CHAPTER II

COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL STATE POLICIES LAND ALIENATION AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN A.P. - A BACKGROUND

Traditionally, the tribal people followed their customary law and there was no foreign power over them except the tribal chief. They are mostly peace-loving people and the existence of abundant natural resources did not necessitate any regulatory measures. This situation changed in the last two hundred years with the penetration of state power into these areas. Prior to that neither the tribals of A.P. nor their lands were of interest to outsiders. This chapter provides an overview of the policies of the colonial or past-colonial State towards the tribals of A.P. It is divided into three parts. The first part analyses the penetration of colonial capital, the policies of the Nizam state which supported this and the resultant process of land alienation. The second part presents various attempts by the post-colonial state to return tribal lands, rectify the wrongs of the past and to stop the process of alienation from proceeding further. The concluding part argues, from substantial evidence provided, that while some lands may have been returned, the state has not succeeded in stopping the process of land alienation which is destroying the tribal way of life.
Today, the tribal areas are rich, whereas the tribal are poor and here in lives the catch. Nearly 5 lakh tribal families living in scheduled villages of the state would have together today been the proud owners of 18,48,209.30 acres (average household land holding of 3.69 acres (Approx), but today more than 48% of this land is cultivated by the non-tribals. In some districts like Khammam, Adilabad and Warangal more than 50% of the land in the scheduled villages is held by the non-tribals.

The issue of Land alienation in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh, particularly in the Telangana region, has to be studied keeping in view the state policy. The character of the state policy from the colonial period reflects the non-tribal interests that operate within the socio-economic system. The legislative process initiated by the colonial state in this regard had resulted in the attribution of judicial nature to lands. Explaining the overall effects of colonialism over the land structure, Bhawani Sen opines, "prior to the advent of the British the soil". Sen makes it clear that it is only after the British conquest of India that land had become a commodity, though there were a few exceptions. Land otherwise was inalienable and continued to be under the control of the original tiller. The conversion of land into a commodity was a late-phenomenon in the tribal areas, as capital could not penetrate
till the Britishers had forced an entry into these areas and found the land to be cultivated commonly by all the tribal inhabitants under the guidance of a community chief who was the nominal owner of the land.

However the causal relationship between the interests of capital penetration and the commoditisation of land must be understood in order to study land policy in the tribal areas. These interests, as analysed by R.S. Rao may be brought under three main heads; extension of market connections, demand for raw material, and strengthening of state power. It is in the background of these three types of capital, which penetrated into the Deccan tribal systems, that state policy towards the land problem was formulated and which were analysed in this chapter.

The tribal population in Telangana area were almost unexposed to the outside world during the Nizam's in the early part of the 18th century. The states activity, which was confined to the plains, where it could bring in a few changes, could not penetrate into the tribal territory because successive governments, including the early Nizams, did not interfere in the affairs of the tribals. As soon as the Britishers established their conquest over the circar districts of the Nizam's territory, they started organising the land survey and settlement
operations in Andhra around the period 1800-50. By extending military support to the Nizam, the Britishers had their own intention of finding and exploiting raw materials, while searching for new markets and trade centres in this region.

The operations for finding raw material reserves necessitated survey and settlement activity in these areas. This activity helped the Nizam to regulate the land ownership pattern and claim land revenues for his exchequer. In the process Nizam's state offered large tracts of tribal areas to others on lease in the second half of the 18th century. This resulted in the increase of the revenue to the Nizam, who was actually searching for alternative avenues of revenue to meet the additional expenditure for the maintenance of the British troops in his domain. Apart from this, by the end of 1820 he was in heavy debts, owing not only to heavy expenses incurred in the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent of British Army, but also due to the scandalous mismanagement of the state finances by his minister Chandulal. Meanwhile the house of Messers Palmers and Company, eagerly offered him loans liberally until the amount became hopelessly large. To repay the huge debts that were accumulated in due course, the Nizam attempted to gain more land revenue and began leasing out some areas to the British colonial trade interests especially in the forest regions of Adilabad and
Khammam where raw material was abundantly available. This process facilitated the penetration of colonial capital into the forest regions of Adilabad and Khammam districts.

Hence the Telangana tribal areas underwent qualitative structural changes, and the Britishers further extended their operations in these areas in pursuit of raw materials. This was helped by the establishment of a railway line from Hyderabad to Palondra for mining operations in 1844, which was extended to Vijayawada in 1899. By this the Britishers availed themselves of the facility for raw material transportation while at the same time providing a link between Madras and Bombay, the two major colonial trade centres. This was made much easier with the opening up of the Chandrapur-Balharshah Railway line in 1929 which connected the Adilabad forest areas to the outside world.

All these efforts had been carried out with the active involvement of the colonial capital which, in turn, served its purpose of linking the market centres of Delhi and central India to South India.

These aspects of colonial capital, specially its "raw material bias," have been described by Arun Bose.

The introduction of forest conservancy operations in 1920's
and 1930's, made retention of land a problem for the tribals in general, and the Gonds in particular in the context of Adilabad, and they began to feel the lack of permanent path rights. Meanwhile the consolidation of colonial interests in tribal areas also facilitated the Nizam state to get more revenue, strengthen its base, and promote a set of native non-tribal landed classes in these areas. A nexus was formed between this landed class, the Nizam state and the British as the opening up of these areas for exploitation benefitted all the parties though in different ways. The activities of the colonial as well as the native Nizam state, introduced many important changes in A.P. tribal areas. Large areas of tribal lands were brought under settled cultivation, infiltration of trading classes as well absentee land lords took place into these areas; efforts were made to search for raw materials by the colonial interests in collusion with the native state power which resulted in the establishment of the Singareni collieries. There was remarkable growth of communication and transportation facilities through which the immigration of non-tribals and non-cultivating peasant classes increased. All these changes hastened the polarisation and emergence of a clearcut exploitative class consisting of absentee landlords, and traders like Shaukars or Kamatees, who brought in cultivating middle class peasantry from the plains. These sections of the population were accompanied by their non-tribal
service caste poor peasants and agricultural labourers. These conditions resulted in the calrisation of properties and resources, a decline in the ratio of tribal land ownership, and transformation of land into a commodity which led to the alienation of the original tillers.

