

**SOCIALSTRUCTURE-DEVELOPMENT AND MOVEMENTS :
CASE OF MUNDAS AND ORAONS IN CHOTANAGPUR**

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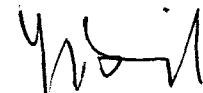
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Certified that the Dissertation entitled
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CASE OF MUNDAS AND ORAONS IN CHOTANAGPUR",
submitted by SHRI OM PRAKASH MISHRA, is an
original work and has not been previously
submitted for any degree of this or any other
University. We recommend that this Dissertation
be presented before the examiners for their
consideration of the award of M.Phil degree.


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ABBREVIATIONS

BTWRI : THE BIHAR TRIBAL WELFARE
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

EPW : ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEEKLY

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM

Tribal movements have always received wide attention from sociologists as well as social anthropologists. Most of the studies dealing with tribal movements in India and particularly in Chotanagpur are descriptive in nature. They present movements in a sequential framework of various events. Hardly any attempt has been made by researchers to understand the movements in their social structural perspective. The present work is an attempt in this direction. This work deals with social structure - development and movements in Chotanagpur.

The interlinkages of structure-development and movements is of two types. There are some movements which have emerged for the betterment of social structure and development of the communities concerned. In such kind of situations the aim of the movement will be improvement in the socio-economic structure of the community concerned for which it was initially started. The other situation in which movements will emerge is in the very process of development mechanisms trying to alter the social structure of the tribe concerned. This kind of movement

has special bearing in case of Third World countries where an attempt has been made by government to integrate the primitive communities in the national democratic set up through various projects and plans. In such situations movements have taken place in two ways. There are some movements which have challenged the process of involvement and integration of the tribe in the national mainstream. While other movements have emerged due to the uneven distribution of developmental benefits among various tribes. Here the main thrust of the movement is for a just and equitable distribution of benefits and lessening of the increasing gap between rich and poor.

We find examples of both kinds of movements in Indian tribal social structure. The interlinkage of social structure development and movement is from another point of view. Social movements can not be studied with respect to the activities and personalities of certain charismatic leaders. It is very necessary in fact to know why particular movements occurred when they did and where.

This study will primary concern itself with Mundasand Oraon's of Chotanagpur. There are two very

important reasons behind selection of these tribes and this region.

Firstly, 93 percent of tribal population in the state is concentrated in the plateau region of Chotanagpur and Santal Pargana. Most of the movements taken place in this region have witnessed massive participation of Mundas and Oraons.

Secondly, Chotanagpur is a place which has witnessed rapid industrialisation and urbanization finally leading to displacement in the entire tribal social structure and giving rise to various movements. Due to the influx of development measures, increase in literacy and socio-political consciousness, tribal unrest has assumed an organised character among the tribals in this region. It is believed that tribal movement has been more strong among those tribes which are socially and politically more conscious and numerically high.¹

The Study is based on both primary as well as secondary materials. The materials related with the

1. K.S. Singh, E.P.W., 1982, p.1376.

social structure and development of Mundas and Oraons are based on the district data. It is important to mention here that Mundas and Oraons account for 14.66 percent and 17.76 percent of the total tribal population of the state.¹ Ranchi district has got the highest concentration of total Oraons and Mundas of the state. They account for about 74 percent and 72 percent respectively.² Thus data related to Ranchi district has been utilised to explain the situation of Mundas and Oraons. After Ranchi the maximum concentration of Mundas and Oraons is in Singhbhum and Palamu respectively. So the data is based on these three - Ranchi, Singhbhum and Palamu.

Historical Evolution of Munda and Oraon -
Socio-economic system

Munda's Socio-Economic System

There is no unanimity about the original home of Mundas. Munda society was structured on the basis of Khontakathi system. This means village of the family of original dwellers. These people made a distinction

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- 1 Census 1971, Special Tables for SC/ST, p.7.
 - 2 Ibid, p.7.

between ~~eta~~ Matorenko (members of other village) and Matu Maroko (original settlers of the village). The eta Matorenko were introduced in the society in course of time. These were men who were relatives by marriage - men of different Rites in ~~September~~ - a son-in-law for example would come and settle in the village.

The position of Munda has been considered as that of the *primus inter pares*¹ - a chief among equals. He had his share of the village lands just as other members of the Khontakatti had, occasionally the pater families sought and obtained the assistance of brotherhood in cultivation of fields. When any feud broke out between village community and others all the adult members of each village community were bind together and followed their Munda. It is said that even females would gladly render military service to the community under the leadership of their Munda on such occasions.²

In course of time Munda developed a tribal organisation of its own. Munda saw the necessity of making himself stronger so as to be able to effectively protect

1. S.C. Roy, ~~p.65~~ *Mundas and their Country*, 1912, p 65

2. Ibid., p.65.

his brotherhood against the aggression of other village units. This led to a wide organisation which was known as Patti system. The villages by batches generally of 12 (sometime more and some less.) come to be regarded together as Patti.

The most influential and strongest amongst the headmen of entire villages was Manki a patti chief. The remaining village headmen serve allegiance to elected Manki. But all the same the Manki like the Munda was looked upon as chief among equals and as a leader not as a ruler.

As with the most oriental institution the offices of the Manki as well as that of the Munda gradually came to be hereditary. In the internal administration of each village, Munda was assisted by the village panch or elected council of elders. The tribal constituted in such fashion arbitrated in all disputes amongst the villagers inter se. Custom was the recognised law.

As for the pursuit of the Mundas in their early days - agriculture appears to have become their chief occupation. Besides this iron smelting - as their

ancient legend tells us was known to the people.¹ Hunting originally a necessary occupation seems to have always remained favourite pastime with Mundas.

Medieval Period

The distinctive feature of this period was breaking up of Munda democracy by rise of Raja. And with this we come to the important question of state formation in Central India. Before we discuss the overall impact of the Raja's in the socio-economic structure it is better to talk some thing about the nature of state formation in this area. State formation is very important for the understanding of the contemporary socio-political dynamics of tribal society. K.S. Singh² has rightly marked - state formation in tribal society is crucial to the understanding of many contemporary processes such as relationship of tribal and nontribal communities, development of agriculture, emergence of stratification system, interaction of little and great traditions - all that has contributed towards the formation of

1. Ibid., p.66. (sc log)

2. K.S.Singh, Tribal Society in India, 1985, p.27.

regional systems in the exposed zones of tribal India.

There is unanimity among the social scientists over the issue of state formation in this region.

Following are some important questions which one confronts while talking about state formation in this region.

1. Whether state developed internally or imposed by aliens?
2. In the formative period and the imposition of state does the tribal identity remain intact or it is eroded?
3. What is its over all impact on the tribal social structure?

As far the first question is concerned, there is a lot of controversy about the exogenous and endogenous models of state formations. For example K.S. Singh¹ has said that the phenomenon of state formation among tribal communities in India occurs particularly among the Dravidian tribes who had come from Central India and the Mongoloid Ahoms in Assam.

Commenting on the issue in the context of

1. K.S. Singh, Ibid., p.30. 1985.

Central India, Romila Thapar and Majid Siddiqui¹ say that it is important to look for other preconditions since presumed familiarity with the institution of state cannot be a sufficient cause.

In the context of Central India and the tribes concerned there are following people who have talked of state formation in their respective framework: K.S.Singh, Romila Thapar, M. Siddiqui, Surjit Sinha.

K.S.Singh² while talking about state formation in the content of Dravidian tribes talks of following four conditions:

1. Settled agriculture and tribal village community as one.
2. Acculturation.
3. Roles of determined acculturated powerful tribal minority which tried to point its rule on its people or on a new territory. The emergence of the Nagbansis as head of the Parha confederacy which predominantly developed into a kingdom is a case in point.

1.

1. R. Thapar and M. Siddiqui, UNESCO, Race Relations, p.25.
2. K.S.Singh, 1985, p.37.

4. Once these states had come into being, they were subjected to a spate of invasions from outside which together with their own urge for expansion put a strain on their resources - feudalized their structure weakened them and hastened their end.

Seen in this perspective Singh says that the Kolarian tribes such as Mundas in Ranchi (not Bhumij) with the communal agrarian organisation borne out by their Khuntakatti village show little propensity towards the development of state.¹ He has denounced the belief that Chotanagpur raj arose from the Munda culture matrix as example of bad history and poor ethnography. The Chotanagpur Nagbansi chiefs were the descendents of the historical Dravidian Nagas who ruled at Kauardha as late as 14th century.²

Romila Thapar and Siddiqui held the view that for state formation the availability of surplus of kind is very necessary.³ The surplus cannot be provided by tribal mode. The development in the agricultural technology and improvement in irrigation facilities helped in the generation of surplus.

1. Ibid., p.30. 1985

2. Ibid., p.30. "

3. R. Thapar, UNESCO, p.31.

Surjit Sinha commenting on state formation in Central region says - state formation in the tribal belt of Central India is very largely a story of Rajputization of the tribes.¹ For Sinha the actual formation of state has taken various conveyers in the different instances. In context of Chotanagpur according to Sinha the formation of state has taken place mainly through internal development out of tribal base.

Surjit Sinha repudiates the openly held theory of Oppenheimer and gumplowitz which posits that invasion of peasants by hordes of herdsmen is an essential historic prerequisite to the formation of state.² According to Sinha there is no tradition of record of largescale invasion of agriculturists tribal territory by aggressive nomads.

There are two essential points in the whole argument of Surjit Sinha about state formation.

First of all he relates the formation of state in Central India with the concept of Rajputization. Rajput immigrants gained power through adventures in the tribal tract by manoeuvring the narrow range clan band tribal chieftancies.

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1. Surjit Sinha, Man in India, p.36. ~~1961~~, 1962.
 2. Oppenheimer, 1914, pp.51-81.

Secondly, which is closely related with the first point is that the diffusion of Rajput model of state as also the indigenous developmental processes could gain ground only among those tribal groups who had attained the technological level of settled agriculture like Bhumij, Munda, Gond, Bhuiya etc. In no case it could happen in cultivating group like Juang, Mell Marea, Kharia developing a kingship supported mainly by their primary technique of cultivation.¹ However Surjit Sinha's thesis should not be considered as a kind of determinism between formation of state and agriculture through plough. It can take place even among slash and burn farming with digging steel and hoe if there are no plough technology to compete with in the immediate environment (for example Maya, Azteek, Inca state etc.). He says that stable occupation of a particular territory for a number of generations is perhaps the essential condition for emergence of state.²

Although the authors while disagreeing on the exact nature of state in the central region agree on the overall impact of state in the traditional tribal social structure.

1. Sinha, p.72. 1962

2. Ibid., p.72.

The effects were in terms of social economic and political structure of the tribal society. For example Romila Thapar and Siddiqui say that fundamental changes were brought about in the rights over land. The ones shifted from clan to territory, moral rights based on kinship was encroached upon by those based on professional services¹. This process started through granting of lands by rajas for military, administrative and personal services - the main infrastructure of state. This had a far reaching consequence over the society. The grantees attempted to appropriate the minimum rights. It was in this context that the distinction was made between lineage lands (bhoinhari lands) the remanant of old khuntakatti system, the lands directly held by the grantee or manjhas lands and those from which the produce was collected and given to the grantee of rayat, the rajatas.

Secondly, the tendency of stratification which already begun with the Khontakatti system was not only intensified and acculturated under state but was also

1. Thapar, p.29.

made more complex with the intermediaries. The breaking down of tribal mode of production related not merely to the loss of lineage rights over land and redistribution system but also to the loss of politico-judicial rights inverted in lineage. The rights now passed into the hands of professionals outside the lineage and often from outside region.¹

One of the important impact of such process is the feudalization of the social structure. This has been emphasized by both K.S.Singh and Surjit Sinha. According to K.S.Singh as the new state emerged many types of functions formed, a multicaste 'a mul community pattern of settlement emerged and economic interdependence between the tribe and on the one hand and non-tribal peasants and artisans on the other came into existence. Many castes moved into the tribal areas and joined these settlements (bhum) - Brahmanbhum, Gopala bhum and Singhbhum. Manbhum in parts of middle India.²

Referring to it Surjit Sinha says that once the structure of state had come into existence, the territories seemed to be regarded from the top at least, mainly as military-administrative units without reference

1. *Ibid* p.30.

2. K.S.Singh, 1985, p.47.

to caste or clan. In Bhumij and Munda, territories given as a conventional number is important in territorial organisation. Thus there are five parganas under Raja of Chotanagpur.¹ However the most important impact of state formation on the internal structure of the tribes was the stratification of the hitherto egalitarian society into social classes. Social stratification follows mainly the lines of sub-infeudation of territorial units. On the whole power economy and social status have fairly close correlation in the regional system of stratification.²

As far as the question of existence or erosion of tribal identity in the whole process of stratification is concerned, Thapar and Siddiqui hold the view that tribal identity would have been eroded. The reason behind the survival of tribal identity is as follows. Perhaps the availability of wasteland or forest with a relatively sparse population provided the continuity possibility of new khuntakatti atleast in the perceived past to the 17th century. Inevitably the new khuntakatti would be swallowed up in the state system but the grantees may have encouraged them initially as a means of bringing

1. Sinha, p.73. 1962

2. Ibid., p.74.

more land under cultivation given the gradually low yield of the land and lack of agricultural innovation Chhotanagpur was not to experience extensive colonization during this period. The best land would slowly be acquired by hierarchy of grantees, but in less fertile areas and the uplands would not arouse great interest among the land owners.

Thus the tribal identity and its preservation was due to the nature of land relations partly. In addition the cultural legislation of the elite was in terms of wide Indian content - so would go sanskritization, culture. This integration of culture did exist at the court level for the jagirdars and possibly clan chiefs but did not promote much further. Elite culture was therefore a sanskritic culture thus deepening the differentiation but Munda and Oraon on the one hand and those who represented the state on the other.¹

As far as the exposition of Surajit Sinha is concerned he doesnot deal as such with the issue of tribal identity. But from his model it is clear that

1. Thapar, p.31.

the identity of tribe is minimal in the sense that largely the process of state formation for him in Central India has been Rajputisation of tribes.

From the above discussion about state formation in central India following important points emerge.

(1) State formation had taken place both through endogenous and exogenous sources in central India. It has taken only among those tribes which have attained technological level of settled agriculture.

(2) The genesis of the modern problem of Dikus in tribal India today in general and Chotanagpur in particular can be seen in this very process of state formation.

(3) It triggered off the process of stratification in tribal society creating cleavages between the tribals and non tribals and within tribes themselves.

(4) Fourthly, through this discussion one is in a position to refute the conventional concept of acephalous societies in India.

The other very important point related with the Munda socio-economic system has been the patterning of stratification in the society.

The so-called egalitarian nature of tribal society has been denounced by various sociologists. K.S. Singh remarks: There has always existed within a tribe a measure of distinction between the high and the low in terms of social and physical distance, notion of purity and pollution, prestige and status; habits and customs etc.¹ prestige and status; habits and customs etc. He has talked of three fold division with the feudatory chief (zamindars) alone above top, well to do headmen rent and general mass at bottom level of the social ladder. A class of DIKU or outsider professional money lenders grew up as a high class.

Commenting on the ~~bureaucratical~~^{hierarchical} arrangement and its genesis. R. Thapar marks in the context of Chotanagpur tribes particularly Munda, that the emergence and need for Manki, the hereditary character of the offices of Manki, Munda, Pahan, Mahto, the hierarchical arrangement and gradual transformation of the gifts into dues - all encouraged a hierarchical arrangement of power based on access to land and its produce which ran center to the

1. K.S. Singh, Occasional Papers, p.15.

original lineage system with its stress on egalitarianism.¹

However, while talking about the stratificational pattern the distinction between the traditional criterion of stratification and modern bases must be maintained.

In the light of above discussion about the Munda social structure it can be safely concluded that prior to the advent of British Munda social structure was democratic in nature.

Oraon's Socio-Economic System

S.C. Roy says,² the ancient history of Oraons is enveloped in still deeper darkness than even that of the Mundas. Around 6th Century B.C. and 5th Century A.D., Oraons came to the northwest plateau of Chotanagpur as advanced agriculturists. Coming in contact with the Mundas, Oraons imitated their socio-economic organizations. Like Mundas they also cleared the jungles and started agricultural production which is called Bhuinhari system. This Bhuinhari village system was similar to the Khuntakatti system of the Mundas. Bhuinhars like Khuntakatidars were the owner of the village land. The village priest who is also called Pahan had to be a bhumihar. The main function

1. Thapar, n.24.

2. Roy, p.67 (Mundas). 1912

of the Pahan was to keep Oraons away from the effects of any evil through sacrifices. As far as the idea of ownership of the property is concerned it seems that Oraons had developed the system of individual or family ownership of the land.¹ Like Mundas Oraons had also developed political organization on the level of (1) single village, (2) confederacy of village. The village organization consisted of the Bhooinhars, later Oraon settlers, and workers.

Pahan or Baiga is an essential and indispensable factor of the Oraon village organization. In fact he is the central figure of the village. In most Oraon village a Pahan is selected finally by the magic soup and winowing basket. In far villages owing to their large Oraon population and large area there are two or even three Pahan. Ordinarily the Pahan always belongs to the Pahan khut but in few villages owing to these Pahan Khont being very small Bhooinhars of other Khonts too have been known to be elected Pahan. In some villages because of small number the office of Pahan has become necessary.

Mahto in an Oraon village holds some what the same position that a village Munda does in a Mundari village of

1. Roy, p.374, Oraon's Religions
1928, Ranchi.

Bhuhinhari type. The office of Mahto evolved after Ahom landlords came to the country.

