CHAPTER - VII

CAUSES OF LAND TRANSFERS AND ALIENATION AND FACTORS AFFECTING SHIFTS IN LAND OWNERSHIP FROM 1960-61 TO 1990-91 [An Aggregate Analysis]

An attempt is made in this chapter to examine most important social, economic, political, and other factors that were responsible for the land transfers that took place between tribal and non-tribal communities during the last 30 years, in Dantanpalli and Lakkaram villages. Dantanpalli village, predominantly (during 1960-61 to 1990-91). Non-tribal village, with presence of few tribal families, and also characterised, primarily, by the presence of rich peasantry who wield both economic and political power. While another village Lakkaram, which consists of five hillock-hamlets, is tribal village comprises of a single caste, Gonds. To recapitulate the land problem and tribals problems in Andhra Pradesh a brief narration of problem is invitable.

Andhra Pradesh is the traditional home of nearly 33 tribal groups, and most of these communities are inhabiting the border areas of Andhra Pradesh, in the North and North-East. Identical tribal groups are found in the border areas of Maharashtra state in the North and Madhya Pradesh and Orissa states, in the North-East. Out of 33 recognised scheduled tribes in Andhra Pradesh, 30 groups are found, living in more than 6,200 villages, situated in sprawling 30030 sq. km. scheduled-areas in the districts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Warangal, Adilabad and Mahaboobnagar. The scheduled area in the state, which is the chief habitat of tribal groups of Andhra Pradesh constitutes 11% of the total geographical area of the state. The density of population is 125 in scheduled areas as against 194 in the non-scheduled area per sq. km.¹. The forest and mountainous tracts which are the traditional moorings of
the pre-literate societies are considered as placid places from times immemorial. But these tribal areas have been turned into virtual places of disturbances in the last two centuries. Most of the rebellions in our country arose primarily due to illegal deprivation of their rights on the lands. The Rampa-rebellion in East Godavari district in 1879 and series of revolts in tribal areas of Visakhapatnam in 19th century was due to exploitation by Muttadars and zamindars. The Gonds rebellion (Babijhari movement) in the Adilabad district in 1940 was, against transfer of lands from Gonds to non-tribals and extension of forest reserve boundaries over their ancestral land. The central figure of the Babijhari tragedy was Kumaram Bhimu, whose home village was Sankapalli, near Asifabad. There most of the land had fallen into the hands of Brahmins and Komatis (non-tribals) and Bhimu had failed to obtain cultivable land in any other village though at the same time Hindu and Muslim new comers were being granted patta on large scale, Bhimu was an able young man who could read and write but all his applications for land were fruitless. He organised numerous other frustrated tribals against the government and the result was the uprising what is popularly known as Babijhari uprising. The tribals lost the battle in Babijhari, but they succeeded in focussing attention of the government at their problems. It paved the way for making special laws on land transfer in tribal area of Hyderabad state. The tribal unrest leading to police firing at Indervelli in Uttooor taluk, had its roots in land problem.

In order to protect the tribals from exploitation of money lenders and landlords many protective measures are adopted and many Land Transfer Regulations (LTRs) were passed, since 1917 onwards. The Governments of concerned state had been amending the Transfer Regulation from time to time in order to tighten the grip of the Regulation on the unscrupulous money-lenders and land lords settled in tribal areas.

Despite the above protective measures taken by the Government from time to time the tribals have been losing their land. The reason for this state of affairs
are obvious. One of the most important is the lack of adequate knowledge of the real conditions in the tribal areas on the part of the authorities. The tribal is still at the mercy of unscrupulous money lender who mostly come from outside and who have no interest in maintaining the tribal social structure or improving the tribal economy. The second reason is complicated legislation. Formerly the tribal panchayats settled all disputes, thus avoiding recourse to endless litigations in costly law courts.

The proceedings of which, are totally, incomprehensible to the tribals. In a mixed population the tribal panchayats cannot work. The main reason however is lack of alternative source of credit. This keeps him under the thumb of money lenders. Usurious money lending in the scheduled areas is the main cause of large scale land alienation ³.

Many administrative steps were taken to protect the tribal cultivators from exploitation by outsiders. But "these reforms and administrative steps, however, more or less remained on paper as the tribals were totally uninformed about them and even if they knew they were too isolated to take an advantage of them ⁴. The protective legislations has so far remained on the statute book only ⁵.

There are many devised dubious ways of land-alienation, among them the following are, affected the land ownership of tribal peasants. They are :-

1. Land alienation through money-lending.
2. Land alienation through marital-relations.
3. Land alienation through traditional friendship.
4. Land alienation through tribal servants.
5. Land alienation by producing bogus tribal certificates.
Factors responsible for the decline of the scheduled tribes dominance over land: [Dantanpally Village]

I. The development of Roads, communications and heavy influx of non-tribals into the tribal areas of Utnoor.

II. An usurious money-lending and mortgaging of tribes' land.

III. Declaring Forests as - Reserved Forest area.

IV. Many Protective measures, Administrative steps, taken by the governments, however, more or less remained, on paper as the tribes were totally uninformed about them and even if they knew they were too isolated to take an advantage of them.

V. The impact of Green-Revolution.

VI. Inclusion of Banjaras (Lambadis) in the scheduled tribe list during the year 1976-77.

I. The development of roads and communications and heavy influx of non-tribals into the tribal areas of Utnoor

The main concentration of the Gonds in Adilabad, a region which, until less than a hundred years ago, was rich in forests poor in communications and of little economic and political importance. There can be no doubt that the larger part of the district was then inhabited almost exclusively by oboriginals among, whom kolams, Gonds were probably the oldest population.

But a major change in the tribals' position seems to have occurred only in the first years of the twentieth century with the improvement of communications between Mancherial and Rajura on the eastern side, of the district, and between Nirmal and Adilabad on the Western side. Along these two lines non-tribal populations flooded the district both from the southern from the north and occupied such land as it became easily accessible.
The villages of this district became attractive to experienced cultivators like Kunbis and Marathas, Lambaras Mathuras from Yeotmal, Nander and Parbhani districts of Maharashtra and became valuable to non-cultivators like Muslims, Brahmins and Komatis living in Adilabad, Asifabad and Nirmal towns.

The movement of non-tribals into the tribal areas of Utnoor, reached its climax between 1965 and 1975 and not stopped even up to 1980. It coincided with widespread illegal felling of forest, which resulted in the almost complete deforestation of most of the land along the road between Gudihatnur and Utnoor. Thus the Utnoor village and its periphery villages, in large number, completely transformed by the presence, of innumerable settlers most of them emigrants from Maharashtra, while telugu cultivators like Velema, Kapu, Perika, Goud were migrated from neighbour districts like Karimnagar, Nizamabad, Warangal.

Thus village under present study was more affected by this large scale infiltration of non-tribal into the Adilabad district. During 1970 and 1980 there was lot of discontent in the minds of tribals particularly in the minds of Gonds on the ground that the non-tribals from out-side settled in their tribal villages, forcing them to a position of dependants. In other words tribals who had cleared off the forest-tracts, for cultivation purposes, no longer will be the masters of those pieces, of land but the newly entered one takes them over.

This type of process and its consequences, lead for loss of land, and thousands of tribals turned into impoverished landless agricultural labourers, in scheduled districts and their number has been increasing over the successive census. According to 1981 census more than 40% of scheduled tribe population in scheduled districts are agricultural labourers.

II. An Usurious money-lending and mortgaging of tribal lands

Most of the land alienation cases originate due to indebtedness. Generally non-tribals who settled in the scheduled area advance petty loans to tribals with the
motive of grabbing the lands. The innocent tribals in turn, mortgage their lands with possession to sahukars (money-landing caste). The lands will be in possession to sahukars (money-lending caste) or the lands will be in possession of the land lords, till the tribal completely re-pays the amount borrowed. In this type of money lending the sahukars do not charge interest but they cultivate the lands in lieu of interest. They cultivate their lands through benami transfers and whenever arises a question, the poor tribals are made to state that the lands are in their possession and they are only cultivating the lands. The land-lords cum money-lenders (Sahukars) threaten the tribals with serious consequences if the latter tell the truth. In this way many tribals of Dantanpally village which was purely tribal village during the years 1916-17, were ousted from their choice tract of land by out siders before 1960 and after this year also. Many tribal families emigrated in to the hills for search of land and also to live with their tribesmen and relatives, who accommodate them in their hamlets.

III Declaring Forests as Reserved Areas

The forest and mountainous tracts which are the traditional moorings of the pre-literate societies are considered as placid places from times immemorial. In almost all the scheduled area villages, of Utnur block, before the declaration of the forests as Reserved area, huge chunk of land been usurped by the non-tribal rich peasants and the land-grabbing had been done on a large scale, thereby depriving the tribal peasants of their means of living, In every case the tribals were asked to clear the forest and were allowed to cultivate those lands till they became fertile. When they became fertile the creators of those lands were asked to go deep in to the forest and settle there. This dislocation continued ever, to the benefit of the non-tribal landlords. After declaring the forests as reserved forests large, scale evacuation of Gond villages occured in 1920 and mopping up operations continued creating an atmosphere of unending insecurity.
IV Many Protective Measures, Administrative steps taken by the Government, 
However more or loss remained on paper

1. In order to protect the tribals from exploitation of money lender and land-lords "The Agency tracts interest and land transfer Act 1917 (Act 1 of 1917)" was passed. The main objective of this Act was to control the rate of interest and to check transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals.

