

landlords, and other middle men. The indebtedness, usurious rates of interest, laws delays in the courts, attachments of debtors properties. Thus many money-lenders have built up big fortunes in money lending for over a centuries in the tribal areas and have purchased thousands of acres of fertile land from the innocent, simple tribal people. Money lenders and landed proprietors who got involved in the alienation and high ups in escaping evict proceedings were few and far between. The forest policies also cause the these revolts.

The achievements of the Andhra Pradesh Naxalites were not negligible. On other hand they speak of their immense organising capacity, excellent strategy and unique forethought in choosing the terrain for their operations on the hilly and thickly wooded state bordered between Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, so that they could easily dodge their captors by fanning out as they liked. The Naxalites operated in an area of nearly 500 sq. miles of not easily accessible wild country, the jurgle foot-path of which are known only to the tribals themselves.

CONCLUSION :

Thus it is due to the existing discontent over land alienation in these district that the left movement has infiltrated taking advantage of simmering discentent caused by the nefarious activities of non-tribal merchants, money lenders and agriculturists who occupied fertile tracts of tribal lands through illegal and reprehensive means of money lending and business and consquent reduction of the real tribal owner to the position of farm labourer. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, several welfare legislations such as A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation 1969 and A.P Scheduled areas debt relief Regulation II of 1960 and, 1 of 1970 Acts have been enacted inorder to protect the rights of tribal on land from the explitation of money lenders. Besides these, the state govt, passed several acts and Regulations exclusively to safeguard the interests of ST's of the state. Even after the enactment of all these protective legislations, neither land alienation nor the activities of private money lenders could be effectively curbed due to cunning manoeuverability of the provisions of the Acts by the money lenders.

However lack of proper land survey and settlement,

unsystemised land administration which was obviously intended for the promotion of various class interests, passing of regulations mutually contradictory in nature, limited and inadequate personnel, unsympathetic and anti-tribal bias of the officials, negative role of the revenue officials, judicial delays and cumbersome and complicated procedures are a few of the legal and administrative lacunae. Hence the legal methods have to act in accordance with this inheritance of fraud and such as bound to be unhelpful to those for whom they are intended. Due to this is the end product of this situation is the formation of a psychological chasm between tribal and non-tribal. Extending of the forest boundaries upto the village and restricting the operations of podu cultivation without providing immediately alternative livelihood led to the frustration of the tribals.

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### CHAPTER - III

#### SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF TRIBALS IN ANDHRA PRADESH:

##### A PROFILE OF ADILABAD AND KHAMMAM DISTRICT.

This chapter, presents the socio-economic conditions of tribals in A.P. and a profile of the two selected districts of Adilabad and Khammam. It provides a background to the in-depth study of land alienation in four taluqs in these districts in the next chapter.

Since Independence many development schemes and protective measures have been attempted by the Central and State Government for the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. However, this chapter shows that the condition of majority of the tribals have deteriorated. While exploitation and backwardness are found in many communities and social groups in India, among tribes it has resulted in social alienation. The existence of a distinct culture and life style makes the problems of tribals different from those of other deprived groups in India.

Andhra Pradesh is a large state occupying fourth place in the Indian union covering an area of 1,06,286 sq. miles. The tribal agency part of the state roughly covers 29,683 sq. km.<sup>1</sup> Khammam : district has the highest tribal population in Andhra

Pradesh. The district lies between 16o45' and 18o35' North latitudes and between 79o47' and 80o47' east longitudes<sup>2</sup>. It is bounded on the north by the states of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa on the south by the Krishna district, on the east by the East Godavari and West Godavari districts and on the west by Nalagonda and Warangal districts. The district extends over an area of 16,027 sq. km and has a population of 221,5809 of which the tribal population is 5,58,958<sup>3</sup>. According to the 1991 census the district has 12 taluks namely 1) Nugur 2) Bhadrachalam 3) Bhoorgampadu 4) Mangooru 5) Sudimala 6) Yellandu 7) Kothagudam 8) Aswaraopet 9) Sathupally 10) Madira 11) Khammam 12) Thirumapalem. Important rivers which flow through this district are the Godavari, the Sabari, the Kinnerasani, the Munner, the paler, the Akher and Wyra. The predominant soils are blackcotton and sandry loam.