The Parha confederation had its immense social importance. It was a body which took all the responsibility of social development - protection from any evil whether super natural or human, village confederation was the backbone of the independency of tribal existence, their solidarity, health-progeny, cattle and agricultural interests. It command the authority from private family to the public social life for the welfare of the Oraons.¹

One of the important feature of the Oraons social organization is the interaction with other Hindu castes. As mentioned earlier it has been made clear that the ethnographers' data in Chotanagpur does not support the so-called claim of isolation of tribals from non-tribals. In a sense the lower caste Hindus such as Lohar, Kumhars, etc. were the backbone of the Oraon social system. There are very few villages in the Oraons country with an exclusive population of Oraons. The interactional dynamics of tribals and non-tribals and its inevitability for the Oraons system can be seen in the very nature of

1. Roy, Oraons of Chotanagpur, p.342.

the Oraon social structure. As the chief and practically the sole occupation of Oraon as agriculture he considers it derogatory for himself to engage in such occupation as weaving, basketing a nicker worth pottery and working in iron. So he necessarily requires people of other castes and tribes to supply his few simple needs. This typical passage of S.C. Roy's work on Oraons amply demonstrates the crucial significance and composition of their social structure - a typical Oraon village. This consists of the Bhoonhars, subsequent Oraon settlers (called Jaith Raiyats) and a gerait family, are one or two Ahir families, a Lohar family and sometimes also a family of Kumhar."¹

Changes Introduced in the Social Structure of Both Tribes since Colonial Intervention

The interference in the administrative and revenue of Mundas and Oraons system began with chief of them - the Raja. Previously Raja did not interfere in the internal administration of the tribes. In 1585 through a golden change the Raja of Chotanagpur was made the tributary of Mughal emperor of Delhi. In 1616 the

1. Roy, p.110. Oraons

Raja failed to pay the tributary to emperor and went to jail for 12 years.¹ It was in this point of time the Chotanagpur Raja came in contact with the outside world and saw the pomp and show of the imprisoned Hindu kings. This interaction had far reaching impact on the Raja on his release from the jail, he began to implement new rules regarding royalty and copied the revenue style of Hindu kings. It was in this context the Raja brought in Brahmins, Rajputs, Comteers, warriors and various Hindu castes to the region of Chotanagpur. He now claimed over the lands of Mundas and Oraons and announced himself as the imperial authority.

The new administration and revenue collection method brought about fundamental changes in the land system of the Mundas and Oraons. The currency system not in vogue in that ~~territory~~ ~~territory~~ he was unable to pay the foreigners in cash. So Maharaja handed over to them his right to supplies from the villagers whose grants were rendered for the service of the officers. Thus the system of service grant (jagirs) was introduced and the beneficiaries were called jagirdars.² This development had too far reaching consequences.

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1. See S.C. Roy, Mundas Country.
 2. The resolution the grant of royal for the year 1880 cited in S.C. Roy, Mundas, p.165.

Firstly this led to agrarian unrest later on among the tribes. Secondly, the concept of Déku (~~youngsters,~~ aliens) started in vogue. Not only the Maharaja made claim for the land but foreigners for their own interest made it clear that Maharaja had absolute right over the whole of Chotanagpur and that in making ~~grant~~ to his service grants he had ~~transferred~~ his absolute property right to the jagirdars.¹

This led to the development of private property and landlordism in Chotanagpur. Meanwhile in 1793 the permanent settlement was introduced in Bengal and extended to Chotanagpur. In 1806 Maharaja and landlords were asked by British to establish zamindari police station and appoint police officers. These officers were brought in from outside Chotanagpur. In nutshell these developments largely affected and weakened the traditional khuntakatti and Bhuveinhari system of Mundas and Oraons.

Apart from changes in the economic system of the tribes, remarkable changes were introduced in the socio-political arena too. The study of changes introduced by British can not be understood in isolation from their

1. Roy, Oraons of Chotanagpur, p.166.

overall colonial policy towards the country. Unlike Africa which adopted the system of indirect rule through the traditional chiefs of territories, a large part of the tribal region and most of the tribal population in India were integrated within the administration of the provinces of the British India or within that of the Indian states where they can keep a watch on the tribal situation.¹ In certain cases they acted even as agent for tribal regions.

Thus colonial system ended the relative isolation of the tribal society and brought into the mainstream of the new administrative set up policy and programmes simultaneously. British also followed the administration through protection. For this there were areas of tribal concentration which were enclaved to reclaim to civilization - the tribes who had rebelled or were difficult to pacify. The colonial system put an end to the political dominance of the tribes in the region.

The account of British impact on tribal society can not be complete without the description of role of missionaries on tribals. It is here the relationship

1. K.S.Singh, E.P.W., p.1320. 1982

between colonialism and Christianity, use of other for serving the purpose of former becomes necessary. Christianity worked as an agent for civilizing the aboriginals in the colonies. The aborigines protection society established in 1836 exercised a powerful influence on the colonial policy and administration. The Christian mission did not emerge in India as an agrarian institution, although they did preserve fundamental changes through introduction of new technologies in agriculture. At the political level, the missionaries in whose collaboration with the colonial administrators rationalized the raj and sought to create a new bastion of support for it among the backward communities.

In the initial phases the missionary activities were ~~disruptive~~ of the tribal system. Evangelisation was inherently ethnocentric. They imposed a puritanical ethic on the permissive tribal society, however most of the activities of the missionaries also varied according to the existential situations. The missionary also produced an ideology for the peasant system emerging in middle India. They evolved the notion of private property into the land on the communal mode of production. They encouraged the tribals as peasants propositions for the restoration of land, regulation of rent, abolition of

^efeudal dues . Missionaries also led peasant struggles against the indigo planters in Bengal and zamindars of Chotanagpur. They provided a sense of self respect to the tribals and sought to create a separate identity for them.

Thus to sum up it can be said that British adopted such a policy for the tribals in middle India in particular and tribals in general which served the purpose of their overall expansionism in India. K.S.S ingh has rightly said that they followed a dual policy of strengthening the feudal crust of the tribal societies formed by the rajas, chiefs and zamindars and simultaneously created conditions in which their economic and political system were undermined by the rampaging market forces.¹

Post-Colonial Situation

The process of decolonisation which started after the transfer of power from British involved a democratic set up for the entire country. This new set up emphasized the integrative policy and abandoned the so-called isolationist and divide and rule policy of British. This process involved enfranchisement and grant of full citizenship rights to tribal communities and setting up of democratic

1. K.S. Singh, E.P.W., p.1320.

2. ~~Ibid.~~, p.1321.

institutions. This necessarily led to the curtailment and abolition of the power of the tribal chiefs who had acted as the natural leaders of their community. In the middle India tribal chieftainship was abolished with the zamindari and intermediary interests in the first flush of land reforms.¹ The adoption of new constitution in India offered several programmes and measures for their socio-economic development in 5th and 6th Schedule of the Constitution. We will talk more about various measures taken for their development after independence. These measures have provided further changes the seeds of which were sown during British period only. For example a number of new features have come up in the political organization. For the first time representation has been given to the minor class living in Parha area.² Formerly office bearers of the Parha held their office on an ex-officio basis - each being the headmen of the village. The introduction of the elective principle and fixing a tenure for the office bearers are distinct innovations. In the traditional system the Parha Raja and its executives were not accountable to any one. In the new constitution

1. Sachidanand, p.20 in Tribal World and Transformation, (ed) Bhupinder Singh in J.S. Bhandari.

2. Ibid., p.20.

they have been made responsible to the inter organization. The new organisation is now known as parha-Madri.¹ It has the powers of superintendence direction and control of different parha Sabhas and is expected to work for the progress of the Munda tribe as a whole. Along with this elaborate rules have been formed to regulate the procedure of the meetings of the Parha Madri and Parha Panchshad. The secretary of the Parha Madri is given the names of the representatives from the particular Panha by the Parha Raja. He cannot make a change without the permission of the concerned Parha. Raja. The demand its fundamental dimensions also these organizations are not just regulatory or that of boundary maintenance. It is largely welfare oriented and very functional so the present situation.

As a corollary to all these new changes taking place in these tribes of Chotanagpur a new class of tribe has come up which controls the socio-economic and political power in the tribal region and has provided a new dimension to the already existing stratificational

1. Ibid., p.20. (Sinha)

pattern in society. Almost all over the country this class of tribal elite exploits the national stereotypes of tribal society to secure benefits and acts as the mediator with the government. It is precisely in the very measures of the governments and changes introduced in tribal region the roots of various tribal movements taking place in the Chotanagpur region can be understood. We will see how the post colonial developmental strategy of government has created cleavages and contradictions in the social structure which has finally resulted in the emergence of movements in their region.

We have tried to answer following questions in this dissertation.

- (1) What is the interlinkage between social structure-developmental pattern and its rate in the generation of tribal movements?
- (2) How far underdevelopment in terms of social and economic structure is responsible for emergence of various movements?
- (3) What has been the role of government in the overall improvement of tribal social set up and its consequences?

- (4) What is the importance of these movements and how far they can be controlled.
- (5) To suggest further areas of research.

Chapter II

AREA OF STUDY - REGION, FACTS RELATED WITH SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The maximum distribution of tribals in Bihar is in 6 districts of Chotanagpur which account for about 94.7 percent of the total population of tribals in state. Ranchi district has the largest concentration of the tribal population in the state followed by Singhbhum district. The table below shows the district-wise position of the tribal concentration in this region according to Census 1971.

Table 1

District	Area (sq.km.)	Population		Percentage (S.T.)
		Total	S.T.	
Ranchi	18.331	2611445	1516658	58.08
Singhbhum	12677	2437799	1124317	46.12
Palamu	13477	1504350	287150	19.09
Hazari bagh	11152	1645838	143849	8.68
Giridih	6908	1374376	188979	13.75
Dhanbad	2594	1466417	155645	10.61
S. Parganas	34849	3186908	1154281	36.22
TOTAL	100358	14217133	4549899	32.00

Source: K.B. Saxena, Tribal Development
in Bihar, BJTRS, Vol.XXV, 1983.

Table - 2

Sex ratio in the six Distt. (in 1000) : -

Distt.	Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Ranchi	1273766	1000	1031	43743	1000	855
Palamu	226191	1000	1009	2398	1000	778
Singhbhum	932503	1000	1053	37304	1000	959
Hazaribagh	264637	1000	972	6056	1000	915
Dhanbad	119310	1000	927	9075	1000	820
S. Pargana	1077381	1000	1002	5697	1000	882

(source - Census of India 1961)

Table - 3

Distt.	Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female
Ranchi	1451597	1000	1023	65101	1000	801
Palamu	283904	1000	976	3246	1000	868
Singhbhum	1050855	1000	1028	73462	1000	880
Hazaribagh	311031	1000	1014	20767	1000	918
Dhanbad	127105	1000	968	28540	1000	957
S. Paragana	1146030	1000	1002	6251	1000	806

(Source - Census of India 1971)

Sex ratio among the tribes in six districts in two censuses - 1961 and 1971 - can be seen in Table II and Table III respectively. From the data it is clear that in the 1961 Census in rural areas generally females are more than males. Hazaribagh and Dhanbad are exceptions against this. As per 1971 Census the female population is more than males except for two districts Palamu and Dhanbad. The reason behind decrease in number of females is their migration to the industrial belt like Tala, Gua and other places from their parental village home.

Percentage distribution of Munda and Oraon in the six districts in two census years 1961 and 1971 can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4

<u>District</u>	<u>Munda</u>		<u>Oraon</u>	
	1961	1971	1961	1971
Ranchi	35.30	34.37	42.87	42.38
Palamu	4.04	4.29	37.48	36.97
Hazaribagh	10.19	10.94	5.77	7.18
Singhbhum	12.26	12.28	2.28	2.50
Dhanbad	2.64	4.64	3.05	2.50
S. Parganas	0.04	0.10	0.61	0.60

Source: Census Data, 1961, 1971.

From the above table it is clear that ~~maxi~~ maximum concentration of Munda is in two districts Ranchi and Singhbhum while ~~maxi~~ maximum concentration of Oraon is in Ranchi and Palamu districts.

Table 5

Tribe	<u>Percentage of literacy</u>	
	1961	1971
Munda	8.97	16.31
Oraon	7.44	17.19

Source: Census Data.

Percentage of Population of Munda and Oraon in Different Districts of Bihar

<u>District</u>	<u>Oraon</u>	<u>Munda</u>
Ranchi	74	72
Palamu	12	2
Shahabad	1	-
Champanan	2	-
Purnea	4	1
S. Parganas	1	-
Hazari bagh	3	5
Singhbhum	3	19
Dhanbad	-	1

Source: Census Data, 1971.

Table 6

Block	Total villages	Total panchayat	Total HALKAS	Total population	Total S.T. population	Educational	
						Male	Female
<u>Ranchi Sadar</u>							
Kanke	101	17	9	107898	40404	17892	4242
Ratu	83	17	9	77276	40103	15363	590
Nankum	95	18	10	73882	49477	13901	4501
Oronanghi	91	14	8	48287	17833	8096	1628
An gara	92	20	10	74683	41162	11237	2222
Silly	113	19	10	82082	42092	16686	4428
Mandar	69	13	6	58442	35597	10353	4084
Chanho	67	11	6	48517	26559	8322	2920
Burmi	94	22	10	92576	28409	12014	3213
Beron	114	17	10	79992	47012	9315	2977
Laping	78	15	8	39766	29036	5586	2003
Total	997	183	96	783396	397684	128771	37223
<u>Khonti</u>							
Khunti	159	22	12	70302	47314	6758	1843
Murho	141	24	12	54401	42629	9489	4217
Raniya	67	10	5	29283	21408	4915	2392
Torpa	95	15	7	56910	49312	11263	5525
Karra	178	23	12	67236	42495	10234	3910
Arki	128	21	12	55271	43427	7185	1445
Tama	129	24	12	84924	36149	17237	3546
Bundu	90	16	9	33963	27085	7524	11411
Sonahati	101	20	10	74504	16228	13222	2460
Total	1088	175	91	546794	326047	87820	26660

Source: Office of the Dy.Devp.Commissioner, Ranchi.

Level of literacy in Mundas and Oraons can be seen in Table 5. From the table it is clear that during a decade (61-71) there has been an increase in the literacy level of Mundas and Oraons.

Since our main deductions and explanations about Mundas and Oraons social structure is based on Ranchi districts, it is better to present some concrete figures regarding the districts. There are two sub-divisions in Ranchi district - Khunti and Ranchi Sadar. There are 11 blocks in Ranchi Sadar while Khunti sub-division has 9 blocks. The total number of villages, panchayats population of S.T. and the number of educated persons can be seen in Table 6. From Table 6 following conclusions can be drawn.

Maximum population of Scheduled Tribes in Ranchi Sadar sub-division is in Namkum block while the minimum population of S.T. in Chanho block of Ranchi Sadar sub-division. Compared to this the maximum tribal population in Khunti sub-division is in block Khunti which is the main home land of Mundas and Oraons. The minimum S.T. population in Khunti sub-division is Sonahati block.

As far as the question of literacy in various blocks in Ranchi Sadar sub-division is concerned it is

in Kanke block in case of male and Ratv in case of females. While in Khunti sub-division the block with maximum literacy rate in case of male and female is in Tamar and Bundu respectively. In both sub-divisions in different blocks the female literacy number is less than male.

As far as the economic pursuit of tribals in this region is concerned they have been divided into following categories:¹

1. Nomadic/semi-nomadic groups/food gatherers and hunters
2. Primitive / shifting agriculturists
3. Artisan groups
4. Landless agricultural labourers
5. Urban industrial wage labour in unorganised sector
6. Marginal and small farmers.

However this classification should not be considered as mutually exclusive for separate tribes one finds overlapping among tribals for ^{various} ~~various~~ pursuits. There are tribals who pursue simultaneously more than one occupation.

1. K.B. Saxena, Tribal Development in Bihar, BJTRI, Vol.XXV, No.182, 1983, p.7.

Mundas and Oraons will fall in the category of marginal and small farmers. Though they also engage themselves in other occupations. The classification of Mundas and Oraons in Ranchi, Singhbhum and Palamu in various occupations such as cultivators, agricultural labourers, mining and quarry can be seen in Table 7.

Table 7

Ranchi

	Cultiva- tors	Agcl. labourers	Livestock forestry etc.	Mining	House- hold	Trade and commerce
Munda	489	939	70	52	36	174
Oraon	1308	1550	167	125	76	442

Singhbhum

Munda	105	189	52	442	50	154
Oraon	195	214	25	169	70	135

Palamu

Munda →	81	51	15	2	Nil	5
Oraon						

Source: Census Data 1971 (For 1981 data is not available).

From the above data it is clear that maximum involvement of Munda and Oraon is in agricultural

labourers. This is very much evident in Ranchi district. The maximum number of agricultural workers shows that landless^{ness} is on the increase. In one decade the percentage of agricultural workers among tribals has increased to 28 percent in 1971 from 9 percent in 1961.¹

1. Saxena, Ibid., p.10.

Chapter III

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Phase I (1855 - 1905)

We have seen that the process of intervention and disruption in the Munda and Oraon social structure was witnessed by Rajas which was further engineered by the policy of British. These efforts resulted in various tribal revolts in this region under the leadership of Mundas and Oraons.

Causes

The British had vested interest in Chotanagpur. The foreign ruler announced that the tribes did not have their legal documents to prove the ownership of land and therefore the tribes are not the original holders of the land. Apart from this the British failed to understand the language, culture and sentiment of the aboriginals. For the knowledge of these people British administrators relied on the landlords and ignored the tribes.¹ The British rule starts in this region from 1765. In 1793 permanent settlement was introduced in Bengal so it

1. T. Troisi J., Santhals in M.S.A.Rao (ed) Social Movements, p.133.

naturally covered the regions of Chotanagpur. In 1806 the landlords and Maharaja were asked to establish thana (police station) and recruit outsiders as police officers. Mundas and Oraons did not get justice from the court and police. They were neglected by their masters, opposed by the aliens and deprived of the means they had formerly possessed of obtaining redressal through their own means.¹

S.C. Roy remarks in this context that "Unintentionally and unwittingly in the transformation of communal ownership of the villages of the aboriginals communities into individual ownership mostly of the non aboriginals and alien propitors.² The thickadas got the village on lease from Maharaja as payments of their goods and service. Some of the Mundas were called Beih Begar. The Mundas and Oraons were desperate. They oppressed their grief in these words - "Our lives are of no value, and being of one caste, let us stand fast to each other and commence plunder, murder and loot."³

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1. E.T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p.170.
 2. S.C. Roy, Aborigins of Chotanagpur in J.B.O. R.S. - XVIII (1931), Pt.IV, p.374.
 3. Cit. in S.C. Roy, op.cit., p.201.