2. After formation of Andhra Pradesh a comprehensive and stringent regulation viz. the A.P. scheduled Area Land Transfer Regulation was passed in 1959. Unlike, Madras Act of 1917, A.P. Regulation No.1 of 1959 is an exclusive Regulation which deals with prohibition of land alienation in scheduled area.

This Regulation deemed to be application with retrospect effect from 1917 in Agency tracts of Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam, East and West Godavari districts, but it is extended to scheduled area in Adilabad, Warangal, Khammam and Mahaboobnagar districts with effect from 1-12-1963.

3. Inspite of good safeguards provided in the Regulation the shrewd land lords and moneylenders managed to cultivate the lands belonging to tribals. In order to plug certain loopholes in Andhra Pradesh (scheduled areas) Land Transfer (Amendments) Regulation 1970 areas passed with more stringent provisions. Sient features of the amending Regulations are as follows:

1. Transfer of Land in the scheduled areas is absolutely prohibited to non-tribals, whether it is from a tribal or non-tribal except in case of partition or success.

2. A statutory presumption is made that until contrary proved any immovable property situated in the Agency tracts and in possession of non-tribal is presumed to have been acquired by such person or his predecessor, through a transfer, made by member of scheduled tribe, section 3 (b).
3. If any person whether tribal or non-tribal intends to sell his land he has to sell it to tribals only. In case no member of scheduled tribe is willing to purchase the land on the terms offered by such person, government takes over the land after paying compensation as per rules and then assigns the same land to a member of scheduled tribe.

The landlords settled in Agency tracts challenged in batch of writ petitions the validity of Regulation 1 of 1959 and a Division Bench of High Court upheld the validity of Regulation 1 of 1959 by a Judgement dated 17-9-1969.

Similarly the validity of Regulation 1 of 1970 was challenged again through a batch of writ petitions but their Lordships the then Chief Justice K.V.L. Narasimham and Justice Alladi Kupuswami in their Judgement dated 24-9-1971 while upholding the constitutional validity of the Regulations 1 of 1970 stated that the Amending Regulation is not retrospective but it has to be applied only prospectively. Aggrieved by the above decision of A.P. High Court the non-tribals filed civil appeals No.2299 and 2300 of 1970 to the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court of India also upheld the constitutional validity of the Regulation of 1970.

In view of stringent provisions contained in Land Transfer Regulations the implementation of Land transfer Regulation has been further hampered by the frequent filing 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 the 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 A.P. (scheduled area) land transfer Regulation (Amendment) 1 of 1970.
4. Regulation 1 of 1971 was passed amending section 3 of the Regulation 1 of 1970. According to provisions of the Regulation 1 of 1971 one can mortgage/without possession any immovable property situated in the Agency tracts to any co-operative society including Land Development Bank or any commercial Bank or financial institution approved by State government. In case of default of payment, the said property has to be sold only to a member of a scheduled tribe. Further it prohibited lawyers from representing the non-tribals without the permission of the Agent. Though the Regulations appears to be very stringent in its formulation, in practice, it gives again a free hand to the non-tribal to put the tribals in legal and civil litigations which involves a lot of expenditure. The poor tribal cannot afford to spend such amount.

5. The Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer (Amendment) Regulation 1978 was framed with the objective of making land Transfer Regulations more effective by amending the LTR 1 of 1971. This LTR 1978 completely prohibits the registration of documents in favour of non-tribal acquires immovable property in contravention of the provisions of this Regulations or continues in possession of such property after decree or ejectment is passed such person can be punished with rigorous imprisonment for one year, with a fine of two thousand rupees or with both. Provision is also made in this Regulation to pay any part of the fine to the member of scheduled tribe who is a transfere as compensation.

All these exercises finally culminated in the declaration of a Government order (G.O. Ms. No.129) of Andhra Pradesh, which allowed the non tribal land holdings in the tribal areas as justified with certain limitations.

initiated by the District collector of Khammam in 1979 to evict the non tribals holdings (lands) in the scheduled areas had led to the promulgation order by the government. The government has issued this order on the basis of a resolution adopted by the zilla parishad which pleaded for the exemption of non-tribal land owners owing up to five acres of wet and 10 acres of dry land from the process of eviction from lands in tribal areas. The government of Andhra Pradesh has passed the order (G.O. Ms. No.129 SWD, dated 13-8-1979) protecting the interest of non-tribal landless poor settled in this areas. According to this all 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. Meanwhile the commissioner of Land Revenue instructed all the Special Deputy collectors (Tribal welfare) to book fresh cases of land transfer from tribals to non-tribals on suo-moto basis so that all such cases could be considered on disposed immediately after the execution instructions were withdrawn (vide Le. Rc. No.85/1327/82, 16-6-1982).

The Hon’ble Mr. Justice Jeevan Reddy in writ Petition, miscellaneous petition No. 10057 of 1963 questioned the propriety of government to issue order exempting non-tribal from being evicted from tribal land in scheduled areas. In his order dated 13-9-83 in a writ petition filed by a non tribal of chincholi a scheduled village in Both Taluk of Adilabad district seeking stay of the eviction order the judge observed that Regulation 1 of 1959 does not confer any power on the government to issue such a notification which had the effect of virtually nullifying the provisions of Regulations 1 of 1959. In view of above judgement of High Court government has taking necessary steps for withdrawing the executive order.

The village Dantanpally under present study was more affected by the Andhra Pradesh (Scheduled areas) Land Transfer Regulation 1959 and of the Regulation 11 of 1963 and also by the APLTR, 1 of 1970.
During 1963-1970 there was a sense of threat to the land holdings of rich non-tribal peasantry. Many large farmers holding large areas of wet and dry lands, sold some part of them, and purchased, house-sites, in the urban area like at Adilabad, Mancherial, Luxettipet, Nirmal towns. Many non-tribals reinvested the amount acquired from their land-sales in Business ventures and accumulated lot of wealth, which again siphoned back in to their village to acquire more lands.

V THE IMPACT OF GREEN-REVOLUTION

The Green Revolution\textsuperscript{15} refers to the leap forward in Indian agriculture, as a result of the adoption of the "New Agricultural strategy" in 1964-65. The new strategy aims at raising farm output through the use of high yielding varieties (HYV) of seeds, chemical fertilizers, agricultural credit and suitable price for farm product.

The HYV programme has been characterised on "one of the authentic marvels of our time".

Parthasarthy, who studied an IADP district of Andhra Pradesh (West Godavari) in the year 1968-69 opined that the benefits of new technology in agriculture sector are high (more) to the owners of land and capital and low to the labourers. According to him even PED and Agro-Economic centre studies show that the rates of participation of small cultivators in HYV paddy were low compared to big cultivators. Thus the increase in productivity is purely technological phenomenon with the institutional frame work remaining constant\textsuperscript{16} Ladojinsky Wolf estimated the impact of Green Revolution in Punjab state and opined that the real sharing in the progress is restricted to relatively few perhaps 10 and surely not more than 20 per cent of the farm house-holds of Punjab\textsuperscript{17}.

Pranab Bradhan stated that new agricultural strategy followed by the Government is effectively subsidising and promoting agrarian capitalism in India\textsuperscript{18}.

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And Utsav Patnaik who undertook a study of big framers in five stages held that a new class of capitalist farmers is emerging in every operation with varying intensity.\textsuperscript{14}

All the developmental activities undertaken by the Government to uplift the poor section of the tribal and non-tribal communities had benefited the rich peasants and landlords of the non-tribal community only, others who were profitted were traders and pyraveekars (middlemen).

The Green Revolution also named as Grow more food campaign compiled many farming community of rich peasants to encroach upon tribal lands and also made them to change dry land into wet land through extending water-source irrigation to the fallow-waste lands.

Specifically after 1975 when the developmental activities undertaken by the government expedited then many non-tribals, who were sold their own lands at native villages of plain areas at higher rates, effective with Green Revolution, ventured to encroach upon tribal lands to acquire in larger chunk, at lower rate for raising commercial food crops with higher yields by the provisions of Green-revolution. That is why many non-tribals occupied tribals land with connivance village patwari (Karnam) and also with lower revenue forest, excise officials. Similar trend occurred in Dantanpally village. Many tribals lost their lands in these type of invasion (encroachments).

**VI INCLUSION OF BANJARAS (LAMBADIS) IN THE SCHEDULED TIRBE LIST DURING 1976-77**

In Adilabad district, the Banjaras are among the most recent immigrants. Their homeloenad is undoubtedly North India and in physical characteristics, language, and traditional dress, they are akin to the population of Rajasthan, originally they...
were engaged both in cattle breeding and in the transport of goods on the backs of their pack bullocks and it was in their capacity as carriers that they served the Mughul armies and moved in their wake as far South as the Deccan. When modern means of transport outstripped the Banjaras bullock, Caravans, many of them took to farming with particular emphasis on raising of live-stock.