The most important feature of the life of the tribals which is clear from the account of their doings and the view of a number of writers in the colonial period that they got into debt, because of their simple nature, of their ignorance of the laws regarding debt regulations. The classes which rent them money took full advantage of the situation. The rights of land transfer conferred by the British system of law and revenue made it possible for the tribals to be manoeuvred into selling their land to non-tribals, land lords or money lenders traders, feudal lords or rich peasants depending upon the conditions and contradictions prevalent in those regions or villages. These groups liberally offered loans and insisted on security which brought the tribals into their fold; with no other alternative except to pledge a portion of the land thus allowing them to reap the benefit of it. But the money-lender was not satisfied with this arrangement and went to the extent of manipulating figures and when the tribals could not repay the amount, taking over the land. Unable to repay debts the tribal population has been
forced to part with their lands. The grievances of the tribals did not end here as they were in many cases, forced to work on their own farms to pay back the remaining debt. This process led to generations bonding their lives to the exploiters. The whole process however did not involve money-lenders alone but also the state-created Deshmukhs who brought the cultivating peasant classes of the non-tribal communities into the tribal areas with the cooperation of the representative of revenue interests and legal interpreters like lawyers. In this whole network of exploitation all these represent varied, peasant, revenue, legal interests of the advanced communities, and the capital and state interests behind them are the core reasons for the large scale alienation of lands in the tribal areas.

The Britishers undertook extensive land survey and settlement activity throughout the country. It was undertaken first in the coastal belt of A.P. and later extended to the Nizams territory. Due to this in the tribal areas of Telangana the exact boundaries of individual ownership of plots of agricultural land were left with no legal sanctions. As a result of it, prior to the land survey and settlement, areas of tribal communities by and large remained almost unjuridical in their nature.
This proved to be a major disadvantage for the tribals. As a major part of his revenue policy, the Nizam in 1920's invited the plainsmen to settle in the tribal areas. The far reaching implications of this revenue policy are many. It is very difficult to trace the actual date on which the immigration took place. The available information would indicate that the intensity of migration increased during the period 1920-60. Because of this unprecedented migration there was a sudden change in the tribal areas leading to almost chaotic conditions. The prevalence of "Sir Basta" (absence of any controlling authority over the structure) gave the vested interests among the advanced communities full control over the tribal lands. These communities who originally entered the tribal areas for the purpose of trade, excise and revenue, became very wealthy and brought vast tracts of land under their control. Apart from the suffering caused the tribals, by their ignorance of the laws the implementation of the various developmental activities undertaken by the government in these areas led to a large-scale depeasantisation process. Whenever tanks were constructed or renovated during the Nizam's reign, non-tribals entered these areas as contractors and took over tribal the lands, and some of the non-tribal labourers also settled as peasants, making tribal peasants as landless labourers.
In short, the activity of the Nizam government, in the fields of excise, forest and revenue which non-tribal population started entering in large numbers resulted in the land alienation of the tribal communities.

Imposing heavy taxes on tribals and forcing them to retreat deep into the forest may be another reason. Many of the tribal peasants today admit that their fore fathers in the period 1920-15 had to forcibly relinquish that lands in utter disgust and inability to pay heavy taxes. This was stated by many tribals to the researcher during his field trip. In the 1920-40s several non-tribal Deshmukhs and newly emerged Zamindars managed to occupy the lands evacuated by the tribals. The cultivation of these lands were carried out by the cultivating and service castes who were brought to these areas as share-croppers or tenants by the former classes. When the protective Tenancy Act (1952) was promulgated, all these non-tribal tenants were either evicted by the land lords or asked to pay some amounts in order to claim occupancy tenancy rights on the land. Thus, the lands that were under the ownership of tribals slowly passed in the hands of the non-tribal peasants, which after the 1950s passed into the lands of the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes. After the formulation of the state of A.P. the land lords practically controlled the tribal lands depriving tribals of their ownership
rights through fraudulent means and also driving out any non-tribal who had by then grabbed the lands from the tribals. Therefore the emergence of the civic society with its rules and regulations, courts and other parapheratia led to the depeasantisation of the tribals.

Another method that contributed to the large scale land alienation in these areas was "Harras" activity by the Nizam-state which was prevalent during the period 1940-1950. Under this system, the State itself sold the land to cultivators or other interested persons. During 1940-46, especially in the Telangana region, ryots had to come to the Tahsildar to pay Zalsapatti in purchasing lands from the Govt. had to pay "dinner tax, to the officials" in order to buy land they wanted to cultivate. In short, land was sold to the highest bidder. This was within the purview of the law and resulted in inviting advanced-trading capital to these areas. The traders who bought the lands got the "firmaness" (legal right) form the Nizam, or his accomplice. The tribals at the first place did not know about these transactions and in cases where they did, had no capital to purchase the lands in competition with the outsiders. In the process those lands which were earlier cultivated and possessed by the tribals also passed on to the non-tribals without their knowledge. Thus the clearing of the forest for the
Methods like unaccountable denudation of forests on a massive scale under the supervision of the land-owning classes were also used as every year large tracts of forest lands were cleared off and brought under cultivation. By this tribals were alienated from the forests by landlords. This further widened the gap between the tribal landless and landed gentry of the non-tribal communities, particularly where tribal labour was used to a great extent to clear off the forest area. These 'fresh cultivable lands' invariably went into the hands of the landlords. In certain areas care was taken by the landlords to avoid further legal complications. Descheduling certain tribal areas invariably posed a threat to the very existence of the tribal life and they were left with no other alternative except to migrate from these areas. This took away their legal right on lands in the scheduled areas. This process was undertaken by the revenue officials at the local levels. Villages where tribals owned land were shown in the records either as deserted or as occupied by a majority of non-tribal cultivators. In short, during the survey of settlement operations, the revenue officials specially the Patwari, invariably manipulated the records in favour of the non-tribals. In all the cases the records would
show the presence of the non-tribals, and their ownership and possession of the lands, in the period prior to the promulgation of the protective legislation in 1949. The tribals were shown in possession of only a meagre amount of land.

Broadly speaking these are some of the methods used in the Telangana tribal areas due to which a large number of the tribals lost their lands. All these were applied prior to the promulgation of the land transfer regulations in Telangana as a result of which tribals could not assert their hereditary land rights. In fact, this is not a simple change that took place, but an outcome of support by the then Nizam state and its apparatus and its attendant classes.

Studies undertaken after the promulgation of protective legislation or legalisation in 1949 have revealed the gross violence of the protective laws and laid bare some of the newforms through which the land alienation in the tribal areas has continued.