A Committee was set up to investigate and resolve the problem of tribes. Mr Blunt a member of the Governor General's council reported to the government that the main causes of rebellion were the tyranny of the government officials and darogah. These situations caused resentment among the aboriginals . They rebelled against the landlords in 1789, 1797, 1807, 1812, 1820 and 1832. The 1832 rebellion was widespread and violent. The Kols (Mundas and Oraons) in their operation butchered the Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims landlords. The entire Singhbhum was destroyed. According to this report there should not have been any direct administration of the British in this region.

Thus on the basis of his report a new system called South Western Frontier Agency was introduced under the management of agent of the Governor General. A headquarter of the administration was established at Ranchi. System of civil justice was introduced. Agents of peace were sent to Chotanagpur to pacify the tribes. Chotanagpur was declared as non-regulation province. This non-regulation system was for the facilities of the administration of that area. Judicial court was established at Lohardaga. ~~Weakness~~ was an agent of peace who tried to pacify the Mundas and Mankis by granting them the individual ownership

of the land. However, southwestern frontier agency could not satisfy the tribals and oppression grew worse. During the administration of south western frontier agency the greatest disturbances of tribals pleasanets occurred.¹ The available original reports of the enquiry committee in the tribal problems clearly show that absence of British control over the internal administration of Chotanagpur led to the dispossession of the aboriginals who were left to the mercy of the landlords and the zamindari police.² The people of the district suffer much injustice at the hands of the foreign, middlemen introduced by Raja. According to report of Mr Rickets the main causes of the exploitation of the tribes were landlords and thikadars. So the British government replaced the south west frontier agency by a Commissionership for Chotanagpur Under the governor of Bengal. In order to solve the land problems Chotanagpur Tenancy Act which is also known as **Bhainhari** settlement was passed. Special Commissioners were empowered to process the claims of tenure, demarcate the land boundary and to prepare records of all the

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1. Chotanagpur Agrarian Report, Calcutta, 1890, Part II, p.21.
 2. Chotanagpur Agrarian Report, Part II, p.6.

tenants specifying the conditions to be fulfilled, the rent and services to be rendered and right and privileges to be enjoyed. The Administration made special provision to enable every one to fill a suit before the special commissioner. But the foreign landlords in ~~servings~~ their interests did not leave any stone unturned to defeat the aboriginals before the court of law. This act was a failure. The high ~~operations~~ of these act were far from being completed and fulfilled. This settlement and court system generated more and more loss of tribal lands. Another important cause for the failure of the law and Acts of the British government in the tribal region ^{lies} was in the fact that the British failed to understand the independent economic, political and cultural system of the tribes. The British who practiced private property system and laws which were suitable to their social matrix destroyed the tribal economic and political system of the primitives.

Under these circumstances several rebellions took place. Sandari Larai and Birsa rebellions were most militant among them.

Sardar Movement

After the mutiny of 1857, the Mundas turned to fight against the landlords but Evangelical Lutheran Missionaries severed the relationship with violent Mundas.

so they could function in that region. Failing to receive adequate missionary support, the educated Mundas trained by the Missionary fought against the British. In the meantime, Catholic missionaries entered Chotanagpur. In 1885 C. Levens, a Belgian Catholic promised to help them in land trouble. This promise attracted a large number of tribes who were converted into Christianity. As a matter of fact, the Sardar movement or Mukattarai movement among the Munda was largely the struggle of Christian tribals against jagirdars and thicadars. The goals of the movement were (1) to regain their lost right to land, (2) to end the system of Begari (forced labour) and (3) to alleviate the condition of women and tribesmen.

To counteract dispossession of land and imposition of begari, the tribals consolidated their strength through three measures - 1) by filing petitions in court of law, 2) by mobilising the demand resources available in the village including mobilisation of public opinion and 3) refusing to pay rent or perform begari.

K.S. Singh has identified three phases of the movement - agrarian phase (1858-81), the revivalistic

phase (1891-90) and political phase (1890-95).¹ The accentuation of movement throughout, however, remained agrarian. It was stimulated by the memory of the golden past of the race - the period before the advent of non-tribals in Chotanagpur. Though the movement engulfed both Mundas and Oraons, it was more intense among the Mundas.

The movement began with agrarian disturbances. The Sardars attempted to reoccupy their land which was taken away from them in 1857. The first incident occurred in Jhagra village in October 1858 where the Christian raiyats captured the zamindar and brought him to Ranchi and lodged a complaint against him. During 1862-88 there were occasional clashes between zamindars and their raiyats. In 1869 an act was passed which provided for the restoration of Bhoonihari lands to raiyats on the basis of evidence collected during the Bhuvinhari survey operation. In the next eleven years the survey was completed in 2500 villages. The Bhuvinhari settlement marked the end of the dispute centering on Bhuvinhari

1. K.S.Singh, *Dust Storms and the Hanging Mist*, 1966, p.27.

and Majhias tenure of land, but its overall impact fell far short of the expectations of the Sardars.²

The movement soon took a political and religious turn. In 1881 some Sandars organized themselves under the leadership of John the Baptist and established their Raj at Doesa, a former seat of the Raja of Chotanagpur. The leaders were prosecuted. The Sandars wanted to create an independent Munda Christian Mission. During 1889-90 the Catholic Munda agitation assumed large proportions. The government moved quickly and missionaries were warned not to join in the ~~f~~ray.

The period 1890 marked the political phase of the Sardar movement. The Mundas boycotted the mission and continued the agitation. They asked their followers to stop paying rent to zamindars and thicadars and to abstain from appearing in local courts when summoned. This resulted in eviction of lands of many raiyats. The Sandars got trapped by Calcutta lawyers. It gave them a serious jolt. Between 1890-95 all court verdicts were against tribals. In 1852 they planned to assassinate all thicadars. Local

1. Ibid, p.28. 1966 (Singh)

officials and missionaries but the plan failed owing to lack of sound and adequate leadership. After 1895, the character of the movement changed on new directions and paved the way for Birsa movement.

Birsa Movement

Druwin by an irreversible self defensive urge, the Munda had first sought shelter in Christianity, then broken away from the missions and turned to Calcutta lawyers and finally clashed with the authorities. Birsa movement was agrarian in its root, violent in its means and political in its end.¹ According to K.S. Singh, Birsa in his speeches emphasised the agrarian factors and sought a political solution of the problem facing his people, that is, the establishment of Birsaite raj under a new kingdom (himself).²

Ekka has underlined three structural situations under which the movement emerged -

- 1) Encroachment of alien zamindari on Munda khuntakatti lands to an intolerable extent.

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1. K.K. Verma and Ramesh Sinha, Socio-Political Movements among Mundas and Oraon, ed. Ehupinder Singh, Tribal Movements, Its Transformations, p.7.
 2. K.S. Singh, - Hanging mist and dust storms, p. no - 191

- 2) Migration of the thousands of tribals from their native land to the tea estates of Assam on being allowed by Arkaites (labour agents).
- 3) Famine in Chotanagpur.¹

Birsa movement had an organisational base with ethnicity and religiosity as the basis of mobilisation and involvement of people in it. The Sardars were primarily against the middlemen and Dikus. Birsa was against the government and aimed at complete independence - both political and religious. The most important factor responsible for the emergence of the movement was the desire for economic liberation from the yoke of zamindars and British administration. Birsa was influenced by both Christianity and Hinduism. Both Christian converts and non-convert Mundas were among his followers. He used religious and messianic means to mobilise the masses and achieve his economic and political goals. To realise these goals he declared himself "Darti Aba" or Father of the world and later on declared himself Bhagwan - an incarnation of God.

1. Ekka in Tribal Situation in India (ed.) by K.S.Singh, p.429.

Birsa caused apprehension among the missionaries and they prevailed upon the government to take steps against him. He was arrested and sentenced for ten and a half years in jail. The four years following movement's first phase were marked by famines and failures of government to curb Birsa's activities after his release. Birsaite rose in arms against the Raja, zamindars, missionaries and the government on Christmas eve of 1899. The revolt was suppressed by force. Birsa was arrested and died in prison pending ~~jail~~.trial.

Birsa movement has been considered as a religious movement by some social scientists. For Grample, Kathleen Gough and refers to 19 religious movements including the uprising under the leadership of Birsa Munda. As we have earlier said that it is very difficult to compartmentalise neatly any tribal movement in social, religious and economic movements especially in Chotanagpur. The main line of Gough's argument is that fervent Chieftainistic movements may be most likely to rise among cultural minorities who have most their customary security or occupation and statuses and have suffered unusual deprivation by comparison with their own past and those

around them.¹ She writes further that this definition applies to the tribal peoples who have suffered incursions loss of land, swindling, bankruptcy and undermining of their culture by literate and technologically superior invaders both British and Indian.²

But Gough's analysis falls to ground; in the first place Mundas were not a minority tribe and all the tribes together contributed the longest segment in the region. More than anything else numerically preponderant groups also suffered incursions and cultural subordination. The Hindu zamindars and the British ruling elite were a minority in that region.³ One cannot also accept R.R. Diwarkar's view that the underlying subject of the Birsa movement was the internal purification by eradication of social evils as along with it was associated the desire to remove the alien government and its supporters.⁴

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1. Kathleen Gough, Indian Peasants Uprising - EPW, Special Number August 1974, pp.1391-1492.
 2. Ibid., p.1397.
 3. K.L. Sharma, Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, EPW, Vol. XI, Nos. 1 and 2, 2 Jan - 10 Jan., 1976.
 4. R.R. Diwarkar, Bihar through the Ages - New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1959, p.560.

As a matter of fact, it is the other way round. The primary and ultimate object of the movement was to dislodge the rule alien ~~se~~ to the tribals. Internal purification measures were only a cover to mobilise the people. Since openly political activities were not allowed, these activities were carried on under the cover of external purification.

To sum up, it can be said that though the movement mobilised people on the basis of messianic and chiliastic sentiments, it was issue oriented aiming at redressal of some grievances. It was basically against the kind of legal and administrative system that prevailed. Over and above, these movements prepared the basic structure of several improvements among tribals which emerged later on.

Tana Bhagat Movements

The official reports of the survey and settlement operations in Chotanagpur during the years 1902-08 show clearly that the Oraons of western Chotanagpur had suffered a loss of their ancestral lands and had to pay rent at a much higher rate than their Munda neighbours in the east. It was also in these Oraons areas that the

non-tribal landlords made excessive demands on their Oraon tenants for unpaid labour. Oraons of present Bishumpur thana and Mahuadam thana were submitted to excessive requisitioning for labour during the construction of the summer residence of the Lt. Governor on the Neterhat plateau during the years 1912-13. These people were also forced to act as *beaters* during hunts and as carriers of baggers of the local police for a mere pittance.

Oraons in this region could not get justice even through law courts. Law courts were not only too distant but also too expensive and incomprehensible to the illiterate Oraons. It was in these circumstances of deprivation and oppression by the local landlords and police that the Tana Bhagat millinerian *cult* sprung up in 1914 and swept through the Oraon country gaining some 26,000 adherents at its peak period.

Jatra Oraon in April 1914 proclaimed to his fellow tribesmen that in a dream Dharmeswar God told him to give up the worship of 'bhuts' and to do away with animal sacrifice. He also claimed that god had also ordered him to give up meat and drink (wine) and lead *an* ascetic life.

They should also stop ploughing the fields and ~~keeping~~ ^{paying rents} ~~to~~ the landlords and to refuse themselves as labourers to any non-Oraon. He warned that those who did not follow him would soon perish, that the foreigners would soon be expelled from the country that the Oraon raj was about to begin and that he would be its first king. The Oraon Bhagat promised their fellows not only the deliverance from the capricious or blood thirsty tribals spirits which the Oraons were much afraid of at the same time also relief from exploitation by landlords, moneylenders and government officials. The main spirit of this movement is belief in salvation through Bhakti maya or the way of devotion practised by Hindus. It was divided into several sects such as Bache Van, Bhagat, Tana Bhagat, Nimha Bhagat, Fakirpenthe etc. All bhagats were required to maintain the rules of ceremonial purity in food, drink and other habits.¹ Because of the refusal to allow his followers to work for zamindars and government Jatra was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment. As a result, he went into the background. Later on, the movement was kept alive by another prophet

1. S.C. Roy, Aborigins of Chotanagpur, JOBRRS, Vol.XVII, 1928, p.316.

Sibo Bhagat. Agrarian grievances appear to have generated the original impulse for their absence from cultivation and refusal to pay rent proved to be suicidal. Non-cooperation with the zamindars. In 1920s most thana bhagats joined INC and played a prominent role in non-cooperation movement.¹

In a way like the Mundas, the Oraons too cherished memories of golden age. The Bhakti movement and Christianity had a great impact on Bhagats.

To sum up, following points emerge in the course of above discussion.

Firstly, as far as the causes of the movements are concerned the genesis was in the exploitative policy of British government which led to problems of land alienation exploitation of money lenders, etc.

Secondly, as far as the nature of these movements and basis of mobilisation is concerned, it was revivalistic in nature. The spirit of religion was simply helpful in appealing and organising people. However, the religious

1. Stephen Fuchs, A Study of Missianic Movements in Indian Rebellions, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, p.35,46.

incorporation in the movement was due to the wide spread economic deprivation of people. Under the garb of religiosity ~~led~~ the motive of emancipation of tribals from the yoke of several exploitative situations. As a ~~matter~~ of fact, no movement can be solely judged on the basis of the ~~tactics~~ employed to mobilise people and get them involved in it; what is more important is its goal. And undoubtedly the basic goal of these movements was in no way religious in nature.

Thirdly as far as the organizational structure of these movements is concerned, they were not very much organized. These movements were never so widespread and strong. They were all shortlived and they did not have an enduring impact on tribal life. That is why most of them failed. The main reason behind the failure of the movements was lack of single centralized insurrectionist leader while the British army was highly organized.

Though these movements were not very organised, lacked experience on the part of tribals, they provided a sound basis for several other movements which have taken place in modern times. The whole question of

Jharkhand movement question of autonomy in Chotanagpur region cannot be possible without the overall impact of these earlier movements.

Chapter IV

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

(Phase II (1906 - 1985))

Characteristics of this phase

This phase of the tribal movement was remarkable in terms of mobilisation, organisation and consciousness. There was a profound alteration in the strategy to free themselves from the yoke of oppression and misery. A systematic political organisation, ideology and action programmes were incorporated into the tribal movement. Freedom struggle provided a new dimension to the tribal political awakening. There was a shift in the leadership pattern of the tribal movement. Now the movement was led by the educated class of the tribes. Tribal politics before this period manifested itself in the form of insurrection, a spontaneous manifestation of their anger in different regions. The tribal movements in this phase were influenced by freedom movement leaders. Mahatma Gandhi influenced the tribals. Several Bhagats such as Tana Bhagats, joined Gandhi's movement and tried to overthrow the oppressions. K.S. Singh writes that many Bhagats became the members and followers of Indian national Congress. They have launched a reformatory programme based on Gandhian ideology and joined the mainstream of national issues.¹

1. K.S. Singh - *Tribal Society in India - 1985* p no - 198

Another main factor which was operating behind the awakening of the tribes on the political level was the role of the educated tribal and non-tribal local people. The role of Christian missionaries cannot be undermined in this context. Stratification system was clearly visible among the tribes. K.S. Singh says that a new middle class emerged from among them in urban areas who agitated for reservation of jobs. They are also sensitive to the exploitation of their people as labourers in agriculture, mining and industries. Their demands are launched in secular ideas. ¹

This is the phase in which tribal movements assumed anew direction due to government policy of integration and inequalities generated because of inequitable distribution of developmental benefits. Now job opportunity, industrialisation, unequal distribution of land created a new stratification system among the tribes. Class antagonisms emerged in the tribal communities due to various economic and political interests. As far as their present socio-economic condition is concerned it is differentiating day by day. The genesis of various tribal movements could be seen in their *precarious*

Socio-economic Conditions.

1. K.S. Singh - Eighth Devaraja Channa Memorial lecture
Tribal transformation-II Tribal movements. DSE, (unpublished
P. no. 82, 1981

Causes of the movement

Exploitation of tribals in the hands of money lenders, non-tribals, bureaucrats and landlords remained the main causes of tribal movement in this period. The historical development of Chotanagpur region presents a vivid picture of tribal exploitation in every field of life by the non-tribal section of the population. The complete structure of capitalism worked as metropolis to the tribal satellite. Thus a dialectical conflict can ^{be} seen between the tribes and the exploiters. The complete structure of capitalist class has created both the wealth of the new and the progressive poverty of the vast majority of the tribals in this area.¹

A close look at the situation of tribals in this region shows that under-development of tribal area is the cause of the development of capitalists of Santal parganas and Chotanagpur. Most of the developmental benefits have been ~~drawn~~ drawn by non-tribals. To substantiate these points we will present some relevant ~~statistics~~ statistics about Ranchi district.

1. A.G. Frank - Wealth and poverty of nations - EFW, 1970, P. no 1177

Land use pattern

Land use pattern of Chotanagpur in general is different from the rest of the state. ~~of~~ the total area of Chotanagpur and Santal Parjana 45 percent is not cultivable and 28.05 percent is covered by forest and 0.79 percent is classified as barren and over 5.74 percent has been put to non-cultivable use. The land use pattern of Ranchi distt. in Sadar Ranchi and Khunti subdivision in different blocks can be seen in table 8. From table 8 it is clear that out of total geographical area the barren land is very high in both subdivisions. Not only this we also find wastage of land ~~out~~ of cultivable land. Except Ranchi subdivision where maximum amount of cultivable land is also the really ~~down~~ ^sown area, Khunti presents a gloomy picture where there is no optimum utilization of the really cultivable area.