In this district the settlement of Banjaras is of very recent date and in the 1940's there were still many old Gonds who remembered the time when the first immigrants arrived with their carts and cattle from the neighbouring district of Berar. They first settled in the taluks of Kinwat and Adilabad but when no more land was available in the riverian plains south of the penganga they pushed in to the high lands and ultimately occupied a great deal of land in the heart of the Gond country. Generally more dynamic than easy going Gonds, hard working and shrewd they succeeded in displacing the indigenous tribals (Gonds) in many villages of utnur taluk and in the early 1940, there were already Banjaras, who owned several hundred acres of land but cultivated only a small part themselves hiring out the rest at high rents. In their relations with Gonds they were on the whole oppressive and employed their greater business sense, and their powerful physique to bully and intimidate their Gond neighbours. Once Banjaras gain a foothold in a village, it is generally loss to Gonds or Kolams. By the year 1976 numerous old Gond villages had been taken over by Banjaras and the acquisition of Gond land by new Banjaras settlers progressed at a steady pace, when special revenue officers probed into cases of alienation of tribal land it was found that many of them involved the illegal acquisition of Gond land by Banjaras.

However in 1977 a decision by the government of Andhra Pradesh removed one of the most important safeguards against the transfer of tribal land to now settlers. In that year the Banjaras also known as Lambadas were also given them all the privileges hitherto enjoyed only by the truly aboriginal tribes of Andhra
Pradesh. The reason for this move on the part of the government was basically, political, for Banjara leaders had been pressing for some time for their inclusion in the list of scheduled tribes and as some 600,000 votes were at stake, the political party in power finally yielded to this pressure. The Indian parliament endorsed the proposal made by the government of Andhra Pradesh even though in the neighbouring state of Maharashtra the Banjaras do not have the status of a scheduled tribe.

After the notification of the Banjaras as a scheduled tribe the land Transfer Regulation could no longer be invoked to restore such land to the rightful Gond owners and it can be clearly foreseen that more and more tribal land will pass in to the hands of Banjaras.

In the case of road-side village Dantanpally village, land-hungry Banjaras were moved long back and occupied larger areas of cultivable lands and became most privileged community in the district.

In addition they now endowed with the right of occupying seats in the legislative Assembly reserved for tribals and two tribal Assembly seats, previously held by Gonds, have been gained by Banjaras for some time and at present both seats are represented by Gonds only.

Factors Responsible for the influx of non-tribals and emerging as rich and landed gentry (Except Scheduled Caste Cultivators)

There were several factors which helped the non-tribals (particularly Backward Castes) to rise in the economic ladder supersed ing the aboriginal Gonds and also Forward caste farmers.

1. The Gonds practice, of frequently shifting their fields.

2. The Government policy to open up the district to encourage the influx of new settlers and to grant them "Patta" free of charge for as much land as they could make arable while no patta right to tribals.
3. Perpetuation of Watandar system and origin of Patwari and Patel system in tribal economy.

4. Oppressive attitudes of Non-tribals to evict and eliminate the indigenous tribesmen (Gonds) from their owned lands.

5. The old maqta and Jagir estates of Gond rajas were resumed by government and mokashi, Deshmukhs of Gonds community were lost their right in the land.

6. The permission to cultivate Kharij Khata and Parambhpok land denied to the Gonds by the girdwars and patwaris but accorded more by the same to non-tribals.

7. The failure of aboriginals to obtain land even on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure and more allotment of land to non-tribals on Siwa-i-Jamabadi tenure by Tahsildars.

8. Poverty, illiteracy, ignorancy and isolation conditions of the Gonds in this district.

9. Legislative factors.

   They may be classified into the following six heads:-

1. Ethnographic and settlement factors of tribal community.

2. Sociological factors.

3. Economic factors.

4. Administrative factors.

5. Political factors.

1. Ethnographic and Settlement factors of Tribal Community

   In the Indian context diversity of ethnic groups and cultural conditions is great among tribal communities.
Different individual tribal (sect) group having different ethnic problems like their habitation, the cult of the clan deities, ritual activities celebration of different festivals, different ceremonies.

These ethnographic problems lead the tribal communities to waste their time and resources on these unproductive activities and to confine the same, instead interacting with advanced non-tribal groups of plains for acquiring up-to-date technical knowhow. The primitive life-style of these autochthonous societies, paved the way for the mounting influence of economically advanced and politically powerful groups of plains through which these primitive life styled peoples like Gonds, Naikpods, Kolam, of Adilabad district lost large chunk of their cultivable land to non-tribal.

Their settlement pattern and housing of tribal groups also causes for alienation of lands. Many tribals were uses to keep on shifting their settlements after every couple of years. They make small conical thatched huts with the leaves touching the ground. These huts have such a small entrance that one has to stoop very low to enter it. Most of the chench settlements contain two to fifteen houses with individual families occupying them. For a new settlements they prefer hill-slopes or high ridges so that the enemies may be sighted from some distance and they have ample time to escape. Invariably these settlements are located away from the water source to avoid wild animals which will also be coming to drink water from the same source.

In the case of Gonds of Adilabad district they used to adopt the same pattern in the line of chenchus and many Gonds desired to inhabit on the slopes of the hills.

2. SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The Gonds were enjoyed the leadership of their own feudal cheifs, for centuries, and some of them had risen to positions of political power comparable, to
that, wielded by Hindu Rajas ruling over minor states of Middle India. The Gond Rajas of chanda and Garha-Mandla were not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond subjects but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals who recognised them as their feudal lords. In the middle of the eighteenth century large parts of the Deccan came under Maratha rule and chanda was annexed by the Bhonsle Kingdom. However, Maratha district did not last for more than half a century and in A.D. 1773 the region was ceded to the Nizam of Hyderabad. Even then there was little interference with the feudal system of Gond rajas and until end of nineteenth century Gond chief remained the effective rulers of those regions, where Gonds constituted the dominant population with the establishment of a district administration, modeled on the British system by the Nizam's government, the power of Gond Rajas waned.

The sociological factors again classified in to the following three groups.

a) The Gonds practice of frequently shifting their fields.

b) Perpetuation of Watandar system and creation of Patwari and Patelki system in tribal economy.

c) The old maqta and jagir estates of Gond Rajas were resumed by government and Mokashis, Deshmukhs of gond community were lost their right in the land.

a) The Gonds practice of frequently shifting their fields and sometimes also their settlements was appropriate to a situation in which they were virtually the only inhabitants of large expanses of cultivable land and forest and there were no other claimants of land temporarily abandoned by Gond cultivators. But as soon as agricultural populations from neighbouring areas moved into Adilabad district the Gonds habit of cultivating their land in rotation became a source of weakness for fields, left fallow with the intention of resuming cultivation after a number of years could easily be occupied by new settlers who then managed to obtain title deeds for the occupied land.
b) The history of the development of predatory landlords in the eastern plains, began with the large-scale granting of title deeds to land which was either vacant or cultivated by tribesmen, whose ownership was not documented. This took place when the Nizams of H德rabad’s government decided to maximise land-revenues in the areas. Grants of land known as Watan were offered to anyone with political influence who would undertake to extend cultivation and raise revenue and such Watandar also had the right to appoint patel and patwari. Subsequently some of the remaining land was auctioned by government usually in a manner which gave the local tribesmen no opportunity to obtain title deeds to the land they were cultivating changes in the right to land were often kept secret by those in locally powerful positions. Many non-aboriginals have secured the Watans, not of single villages but of more villages, occasionally even of whole taluk.

c) Some of the Gond Rajas seem to have still been able to maintain a style commensurate with their position within the tribe.

The Raja Lingai Hanumant Rao was held a maqta for the paragans Haveli (i.e, Utnur), Sirpur, and Indraveli paying an annual revenue of Rs. 600/- as late as hundred years ago. His jurisdiction in tribal matter extended over an area which comprises now Utnur taluq and part of the Adilabad and Lakshetipet taluqs whereas the Rajura and Asifabad taluqs stood under the tribal jurisdiction of the Chanda Raja. Each Raja directly administrated the area nearest his residence but the rest of his territory was divided among hereditary mokashi and deshmukhs who held estates of from ten to forty villages. A few of the mokashis still hold their estates as maqta but most have lost their right in the land and today they act only as tribal headmen.