Besides the above, 48.7% of the district is covered by forests in which there are two logging divisions, one teak plantation division and a school of forestry at Yellandu imparting training in forestry to the foresters and forest guards drawn from the entire state. Timber, fire wood and bamboo are the main items marketed. In fact the district is self sufficient in wood for the numerous industries located in the district, such as Singareni collierries, Bhadrachalam paper mills, Ferro

alloys and Tobacco barns. Surplus forest produce of this district is being sent to the less forested zones of neighbouring districts. The district is one of the main centres for production of beedileaves. The minor forest produce is allowed to be collected by the Girijan Co-operative corporation for the welfare of tribals. The production of forest items has increased annually over the previous decade as shown in the following Table.

TABLE - 1

Activity	Productions	
	1970-79	1979-80
1) Production of Timber	4,367 cums	27,412 cums
2) Production Fire wood	31,685 cums	1,69,948 cums
3) Production bamboo	50 tons	8,284 tons
4) Production of bamboos by Bhadrachalam paper board ltd.	-----	14,938 tons
5) Production of Beedi leaves	72,075 Bags	4,83,605 bags
6) Revenue from sale of forest produce	Rs.70,86,374	Rs.3,04,00; 990
7) Total teak plantation in the year	8,771 Hcts	14,884 Hcts
8) Total bamboo plantation raised upto	2,354 Hcts	5,586 Hcts

9)	Total Eucalyptus plantation raised upto	8,77 Hcts	1,875 Hcts
10)	Industrial Plantation of A.P. Forest Development Corporation	N.A	14,140 Hcts

Source : 1991 Census of Khammam district.

Minerals and Mining :

Khammam is potentially a very rich district, having good minerals resources. The coal fields at Kothagudem, Yellandu and Bhoorgam Padu are of national importance. The important minerals besides coal, are iron ore, graphite, copper, marble, mica, limestone and calcite.

TABLE 2  
POPULATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES POPULATION IN  
THE TOWNS (1991 CENSUS)

IN KHAMMAM DISTRICT

Town	Total Population	Total ST Population	Percentage of ST population to Total population
Bhadrachalam	21,354	892	4.18
Khammam	98,757	2,879	2.92

Kothagudem	94,894	5,207	5.49
Madhira	11,404	277	2.43
Mothugudem	4,569	374	8.19
Polwancha	39,116	5,709	14.60
Yellandu	27,292	1,487	5.45

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Source: 1991 Census, Vol.2, A.P. District Gazetteers, Khamam, 1991.

TABLE 3  
PERCENTAGE OF SCHEDULED TRIBES POPULATION TO  
TOTAL POPULATION IN THE VILLAGE  
 IN KHAMMAM DISTRICT

Percentage of ST population to Total population	No. of villages in each	Percentage of villages in The district
Nil	107	9.72
5 or less	179	16.76
6 - 15	86	7.81
16 - 25	84	7.63
26 - 35	64	5.81
36 - 50	75	6.81
51 and above	506	45.96

Source : 1991 census, Khammam District Gazetteer.

Adilabad : Adilabad is the second largest district in Andhra Pradesh and looks like a tiger seated on a hill looking back towards the Bastar area. A little less than half is covered by forest. The district bounded by the Karimnagar and Nizambad districts of Andhra Pradesh on the South and North and the Chanda and Nanded districts of Maharashtra on the east and west respectively. The district Gazettes of Adilabad (date) mentions

that the penganga river lies in the north, the Wardha in the 'North est', the Pranhita in the east and the Godavari in the South of the district. Most of the rivers in and around Adilabad are tributaries of the Godavari and this river exercises great influence on the social and cultural life of the tribals. The predominant soils are black cotton and sandy loams. According to the 1991 census, the total population is 3 lakhs 49 thousand. There are 409 'Scheduled' villages out of a total 1609 villages.

