

Chapter V

Conclusion -

In this study an attempt was made to understand the socio-economic conditions and land alienation of the tribal population of Adilabad and Khammam districts. Which led them to revolt against all outside forces i.e. non-tribals and the Indian state. A study of the resulting political movement in these areas in the 1970's and 1980's has also been attempted. The study is based upon the major hypothesis that it is the poor socio-economic conditions of the tribal and resulting dissatisfaction which underlie recent revolts. Thus social and economic forces, are important though the significance of political factors such as ideology and mobilization are not denied.

Tribal Problems need to be understood in their proper perspective. While there are large number of social groups in India which are deprived and very poor, the problems faced by tribals are somewhat different. Prior to the colonial period the tribes in Andhra Pradesh faced very little interference in their cultural and economic life. The economy of the tribal habitat created a specific pattern of life shifting cultivation, hunting and gathering of forest produce was their main source of livelihood. Culturally, their religion and social customs were also different from the rest of the Hindu population. Beginning from the 1920's the tribals of these districts felt the impact of the forces of modernisation which colonialism brought in as roads were built, mines dug in tribal areas and traders brought in products from the outside economy. Modernisation both in the

colonial and even more sharply in the post colonial period had a three fold impact.

1. The tribal population could not be a part of the process of modernisation being illiterate and unskilled and hence left behind.

2. They faced exploitation by outsiders who wish to appropriate their natural resources. This two fold process as we have seen in chapter II and III began during the period of the Government of Nizam of Hyderabad and continues even today. Hence, what is being argued is, that the causal factors of tribal movements lie in the very pattern of development as it has unfolded in the present century.

3. This has led to political movements in A.P. which arise out of dissatisfaction with the process of development and land alienation.

In the post-independence period both the central and state governments have undoubtedly attempted to improve the conditions of the tribal population. Nehru under the influence of Verrier Elwin and Haimendrot devised a strategy whereby the tribal population could experience economic progress and yet not face large scale cultural disruption and dislocation. This proved to be a very difficult line to follow and was abandoned in 1960's. Since then the main policy towards the tribal population in Andhra Pradesh, is special Area schemes under special Agencies such as the integrated Tribal Development Agency, and the provisions of a sub plan. The government has also attempted to both distribute cultivable land to the tribals, and prevent land alienation in tribal areas, as this study has shown that the

government has not succeeded on all these counts. Both the policies devised as well as their poor implementation have reduced their usefulness, and alienation of fertile land and forests. Disruption of the tribal pattern of life specially the agricultural economy and exploitation by outsiders has caused social alienation. Which rendered them open to mobilisation of land and forests is a historical process beginning from the colonial period when the area was part of the Nizam's dominion. The introduction of private property disrupted the earlier system. Very early a feudal lord land money lender , Traders/Shaukar nexus arose which was instrumental in grabbing resources upon which the tribal population was dependent. Indebtedness to the money lender and the existence of corrupt partners were the main factors underlying transfer of land from tribal to non-tribal lands, inspite of attempts by the Nizam to halt the process. This factors was the immediate cause of the movement in the 1940's in Adilabad, Khammam and Rampa.

In the post independence period the setting up of wood based industries such as paper, timber and furniture manufacture has allowed this process to continue. The many Land Regulation Acts passed by the A.P. state government could not arrest the process. More over, while on the one hand the state government has banned felling of forests yet on the other hand it has granted licenses to a large number of wood based industries in and around Adilabad and Khammam. Large portions of the tribal population have been reduced to agricultural and industrial labourers on land they once owned. The link between loss of land and the tribal movement is clearly seen by the fact that the main

target of the 1980's movement was reacquisition of lands which they believed were earlier under their control. the coming in of commercial cash crops since the 1960's such as cotton has increased cash values and made it attractive to landlords- Indebted tribals are often forced to cultivate cash crops in order to pay rents or repay loans. Less space is hence devoted to food grains which are often bought in the market at very high rates.

The four selected Taluqs have a different back ground. In Bhadrachalam, the landlord still controls a major portion of the land exercises direct control over all official and non-official institutions of the village. Also, he does not keep the non-tribal small peasants away from his exploitative network, but treats them on par with their tribal counter parts in the over all process of appropriation.