Land Alienation

The problem of land alienation is a growing one all over the tribal scene in India. Several acres of land, once inhabited and owned by tribals have now been displaced. Displacement of tribals from their ancestral land is not through one method. Even government who claims to be the

Table - 8

Blocks	Geographical area	Barren land	Forest	Cultivable land	Really sown area	Chalu parti land	Land used for other purposes
Kanke	3507321	179670	5113.19	2261658	1737098	2815.98	2047.4
Ratu	2320509	000000	1011.66	19370.00	19467	593	1550.63
Namakum	44184.30	211351	8019.79	2442.67	4002.35	5040.79	17367.36
Ormanghi	22531.63	2684.00	6830.84	12044.42	12044.42	1554.08	1236.12
Angara	44.46762	349.349	13647.24	14053.49	14053.49	4478	3359.43
Silly	8045	335.303	20819.70	27499.59	27499.59	12642.65	0000
Mandar	23804.38	1215.90	1645.20	19669.70	19669.70	812.14	881.90
Chanho	26794.00	145.316	6365.00	15344.67	15344.67	1283.83	12615
Boormo	44645.07	962.08	1932.702	17190.07	17190.07	3624.04	12615
Beron	39.09807	1800.02	6447.04	19892.09	19892.09	4477.06	1708.07
Lapung	29860.00	1808.64	3544.74	16270.36	16270.36	2222.84	1722;38
TOTAL	382378.37	- 18686.53	-92801.42	-151508	- 180804.72	-39513.81	-42614.44
Khunti	45230	3152	4297	35912.04	32607	3305.04	7194
Murho	39944.55	1728	5719.32	29515.21	17041.09	3950.90	2903.97
Raniya	27200	4166.31	4310.17	16492.39	15230.80	1261.79	517.30
Torpa	44705	6646	4313	31708	23132	4576	2038
Karra	50916.05	2589	4888	26104	25862	1624	14982
Arki	125527.1	13663.78	39204.44	8497.51	57126	15271.36	2019
Tamar	50848.00	16809	10623.50	23315.50	16358	6408	3334
Bundu	25095.37	1235.04	5544.04	9933.02	8042.04	2526.04	1818.01
Sonahatu	37248.24	3982.80	3700	26528.16	21447.35	2502.05	1016
TOTAL	446720.51	- 83970.93	-82599.47	-208005.83	-219846.08	-41778.39	-35822.28

SOURCE - Office of Dy. Development Commissioner, Ranchi

protector of tribal interest has played a very instrumental role in alienation of tribal land. We will present here case of Ranchi district to substantiate our point.

It is said that sometimes for a seer of salt and for a ~~tewel~~ the tribals had to part with large plots of land. Let us remember that prior to the process of land alienation in Ranchi proper town and around there was an overwhelming tribal population living peacefully in several villages such as Morabadi, Bareasu, Hatma, Karam~~oli~~oli, Mehali, Argera, Missigonda, Nagaratoli, Chachi, Druva etc. Unacquainted with the value of money they could hardly count the coin and they accepted a very small amount for land acquired for building purposes.

The missionaries contributed to a large extent in the development of Ranchi town and thereby alienation of tribal land also in a way. For the first time missionaries came in 1845 and then started the programme of building of churches and separate colonies to house adherents. When Ranchi became summer capital in 1911 government house and ministerial bungalow with large boundary were built. Office of the A.G. in Bihar and Orissa was also opened in 1912. After World War I it

was made a military station and headquarters of Eastern command.

Till forties though Ranchi had grown big land was available at quite cheap prices. The homes with compounds at Bareato, Merabadi, Ciralar Road, ^{owned} ~~around~~ by wealthy and influential men of this city which are today properties of lakhs were acquired for very small amount from tribals at some point of time.

The process of land alienation was further engineered by in Ranchi units worst from by opening of various offices such as NCLDC. To SC, ATS, BPAJ, Ranchi University etc. Some of retired officers tried to get plots of land for themselves and in this attempt they themselves turned into land agents as brokers.¹

Within a very short time the fallow land between the old tribal villages of Ranchi was filled with new houses built in haphazard manner without any consideration of suitable road, drain and any outlet.

1. S.P. Sinha, Land Alienation in and Around, Ranchi: BTRI, Ranchi, 1963, p.2.

Causes of Land Alienation

The problem of land alienation in the city of Ranchi has been considered as the resultant of twice factors - urbanization and industrialisation. Ranchi was a regional town of the tribals around it. It was the only town for the tribals of Chotanagpur and neighbouring feudatory states which well to do tribals and non-tribals of this part of the country would have cared to visit.

Population Growth as a Factor

The following Table 9 shows the growth of population of this town from 1871 to 1961. It shows remarkably faster rate of growth of population than any town in Bihar except Jamshedpur.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Variation</u>	<u>Rate of (percentage)</u>
1871	12086	-	-
1881	18443	6357	+ 52.06
1891	20306	1863	+ 10.01
1901	25970	5664	+ 27.89
1911	32994	7024	+ 27.05
1921	44159	11165	+ 33.84
1937	57238	13079	+ 29.62
1941	62562	5324	+ 9.30
1951	106849	44287	+ 70.79
1961	121564	14715	+ 13.77

Source: S.P.Sinha, p.3.

The decennial rise in population between 1871 to 1881 has been 32.06 percent but between 1881 to 1891 is only 10.01 percent. This rise can be explained by pointing out the general growth of the town. Opening of Barkar bridge and thereby between rail communication and locking Ranchi with networks of roads connecting Ranchi with different provinces. From 1891 to 1901 we find great spur in population and then it never receded till we find only 9.30 percent and 13.77 percent in 1941 and 1961 respectively. While decrease in 1941 can be due to the fact that no sizeable immigration took place in that decade. The low rate in 1961 can be due to shifting of headquarter of Eastern Command. During the next 25 years the population of Ranchi would grow much faster which can be seen in the following table.

Table 10

Population Projection of Ranchi, 1986

Component	Pop.in 61	Rate of growth	Projected Pop.		
			1971	1981	1986
Ranchi's Doranda	140250	45	203300	294800	360000
HEC & Township	20000	To the extent indicated by plant capacity	78000	108000	150000
Urbanized villages	42000	60	67200	107500	140000
Total	202250		348500	510300	650000

Source: Draft Master Plan for Great Ranchi, Ranchi Improvement Trust, 1965.

The process of land alienation have been diverse. There are many methods by which a tribal transfers his land to a non-tribal. S.P. Sinha has divided the processes of alienation of tribal land into following categories.¹

- (1) Legal transfer. (a) Transfer by aboriginal towards under section 46 of the Chotanagpur tenancy act to other aboriginal tenants with the permission of Dy. Commissioner; (b) Transfer of acquiring occupancy as Bhuvinhari tenure by aboriginal tenant to non-aboriginal by 49 Section of C.T.A.; (c) Transfer under other sections of Chotanagpur T.A. with permission of Dy. Commissioner.
- (2) Through land acquisition
- (3) Through chaperbandi rights

II. Illegal Transfer. Illegal transfer without the sanction of the Dy. Commissioner may be divided into following categories.

- a) Through collective *title* suits ^cmis~~l~~alled declaratory suits of the civil court. (b) Parting with possession by Adivasis of their lands on receipt of small consideration money with execution of registered deed.

- c) Through an undated Sada Hukumnama of the old zamindar showing chaparbandi right and thereby enabling transfer without permission of Dy. Commissioner.
- c) Through a novel way of producing certified corpus of tenants ledger in which Chaperbandi right is interpolated.

This is the picture which we have presented about Ranchi and cases of land alienation till 1965. However 1965 onwards the problem of land alienation is continuing and has led to displacement of several tribals. Though we do not have concrete case studies regarding the alienation of land in Ranchi. But following table will give us a view of cases filed under art. 71(a) of Chotanagpur tenancy act, 1908, Santal Pargana Tenancy Act (1943) and Scheduled areas regulation act, 1969. Art 71(a) deals with cases related alienation of tribal lands registration was started in 1969. Since the inception of the registration till 1986 (April) the number of cases filed, cases accepted and rejected along with area can be seen in the table (11). The data covers Ranchi Sadar as well as Khunti sub-division.

	Cases filed	Area	Accepted	Area of accepted	Rejected	Area rejected
Ranchi Sadar	9457	19443	5030	777098	3569	10253½
Khunti	4463	734456	2106	228911½	2417	472567

Source: Office of the Additional Collector (Land Revenue), Ranchi District, Ranchi.

Apart from the accepted and rejected those are also some cases which are in pending. The number of pending cases in Ranchi Sadar is 858 while in Khunti subdivision it is 140. The area of pending cases in both sub-divisions is 127887½ and 32977½ respectively.

Industrialisation and Urbanization

Industrialisation and urbanization of this region has added to the misery of tribals. These processes of social change have adversely affected the socio-economic structure of the tribes in this region. The greatest setback through industrialisation of this region has been delineation of tribal land finally leading to displacement of his entire social set up. The establishment of various great industries have no doubt led to the growth of capitalists in this region at the cost of several thousand landless and homeless tribals. The magnitude of the

problem can be explained through the case of Heavy Engineering Company of Hatia.¹

Hatia is situated at distance of about 9 miles from Ranchi. The immediate requirement of land for the factory site to the extent of 1900 acres was made available by displacing tribals from four villages - Dhruva, Satma, Satranjee, Hatia. The population of these villages consist mainly of Munda and Oraon and some proportioning of Hindu castes. The villages were given prompt notice by state government to vacate the area. It must be remembered that the whole factory area of 1900 acres had been given by Bihar government as free gift so to the HEC. Table 12 shows the total area acquired by HEC for plant, dam and township, compensation paid and number of tribal families displaced.

Name of the Project	Total area acquired (in acres)	Compensation paid (in Rs.)	No. of families displaced
Plant	1904.56	10058121.84	250
Dam	1601.21	8011614.91	46
Township	1231.01	6037536.91	380
Total	4736.78	24107273.66	676

Source - S P Saha - Problem of Land alienation in and around Ranchi - BTWR 1. 1968

P. No - 21

The most deplorable part of the situation is that though they are promised compensation, employment, accommodation etc. but practically they do not get these things. Compensation amount is not paid completely. The workers of Hatia have no proper accommodation. Because of the nonfulfilment of the promises some tribals in few villages around Hatia refused to depart with their land. Government had to face problem in vacating land near Jagannathpur village. In this connection tribals also shouted slogans at the office of Commissioner Ranchi for full payment of compensation. Due to alienation of their lands they faced different kinds of problems. As far as the question of employment is concerned they do not get skilled work. L.P. Vidyarthi reports that in Hatia industrial complex 57.8 percent tribal industrial workers are slum dwellers. The number of slum dwelling families is 8850 at Dhurva and Hatia. They are uprooted agricultural labour force. Women labourers are also increasing day by day. They daily come to Ranchi from their villages in quest of daily wages.¹ Any body

1. L.P. Vidyarthi, Aspects of Tribal Force in Chotanagpur - The Tribe - Published quarterly by T.R.I. Udaipur, Vol.VI, No.3, Dec. 1969, pp.54-55.

visiting Ranchi can realise the agony of displaced persons through the establishment of various industrial projects. They are pulling on rickshaws, working as coolies and doing several other occupations to survive. One Raghunath Munda of Dhurva village who is rickshaw puller in Ranchi told me that prior to his rickshaw pulling occupation he was a settled agriculturist. Due to the construction of H.E.C. he had to lose his ancestral land when I asked him did he get any compensation. Though Ragnath got compensation but the whole money was finished within a year. He could not get any job even in H.E.C. though he was promised so by the contractors. Finally he came to Ranchi and stated pulling rickshaw. There are several cases like Raghunath Munda which tell us the story of displaced families through gigantic industrial houses.

Immigration Pattern

Due to heavy industrialisation and urbanization of Ranchi the pace of migration to this place has been very remarkable. The trend in migration indicates that fast expanding employment opportunities which this city afford has attracted large number of immigrants from outside Ranchi both tribals and non-tribals.

Push and pull factors are responsible for migration. Economic necessity is one of the most important single factor which has been pushing the migrant from their original abode to this place. Search for job making better fortune in life has been the main consideration. Lack of educational facilities, escape from domestic control, fear of consequences of offences committed, desire for rising in social hierarchy and other domestic reasons have pushed them to come to this town.¹ However there is a remarkable different orientation in both tribal and non-tribal migrants. The main reason behind most of the tribal immigrants have been their agricultural background because they are unable to survive and were mainly dependent on forests or relatives for their livelihood. As contrast to this the non-tribals have come purely for business motives. The migrants in Ranchi are from Gaya, Shahabad, Patna, Saran, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Mirzapur (specially few lac trade).

Rate of migration in different periods in relation

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1. S.P. Sinha, The Problem of Land Alienation in and Around Ranchi, p.7.

to tribal and non-tribal can be seen in table 13. This data shows the rate of migration from 1901 onwards till 1960.

Table 12 (Total No.342)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Non-Tribals</u>	<u>Tribals</u>
1901 - 1915	10.81	4.09
1916 - 1930	15.05	7.02
1931 - 1945	17.86	8.48
1946 - 1960	26.31	9.64

Source: S.P. Sinha, p.8.

From the above table it is clear that non-tribals have always outnumbered the tribals since 1901. The percentage rise compared to tribals have always been higher in case of non-tribals.

The percentage rise of non-tribal population in Ranchi, Palamu and Singhbhum from 1961 to 1971 can be seen in Table-13. Thus a close look at the migration data in Ranchi district from 1901 to 1971 shows that every decade has marked remarkable increase in the non-tribal population in Ranchi.

District	Population (1961)	71 Rise	Percentage Rise
Ranchi	821052	1094747	33.3
Palamu	999200	1217200	26.9
Singhbhum	1080104	1314482	21.6

Source: Census Data.

Migration has affected the distribution and composition of the population of this city. Ranchi, a small town half century ago has been greatly affected by constant flow of immigrants. Ranchi which was once a cluster of few tribal villages has developed today into a civilized city with differential socio-economic activities. There are tribal hamlets surrounding Ranchi which do exist. However it is doubtful whether they will exist in future if the rate of migration increases at this rate.

Bonded Labour

Bonded labour system is a very common phenomenon among tribes of Chotanagpur. According to Bonded Labour Ordinance 1975, bonded labour means the system of forced or labour under which debtor enters or is presumed to have entered into an agreement with the creditor. Bonded labourers are still in large numbers both in agricultural

as well as industrial sector. They are beggars, are sometimes paid absolutely minimum wage. Sevakas are the best example of beggars who show the barbarian feudal legacy in entire Chotanagpur region. Similar to sevakas, a Chhuta Mazdoor system is also in vague.

As far as the question and scenario of bonded labour in Ranchi is concerned, according to district officials there is no bonded labour in Ranchi district who is originally from Ranchi. But several bonded labourers who were originally from Ranchi but were found in other places. In 1980, 10 bonded labourers were found in Rohtas out of this 10, 9 are from Namkum Anchal of village Samlan in Ranchi district, one was from Chanko. Out of this 10, 8 persons were Adivasis and 2 Harijans. Again in 1984-85, 11 bonded labourers were found in Azamgarh who were originally from Sadar subdivision in Silly Anchal of village Banta Hazam. Simultaneously 6 bonded labourers were also found in Faridabad who were originally from Ranchi subdivision, Block Munho and of village Munho.¹ These bonded labourers have been provided financial help extended by Centre and State governments. As per the

1. Facts and figures from Office of Additional Collector, Revenue (Ranchi).

provisions each and every bonded labourer will be given Rs.4000 for their rehabilitation, out of this Rs.4000 the rehabilitation scheme included distribution of rickshaw, cattle and monetary benefits, old age pensions plus money for housing. The burden of the scheme is equally shared as 50/50 basis by Centre and State.

As opposed to this on 29.4.1986, 36 bonded labourers were found in Pratap Chowk,¹ Namakum (Ranchi). They were working in brick kiln. They were originally from Bilaspur (M.P.). They were freed by the district authorities. Out of this 36 were 10 male, 9 female and 17 children. Ironically from 1976 onwards till April 1986 this is the number of bonded labourers found in Ranchi according to officials estimates. However, unofficially there are thousands of bonded labourers who have not been located by government officials, whatever might be the reason.

Urban Employment

There is no specific scheme for poor tribals in urban areas who have to depend upon whatever causal

1. Office of Additional Collector, Revenue
Ranchi, Bihar.

work they manage to get. A number of tribals residing near the army ~~cont~~ainment try to pick remnants of shells fired during practice at army shooting near Namkum.¹ Though it is prohibited area, the tribals youth at risk of their life pick up these metallic shell pieces and sell to the local dealers who buy it dirt cheap and make huge profit.

The entrepreneurial opportunities in the private and ancillary sectors have also been entirely usurped by the more resourceful migrants. In the field of small scale industry in Ranchi district, 42 tribals have received a total seed money of Rs.30,000 as against Rs.665220 received by 339 non-tribals of 259 industrial units developed and allotted by the Ranchi industrial area authority in 1978-79 only 7 have gone to tribals.² Even out of these 7 only 3 are working involving in a total capital of Rs.2 lakhs only. Even in the allotment of shops and plots tribals have been neglected. This is evident from the table below (14).

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1. K.B. Saxena, Tribal Development in Bihar, BJTRI, No.182, 1983, p.38.
 2. Ibid., p.39.

Table 14Allotment of Shops and Plots to Tribals and Non-Tribals, Ranchi Town by R.U.D.A.