The first, and foremost form of alienation of lands, has been the manipulation of land records. The unsatisfactory state of land records both in the initial stages of the survey and settlement operations and in the period following the regular
settlement operations made this possible. It is observed by the National Commission on Backward Areas that "the significant consequences of the unsatisfactory state of land records was that the tribals were never legally recognised as owners of the lands which they cultivated as they could simply occupy it till such time as a superior claim got enforced. The extent of the land ownership actually recorded in favour of the tribal cultivators in a settlement operation would depend largely on the sensitivity of the officers responsible for the operation, the strength of the outside interests and the consciousness amongst the community about the nature of their operations. The commission further mentions that in many areas therefore the dissonance between the official records and the field reality as a result of the settlement operations was a situation about which the tribals were ignorant. Varrien-Elwin, anticipated the possible dangers of the lack of proper maintenance of the records and observed that "in most of the inaccessible and ex-zaminadari areas, no proper records of rights had been prepared. Even after the passage of two decades since he made this observation, efforts have not been made to avoid the tragedy. This major drawback it was effectively been misused by the vested interests among the non-tribal communities.

The second form of the land alienation is reported to have taken place due to benami transfers. The report of the study
team of the Union Home Ministry (May 1975) pointed the large scale transfer of ownership of the Divasis lands by illegal and benami transactions, collusive civil proceeding etc. It found that which in the name of the original owners they were reduced level of share-croppers. Even the working group on tribal development appointed by the Planning Commission was of the opinion that "inspite of the protective measures to restore land to tribals, it is still reported to be taking place. It appears that in most cases these are caused because of Benami transaction". Thus the techniques might have changed but the process continues. Coupled to this is the inability of the tribals to maintain documents which could prove their ownership. Their non-tribal counterparts on the other hand are well versed in this art, and are experts in falsifying the documents. As the courts of judges in them relay on the documents and take a narrow and legalistic view of the situation, this helps the non-tribals invariably. This situation is not confined to any particular tribal regions but pervades throughout the country. In the case of the Jharkhand tribal region of Bihar, it is reported that even 'de facto possessions' were brought to the notice of the government, which continued to adopt an ostrich-like attitude to the question.

The third form of land alienation is related to the leasing
or mortgaging of the land. For various needs, tribals raise loans from a trader, feudal lord and rich peasant, and invariably they have to give either gold or land as security as they do not have any other possessions. Many poor tribal peasants give their lands on lease to non-tribals and very rarely are those lands reassigned to them. Analysing this, a researcher on tribal studies has commented "in the past few years, the non-tribal cultivators have adopted a novel method of retaining the land of the Reddis and Koyas for raising tobacco and chillies "On expiry of the lease, these non-tribals enter into a fresh agreement" with the Reddis for share-cropping on the condition that the entire cost of cultivation would be borne by them and the yield be distributed among themselves in the ratio of share to the non-tribal cultivator, and 1 share to the tribal land holders. Besides this, in the regions or villages where the commercialisation of crops is taking place and assured irrigation is available, and the land happens to be of black cotton. Soil, the inevitable requirement is capital and this can only be supplied by non-tribals who take lands on lease. Taking land on lease is useful for the non-tribals who can then have a constant control over the lands without legally coming into possession of the lands.

Encroachment is another mode of dispossessioning the tribals of
their lands, and this is adopted by the new entrants in all the places where there were no proper land records. Bribing the local Patwari for manipulating the date of settlement of land dispute on record prior to the stipulated years, is another method. This anti-dating method had been used because the legislations that were enacted in all the states had put a specific year as a cut off year. According to these legislations, land sold or mortgaged within that specified year are to be declared as illegal and restored to the tribals. To avoid this, anti-dating has become one of the powerful means by non-tribals to enable the courts to ascertain their claim. This is done with the annuinance of the patwari, a lower rank official in the revenue machinery, who rarely notes down all these operations seriously.

Marital alliance is another form used to circumvent the law, and it has emerged comparatively on a large scale in the alienation of lands from the tribals. Large areas of fertile land were purchased by non-tribals, and registered in the names of tribal women whom they kept (even falsely) as their mistresses. These marital alliances not only worked as a strong ground for economic purposes but also for the subtenance of political power by the non-tribal communities to usurp the reserved seats of authority at local levels. This method came
into existence as many protective legislations allow intra-
transfers of land within the tribal communities.

Fictitious adoption of non-tribals by the tribal families is
also prevalent in few parts of A.P. According to Dhanam a
tribal administrator, "Acquisition of lands in the names of non-
tribal boys who become tribals over might after the execution of
the bogus adoption deeds in the name of a tribal is another
important method used by the non-tribals to grab tribal lands.
The falsification of the records pertaining to the numerical
strength of the tribal community does not end here. This has
gone to the extent of descheduling or eliminating the villages
from the scheduled areas and declaring or notifying certain
villages as falling within the scheduled areas, and all this
appears to have been done in perfunctory manner with the result
that some of the tribal villages having sufficient tribal
population have been listed outside the jurisdiction of the
notified tribal area.

Instances are there where the land lords resorted to some
other manipulations. Many big land owners produced false medical
certificates to establish the incapability of tribals to
cultivate their lands, and managed to get these lands on lease
for fixed periods. It is further observed that the exploiter
would not hesitate even to employ goondas wherever the tribals assert their rights on their lands or make other legitimate demands. The non-tribal also do not hesitate to use their political influence and take the assistance of the state machinery.

II. Land Transfer Regulation Acts in Tribal Areas:

The Constitution of India enjoins upon the State to protect the scheduled tribes from all forms of exploitation and promote with special interest the economic and educational interests of scheduled tribes. In exercise of powers conferred under para 5(2) of the Fifty Schedule in the Constitution of India, the Government of Andhra Pradesh made the following regulations to protect the land of the tribals in scheduled areas.

The first land alienation regulation of 13471 in 1937, was enacted on an experimental basis by the Nizam government, to prevent land alienation in the two districts of Aurangabad and Osmanabad. The two important clauses that were added are: 1) the act provides that a non-member of a protected class is allowed to sell his land to member of his own class or group without the approval of the Talukdar unless he has retained in his permanent possession a piece of land having an assessment value of at least Rs.30/- per year. 2) the act restricts
protection under the regulation only to these members of the protected classes who do not pay an assessment of more than Rs.500/- annually to the government. All the excess land a person of a protected class possesses can be sold under the ordinary law as before. The holders of such estates will, so long as their holding is assessed at not less than Rs.500/- be grouped as the non-protected class. This act was misused by the landed peasants.