The Utnur Raja, unlike his prosperous relatives like Chanda Raja and the Ahiri Zamindar has also lost his estates. For the maqta of then Utnur, Sirpur and Indraveli paraganas last held by Raja Isru Jangu, was confiscated by Government in 1272 fasli.
Pursuing a policy of opening up the district and raising its revenue, Government encouraged the influx of new settlers and granted them patta free of charge, for as much land as they could make arable. At this time many of the old maqta and Janir estates of Gond Rajas and Mokashis were resumed by Government and the Gonds who until then had lived and cultivated on the land of their feudal lords, were suddenly forced to fend for themselves and to secure land of their own. Thus, the Gonds were lost larger chunk of their owned land and paved the way for smooth influx of non-tribals in the purely tribal dominated primitive economy. Similarly, the Backward caste people, who occupy higher position in the social ladder above the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe and found in large number in all the districts of Andhra Pradesh much endowed with political and economic power, which help them to build-up relations with government agents and playing power politics with the administrative mahcine through expensive and time consuming legislative channels, ousted many tribals from their own lands. Their caste dominance in the neighbouring and own district made them to venture for grabbing the Gonds lands, with the connivance of karnam and lower revenue, forest officials. Their caste also provided them greater access to the rural markets.

**Economic Factors**

During the Nizam's rule to increase the revenue of H.E.H. Nizam’s exchequer, and also to meet the additional expenditure for the mainenance of the British troops in his domain and also to repay the huge debts, that were accumulated, due to the scandalous mismanagement of the State Finances by his minister Chandulal, then the Nizam started opening up new avenues both in the land revenue and in leasing-out of the few areas to the British colonial trade interests especially in the forest regions of Adilabad, Warangal and Khammam, where raw material was abundantly available. All this process had facilitated for the penetration of the colonial captial in to the forest region (or in other words, into the tribal areas) of Adilabad (the forest...
border of his domain) Warangal and Khammam districts of Telangana, and also served the purpose of linking the market centres of Delhi, and central India, to South India.

Economic factors played crucial role in large scale transfers and alienation of tribal lands to non-tribals. Important among them are as follows:

a) The Government policy to open up the district to encourage the influx of new settlers for as much land as they could make arable. By this system many non-tribals entered in this tribal economy and through regular payment of land taxes, they made the revenues of State Government to rise.

b) The Khariikhata and Parambhok lands in the periphery of the villages, gudemis, were allotted to non-tribals, while tribals were the right choice for occupying them, as per the Government norms. Owing to their greater wealth and influence, non-aboriginal land-owners do often succeed in acquiring rights on fallow lands and also occupying the Khariikhata, Parambhok lands with the connivance of girdawars and patwaris.

c) Many non-tribals occupied fallow lands on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, whereas, tribal were denied such rights by tahsildars. Similarly large tracts of area owned by tribals on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure are withdrawn from them and allotted again on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure to non-aboriginals. There are many cases in the Adilabad district particularly in Utnur taluq, that without giving any reason Tahsildar, withdrew the lands from the Gonds and allotted it also on Siwa-i-Jamabandhi tenure to many Lambadas, Marathas, Mathuras, Kunbis and telugu speaking kapus, Perikas, Gowdas and to other castes. In addition to these eclipsical shadows which darkened the aboriginals survival, the advanced and cleverly planned enterprising, the backward caste cultivators shifted from the traditionl, low yield food crops, to the spectrum of
high yielding varieties like raising commercial crops and venturing for poultry and diary which adds much income to their accumulated wealth already. This stability in economic condition stimulated them to acquire more lands in the tribals economy. Thus the solidarity, superiority of Backward castes, established in the tribal belt and they emerged as not only a powerful political segment, superseding the tribal-advancement, but monopolised the lands of the villages.

As per our study many non-tribals were enriched their economic position after green-revolution. The tribal who cleared the land and made arable became alien to this own land.

**Administrative Factors:**

After India became free (1947) and even though the State of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956, but it was only in 1970, that a special Institution known as the "Special Deputy Collector for Tribal Welfare" had been created in almost all the predominantly tribal districts to redress the grievances of the tribals and to put an end to the illegal transfer of tribals' land to non-tribals. The Special Deputy Collector (for land restoration) is assisted by one Tahsildar and other few administrative assistants. The district Collector, as the Agent of the State at the district level, has to send the annual reports to the Directorate of Tribal welfare, who is responsible to look after this task at State level. At the central level, a joint Secretary of the Home Ministry heads a separate tribal cell and looks after the tribal affairs and co-ordinates the regulatory and development activities.

But the present administrative set up having many legal loopholes and also found to be weak in the implementation of the land transfer regulations and also been suffering from many other institutional difficulties. The 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. The problem of land alienation in tribal areas has further been aggravated due to these policy and administrative lapses.

This is a replica of the Indian social system at large and special features in tribal areas, where the landlords and rich peasants have not been able to tolerate any sort of dissent from the poor tribals, who lost their lands and to whom the constitution provides exceptional guarantees.21

Due to this the bureaucracy works in tune with the "pressure" and "influence" of the higher ups, they take up only the cases of non-tribal small farmers and ignores the larger interests of the tribals. All protective legislations were confined to offices and remained on paper, without effecting any changes in the tribals primitive, poverty-stricken life. The problems of land alienation in tribal areas has further been aggravated due to these policy and administrative lapses.

Thus, the ineffectual administrative machinery and the legalisation process engulfed with many loopholes were responsible for the ever-increasing dispossession of lands belonging Adilabad aboriginals.

5. Political Factors:

The Indian National Congress even before independence of India, stressed the need for shaping the policies of land reforms as a means to solve the food scarcity problem due to population explosion. It was felt that the Zamindari, Jagirdari, Mahalwari, Inamdari, Watandari systems of absentee Landlordism should be replaced by "tiller to the land" system and all the tenants should be freed from the tyrannies of absentee-landlordism, and must be given ownership rights.
After the dawn of independence, the Government of India attached much importance to agriculture realising that agriculture was the backbone of Indian economy. The Government had also undertaken a number of developmental activities to improve the living conditions of rural poor. The democratic ideals spread by the national movement had inculcated a sense of equality among the rural poor also.

In the case of Adilabad district the political developments like Babijheri incident, occurred in 1940, and Indravelli massacre, which took place in 1980-81 has shown some impact on the land problems.

a) The root cause of the Babijheri trouble concentrated around the resentment felt by all Gonds that any outsiders whether Brahmin, Muslim, Komati or Rohilla can get patta land but only Gond cannot obtain Patta rights.

The leader of the Babijheri was Kumra Bhimu, whose home village was Sankapalli about 5 miles from Asifabad. He was an intelligent young man who could read and write. From his home village where most land had fallen into the hands of non-aboriginals, he went first to live in Susdapur, a village of a Muslim pattadar and from there to kakarghat where he stayed for 3 years, ultimately he settled in Babijheri and lived there for about five years.

When the lines of the Dhamora state forest were drawn Babijheri like, so many villages was not established as an enclave, and the inhabitants, who had no pattas were told that they must vacate the village. As they had not left by the fixed date, all their houses were burnt by the forest guards. Many Kolams and Naikpods dispersed and went into the Rajura Taluq, but the Gonds and nine households of Kolams got permission to settle in Joreghat, a site east of Babijheri. There were continuous threats from forest official to the Gonds of the Joreghat, sensing the threat, Bhimu and other gonds decide to resist evacuation from their village by
police and collected several hundred malcontent Gonds to support them. The negotiations between the Taluqdar and the aboriginals led by Bhimu were failed as Bheem made extravagant demands and he himself unfortunately refused to come to the Taluqdar's camp.

When Bheem finally refused to give himself upto the police the police party advanced into the hills where he and his followers had gathered, and when Bheemu fired a shot the police opened fire, killed eleven Gonds on the spot and wounded many more. Eventhough the Gonds consider Bhimu a Martyr and tribal hero all those who knew him personally, speak highly of his intelligence and character and blame the forest officers and particularly the chaukidar involved in the Deopur affair for his death. This feelings is strengthened by the behaviour of the forest subordinates themselves, who are now in the habit of using Babijheri as their most effective threat wherever a Gond or Kolam fails to satisfy their demands, for in such a case they simply tell them that unless they comply with their wishes or pays a certain sum of money their fate will be the same as that of Bhimu. Thus, this type of psychological phobia in the minds of Gonds made them to relinquish their lands (patta lands) sometime and also the village attachment by which non-tribals got clear-cut-way to occupy the relinquished (fallow) land of Gonds.

b) When communist and Naxalite ideology percolated into this district in 1975 many of the tribals began to clear new forests land in an area of some hundred of acres which the landlords were used for grazing to their cattle, to stop this process, the landlords took the advantage of the conditions which at that time had been created by the Maintenance of Internal Security Act passed by the Government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi to trump up against the household heads false accusations of holding political meetings and inciting the villagers. False charges of Naxalite adherence were produced, and only after one year in prison and considerable efforts by concerned tribal supporters were the tribals released with charges against them dropped.
c) The Indravelli incident in which many aboriginals (Gonds) were shot dead by police have been compared with massacre at Jalianwala Bagh which has a place in Indian folklore has an example of the ruthless display of state. Violence meant to terrorise a population into total submission.

In 20 April 1981 when a crowd of unarmed Gonds were fired on by a force of police, assembled to prevent a meeting of Gonds who had gathered to protest the alienation of their land and harassment by non-tribal exploiters\(^\text{25}\).