Aswarao pet Taluq present a slightly different picture in its land relations, and other aspects related to the socio-economic aspects of the Taluq. While in chalam Bhardra Taluq, it was the forward caste Raju and Khammam land lords whose domination and hold has been unchallenged in the village over the years; In Aswarao pet' Khamma and Kapu caste land lords and rich peasants are now dominating the village social structure. The process of immigration of the non-tribal trading class also continues.

Unlike the other two taluqs in Uttnoor and Lakshettipet the land lords have taken over a big chunk of the fertile lands available in the village and control all other sources of power. They continue to enjoy the legal support needed to reep the

benefits from the lands under their the control. They have successfully managed to created disunity among the Gonds and the Lamnada tribals pitting one section against the other. The tribal petty land holders think that, it is due to the Lambada petty land-holders that they lost their lands. Each community considers the other as its enemy. Significantly, in the whole process, the land lord could become the arbitrator to settle the dispute between these two communities as each community approaches him individually to favour them. Trends indicate that the tribals in the recent years even started believing in him as the champion of their cause. The historical truth however remains that it is the land lord family that had originally initiated the process of appropriation of land, and later it was the same family that invited the other non-tribal small peasants to come over to this village and settle down in the area. In many cases, he himself could sell a portion of his own land to them.

These taluqs, have fertile black cotton soil, in which high yielding varieties of crops could be raised, The cotton grown in this village is of a very good quality. Thus the tribals in the process of commercialisation of agriculture have been reduced to the level of mere wage earners without having any productive assets to their credit. The problems have been further accentuated due to the negative policies adopted by the state. The adoption of cheap lease terms, advancement of agricultural investment and fertilisers, increase in the production, of market connection, have had a negative affect on the lives of the tribals. All these processes together certainl led to the transformation of the many tribal house holds into landless,

poor, and small peasant households.

However the post-land state had been following almost the same policy as the erst while/colonial state. While it could bring in a few changes suit to its constitutional needs, it has taken care to see that these changes did not come in the way of the exploiting class. In the name of protecting the interests of tribals stringent laws were enacted by the colonial and post-colonial government under popular pressure, but here were always loopholes in these legislations leaving room for the well to do non-tribals to continue the historical process of exploiting the tribals. The non-tribals were encouraged to enter into these areas mainly to satisfy the increased revenue demands of the state. The traders and the cultivating non-tribal peasantry therefor entered these areas only to fulfil the demands of the state, and their entry had deprived the tribals of their land.

This is evident from the evolution and implementation of the land Transfer Regulations in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. They not only show administrative loopholes internal legal contradictions but also have a clear bias towards the vested interests of the different exploiting classes.

Lack of proper land survey and settlement, unsystematic land administration, passing of regulations mutually contradictory in nature, limited and inadequate personnel in the concerned administrative organisations, unsympathetic and anti tribal bias of the officials, judicial delays and complicated procedures are a few of the legal and administrative loopholes. The system of regulation with many policy loopholes, inevitably suffers from the fact of inability to handle the situation. the may be because

these legal, administrative structures had been moulded to become an instrument in the hands of the exploiting classes. The major scheme that emerges from the study based on the land records of the land relations covering a period of eighty years 1900-1980 indicates that the problem of the land alienation is not an accidental one, but has arisen because of a concerted effort of the antagonistic class interests that are operating in these areas. It is significant to observe from the land records pertaining to the last 90 years-that there was a clear cut transfer of land from the hands of tribals to nontribals over the years. The records also show a trend of land concentration in the hands of a few. Migration of non-tribals from plain areas has changed the structure of land relations.

The efforts made by the official machinery to prevent land alienation did not benefit the tribals and they could not gain much out of their efforts. The failure of the administrative machinery to mitigate the problems of land alienation resulted in the origin of middlemen in the villages. This also ultimately resulted in the dependence of the tribals and non-tribal small peasants, over the articulate and affluent land lord classes to resolve the contradictions. Hence the administrative machinery became a "helping hand" to the landed gentry to continue their control over the tribal as well as non-tribal communities, and strengthened the existing unequal land relations. Further examination of a few economic variables such as irrigation, credit etc, indicate the role played by the government from time to time, to neutralise the antagonistic contradictions existing in the tribal areas.