The Agency tracts and land transfer Act 1971 was enacted mainly to put an end to the various practices adopted by the money lenders in the agency areas of the coastal Andhra. These money-lenders entered the tribal areas mainly to exploit the tribals and gain control over the virgin resources of the forest area. To regulate their activities the ensuing Act imposed certain restrictions on them. The significant features of this Act pertaining to the preservation of land alienation in the tribal areas was that, any transfer of immovable property. When it was made without the 'previous consent' obtained in writing of the Agency or any prescribed officers was made absolutely null and void unless it was made in favour of another hill tribes person (section 4 of the Act).

However for all practical purposes the plains people who
settled in these areas were left free to continue their exploitation. This further encouraged immigration as the money lenders and merchants from the plains continued to migrate to the Agency Areas and settle there to carry on their business. It is also said that the right of the land holder to proceed with the eviction of the tribals under the Estate land Act was not taken away by this Act. This resulted in the detection of only a few cases under this Act. Thus the Act was used more to enable the non-tribals to acquire lands in the tribal areas with the surreptitious consent and seal of the agency then to protect the tribals from the exploitation of the Regulation of 1917 was that it did not cover the tribes of the Telangana area under the Nizam's rule. These are some of the major loopholes in the Act which helped the continuation and perpetuation of the land alienation process. While above act is in force in coastal Andhra region a similar Act was enacted in Telangana during the end of the Nizam's regime, with a view to tackle the Telangana Armed struggle. Thus the Hyderabad Tribal Areas Regulation of 1949 (Fasli) was promulgated in 1949.

The Regulation 1 of 1959 passed in the post, 2nd era repeated the "Agency tracts interests and land transfer Act, 1917 and provided protection to tribal land. This regulation was originally made applicable to the scheduled areas of Srikakulam,
Vizianagaram, Viskhapatnam, East Godavari and West Godavari districts and was latter extended to the Scheduled areas of Adilabad, Khammam Warangal and Mahaboobnagar districts, by regulation 11 of 1963 to bring uniformity of the law through out the scheduled areas of the State. The regulation - 11 of 1963 repealed the A.P.(Telangana areas) Tribal Areas Regulation 1959 F. The regulation of 1959 attempts to protects the land rights of tribals in the following manner .

(a) In the Scheduled Areas transfer of immovable property by a member of scheduled tribe to any body other than a member of scheduled tribe without permission in writing from the competent authority shall be null and void.

(b) Where a transfer of immovable property is effectd in favour of any member other than that of a scheduled tribe, the Agent, Agency divisional officer or any other prescribed officer on application by any interested person or suo moto may restore the property to the transferor or his heir.

(c) Rules were framed under section 8 of Regulation 1 of 1959.

An interesting feature of this regulation is that if the
transferors or their heirs are not willing to take back the property or when their whereabouts are not known, the officers concerned may assign or sell the property to any other member of the scheduled tribe or co-operation - society of the tribals or otherwise dispose off the sum as if it were the property of the government. The above clause conferring powers on the special officers to dispose off the property of tribals incase the transferers there are not willing to take back the property, itself is a lacuna in the Regulation. Further, when their whereabouts are not known their property is deemed to be the property of the government. This also is another loophole in the Regulation. The need for a proof that he is not willing to take back his land, or to prove that he is alive, is shifted into the tribal himself, who, in most of the cases, happens to be illiterate. Further neither the prescribed officer not the agent who generally belong to the non-tribal class, have evinced much interest in restoring the land back to the tribals. As a result of all this, the safe guards contemplated in the Regulation were frequently violated and transfers have taken place inspite of the Regulation. It also became an open secret that the Regulations could not prohibit transfers.

However in most cases, the alienation process started with lease or mortgage of the land and culminated in the transfer of
the ownership rights. In some cases though the ownership is in the name of a tribal in the official records. If so defacto the lands are cultivated by the non-tribals. In a few cases where the where about of the tribal are not known the lands have also reported to have been transferred in accordance with the discretion of the competent authority. The discretion very rarely turned in favour of the tribals. Some of the cases were also settled against the tribals on the pretext that the tribals concerned do not possess any heir though the poor tribal has a number of children. Besides the legal loopholes mentioned above, several backdoor methods were used to the transfer the land to the non-tribals with the help of the lower rank revenue officials. These backdoor methods included the methods like (1) effecting a transfer of property in the name of another tribal, who works for the non-tribal owner, which is more or less tantamount to benami transfer. (2) marrying tribal women for the sake of property, while, in practice, according to them status of a concubine and (3) Forcibly cultivating their lands by denying pattas to them, though these were formerly declared as owners. The evergrowing and unsolved number of detected causes of land transfer both at the state and district levels evidently show the way the Act was implemented. As these lapses were found in the Regulation, it was amended in 1970, taking the hardships encountered under this Regulation into consideration.
The Amendment Act of 1970 came into force on 01-07-1971. It applies to all lands in the scheduled areas in respect of which no settlement had been effected. However, it does not include lands covered by the Mahals and Muthas abolition Regulation (Regulation 1 and 2 of 1969). It covers all the lands which originally comprised in the estates taken over under the A.P. Estates (Abolition and conversion into Ryotwari) Act and which lie within the scheduled areas. There are ryotwari lands also in the agency areas other than those comprised in the estates or mahals or muttas. Such lands are also covered by this Regulation provided they have not already been settled.

Under this Regulation, every ryot is entitled to a ryotwari patta in respect of all cultivable lands which were properly included in his holding. If the land is situated in an estate taken over by the government under the estates Abolition Act, a person who would be entitled to ryotwari patta under that Act shall be given ryotwari patta. For the lands not falling under this category, he is not entitled to a ryotwari patta if he is a non-tribal unless he is in occupation of the land for a continuous period of 8 years immediately before the commencement of this Regulation. The provisions of this Regulation have over the other Acts and Regulations.
The Regulation, however, states that the enforcement of the current Regulation is not retrospective. Hence, manipulations have taken place where the non-tribals could connive, and the transactions pertaining to the transfer of lands have taken place with the supposed assent of the tribals. They have produced false certificates to retain their properties. The non-tribals have bribed the local officials liberally and got their land transfers antedated so that these illegal transfers were not attracted by the Regulation. This seems to be well planned to avoid any further litigations in future. In certain cases, even the land was declared as "Bancharai" (uncultivable poromboke) so that it could be easily transferred to non-tribals, through the connivance of the patwari who manipulated the village records in such a way, that the tribal lands have been shown as waste lands or government lands. The implementation of the land Transfer Regulation has been further hampered by the frequent filling of writ petitions in the court by the effected non-tribals. When eviction notices were served to them, many non-tribals filed petitions under Article 226 of the constitution challenging the constitutional validity of the Regulation on the ground that section 3(1) of the Regulation was in violation of the fundamental rights guaranteed to them under article 19 and 31 of the constitution and that it is violative of the provision of the rule of law contained in Article 14 of the constitution.
Thus, in the light of these lapses, the government of A.P. once again, in 1971, amended the Regulation of Andhra Pradesh Scheduled areas Land Transfer Regulation (Amendment) 1 of 1970.