Table '4' shows the total and the tribal population since independence in Andhra Pradesh.

TABLE 4 TOTAL AND TRIBAL POPULATION IN A.P. AS TABLE 1.

Year	Total population	Percentage wise	Tribal Population	% wire	% of Total Tribal population
1951	312.60	--	17.70	--	2.46
1961	359.83	15.15	13.24	71.45	3.70
1971	435.03	20.90	16.58	25.23	3.80
1981	535.50	23.60	31.76	91.51	5.90

Source : Startical Abstract of A.P. 1960 and 1983 Bureau of economics and statistics, Hyderabad.

TABLE 6 DECADE VARIATION IN POPUATION 1921 - 1991.

State/ Districts	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51	1951-61	1961-71	1971-81	198
A.P.	+12.99	+12.75	+14.02	+15.65	+20.90	+23.10	+23
Adilabad	+15.31	+ 8.12	+ 9.95	+21.35	+27.65	+27.22	+26
Khammam	+72.14	---	---	---	+12.17	+14.72	+22

Table 6 gives the decades of variation in the population of Andhra Pradesh and Adilabad and Khammam district. This table shows sharp increase in the population of Adilabad and Khammam after independence. This is partly due to migration of tribal and non-tribal population from the neighbouring districts of Andhra Pradesh as well as Maharashtra. Table shows the various taluks of Adilabad and Khammam district. Only in six taluks out of 11 to the schedule tribes outnumber the non tribals. However, study of the various census of Andhra Pradesh since Independence shows that many more taluks earlier had a higher ratio of tribal to non-tribal population. Increase in communication and social facilities such as roads, had led to large scale migration by non-tribals. This has resulted in land alienation, cutting of forests and social oppression of the tribal population.



Table 7 : Ratio of Scheduled Tribes to General population in all taluks of Adilabad.

S.No.	Name of Taluk	General Population	Scheduled Tribe
1.	Adilabad	999	1030
2.	Utnoor	975	998
3.	Wankadi	964	964
4.	Asifabad	953	961
5.	Sirpur	970	969
6.	Chinnur	968	955
7.	Lakshet Pet	944	947
8.	Boalts	1022	1029
9.	Khanapur	985	942
10.	Nirmal	1022	1000
11.	Mudhok	1004	947

Source : Census of Andhra Pradesh series 2.

Mineral and Mining :

Coal is found extensively in Asifabad, Tandur, Kanara and North Godavari fields, of these Tandur, Kanara and north Godavari are being developed. Tandur colleries are on the Kazipet - Balshasha line of the central railway in Adilabad district. the

reserves of these colleries are of the order of 100 miles upto 1000 feet depth and 200 miles upto 2,000 feet depth.

The lime stone deposits are found in north-west of Mancharial and Asifabad.

#### Tribal society and culture In The Two Districts::

The tribals of A.P. belong mainly to the Gond, Koya, chenchu, konda Reddis and lambadi tribe. They form a socially dominant section among the rest who belong to the Bhil, koya, kolann etc. tribes and are much fewer in number. Their mother tongue is Gondi or lambadi. Tribal life exhibits a unique symbiosis of man and nature, their culture being an outcome of living with nature and learning from it. Traditionally some tribes formed a priestly class who performed rituals and were the medicine men and story tellers of the tribe. They enjoyed social prominence together with the tribal chiefs. Tribal spiritual life was rich with creative mythologies and religious stories. Each class member even today possesses the house duties of the tribe though there is a village priest called the 'Devari" and class priest (Kalotra) and a village seer (Bhaktal). There is no discrimination among the tribes on the basis of gender. Women traditionally had an important position within the family and

society. The gonds even today have their distinct folk dances and music. However, they celebrate the main "Hindu" festivals of Holi, Diwali, Dussehra, Sankranti and Ugadi etc .<sup>5</sup>