Name of market	Year of settlement	Total allotment	No. allotted to	
			Tribals	Non-tribals
Circulated Shopping Centre	1965	14 shops 14 rooms	Nil -	14 14
Ratu Rd. market	1970	108 shops	Nil	104
	1976	23 stalls	Nil	23
Kanke Market	1970	33 shops	2	31
	1970	4 plots	Nil	4
New Dairy market	1972	131 shops	3	128
	1976	39 stalls	Nil	39

Source: Ranchi Urban Area Development Authority, Ranchi.

Table 15

(till June 1979)

No. of selected families	Petitions	<u>Sanctioned by banks</u>		<u>Loans distributed</u>	
		No.	Amount	No.	Amount
29240	17717	6716	3714897	4944	2624343

Source: Regional Development Officer, Ranchi.

Rural Employment

Government has taken up various programmes for the upliftment of rural tribals. However, these measures have not been implemented properly and benefits accrued to the tribals in the long run are very meagre. Public works programme under various developmental schemes, particularly "food for work" have provided some employment to the poorer people in rural areas. The reports received from the three districts of ^{Sub plan} ~~Singhbhum~~ area indicate the number of mandays employment provided under 'food for work' programme as under.

District	Mandays employment (till 30.6.79 since start)
Ranchi	1710460
Palamu	2464307
Singhbhum	1039684

Source: K.B. Saxena, Ibid., p.36.

However there is no account as to the share of tribals in this employment. In fact these programmes are of very casual nature and do not assure work for

a longer part of the lean season. The programmes could not cover those areas which were facing acute unemployment. Not only this in the scramble for schemes, the choice was largely determined by the degree of influence commanded by Mukhiyas. In certain features serious complaints came about nonpayment of wages. The labour was cheated in other way. The recipient need cash and they sell part of their wage (wheat) to have cash. The purchases are again same traders who exploit the poor again by compelling them to sell at 60 or 70 paise per kilogram. The benefits of the schemes thus passed to 'Banias'.

Antyodaya was another programme which aimed at identifying five poorest families in the village and giving them financial assistance in the form of loan so that they could improve their income. But facts and figures say that this programme was also far from success. According to figures available in the three districts of sub-plan area placed at Table-15, 29240 families were identified deserving such assistance under this programme. But only 4344 families received assistance under this programme. But only 4944 families received assistance. Even on these families, the programme did not make much impact in view of the following reasons:

(1) In the selection of families poorest were not always chosen. The choice of families was determined by local Mukhia. (2) In most of the cases the quantum of loan provided to the beneficiaries was too inadequate to provide any viable income. (3) No attempt was made by the local officers to prepare viable schemes in consultation with beneficiaries and in number of cases the amount of loan did not generate any regular income.

National Rural Employment Programme

Table 16 gives us a comprehensive picture of total projects taken under NREP programme in years, 1981-82 to 1984-85 in various blocks of Ranchi Sadar as well as Khunti, subdivision. Through the table it is clear that every Couseervative year there has been an increase in the number of total projects undertaken in the programme. As opposed to this every year government has failed to complete the total projects undertaken except few blocks. In some blocks the scenario is very bad. For example, in Lapung block in Ranchi Sadar in 1981-82 out of 12 projects only 1 project was completed. Similarly in Taman block in Khunti subdivision, in 1981-82 and out of total 25 projects only 2 projects were completed.

Table-16

	1981-82			1982-83		1983-84		1984-85	
	Total (TP) projects	Completed projects	Total expenditure	TP	CP	TP	CP	TP	CP
<u>Sadar</u>									
Kanke	16	16	4074	46	20	31	12	67	65
Ratu	13	13	124847	26	11	48	40	37	31
Numakor	15	5	18221	42	5	47	33	63	57
Ormonhi	14	9	167119	47	31	45	23	67	63
Silly	16	10	128500	54	38	93	8	230	191
Manda	15	0	17566	67	49	59	50	56	51
Chanho	7	1	46916	43	25	71	43	84	69
Bermo	17	3	105519	51	18	50	35	76	69
Beron	8	8	31912	8	8	2	0	56	60 51
Laping	12	1	11765	34	12	34	13	66	60
Total									
<u>Khundi</u>									
Khunti	19	3		41	29	10	10	33	25
Monha	18	15		46	24	34	14	61	61
Raniya	11	5		20	8	26	19	34	25
Tonpa	15	15		27	27	28	16	59	50
Karra	23	0		65	42	34	16	55	52
Arki	36	16		51	11	33	27	38	30
Tamar	25	2		75	32	60	38	98	84
Bundu	24	12		45	41	51	22	91	86
Sanahatu	16	7		44	27	18	6	67	49
Total									

Source: Dy. Devp. Commissioner, Banehi

Forest Based Problems

The Total area underforest in Bihar contributed 21.4 percent of total geographical area of the State in 1963-64. Forest in Chotanagpur contributed 80.7 percent of the total forest area of Bihar during the same period. 35 percent geographic area of Chotanagpur is covered by forests. This is evident from Table below.

	<u>1955-56</u>	<u>1963-64</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Hazari bagh	43.6	48.1	23.5
Ranchi	26.8	25.7	12.6
Palamu	63.5	50.0	17.2
Singhbhum	51.4	46.8	1.2
Dhanbad	10.7	15.4	17.6
S. Parganas	23.4	23.7	9.1
Chotanagpur	42.6	39.7	80.7

Source: Chief Conservator of Forests.

Forests have always occupied a strategic importance for tribal social economic structure. They have been a source of livelihood for tribals. But the collection of food, fruits, raw materials from forests have been restricted through a variety of administrative checks

which restrict the availability of food and reduce income. The policy of government is not in favour of the local tribals who solely depend on the forests for their livelihood. Even after independence one finds government's policy to protect the forests from the people and not for the people. The whole forest issue and legislation has its own cotentuality. Before the advent of the British in India, there was only customary regulation of the peoples right over forests and forest produce. British government understood the commercial importance of forest materials and enacted laws to appropriate the resources. The first act which came into existence was government forest Act 1865. The act stipulates that government declare any land covered with trees as forests (Section 2). This act also suggests the punishment to the offenders of rules.

Later on Indian Forest Act 1878 divided forest into three categories - reserved forests, protected forests and village forests. This distinction is solely based on the people's right over forest land and produce. According to Section 21 of this act the local government was empowered to make rules to regulate and prohibit

certain acts in protected forests and to notify any forest or surveyed land as protected forest. Section 2(a) of this act prohibits the illegal burning of lime or charcoal or removal of any forest produce, clearing jungle for cultivation, grazing field for cattle etc.

After independence though 42nd amendment forest was transferred to ~~concessment~~ ^{Concurrent} list, according to this amendment the powers of state government was unfailed over forest by promulgation of forest conservation ordinance. This ordinance prohibited the state government to transfer any forest land for non-forest use without the prior permission of the central government.

Thus starting from British policy till the policy of independent government, there has been progressive reduction in the rights of tribals over forest. This has affected their very survival and has finally forced them to look for alternative occupations.

An overview of the tribal situation in Ranchi district shows that in every field of their life they are lagging behind their non-tribal farmers. Their

underdevelopment is increasing day by day at a faster speed of nontribals due to in this region. These situations altogether have resulted in emergence of various movements.

Course of the Movement

Tribal Movements (1900-1985): After the cruel repression of Birsa's uprisings, the Adivasis remained quiet for about two decades. Young educated tribals were moved by the pathetic state of their brethren and an urgent need for a united organization of tribals was felt. Some of the most popular leaders were Bandi Ram Oraon, Rajur, Eleas Topno, Birsingh Munda, Jeel Lakra, Anand Mashi. A new organization called Unnati Samaj was formed which was later renamed as Adivasi Mahasabha in 1938.

Unnati Samaj: Though it was found in 1905, it officially came into existence in 1920. It was for the first time that a formal organisation was established with the support of all major tribal groups. This inter-denominational body (Anglican-Lutheran) voiced its concern in 1916 over the "absence of security for tribals and stressed the need for the preservation of tribal identity in the changing

political context.¹

Unnati Samaj adopted a somewhat liberal and democratic style of operation. They organised meetings from time to time and submitted reports of their grievances to the government. Unlike the earlier movements the Samaj never even thought of violent demonstrations and challenged the British administration. Whatever may be done in the way of reform elsewhere it urged the aborigines of Chotanagpur may be left to administration of European officers.² There were twin objectives of Samaj: (1) uplift Chotanagpur from its backward state, (2) to improve forest, political and economic conditions of Adivasis.

These objectives were propagated through a magazine called "Adivasis" which was published in English. Mendi's and Mundari. The main slogan of this organization was "If we want to hold our own in India, we must hang together or we shall be hanged separately". Though it sought to spread its activities to villages, it essentially remained an urban movement. The period from 1920-30 marked the mini-revivalism among tribes very much on the terms of Indian renaissance which stressed return to the golden

1. K.S.Singh, From Ethnicity to Regeneration - A Tribal Society in India, p.199.

2. Ibid., p.109.

age of the community and formulated an individualistic approach to reform and service of the community. It is in this phase that we can trace the revival of Parha tribal assembly. The society was able to focus the attention of the authorities on the problems of tribes. The Simon Commission and the government responded to the tribal problems and sought their solution within the framework of existing political structure. There was yet no idea of separate state for adivasis but these mobilization took place on the basis of ethnocentrism and brotherhood.

However, members of Unnati Samaj could not ~~make work~~ together for a long time and some of them left. As a result two other organisations namely Kisan Sabha and Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha came into existence. The latter was dominated by converted tribals while Kisan Sabha was dominated by non-convert Adivasis.

Due to disunity among the members of Unnati Samaj formation of Kisan Sabha and Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha Samaj became organically weak. The church became active through converted Adivasis while non-tribals fought through Kisan Sabha. All these factions played important role in the formation of Adivasi Mahasabha

under the leadership of Jaipal Singh.

Adivasi Mahasabha (1938-47): This period saw the rise of militant movement under Adivasi Mahasabha. The immediate cause for the formation of Mahasabha was experience of first elections held in 1937 under the government of India Act 1935. Congress had swept the polls. K.S.Singh considers two important sources which influenced Adivasi Mahasabha: 1st, Bengali-Bihari controversy and Muslim League politics. The Bengalis felt that their interests in Bihar were not safe and they could combine with tribals to form a separate state. The Muslim League also thought of Pakistan in the sametime. They sympathized with the tribals and gave financial support to Mahasabha.¹ The Sabha had two main objectives:²

- (1) statehood for Jharkhand
- (2) protection of the Adivasi against the exploitative tactics of the Dikus.

In terms of organizational structure this new body represented an advance on the earlier movement, Commanded a wider political base and possessed pan tribal composition and objectives.

1. Ibid., p.201. 1985 (Singh)

2. K.L.Sharma, Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, EPW, 1976, p.41.

Both Samaj and Adivasi Mahasabha were loyalist. The latter remained outside the mainstream of nationalist policies and freedom movement. Its president Jaipal Singh gave support to British war effort to which Congress was opposed and played a predominant role in recruiting tribals for British army. Unlike Unnati Samaj, Mahasabha allowed non-advasis also to become members in order to avoid a clash between adivasi and non-advasi Jharkhandias. It demanded not the formation of a 'substitute', but complete separation from Bihar. A series of violence incidents occurred during this period which under scored the militant nature of the movement. But by 1947, the militancy had failed to pay off. The Sabha was routed by the Congress in the elections held in 1946. The truck with Musleme League was broken and the Bengali-Bihari controversy died down.

Jharkhand Movement: In 1950, Jharkhand Party came into existence which claimed itself as the main organization of the tribals. K.S.Singh has divided the whole movement of Jharkhand party in this region in following periods:¹

- (1) The peak (1949-53)
- (2) The decline (1953-63)
- (3) Split and Radicalization (1963-76)
- (4) Present trends (1977 - 85-86)

1. K.S.Singh, Tribal Society in India, p.203. 1985

The discussion of Jharkhand movement under the analysis of Jharkhand party herewith will proceed in the above schematic pattern.

The peak: Jharkhand party emerged in situation prior to which there were two important events - failure of militant movement and of the framing of Indian Constitution. The tribals were recognised as special category in fifth and sixth schedules, which provided them several beneficiary provisions. The 1941 Census had given an exaggerated figure of tribal population in Chotanagpur. The Census of 1951 like '31 showed that tribals were not a very large community. In fact, they were never in majority in Chotanagpur region. The Jharkhand party was thrown open at least in principle as embodied in its constitution to all the *Jharkhandis*. This was according to K.S. Singh a position from ethnicity to regionalism.¹ This was partly in keeping with the large political and secular stance current in those days that language as 'region' not ethnicity should determine the formation of province.² The concept of Jharkhand was enlarged to include all regions that once formed the part of Chotanagpur

1. Ibid., p.202. (1985) Singh

3. Ibid., p.202. (1985) Singh

administrative region. In this way it also included tribals from ~~Orisons~~ Orissa, M.P., Bengal. The method adopted by party was constitutional. Although the party was dominated by Christians but there was a massive tribal core behind it. This is evident from Annexure-I which shows that the party polled nearly 750,000 votes in 1952 and 57 elections.

In so many respects the period from 1952-57 which saw the two elections were the peak period for Jharkhand movement. Jharkhand had emerged as the major party in Chotanagpur-Santhal Pargana region. The second general elections had seen its extend its influence in

Orissa where it captured five seats and held the balance of power in the state politics. It displayed remarkable unity, could mobilise thousands of people and take out mamoth^o processions at short notice.

The Decline: The phase from the late 50's saw the decline of party. According to Mr K.S. Singh, following were the important reasons behind it -

(1) There was a growing impact of developmental programmes on Chotanagpur and increasing involvement of tribals in developmental process.

(2) The split between the advanced Christian and relatively backward non-Christian tribals arising out of the competition for better economical facilities and control over developmental inputs and resources deepened. The non Christian tribals started looking to Congress and Jan Sangh for support by late 50's. Many all-India parties emerged on the scene and strengthened their presence.

(3) The experience of M.P. and Orissa which had given representation to tribal interests in government and council of ministers demonstrated that protection of tribal interests could be done through share in power for which any party was enough and not Jharkhand party.

(4) Most important was that Jharkhand party did not have any agrarian programme. Most of the leaders of the party were town based professional who had little concern for rural problems. Its ally was the Janata Party which represented the zamindars of Chotanagpur.

(5) Lastly, the situation after 1963 had become very critical. There was dissidence within the party arising out of the style and performance of leadership. The party failed to press its demand at higher level and

it also saw a sizeable chunk of Jharkhand being given to West Bengal.

Lack of funds and improved structural facilities led to strange alignments with Dikus, the traditional enemies of the adivasis. The non-Bihari Dikus had a vested interest in the movement to keep the Bihar dikus away. Party support was also given to many outsiders. These issues and developments created strains within the party which could be easily seen in the mid-term elections in Orissa.

The elections in 1962 showed a decline in number of votes polled by the Jharkhand to almost half of that registered in 1957 and reduced its seats to twenty in Bihar assembly.

Split and Radicalization

After fourth general elections despite presence of objective conditions of a movement, there was no unified political system. The structure of the Jharkhand party had been fragmented. Jharkhand parties broke into several small parties formed by tribal sub-ethnic groups. This phase had several important developments. There was a distinct radicalization of politics. This was done to the articulation of agrarian factor in the tribal

situation. During the intervening years the agrarian issue had become worse. Incidence of alienation of land belonging to tribals had shown an upward trend, construction of industrial complexes had led to large scale displacement of tribals from their land and their absorption into industrial culture was very low. Census of 1971 disclosed an ~~adverse~~^{alarming} state of affairs - the percentage of S.T. in the population of the district of tribal Bihar had fallen sharply during 1960-70 decade. In Ranchi from 61.61 to 58.09 in Singhbhum from 47.3 to 46.12 and in Santhal pargana from 38.24 to 36.22. This was not of slow growth rate of tribal population but also because of heavy influx of immigrants from other parts of Bihar.

The radicalization of the movement took place under the influence of Naxalite movement, infiltration by extremist elements of tribal organization and entry of leftist parties in a big way. The developments during this phase were in terms of ~~fragmenting~~^{fragmentation of} tribal party and factionalisation of tribal politics - ~~rise~~ of urban pressure groups - political extremism agrarian radicalism and cultural revivalism.

The merger of Jharkhand party with Congress shocked the hard core members of the party who had fought for a

separate identity. It was stated that merger had not been ratified by the general body of the party and so it was technically defective. Towards close of 1966, Jaipal Singh encouraged by formation of Haryana and Punjab states called upon his people to act in the following words -

"The days of beging are gone. We shall now have to act in the Birsa Munda fashion to get our legitimate demands. Tribals should raise their hands against wrong doers and if necessary use bows and arrow."¹

However nothing could come out in concrete terms. In absence of old guards and of charismatic leadership which had held the party together created confusion and threw political forces into disarray. As many as nine groups or parties sprung up to fill the vacuum created by merger and rump body of Jharkhand split up into four factions.

During 1963-68 as many as three groups claimed to represent the Jharkhand party on 23 Dec. 1967 all India Jharkhand Party was formed. One of its first steps was to

1. K.S.Singh, Tribal Society in India, p.206.

declare merger with the Congress effected in 1963 as unconstitutional and void. One faction moved closer to Congress(R). The split became permanent in 1971, the first faction retaining the name of the party and the second reverting to the old name, Jharkhand Party. There was hardly any difference of programme & content between them. They contested elections and won seats separately in 1969 and 1972 in Bihar assembly.

A major split occurred in old Jharkhand Party when the Santhals separated themselves from Chotanagpur tribals and formed their own party which was named as Santhal Insurrection (locally called Hul). The Santhals always nursed a grievance that they were more numerous than the Mundas and Oraons. They did not command adequate influence in Jharkhand movement.