Under the previous Regulation 1 of 1970, the cooperative societies and mortgage banks face some practical difficulties in the tribal areas. The co-operative and mortgage banks in the scheduled areas had to stop all transactions as these land mortgage banks had already advanced money to their members who were mostly tribals. To remove the technical snag, the Regulation 1 of 1971 has been enacted amending the section - 3 of the Regulation 1 of 1970. It provided for mortgaging any immovable property situated in the Agency tracts to any co-operative society, including a land mortgage bank or to any commercial bank or other financial institution approved by the state Government, on the expressed condition that in the event of default, the property should be sold only to the tribals or co-operative societies consisting wholly of the members belonging to scheduled tribes. Further, it prohibited lawyers from representing the non-tribals without the permission of the agent. But, if the Agent permits, the non-tribals can engage lawyers and represent their cases in the Agency courts. Though the Regulation appears to be very stringent in its formulation, in
practice, it gives again a free hand to the non-tribals to put the tribals in legal and civil litigations, which involve a lot of expenditure which they cannot afford.

The regulation denotes that to appear before the court a prior permission of the Agent is needed. The non-tribals could influence the Agent and could get his prior permission in many cases as the bureaucracy largely operates in favour of the non-tribal land holders. Since the competent authority can transfer the land very often, the conditions under which the permission should be granted have not been specified, and they have been left to the discretion of the competent revenue authority, which often leads to manipulation and is detrimental to the interests of the tribals.

All these exercises finally culminated in the declaration of a government order (G.O.Ms. No.1290 of Andhra Pradesh, which declared and allowed the non-tribal land holdings in the tribal areas as justified, with certain limitations. In the period between 1971 and 1979, certain developments were noticed in the tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. The cleavage between the tribals and non-tribals had been widening day by day on the crucial land issue. A move initiated by the district collector of Khammam in 1974 to evict the non-tribals holding lands in the scheduled
areas was the immediate cause underlying the promulgation order by the govt. The Government had issued this order on the basis of a resolution adopted by the Zillaparishad, which pleaded for the exemption of non-tribal land owners owning into five areas of wet and 10 acres of dry land from the process of eviction from lands in tribal areas. The essence of the G.O. MS. No.12 held that the non-tribal landless poor in occupation of lands in the scheduled areas up to 5 acres of wet land, or 10 acres of dry land should not be evicted for the present under the provisions of the A.P. Scheduled areas land transfer formulation, 1959 and the commissioner of land revenue and the agency collectors are directed to take action accordingly.

The Government order Ms. No.129, both in its spirit and content, functions against the very interests of the tribals. The executive order also nullifies the provisions of many legislative Acts while creating an extra constitutional sphere of authority to affect the lives of tribals.

The following few observations show the effects of the order and its "class" nature. For a long time, the non-tribal small peasants who own tribal lands were relatively less in number. The non-tribal landlords managed to subdivide their property into small holdings and then sold the lands to some of the non-tribal
small peasants over the years. This type of transfers led to proliferation of non-tribal peasants. By doing so, the landlord uses the small non-tribal peasants as a pawn for his selfish methods. Escaping from the impounding danger of legislation which may finally lead to his eviction from tribal lands. With the support of the provisions of the legal code, the landlords have also reasserted their rights, over the tribal lands by purchasing the lands from the non-tribal small peasants. Another trend that is found is that rich peasants who settled over these tribal lands are carried out to see that the lands are subdivided into small holdings which would not cross the ceiling acreage fixed by the Government order.

Taking advantage of the order, the landlord or the rich peasant is able to use nefarious methods like sub-division of his land, donating it to his relatives or bribing the tribal chieftians to see that their hold over land would be further confirmed to circumvent the regulations. Whenever the courts give favourable judgements to the tribals the land has to be restored back to the tribals by the non-tribal rich peasants. It was thwarted by adopting coercive measures like engaging hired gondas or sometimes with the connivance of the police threaten the tribals not to press for the land. As a result of this, the lands remained in the possession of the non-tribals.
Another major consequence of the order is that it consciously and deliberately attempts to pit the non-tribal small peasant against the tribal small peasant, where by the non-tribal rich peasant is left free despite his illegal occupation of the tribal lands.

While earlier regulations, at least on the surface did not openly support the non-tribal peasants right over the lands, this order has explicity revealed the power of the vested interests of its bias towards the non-tribal peasants ignoring the very essence of socio-economic justice, and created and encouraged enmity between the tribals and non-tribals. By this the ruling class can divert the attention of the tribals from real issues like exploitation by landlords to an issue like the alienation of land due to the presence of the non-tribal small peasants, thereby creating a contradiction among the poor peasantry.

Hence the continuous use of oppression and manipulation are the two forms adopted by the ruling classes that control the state power which are largely semifeudal in nature.

Another lacuna of the land Regulation Acts, is the exclusion of Wattandari, Jagirdari, Makta, Kaul lands from the purview of all these Regulations. Specifically it may be noticed that due
to financial insolvency the Nizam gave full freedom to the Jagirdars to introduce any kind of change in those areas that would help enhance the state revenue. This had negative effect over the implementation of these Acts or regulation.

Enforcement machinery has also been set up by successive govts. The Nizam Government created a special agency for the implementation of the new policy of training teachers and establishing special schools for tribes in Telangana. This new department which was known as the social service department in 1943-44 was attached to the Revenue department and it was headed by the adviser for the tribes and backward classes. Many measures of tribal rehabilitation were adopted in these years in the tribal areas.

