome extended to the Telangana region.

The integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) created in 1974-75 to protect and promote the interests of tribals did not create any impact. Once the tribal unrest subsided, the initial tempo in providing funds and executing projects, was not continued. The administrative set up was also disturbed. The tribals slowly slipped back into the Naxalite fold. These measures were intended to wean away the tribals from this influence of Naxalites. Therefore, the main focus and thrust of the present thesis is mainly on the tribals.
The present study is an attempt to understand "Why" and "What" of this unrest of a tribal area in Adilabad district in Andhra Pradesh and "How" the earlier various agrarian struggles spearheaded the tribals to revolt at Indravelly, which became the focal point to the State Government to initiate several development and welfare projects and programmes to wean away the tribals from the influence of the Naxalite extremists.

The study was carried out both at micro and macro level in "Utnoor" Revenue division of Adilabad district. Utnoor Revenue division was chosen for the simple reason that this division is situated in the heart of Adilabad tribal belt. The entire Revenue division covers Scheduled areas and the village Indravelly (Mandal Head Quarter) the scene of tribal-police confrontation in 1981 is Utnoor Revenue division. This apart, of all the tribal areas of the district, the extremists are most active in this area.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE:-

The studies conducted on tribal communities in India may be divided into two the studies in pre-independence period and the studies in the post-independence period.

Most of the studies which were undertaken during colonial phase, have focussed on the tribal question deriving essentially their intellectual orientation from the anthropological investigations. This is one of the early interests of colonial rule in India. The colonial interest towards the study of the tribal problems was largely due to their interests of capital and raw material-extraction from the backward regions. In addition to this, the process of strengthening of the state apparatus, has been the principal interest of the then regime.

However, the studies in pre-independence period were conducted by anthropologists and were mostly to the investigation into the social and cultural aspects of the aboriginals. Therefore, it can be said that all these studies ignored the economic and political dimensions of the tribal societies.

In the post-independence period, several studies were undertaken by the Administrators, Anthropologists, Sociologists, Political Scientists, Economists and Social workers. Even the Government of India had constituted a number of committees to study some specific and general issues through the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Schedules Tribes. Research Institutes have been setup in various states to study the various problems of the tribals. All these have enriched the knowledge on the subject with their occasional reports.
Tribal studies in the post-independence period have found considerable place in the field of social science research. Broadly speaking, in political science, these studies revolve around the following areas. They are:

a) Traditional political organizations of tribes and the recent changes therein;
b) Patterns of tribal leadership;
c) Tribal protest and social movements; and
d) Tribal welfare and development institutions.

Significant studies were undertaken on the above areas of tribal life by G.S. Ghurye (1943), D.N. Mazumdar (1958), L.P. Vidyarthi, Sachidananda and A. Aiyyappan, U.N.Dhebar’s comprehensive report 
\[11\] on the state of tribal society submitted to the Government of India (1963), etc., were a few of the significant attempts on the tribal studies.

Apart from them, a host of other scholars like Kamala Devi Chatopadhyaya, S.P. Kulkarni, Nirmal Sengupta, Arun Sinha, R.N. Thripati, A.R. Desai, Sethu Madhava Rao, Stephen Fuchs, G. Hanumantha Rao, Haimendorf and many others have conducted invaluable observations to highlight the socio-economic conditions, agriculture land problems, indebtedness and other problems of tribal life and economies in the country. These studies are more important, they are the pioneers who have done a lot of work on Tribal Problems in India.

The second generation of Social Scientists who equally focussed on the tribal question are B.K. Roy Burman (1996), B.D. Sharma (1984), K.S. Singh (1998), and Anderson and Huber (1988). Contemporary tribal studies cutting across the disciplinary boundaries were undertaken by S.K. Saha (1986), P.C. Reddy (1940), and V.F. Haimendorf's (1945), studies on Indian and Andhra “Tribes” at different times in 70s and 80s of last century remain path finding to the future, intended at studying on tribal society. In short, all these studies certainly enriched the literature and knowledge on tribal societies and communities, in their own confined canvas.

Varier Elwin authored problem oriented monographs for the first time which was a first systematic and analytical publication about the tribal problems in India. Haimendorf was an advisor during the Nizams period to advise the Government to take up the Welfare measures pertaining to tribal development in Telangana. Special programmes were initiated in Adilabad district for the development of Gonds.

P. Ramaiah’s (1981) book “Tribal economy” describes that Tribal economy needs to be diversified for accelerating the economic development of the tribal areas. How can this occur? To answer this and other vital problems of agriculture, forestry and industrialization, focusing on poverty and indebtedness of tribals in Telangana Region.