Since independence tribal society has been profoundly influenced by the twin process of "Sanskritisation and modernisation".<sup>6</sup> Due to this the social and economic life of the Gonds has undergone change. For example, change has taken place in the position given to women and the rituals associated with marriage. Goud and lambada women traditionally were very independent and took part in both cultivation of land, setting of produce etc. Today, due to cultural contact women are secluded. While earlier marriages were simple affairs, today the custom of dowry has penetrated into tribal life forcing many into the hands of local money lenders. Non-tribal intrusion has created an unequal social fabrication and mentality.<sup>7</sup> Non-tribals in order to sustain their economic exploitation and hegemony over the tribals have attempted to propagate the Hindu religion as superior to the tribal gods who are described as "evil spirits". The backwardness of the tribals is described as an outcome of religious beliefs and practices. This has led to breakdown of the social fabric and adoption of Hindu practices such as Pilgrimages to Tirupati animist practices such as free worship has been replaced by temple worship. The establishment of

institutionalised religion has made temple surroundings a place of commercial activity useful to the non-tribal trading classes. Haimendrof records that the "Khelaspur Jatara" a tribal festival has been replaced by a temple which has been used as a platform by politicians during election campaigns. Temple offerings amounting to Rs.1911 in 1977 have attracted Hindu priests, and have created disputes within th<sup>8</sup> tribe . A court order however, returned the control of the temple to the tribal population.

The tribals in this area still practice the traditional method of agriculture and are dependent upon the rains for crop irrigation. Towar is the main crop cultivated, but as rainfall is limited to only three months in the year, the rest of the time they have to survive on forest produce. The dependence of tribals on nature has led most of them living close to starvation.

### III Changing Structures of Power in Tribal Areas :

In the pre-independence period in A.P. there were 37 tribal chiefs some of whom bore the title of "Raja Mokashi" or "Deshmukh". They had political power within their jurisdiction and exercised varying degree of feudal oppression. They were assisted by village headman in solving tribal problems. In the 1940's these traditional structures of power were removed by the

Nizams government, inspite of resistance by the tribals<sup>9</sup> . The Nizams government succeeded in abolishing the old systems and replacing it by a village Panchayat who settled dispite and had judicial authority. Thus before independence itself the old tribal structure had begun to distintegrate.

There was further erosion of local authority after independence with the passage of the Hyderabad Tribal Regulation Act in 1963<sup>10</sup> with this the village headmen came under the control of the district bureaucracy. Under the new Panchayat system members are elected, who in turn elect the Sarpanch. In some cases it is reported that non-tribals have been able to manipulate the system and hold the post of Sarpanch, which gives the holder considerable patronage and power. The Sarpanch has the power to grant licences for shops and collect some local taxes<sup>11</sup> . They however have power to settle disputes. Some villages in the blocks have village headman who help the local tribal population to dig-wells, plant trees etc.

The erosion of local autonomy has had an impact on the traditional tribal structure. Earlier outsiders had to gain permission from the village headman to reside in the area. Due to massive demographic increase after 1951, the opening up of tribal areas due to the process of modernisation, and inclusion

of tribal areas in the state, non-tribals entered into tribal territory. In Adilabad and Khammam this has led to non-tribals from the coastal area, establishing factoroes, cement mills, paper factories, shops etc. The labour in these factories also consists of non-tribals, hence modernisation has not provided employment to the local tribals. The intrusion of non-tribals has led to establishment of liquor shops or increased commercialisation has led to break down of the traditional systems of authority within the tribal systems<sup>12</sup> .

Investment in tribal welfare :

Table (8) gives the per capita and total expenditure by the Government of A.P. over the various plan periods. It is only from the fifth plan onwards that there is a sharp rise in the amount invested. Under the fifth plan the Government has undertaken schemes to construct pucca houses and cattle sheds. Integrated tribal development schemes have also been formulated under the tribal development agency<sup>13</sup> . A Girijan Cooperation Corporation was set up under it. It was expected to purchase the timber collected by the tribals and thereby eliminate private timber contractors. Primary societies affiliated to the Cooperative were supposed to supply at proper rates the daily requirements of the tribals, provide credit etc. However the cooperatives has been paying very low rates to tribals, for

forest products, for example Rs.5-8 per kg. for gum while private contractors pay Rs.12 per kg. This has led to tribals selling their produce to contractors rather than the Co-operatives .