In addition to the Agent (District collector) and the Agency Divisional officers, the Deputy collector (Tribal welfare) Elwinpeta (in respect of vizianagaram, and Srikakulam districts), special Deputy collectors (Tribal welfare) at paderu (Visakhapatnam district), Rampachodavaram (East Godavari District), Kota Ramachandrapuram (West Godavari district) Bhadrachalam (Khammam districts), Etturnagaram (Warangal districts) and Utnoor (Adilabad district) also project officers of all ITDA’s are competent to decree enjection against any
person in possession of the property situated in scheduled areas, and restore it to the transferor or his heirs. The special Deputy Collectors (Tribal Welfare) assisted by his subordinate staff detect the cases of violation of land transfer Regulation and pass orders as her deems fit after conducting enquiry as ordained by the Regulation. In case he decides that the person in possession should be ejected, he passes a decree of ejectment and restores it to the transferor. An appeal against any decree or order passed under land Transfer Regulation by special Deputy Collector (Tribal welfare) lies with the Agents (District Collectors). Revision of any decree or order passed by the Agent lies with the state govt.

At the central level, a Joint Secretary of the Home Ministry heads a separate tribal and looks after the tribal affairs and co-ordinates the regulatory and developmental activities.

Implementation of land Transfer Regulation Performance appraisal

As a result of effective implementation of the provisions of Land Transfer Regulation, a sizeable extent of land has been restored to tribals. The details of land restored under this Regulation till the end of June 1995 are listed in the next page.
## TABLE

1) No. of non Tribal occupation in Scheduled villages 5,750 cases
2) Extent of land involved (under col.No.I) 2,455.23 acres
3) Cases in which enquiries were initiated under LTR. 57,150 -- cases
4) Extent of land involved (under col.No.3) 24,589.23 acres
5) No.of cases disposed off 48,234 -- cases
6) Extent of land (under col.No.5) 2,17,574.24 acres
7) No.of cases disposed off infavour of non-tribals 23,702 -- cases
8) Extent of land (under col.No.7) 1,18,486.51 acres
9) No.of cases disposed in favour of Tribals 24,532 --
10) Extent of land covered (under col.No.9) 99,087.73 acres
11) No.of cases in which land was restored to tribals 20,233
12) Extent of land covered (under col.No.11) 68,520.98 acres
13) No.of cases pending disposed 2,100
14) Extent of land covered (under col.No.13) 7,653.43 acres

**Source:** National Seminar on 'Scheduled Tribes and Social Justice. 29th & 30th July, 1995, Department of Tribal Welfare, Govt. of A.P. Hyderabad.
The above data shows that 7,51,435.66 acres land is in possession of non-tribals in the scheduled areas of the state. It is significant that in 57,150 cases covering an extent of only 2,45,589.23 acres, there was prima facie evidence that provisions of A.P. Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation Act, 1959 have been violated and hence, proceedings were initiated under the Regulation. Till now 2,17,574.24 acres of land involved in 48,234 cases have been disposed off, out of which 23,692 cases covering an extent of 1,18,486.51 acres was disposed off in favour of non-tribals and the percentage of disposal in favour of non-tribals is 49.13%. It is significant that the number of cases disposed off in favour of Tribals is 24,532 which is 50.86% of the total cases, disposed off by the competent authority, whereas the percentage of land ordered to be restored to the tribals as against the total land involved in litigation for which final orders have been issued is 45.54%. Out of 48,234 cases disposed off covering an extent of 2,17,574.24 acres, the land restored back to tribals is 99,087.73 which constitute 45.54%. It is significant that the largest number of cases i.e. 25,311 were registered in Khammam district alone which constitute nearly 50% of the total cases covering an extent of 76,584.59 cases were disposed off in favour of non-tribals and less than 33,000 areas were ordered in favour of tribals. It is a matter of serious
concern that the most fertile alluvium lands stretching over thousands of hectares available all along the catchment area of Godavari river in the Khammam district, has attracted the non-tribals from all over the state, and the most prosperous and enterprising among the non-tribal have settled down there. And a major controversy in fact had erupted over the implementation of the land Transfer Regulations over some of these areas, resulting in transfer of officers who are known for their commitment and sincerity. In districts Warangal, West Godavari, and Adilabad, the extent of land restored to tribals after favourable order ranges from 5% in W. Godavari to 46% in Adilabad district. In most of the cases, the issues are being litigated for several decades before a number of legal forums, and official lethargy banking on criminal negligence has also been responsible for this dismal performance.

However, the statistical data furnished above does not fully reflect the actual position on the ground. In reality several non-tribals are in occupation of land through various means like lease, tenancy, mortgage, sharecropping besides benami transactions, including transfer of land in the name of tribal women, tribal farm servants through pseudo tribal certificates. Further several non-tribals are in occupation of lands even after decree of ejectment is passed by the competent authority under
the provisions of A.P. scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation, 1959, either due to high handedness of the non-tribal or due to the protracted process of litigation.

Besides these legal loopholes, the present administrative set up has been found to be weak in the implementation of the land transfer regulations due to dearth of staff. That this administrative machinery could not do much to alleviate the suffering of the tribals is very clear from the facts and figures which speak of the performance of the administrative set-up.

The statement of the cases registered from the time of inception (1955) of the office of the Special Deputy Collector (ITDA) in Khammam, Adilabad and Warangal Districts, gives us a clear picture about the number of cases registered and the number of cases disposed off. Out of a registered number of 92293.23 in Khammam and 42965.35 in Adilabad districts, covering an area of 92293.27, 42965.35 acres respectively, 9531 in Khammam and 3622 acres in Adilabad were disposed off in favour of tribals and the land was restored. It is very interesting to note that the number of cases pending at the end of June 1995, were 22 cases in Khammam district and 583 in Adilabad districts covering an area of 3483.55 acres. Thus, a number of cases that are likely to effect the landlords adversely are consciously kept as undecided.

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It is also pertinent to observe that 12,949 cases covering an area of 43,198.44 acres in Khammam and 16,287.67 acres in Adilabad districts were decided against the tribals for the reasons that the transactions in favour of the non-tribals took place before 01-12-1963, the date from which the regulation had come into force. The date on which the transactions that actually took place was decided arbitrarily and the same date was taken into consideration in the course of the judicial proceedings. There is every reason to doubt that the transaction might have been antedated to circumvent the regulation. That is why, it is said that in every case several bogus and forced sale deeds were reported to be kept ready for production at the time of the hearing of the case. By manipulation through revenue stamps lifted from the Tahsil land records office and by bribing the lower rank of the revenue officials, documents can be transformed and changed. It is observed that some sort of expertise has been developed to prepare the sale documents in such a way that they cannot be challenged at all. Another important trend which can be observed here is that whenever the office of the Special Deputy Collector decides a case he decides against the tribals, the cases were invariably suspended at this level itself. Even the Andhra Pradesh land transfer regulation fixing 1963 as the cut-off year has not only done severe injustice to the tribals, but also permanently made them helpless in the restoration of
lands which were shown as sold in earlier years to negate the very purpose for which the regulation was introduced. Thus a large chunk of fertile lands was transferred to non-tribals without providing a chance of questioning them through the court of law.