Another important aspect of this phase was the emergence of urban pres~~ide~~ groups led by educated tribals mostly Christian and Centred at industrial undertakings and Compete to demand jobs for tribal youth in administration and undertakings. Birsa Seva Dal (BSD) emerged as the most important of the urban groups. It was essentially a socio-political organization and not a political party, as it did not contest any election

until 1980. The main objective of the Dal was seeking a better deal for tribals in matters of employment. It functioned mainly at two industrial centres of Jamshedpur and Ranchi.

The BSD Constitution stressed the role of collective leadership to guide the people through struggle.¹ This was not achieved. The number of its members fluctuated around 2500. From 1967-69 was a militant phase for BSD violent methods of struggle to secure tribal rights were advocated. Meetings, processions, youth armed with bows and arrows, gheraos and celebrations of Birsa day were the modes of mobilization. B.S.D. demanded creation of a separate state, expulsion of non-Chotanagpuris, agrarian reforms and measures against moneylenders.

After 1967 the second phase of BSD movement begun. The influence of CPM(L) and the missionaries waned. BSD pledged itself to play a *Constitutional* role and adopt peaceful methods of struggle. Violent incidents ceased. The BSD has almost ceased to exist in Jamshedpur

1. K. S. Singh, Tribal Society in India, p.211.

where it showed some activity now and then.

The Naxalite movement started in the heavily forested regions of Chotanagpur in 1969- The movement confined for two years. There 183 incidents involving murder, dacoity, bomb explosions and violent clashes. By the middle of 1971 the Naxalite activity had been contained, their topmost leaders arrested and their party headquarters liquidated.

One of the most important development during this period was the formation of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) in 1973 with the objective of forming a separate Jharkhand state ending exploitation of tribals by non-tribals. The JMM combined in its operations elements of agricultural radicalism and cultural revivalism. The Morcha has launched an operation to recover alienated land from moneylenders and big peasants in north Chotanagpur. Elements of ancient tribal self government have been revived. The Baisi (assembly) functions as a court without court fees or pleaders and deals out simple justice.

It is in this phase that two memoranda were submitted for the Prime Minister during this period.¹

1. K.L.Sharma, Jharkhand Movement in Bihar, EPW, p.42.

Present Trends: The period from 1977 onwards marked the erosion of electoral bases of Jharkhand Party and its fragmentation. The tribal political scene witnessed the impact of all India political parties particularly Congress, Jan Sangh and Communist Parties. The factionalism within the Jharkhand party deepened. Instead of aligning themselves with one another, Jharkhand parties have preferred to align either with Congress or left wing parties. Ethnicity has receded in the background and Chotanagpur has been sucked into the mad storm of national politics becoming as prone to election waves as any other part of the country.¹

Jharkhand parties did not contest the Lok Sabha poll as a party in March 1977. In the election of Bihar assembly in May 1977, all splinter groups of Jharkhand party polled 81227 votes as against 361187 votes in 1972. The Janata wave swept the tribal regions. In spite of this October 1977 saw militant phase of Jharkhand movement. It originated in the statements by J.P., about the advisability of the formation of small states and by the plans of prime minister Charan Singh about reorganization of states. These triggered off

1. K.S.Singh, Tribal Society in India, p.215.

developments at two levels - in Chotanagpur: (1) all parties including the Janata but excluding the Jharkhand party came together to demand a separate state for Chotanagpur-Santhal Pargna region. (2) Jharkhand party demanded the formation of Jharkhand State consisting not only of Christian Santhal-Pargana region of Bihar, adjoining areas of Orissa, West Bengal and M.P.

The movement lasted from October 1977 to June 1978 centred in south Chotanagpur. There were demonstrations, gheraos, strikes. May 22, 1978 marked noncooperation with government. Pay no taxes, block the development projects, stop survey settlement operations, boycott panchayat elections, burn the Kondu leaves, and so on. The call which lasted for 12 weeks from 22nd May to 17th August did not achieve any massive response but in Ranchi district the authorities had cause for concern as land tax collection considerably dropped. The movement came to an end in 1979.

The Jharkhand parties remained fragmented. In the parliamentary elections 1980, the all-India Jharkhand

Party which moved closer to Janata Party won one parliamentary seat, while the Jharkhand parties won another in Ranchi and Marxist Coordination Committee of Dhanbad, the third. The Jharkhand party boycotted the State assembly elections in 1980 as a protest against the denial of the ~~black~~ symbol but its candidates remained in the field as independents. The BJP and Congress(I) continued to dominate the strongholds of the old Jharkhand party. The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha emerged as a major political force in the industrial and mining belt of Chotanagpur and in state politics after 1980. The JMM had earlier reached an electoral understanding with Congress(II) which helped enormously JMM in elections, however it severely affected JMM's relations with its constituents. As JMM moved closer to Congress(I) its relations with Marxist Coordination Committee weakened. The All-India Jharkhand Party broke up its leaders joining the Congress. The Jharkhand parties were wiped out for the first time since 1952 - parliamentary election 1984, losing all the seats captured during previous elections.¹

1. Ibid, p.216. Singh. 1985

The all India parties particularly Congress have dominated the political processes pushing local parties in background. This has happened because of deep division among tribal people sharpened by growing stratification in tribal society with their new middle class, joining hands with non-tribal counterparts in Congress party and elsewhere. The two Jharkhand parties that remain in the fray surviving around their leaders, are confined to Munda and Santal areas. Attempts are occasionally made by them to revolt their old zeal for creation of a separate state. Recently in the first week of January 1986, there was a massive rally of tribals in Dhanbad and Dumka. Over 10000 tribal men, women and children armed with bows and arrows gathered to observe Jharkhand Mukti Diwas. "Jharkhand Rajya alag Kareng ham, Bihar me Nahin Rahenge",¹ was the main slogan of the rally. The rallies were organized by Suraj Mandal and charismatic Sibhu Soran under JMM and till recently the movement rarely drew support from non-tribals or from the major political parties.

Thus the period 1977 onwards had two distinctive characteristics. Firstly, it marked the creasion of a

1. India Today, Feb. 28, 1986, p. 64.

political base of Jharkhand party and the ground they have lost to the all India parties. Secondly, while tribal ethnicity has receded in the background, the regional factor has come to the fore. Almost every all India party including the Congress having a trying to form a 'regional set up' and supporting overtly or covertly the concept of political or cultural autonomy of Chotanagpur.

As far as the question of separate Jharkhand state is concerned, in the light of political situations and strength of various Jharkhand parties the hope is very bleak. One of the main problems for a separate Jharkhand state is accession of 16 districts of various states which will together constitute a separate Jharkhand state. It may not be possible for Orissa or for that purpose any other state to give up its territory for the formation of a separate state. This is no doubt a very important point which may emerge. However the movement leaders perceive this question in altogether different way. For example N.E. Horo, President of All India Jharkhand Party and presently a member of Bihar Legislative Assembly said respective states might be having their own interests in not giving up various districts.

But they have not done anything for the development of these districts. It is only through a separate state that these areas will develop¹. They have been sending the copy of some memoranda every year to the prime minister for a separate state. The only new addition which was not in 1973 memoranda is that they want a new state within the Indian Union and within the provision of Indian Constitution.

It is very difficult to say what will happen with the separate state demand of Jharkhand parties. But the movement leaders are sure of getting it. N.E. Horo is trying to mobilise all other various groups who are also fighting for the same cause in future. He is trying to get all the different sections on a United front without merging of social parties with AIJP. This united front will start agitation through popular democratic methods such as dharna, demonstration etc. for achieving their long cherished demand.

1. N.E. Horo in a personal interview on 18.6.86 at his Ranchi residence.

Chapter-V

CONCLUSION

In the light of previous description we are able to make following important observations regarding interlinkages of structure-development and movements.

In Chapter I we have considered some general informations regarding Munda and Oraon's social structure. Their main concentration area in the Chotanagpur region, important aspects of their socio-economic system. Along with it we have also discussed state system, social stratification and genesis of various factors which disturbed their social structure and led to various movements.

Historically speaking Munda and Oraon precolonial economy was prosperous. They had their own land system. The Munda system was known as Khuntakatti system while Oraon system was known as Bhuenhari. For them the settlers who cleared the jungle and settled down were the original holders of the land or Khuntakattidas. After them the property right was passed to the sons of the khuntakatedar families increased the whole village was occupied by descendent of one family. That village

was called khuntakatti village. In course of time when geographical area and resources became scarce the groups of one village family left for another area and kept themselves in touch with the original descendents. Thus all those who descended from one village ancestor formed a clan. Their entire socio-economic system and political structure was based on this clan and ownership of land. They were independent in forming their own socio-political structure without the help of any overlord or king as such. Their villages were ruled by their own headmen who performed social and judicial functions. But their position was equal in the village and did not enjoy any privilege out of their office.

Oraons, other settler of Chotanagpur influenced the Mundas in forming the socio-economic structure of each other and agreed to elect a common chief (Raja). But the king was not supposed to hold any property. He only enjoyed subscription and other privileges voluntarily provided by Mundas to Oraons. Till the 17th century Mundas and Oraons lived peacefully under the headmanship of their Raj. Unfortunately the Chotanagpur Raja was imprisoned by the Mughal emperor Jehangir and was kept in Gwalior jail. This is the place where the Chotanagpur Raja came in contact with other Hindus and

Muslim leaders and knew their administration. On his areturn from the jail the Raja started introducing the same administration. Several *outsiders* were invited from Hindu regions. In turn the people were distributed subscription by king. However these subscriptions was very inadequate. They soon started to claim control over land from which gifts were collected. Raja readily transffered land to their outside non-trible servants. This is the beginning of the modern 'dku' problem in tribal regions. When British came to this region the whole administrative structure was changed. The British government patronised the court priests and jagirdars who had already started grabbing tribal lands. The situation of land alienation became very serious after 1965. Irrespective of due respect to the tribal social cultural matrix the British disintegrated their entire structure from 1834 onwards. British government got direct control of Chohanagpur and started its own social, political and judicial system which was useful in the whole set up. The British initiated a process of land ownership determination on the basis of written documents. The landlords and outside non-tribals showed the witten documents which they have received from

Raja. The tribes had only the proof of burial stones on their lands which legally did not make any sense for British law system. In turn the local administration was in favour of landlords.

The culmination of all these exploitative mechanisms which affected the Mundas and Oraons gave rise to various tribal movements which we have discussed in Chapter II. Some of the important movements in this period were Sardar Larai, Birsa uprisings and Tana bhagats. These movements were essentially a reaction to the entire exploitative and alien policy of British government. In this period the movements were forged with religious and spiritual elements. The various movements did not go in vain. Until government was forced to take several measures. In 1969 the government passed Chotanagpur Tenures Act and Sametani Bhuanhani operation came into operation which continued till 1980. However ultimate condition of tribal exploitation did not come ^{to} an end.

In Chapter III we have discussed the second phase of tribal movements (1906-1985). This phase witnessed

tribal movements organised on mass scale. Movements ~~involvement~~ involved elements of ideology. This is the period when tribals also participated in national movement under the leadership of Gandhi. This phase witnessed mass scale of conversion of Mundas and Oraons into Christianity. The growth of Christianity in this region gave them a new sense of identity and growth of individualism as well as self *assertion*.

The main movement in this phase is Jharkhand movement, which emerged as protector of tribal interests and saviour. Jharkhand movement has passed through various **phases**. 1951-52 was peak period for the party. In first general election Jharkhand party got 32 seats in Legislative Assembly in Bihar and was the main opposition party. In 1955 the party submitted a memoranda to State Reorganization Committee. The Committee rejected the demand of the party. The period 1955 onwards marks the decline of Jharkhand party due to personal politics and rivalry within the party. The emergence of other national political parties such as Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party, Congress Party and their interest in tribal politics created further cleavages in the organisational structure of tribal polity. In 1962 general election Jharkhand Party won 20 seats and made alliance with

ruling party (Congress). This had very serious repercussions for the activists of the movement. This alliance finally led to split of Jharkhand party into Jharkhand Party, Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Bikas Parishad, Birsa Sewa Dal and several other minor tribal organisations came into existence. This is the period when radical elements, Naxalites, also came into the tribal politics. In 1973 Jharkhand Mukti Morcha started its loot against oppression. In 1976-77 Sebu Soren launched a massive programme to capture the land under the leadership of JMM.

As far as the reasons behind these various movements are concerned, they are not radically different from the earlier phase. Some of the problems had their roots in the British exploitative policy. Later on after independence some of the old problems were continued. Mainly the reason has been the underdevelopment of tribals ~~in~~ this area, the ignorance of government in developmental work, land alienation, displacement of tribals, forest-based problems, bonded labour system, heavy unemployment and presence of several exploitative mechanisms. In nutshell we can say that as far as the tribal scenario is concerned political independence of India has not brought any remarkable change in tribal economy.

Now we are in a position to make some comments about the nature of social movements in this region. We have seen that in order to understand the genesis and causes of any movement, it is proper to place the movement in the socio-economic structure of the community concerned. It is advisable to understand the relation of the community with other communities of that region, development scenario of that community, its share in the socio-political decision making of the society etc. Some of these issues become very important whenever we try to understand movements related with minority community of any nation or those sections of society which have experienced socio-economic depression and deprivation over a large period of time. In most of the cases, the movements started by these deprived communities are for the betterment of their socio-economic structure, thrust for longer share in the distribution of developmental benefits, greater participation in the decision making process of the society. In third world countries of the society where an attempt has been made by respective governments to improve the socio-economic standard of deprived communities through

their integration in the mainstream of other societies. This integrative policy has not always been fruitful for the communities concerned. In this process they have widened the gap between rich and poor, generated social conflicts rebels and revolts. These revolts emerged in the process are not abnormal in nature. They point out the structural maladjustment of policy and its implementation on the one hand and its proper appreciation by the communities concerned. over and above these trends are inevitable in the integration of any community. It is only through locating lacunae in the developmental plan, through just distribution of developmental benefits we can overcome these conflicts which are generated in the process.

Most of these trends we have noticed in tribal movements taking place in Chotanagpur region. Following important reasons can be considered responsible for the failure of developmental plans and its instrumental role in generating movements.

One of the very important reason behind failure of government's plan is inadequate appreciation of the plans by the communities concerned. Developmental plans

for tribals have failed because of neglect of its proper socio-cultural content. Various plans have hardly involved the tribals in the preparation. The greatest irony is that plans are outlined in airconditioned rooms through ~~abstract~~ ^{abstract} formulations. After all development is a participatory process. It must involve the people, their perception, attitudes for whom we are planning. One of the possible ways to overcome these bottlenecks in development is active involvement of sociologists and social anthropologists as well as experts who have located the nerves of tribal scenario. In this process any ethnocentric bias should be avoided. Developmental plans must take into account the cultural milieu, their perception, attitude etc. What is important and viable from the point of view of researcher may not be the same from the communities.

Another related problem in the developmental plans is its implementation aspect. Government is very prompt in starting various new plans and programmes, but it does not examine its proper implementation with the same promptness. We have seen how non-tribals get more benefits from tribal plans. Every plan and its implementation bottlenecks should be thoroughly located by government

authorities within a stipulated time framework. Persons involved in the implementation should be dealt with strictly.

In the final analysis it can be said that tribal and ~~tribal~~ problems require an emphetic attitude rather than sympathetic one.

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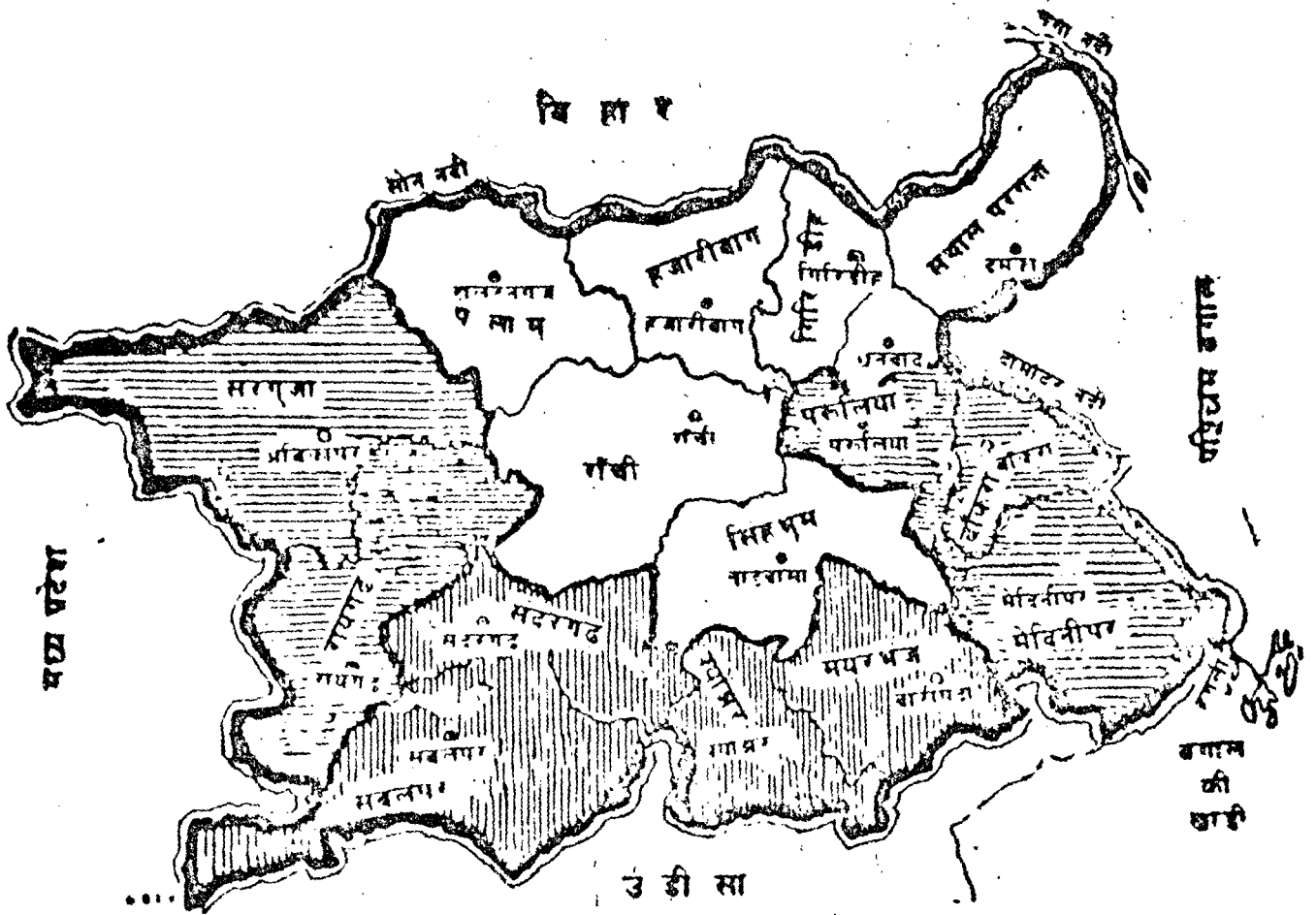
Performance of Jharkhand Parties in Bihar

<u>Year</u>	<u>Votes polled for state assembly</u>	<u>Seats won in state assembly</u>	<u>Seats won in the parliament</u>
1952	766366	33	3
1957	726239	32	5
1962	432644	20	3
1967	172123	8	1
1969	223327	17	nil
1971	343314	-	2
1972	361187	8	1
1977	81227	1	*
1980	399574	14	1
1984	-	-	-
1985*	438300	9	-

*JMM.