In chapter IV the tribal movements in the 1970's have been described. Apart from the description in documents of the CPI(ML), very little is known about the movement which the government has projected as a 'Law and order' or a Naxalite Movement to be suppressed. The movement arises from the real and 'perceived' grievances of the tribal population since Independence. The forces of modernisation have created political consciousness among the tribal population which feels it has not received its due share. Such movements are characteristic of societies which faced oppression of their traditional order, but have not been able to establish a new order.

It is necessary to briefly analyse here whether the movement has succeeded in its aims and what impact it has on the lives of the tribal population of Adilabad. The tribals have managed to get back some lands which they believed, belonged to them earlier. they occupied over 3,00,000 acres of land in the whole area of five districts of Andhra Pradesh.¹ Much of this has remained with them.² Earlier the government had granted surplus land which the tribals had not been able to take over due to court stay order, and use of force by local landlords. The tribals under the sangham also occupied lands belonging to big feudal land lords such as Madhava Rao in Adilabad³. In some cases however, the police intervened and the lands were returned to non-tribal owners. The CPI(ML) has noted the amount of land the tribal population has been able to acquire.⁴

The sangham also organised Strikes against Tendu leaf contractors, land lords and contractors for wage increase. In many cases they were successful. In Lakshetpet ⁵, Illendu and

Bhadrachalam ⁶. Tendu leaf contractors had to pay higher wages. Tribal labourers who were employed to plant trees also were paid Rs 1 pe day more wages due to refusal to work for landowners.

In the name of protecting the interests of the tribals, stringent minium wage laws were enacted by the Government under popular pressure but there were always loopholes in these legislations. The tribals were paid Rs 13000/-and 3 bags of johar per annum instead of Rs 600/-and 2 bags of johar as in the past. Many bonded labourers were freed by the sangham and the wages of casual agricultural labourers went up from Rs 200/-to 400/-in the tribal area.

Contractors have begun to pay better rates to the tribals for Tendu leaf, cotton, wood and other forest produce than in the past due to the presence of the sangham. The rates are decided by the government in advane. However, the sangham has not been able to get the rates they wanted and so were only partially successful. Exploitation by land lords, money lenders and the police has alos decreased due to the mvement. the movement has created awareness of their rights among the tribal population. Political conciousness has increased and the movement has created self-confidence among the tribals in theis area.

The tribal groups want to retain their customs and traditions and their relative prestige while desiring to imporve their status. All these issues involve competition, conflict and power struggle not onlu between decision makers, administrators and interested groups, but also between members of th different tribal groups. Tribal groups may develop a fear of less of their identity, leadir to conflict with other groups. the intensity of

interaction and the nature if integration or conflict will break the isolation.

The introduction of a net-work of communication on a large scale and welfare institution like A.P. Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation has resulted in rapid monetisation of the economic tranctions and supplanting of the traditional barter system of the tribes. This switch over to monetary economy has resulted in multiplication of wants without a corresponding increase in means to satisfy them.

Further the introduction of community development programme in the pla9n areas improved socio-economic conditions there. The tribal societies however, could not reap the full benefits of the programmes, and catch up with the fast progressing plains people because of their traditional economic and cultural draw backs. the age-old differences in the social and economic life of the tribals and non-tribals could not be wiped out. Even after the implementation of multiple developmental programme, the tribal could not escape the gap and catch up with the plains people as their pace of progress is not fast enough. The introduction of numerous development programmes and their haphazard implimentation, confused the ignorant tribal, necessitating radical reorientation of tribal development programme to suit the need s of the tribals.