Nationalised banks have entered the area. A study shows that 61 percent of debtors are land holders. A quarter of the loans advanced by the official and government, agencies 67% is used for consumption purposes. The A.P. Government, introduced a drinking water scheme named "Jeevandara" to provide drinking water and irrigation facilities . Under it Rs.15,000 were given to each selected family in installments to dig wells on their own. According to government 10,000 wells for agricultural purposes and 11,000 wells for drinking water have been dug. The Integrated Tribal Development agency has also started new loans to tribals for buying bullocks etc. The government paid half of the cost of the bullocks. However, many tribals have alleged that old and useless bullocks were supplied and only after a considerable period of delay . Medical facilities under the ITDA are also very poor.

TABLE 8

Per capita expenditure and total expenditure during plan period in A.P. for Schedule Tribes..1s1

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Plan Period	Percapita expenditure in Rs	Total expenditure Rs. in lakhs
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I	plan	15.05	118.77
II	plan	18.89	250.25
III	plan	13.56	178.77
IV	plan	59.00	977.77
V	plan	266.00	4,879.85
VI	plan	750.47	13,598.00
VII	plan	1,639.16	30,026.00

Source : Statistical Abstracts of A.P. 1960 and 1983, Bureau of Economic and Statistics, Govt. of A.P. Hyderabad.

Many schemes put forward by the government are not relevant to the needs of the tribal areas. Schemes like medium irrigation, small industry, commercial foresting etc. Which often constitute a sizeable portion of the tribal sub plan are often irrelevant or counter productive as far as the local tribal economy is concerned <sup>17</sup>. It is the non-tribals who have prospered from such schemes.

#### Control over forests :

There is a symbiotic relationship between tribals and the forest. It has been their home for a long time and provided them with many required resources. The forest conservation and



regulation act passed in 1920<sup>18</sup> imposed restrictions tribal collection of forest produce which led to conflicts between the tribals and the government. The tribals required wood in order to build huts and for their plough share.

In the post-independence period, forest policy has created hardship within tribal communities. On the one hand these communities are not allowed to collect forest produce; and on the other hand large scale deforestation has occurred because of various developmental projects and extension of cultivation by reclamation of land<sup>19</sup>. Instead of the entire community being consulted about the extraction of forest produce, arrangements have often been made between chiefs and contractors by passing the community. As the forest department is interested mainly in the collection of revenue, this alliance was encouraged, leading to destruction of forests. This has also led to increase in wealth of chiefs and their capacity for graft and duplicity<sup>20</sup>.

In the case of Adilabad, not with standing various lambadas and regulations to prevent deforestation, a large part of the forests have been, as reported by a Fact Finding Committee, continuously "de reserved" by Congress Governments in the 1980's to facilitate private trade. More than 150,000 acres are from Adilabad. The net result of this policy has been the progressive

alienation of the forest from the tribals. Consequently, they have been reduced to the status of daily wage labourers at the mercy of private contractors and forest officials <sup>21</sup>.

Table 9

Table 9 : Forest plantation Area in A.P. during 1983-84.

S.No. species	Total areas (in hectres)	
	1. Department	2. Corporation
Teak	76,114	20,522
Eucalyptus	26,271	10,138
Bamboo	28,139	16,511
Cashew	18,949	2,438
Coffee	130	----
Red sandals	1,913	----
Sandal Wood	2,670	----
Silver oak	8,942	----
Babul	12,415	----
Casurima	13,690	----
Sissoo	1,435	----
Burrara	300	----
Pinner	325	----
Other Miscellaneous	55,743	----

Source : A.P. forests at a Glance 1983-84, chief conserver of Forest Govt. of A.P., Hyderabad, (year of Pub)

Table 10

Major wood based industries in A.P.