This incident shocked the tribal economy, which made the tribal to confine to their huts, instead of demanding for their lostland which was occupied by non-tribals and made patta in favour of them.

**Socio-Economic conditions of Scheduled tribes between 1960 & 1990**

As one reads the above analysis one gets the doubt as to why the scheduled tribes, especially the Gonds, who enjoyed the status of Rajas, feudal lords, Mokhasis and Deshmukhs, and ruled the Central India (Gondwana) before Moghul power establised in Central India, failed to strengthen their hold on the land as the Forward Castes and Backward Castes did during and soon after the exit of the Gonds from the land. The scheduled tribes who owned only about 38.48 percent in total land in 1960-61 could share only 7.45 percent in 1990-91.

There were several factors that might explain this situation. Some important factors are explained hereunder.

1. **Economic Factors:**

   In 1960-61, there were not many agricultural landless labourers from scheduled tribe community, because at that time no acute land problem in the Utnoor mandal
in general, and in the Dantapally village in particular. And this period happened to be pre-green revolution period where pressure upon irrigated lands is not high.

As the average land holding in the case of scheduled tribe peasants was very low compared to the Backward Caste and Forward Castes average landholdings, the surplus from yields was also low for re-investment on their land. Similarly they did not possess necessary capital for investing on the lands and hence the yield on their lands were very low.

Scheduled tribe land-owners were also discouraged by the market forces from business community as there is no much demand for commercial crops from the business community, in this area, and tribals confined only to the growing Jowar, and Cotton-crops, instead Chillies, Tobacco, Turmeric, Groundnuts, Sunflower crops.

In the credit market also the scheduled tribes were at a disadvantage. They did not have any source of credit from their relatives as they were also equally poor. They were forced to take money from money-lenders who used to charge higher rate of interest. Since most of the scheduled castes and tribes were landless labourers, they suffered from acute poverty, during off-seasons.

Many scheduled tribe landless labourers, who are working as labourers under non-tribal land-lords, did not get the higher wages even though they use to work 15 hours per day in the fields of land lords. It is heartening to note that the tribals who cleared the land to make arable and real owners of the land, compelled to work on their cleared land, occupied by non-tribals as labourers.

Since the scheduled tribes did not have any capital-assets in the village, and market forces are not gainful to them, they could not go for any gainful secondary
occupations like dairying, sheep-rearing etc., which their non-tribal, counterparts, could pursue. All that the scheduled tribes landless labourers along with their unemployed wives, pursue, were some menial occupations, like, collecting, minor forest, products like Mahua flowers, for brewing liquor, tamarind, tubers, gum, betels, firewood, and fruits like veduri kommulu, palleru, kura in addition to their work at his master's field\textsuperscript{26}. The earning from these all menial occupations not at all adequate even for their bare subsistence during slack season. Addition to these, the housewies collects Beedi leaves (Tendu leaves) in the summer and sell them at collecting centres, run by contractors of urban areas. After 1989, all these tendu leaves collecting centres were brought under the jurisdiction of forest department to wean out the tribals from naxalite influence and also to prevent the collecting the money by naxalites, from the contractors.

From 1989 onwards, forest department themselves running these tendu leaves collecting centres, and purchasing tendu leaves at reasonable rates.

Many old women, regularly carries (every day) heavy load of fire-wood bundles, on their head to sell them in the nearby trading centres to procure rice, oil, salt, kerosene oil and other essential commodities for their food needs.

Added to this, the scheduled tribes were, by tradition habituated to a peculiar type of living, wherein drinking occupies the position next only to food. In many places and in many cases the non-tribals tricked the Gonds, by entertaining them, with beer and food, when they were drunk made them, to sign and take away their lands. Drink is the main cause of the downfall of not only small, medium and rich farmers of Gond community, but also for the downfall of their Rajas, Mokashis and other leaders\textsuperscript{27}. It was also reported that the people do not hesitate even to borrow at higher rates of interest, just to satisfy their conspicuous consumption habits. They also spend lavishly during marriages and death ceremonies.
Their caste deities (persapen) are thought to have acted as the protectors of the members of each clan throughout its long history, and the ability of the Gonds to win their battles, with various other ethnic groups, justified their faith in the power and benevolence of these deities. To perform the rites to honour, the clan deities, they have to sacrifice the animals like goat, sheep, and the earth near the shrine of the clan deities was soon soaked with their blood, and afterwards part of the flesh was cooked and then offered to the deity. Remained flesh of the goat or sheep, was consumed by the worshipers, combined with taking wine. Sheep and Goats also used to be sacrificed at funerals and memorial rites, and their flesh was an essential part of the meals prepared for the many mourners, who had to be fed on such occasions. Similarly, Keslapur Jatra the most popular religious event in Adilabad district where the ritual focal point of the entire celebration was a simple Sati Shrine erected on a mound close to a huge banyan tree and made of non more permanent building materials, than a few wooden posts and a low roof thatched with grass. Near this shrine, animals were sacrificed throughout the night and the blare of shaws and the roll of drums accompanied each climax of a sacrificial rite. Thus, these type of lavish consumption made them to mortgage their lands for borrowing the money from money-lenders, who were taken away their land with usurious methods after sometime.

Social and Psychological Factors

Due to their long isolation, away from civilized society, in the interior forest areas, and also to their age-old suppression, the scheduled tribes, were forced to believe that they were poor and socially degraded as per the doctrine of Karma (Raata). Hence, they were satisfied with their lower socio-economic position and had never made any serious attempts, to improve either their economic status or their social status. They feel shy, and get fear, when any higher officials, educated persons, go to their villages or hamlets. They are mild and non-risk bearing and
avoid confrontaton with non-tribals, who deprived them of their rights on their owned land. Each and every Gond, prefers, to live with, their own Gond community, people in every circumstances, even in sorrows, and also in prosperity, but never leave them, and won't venture to settle in the locality of non-tribals. Under these circumstances they did not have any motivations to improve their economic status, before the attainment of Independence, while there are some changes, visible in their attitude and altitude at present due to expansion of education.

Isolation, Illiteracy and Ignorance

Isolation, Illiteracy, and Ignorance have caused, the scheduled tribes, to keep them at the lowest possible socio-economic position. Their settlements which are situated at very distant places from the developed towns, made them isolate, illerate. Illiteracy and poverty compiled them to live in isolated hamlests or gudems and due to illiteracy they were ignorant of their land particulars like area owned, patta rights, siwa-i-jamabandi tenure, and kharijakhata/parambok lands.

All the protective legislation, made to protect the tribals from the exploitation of money lenders, land-lords arenot clearly known to them, due to illiteracy, and they were not acquainted with rules in view of their ignorance.

Causes of Land Transfers and Factors - Affecting shifts in Land Ownership in the Lakaram-hamlets during the years 1960-61 to 1990-91

In the case of Lakkaram Village, Comprising five hillock-hamlets, purely inhabited by aboriginals (Gonds), [where as these hamlets situated at different corners away from the main village, Gram panchayat office and developed town Utnoor, which is centre for trading and also old taluq centre, mandal head - quarter, having ITDA Head - office, Sub - Collector's office, police station Andhra Pradesh
Residential Junior College, Government Junior Collage, Guest house for VVIPs, Horticulture, Sericulture centres run by ITDA and also old well established Christian Missionary Church, Big Masjid near highway road, and Big temple of Hanuman at the centre of the village is 4 kilometers away from all those hamlets] are not fallen in the vicious trap of land-grabbers, of the advanced villages, and also of Utnoor town, in view of their location, in the hillocks, surrounded by forests and not linked with motorable roads and communication.

The spectrum of land holding pattern in all the hamlets of Lakkaram village indicates, that a similar situation of the base year 1960-61 perpetuates in view of the isolated location of the tribal hamlets except Six cases of legal land transfer cases who sold their land as per norms laid down in their tribal (Gomd) society; along with procedures, to other tribal families, to meet the expenditures required to get jobs like Watchman, AUender in the offices located at Utnoor head quarters and also in Saudi Arabia (oil producing countries like Kuwait, Yemen, Bubai) demanded by Pyraveekars.

No other factors like social, political, legislative, Administrative, psychological, affected the land-ownership in this pure tribal economy, (hamlets of Lakkaram village) except economic factor like poverty, and meeting the expenditures to get Jobs in Government sector.
REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. See K. Mohan Rao's paper Implementation of Land Transfer Regulation is Tribal areas of Andhra Pradesh. An over view submitted at the seminar held at (Assam) on the land alienation problem p.)

2. Ibid p. 2-3


4. Report of the study team on Tribal Development programme, All India committee on plan projects, planning commission 1961, p.61.