Immediate framing of rules, and the effective implementation of various protective legislation through a specially fabricated machinery, should be given top priority in dealing with land alienation debt prof and other forms of tribal exploitation. the cooperative institutions have a specific role in providing the

much needed credit facilities to tribals. As poverty breeds contempt and contempt leads to unrest, special programmes should be evolved for the advancement of relatively backward groups in order to alleviate the social and economic inequalities existing between one tribe and the other. Education is a sine-qua-non for rapid integration. The stereotyped education system should be remodelled so as to shift the stress from literary based education to production based education. Special attention should be paid to teaching tribal lore and at the same time to inculcate a spirit of nationalism by incorporating appropriate lessons stressing national unity and the vital role of the tribals in preserving the integrity of country through dance, and songs. The key to gauge the feelings and needs of the tribals lies in evolving enlightened leadership. To fill the existing vacuum secondary system of leadership should be nurtured so as to provide the progressive type of leadership, for effective implementation of development programmes. Hence under present economic stringency selective approach should be preferred to bring the tribal economy to take off stage.

The existing hiatus between tribals and non-tribals must be bridged to achieve integration. The modus operandi for this herculean task is fruitful exploitation of the natural resources to the advantage of local tribals. Linking every nook and corner of the tribal areas through a network of communication facilities dispelling ethno concentration of non-tribal communities and by initiating a process of cultural exchange between the tribal and non tribals.

The introduction of communication and transportation were

expected to produce advantage to the tribal people. However, they produced a world in which a few plains people are exploiting large part of tribal resources and depriving them of the local resources they once enjoyed. Similarly, modernisation is threatening the cohesion of tribal communities.

There have been many tribal uprisings from a wide variety of vantage points. From class-based struggles against hegemonies of non tribals and classes, to the wide spectrum of the struggle for new assertions of peripheral and forcibly displaced communities, against transport destruction of their environment and natural resources, tribal uprisings for safe guarding their life styles, strident defence of cultures, regional identities, and nationalities, they constitute a broad range of popular awakening, protests and social basis of democracy—from the early liberal defence of incremental diffusion of institutional spaces to the more radical assertion of civil liberties and democratic rights. Most of these struggles and demands are directed against the state, which is under attack from both global and parochial pressures.

As the state, increasingly losing its earlier autonomy from dominant interests, is proving both incapable of responding to various demands and movements and unwilling to expand its social base, it is led to assume confrontational postures. Challenges to the state one on the increase and one use as a cover for oppressive and repressing measures perpetrated by both police, para military armed forces and the land lords.

The Indian state and society has imposed changes upon the tribals in the name of development, and in turn accused local

people of causing problems, such as degradation and resource depletion. National legislations tend to act as instruments of denial of the rightful entitlement of the tribal land holder. The Land Regulation Act process did cost the tribal groups heavily. It has no doubt guaranteed the individual tribals claims over the land but did not specifically uphold the community ownership of the land by the tribes. the administration and Management of land by the colonial and post-colonial state confirms the inferior status of indigenous lands, compared to that of guaranteed Rights of occupancy lease-hold titles. The take over of forests and interior territories reduced the tribals from their original position of landowners to landless labourers. in short, the sanctioning and application of National laws indiscriminately to the tribal territories has in a way given a blanket status to the one owned tribal lands as of the states property albeit without taking the tribals transitional specifics into account. Thus from preindependence to post the independence period, a new legal system and its administrative machinery has been introduced in all the tribal territories which has had a tremendous social impact on the tribes. the crisis over the land resources has begun to take shape through this legal system and its application resulting in severest economic-cultural violence which acted as the causal factor that made the tribes revolt against the oppressive order set in their respective tribal regions all over India. Various ongoing tribal movement confirm this reality.

The commercialisation of the forest and of the tribal women as a resource has serious implications. The political movement has effectively checked these practices. On a few occasions, the

CPI(ML) Peoples War Group hel Praja courts that delivered justice to the tribal victims. Those responsible for exploiting tribal women were asked either to marry the victim or to provide her maintenance for life. This party also campaigned vigorously against all kinds of huumiliation and iII treatment.

However the state response to the tribal movements during the present period has been clearly repressive, and represents subversion of constitutionality. Arrests and illegal confinement of thousands of tribal people seem to have been the dominant reality pursued by the law-enforcing agencies in teh specific context of tribal India. Repressive measures include massive destruciton of tribal houses ad property, pouring kerosene on grain, demolition and burning of huts and houses-all carried out by enforcing agencies.