Source: Office of the Chief Elections Officer,
Bihar, Patna, General Elections 1977 (Bihar).

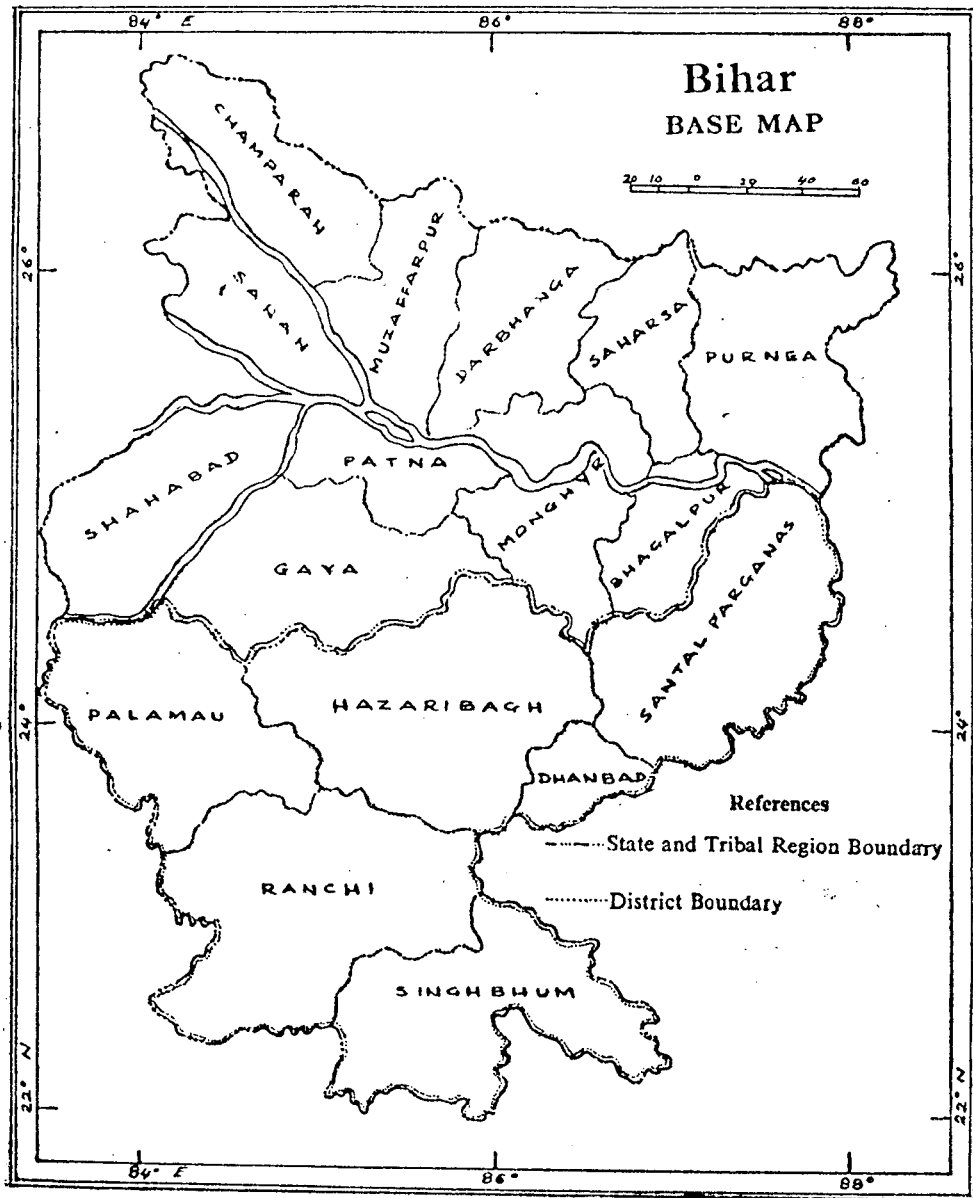
प्रस्तावित भारखंड राज्य



PROPOSED JHARKHAND STATE
(From: A.K.Roy, Jharkhand Aur Lalkhand)