The tribals, in any way, are also not in a position to understand all the legal niceties and bear the medicinal expenses. Although in most of the cases the land is said to have been restored to the tribals, the facts are different. Some of the judgements remained on paper. Only in few cases, the lands were restored to the tribals and in such cases too it was possible because of the assertive capacity of the tribals involved in the case, who could fight for their rights, and not because of the "timely assistance" of the administrative machinery. In a few cases the non-tribals had already reached an informal agreement with the tribals.

The officials who are in charge of these operations can be generally classified into two kinds, officials who are reluctant to go to the interior villages which they hold are Naxalite infected and pay visits only to the road side villages. These officials submit reports without covering all the facts concerned a serious lapse on their part. The second type of officials are generally sincere, but face several obstacles in their
functioning as they would either be 'pressurised' or cornered with non-cooperation within and outside the department. These officers also feel alienated in the bureaucratic set up which is full of internal contradictions.

Moreover, the office of the Special Deputy Collector at the district level usually gets a 'step-motherly treatment' from the Revenue Department in particular, and from the government in general. There are frequent transfers from this office which hampers efficiency. It is observed that in a period of five years at least seven officers were shifted to other posts from the district. It is not a popular place among officers for there are very few who willingly come and help the tribals. As a result these responsibilities are often entrusted to senior officers of the District Collectorate, who cannot bestow much attention upon the job since they are saddled with other duties. Thus from the administrative side, the problem of restoration as merely part of renting administration. At the initial stages of enquiry tribals are asked not to report or physically threatened not to seek the help of the special Deputy Collector of land Alienation.

Due to this the bureaucracy works in tune with pressure and influence of the higher officers and takes up only the cases of
non-tribal small farmers and ignores the larger interests of the tribals.

Thus though the setting up of the institution of special Deputy Collector is meant for the restoration of lands to the tribals, it is beset with many inherent limitations due to which it cannot function in the desired way unless the administrative set up is streamlined and geared up to squarely face the problem in a bold manner, where it has to hurt the interests of the non-tribals, rich peasants and the landlord class. This institution may not serve the purpose for which it is intended and restoration of land to the tribals would continue to be myth in reality.
Political Movements: Pre-Independence period:

There is a long history of tribal movements in Andhra Pradesh. They are related to encroachment upon land and the tribal way of life by "outsiders". The tribals were always looked upon as rebellious and local rulers often had to use their superior military strength to question them. During the colonial period the tribes rebelled against both local Hindu rulers and the British colonial administration, wherever they felt their rights in the territories were being encroached upon. Four tribal armed revolts originated in the Eastern ghats, the fourth one occurred among the Gonds of Adilabad and Koyas of Khammam district which formed part of the Nizams territory. The first two revolts took place in the Rampa area of East Godavari district in 1802-3 and 1829. The first one is led by Ramboopathi is well known as the Rampa revolt. The third one led by Alluri Seetha Rama Raju in 1922-24 was also in the East Godavari district. The fourth in which we are interested was in 1940 by the Gonds of Adilabad under the leadership of a tribal leader named Komaram Bheemu, the fifth in the Srikakulam district and left intellectuals in the Khammam district.

The first two rebellions were due to disputes relating to succession to the Muttadari estates. These Muttadars were Petty tribal chiefs who were appointed by the British East India
Company's agents for keeping peace and collecting a very nominal land revenue from the tribal people more as a symbol of over all authority of the company's Government, rather than as a source of revenue to the state. The muttadars used all questionable and violent methods to terrorise the poor Koya and Konda Reddi tenants and effect several illegal and unconscionable exactions from the helpless and hopeless tribal people.

The First Rebellion in (1879-80)

The first rebellion in 1879 was in the Rampa countryside. It was a dynastic succession trouble in which the Hill reddis were only indirectly involved. However in 1766, the Nizam who ruled Rampa handed it over to the British East India Company. In the Northern circars, which are coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh, though in Chodavaram taluk containing the Rampa area, no regular collection of land revenue was enforced till the end of the 19th century. In addition to this, free drawing of toddy by the tribals was obstructed by the Mansabdar and several types of taxes unknown before were levied. The first out break of the rebellion occurred in March 1879.

Second uprising of the Konda reddis (1915-16)

This insurrection was not a tribal struggle or a popular
revolt like the Rampa rebellion, but was a successful and prolonged defiance of law and order by armed groups of malcontents and bandits who found shelter in the mountains and intimidated the hill people into giving them sporadic support. This revolt spread over the hill area of Viskhapatnam and East Godavari Agencies.

Alluri Seetha Rama Raju 1922-24:

The third revolt of the Andhra Pradesh tribals against their Indian exploiters and against the armed forces of the British Government, took place in 1922 and lasted till 1924. To observe that this movement had only sporadic support, is to close one’s eyes to the immense suffering endured for over two years continuously, by a hundred thousand forest folk at the hands of the vicious Malabar special police, noted for their unbridled cruelty, and the deeply-rooted discontent the exploited Koyas and reddis were forced to entertain against the non-tribal money-lenders and their own Muttadars. They fought against the forest authorities due to 1) the restrictions placed by the forest officials on the wasteful cultivation of "podu" 2) forest rules and restrictions 3) the high handed misbehaviour of the exploitative thasildar of Gudem.

The revolt under Seetha Rama Raju’s leadership is similar to
the previous revolts of Santals, Munda, Gonds and Bhills in that all of them were provoked by genuine grievances against Government officials who were unimaginative and wooden. All the three were major revolts in which thousands of tribals took part actively and staked their all for securing freedom from official interference and oppression. All the leaders were quite selfless and gave away everything for the emancipation of the fellow tribesmen.

The movement under Bheemu represents an attempt by the Gonds to protect their cultivable land from outsiders and corrupt forest officials of the Nizam Government in the Dhonora reserve forest area. By the 1940's as we have seen in the previous chapters the land lords, money lenders and traders had begun to migrate into the tribal area causing severe social dislocation of the tribal land holding structure. Bheemu a literate Gond leader, attempted to settle the problem of kolam and Gonds of the area in a hilly village named Babjere. However, as they had no 'pattas' or written rights over the land from the Nizam's documents, the forest officials were given the task of evacuating from the area leading to armed conflict. Bheem even went to Hyderabad and returned with a document of permission to
settle in a near by village. However this did not give the tribals possession of the cultivable land. The struggle against land alienation continued up to the mid 1940's Bheem continued to petition the government. During the movement the local (fuedal land lords) used the police and finally supressed the movement with brutal force. Large number of the Gonds died in police firing.