6. See Tribes of Hyderabad by C.V.F. Haimendorf, p.79.


8. Ibid, p.58.


12. Ibid, p.68.


15. Dr. M.S. Swaminathan gives the following reason for using the term Green Revolution. The growing practice of feeding plants better our crops are slowly
changing colour from a light green or yellow colour of the past to a dark green
colour.... it is this change in the colour of leaves as a result of a famished soils
becoming better fed ones that has led to the coining of the term "Green
Revolution" (See The Catalyst in Green Revolution, Commerce, 27 Dec. 1968.
The International Rice Research Institute has been more explicit in saying
that the initial thrust of the new technology has been far more rapid than any
previous historical experience. In many areas the level of adoption has
exceeded even the most optimistic predictions (Quoted in M.L. Dantwala, Indian

16. See, Parthasarathy G. Green Revolution and Weaker Sections, Thacker and

17. Ladejinsky, Wolf Green Revolution in Punjab, A field trip Economic and Political
Weekly, June 28, 1969, p.5.

18. Bardhan Pranab, Trends in Land Relations, A note Economic and Political

19. Usha Patnaik, Capitalist Development in Agriculture, A Note Economic and Political

20. For details see Karl Marx, Note on Indian History, Op.Cit, p. 124.


23. See Tribes of India (Struggle for Survival) by C.V.F. Haimendorf 1988, Oxford
University Press, p.207.


25. See V.S. Ramamani’s Tribal Economy (Problem and Prospects), Chugh

26. See, Tribes of India, (The Struggle for Survival), C.V.F. Haimendorf, Oxford

27. Ibid, p.171.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 7.1

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY THROUGH SAMPLE RESPONDENTS

In this village, the following findings are emerged, during the field study, and same things are also recorded in paper as per the versions of sample respondents, through interviewing the sarpanch and former patwaris who are well acquainted with the village affairs, since long.

Finding - 1

Siwa-i-Jamabandi: The majority of the tribals of the village Dantanpally Village, then cultivated according to a system of land tenure known as Siwa-i-Jamabandi. The land they tilled remained government land and although they had permission to cultivate and annually paid the land revenue, they were not registered as owners (pattadas) in the village. The allotment of land on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure was with in the powers of the tahsildars, who normally endorsed the actions of patwari and Revenue-inspector without investigating the rights or wrongs of individual cases.¹

Almost all land-owning tribal respondents of this Dantanpally Village, are very much keen to get patta (ownership) certificates from Mandal Revenue Office as at present they are having only "Ryotu Pass Book"² like Khasra-pahani³ of the past. Many tribal farmers, who have been cultivating their lands since long, were not given patta rights so far, and still continuing the cultivation on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, where the landless poor-labourers, who got recently their share in the Parambok or Kharijkata land distributions, under the 20 -point programme and also

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ITDA's welfare programmes, were given pattas to their marginal holdings, through the occasions like minister's visit or MLA's visit, or any other important functionaries visit to their village and also at the occasions of 15th August, 26th January celebrations.

Under Tribal Areas Regulation 1359 Fasli, all the powers relating to settlement of land disputes were vested in the Agent and Assistant Agent and no court of law or Revenue Authorities had any Jurisdiction in the notified tribal areas of Telangana region. This Regulation came into force on 1-10-1949, and notified tribal areas rules 1359 F, were issued on 16-11-1949. The Rule 5 of the said rules debar the Revenue Authorities from exercising revenue Jurisdictions in notified tribal areas. Under Rule 42 of the notified tribal areas rules the revenue Jurisdiction is vested in the Assistant Agent and the Panchayat, if any in the notified tribal areas.

In the scheduled areas of Telangana region especially in Adilabad district tribal lands were transferred in favour of non-tribals by the Revenue Authorities (Tahsildar) during the compilation of Khasra Pahani during 1954-55, even though they have no revenue Jurisdiction in the scheduled areas under the rule 42 of the Notified tribal Areas Rules. The Tahsildar did not bother to obtain in permission of the Agent or the Assistant Agent, who were vested with revenue Jurisdiction in these areas under the Rule 42 of the notified Tribal areas (Scheduled Areas) Rules, before effecting transfers of lands of tribals in favour of non-tribals. Thus innumerable transfers of land were made during 1954-55 and even prior to that ignoring the law prevailing at that time in respect of tribal lands in scheduled areas in the name of non-tribals on the basis of ordinary sale agreements and in some cases forceful occupation of tribal lands by non-tribals on account of mortgage, lease, tenancy etc. But all such unauthorised and inadmissible documents were accepted during Khasra-Phani compilation and transfers of land in favour of non-tribals were effected
The transfer of Government land from one cultivator to the other was the order of the day during the years 1940s, and every year many tribals were evicted from land, which they had been cultivating on Siwa-i-Jamabandi tenure, only because of an affluent non-tribal, able to bribe the Revenue subordinates, had cast his eye on the same land and had been given preference over the tribal cultivator.

At present, there are no transfers of owned land from one tribal cultivator to another non-tribal cultivator of this village on Siva-i-Jamabandi tenure but the tribal cultivators cultivating their lands on siwa-i-jambandi tenure still are not given patta rights so far; These patta certificates facilitate them to apply for loan at the Nationalised Banks, and at other state, central financial institutions.

The system of siwa-i-jamabandi tenure which by definition allowed a great deal of flexibility, provided the lower revenue staff with incomparable opportunities for enriching themselves by the shuffling of land from one cultivator to another, and even when government began allotting patta to Gonds and Kolams, large areas of land continued to be cultivated on siwa-i-jamabandi tenure.

What one could say from this is that, it is every hard to break the landed interests of the big farmers of non-tribal category. Their strangle on the land is as powerful as that of the older Zamindars and Jagirdars.

Finding - 2
Usurious Money Lending

The non-tribals employed usurious money lending as an effective tool for grabbing the tribal lands. They evolved various ingeneous methods through which
the tribal land is alienated. The following methods of lending are prevalent in the all tribal economies of Andhra Pradesh, by which non-tribals alienated the tribals lands.

1. Kandagutta
2. Payida
3. Thirmanam Kaulu
4. Thirmanam
5. Tanaka
6. Nannu
7. Guddula Bank
8. Kaulu.

The non-tribals who came in search of livelihood, with limited means, advanced money, food grains, and clothing, to the tribals in the times of need without insisting on any security. In the beginning the needy tribals respected and regarded the non-tribals-immigrants as "friend in need". But it did not take long time for the tribals to learn that the immigrants had trapped them in a cycle of perpetual borrowing and repayment. The ignorant and illiterate tribals could not seek protections from the legislation. The impoverished and illiterate tribals were kept divided by the shrewd non-tribals, so that tribals could not approach the courts.

In Dantanpally Village, there are 178 scheduled tribe households as per 1981 census, in which 128 households are land owning peasants and remaining 50 are landless labourers. By the year 1990-91 their number including land-less labourers has gone up to 190, including Gonds, Lambadis, Naikpodes.

Chronic indebtedness among tribals is an universal phenomenon. Indian tribals too, seem to accept indebtedness as an inevitable and inescapable aspect of their existence. The reasons of this state of affairs may be enumerated as following

1. Uneconomic holdings
2. Poor soil
3. Primitive technique of cultivation
4. Lack of irrigation facilities
5. Lack of credit facilities for the so called unproductive purposes
6. Lack of alternative economic avenues in their immediate vicinity
7. Lack of mobility and awareness
8. Presence of strong cultural values of honesty and truthfulness which does not allow them to disown any debts howsoever old.

Almost all tribal inhabitants of this village are in the trap of debt bondage, including rich, medium peasants of this community. When monsoon advances, and raining commences occurs and also at the commencement of Kharif seasons, each and every tribal farmer procure high yield varieties (HYV) seeds from the merchant who given the HYV seeds bag on loan, similarly at the time of sowing seeds, transplantations of paddy, chillies, cotton, they require fertilisers on loan basis, pledging that, either product may be given to the money-lender at the market rate, of that period, or they will pay back whole amount with exorbitant interest rate, charged by the money lending class. Among tribals not only marginal and small but also medium, large farmers uses to borrow from the money lenders. As per the version of two tribal rich peasants of Dantanpally village named Lavudya Bhilaya naik (60 years) and Madavi Gangaram (48 years) about borrowing from the money lenders. They says that "A chettuku Aa Gali" (larger the tree higher it will be affected with wind-blowing, smaller the tree lower do it will be affected with wind blowing, telugu proverb) means not only poor but rich also required money for investment and meeting other expenditures, as rich has many promises and problems to meet, than poor peasants, addition to their addictions to liquor and toba-co.

Where as in the case of Backard caste and Forward caste incidence and impact of borrowing will be less, and not affective, as they are very planned and
borrow from their relative and banks at lower interest rates instead pledging mortgaging their land, gold, silver ornaments.

In this village Backward Caste people control means of production, and accumulated wealth through their surplus, from their agricultural higher-yields. Actually they were migrated to this village from other advanced village where they had their relation circle which provides credit source at the time of urgency to meet the emergency needs. More over, number of educated and employed from this community is more, who stands with their own community cultivators as supporting and stimulating source in the financial crisis. Similarly huge amount of dowry (including cash and Jewellery) to their kith and kin also relieves them from financial crunch.

Barring certain areas in the north eastern region, which were closed to the middlemen and contractors during British rule, indebtedness is quite wide-spread among almost the entire Indian tribes.