He critically discusses several approaches to the multi-dimensional development of Indian tribals. The policy of isolation, policy of assimilation and policy of middle path initiated by Varier Elwin for the development of tribals in India and suggests a new approach for integrated development of tribals without destroying the essential ethos of tribal culture. His book is an in-depth analysis of economy of 408 Koya tribal families from 51 villages in Telangana region in A.P. Ramamani V.P.(1988) examined different tribal development programmes and its impact on tribes and land problem, agriculture pattern, credit, marketing problems and exploitation of tribals by dailaries (middlemen) which were covered under her study in the Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh.

Studies conducted by B. Janardhan Rao (1987) on land problem in Telangana Region analyse the reasons for the lost land by the tribals in Telangana Region. This also gives a detailed picture how tribals lost their land and ultimately thrown into the hot-waters of indebtedness. Bapuji’s

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studies on tribal administration throws light on the problems found in tribals in Andhra Pradesh and on Role of institutions enabled for the development of tribalisation in A.P.

A serious attempt has been made by Mahalingam (1990) in his book, to explore the structure of co-operatives in the predominantly tribal areas of Tamilnadu and to assess their role in toning up the tribal economy in an empirical manner.

Convincingly, the above studies cover the larger aspects of the tribal life, but very few attempts were made to examine the "development Intervention" of the state in the tribal society, through the Institutional process. A few of such studies related to only development institutions are reviewed. There is need to study the tribal development efforts of the state intervention linked to the earlier tribal unrest and agrarian struggles led by the communists and Naxals. Hence, this comprehensive understanding of the issue involved in tribal development can be achieved.

23. Mahalingam, S: Role of Co-operative Organisation in Developing Tribal Economy, Mittal Publicaitons, New Delhi-1990.
OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:-

The objectives of present study are as follows:-

1) To investigate into the feudal agrarian system and the socio-economic conditions of Telangana.

2) To study the agrarian structure and relations and socio-economic conditions of people of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

3) To study the causes for agrarian tensions in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh and in the Tribal areas of Northern Telangana.

4) To study the reasons for the rise of naxalite movement in Adilabad district (A.P.) and its impact on land alienation - Tribal exploitation, forest policies, implementation of agrarian reform programmes.

5) To examine the state policy with regard to naxalite movement.

6) To study the nature, methods and purpose of agrarian reform programmes initiated by state and of peasant struggles in the Adilabad district (Northern Telangana Region), evaluating and analyzing the extent, nature and impact of state intervention, its implementation of welfare and developmental programmes under the I.R.D.P. and I.T.D.A., to contain the naxalite movement in the tribal areas of Adilabad district and to enquire the causes for unrest.

7) To study why tribal agrarian tensions and struggles became acute and peasant organisations, or Naxalite movements emerge in certain areas and not in other parts, where similar conditions also exist.

8) To arrive at a theoretical understanding of agrarian structure and agrarian change in a relatively backward region of an agrarian society.
HYPOTHESIS:

The following hypotheses are framed for the present study “THE IMPACT OF AGRARIAN STRUGGLES ON THE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT OF TELANGANA”.

1) There is higher incidence of poverty and all over backwardness in the tribal belt of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

2) Tenancy reforms, land reforms have not been implemented effectively in Adilabad district.

3) The result of reforms from above contributed to the enrichment of ‘agrarian or rural bourgeoisie’ and its power is being strengthened, consequently the semi-feudal exploitative social relations were reinforced in the villages.

4) The naxalite movement had a significant impact on the living conditions of agricultural labourers, poor peasants and village artisans etc.

5) The development and welfare programmes initiated by the Government could not make much impact on the living conditions of the people.

6) Further, it is hypothesised that the proliferation of non-tribals into the tribal areas led to the problems of land alienation and Land Transfer Regulation Acts and declaration of reserve forest acts, by the Government.

7) The peasant-struggles are mainly the result of culmination of contradictions existing among the agrarian classes in the inequalitarian agrarian structure and also due to the pauperisation of peasantry.

8) Indian state, though it knows the problem of agrarian unrest as a “socio-economic” one, handled mainly as law and order problem.