Telangana armed struggle : 1946-51

During this period the tribals were mobilised under the leadership of communist party around various issues in the Khammam districts. The struggles were against exploitative practices such as collection of illegal dues. The leadership in this area was for withdrawal of the armed struggle due to the death of leading commrades like Macchaveerraya, Ganga Varapu Srinivasa Rao, and the arrest of Manchikanti Rama Krishna Rao and others. The remaining squads and cadre were forced to retreat to the forest areas.

The attacks and raids by the government forces were so intense that on one village, with in months, there were 160 raids. One squad was repeatedly attacked by the police and military 12 times with in a day. In these raids and later up to the end of 1951, 31 whole time workers of the party were caught
including four zonal committee members and five central organisers and were shot dead.

As a result the party had to reorganise its whole organisation. It was able to organise the whole of the forest area, Palvancha, and East Illendu and the whole of Madira taluq, to another 200 villages. During June, December, 1949 twenty thousand agricultural labourers participated in these struggles and got their wages doubled.

In the later days, the party and the squads extended beyond river Godavari, to the Bhadrachalam area, a part of old Seetha Ram Rajus Koyas revolt area. The Government adopted the big plan of evacuating the koya tribal people to the outskirts of the forests. In the Banjara village of Soyam Gangulu, a small hamlet of 10-15 huts, between 15-20 people were shot dead. In the Allampalli camp, in Palvancha, 45 were shot in one day. Aerial reconnaissance was resorted to and bombs were also dropped two or three times.

The party in parts of Khammam and Illendu Taluks extended itself to the forest areas. People in the forest areas of these taluks were far away from the towns and with no communication facilities, they depended upon raising of cattle and shifting
agriculture as well as forest produce. They were exploited by the land lords of the plains and the village authorities (Patels and Patwaris), who collected much more than the land revenue payable to the Government. They secured pattas on these lands for themselves, keeping the tribals as temporary occupants, and forced labour was the order of the day, even the small amounts they earned by hard labour did reach them.

Forest officials exploited the labour of these people for official and personal work, but did not allow them to collect a few pieces of fire wood for cooking purposes or such materials required for construction of small huts without meeting heavy bribes. They always maintained that the land under the cultivation of the tribals came within the reserved forest areas.

The traditional leader was a dictator who took bribes from contractors and sent labourers under his control on less wages. The party faced great difficulty in organising and educating the people. All the inhabitants with great difficulty were gathered at a place in each village and were told about the party and its ideas. Village squads were constituted with all able-bodied men and women and many tribal youth joined the party either as squad members or organisers. Large number of the koyas joined the
village squads. Tribals living in Palvancha and Illendu taluks organised themselves into Area committee. They moved into action on a mass scale and scored many victories. The movement also grew among the Chenchu people in the Nallamalai forests in the Krishna river forest area, and the Gond tribals in Adilabad. Distribution of land lords lands, cattle and paddy was undertaken by the people on a large scale.

From 1946 and to 1970's Adilabad did not witness any large scale tribal movement though resistance against exploitation continued. Large scale tribal movements led by communist groups took place in the Warangal, Khammam and Karimnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh. In these movements also land that was taken away frm the tribals was the focus of the movement. The communists in some areas were successful in distributing some land to the tribals while this movement did not spread to the Adilabad, it provided the Gonds an example to emulate.

Revolt of 1968-70:

The uprising of the Andhra Pradesh Agency tribes is popularly known as the Naxalite revolt and is mostly confined to parts of Srikakulam, the Agency district on the northern border with Orissa, mostly inhabited by the Jatapu and Savara tribal
people. These tribal people revolted under the leadership of the Naxalites. The agitation derived its name from Naxalbari - a remote place in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal where it was conceived and given shape by Charu Mazumdar and Kan Sanyal. Srikakulam’s four tribal taluks bore a special advantage which evidently induced the Naxalites to choose Srikakulam as the main centre of their operations.

The special feature of the movement is that it is entirely led by non-tribal recruits from medical and other colleges, professional doctors and Engineers and other intelligentsia, which has not been the case with any previous revolts of Andhra Pradesh except in the Communist led peasant revolt of 'Nalagonda' more than a two decade ago. While the previous rebellions were purely agrarian and not involved in any political partisan philosophy, the Srikakulam rising has been throughout organised, controlled and fully financed by the Marxist, Leninist extreme section of the left communists, who claim that Mao’s line of thought and action is truly the only correct Marxist pattern that ought to be followed. The Srikakulam branch is a limb of an All India organisation - the chief architects of which are Kanu Sanyal, a thirty four year old Naxalite of Siruguri of Darjeeling district and Charu Muzumdar of the same district, who directed the branches wherever they exist, particularly in Kerala, where
one Kunnikkal Narayanan and his wife and daughter Miss Ajitha, well known for their daring attack of Pulpally and Tellicherry wireless and police station, took the lead, in Srikakulam were an ordinary, but extremely popular Elementary school teacher Kondabaridi alias Vempatapur Satyam and Adibatla Kailasam assisted by a few other eminent local leader directed the operation and in West Bengal where the Central leaders themselves took the wheel.

The A.P. Naxalite movement has by the middle of 1970 reached a period of lull, resulting in voluntary and action involved surrounders. Some of the Chief leaders have either been shot dead in encounters or arrested and kept behind bars.

However the three member which toured the Srikakulam area extensively. The panel charged the armed police with murdering captured Naxalites in cold blood and demanded that the state government should put an end to the alleged atrocities. The panel also complained that 21 tribal villages were set on fire and many tribal hamlets looted.

The basic grievances of the Srikakulam tribes are, to a large extent, the same as elsewhere, namely loss of land, voluntarily and involuntarily alienated to plains money lenders,
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 for 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 the liked. The Naxalites operated in an area of nearly 500 sq. miles of not easily accessible wild country, the jungle 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 districts that the left movement has infiltrated, taking advantage of simmering discontent caused by the nefarious activities of non-tribal merchants, money lenders and agriculturists who occupied fertile tracts of tribal lands through illegal and reprehensory means of money lending and business and consequent 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 exploitation 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 maneuverability 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.
END NOTES


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