Consequences of Indebtedness among tribals: Since most of the tribal people are illiterate, they have no idea of what is being entered in the account books of the money lender. They put their thumb-impression very submissively, whereever desired by the money-lender and that seals their fate forever. In this village similar trend going on and as a result, many tribals lost lands, and also migrating to the interior forest areas where they can collect minor forest produces, firewood, work with forest contractors and also clearing the forest land for ocuption and podu-cultivations. This type of cases were existed, in this village which are out of sample study. As per the version given by 50 years old Atram Nagubai w/o Atram Maru during 1950s (5 families) left to Kallurgudam, an interior forest hamlet for search of land and livelihood,
after losing complete land in this village (These five families are out of our sample households).

In this modern era, eventhough Banking Institutions were spread to all corners of the country, still, money lending with usurious-methods continuing in this village. Particularly tribals are falling in this trap due to their poverty, illiteracy, ignorance.

Eventhough, various state governments have promulgated and enacted various laws and Acts. the exploitation of tribal people has been continuing unabated. The following legislations are in force in Andhra Pradesh.


2. The Andhra Pradesh (Andhra Aras Scheduled Tribes) Debt Relief Regulation 1960 (extended to Telangana area in 1963)


Enquiries by various agencies are revealed that despite the regulations, the exploitation of tribal people has been continuing unabated. There is a lot of evasion of the regulations and legislations and money lenders have taken very little notice of the restrictions imposed on their operation. The Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission and Planning Commission Report of the Study Team on Tribal Development programmes, support such findings. These type of worst consequences of indebtedness, and poverty - stricken conditions in this village,
indicates that the illiteracy, ignorance, poverty of the scheduled tribes are much more deep-rooted, than one could imagine. They were wilfully supressed and oppressed through social and exploitative methods. And hence their overall development requires special programmes more carefully and rigorously than the present programmes.

Finding - 3

Collective Utilization of Tank-Bed:

The majority of the tribal households, who sustain on marginal subsistence Largely depend on locally available building material for their dwellings, whose purpose is more of utilitarian than decoration. Common property Resources have been assuming increasing importance in the present strategies of development. In the context of dry regions of rural India, Common property Resources include, village pastures, community forests, Waste lands, common threshing grounds, Waste dumping places lands, common threshing grounds, Waste dumping places, Watershed-drainages, village-ponds, tanks and tank-beds, rivers, rivulets and river-beds etc. Their nature varies from region to region. In some areas it may be forests, in some other areas watering points and irrigation tanks, in other areas waste-lands and community pastures. But in the arid and semi-arid areas they constitute a significant proportion of total land resources.

For an agrarian society like India where about 70 percent of the population lives in the countryside, most of them are the tribals the landless, the small and marginal peasants, the artisan and rural-poor, Common Property Resources have a unique role to play in context of a highly integrated land live stock-vegetation systems of the rural economy. These traditional sources of livelihood directly or
indirectly play an important role in sustaining the income, employment and resource base of rural communities.

In Dantanpally Village, Common Property Resources, particularly Tanks and Tank-beds are the major source of income. The local forests, which fall under the Jurisdiction of Forest areas, are the major source of construction materials like stones, clay (mud), quality timber and bamboo and wild straw, and leaves for thatching. And many of their needs for domestic and agricultural implements, like bullock-carts, ploughs, digging-sticks, baskets and mats are met by the forest-growing, in the surroundings of the village. But the Forest Department Officials won’t allow the tribals and also to non-tribals, to enter in to these forests to acquire the forest items, for their need.

In the case of fishing in the local tank of this village, the system prevailed up to the end of the year 1989, was, that, every household in the settlement would be informed about the fishing event, so that no body will be deprived. And every body joins for fishing on certain day and takes his booty as per his choice and luck. But now system has been changed and fishing in the local tank has been handed over to the co-operative society of fisherment of Utnoor town. From this onwards, co-operative society of fishermen, are not allowing to any body except their own fishing community men, in the tank for fishing.

Similarly local tank-bed is utilized for raising crops after exhaustion of water (i.e., when tank dried-up). The crops like Block grams, corianders, Jute etc. Whole area under tank-bed uses to be shared by all community cultivators through fragmentation of the tank-bed and each allowed to raise their own crops as per their choice, with higher-yields, before advancement of monsoon.
The farming community, who owns wide tracts of dry and wet lands also uses the black-clay (Regadi matti in telugu) of the tank bed as manure for their lands. When tank dries up they arrange through their own bullock carts, to shift this fertile black clay of the tank-bed to their dry and wet lands, to make them fertile for higher yield of different crops. Actually this black-clay of tank-bed is most fertile-one, as it forms, when tank receives water through floods from hillocks, plains, fields, along with fertile layers of the soils, erosed by speedy flow of floods.

Finding - IV

Occupation and Change in Cropping Pattern

There are about 190 households of scheduled tribes in Dantanpally Village during the year 1990-91 of which 42 are landless. During this year (1990-91), out of 33 sample-land owning-households 2 households are having more than 10 acres, 3 are owning more than 5 acres and remaining 28 households owned less than 5 acres.

A fundamental change in the agricultural pattern of the Gonds occured in the first half of the twentieth century. Until then the Godns had mainly cultivated the light, reddish, soils on the high plateascue and gentle slopes on which they grew monsoon crops during the so-called, Kharif Season. As these soils could not be cultivated year after year, periods of fallow, had to alternate with the periods of cultivation. So long as there was ample land available, this system of frequent-fallows, allowed the Gonds to grow adequate crops on light soils and to leave the heavy, black-soils, in the wooded-valley-bottoms largely uncultivated.

The reservation of forests and the shrinkage of the tribals habitat caused by the incursions of non-tribal-settlers, compelled most of the Gonds to abandon the
practice of frequent fallows and to take more and more of the heavy, black soils under cultivation.

The man whose land consists mainly light, reddish soil has no other choice than to depend mainly on kharif crops, whereas the owner of heavy black-soil must inevitably concentrate on rabi crops.

Another change occurred after sometime and at present in existence is production of costly crops like cotton, tobacco, chilies instead of food crops like sorghum, rice, maize, red gram green gram.

The availability of novel commodities displayed in the newly established shops-created among the tribals, a craving for such goods, the only way of satisfying this craving was the production of crops of high cash value within the span of few years, the entire cropping pattern of Utnur taluk underwent a dramatic change. High prices paid for cotton and the possibility of speedily moving large quantities of this crop by lorry to the cotton market and railways at Adilabad transformed a food producing area into a region, concentrating on the growing, of cotton. The availability of this valuable commodity brought increasing number of merchants some from other states as distant as Gujarat, to a region which thirty years earlier has been a tribal backwater. One of the new commercial centres owing its rapid growth to the cotton boom is Jainur on the Utnur-Asifabad road and Gudi-Hatnoor on Hyderabad-Adilabad road. Until 1940 this localities were a deserted sites in the midst of forest, and was then resettled by a few Gond families, who had moved there from such near by villages as maralvai, Ragapur, Adilabad, Yeotmal. Utnur, within the past thirty years both were turned into a flourishing market centres inhabited by numerous Hindu and Muslim merchants. The tribals are spread in the whole Adilabad district.
particularly the tribal groups like Gonds, Banjaras are found in large number, while Naikpodes, Kolams, pardhams, Thotis found at smaller pockets in small number. The Gonds, Lambadies and Naikpodes are settled cultivators, where as Kolams continuing shifting-cultivation in larger and settled cultivation in lesser area. Pardhans and Thotis are basals to the Gond community, and also owning small patches of land for cultivation. Kolams are completely confined to podu and dry land cultivation, near hillock slopes. Pardhan and Thotis beg the amount from rich Gond and Lambadis, and also ventured into the Government services, for the jobs like attendars, operators, electricians, mechanics, teachers, drivers, conductors etc. As economic dependents, both Pardhans and Thotis frequently take cooked food from Gonds.

Finding - V

CHANGES IN POLITICAL POWER AND PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGE

The land, power, and people, are grassroot of empirical variables and offer clues to the understanding of the dynamics of the agrarian social structure in general and the rural elites and the agrarian power structure in particular 14.

For centuries the Gonds have enjoyed the leadership of their own feudal chiefs, some of whom had risen to positions of political power comparable to that wielded by Hindu Rajas, ruling over minor states of Middle India. The Gond rajas of Chanda and Garha Mandal were not only the hereditary leaders of their Gond
subjects, but also held sway over substantial communities of non-tribals, who recognised them as their feudal lords.\textsuperscript{15}

As late as the 1940's most Gond villages were dominated by headmen, who provided real leadership and enjoyed a considerable measure of authority. Land holdings and settlements were then still flexible, for only a minority of Gonds had title deeds (pattas) to land and it was still relatively easy to obtain land for cultivation on temporary tenure. Hence, mobility was considerable. A strong and popular village headman would attract new settlers, and with the growth of the village, his prestige and influence would increase conversely, the village of an inefficient or unfair headman would shrink as the villagers could move away and find land elsewhere. At that time it was still possible to establish new villages, and the man taking the initiative in the founding of a village automatically became the headman of the group of families which had joined in the venture.