9) The impoverished and exploited tribals adopted naxalism as a panacea to their problems.
SCOPE AND PERIOD OF STUDY:-

The scope of present study is broadly confined to the Northern Telangana region, in general and tribal areas of Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh, in particular. This study has a temporal dimension, which tries to cover the process of agrarian struggles and agrarian reforms in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh over a period of more than four decades. The study of agrarian transformation in the Telangana region, and also tribal areas of Adilabad district covered in the parameters of agrarian reform measures, introduced by successive Governments and also land-reform programmes implemented during the process of peasant struggles. A sort of comparative perspective is applied to understand developmental and welfare programmes introduced in the tribal areas of district of Adilabad through pressure from below exerted by organised tribal peasantry struggles and reform and welfare measures, initiated from above by the state. The main criteria for the selection of that area is implementation of land reforms measures by the Government and implementation of anti-poverty programme by the state. The study also covers socio-economic conditions of tribal people, and also the level of their participation in the agrarian struggles over a period of ten years which introduced some basic changes in the structure of agrarian relations and socio-economic and political power pattern of the Villages. It is a time series analysis. The research is restricted to cover period of 10 years i.e., from 1981 to 1990. The base year chosen for the study is 1981, for it was in 1980, that naxalite movement was under the leadership of Kondapally Seetharamayya C.P.I. M.L. (P.W.G.) party finally formed in 1980 started in this district, after lifting of emergency in the country, and was vigorously active during this decade in the district of Adilabad. Hence this period was selected.
During this chosen period, the tribals in Adilabad district rebelled against the state in 1981 on April 20th at "Indravelly" (Village and present Mandal Head Quarter) erstwhile Taluk of Utnoor a tribe areas of Adilabad district of A.P. And the bold five years plan and I.T.D.A. programmes were launched. The congress (1) Government of Andhra Pradesh, constituted a cabinet sub-committee to study the problem of naxalite activities in the state to submit a report. The committee submitted the report in the month of may, 1990.

Tribal Areas of Adilabad district have the longest history of development. The Integrated Tribal Development Agency (ITDA) was created in 1974-1975 to protect and promote the interests of tribals. The first tribal rebellion occurred in 1940, and as a consequence of Indravelly incident on 20th April, 1981, and then the ITDA picked up momentum in 1982. Adilabad district was declared as "MODEL DISTRICT" in 1987 after Allampally (Allampally a village in Khanapur - Utnoor forests) incident on 18th August, 1987. Once again the state wokeup as its “welfare image” in those tribals aeras was at stake. In 1987, the then Chief Minister, N.T. Rama Rao visited the tribal areas of Adilabad district to get a feel of the agency area problems. The visit materialised because of the sensational Allampally incident of 18th August, 1987 wherein people’s war naxalites ambushed and killed ten police men including two sub inspectors in the Khanapur-Utnoor forests. The Naxalities earlier strategy of “hit and run” has changed to “hit and stay” only to challenge the police. The active support of tribals to Naxals during this incident is another important factor to be noted here. Moved by the plight of tribal areas, NTR announced certain measures to mitigate the
sufferings of tribals. The two most notable aspects were the one thousand single teacher schools and the arming of tribals for self protection. The talk of raising tribal police battalion in the state has triggered off memories of somewhat similar effort in Adilabad district during the latter part of 1980’s. Besides, the tribals here are beginning to ‘feel’ the changed circumstances after the people’s war, naxalites began calling themselves ‘Maoists’. After NTR’s visit of the area (18th August, 1987), nearly two thousand gun licenses were issued to tribals mostly from ‘Gonds’ from Tiryani, Kerameri and Utnoor mandals.

**METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA:**

The study has been based on the secondary data since the subject matter has an historical perspective. The secondary data is collected from the official records, documents, books, journals using the library method. Information collected from various functionaries at the villages, mandal and revenue divisional level of Adilabad district.

This study presumes political economy as a historical perspective rather than a theoretical conceptualisation. Political economy perspective is a framework of analysis. The present study comprises of data collected from both primary and secondary source. Since the thrust of the thesis is mainly based on the historical data, the secondary sources were mostly used. As the study mostly during the one decade period of 1981-1990 with the land-less peasant and tribal struggles for land and agrarian reforms the material for the present purpose was drawn from secondary sources. The scholar, however extensively toured certain tribal areas of Adilabad district
and contacted a number of local leaders as well as activists and gathered necessary information. Information regarding agrarian structure i.e., land distribution, Land Transfer Regulation Act, (LTRA), socio-economic conditions of tribles and the implementation of poverty-alleviation and welfare programmes such as I.R.D.P., and I.T.D.A., have been collected. These tribal area-villages have been under the researchers observation and study for ten years period. Frequent visits were made to these villages to observe the on going process of agrarian struggles and the rise of naxalite-movement.