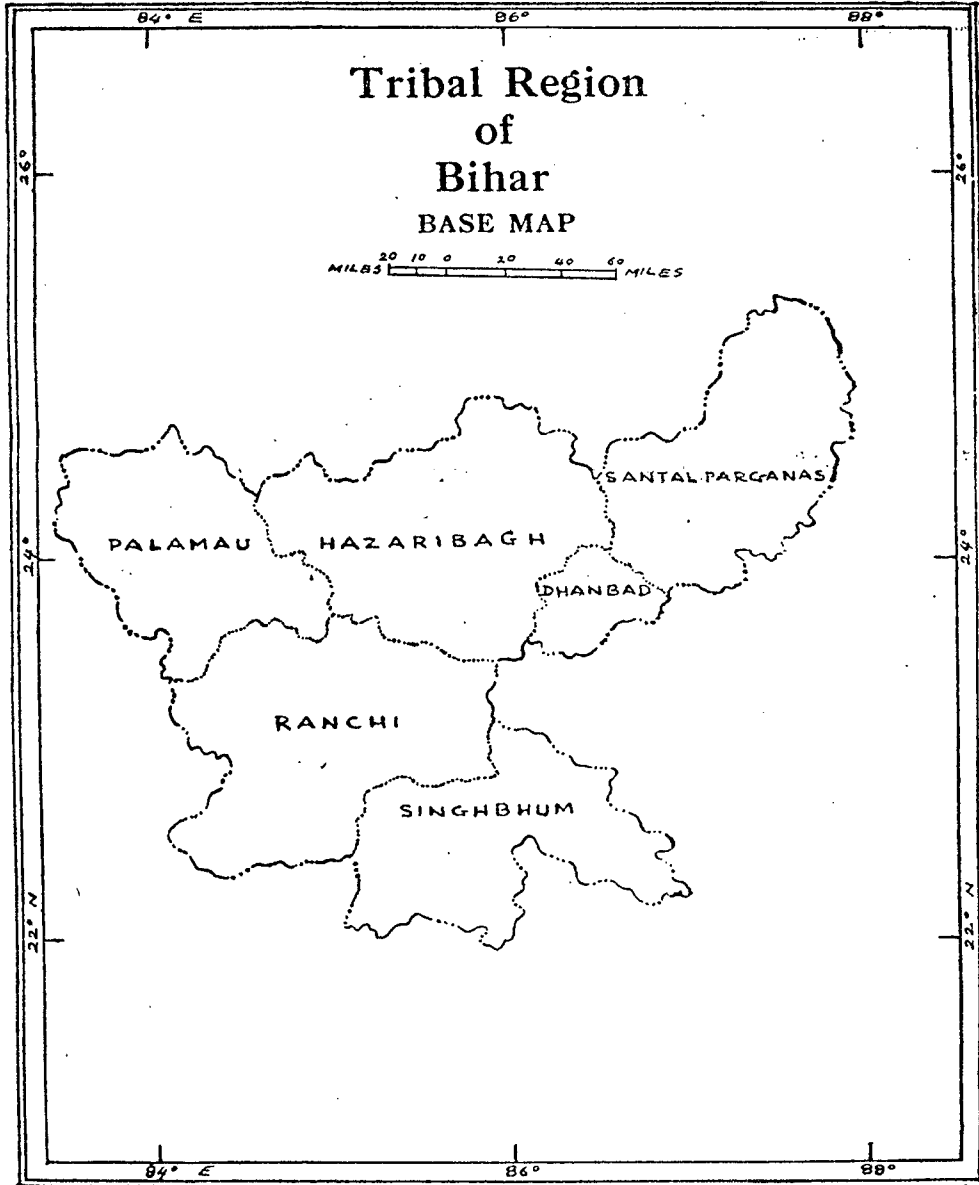
Annexure 3

TRIBAL BIHAR IN MAPS



Annex 4

Part Two: The Tribal Region of Bihar



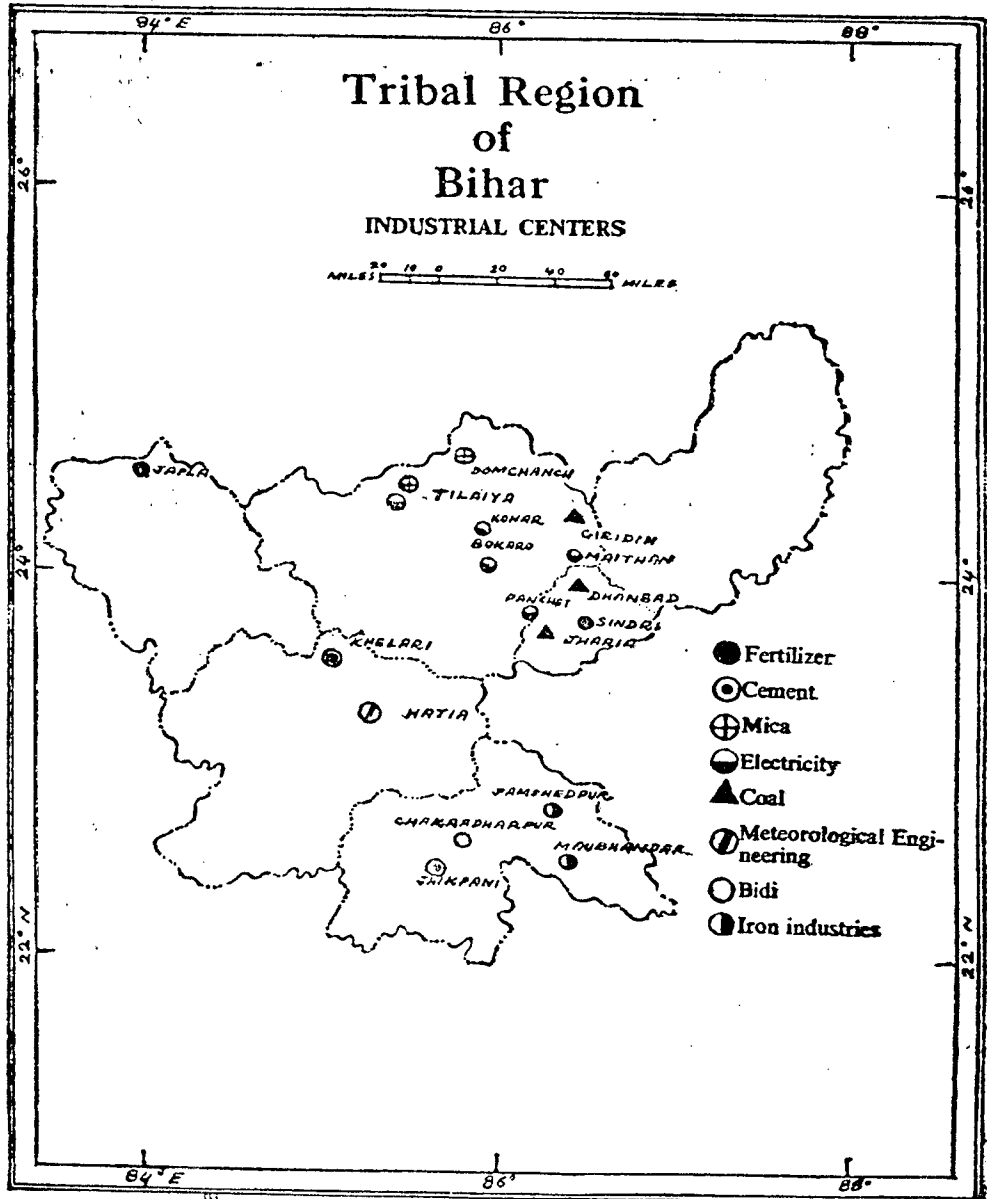
Annexes 5

Part Two : The Tribal Region of Bihar



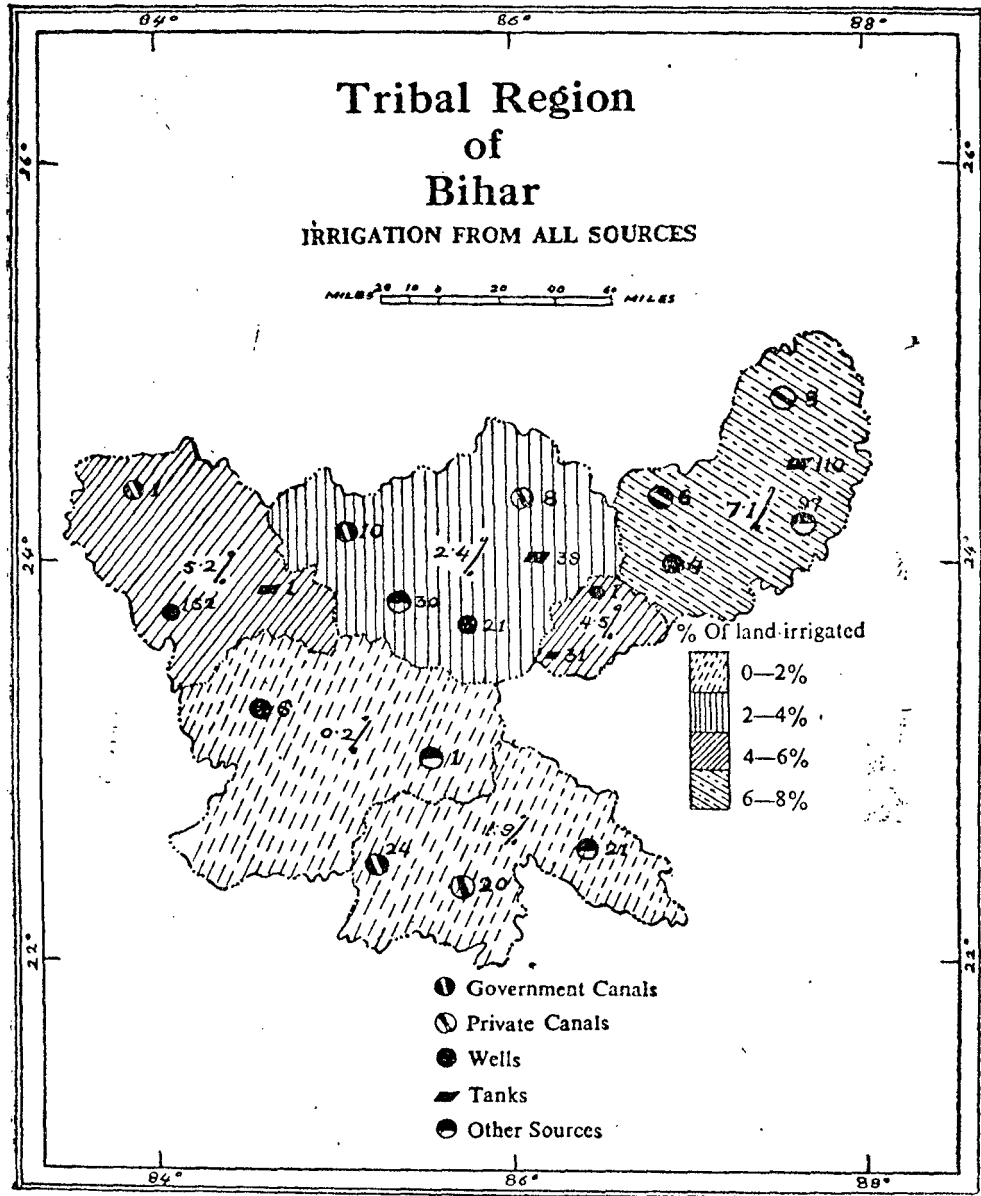
Annex 6

Part Two: The Tribal Region of Bihar



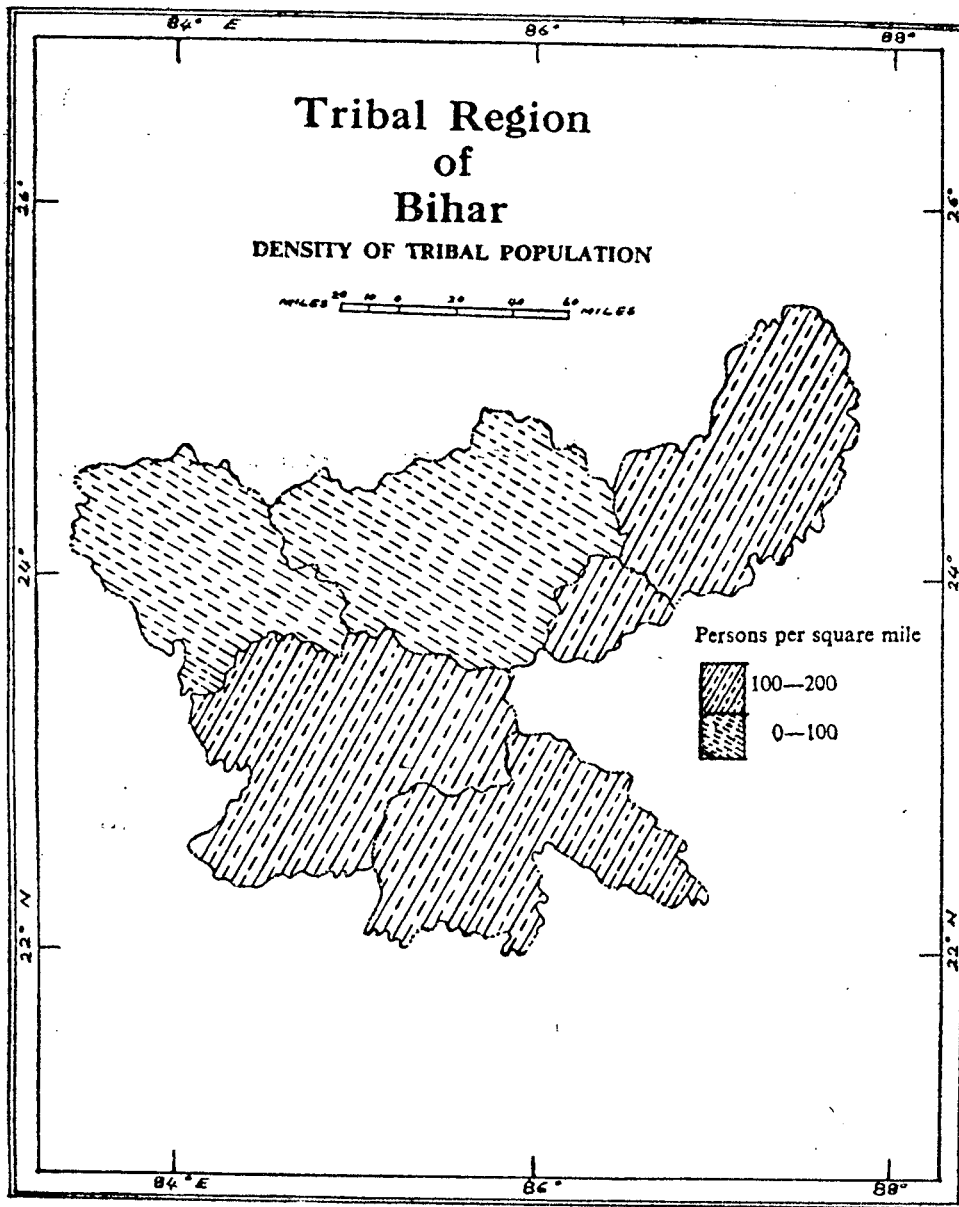
Annexure 7

Tribal Bihar in Maps



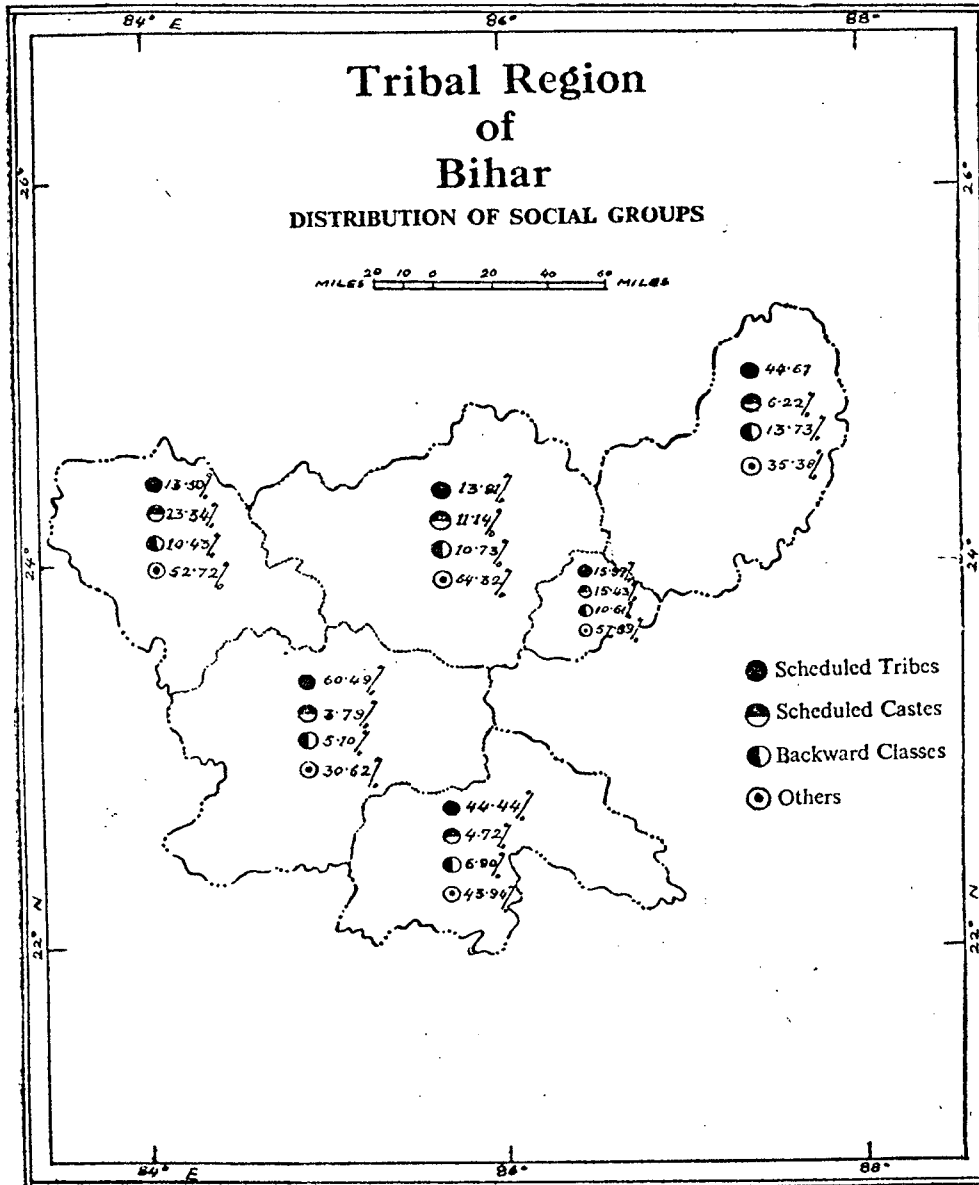
Annexure 8

Tribal Bihar in Maps



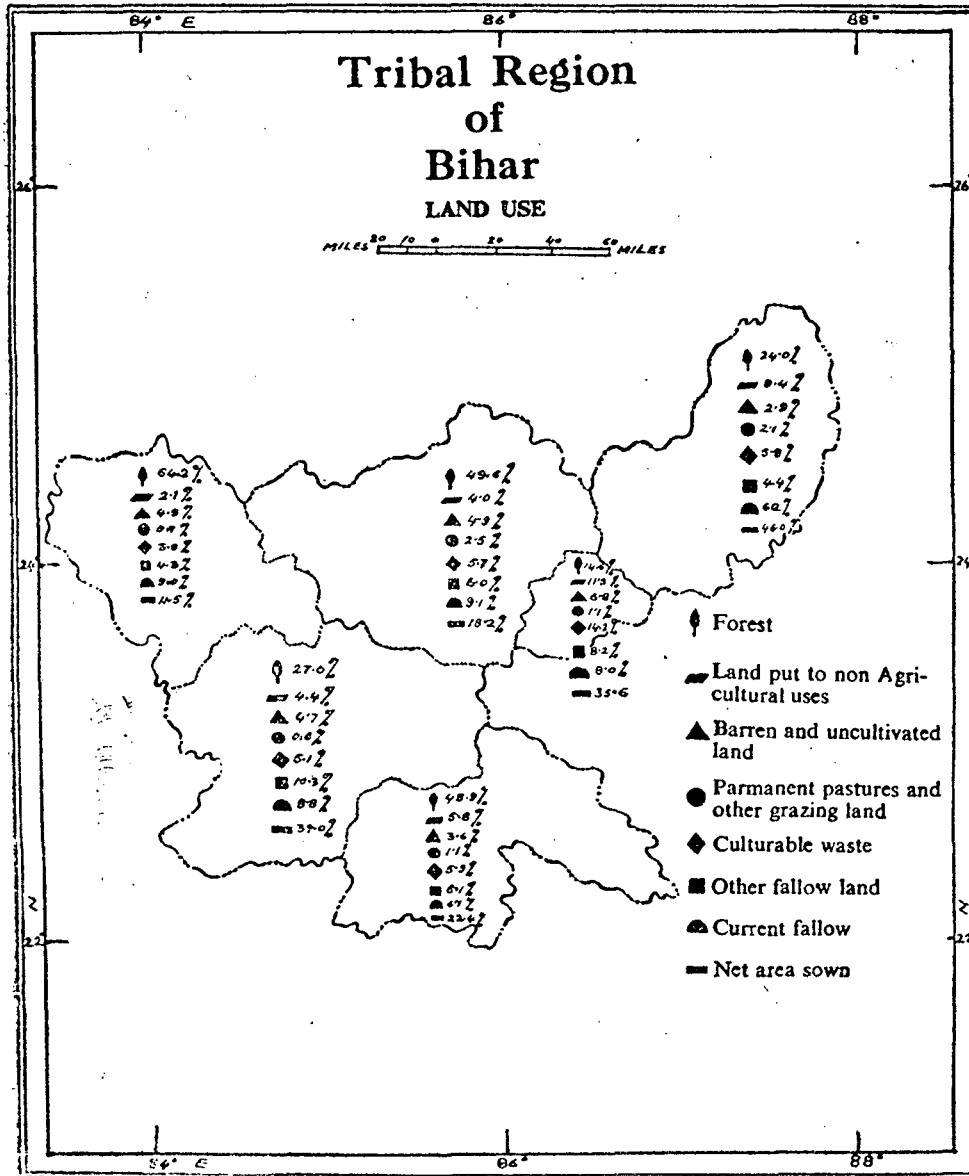
Annexure 9

Part Two : The Tribal Region of Bihar



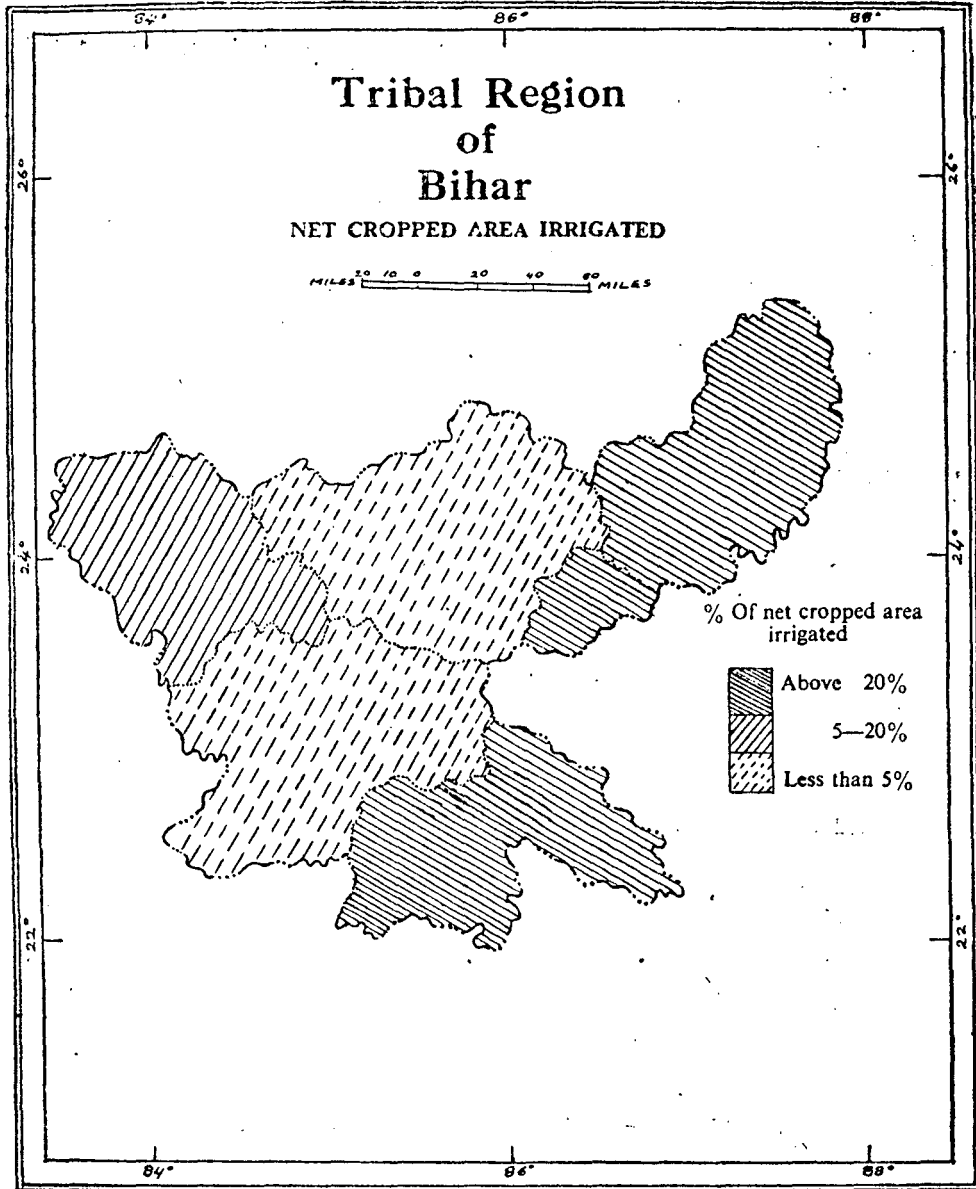
Annexure 10

Part Two: The Tribal Region of Bihar



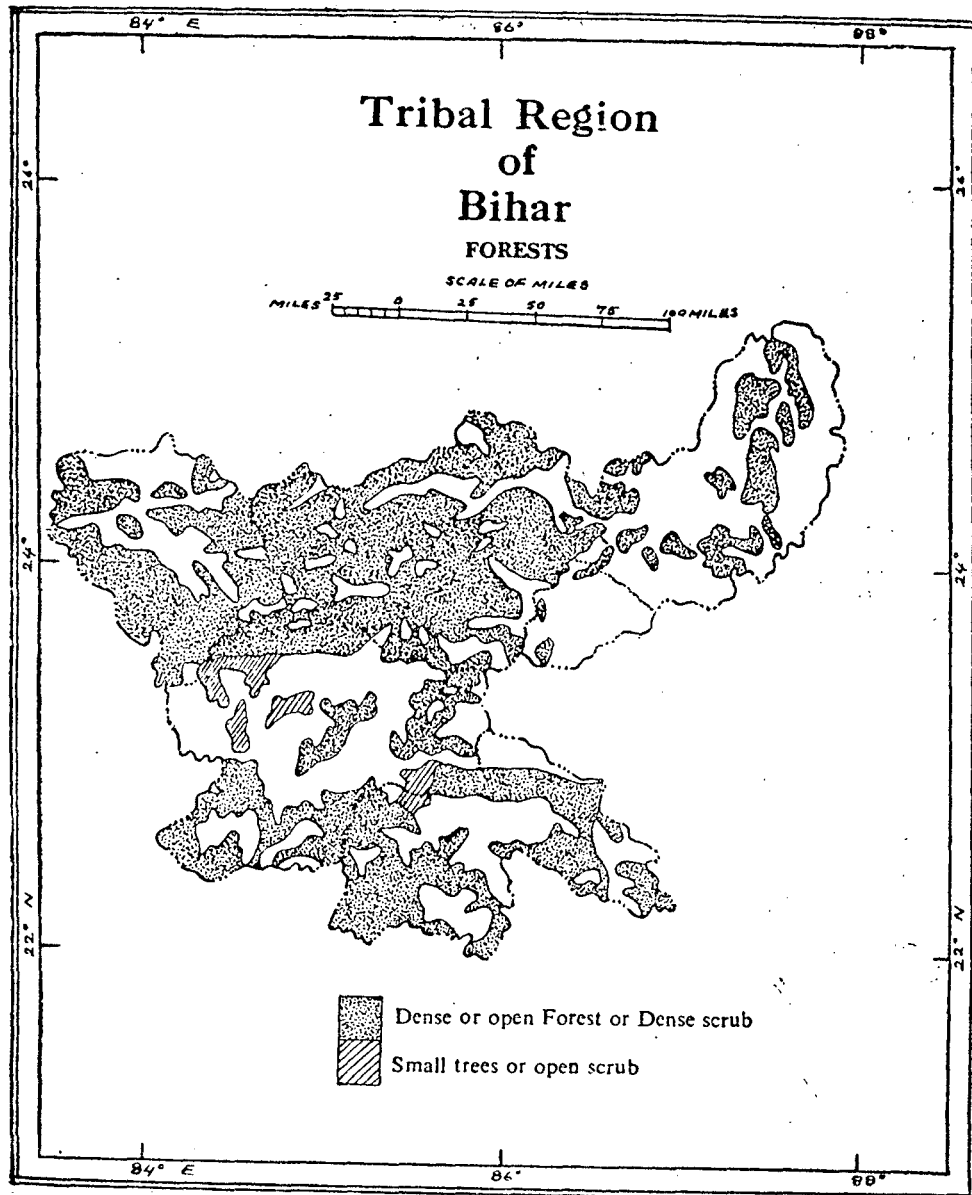
Annexure II

Tribal Bihar in Maps



Annexure 12

Part Two : The Tribal Region of Bihar



Annexure 13

Tribal Bihar in Maps