After dawn of Independence and also before the introduction of 3-tier panchayat system, in the villages of India, there were caste panchayats. According to this system every case got its own panchayat and it was headed by an elder from that state. They exercised unquestionable power to punish the culprit (with in the caste panchayat rules). Over the above there was a head of the village, who was necessarily a Kapu. He has the right to punish any caste person if he violates caste rules. With the introduction of 3-tier panchayat raj in 1961, the leadership of the village was passed on to the elected panchayat with Sarpanch as head. Since kapus are dominating in this village a Gond was elected as the village Sarpanch for the first time. For the second time also he was elected. Later a medium peasant from Gond community was elected to this post, due to Gond peasants' unrest in the district as Gond community has given priority even though post was not reserved

There are no strong rival-groups of political feuds, rival groups clashes, bombthrowing, etc. Who ever may be president from any party, this tribal economy having political tranquility still, in these days of violent-politics.

Major agrarian reforms and democratic decentralisation of power did bring about significant changes in the countryside. But only for the few, the powerful rural elites, who controlled much land, and who maintained the system of caste hierarchy continuing to control the system evey today\(^\text{16}\). The ownership of land in a society is treated as the mainstay for respectful living, those who have most of it, secure maximum respect from the peasants and the people. This is the present situation in Dantanpally.

Professionals and other committed congress party workers, who rose to become MPs and MLAs and who in their way initiated the process leading to the abolition of the Zamindari system in 1952, have shown a tendency to become a second class Zamindars, rather than the Vanguards of a new agrarian social order. Thus, the force which could have been a formidable agent of agrarian change has instead lent support to the age-old traditional agrarian practices of country side \(^\text{17}\)
FINDING OF THE STUDY
(Lakkaram Village)

In the case of Lakkaram Village, in which Jurisdiction hillock hamlets, like, Rampur (K), Durgapur, Muthadiguda, chinna-suddu guda, pedda sudda Guda, of our study falls, the following important things related to their agriculture, culture, literacy, borrowing, availment of ITDA and other benefits, are main features found in this economy.

Finding - 1

Cultivation of Hill - Slopes And Dry-Lands

Lands: The Aboriginals (Gonds) of Adilabad district, who have been settled on the land since, time immemorial and subsisted principally on agriculture, not shifted, so far, to other occupations like traders, Craftsmen, artisans, musicians, entrepreneurship etc.¹⁸

The Gond themselves, both from their mythology and from ruined-sites of past civilization in the area, realise that they are not the first people to have lived here. But the fact remains that they see themselves as the people who cleared the forests, and, along with the other aboriginal groups, have first claim to be the original occupants ¹⁹.

The Gonds of these five hamlets cultivates only hill slopes and dry lands not a single cent of wet land found in these hillock hamlets, due to lack of irrigation sources like, tank, well, canal, borewell, check dam, and so on, more over their poverty stricken conditions are not conducive to sink well in their own dry lands, to convert in to wet. Neither the Government nor the ITDA has planned to construct
tank or check dam, to facilitate all tribal farmers for their cultivation. Even though a water stream (Vagu) flowing through the forests, touching Durgapur, Rampur (K) Muthadiguda, hamlets, but not useful to this tribal belt, as no chek dam constructed on it. The food crop like jawar and cash crop like jawar and cash crop like cotton are two important crops raised in these dry lands. Where hill-slopes are, only suitable for Jawar crops, and there was no danger of water-logging in the hill-slopes.

Many Gonds of these hamlets, uses to reap sufficient grain crop like jawar (millet) to meet their domestic needs, through out the year. Food grain was rarely sold, and for cash requirements, such as the money needed for paying land revenue and buying clothes oil were met by the sale of cash crops, usually grown only in small quantities previously oil seeds and castor were the main cash crops to the Gonds, where as large scale growing of cotton is a relatively recent phenomenon (In Gond myths and epics there is no mention of cotton, whereas millet and rice both figure prominently Haimendorf, tribes of India p.98).

The reservation of forests and the shrinkage of the tribals habitat caused by the incursion of non-tribal settlers in neighbouring villages located at road side compelled most of the Gonds to abandon the practice of frequent fallows, and to take more and more of the heavy, black-soils under cultivation, eventhough these dry lands seems fertile without re-fertilizing them with fertilizers, except, cowdung-manure, and leaves of trees. No Gond raises other crops like Tobacco, chillies, wheat, Sugarcane, Sunflower, Vegetables except jawar and cotton. some part of the dry land and hill-slopes, spared for cattle grazing particularly for cows, calves and bullocks.
**Finding - 2**

**No Impact of Green Revolution and Market Forces:**

All these five hamlets purely inhabited by Gonds, remained out of green revolution's impact. All the respondents are cultivating the same plots, of land for the same crop. They are accustomed to raise food crop like jawar and cash crops like cotton, Redgram, green ram for last twenty years, but not shifted to other crops.

They are not fully aware about the use of chemical fertilisers at the time of sowing seeds and transplantations. Similar response from all the respondents about the use of pesticides and Insecticides to control pests and other insect affected diseases to the standing-crops.

The isolated location of their hamlets, in the hillocks deprived them-off, the benefits of green revolution.

It is the general phenomenon that market forces are one of the factors for change in cropping pattern and occupations. But these hamlets are not effected so far, with any type of market forces, and confined to their traditional, primitive, cultivating system, raising same crops. The market surplus of the farmer remains low, due to low-yield of food grains and cash crops, by which marketing of their products won't take place, and their income level and standard of living would not improves. Still, all these Gonds living in the houses built of wood and bamboo and thatched with grass, having a free standing cylindical grain -bins which are made of wattle and covered with a mixture of mud and cow dung infront of their houses. Recently (1990-91) ITDA has sanctioned some amount for purchasing tiles to their owned houses to cover the roof of their wooden and bamboo-built houses, instead of grass, which is fire prone.
Finding - 3

No Money Lending And No Borrowing:

It is noteworthy thing that this tribal economy situated in the hillocks, not witnessed the money lending and Borrowing activitees, by the virtue of exclusively, purely Gond-habitation. Even among Gonds also, borrowing and lending-trend not developed much, each and every Gond respondent, responds that, they won't approach to any money-lender (Sahukar) of the near-by Utnoor town, for borrowing, the money, to meet their necessities like buying clothes, tobacco, and also for celebrating the marriages of their kith and kins, and also for performing rituals, attending jatras and shandies. The are accustomed to the their traditional life, content with meagre they possess and meeting all the expenditures with the money they received after sale of the part of their food grain and complete cotton produce, at lowest market rate, fixed by the commission agents of the market of Utnoor town.

As per the version of a teacher, who works in Durgapur, The Gonds of these hillock hamlets lives with eating tubers edible leaves of the trees, fruits, roots, and also by eating the meat of rabbit, deer, peackock and fish but not venture for borrowing in their utter failure of conditionns of ripening the food crops and also cash crops.

The non-exposure to advanced civilization, culture and also influence of Gree-revolution, market forces, made them not to resort to borrowing from non-tribals as well as from their own community members during their economic crisis.

Actually the tribals face difficulties from the social environment with the entry of non-tribal traders, money-lenders, forest and excise officials. The absence of
all type of outsiders, made these hamlets, to remain with tranquility, without any land transfers and alienation.

**Finding - 4**

**Presence of Atram Gond Raja:**

In this Lakkaram (main) Village, situated near Utnoor town, Atram Dev Shah, eldest son of Jagapai Rao, the last Utnoor Raja, still live in with owning large tracts of wet and dry lands, and also large house in this main lakkaram village. The presence of the Gond Raja, Atram Deo Shah in this village, completely closed the doors of this village for non-tribals and also for money lenders to enter and for encroaching on the tribal lands.
REFERENCES AND NOTES


2. See B.J. Rao's Land Alienation in Tribal Areas, Kakatiya School of Public Administration, 1987 p-270.


Pass Book: Under section 38E of the amendment to the Andhra Pradesh Land Transfer Act of 1950 all protected tenants were given the Pass Book (equal to patta certificatee) to their land suo moto or automatically by the government. This system was started during 1987-88 when NT. Rama Rao was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

Khasra-Pahni: Under the Records of Rights Act 1950, All the tenants were able to get protected-tenancy-certificatees.

Khalas Diwani: Lands that come under Government land revenue system.

Sarf-i-Khas: Nizam own direct estate or crown lands

Mufawwaza-j-Diwani: Reference to the certain parts Nizam's Sarf-i-Khas, which had been handed over for purposes of administration to the state (Diwani) were called Mufwwaza-i-Diwani.

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9. Ibid. p-18.


11. Ibid. p-104.


13. Studies says that excluding major irrigation system the arid and semi-arid areas of India are spread over 31700 Kms (Krishna 1977) and 1,700,000 Kms (Rayon etc. 1974) respectively, and together they account for more than 61 percent of the total area of the country.

15. C.V.F. Haimendrof Tribes of India (The Struggle for survival) Oxford University Press 1988, p-151.