S.No.	Name of the Company	Present installed Capacity in T/Yr	variety	Approxim raw mat commitme the f departme tonnes
1.	A.P. Paper Mills, Rajamundry, East Godavari	Paper 75,000	Bamboo Hardwood	1,10,0 75,0
2.	Sirpur Paper Mills, Kagaz Nagar, Adilabad	Paper 61,000	Bamboo Hardwood	75,0 45,0
3.	Sree Rayal Seema, Kurnool.	Paper 42,000	Bamboo Hardwood	45,0 45,0
4.	Badrachalam Paper Board, Ltd, Kothagudem.	Paper 50,000	Bamboo Hardwood	60,0 74,0
5.	A.P. Rayons Limited, Yeturu Nagaram, Warangal	Royon Grade pulp 27,000	Hardwood Eucalyptus	75,0 75,0
6.	Novopass India Limited Patancheru, Ranga Reddy	Particle board 20,000	Hardwood	38,0

District					
7.	Hyderabad Plywood Limited	Plywood	0.018	Teak	700c
		Sq.Mts		Non-teak,	1,70

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Source : A.P. Forests at a glance 1983-84, chief conservator of  
forests A.P. Hyderabad.

The government of A.P. has concentrated on growing mostly teak, eucalyptus and Bamboo, which are needed by the paper industry and the big timber markets in urban areas, resulting in growing commercialisation of forest area in the state. Table (10) gives the major wood industries in the state, and the raw material supplied to them by the forest department. Hence, it is not the tribals but the industrial class which is benefitting from the forests. The wood from the forests is largely deployed in urban areas and it is contractors who are profiting from the same. Left activists have claimed that highly placed politicians and bueaucrats are also involved in the illicit timber trade <sup>22</sup> .

The process of industrialisation had also resulted in the Pauperization of tribals. Many tribals have become property less workers after industries were set up on land acquired from them with minimum compensation. The construction of roads into the tribal areas has hastened this process. The forest guards also exploit the tribals in these areas demanding illegal taxes. Data collected during field work shows that in Adilabad and Khammam they demand Rs.17 to 40 per plough in addition to contribution in grain from each house hold. Atrocities against the tribal population in general have also increased in recent years. Table (11) below gives the atrocities reported against scheduled tribes between 1979 and 1983. Many more go unreported.

Table 11  
A atrocities reported on ST's in 1979 - 1983.

State	No. of cases reported during years					
A.P.	1979	1980	1981	1983		
	13	14	29	31		
<u>Atrocities in 1983</u>						
A.P.	<u>Murder</u> 1	<u>Violence</u> 8	<u>Rape</u> 9	<u>Arson</u> 1	<u>Others</u> 14	<u>Total</u> 33

Sources : Report of Commission on SC/ST's, Sixth Report April 1983, March 1984. Chap V Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1984.

I. Post-Independence Pattern of Development and Its impact :

The policies adopted by the central and State Governments in India towards the tribal population have passed through a number of phases. The first time that the Congress party took formal note of the tribals was in 1946, on the eve of Independence. In the early phase of tribal planning the major dilemma faced by the

government was the need to strike a balance between the tribals need for economic development and the continuation of their precious lands. Following the advice of varrier Nehru formulated five principles which attempted to strike a balance between the "isolationist" and "assimilationist" policies. i.e between doing too little and doing too much. These principles were 1) tribal rights to land and forest should be respected 2) Tribals should be encouraged to maintain their own traditional arts and culture. 3) An attempt should be made to train a team from among the tribals for administration and development. Too many outsiders should not be introduced. 4) Over administration and multiplicity of schemes should be avoided 5) Results were to be judged not in terms of statistics but quality of human character evolved .  
23

However, given the framework of macro planning, very little of tribal culture could be protected, nor could special attentions be given to their needs. Hence two problems for the Congress in the early years were, the inter related issues of tribal progress and tribal integration. Thus, the policy towards tribal communicaties, in Andhra Pradesh and else, largely followed the safeguards and special provisions given in the constitution such as reservation of seats in the legislature, land transfer regulation and the services. Some schemes were

started to help tribals set up cottage industries, provide educational facilities, irrigation etc. The attitude of congress run state governments like Andhra Pradesh also were ambivalent. Though many initially followed the rules set up by the schedule areas and scheduled tribes commission set up by the Government of India in 1960 which attempted to preserve tribal culture and identify, this position was gradually abandoned. By the 1960's under pressure of governing such a large country the congress notion of tribal development and economic development became synonymous<sup>24</sup>.