The data is collected from earlier scholastic works on the agrarian structure, relations. Peasant struggles, Tribal struggles and naxalite movement. The data from secondary sources in this thesis is under three categories i.e., Organisational, Official sources and academic studies. Information about struggles and the reasons for the rise of naxalite movement, details about socio-economic and political life of these village people. Who collected by interacting local people. In this connection various reports, books, periodicals, news papers and published interviews etc., were scanned in depth. For this apart, Govt. of A.P., Department of Tribal Welfare & Tribal Culture, Research and Training Institute, and the office of the Dist. Collector of Adhilabad, A.P., and Sub-Collector, Utnoor, Adhilabad District of A.P. were fully utilised.
Necessary data is pooled from various publications of Government of Andhra Pradesh. Information gathered from published reports on different aspects of Adilabad district was made use of reports and records maintained by I.T.D.A.; I.R.D.P.; etc., District Hand Book of statistics and various schemes Action plan; period of Ten years i.e., 1981 to 1990; were the basic sources of study. Director of Tribal Welfare Department, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, reports of Legislative Parliamentary Committees of Tribal Welfare, records of Statistical and Economic Bureau of Andhra Pradesh, Scheduled Tribes Finance Corporation, Girijana Cooperative Corporation Ltd. Directorate of Rural Development Department, have been collected thoroughly.

**DATA AND ANALYSIS:-**

The study is based on both the primary and secondary data. It is a time series analysis. The study is both temporal and cross section analysis based on secondary data.

The Secondary data has been collected from official records available at the Tribal cultural Research and Training Institute Library at Hyderabad, Acharya Nagarjuna University Library, NIRD Hyderabad, Indian Institute of Economics, C.E.S.S, Hyderabad, State Central Library and Osmania University Library, Hyderabad in the State. Handbooks on the district of Adilabad and also the scanned secondary data to obtain a clear picture about the study area and also undertaken discussions with the officers involved at the gross-root level. The data will be processed through Computer.
The study "IMPACT OF AGRARIAN STRUGGLES ON THE TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT OF TELANGANA" has been divided into five chapters, besides introduction and conclusions. The chapterisation is as follows.

I. The first chapter "Introduction" includes.
(a) Importance of the topic. Conceptual approaches to study of agrarian question, agrarian struggles.
(b) The first chapter of "Introduction" includes a review of selective studies, and also studies on agrarian struggles and agrarian reforms with a purpose to arrive at an understanding over agrarian system and agrarian transformation process in different parts of the country, and also studied review of selective studies related to Naxalite movement theoretical aspects of birth, growth and decline.
(c) Historical background, Gond-Kolam region of Utnoor Revenue Division of Adilabad District, land question, problems of cultivation
(d) A brief mention of naxalite movement in India in general and Telangana in particular.
(e) A conceptual framework of the topic.
(f) Objectives of the study
(g) Hypothesis
(h) Scope and period of Study (From 1981 to 1990)
(i) Methodology and sources of data.
The second chapter is devoted to a description of the historical background of anti-feudal peasant movements and tribal struggles in India in general and Adilabad district of Telangana in particular. This chapter focuses its attention on pre-Independence period. It contains three major sections, they are anti-feudal struggles in India and A.P., tribal peasant revolts in India in general and study of the area are in particular, besides Telangana Peasant Armed struggle.

The third chapter examines the socio-economic profile of Adilabad district in general and Tribal belt of “Utnoor” Revenue division in particular (Based on the data available from 1981 to 1990). This chapter has four parts- nature of tribal economy, Agriculture and Tribal development and land problems, tribal population socio-economic conditions of Utnoor Revenue Division and native tribes, absence of marketing acilities.

The fourth chapter gives an assessment of the situation, while focussing attention in detail on the “Tribal Exploitation - factors leading to the communists led agrarian movements. It also examines the problems of the immigration and land alienation, forest policies and native tribes, problems of tribal exploitation, origins and growth of communist movement in study area. This chapter traces the peasant struggles in tribal area of Adilabad district of Telangana.

Fifth chapter deals with the emergence of Naxalism and tribal movements in study area, origins of naxalite movement highlighting the spread of Naxalism activities in the tribal belt of the Adilabad district, Tribal indebtedness, non-tribal exploiters, Infiltration of lambada and State retaliates.

The last chapter presents the important findings and recommendations based on the study of above chapters in the form of “Summary and Conclusions”.