The state repression of the Tribal Movement and resistance paints a picture of a obnoxious mode of exploitation reinforced by the state, and the dominant classes. At the same time the process also indicate an intense urge of the tribal communities in India, to assert ant organise themselves on par with the other millions of the oppressed. The tribals were able to express resistance and sporadic retaliation which is a testimony to their courage and is an apt characterisation of the development system practised by the state inspite of its apparent objectives of welfare, constitutionality and so called socialism.

The resistance offered by the various movements and other tribal forces her had an impact on the state and dominant classes. It has resulted in certain modification of the position of the tribals, while the state with all its repressive machinery

was compelled to adopt transitory liberal strategies of welfarism. Tribes on the other hand organise their efforts relentlessly to fight the injustice affecting their life patterns and demand the constitutionally and as well as socially valid recognition of their identity and existence.

Hence what is needed is a democratic theory that accepts the great diversity of human situations yet provides coherence to them through an active political process, opens up new and creative spaces within the framework of civil society, and at the same time restructures the state for realising these ends.

The following observations may help to implement the tribal land Regulation Acts and Development schemes effectively.

1. Property right should be restored in the tribal areas.
2. A.1 of 70 land regulation Act should be implemented strictly.
3. Right to cancel settlement pattas by collectors be given in scheduled areas.
4. Complete survey of scheduled lands be done on war footing and land records be computerised and preserved at district head quarter's and state capital.
5. special Panchayats will be created in the tribal region.
6. Caste certificate should be issued by the special deputy collector.
7. Self rule in the Tribal areas.
8. Decentralisation of economic and political fields.
9. Separate Residential Schools and Colleges for the Tribals.
10. Stereo-typed programme have been introduced without taking into consideration the felt needs of the people

11. Introduction of too many programmes resulted in diffusion of effort.
12. The programmes are devoid of tribal bias due to lack of knowledge of tribal beliefs ad customs.
13. Failure of leadership to provide the necessary guidance due to absence of enlightened leadership who are well versel in the in the intricacies of statutory provisions and admimistrative procederes.
14. Introduction of sophisticated institutions like Girigon Mahila Mandali and Tribal youth club failed to appeal to the mind of igrorant tribal women ad youth.
15. 'Matter of fact' approach of the official functionary and consquent indifference to convince the tribal of the benefits of the innovations.
16. Chronic ignorance and proverbial apalthy of the tribal to adopt innovations.
17. A nationa level body shoud under take preliminary survey for carving out tribal regions and evoloving suitable plans for each region.
18. Special machinery ad finance may be provided in addition to the development machinery ad finances channelled through the community and Tribal Development Programmes of respective districts.
19. Immediate framing of rules and the effective mplementation of various protective legislations through a specially fabricated machinery should be given top princity in dealing with land alienation cases and cases of violation of Money lender Regulation Act in order to curb the activities of

moneylanders.

20. All Potential irrigation sources must be harnessed on a war footing and improved agricultural Practices, suitable strains of seeds, cattle breed and implements should be evolved and diffused through presavance and persuasion.
21. The recent unrest in the Tribal belt of Northern Telangana districts of Andhra Pradesh is a sign of the malady plak giving the minds of tribals. It is not enough to recongnise and suppress the symptoms and radical treatment is imperative to cure the root cause of the disease by proper diagnoris and correct prescription.
22. Education is an important safe fuard for the tribals. Indquate provision for education is not only inconguous in any scheme of things but goes against the grain of basic social values. education has central place amongst the safeguards provided for the weaker sections in the constitution. It should be the first charge on the outlays earmarked for the development of scheduled Tribes.
23. Pass marks should reduced from 35% to 25% in each subject at the "SSC" ad "IntemEDIATE" for Tribal Students.

End Notes

1. A Report on Godavari Loya (valley) Girijana Rytanga Poratacharitra, CPI(ML) A.P. Sep, 1977. p.8,48.
2. "Kranthi" (Telugu Fortnightly), Published by A.P. State committee CPI(ML) Hyd. June, 1988 and 15 Sep. 1983.
3. Ibid 15 July. 1984
4. Ibid
5. Ibid 1, July, 1981.
6. "Praja Shakti" Telugu News paper 4-5-1986.
7. Ibid 1 June, 1988.
8. Ibid.