It is also important to note that the various state governments also never allocated a substantial budget for tribal welfare and development. Table (12) shows that it was only in the 5th Plan that there was an increase in the amount allocated to tribal development.

Table 12  
Outlays for Development in Five year plans

Plan Period	Total plan Outlay	Tribal Development	Percentage
Ist plan 1952-56	1,960	19	.89



II 1956-61	4,672	41	.87
III 1951-66	8,577	51	.60
Annual: 1966-69	6,756	35	.52
IV 1969-74	16,160	84	.52
V	34,322	1,182	3.01

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Source : Statical diary of India, Bureau of Economic and statistics, New Delhi, 1990's.

Table 13  
Tribal welfare Budget

Scheme	1993-94	1994-95 R.E.	1995-96 R.E.
Non-plan	7548.38	7711.32	8232.72
Plan normal	1287.03	1288.22	2839.23
IPAD	1056.81	1684.00	1700.00
RIADP CSS	480.57	----	430.00
Special Central Assistance	1407.99	1700.00	2500.00
Other CSS	255.39	1127.83	1135.76
Up gradation of tribal Action plan	250.00	250.00	250.00
Cyclone Rescon-tract plan	25.00	----	----
<b>Total plan</b>	<b>47762.79</b>	<b>6050.05</b>	<b>8854.99</b>

Source : Tribal Research & Cultural Centre, Hyderabad.

Table 14  
Project outlays and funding

Finance	APTDP	%	APTDP	%
Project outlay	1681.007	100	1855.064	100
IFAB	475.643	44	985.039	53.1
Co-financier, Netherland Govt.	162.151	15	198.992	10.7
NABARD	----	---	----	---
GCC	216.202	20	----	---
Beneficiaries	64.860	6	139.30	7.5

By the 1960's the reigning model of development perceived tribal development as a problem of sectorial development and injection of critical inputs. Tribals would share also the general development taking place in the country. Whenever programmes were made by the Central government the state Govt. often took recourse to setting up a commission for suggesting changes. Beginning with the commission in 1961 under UN. Dhebar a number of them have been appointed. During the 1971 Parliamentary election Mrs. Gandhi used the Slogan of "Garibi hatao" and congress economic policy took a turn towards the left. Hence in 1972 the planning commission prepared detailed guidelines for tribal development based on the concept of "Area Development" focusing on development of tribal communities. Tribal "blocks" "growth centres" and integrated tribal development programmes were evolved. However tribal areas remained backward, peripheral areas and the growth centres often emerged as focal points of exploitation of the tribals in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>25</sup>

The political dimensions of tribal development hence became important in the 1970's to political leaders for distribution of spoils to elite groups, or consolidation of vote, banks. In the 1980's though namen clatures may have changed, the basic rationale has remained the same, the input-output model imposed from above, though care has been taken not to break down the structure fully. However as chapter V shows demands from within the tribal community and violent tribal uprisings may force the government in Andhra pradesh and other states to rethink tribal policy.

The pattern of development imposed by the Indian state since Independence has led to the inter-related consequences poor socio-economic conditions, land alienation and resentment and movements against non-tribals. All these are misable in the districts under study Inspite of several protective measures, the economic conditions of the tribals has deteriorated and they are also experiencing social alienation, both of which constitute important casual factors in recent tribal movements. This has been due to extensive exploitation of the rich natural resources of their habitat, decline of traditional activities without any viable alternative, and consquent margin alisation and exploitation of cheap labour accompaigned by alienation of agricultural land.

END NOTES

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